Thomas R. Boss.

# A DICTIONARY

OF

# CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

BEING

A CONTINUATION OF 'THE DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE.'

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# A
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## K

N.B.—Greek words beginning with K, and their derivatives, are generally given under C, as CATABASIA, CATALOGUS, CATECHUMEN, COENOBIUM.



**KALENDS** (*Kalendae*), the first day of each month in the Roman calendar. The Rule of Fructuosus (c. 10) orders that on the first of each month (per capita mensium), the abbats of a district shall meet in one place, and earnestly celebrate monthly litanies, and implore the help of the Lord for the souls committed to their charge. The monks of Fulda in their petition to Charles the Great (§ 1, Migne, *Patrologia*, cv. 419) beg that they may be allowed, according to the custom of their fathers, to hold one vigil and say fifty psalms on the calends of each month, for their brethren departed this life. This was in addition to the daily commemoration. (Martene, *de Rit. Monach.* II. xiii. 1.) For the observance of the Kalends of January in particular, see CIRCUMCISION, I. 394; NEW YEAR. [C.]

**KEIVIN** (or **COEMGIN**), abbat of Glen-da-loch [valley of the two lakes], in the county of Wicklow in Ireland, and bishop (ob. circa A.D. 618). He is commemorated on June 3 (*Acta Sanctorum*, June, vol. i. p. 303). [R. S.]

**KELLAC**, bishop and martyr in Ireland (died early in the 7th century, A.D.), commemorated [especially at Eiscreach, in Galway] on May 1. (*Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. i. p. 106.) [R. S.]

**KENELM**, boy-martyr in England (ob. A.D. 819), son of Kenulf, king of Mercia, commemorated on July 17; especially at Winchelcombe Abbey, which had been built by his father. In the *Sarum Breviary* are three lections for the day (add. to Usuard, *Acta Sanctorum*, July, vol. iv. p. 297). [R. S.]

**KENTIGERN**, bishop of Glasgow (circa A.D. 560), commemorated on Jan. 13. Some martyrologies also give July 1, "In Scotia, Translatio S. Kentigerni, ep. et conf." The reference, however, is quite unknown. (Molanus, *Add.* to Usuard; *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. vol. ii. p. 97.) [R. S.]

**KESSOG** (or **MACKESSOG**), bishop of the provinces of Leven and Boin in Scotland (ob. circa A.D. 560), commemorated on March 10. (*Breviarium Aberdonense*; *Acta Sanctorum*, Mar. vol. ii. p. 35.) [R. S.]

**KEYNA**, virgin recluse of Brecon in South Wales, in the 5th or 6th century. From her Keynsham in Somersetshire, one of her abodes, is said to take its name; where the ammonites found in the neighbouring quarries were long attributed to her miraculous destruction of the serpents. She is commemorated on Oct. 8. (*Acta Sanctorum*, March, vol. iv. p. 275.) [R. S.]

**KEYS OF ST. PETER** (IN ART). The key or keys appear to be one of the natural emblems of early civilisation, always conveying the idea of deputed authority and power. The abbé Auber (*Symbolisme Religieux*, vol. i. p. 199) speaks of the symbolic meaning of the keys in the Scandinavian-Gothic household. He further connects the prophecy of Isaiah xxii. 22, "I will set on his shoulder the key of the house of David," with Rev. iii. 7, where the church of Philadelphia is said to be in possession of the key of the house of David, and gives various interpretations of that expression, making it refer, very properly as it appears, to the Lord's Incarnation as a member of the house of David after the flesh, as the key or central doctrine of the Gospel. It seems unnecessary to follow him into the further meanings of the keys of hell in the Apocalypse; but it is preferable to take the symbol in its obvious meaning of deputed power, committed to the holder by a higher authority, as the Northern or Roman husband committed the keys of his house to the custody of his wife. (Smith, DICT. OF GR. AND ROM. ANT. *s.v.* Matrimonium; Festus, *s.v.* Clavis.) "The bride saluted her husband with the words 'Ubi tu Caius ego Caia,' and after she had entered the house with distaff and spindle, she was placed on a sheepskin; and there the keys of the house were delivered into her hands." The distaff, spindle, and sheepskin will remind the Christian archaeologist of their frequent appearance on the sarcophagi.

The delivery of the keys to St. Peter occurs

in early bas-reliefs. See D'Agincourt, *Sculpture*, planche viii. 11, where the apostle is certainly receiving a key, as it appears a single one, though two are delivered to him on other monuments. In Aringhi (t. i. p. 293) there appear to be two handles, though the wards of only one key are visible. On the sarcophagus on which this subject occurs, St. Paul is bearing the cross and receiving a roll of the Gospel from the Lord's hand, with another apostle. Martigny refers to Perret (vol. i. pl. vii.) for a remarkable but dubious fresco of the catacomb called Platonia,[a] where our Lord is seen half issuing from a cloud, with St. Peter on His right and St. Paul on the left, and giving the keys to the former. From Bottari (i. 185) we give a woodcut of this subject, which Bianchini regards as of great antiquity (note in Anast. *Vita Urbani*, n. 18). It forms part of the bas-relief round a vase. St. Peter and the keys appear next to our Lord in the church of St. Cecilia, in a mosaic restored by Paschal I., about 820 (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. tab. lii. 160).



From Martigny, after Bottari.

St. Peter is also represented with the keys on a sarcophagus at Verona (Maffei, *Museum Veron.* p. 484; *Arch. Numm.* vii. 22), and in the mosaic of the great vault of the basilica of St. Peter, on the Via Ostiensis, dated 441 (Ciampini, V. M. tab. lxviii.); also in that of S. Maria in Cosmedin, at Ravenna, A.D. 553, where he seems to be presenting them before the throne of the Lamb (*ibid.* ii. tab. xxiii.). Martigny mentions a Greek MS. in the Vatican, dating as far back as the emperor Justin I., where St. Peter holds three keys on a large ring. (Alemanni, *de Lateranens. parietin.* tab. vii. p. 55. See also Perret, vol. iii. pl. xii.) Alemanni considers the third key as conveying authority over the Empire and the temporal power in general. [R. St. J. T.]

**KEYS, POWER OF THE.** The metaphor implied in the symbolic use of the word "key" is obviously derived from the fact that he who has the key of a house can admit or exclude whom he will. Thus in Isaiah xxii. 22, the promise is given to Eliakim that on his shoulder shall be laid "the key of the house of David, . . . so he shall open and none shall shut; and he shall shut and none shall open." With a similar intention the Lord Himself is said (Rev. iii. 7) to have the "key of David," and again (Rev. i. 18) to have "the keys of hell and of death."

With the same use of metaphor our Lord gave the famous promise to St. Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xvi. 19), implying a power of opening and shutting the portals of the church on earth. We are not here concerned with the critical interpretation of the passage, but simply with the use of the term "power of the keys" (clavium potestas) in the ancient church.

The general belief of the fathers was, that the words were addressed to St. Peter as representing the whole church (Van Espen, *de Censur. Eccl.* c. 2, § 1; *Opp.* tom. iv. ed. Colon. 1777). Cyprian (*de Unit. Eccl.* c. 4) identifies the power given to St. Peter with that given to all the apostles after the Resurrection; it was given in the first instance (he thinks) to *one* man to indicate more emphatically the *one*ness of the church; and he proceeds to insist on the oneness of the episcopate. This power he seems in another place (*Epist.* 73, 7) to limit to the remission of sins in baptism. The power of "binding and loosing," and of putting away sins by the healing method or treatment (curatione peccata dimittendi), is expressly assigned to bishops in the treatise *De Aleatoribus* (c. 1) in Cyprian's works (vol. ii. p. 93, ed. Hartel).

Augustine (*c. Advers. Legis*, i. 17) says expressly that Christ gave the keys to the church, and that St. Peter in receiving them represented the church. So also in commenting on St. John (*Tract.* 50, quoted by Gratian, causa 24, qu. 1, c. 6), he repeats that St. Peter in receiving the keys symbolised (significavit) the holy church; and again (*Tract.* 124) he says, "the church which is founded on Christ received from Him the keys of the kingdom of Heaven in the person of Peter, that is the power of binding and loosing sins." Leo the Great (*Serm.* 3 *in Anniv. suae Assumpt.* and *Serm.* 2 *de Nat. Apostt.* in Gratian, cau. 24, qu. 1, c. 5) holds that the power in the church derived from St. Peter must be administered in the spirit of St. Peter in order to have validity: "manet ergo Petri privilegium, ubicunque ex ipsius fertur aequitate judicium, nec nimia est vel severitas vel remissio; ubi nihil erit ligatum, nihil solutum, nisi quod beatus Petrus aut solverit aut ligaverit."

The "power of the keys," then, is held to reside primarily in the church at large, though it be exercised through its bishops and other ministers. And, as Jansen (quoted by Van Espen, *u. s.*) has noted, in the primitive church sinners were in fact, after a first and second admonition, brought before the whole church of the place, that is, the whole body of Christians duly convened, and there, if found impenitent, excommunicated with the assent and approbation of all (1 Cor. v. 4). The evidence of Tertullian (*Apol.* c. 39) and Cyprian (*Epistt.* 30, c. 5; 55, c. 5; 64, c. 1) shews that questions involving the reception or excommunication of a member of the church were not decided by the bishop alone, but by the bishop with the assent of the presbyters, deacons, and faithful laity. And although in after times the power of the keys came to be exercised by the ministers of

[a] Probably that built by St. Damasus. Anastasius: "Et aedificavit Platoniam, ubi corpora apostolorum jacuerunt," i. e. S. Petri et S. Pauli. Ducange: Platonia; Platoniae; Platonae—marmora in tabulas dissecta.

the church and ecclesiastical judges without consulting the church, yet the source of that power remains in the church, so that it has always the right to prescribe the conditions on which that power is to be exercised. It is on the "power of the keys" that the right of the church to exclude offenders from its pale, and again to readmit them to its privileges and graces, to prescribe penance and grant absolution, is held to depend. The distinctions between the "forum internum," or penitential jurisdiction, and the "forum externum," or penal jurisdiction; and between the "potestas ordinis" and the "potestas jurisdictionis," were probably not drawn before the twelfth century (Morinus, *de Sacram. Poenit.* vi. 25, § 12); with these therefore we are not here concerned. [EXCOMMUNICATION, PENITENCE.] [C.]

**KIARA** (or **CEAR, CERA**, etc.), virgin (ob. circa A.D. 680 according to her chronicler, though this date is probably too late), commemorated at Killchrea, in the south of Ireland, on Oct. 16. There is also another commemoration, perhaps of a translation, on Jan. 5 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. vol. vii. p. 950). [R. S.]

**KIERAN (CIARAN, CIERAN**, etc.) (1) bishop and abbat of Saigir in Ossory, in Ireland (ob. circa A.D. 520), commemorated on March 5. (*Acta Sanctorum*, March, vol. i. p. 387.)

(2) Or Queran, abbat of Cluain-Mac-Nois, in Westmeath, in Ireland (ob. circa A.D. 548), to whom is due one of the most famous of the Monastic *Rules* of Ireland. He is commemorated on Sept. 9. (*Mart. Usuard.* "In Scotia, Querani abbatis:" *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. vol. iii. p. 370.) [R. S.]

**KILIAN (KYLLENA, KILLENA, KILLINUS, CHILIANUS**, etc.), the apostle of Thuringia and bishop of Würzburg, in the latter part of the 7th century, commemorated on July 8 (Usuard, Wandelbert, Rabanus, Notker). This day had its proper office, and seems to have had a vigil at an early period (*Acta Sanctorum*, July, vol. ii. p. 609). [R. S.]

**KINDRED.** [PROHIBITED DEGREES.]

**KINEBURGA and KINESWITHA**, virgins, daughters of Penda, king of Mercia (ob. A.D. 655), who, with their kinswoman Tibba, are commemorated on March 6, or according to some martyrologies on March 5. In one case, a separate commemoration of Kineswitha is assigned to Jan. 31 (*Acta Sanctorum*, March, vol. i. p. 443). [R. S.]

**KINEDUS (KYNEDUS, KINETHUS**, etc.), hermit and confessor in Gower, in South Wales, in the 6th century (ob. circa A.D. 529), commemorated on August 1. (*Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. vol. i. p. 68.) [R. S.]

**KINGS, PRAYER FOR.** Prayers for the reigning Sovereign were introduced into the Liturgy at a very early date, in obedience to the injunction of St. Paul. In the so-called Clementine Liturgy we read: "Furthermore we implore Thee, O Lord, on behalf of the King, and those in high station (ἐν ὑπεροχῇ), and all the army," &c. Tertullian writes (*ad Scapulam*, c. 2): "We sacrifice for the safety of the Emperor; but to our God, and his, but in the manner which God has commanded, in simple prayer." So Arnobius (*Contra Gentes*, iv. 36), in a passage thought to refer to the Diocletian persecution: "Why have our writings deserved to be given to the flames; our meetings to be cruelly broken up, in which prayer is made to the Supreme God; peace and pardon asked for all in authority; soldiers, kings, friends, enemies; alike for those who are still alive, and for those released from the bonds of the flesh?" So also Cyril of Jerus. (*Catech. myst.* v.): "Then after that spiritual sacrifice is completed . . . . we beseech God for the common peace of the churches, for the tranquillity of the world, for kings, for soldiers," &c. Many other patristic references to the practice might be adduced.[a] St. Athanasius (*Apol. ad Constan.*) states that prayer was made in the liturgy for the heretical emperor Constantius; and Theophylact, on 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, observes that the minds of Christians would probably be disturbed if ordered to pray for unbelieving kings at the time of the Holy Mysteries, and that St. Paul on this account gave as the motive for the command, and the inducement to obey it, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life.

In accordance with these passages the name of the reigning sovereign was inserted in the Diptychs which were read in the liturgy, and was so continued from the time of Leo the Great till the twelfth century.

The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom contains the following prayer in the canon (ἀναφορά); after the commemoration of the saints, and prayers for the orthodox bishop and clergy, the church and the "religious," follows:—"Moreover we offer unto Thee this reasonable service . . . . on behalf of our most faithful and Christ-loving kings, and all their court [lit. palace, παλάτιον] and army. Grant them, O Lord, a peaceful reign, that in their tranquillity we too may lead a calm and quiet life in all righteousness and holiness." The Liturgy of St. Basil, in the corresponding place, contains the prayer: "Remember, O Lord, our most religious and faithful kings, whom Thou hast ordained to have rule upon earth. Invest them [lit. crown, στεφάνωσον] with the armour of truth, with the armour of Thy blessing: shelter their head in the day of battle: strengthen their arm: exalt their right hand: confirm their kingdom: subdue to them all barbarian nations, who wish for war: grant to them a deep peace which shall not be taken away: speak to their hearts good things concerning Thy Church and all Thy people, that in their tranquillity we may lead a calm and quiet life in all righteousness and holiness. Remember, O Lord, all rulers and authorities, and our brethren who are in the palace,[b] and all the army."

Both the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil contain also the following prayer, immediately after that for the bishop and clergy, in the εἰρηνικά [see LITANY] at the beginning of the service, which are the same for both liturgies: "For our most religious and divinely-

[a] *e. g.* Dion. Alex. (apud *Euseb. Hist.* vii. 11); St. Aug. (*Ep.* 59, *ad Paulin.*); Tertullian (*Apol.* 30, 31); St. Ambrose (*de Sacr.* iv. c. 4), &c.

[b] ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ. We should say, "who are about court," or "who are members of the household," but the expressions are somewhat too familiar to form part of a prayer.

protected kings, for all their court (παλάτιον) and army, let us beseech the Lord,

"R. Kyrie Eleison.

"For his help to them in war, and that He will put under their feet every enemy and foe, let us beseech the Lord,

"R. Kyrie Eleison."[c]

The Roman canon contains, near the beginning: "Imprimis, quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua Sancta Catholica . . . . una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro N., et Antistite nostro N., et *Rege nostro* N., et omnibus orthodoxis," &c.

There are also votive masses, *pro imperatore* and *pro rege*.

The following prayer is found in Roman missals from an early date.[d] It is one of a series of intercessory prayers said on Good Friday, after the reading of the Passion according to St. John, headed successively: "Pro pace ecclesiae," "Pro Papa," "Pro universis gradibus ecclesiae," "Pro Imperatore," &c., and each introduced with its own preface of "Oremus," &c. That for the emperor is as follows:—

"Oremus et pro christianissimo Imperatore nostro *N.*, ut Deus et Dominus noster subditas illi faciat omnes barbaras nationes ad nostram perpetuam pacem.

"*Oremus. Flectamus genua. Levate.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, in cujus manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium jura regnorum, respice ad Romanum benignus imperium; ut gentes, quae in sua feritate confidunt potentiae tuae dextera comprimantur. Per Dominum. Amen."

The Ambrosian canon has nearly the same words as the Roman: "una cum famulo et sacerdote tuo Papa nostro *Ill.*,[e] et Pontifice nostro *Ill.* et famulo tuo *Ill.* Imperatore, sed et omnibus orthodoxis," &c.; and the two missal Litanies said on the Sundays in Lent, each contained a similar prayer: "Pro famulo tuo *Ill.* Imperatore, et famulâ tuâ *Ill.* Imperatrice, et omni exercitu eorum. R. Kyrie Eleison."

[Litany used on first, third, and fifth Sundays in Lent.]

The litany used on the alternate Sundays has an almost identical clause.

The Mozarabic Liturgy, in which the eucharistic intercession is short, contains, in its present form,[f] no special prayer for the king.

Prayers for the king, however, are by no means confined to the *Liturgy*, but are found under varied forms scattered throughout the offices of the church.

Thus in those of the Greek Church the intercessions (εἰρηνικά) at the end of the daily midnight office contain the clause, "Let us pray . . . . . for our most religious and divinely-protected kings,

"R. Kyrie Eleison.

"For the prosperity and the efficiency of the Christ-loving army,

"R. Kyrie Eleison."

Also at the end of Vespers is a prayer headed by the rubric, "And we confirm the kings, saying" (καὶ ἡμεῖς στερεοῦμεν τοὺς βασιλεῖς λέγοντες), which begins thus: "O King of heaven, confirm our faithful kings, establish the faith, calm the nations, give peace to the world," &c. The *Euchology* again contains a long prayer "for the king and his army," to be used in time of war and threatenings of war.

In the Latin Church we may refer to the ordinary form of Litany said according to Roman use on Fridays in Lent, St. Mark's Day, and the Rogation Days, which contains the petition, "Ut regibus et principibus Christianis pacem et veram concordiam [atque victoriam *Sarum*] donare digneris,

"Te rogamus audi nos."

And also to the verse "Domine salvum fac regem, R. Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te," which enters into the *preces* of Lauds and Vespers according to the Roman Breviary, and into those of Prime according to the Ambrosian.

[H. J. H.]

Prayer was also made for kings in the daily hour-offices. Thus the Council of Cloveshо, A.D. 747 (c. 15, *de Septem Canonicis Horis*), desires the clergy, secular and monastic, in saying the ordinary offices, not to neglect to pray for *kings* and for the safety of the Christian church (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 367); and the monks of Fulda in their petition to Charles the Great (c. i. Migne, *Patrol.* cv. 419), pray the emperor, in the first place, that they may be permitted to continue their daily prayer for him and his children, and all Christian people, which they said after the Capitulum. [C.]

**KINGS, THE THREE.** [EPIPHANY, I. 620.]

**KISS—KISS OF PEACE** (ἀσπασμός, εἰρήνη, *osculum pacis, pax, salutatio*).

The kiss, the instinctive token of amity and affection, from the earliest time found a place in the life and the worship of the Christian Church. The symbol of peace and love could nowhere find a more appropriate home, in its highest and purest idea, than in the religion of peace and love. As a form of Christian greeting, indicating the inner communion of spirit, "a holy kiss" is four times enjoined by St. Paul at the close of his Epistles (Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26); and "a kiss of charity" (or "of love") once by St. Peter (1 Pet. v. 14). No limitation is expressed or implied. The Christians were simply bidden thus to "greet one another." Nor is there any doubt that the primitive usage was for the "holy kiss" to be given promiscuously, without any restriction as to sexes or ranks, among those who were all one in Christ Jesus; who thus, in St. Augustine's words, "in token of Catholic unity, when about to communicate in the church, demonstrated their inward peace by the outward kiss" (*de Amicit.* c. vi.). In the frequent allusions to the kiss of peace which occur in the early Christian worship, there is no reference to any restriction, while the cautions and admonitions we meet with as to its profanation and abuse plainly indicate the indiscriminate character of the salutation. A primitive extra-canonical scripture, quoted by Athenagoras, A.D. 177 (*Legat. pro Christian.* § 32), shews that the kiss was sometimes given a second time, in certain cases, for the gratification of appetite,

[c] This clause is omitted in some modern editions of St. Chrysostom's liturgy.

[d] It is in the collection of liturgies by Pamelius.

[e] Mentioning his name. See Ménard on Greg. *Sacram.* note 997, p. 572.

[f] The Mozarabic canon bears signs of having been re-arranged.

adding, "therefore the kiss, or rather the salutation, should be given with the greatest care, since, if there be mixed with it the least defilement of thought, it excludes us from eternal life." Clement of Alexandria also condemns "the shameless use of the kiss which ought to be mystic," with which certain persons "made the churches resound, occasioning foul suspicions and evil reports" (*Paedagog.* lib. iii. c. 11). Origen, too, commenting on Rom. xvi. 16, after stating that this and similar passages had given rise to the custom among the churches, for Christians after prayer to receive one another with a kiss, goes on to say that this kiss should be "holy, *i.e.* chaste and sincere; not like the kiss of Judas, but expressive of peace and simplicity unfeigned" (*in Roman.* lib. x. § 33). Tertullian speaks of the reluctance likely to be felt by a heathen husband that his wife should "meet any one of the brethren to exchange a kiss," "alicui fratrum ad osculum convenire" (*ad Uxor.* lib. ii. c. 4). The calumnious charges against the Christians to which this custom gave rise, joined to the real peril of it, especially when false brethren began to creep into the Church, led to the abrogation of the promiscuous salutation, and its restriction to persons of the same sex. The Apostolical Constitutions supply the earliest example of this distinction: "Let the deacon say to all, 'Salute ye one another with the holy kiss;' and let the clergy salute the bishop, the men of the laity salute the men, the women the women" (*Const. Apostol.* lib. viii. § 2). We find the same less distinctly stated in the 19th canon of the council of Laodicea (A.D. 371): "After the presbyters have given the peace to the bishop, then the laymen are to give the peace to one another" (Labbe, *Concil.* i. 1500). An early Oriental canon given by Renaudot (*Liturg. Orient. Collect.* vol. i. p. 222) from the collection of canons by Ebdnassalus (c. xii.), lays down the same rule: "The men shall kiss one another, but the women shall kiss other women; nor shall men give the kiss to them." It also prevailed in the Western Church. An *Ordo Romanus*, probably anterior to the 9th century, ordains that the "archdeacons should give the peace to the bishop first; then the rest in order; and the people, the men and women separately" (Muratori, tom. ii. p. 49). Amalarius, when speaking of the dangers and inconveniences which led to this limitation, remarks that if the men are distinguished from the women in their place in church, much more should they be in the reception of the kiss (*de Eccl. Offic.* lib. iii. c. 32).

This primitive custom seems to have been maintained in the Western Church till after the 13th century. We find from the acts of the Council of Frankfort, A.D. 794 (c. 50), and those of the Council of Mentz, A.D. 813 (c. 44), that it was practised in the 8th and 9th centuries. Cardinal Bona says that it is mentioned as still in use by Innocent III. (A.D. 1198–1216) in his *Myst. Miss.* (lib. vi. c. 5). But not long afterwards we first read of the introduction of a mechanical substitute for the actual kiss, in the shape of a small wooden tablet, or plate of metal, bearing a representation of the Crucifixion (*Osculatorium, deosculatorium, pax*). This, after having been kissed by the priest and deacon, was handed by the latter to the communicants, who, by all kissing it, were held to express their mutual love in Christ. This departure from primitive usage, in deference to the growing corruption, is attributed to the Franciscans by Bona (*Rer. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. xvi. § 7). The earliest notice of these instruments is in the records of English councils of the 13th century (Scudamore's *Notit. Eucharist.* p. 438). The rite of the holy kiss has not entirely ceased in the Greek Church. In the Armenian Church the people simply bow to one another; but in the strictly Oriental churches, of whatever language, the kiss is observed without any difference (Renaudot, *Lit. Orient.* vol. ii. p. 76).

The holy kiss originally formed an element of every act of Christian worship. No sacrament or sacramental function was deemed complete in its absence. To quote the words of Bona, "Osculum non solius communionis, sed et omnium Ecclesiasticarum functionum signaculum et sigillum, quod in omnibus Sacramentis adhiberi solebat" (*Rer. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. xvi. § 7). Even common prayer without the kiss was considered to lack something essential to its true character Tertullian calls it "signaculum orationis," "the seal of prayer," and asks "what prayer is complete from which the holy kiss is divorced? what kind of sacrifice is that from which men depart without the peace?" (Tert. *de Orat.* c. 18).

(a.) *Kiss of Peace at the Holy Communion.*—The Holy Eucharist is the Christian rite with which the Kiss of Peace was most essentially connected, and in which it was preserved the longest. It is found in all primitive liturgies, and is mentioned or referred to by the earliest writers who describe the administration of the Lord's Supper. The primitive place of the holy kiss is that which it still maintains in the Oriental Church, between the dismissal of the non-communicants and the Oblation. The earliest author who mentions it, Justin Martyr, thus writes: "When we have ceased from prayer, we salute one another with a kiss. There is then brought to the president bread and a cup of wine," &c. (*Apolog.* i. c. 65.) St. Cyril of Jerusalem places it between the washing of the celebrant's hands and the *Sursum corda.* "Then the deacon cries aloud, 'Receive ye one another; and let us kiss one another.' . . . . This kiss is the sign that our souls are mingled together, and have banished all remembrance of wrongs" (cf. Matt. v. 23), (*Cat. Lect.* xxiii., *Myst.* v. § 3). In the same way the 19th canon of the Council of Laodicea, already referred to, places "the Peace" before the holy oblation; and St. Chrysostom, "when the gift is about to be offered" (*de Compunct. Cordis*, lib. i. c. 3); and the Pseudo-Dionysius, at the time of the oblation of the bread and wine (*de Eccl. Hierarch.* c. 3). St. Chrysostom, in another passage, after describing the exclusion from the holy precincts of those who were unable to partake of the holy table, writes: "When it behoveth to give and receive peace, we all alike salute each other," and then proceeds to speak of the celebration of the "most awful mysteries" (*Hom.* xviii. in 2 Cor. viii. 24, § 3).

The *Apostolical Constitutions* also introduce the Holy Kiss after the two prayers for the faithful before the Oblation (lib. viii. c. 11). The

primitive liturgies are likewise unanimous in assigning to the kiss the same position in the Eucharistic ritual. In that of St. James it comes just before the *Sursum corda* and the *Vere dignum*, &c. (Renaudot, vol. ii. p. 30); in that of St. Mark it follows the Great Entrance, and immediately precedes the creed and the oblation of the people (*ib.* vol. i. p. 143); in those of St. Basil and St. Cyril it also occurs before the *Anaphora* (*ib.* pp. 12, 39), and occupies the same place in that of St. Chrysostom (*ib.* vol. ii. p. 243). In all it is introduced by a prayer asking for the gift of peace and unfeigned love, undefiled by hypocrisy or deceit (*Collectio ad Pacem*, Εὐχὴ τῆς εἰρήνης). The rite is also found in all Oriental (as distinguished from Greek) liturgies, and always follows the departure of the non-communicants, and precedes the *Anaphora* and Preface (Renaudot, vol. ii. pp. 30, 76, 134, &c.). It is introduced by three prayers (cf. *Concil. Laod.* can. 19), that of the Veil, that of the Kiss, and another of Preparation, but in uncertain order (Scudamore, *Not. Euch.* p. 435).

When we turn from the Eastern to the Western church we find the Kiss of Peace generally occupying a different position in the Eucharistic rite. It is not at all probable that in primitive times the usage of the Occidental was different from that of the Oriental church on this point. Indeed, in the earliest liturgies of the Spanish and Gallican churches, as well as in the most ancient forms of the Ambrosian rite, the Holy Kiss occupies its primitive position between the dismissal of the catechumens and the Preface. In the Mozarabic liturgy the collect of peace follows the prayer and commemoration of the living and the dead. The priest then says, "Make the peace as ye stand," and proceeds to give the kiss to the deacon, or acolythe, who gives it to the people while the choir chant "My peace I give unto you" &c. (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. c. 4, art. 12; *Ord.* 2, vol. i. p. 461; Isidor. Hispal. *de Eccl. Off.* lib. i. c. 15). The Gallican use was similar. A Gothic missal printed by Muratori (*Lit. Rom. Vet.* vol. ii. col. 517, s. q.) gives the *Collectio ad Pacem*, with petitions referring to the Kiss, immediately before the Preface, after the recitation of the diptychs and the collect *post nomina* (cf. Martene, u. s. *Ord.* i. p. 454). Its position is the same in the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (Muratori, *u. s.* col. 698, s. q.), and the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* (*ib.* col. 776 ff.), (cf. Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. i. c. 12, p. 369 ff.). The position of the kiss is also indicated by the mention of it by Germanus (bishop of Paris in the 6th century), immediately before the Preface (*Exposit. de Missa*, apud Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdot.* vol. v. p. 95). But in the churches of Africa and Rome from the 5th century, when the earliest notices of it occur, onwards to the time of its virtual abrogation, it stands at a later period in the service, after the consecration, and immediately before the communion. Thus in a sermon included among those of St. Augustine, but more truly ascribed to Caesarius of Arles, we read: "When the consecration is completed, we say the Lord's Prayer. After that, *Pax vobiscum* is said, and Christians kiss one another with the Kiss which is the sign of peace." (Aug. *Homil. de Diversis*, lxxxiii.)

The reference to the kiss in the undisputed works of St. Augustin (e. g. *Contra literas Petiliani*, lib. ii. c. 23; *Homil. VI. in Joann.* § 4) do not define its place in the ritual. From the letter to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium, ascribed to pope Innocent I., A.D. 416, "but certainly of later date" (Scudamore, *Not. Euch.* p. 437), we find that the Peace was given in some of the Latin churches previously to the consecration. Whether in the injunction that it should be given after the completion of the mysteries, that the laity might thus signify their assent to all that had been done, the writer was introducing a novelty, or reasserting the primitive Latin use, is warmly contested between Basnage (*Annal. Eccl. Polit.* anno 56) and Sala (iii. 352). Bona refutes the groundless assertion that the use of the Holy Kiss was first introduced into the Roman liturgy by Innocent I., "Non enim instituit, sed abusum emendavit" (*Rer. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. xvi. § 6). The impugned custom must probably have been the remnant of an earlier rule. Whatever may have been the date of the change of the position of the Kiss, in which respect they differed from all the other liturgies of the East and West, it is certain that in the liturgies of Milan, Rome, and Africa, the Salutation of Peace followed instead of preceding the consecration. On the conclusion of the canon, the bread being broken, and divided for distribution, and the Lord's Prayer recited, the clergy and people interchanged the Kiss of Peace, and all communicated. In the sacramentary of Gregory, the salutation follows the Lord's Prayer and precedes the *Agnus Dei* (Muratori, *Liturg. Rom. Vetus*, vol. ii. p. 6). The *Ordo Romanus*, earlier than the ninth century, given by Muratori (*ib.* col. 984, § 18), places it at the end of the canon while the host is being put into the chalice. "The a. acon gives the peace to the bishop first, then to the rest" [of the ministers] "in order, and to the people" (§ 18). In the second *Ordo*, not much later, there is a slight variation in the rubric: "the rest [give the peace] in order; and the people, men and women, separately" (*ib.* col. 1027, § 12). In the liturgy of Milan, the Peace is bidden by the deacon before the priest communicates, in the words, "Offer the Peace to one another," to which the people respond, "Thanks be to God." The priest then says a secret prayer for the peace of the church, based on John xiv. 27, or, as an alternative, utters aloud, "Peace in heaven, peace on earth, peace among all people, peace to the priests of the church of God. The peace of Christ and the Church remain with us for ever." Then, according to the MS. printed in the revision of St. Charles Borromeo, A.D. 1560, he gives the peace with the formula, "Hold the bond of love and peace [habete *vinculum* instead of the more usual *osculum*], that ye may be meet for the sacrosanct mysteries of God" (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* vol. i. p. 478; lib. I. c. iv. art. 12, *Ord.* 3; Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. II. c. xvi. § 6, p. 584). This formula occurs also in the liturgies of York and Bangor, and may have been borrowed by Augustine from the older Gallican liturgies. The mention of the Kiss in the account of the Eucharist celebrated during a tempest at sea by Maximian, bishop of Syracuse—"they gave one another the kiss; they received the Body and the Blood of the Redeemer" (Gregor. Magn. *Dial.* lib. iii. c. 36)—also shews that at that

time it came immediately before communion. In the modern Roman liturgy the *Pax vobiscum* stands in the same place, between the Lord's Prayer and the *Agnus Dei*.

At the conclusion of the eucharistic rite it was customary for the bishop to give the Kiss to the laity who had received it from him. On this custom see the notes of Valesius (*in Cornel. Epist. IX. ad Fab.*), in which he refers to Jerome (*Epist.* lxii.) and Paulus Diaconus (*de Vit. Patr. Emeritens.* c. vii.).

Before leaving this part of the subject, it may be mentioned that Tertullian informs us (*de Orat.* c. 18) that certain persons in his day objected to giving or receiving the Holy Kiss in public on a fast-day, "subtrahunt osculum pacis." This custom he strongly reprehends, not only because the kiss was the "seal of prayer," which was incomplete without it, but because such an omission of the accustomed rite proclaimed the act of fasting in violation of our Lord's injunction (Matt. vi. 17, 18). The same objection did not hold against the received custom of omitting the kiss on Good Friday, "die Paschae . . . merito deponimus osculum," because that was an universally acknowledged fast-day. An illustration of this omission may be derived from the remark of Procopius (*Hist. Arcan.* c. 9), that Justinian and Theodora began their reign with an evil omen, commencing it on Good Friday, a day when it was unlawful to give the salutation. The kiss was also omitted on Easter Eve, but was given on all other stated fasts (Muratori, *in Tertull. loc. cit.*). (Augusti, *Handbuch der christ. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 718, s. q.; Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. II. c. xvi. § 6–7; Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* bk. xv. c. iii. § 3; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. iv. part iii. p. 485, s. q.; Goar, *Euchology.* p. 134; Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. c. iii. §§ 4, 5; Muratori, *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* passim; Palmer, *Antiq. of English Ritual.* vol. ii. pp. 100–103; Renaudot, *Liturg. Oriental. Collect.* vol. i. p. 222, ff.; vol. ii. p. 76, ff.; Scudamore, *Notit. Eucharist.* c. ii. § 2, pp. 434–442.)

(b.) *The Kiss of Peace at Baptism.*—After the administration of the sacrament of baptism, the newly-baptized person, whether infant or adult, received the Holy Kiss as a token of brotherly love, and a sign of admission into the family of Christ. The kiss was first given by the baptizer and then by the other members of the congregation. There is a reference to this custom in a letter of Cyprian (*ad Fidum Episcopum*, Ep. lxiv. (lviii.) § 4), where the language is so beautiful that it deserves to be given at length. Cyprian is correcting the erroneous idea that an infant, as still impure, should not be baptized before the eighth day after its birth, asserting that as soon as it was born it was meet for baptism. He writes: "No one ought to shudder at that which God hath condescended to make. For although the infant is still fresh from its birth, yet it is not just that any one should shudder at kissing it, in giving grace, and making peace; since in kissing an infant every one of us ought, for his very religion's sake, to bethink him of the hands of God themselves, still fresh, which in some sort we are kissing in the man lately formed and freshly born, when we are embracing that which God hath made." This custom of giving the Kiss of Peace to infants at baptism Martene erroneously confines to the African church. But it is referred to not only by Augustine (*Contr. Epist. Pelag.* lib. iv. c. 8), but also by Chrysostom, (*Homil.* 50 *de Utilitat. legend. Script.*): "Because before his baptism he was an enemy, but after baptism is made a friend of our common Lord; we therefore all rejoice with him. And upon this account the kiss is called 'peace' (τὸ φίλημα εἰρήνη καλεῖται), that we may learn thereby that God has ended the war, and brought us into friendship with Himself." A relic of this rite still survives in the *Pax tecum* found in many baptismal rituals (Augusti, *Handbuch*, vol. ii. p. 451; Bingham, bk. xii. c. iv. § 6; Binterim, vol. i. c. i. § 2, p. 163; Rheinwald, *Kirchlich. Archäolog.* II. iii. § 108).

(c.) *The Kiss at Ordination.*—The imparting of the brotherly kiss to the newly ordained formed an essential element of the service for the ordination of presbyters and bishops in all churches. It is enjoined in the Apostolical Constitutions in the ordination of bishops: "Let him [the newly consecrated bishop] be placed in his throne, in a place set apart for him among the rest of the bishops, they all giving him the kiss in the Lord" (*ap. Const.* lib. viii. c. 5), and is mentioned by the Pseudo-Dionysius (*de Eccl. hierarch.* c. v. p. 2, § 6), who states that the newly ordained presbyter was kissed by the bishop and the rest of the clergy. So also in the Sacramentary of Gregory, in the consecration of a bishop, we find the direction, at the conclusion of the rite, after the delivery of the ring, staff, and gospels: "then the elect gives the kiss to the pope, and to all the deacons. The archdeacon holding him conveys him into the presbytery, and he gives the kiss to the bishop and the presbyters." He is again kissed by the pope on the reception of the host (Muratori, *u. s.* vol. ii. col. 442). At the ordination of presbyters they are similarly enjoined to give the kiss of peace to the ordaining bishop, and then to the bishops, presbyters, deacons, and other ministers who are present, and they receive it themselves from the ordaining bishop at the holy communion, and are thrice kissed by him at the conclusion of the rite with the words, *pax Domini sit vobiscum* (*ibid.* col. 429, 430). In the Greek church the order is the same, both with bishops and presbyters. In the ordination of the patriarch of Alexandria the kiss is given in the same place, and in the same order (Renaudot, vol. i. p. 481); while in that of a presbyter, after the imposition of hands, the stole is brought over the right shoulder of the new presbyter, the *casula* is put on, and he then kisses the bishop and presbyters, and goes and takes his stand among them, reading his missal. (Goar, *Euchology.* p. 298, *b*; Bingham, bk. ii. c. xi. § 10; c. xix. § 17; bk. iv. c. vi. § 15; Binterim, vol. i. part i. p. 492; Augusti, *Hdbch.* vol. iii. p. 242.)

(d.) *At Espousals.*—On the espousal of two Christians, the contract was solemnly ratified by a kiss given by the man to his future wife. This was an innocent custom dictated by nature, adopted by the members of the church from their heathen ancestors, among whom the marriage rite was ratified by the kiss, "uxorem aut maritum tantum osculo putari" (Quintil. *Declamat.* 276). It is mentioned by Tertullian as an old heathen

custom (*de Veland. Virgin.* c. 11). So much stress is laid on the kiss as the ratification of espousals, that Constantine made the inheritance of half the espousal donations, on the death of one party before the consummation of the marriage, to depend on the kiss having been given or not. (*Cod. Theodos.* lib. iii. tit. 5; *de Sponsalibus*, leg. 5; *Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. 3; *de Donat. ante Nupt.* leg. 16); (Bingham, bk. xxii. ch. iii. § 6; Binterim, vol. vi. part 2, p. 164.)

(e.) *To the Dying.*—The kiss dictated by natural affection to dying friends was not forbidden by the church of Christ. We find it mentioned by the Pseudo-Amphilochius in his life of St. Basil (c. 129). It is prescribed in several early monastic rituals in the case of a sick monk; *e.g.* in the ritual of the abbey of St. Giles of Noyon, *ante ann.* 500. After receiving extreme unction, the mouth of the sick man is washed, he then first kisses the cross, and afterwards all who are present; and in that of St. Ouen of Rouen, c. A.D. 400, where, after communion, the sick man kisses the cross, and is then kissed by the priest, and afterwards by all the monks present in succession, each asking pardon of him both before and after the kiss. (Martene, *u. s.* lib. ii. c. 11; lib. iii. c. 15; *Ordo* viii., xii.)

(f.) *To the Dead.*—At the funerals the voice of nature was again listened to, and a final kiss was given to the corpse before the actual interment. This tribute of natural affection is mentioned by Ambrose on the occasion of the funeral of his brother Satyrus: "Procedamus ad tumulum, sed prius ultimum coram populo valedico, pacem praedico, osculum solvo" (Ambros. *de Excessu Satyri*, c. 17). The Pseudo-Dionysius describes how, after the prayer made by the priest over the dead body, it is kissed by him, and then by all who are present (*de Eccl. Hierarch.* c. vii. § 8). We learn also from Goar that it was given to the dead (*Eucholog.* p. 542), and the custom is punctually observed in the Greek church to the present day. The prohibition of the kiss by the Council of Auxerre, A.D. 578 (*Concil. Autissiodor.* can. 12) had reference to the superstitious practice of administering the eucharist, with which, as we have seen, the *Osculum pacis* was inseparably connected, to the dead: "Non licet mortuis nec Eucharistiam, nec osculum tradi" (Augusti, *Hdbch.* vol. iii. p. 306; Bingham, bk. xxiii. ch. iii. § 14).

(g.) *As a Mark of Reverence and Respect.*—As a token of reverence it was the habit to kiss not only the hands, feet, and vestments of bishops and other ecclesiastics, but also the walls, doors, thresholds, and altars of the sacred buildings. The references to this custom are very frequent. Paulinus, the biographer of St. Ambrose, says this token of respect was commonly paid to priests in his day (*Vit. Ambros.* p. 2). St. Ambrose himself refers to the hands of priests being kissed by kings and princes when requesting their prayers (*de Dignitat. Sacerd.* c. ii.), and St. Chrysostom relates how, on the first arrival of Meletius at Antioch, the people eagerly touched his feet and kissed his hands (*Hom. de Melet.* § 2, p. 521). But no more need be remarked on a custom so common in all countries.

The custom of kissing the pope's feet is of considerable antiquity. In the ordinals included in the sacramentary of Gregory the newly ordained presbyter is enjoined to kiss the feet of the ordainer, and the newly consecrated bishop of the consecrating pontiff. In the latter case, if the pope be not the consecrator, the mouth is to be kissed instead of the feet (Muratori, *u. s.* cols. 429, 443). In the *Ordo Romanus* of a pontifical mass, the deacon is directed to kiss the pope's feet before reading the Gospels (*ib.* col. 1022, § 8). The earliest mention of this mark of homage in Anastasius (*Vitae Pontif. Roman.*) is in the case of Constantine, A.D. 708–714, before whom Justinian the younger prostrated himself, on meeting him in Bithynia, wearing his crown, and kissed his feet (Anastas. xc. § 173).

The reverent affection of the early Christians for the house of God and everything belonging to it was indicated by embracing and kissing the doors, threshold, pillars, and pavement of the church, and above all, the holy altar. We have a striking example of this last in an account given by St. Ambrose of the eagerness manifested by the soldiers who brought the welcome intelligence of the revocation of the young Valentinian's decree for surrendering the Porcian basilica to the Arians, to rush to the altar and kiss it [Ambros. *Epist.* xxxiii. (xiv.)]. So Athanasius speaks of those who "approach the holy altar, and with fear and joy salute it" (*Homil. adv. eos qui in Homine spem figunt*, tom. ii. p. 304), and the Pseudo-Dionysius, of "saluting the holy table" (*Eccl. Hierarch.* c. ii. § 4). The custom of kissing the doors is vividly depicted in Chrysostom's words: "See ye not how many kiss even the porch (πρόθυρα) of this temple, some stooping down, others grasping it with their hand, and putting their hand to their mouth" (*Homil.* xxx. i.; 2 Cor. xiii. 12). Prudentius also speaks of those who

> "Apostolorum et martyrum
> Exosculantur limina."
>
> Peristeph. *Hymn* ii. vv. 519, 520.

And again—

> "Oscula perspicuo figunt impressa metallo."
>
> Peristeph. *Hymn* xi. v. 193.

And Paulinus describes a rustic who, having lost his oxen, and appealing to St. Felix for their restoration—

> "Sternitur ante fores et postibus oscula figit."
>
> *Natal.* vi. *Felicis*, v. 250.

These prostrations and kisses must be regarded as nothing more than natural tokens of reverence and affection. The kisses of the altar, the Book of the Gospels, the sacred vessels, &c., which occur so abundantly in the early rituals, have a distinctly liturgical character (see Martene, *u. s.* lib. i. c. iv. art. 3, § 2, and art. 5, § 6; Goar, *Euchol.* p. 298, *b*). [E. V.]

**KNEELERS.** [PENITENTS.]

**KNEELING.** [GENUFLEXION, I. 723.]

**KNOP** (*Nodus, pomellum*), the bulbous ornament on the stem of a chalice. It is found in some of the earliest known chalices, though it could not be said that every chalice had a knop amongst the earliest Christians. The cups on all the so-called Jewish coins represented in Migne, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Sacrée*, all have a knop. It will be enough, he says, to consult these in order to get an idea of the form of the chalice actually used by our blessed Lord at the

institution of the Eucharist. It may be observed that all the chalices figured on Jewish coins of the time of Simon the Maccabee (B.C. 143—B.C. 135) seem to be uniformly provided with a knop (Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 43, ed. 1864). Hence it appears that the knop in the sacred cup was pre-christian.

The chalices that have survived to us from the period traversed in this work are extremely rare; and the examples of the knop within the same period are therefore rare also. (See Mr. Albert Way on 'Ancient Ornaments, Vessels, and Appliances of Sacred Use,' *Archaeological Journal*, vol. iii. p. 131). The knop, however, occurs in what Dr. Lubke describes as "the oldest* of the chalices known in Germany," which was given to the Monastery of Kremsmünster by the Duke Tassilo, who founded the monastery in the year 777 (*Ecclesiastical Art in Germany*, p. 140, ed. 1876, Engl. transl.). Amongst the decorations of this chalice is a figure of our Lord, in the act of benediction. From the position of His hand the chalice seems to be of Eastern origin. The Gourdon Chalice, which Labarte (*Histoire des Arts industriels*, vol. i. p. 495, ed. 1864) shews to have been buried between A.D. 518 and A.D. 527, stands upon a conical stem, and has a bead, the germ of the knop, at the junction. This is the earliest example known. [CHALICE, I. 338.]

It is a mistake to suppose that the knop was invented for the purpose of adding strength to the chalice-stem,—a result which it could not effect, for the strength of a knopped stem would still be only the strength of its weakest or thinnest part. It may have been introduced first for the purpose of decoration, though afterwards it was expressly adopted to assist the priest in holding the chalice between his fingers in the act of consecration. He joins his finger and thumb, and then holds the chalice with the remaining fingers. In the Latin rite the priest while holding the sacred host in his right hand over the chalice is directed to hold the chalice itself in his left hand, "per nodum infra cuppam." The dates given above shew that the knop existed before the doctrine of Transubstantiation was formulated.

*Authorities.*—The writer is not aware of any monograph on the subject in any language. The knop is not even mentioned in the *Hierolexicon* by the brothers Macri. Fol. Romae, 1677. But besides the works quoted above, the reader may consult *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. xxi. p. 336 and vol. xxii. p. 21; the Arundel Society's publication on Ecclesiastical Metal Work of the Middle Ages, and *Diversarum Artium Schedula*, by Theophilus. [H. T. A.]

**KOINONIKON** (Κοινωνικόν). [Compare COMMENDATORY LETTERS, I. 407.] I. A letter of communion given to travellers, enabling them to communicate with the Church in the place to which they journeyed. The Nomocanon of the Greeks (c. 454; Cotel. *Monum. Gr.* i. 142) orders that "no stranger be received (to communion) without a koinonicon." Such letters were also called ἐπιστόλια or εἰρηνικά, as by the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (Can. 11): "We have decreed that all the poor and those needing help shall, after investigation, travel with letters (epistolia), that is to say, with ecclesiastical eirenica only, and not with letters of commendation" (συστατικοῖς; comp. 2 Cor. iii. 1). The former word, epistolium, we find used in the West, as by the 2nd Council of Tours, A.D. 566, which decreed "that no one of the clergy or laity, except the bishop, presume to give epistolia" (Can. 6). The other name, eirenica, is used by the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341: "No stranger is to be received without letters of peace" (Can. 7); Sim. in the West, Conc. Elib., as below.

It appears that the issue of such letters of communion had to be watched and regulated in every part of the Church. Thus the Council of Antioch (Can. 8) allowed chorepiscopi to grant them, but forbade presbyters. From the Council of Eliberis, A.D. 305 (Can. 25), we learn that intending travellers sometimes obtained them from confessors, as the lapsed did their libelli: "To every one who has brought confessors' letters are to be given letters communicatory, the confessor's name being cancelled, forasmuch as, under the glory of this name, they everywhere astonish the simple." The same Council (Can. 31) forbade women (supposed to be the wives of bishops and presbyters) to write litterae pacificae for the laity, or to receive them. The Council of Arles, in 314 (Can. 9):—"Concerning those who present letters of confessors, it is decreed that such letters be taken from them, and that they receive others communicatory." The Council of Carthage, A.D. 348 (Can. 17): "Let no clerk or layman communicate in a strange congregation (in alienâ plebe) without his bishop's letters." The Council of Agatha, in 505 (Can. 52), and that of Epaone in 517 (can. 6): "Let no one grant communion to a presbyter, or deacon, or clerk, travelling without his bishop's letters."

In the Capitularies of the French kings we find these documents called litterae peregrinorum, travellers' letters (cap. v. an. 806, tom. i. col. 456), and formatae (1225). The last name is given to them by the Council of Milevi, A.D. 416 (Can. 20): "It is decreed that any clerk who desires to go to court, wherever it be, on his own business, shall receive a formata from his bishop. But if he shall choose to go without a formata, let him be removed from communion." [FORMA, I. 682.]

II. The same names were given to those letters which bishops, on their ordination, sent to other bishops as an offer and claim of communion, and to letters which passed between bishops at any time as a token of adherence to the same faith. Thus Cyril of Alexandria, "If John, the most religious bishop of Antioch, subscribe it (a confession of faith), . . . then give to him τὰ κοινωνικά" (Inter *Acta Conc. Eph.* Labbe, iii.); that is, as the ancient translation of the West renders it,—"the letters communicatory" (*Nov. Coll. Conc.* col. 910; Baluz. *Synodicon*, c. 204). A more common expression was κοινωνικὰ γράμματα. This is used by the Council of Antioch, A.D. 269, when announcing to the popes of Alexandria and Rome the election of Domnus to the see of Antioch. It requested them to send him letters of communion, that they might receive the like from him in return (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 30). Using the same term, St. Basil challenges those who accused him of being in communion with Apollinarius to

* It is figured on p. 339, vol. I. of this work.

produce any letters of communion that had passed between them (Epist. 345; tom. ii. p. 1122). The same expression used by Cyril of Alexandria (*Ep. ad Maximian.* inter *Acta Conc. Eph.* c. 81) is rendered in the ancient Latin version of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus by the unusual phrase of litterae communicativae (Baluz. *Nova Collect. Concil.* col. 597). In the version of his epistle to Theognostus (*Synod.* c. 85) we have the more common litterae communicatoriae (col. 793). St. Augustine, writing in 397, says: "We wrote to some of the chiefs of the Donatists, not letters of communion (communicatorias litteras), which now for a long time, owing to their perversion from the Catholic unity throughout the world, they do not receive, but such private letters as it is lawful for us to address even to Pagans" (*Ep.* xliii. § 1). He repeats this in his work *Contra Litteras Petiliani* (I. 1). The same father declares the bishop of Carthage to be "united per communicatorias litteras to the Church at Rome, . . . and to other lands, whence the gospel had come to Africa" (*Ep.* xliii. § 7). He again and again speaks of such letters as a sign and proof of the intercommunion of churches (*ibid.* §§ 8, 16, 19). These letters, like those granted to travellers, came under the general head of formatae. Thus Augustine, speaking of a schismatical bishop, says, "We asked whether he could give letters communicatory, which we call formatae, where I wished" (*Ep.* xliv. § 5).

III. A troparion in the Greek liturgy, which is varied for "the day or the saint" (Goar, *Lit. Chrys.* p. 81; *Typicon* Sabae, 7). It is now sung after the response to the Sancta Sanctis, and before the hot infusion and fraction. Originally, however, it was sung, as its name implies, during the communion of the people. This is evident from the following statement in the *Chronicon Paschale* of Alexandria (tom. i. p. 714; ed. Niebuhr). "This year, in the month Artemisius, the Roman May, 12th Indiction, under Sergius the Patriarch of Constantinople, was first introduced the custom that after all have received the holy Mysteries, while the clerks are removing the precious fans, patens, and cups, and other sacred utensils, also after the distribution of the Eulogiae from the side-tables, and the singing of the last verse of the *koinonicon*, this antiphon should be sung, Let our mouth be filled with praise," &c. This was in the year 624 of our era. In the Liturgy of St. James, from which the Greek is derived, the words, "O taste and see how gracious the Lord is" (from *Ps.* 34), are both said by the priest and sung by the choir (*Cod. Liturg.* Assem. v. 57) before the communion of the former; but probably the Greek anthem rather took the place of four psalms (23, 34, 145, 117), which were said at the fraction in St. James. A shorter form would be sufficient, when the communicants became fewer. The words, "O taste," &c., were sung at Jerusalem in the 4th century, after the response to the Sancta Sanctis, and therefore also before the communion. St. Cyril, addressing the newly baptized, says (*Catech. Myst.* v. 17), "After this ye hear him who sings with divine melody, exhorting you and saying, 'O taste,'" &c. In St. Mark's Liturgy, the celebrant says a certain prayer, "or else, Like as the hart," &c., *i.e.* Psalm 42 (*Liturg. Orient.* Renaud. i. 162); but there is no proper koinonicon. In the Clementine "the 33rd Psalm (34th) is to be said while all the rest are communicating" (Coteler. i. 405). The Armenian Liturgy provides proper hymns to be sung by the choir, "while they who are worthy are communicating" (Le Brun, *Diss.* x. art. 21). In the Coptic rite "they sing from the psalm" during the fraction, which is followed immediately by the communion of the celebrant (Renaud. i. 24). In the Greek Alexandrine of St. Basil, "the people say the 50th (51st) Psalm and the koinonicon for the day" between the fraction and the communion (Renaud. i. 84, 345). In that of St. Gregory, only the 105th Psalm is then said (*ibid.* 124). In the Syrian St. James, used both by Melchites and Jacobites, and therefore earlier than the schism, the koinonicon is represented by an invitatory, sung by the deacon and subdeacons while the people are communicating (Renaud. ii. 42): "The Church cries, My brethren, receive the body of the Son; drink His blood with faith, and sing His glory," &c. A similar form occurs in the Nestorian Liturgy (*ibid.* 596; *Lib. Malab.* Raulin, 326). According to the Abyssinian, which comes from St. Mark, "skilled persons chant some verses, while the sacrament is ministered to the people, . . . which the people repeat singing" (Biblioth. Max. PP. xxvii. 663).

The Greek koinonicon corresponds to a hymn which they began to sing at Carthage in St. Augustine's time, "when that which had been offered was being distributed to the people" (*Retract.* ii. 11); to the Antiphona ad Communionem of Rome, said to have been introduced by Gregory I. (Honorius, *Gemma Animae*, i. 90); and to the Antiphona ad Accedentes of the Mozarabic Missal (Leslie, p. 7). In the last, we may observe, the anthem from Whitsun Eve to Lent, and on All Saints' day is, "O taste and see," &c., so familiar to the East. It cannot now be ascertained whether anything was sung during the communion in the original liturgy of Gaul (*Liturgia Gallicana*, Mabill. 53). [W. E. S.]

**KYRIE ELEISON.** [LITANY.]

# L

**LABARUM.** In Christian antiquity the military standard bearing the sacred monogram ☧ ⳨, adopted by the emperor Constantine as an imperial ensign subsequently to his celebrated vision and the victory over Maxentius, as described by Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* lib. i. c. 28–31), and in later times the device itself, or the cross alone. The labarum has often been spoken of as if it were something altogether novel both in form and use (Gretser, *de Cruce Chr.* vol. i. p. 493). But the thing, and probably also the name, were already familiar in the Roman army. The labarum of Constantine was, in fact, nothing more than the ordinary cavalry-standard (vexillum), from which it differed only in the Christian character of its symbols and decorations. Like that it preserved the primitive type of a cloth fastened to the shaft of a spear, and consisted of a square piece of some textile material elevated on a gilt pole, and sus-

pended from a cross bar, by which it was kept expanded. The eagle of victory surmounting the shaft was replaced by the sacred monogram contained within a chaplet. The emblems embroidered on the banner were also Christian. They were usually wrought in gold on a purple ground. To the eye of the early Christians, accustomed to discern the emblem of salvation in everything around them, the cruciform framework of the Roman standard had already marked it out as an appropriate symbol of the true faith. "In your trophies," writes Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 16), "the cross is the heart of the trophy . . . . those hangings of the standards and banners (*cantabrorum* aliter *labarorum*) are the clothings of crosses": and Minucius Felix (c. 29), "the very standards, and banners (*cantabra* aliter *labara*), and flags of your camps, what are they but gilded crosses, imitating not only the appearance of the cross but that of the man hanging on it." Nor was there one of the Roman ensigns the consecration of which to the honour of Christ would have so powerful an influence, especially on the army. For, as Sozomen informs us, "it was valued beyond all others, being always carried before the emperor, and worshipped by the soldiery as the most honourable symbol of the Roman power" (Soz. *H. E.* lib. i. c. 4). When therefore Constantine adopted it, consecrated by the symbols of his newly adopted faith, as "the saving sign of the Roman empire" (*σωτήριον σημεῖον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς*), he took the surest method of uniting both divisions of his troops, pagans and Christians, in a common worship, and leading those who still clave to the old religion to a purer faith, since, to quote Tertullian again (*u. s.*), "the camp religion of the Romans was all through a worship of the standards."

Neither was the word *labarum* a newly-coined one. Even if the various reading, *labarum* for *cantabrum*, in Tertullian and Minucius Felix is rejected, Sozomen, when describing the result of Constantine's vision, speaks of it as a word already in use—"he commanded the artists to remodel the standard called by the Romans *labarum*"—*τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καλούμενον λάβωρον* (*H. E.* lib. i. c. 4). According to Suicer (*sub voce*) the word came into use in the reign of Hadrian, and was probably adopted from one of the nations conquered by the Romans. The orthography varies in different writers, as is usual with a half-naturalised foreign word. It is written *λάβωρον* by Sozomen and Nicephorus (*H. E.* vii. 37), and *λάβουρον* by Chrysostom (*Homil.* iii. in 1 Tim.), who speaks of it as "the royal standard in war usually called *laburum*." Its derivation is still uncertain, "in spite," writes Gibbon, "of the efforts of the critics, who have ineffectually tortured the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Celtic, Teutonic, Illyric, Armenian, &c., in search of an etymology." We find *λαμβάνω*, "to seize;" *εὐλάβεια*, "piety;" *λάφυρα*, "spoils;" *λαῖφος*, a "cloke;" and even the Latin *labor*, with other still more far-fetched derivations enumerated by Gothofried (*Cod. Theod.* vol. ii. p. 142). Ducange's derivation from a supposed Celtic root, *lab hair* = *panniculus exercitus*, is repudiated by Celtic scholars. The word is most probably of Basque origin, in which language, according to Baillet (*Dictionnaire Celtique*, s. v.) *labarva* signifies a standard. According to Larramendi (*Diccionario Trilingue*), the word is of Cantabrian origin, and is derived from *lauburu*, signifying anything with four heads or limbs, such as the cruciform framework of a military standard. *Cantabrum*, used as a synonym for *labarum*, indicates the country from which it was derived.

The form of the *labarum* is very minutely described by Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* lib. i. c. 31): "A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of a cross by means of a transverse bar at the top. At the summit of the whole was fixed a wreath of gold and precious stones, within which the symbol of the title of salvation was indicated by means of its first two letters, the letter P being intersected by X in the centre (*χιαζομένου τοῦ ρ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον*) . . . . From the cross bar of the spear was suspended a square cloth of purple stuff profusely embroidered with gold and precious stones. Beneath the crown of the cross, immediately above the embroidered banner, the shaft bore golden medallions of the emperor and his children." This original standard formed the pattern of others which Constantine ordered to be made to be carried at the head of all his armies. Fifty of the stoutest and most religious soldiers, *ὑπασπισταί*, were selected by him as the perpetual guard of the labarum, which was to be borne by them singly by turns. Eusebius relates a story he had heard from the emperor himself of a fierce engagement in which the soldier whose duty it was to carry it, panic struck, transferred the labarum to another and fled, paying for his cowardice with his life, while the soldier who boldly carried the sacred symbol escaped unhurt (Euseb. *u. s.* lib. ii. c. 8). Not content with having it represented on his standards, Constantine commanded that the monogram should also be engraved on the shields of his soldiers (*ib.* lib. iv. c. 21). Lactantius (*de Mort. Persec.* c. 44) is silent as to the standard, and only records the representation on the shields—"transversa X litera, summo capite circumflexo (*i.e.* with a line drawn through the middle and turned into a loop at the top, forming the letter *Rho*) Christum in scutis notat."

Prudentius describes the monogram as decorating both the standards (the *labarum* proper) and the shields of Constantine's army on his triumphal entrance into Rome after the defeat of Maxentius.

> "Christus purpureum gemmanti textus in auro
> Signabat labarum; clypeorum insignia Christus
> Scripserat; ardebat summis crux addita cristis."
> *Contr. Symmach.* I. 487-489.

and again:

> "Agnoscas Regina (Roma) libens mea signa necesse est,
> In quibus effigies crucis aut gemmata refulget,
> Aut longis solido ex auro praefertur in hastis."
> *Ib.* 464-466.

and speaks of its acceptance by the senate as an object of adoration:

> "Tunc ille senatus
> Militiae ultricis titulum, Christique verendum
> Nomen adoravit quod collucebat in armis."
> *Ib.* 494-496.

Paulinus furnishes us with a singularly detailed description of the monogram, forming a golden cross, depending from a "corona lucis,"

in the basilica of St. Felix at Nola, explaining how all the characters of **XPICTOC** are contained in it:

> "Nam nota, qua bis quinque notat numerante Latino
> Calculus, haec Graecis *chi* scribitur, et mediam *rho*
> Cujus apex et *sigma* tenet quod rursus ad ipsam
> Curvatus virgam facit o velut orbe peracto.
> Nam rigor obstipus facit ι quod in Hellade *iota* est;
> *Tau* idem stylus ipse brevi retro acumine ductus
> Efficit," &c.—*Poem.* xix. (*Carm.* xi. in St. Felicem).

The notes of Muratori on this curious, and not very easily intelligible, passage, should by all means be consulted.

Once adopted by Constantine as the imperial ensign, it was continued by his successors. Ambrose, begging the emperor Theodosius to take forcible possession of a Jewish synagogue, exhorts him to order his troops to carry in "his victorious ensign," *i.e.* the labarum consecrated with the name of Christ (*Epist.* lib. vi. *Ep.* 29); and in another passage utters the following prayer for the success of Gratian's arms against the Goths: "Turn, O Lord, and raise the standard of Thy faith. Here it is not the eagles, nor the flight of birds that lead the army, but Thy Name, O Lord Jesus, and Thy worship" (Ambros. *de Fide*, lib. ii. ad fin.). The sacred symbols were naturally removed from the standards by Julian (Soz. *H. E.* lib. v. c 17; Greg. Naz. *cont. Julian I.* tom. i. p. 75), but were restored by Jovian and his Christian successors, and continued to be borne by the later Byzantine emperors.




No. 1. Coin of Constantine II.

Examples of the *labarum*, both as a standard and as borne on the shield, in different forms, are abundantly furnished by the series of imperial medals given by Ducange in his *Familiae Augustae Byzantinae*, which usually forms part of the same volume with the *Constantinopolis Christiana*, from which the subsequent illustrations are chiefly drawn.




No. 2. Coin of Constantius II. and Constans.

Fig. 1 is from a tiny coin of Constantine II., "a third brass of the smallest size." The engravings are much larger than the coins they represent. This "most important of the numismatic memorials of the triumph of Christianity," "of a rarity commensurate with its interest," (C. W. King, *Early Christian Numismatics*, p. 25), represents the labarum as described by Eusebius. The spiked end of the shaft of the banner transfixes a serpent (cf. Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 3). On the banner are emblazoned three roundels (interpreted by Mr. King's engraver, but without sufficient warrant, as DEO), above is the sacred monogram; on the exergue CONS. The obverse bears "the boyish, not to be mistaken, features of Constantine II." (*Ibid.*) Examples of Constantine I. with the same reverse type are in existence [NUMISMATICS].

Fig. 2, of Constantino II. (tab. v. p. 21), represents him in military dress, standing on a galley, steered by Victory. He bears a phoenix on a globe in his right hand, and in his left the labarum in the form of a banner, with the sacred monogram; the motto is *Fel(icium) Temp(orum)*[a] *reparatio*. This was a favourite device with Constantius II. and Constans (King, *u.s.*, p. 68). Fig. 3, a coin of Constans (tab. xi. p. 33),




No. 3. Coin of Constans. From Ducange.

shews the emperor holding a labarum of the same form in his right hand, with the motto *Triumphator Gentium barbararum*. This design is frequently repeated, *e.g.* tab. xii., xiii., pp. 35, 37; tab. ii. p. 56. The emperor is sometimes represented holding the labarum in one hand and seizing a captive in the other, *e.g.* a coin of Gratian (fig. 4, tab. ii. p. 56); at other times trampling a captive under foot (tab. xiii. p. 37). A not unfrequent design represents the labarum planted in the ground with fettered captives seated beside it, *e.g.* tab. vi. p. 23; vii. p. 25; viii. p. 27, &c. Sometimes we find the sacred monogram on a shield, as in fig. 5, a coin of Aelia Flaccilla, wife

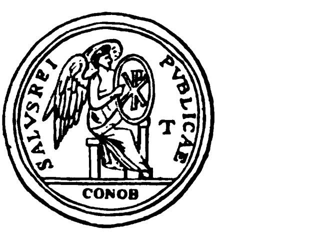



No. 4. Coin of Gratian. From Ducange.

of Theodosius (pl. i. p. 61), where the shield is borne by a seated Victory. As examples of the monogram alone, we give a coin of

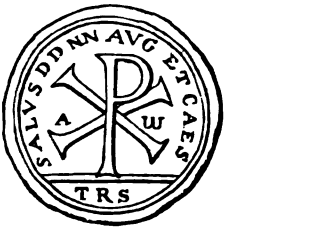
[a] Or perhaps *Fel*[*ix*] *Temp*[*oris*] *Reparatio*.

Decentius, fig. 6 (pl. xiii. p. 37), and one of Justinian, fig. 7 (pl. ii. p. 90), as well as a remarkable gem (fig. 8), figured by Lipsius *de*



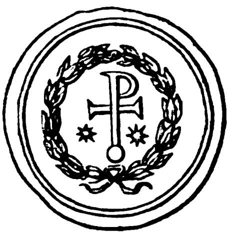

No. 5. Coin of Aelia Flaccilla. From Ducange.

*Cruce* (p. 74), bearing on the obverse Victory bearing a palm and a chaplet, with the legend *Vict. Aug.* In several of these we notice the



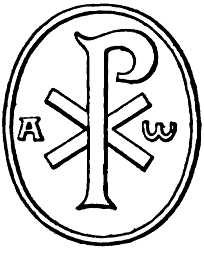

No. 6. Coin of Decentius. From Ducange.

Greek characters A, Ω, on either side of the monogram. The meaning of this addition is elaborately explained by Paulinus, *l.c.* A very



No. 7. Coin of Justinian.

beautiful representation of the labarum is found on a lamp engraved by Mamachi. It is in the usual form of a standard supported on a spear,




No. 8. From a Gem.

with the sacred monogram encircled with a wreath above, and ENTωTωNIKA (*sic*) embroidered on the banner itself. A soldier fully armed stands on either side guarding the standard. [LAMP.]

(Augusti, *Hdbch. der Christ. Arch.* vol. iii. pp. 571 ff.; Ducange, *Glossar.* sub voc.; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* lib. i. c. 31; lib. ii. c. 8; lib. iv. c. 21; Gothofried in *Theod. Cod.* vol. ii. pp. 143 ff.; Gretser *de Cruce*, lib. ii.; King, *Early Christian Numismatics;* Lipsius *de Cruce*, c. 15, 16; Meursius, *Glossar.;* Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 287; Munter, *Sinnbilder*, pl. iii. Nos. 70, 71; Suicer, *Thesaurus*, sub voc.; Vossius, *Etymol.* sub voc.) [E. V.]

**LABIS.** [SPOON.]

**LABORANTES.** [COPIATAE; FOSSARII.]

**LABRA** (λάβρα), a form of the Egyptian word λαύρα, a lane or narrow street (Epiphan. *Haeres.* 69), has been misunderstood (Macri, *Hierolex.* s. v. *Labra*) as equivalent to "parish" or "district." See LAURA. [C.]

**LACERNA.** [BIRRUS; PAENULA.]

**LACRYMATORY.** A name given by some modern antiquaries to certain small vessels not unfrequently found in tombs, once supposed to be intended to contain tears. They are in fact *Vasa unguentaria*, vessels intended to contain perfumes, like the ἀλάβαστρον of the Gospels. (Matt. xxvi. 7, etc.) See *Roman Antiquities found at Rougham*, described by the late Prof. Henslow; edited by Prof. Churchill Babington; Beccles [1872]. Prof. Babington refers to Millin, *Dict. des Beaux-Arts*, s. v. *Lacrymatoire.* [C.]

**LACTANTIUS**, Bede; LETATIUS, Usuard, one of the Scillitan martyrs, July 17, appears as Lactatus, July 18 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.). [E. B. B.]

**LACTICINIA**, dishes prepared from milk and eggs (ὠόγαλα), the use of which was permitted, according to some authorities, in Lent and other times of fasting [FASTING; LENT]. [C.]

**LACTINUS**, Lacteanus, Lactocus or Molactocus, founder of the abbey of Freshford (Aghadhur) and abbat of Clonfert (died 622), commemorated March 19. There was a spring sacred to him in Cassel and a convent (Lislachtin) in Ardfert diocese (v. *Acta SS. Mart.* iii. 32). [E. B. B.]

**LACTIS DEGUSTATIO.** [BAPTISM, § 66, I. 164; HONEY AND MILK, I. 783.]

**LACTISSIMA**, *i.e.* **LAETISSIMA**, martyr, April 27 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Achery. Spic. iv.). [E. B. B.]

**LACULATA**, *sc. vestis*, a kind of dress, in which were square spaces (*lacus*), containing pictures, added in various ways: "Laculata est quae lacus quadratos quosdam cum pictura habet intextos, aut additos acu." (Isid. *Etym.* xix. 22.) For this sense of *lacus*, cf. Columella (i. 6), where the word is used for square spaces, with which granaries are divided for the storing of different kinds of grain separately. (See Ducange, *Glossary*, s. v.) [R. S.]

**LACUNARY WORK.** (*Lambris*, FR.) The *lacunaria* or *laquearia* were hollow spaces or panels originally formed by the planks arranged at regular intervals, to compose the ceiling of a room. During the Romano-Byzantine period

these were gilded and inlaid with ivory (Horace, *Od.* ii. 18); sometimes they were adorned with paintings (Suet. *Vit. Ner.* 31). The vaulted or waggon-roofed variety was called CAMARA or CAMERA. [DICT. OF GR. AND ROM. ANTIQ. s. v.] The panelling was applied also to the soffit or under surface of an arch; but this practice is apparently not earlier than the Renaissance, and was an innovation on the original custom, since earlier arches had no soffits properly so-called. The ancient basilicas had the ground of these recesses enriched with *Caissons* square, trefoil, hexagonal, in much variety; often again with roses, masques of animals, and such like; but these in later examples. The lacunary work was employed both in public and private buildings; "Laquearia, quae nunc et in privatis domibus auro teguntur," says Pliny (*Hist. Natur.* xxxiii. 18), and especially in Italy the ceilings of all the rooms of a house would be of this kind; some being more richly ornamented than others. It is to be distinguished from mosaic work (musivum opus); see MOSAIC.

When in the third and fourth centuries A.D. the Christians began to erect large and costly churches, the ceilings were often ornamented with this work. Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* lib. iii. capp. 31–40) tells us that the church which Constantine built at Jerusalem had a vaulted roof (καμάραν λακωναρίαν), of which the whole was divided into panels, carved and gilded.

Paulinus, bishop of Nola in Campania (A.D. 409–431), has described in one of his letters (*Ep.* 12, *ad Severin.*) a new church there, upon which the highest decorative art of the period appears to have been exercised. Of this the roof of the nave and galleries were panelled (lacunato). The term is frequently used by St. Jerome (A.D. 340–420), who did not altogether sympathise with the prevailing habit of lavishing adornment on churches. He says (*Ep.* 2 *ad Nepotian.*), "Marmora nitent auro, splendent laquearia, gemmis altare distinguitur," &c.

Patiens, bishop of Lyons, is recorded to have built a cathedral church in that city, of which we have a contemporary description from the pen of Sidonius Apollinaris (A.D. 431–482). He says:

> "Intus lux micat, atque bracteatum
> Sol sic sollicitatur ad lacunar
> Fulvo ut concolor erret in metallo."

That is, the golden sunshine played over the golden plates of the panels in the church.

But yet the lacunar hardly appears to have been the prevailing style of ornamentation in these early centuries, at all events for churches. It was revived and much extended under the Renaissance. [S. J. E.]

**LADICUS.** [LAUDICEUS.] [E. B. B.]

**LAELIUS**, Spanish martyr, June 27 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.). [E. B. B.]

**LAETANIA.** [LITANY.]

**LAETANTIUS** [*v.* LACTANTIUS].

**LAETUS.** (1) Bishop of Leptina in Africa, martyred by Hunneric, Sept. 6. Ado, &c. (*v.* Baronius and *Acta SS.* Sept. ii. 677).

(2) Presbyter at Orleans, † Nov. 5 (Usuard). [E. B. B.]

**LAIDGEN**, Jan. 11, Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.* p. 57 = Laidcend, Jan. 12, in the *Felire* of Aengus the Culdee. He was of Clonfert, A.D. 660 (*Mart. Donegal*). (2) May 20. (3) Oct. 23. (4) of Achadh-raithen, Nov. 28 (*ibid.*). [E. B. B.]

**LAITY.** I. In the Old Testament, when the Israelites in general are distinguished from the priests, they are spoken of as "the people." In the Greek of the Septuagint this is ὁ λαός. See examples in Lev. iv. 3; Deut. xviii. 3; Ezra vii. 16; Is. xxiv. 2; Jer. i. 18, v. 31; Hosea iv. 9. Hence the use of λαϊκός to denote one not of the priesthood. Thus Clemens Alex. says that the hanging at the door of the tabernacle (Exod. xvi. 36) was a "protection against lay unbelief" (*Strom.* v. 5, 33). The author of the *Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*, ascribed to Justin Martyr, observes that while the law "destroys by fire a priest's daughter guilty of fornication, it slays by stoning the daughter of the layman" (τοῦ λαϊκοῦ ἀνδρός) (*Resp. ad Qu.* 97). Philo calls the layman of his nation ἰδιώτης, a private person. Thus he says that at the passover "the ἰδιῶται do not bring the victims to the altar, and the priests sacrifice; but the whole nation, by the ordinance of the law, assumes the priestly office" for the occasion (*de Vit. Mos.* iii.). Unless restrained by revelation, the first Christians, being educated as Jews, would naturally draw a somewhat similar line between their own office-bearers and the mass of believers. How far they were encouraged to do so by their inspired teachers may be gathered to a great extent from Scripture itself. Not to dwell on the relation of the whole body to the Apostles, whose commission was in some respects extraordinary, we find each local church or congregation subject to other rulers (ἡγουμένοις, Heb. xiii. 17), who were "over them in the Lord" (1 Thess. v. 12; comp. 1 Tim. iii. 5, v. 17), under the name of overseers (ἐπίσκοποι, bishops) and elders (πρεσβύτεροι, whence *priest*), to whose teaching, exhortation, and rebuke, and to whose judgment in some things, they were required to submit (1 Tim. iv. 6, 11, vi. 17; 2 Tim. ii. 2, iv. 2; Tit. i. 9, 13, ii. 15, iii. 10). To their care and oversight the "laity" were committed, as a flock to the shepherd (Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2). The distinction was observed everywhere; elders being ordained in every church (Acts xiv. 23; Tit. i. 5; comp. Acts xi. 30), and provision was made for the perpetuity of the system (2 Tim. ii. 2). Sometimes the laity were distinguished as "the church" or "the brethren." *E.g.* "when Paul and Barnabas were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and of the apostles and elders" (Acts xv. 4); and when "the apostles and elders, with the whole church" send a letter to "the brethren which were of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia," it begins thus, "The apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren" (*ib.* 22, 23). This epistle was accordingly delivered, not to the rulers of the church at Antioch, but to "the multitude" (30). Compare Acts xii. 17: "Show these things unto James (the ruler) and to the brethren;" and 1 Tim. iv. 6: "If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ." The distinction visible in these passages is preserved in the earliest extra-Scriptural records

of the church. Thus Clement, himself bishop of Rome, in an epistle by which he sought to allay dissensions at Corinth, addressing "the brethren" there, says, "Ye did all things without respect of persons, and walked by the laws of God, being subject to those who had the rule over you, and yielding due honour to the presbyters among you" (*Ep.* i. c. 1). He illustrates the relative position of the laity and clergy by the parallel of the Jewish priesthood and people: "To the high-priest his proper ministries have been assigned, and to the priests their proper place appointed, and on the Levites their services have been imposed. The layman (ὁ λαϊκός) is bound by the precepts that affect laymen. "Let each of you, brethren, give thanks unto God in his own station (τάγματι), keeping a good conscience, and not overstepping the appointed rule of his ministry" (cc. 40, 41). This state of things was to continue; for the apostles, he tells us, not only appointed the first rulers in each church, but also "gave direction how, at their decease, other approved men should succeed to their ministry" (c. 44). In the *Visions of Hermas*, which many critics assign to the age of Clement, the laity, under the name of "the elect," are spoken of as being taught and ministered to by the apostles and bishops and doctors (*i.e.* presbyters: see Pearson, *Vind. Ignat.* ii. 13, 3) and ministers" (*i.e.* deacons) (*Past.* i. Vis. iii. 5). The following sentence from Ignatius is common to all the recensions: "My soul be surety for them who are subject to the bishops, presbyters, deacons" (*Ep. ad Polycarp.* c. vi.; Cureton, *Corp. Ignat.* p. 12). In the epistles known to Eusebius, A.D. 324 (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 30) such expressions are frequent. In Tertullian, A.D. 192, the word "laicus" occurs often. *E.g.* "The chief-priest, which is the bishop, has the right of giving (baptism). Then presbyters and deacons, not, however, without the authority of the bishop, for the honour of the church, which being saved, peace is saved. From another point of view even laymen have the right" (*de Baptismo*, xvii.). The same writer says of certain heretics that among them, "one man is to-day a bishop, next day another. To-day one is a deacon, who to-morrow will be a reader; to-day one is a presbyter, who to-morrow will be a layman; for they enjoin priestly (sacerdotalia) duties on laymen" (*de Praescr. Haeret.* c. 41). In the so-called apostolical canons, the first fifty of which, at least, are supposed to have been collected about the end of the 2nd century, the word layman is of very frequent occurrence. Thus, "If any clerk or layman who is segregated, or not received, goes to another city, and is there received (to communion) without letters commendatory, let both receiver and received be segregated" (can. 12). By can. 31. a presbyter who, in contempt of his bishop, gathers a separate congregation, and all the clerks who adhere to him are to be deposed, "but the laymen to be segregated." See also canons 15, 24, 43, 48, 57, 62–66, 69, 70, 71, 84, 85. Cyprian, A.D. 250, speaks of a "conference held with bishops, presbyters, deacons, confessors, and also with the laymen who stood firm" (in a persecution) for consultation on the treatment of the lapsed (*Epist.* 30, *ad Rom.*). Elsewhere he says, "The faith of the militant people (of God) is disarmed, while its vigour and the fear of Christ is taken away. Let the laity see how they provide for this. On the priest falls greater labour in asserting and defending the majesty of God" (*Ep.* 59, *ad Cornel.*). The more frequent name for the laity with this writer is plebs, *e.g.* "The clergy and people (plebs) and the whole brotherhood received with joy" certain schismatics who had returned to the church (*Ep.* 51, *ad Corn.*). He warned some unruly persons that "when a bishop was once made and approved by the testimony and judgment of his colleagues and the people (plebis), no other could in anywise be appointed" (*Ep.* 44, *ad Corn.*).

II. Laymen duly qualified might give religious instruction among the Jews. In the synagogues it was usual for the elder to ask anyone of repute to comment on the lesson for the day (Luke iv. 17; Acts xvii. 2), or to deliver a "word of exhortation" (Acts xiii. 15). This liberty was continued under the Gospel in the case of those who had the gift of "prophecy" (Rom. xii. 6; 1 Cor. xii. 10, 28, xiv. 1–6, 31, &c.). Among unbelievers all Christians were expected to teach the gospel as opportunity was given. "They that were scattered abroad" by the persecution on the death of Stephen "went everywhere preaching the word" (Acts viii. 4). The majority of these would be laymen. Thus St. Paul, before he received the laying on of hands (Acts xiii. 3), "preached boldly at Damascus in the name of Jesus" (Acts ix. 27); Aquila and Priscilla "expounded unto Apollos the way of God more perfectly" (*ib.* xviii. 26); and Apollos himself "mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, shewing by the Scriptures that Jesus is the Christ" (23). "At first all taught and baptized on whatever days and seasons occasion required . . . That the people might grow and multiply, it was at the beginning permitted to all to preach the gospel, and to baptize, and to explain the Scriptures in church, but when the church embraced all places, houses of assembly were constituted, and rulers (rectores) and the other offices in the church were instituted. . . . Hence it is that now neither do deacons preach in the congregation, nor clerks nor laymen baptize" (Hilar. Diac. *Comm. in Ep. ad Eph.* iv. 11, 12). When Demetrius of Alexandria complained that Origen, who was not a priest, had been asked by the bishops of the district to "discourse and to interpret holy Scripture publicly in church" at Caesarea, the bishops of Jerusalem and Caesarea denied the truth of one ground taken by Demetrius, viz. that laymen had never been known to preach before bishops. "If," said they, "any persons are anywhere found capable of benefiting the brethren, they are encouraged by the holy bishops to preach to the people. Thus at Larandi, Euelpis was asked by Neon; and at Iconium, Paulinus by Celsus; and at Smyrna, Theodore by Atticus;—our brethren now in bliss. And it is probable that this has been done in other places without our knowing it" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 19). Frumentius and Aedesius, while laymen, laid the foundation of the church in Abyssinia (Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* i. 19). The same service was rendered to Iberia (Georgia) by a female captive, who having healed by her prayers the king and his wife and son, exhorted them to believe in Christ, through whose name their cure had been effected (*ib.* c. 20).

A law of Valentinian and Theodosius, published in 394, "touching laymen who presume to dispute about religion," forbids the opportunity being permitted to any one of "coming into public and discussing or handling matters of religion" (*Cod. Theodos.* 2 *in Capit.* Car. Mag. vii. 195). Four years later a council held at Carthage decreed that "a layman should not dare to teach in the presence of clerics, unless they themselves asked him;" and absolutely, that "no woman, however learned or holy, should presume to teach men in a meeting" (cann. 98, 99). Leo I., A.D. 453, writing to Maximus the patriarch of Antioch, in view of danger from the growth of the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, entreats him to take order "that beside those who are priests of the Lord, no one presume to claim for himself the right to teach or to preach, whether he be monk or layman" (*Epist.* 92, c. 6). He repeats this in a letter to Theodoret of Cyrus (*Ep.* 93, c. 6), and expresses a hope that his letter to Maximus would be dispersed by him and "come to the knowledge of all." The council *in Trullo* at Constantinople, A.D. 691, declares "that a layman ought not to dispute or teach publicly, thence arrogating to himself the right to teach, but that he should be obedient to the order handed down from the Lord." Those who should violate the canon were to be segregated for forty days (can. 64). There is, we think, no evidence that laymen were at any time permitted to read the eucharistic lessons, either in the East or West. A law of Charlemagne entirely forbids it: "A layman ought not to recite a lesson in church, nor to say the alleluia, but only the psalm or responsories without alleluia" (*Capit.* v. 112). [LECTION.]

III. Hilary, the deacon, as above quoted, appears to say that laymen could not confer baptism even in the first post-apostolic age. This was probably the general opinion; for the Greek compiler of the Clementine Constitutions ascribes the following prohibition to the apostles themselves: "We do not permit laymen to perform any of the sacerdotal functions, as sacrifice or baptism, or laying on of hands, or the lesser or greater benediction" (iii. 10). This would make them absolutely incapable; and the opinion of their incapacity was probably widely spread in the East to the end of the first four centuries after Christ. St. Basil, A.D. 370, implies that he held it, when he speaks with approbation of an argument against baptism by schismatical priests, which he attributes to Firmilian, one of his predecessors at Caesarea, and to St. Cyprian. It was to the effect that schismatical priests being cut off from the body of Christ, and thus losing their orders, having now "become laymen, have no power either to baptize or to ordain, being no longer able to impart to others the gift of the Holy Ghost, from which they have fallen themselves. On which account they commanded that those who came to the church from them (*i.e.* from any schismatical body) should be cleansed by the true baptism of the church" (*Epist. ad Amphil.* i. can. 1). An ancient Greek scholium, found in one MS. of this epistle (*Cod. Amberbach.*), enlarging on this point, says, "He falls from the sacerdotal grace, which he received from Him to whom he was united, and becomes for the future a layman," not able to impart to others that which he no longer has, nor able to obtain a new supply of it from the body which he has joined (Bever. *Pand.* ii. annot. 221). We must observe, however, that St. Basil, though with evident reluctance, admitted the baptisms of priests in schism, feeling himself overruled by numbers: "But since it has seemed good to some of those in Asia, out of consideration for the multitude, that their baptism should be received, let it be received" (*Ep. u. s.*). May we not suppose that he would also have confessed, if the question had come before him, that the church had power to authorise or accept, under special circumstances, the baptisms of laymen in full communion with her?

Tertullian, on the other hand, whom St. Cyprian used to call his master, teaches that, abstractedly, laymen have power to baptize, but that they can only exercise it by permission, expressed or understood. He argues that "what is received equally (by all) can be imparted equally" (by all); but he adds, "How much more is the discipline of reverence and modesty incumbent on the laity, seeing that it is the part of those greater than themselves (*i.e.* the priests and deacons) not to take on them the office of the episcopate, which is assigned to the bishops. Emulation is the mother of schisms" (*de Bapt.* 17). The principle laid down by Tertullian receives a curious illustration from the well-known story told by Rufinus, A.D. 390 (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 14), of some boys baptized in play by Athanasius when himself "quite a child" (Socr. A.D. 439, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 15). The bishop of Alexandria, who happened to see what was done from a distance, finding on inquiry that water had been duly used and the right form of words said, decided, after conference with his clergy, that the children should not be rebaptized, but he supplemented their irregular baptism by confirming them himself. There is a difficulty in the story from the great youth which it assigns to Athanasius about the year 312; but it would not have been related by Rufinus, or repeated at length by Sozomen, A.D. 460 (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 17), without some protest, if the ground on which the bishop was said to have acted had not been widely accepted in the church at that time.

From the council of Elvira, about A.D. 300, we first learn under what circumstances it was held lawful for a layman to baptize. Its 38th canon decrees that "during foreign travel, at sea, or if there be no church near, one of the faithful, who has his own baptism entire (not clinic, duly confirmed, and probably also not impaired by lapse in persecution), and is not a bigamist, may baptize a catechumen in extremity of sickness, on condition that if he recover, he take him to the bishop that he may receive the benefit of the laying on of hands." St. Jerome, writing in 378, says that "without chrism and the command of the bishop, neither presbyter nor deacon have the right to baptize; which nevertheless we know to be often permitted to laymen, if necessity compel. For as one receives, so can he also give" (*Contra Lucif.* 9). The reader will observe here the reasoning of Tertullian very similarly expressed. St. Augustine, about 400: "If any layman, compelled by necessity, shall have given to a dying man that which, when he received it himself, he learnt the manner of

giving, I know not if any one could piously say that it ought to be repeated. For to do it without necessity is to usurp the office of another; but to do it under pressure of necessity is either no fault or a venial" (*Contra Epist. Parmen.* ii. xiii. 29). In a work written shortly after this he shows a disposition to go further, and to recognise the outward act under whatever circumstances performed. He is speaking of several questions that might be raised,—"whether that baptism is to be owned which is received from one who has not himself received it;" whether it is valid, whatever the faith, or motive, or position (as a catholic or schismatic) of the giver or receiver, or of both, &c. He even includes the case of baptism conferred on the stage where the actors are heathens, and here he clearly leans to the affirmative, if the person baptized has had a sudden access of faith at the time; but when God has not thus interposed (neque ille qui ibi acciperet, ita crederet, sed totum ludicre et mimice et joculariter ageretur), he thinks that only an express revelation could decide. He would in all such questions defer to a "pleuary council;" but an answer to the last must be sought by united and most earnest prayer (*de Bapt. c. Donat.* vii. 53). He says also that at all events he would at such a council "not hesitate to maintain that they have baptism who have received it consecrated by the words of the gospel anywhere and from any one whomsoever without deceit on their own part and with some faith" (*ib.* § 102). In Gratian (*P.* iii. *de Consecr.* iv. 21) we have an extract from a letter ascribed to Augustine:—"We are wont to hear that even laymen are accustomed to give the sacrament which they have received in a case of necessity, when neither bishops, presbyters, nor any of the ministers are found, and the danger of him who seeks it, lest he die without that sacrament. is pressing." In another passage from the same epistle we find a story (which the writer confesses to be uncertain) of a catechumen and a penitent in danger of being shipwrecked together. As they were the only Christians in the ship the penitent baptized the catechumen and was in turn reconciled by him. What they did was approved by all (*ib.* c. 36). The question raised by St. Augustine, as to the effect of a mock baptism on the stage, probably suggested a tale of wonder which we find, with differences of detail, both in the East and West. An actor who personated a catechumen receiving baptism was said to have been suddenly and miraculously converted. One version lays the scene at Rome in the presence of Diocletian, about 285, and gives the name of Genesius to the comedian. The other calls him Gelasinus, and makes the place Heliopolis in Phoenicia, and the year 297. In both cases the neophyte is said to have been led forth to martyrdom (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* in St. Genès). The authorities are, for Gelasinus, the Paschal Chronicle of Alexandria, compiled in 630 (p. 642); and for Genesius, some Acta of uncertain date which were copied by Ado in his *Martyrologium* (A.D. 859) at Aug. 25.

Gelasius, bishop of Rome, A.D. 494, speaking of deacons:—"Let them not presume to baptize without (the authority of) the bishops or presbyters, unless extreme necessity compel them,—those officers being perchance settled a long way off,—to do which is for the most part permitted even to lay Christians" (*Epist. ad Episc. Lucan. &c.* § 7). Isidore of Seville, A.D. 610, cites our Lord's words to the apostles (John xx. 22, 23; Matt. xxviii. 19) to shew that it is "not lawful for laymen (privatis = ἰδιώταις) nor for clerks not of the higher orders (sine gradu; see *Vulg.* 1 Tim. iii. 13), to baptize, but for priests only" (sacerdotibus = bishops and presbyters). Therefore, he concludes, it is not lawful even for deacons to do so "without (the authority of) the bishops and presbyters, except when they are far absent and the last necessity of illness compel,—which is for the most part permitted even to the lay faithful, lest any one should be called out of this world without the saving remedy" (*de Eccl. Off.* ii. 24).

IV. There is evidence to shew that during the earlier part of our period the laity came up to the holy table to make their offerings and to communicate. Dionysius, the pope of Alexandria, A.D. 254, speaks of a layman as "going up to the table," and "standing at the table" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 9). Even women (nisi in abscessu) were, according to him, then permitted to "approach the holy of holies" and to "draw near to the holy table" (*Ep. ad Basilid.* can. 2). St. Chrysostom:—"Let no Judas, no Simon, come up to the table" (*Hom.* 50, in St. Matt. § 3). By the 19th canon of the council of Laodicea, about 365, it was "permitted to those only who were in holy orders to enter the place of the altar and to communicate there." This probably only sanctions a custom already becoming general. Theodosius the Great, at Milan in 390, took his offering up to the altar, but was not allowed to remain in the chancel for the communion (Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 18). In the East, however, he had been accustomed to stay and to communicate within the bema (*ib.* comp. Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 24). His grandson Theodosius says of himself in 431, "We draw near the most holy altar only to offer the gifts, and having gone into the enclosed tabernacle of the sacred circles, at once leave it" (*Concil.* Labbe, iii. 1237). For the East the rule was finally settled by the council *in Trullo*, A.D. 691. It forbade any of the laity to "enter within the sacred altar-place," except the emperor, "when he wished to offer gifts to the Creator" (can. 69). Turning to the West we find the Council of Tours, A.D. 566, permitting "the holy of holies to be open to laymen and women for prayer and communion, as the custom is," but forbidding laymen to "stand by the altar, at which the sacred mysteries are celebrated, either on vigils or at masses" (can. 4). This prohibition was confirmed by a council held at some uncertain place in France, about the year 744; but the permission is not also repeated (can. 6; *Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 153). The whole of the canon of Tours, however, appears in the Capitularies of Charlemagne (vii. 279). In the earliest editions of the Ordo Romanus, the bishop is represented as "going down" to receive the gifts of the people, and being "conducted back to the altar" after receiving them (*Mus. Ital.* ii. 10, 74). This exhibits the custom at Rome in the 8th century. At that time the men and women were on different sides of the church, and the clergy went to their several places to communicate them (*ib.* 10, 50). In an epistle of Theo-

dosius and Valentinian (*Codex Theodos.* ix. 45) the nave (ὁ ναός) of the church is called εὐκτήριον τοῦ λαοῦ, "the praying-place of the laity." In a law of Justinian, A.D. 528 (*Codex* l. iii. xlii. 10), the clergy are exhorted to a punctual observance of their hours of prayer by an appeal to the example of "many of the laity, who for the good of their souls constantly frequent the most holy churches, and shew themselves diligent in the practice of psalmody." From this we may infer, as probable, that at that time laymen often met together in church to sing psalms out of the hours of public worship, and when the clergy were not present. [W. E. S.]

**LAMB, THE HOLY.** In the Orthodox Greek Church the oblation of bread for the Liturgy (ἡ προσφορά, *oblata*) is prepared of leavened bread, baked with special care, in the form of a moderate-sized, round,[a] flat loaf or cake. In the centre is a square projecting portion, impressed with a stamp called the *seal* (σφραγίς),[b] consisting of a cross, in the angles of which are stamped the words IC XC NI KA, *i.e.* Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. This square projection is called the *Holy Lamb*, or in the rubrics the *Holy Bread* (ὁ ἅγιος ἄρτος). The circular (στρογγυλοειδής) shape, as of a coin, is considered by Durandus (iv. c. 41) to symbolise the price of man's redemption. The form, however, seems to have varied. Gabriel of Philadelphia[c] (*Apol. pro Eccl. Orient.*) states that the bread for the oblation was made either round or square; and adds that the round shape is symbolical of our Lord's Divinity, the square of the universality of redemption. Allatius, too (*de Eccl. Occ. et Orient. Conc.*, lib. iii. c. 15, s. 18), writes: "The Greeks when they make the bread for the sacrifice, for the most part do not make it round (ut plurimum non rotundant), but draw it out into four arms in the form of a cross: they then impress the seal (sigillum), just explained,[d] in the centre of the cross and at the extremities of each arm. The priest who is about to celebrate takes the bread, in the Prothesis, and divides it in such a manner that each portion has a complete seal, and these parts are called *seals* (σφραγῖδες, *signacula*)." [FRACTION.]

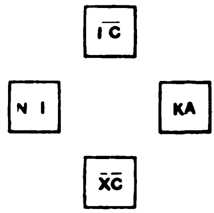
According to this description each portion would be approximately square; but whether the whole oblation be round or square, the Holy Lamb itself is square.

| IC | XC |
|---|---|
| NI | KA |

In the "office of the Prothesis," called διάταξις τῆς θείας καὶ ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, which is performed in the chapel of the Prothesis, on the north side of the bema, as introductory to the liturgy, and in which the priest assumes the eucharistic vestments, and selects and prepares the elements for consecration; he separates the "lamb" from the rest of the oblation, cutting it away squarewise with the "spear" (ἡ ἁγία λόγχη), which is a knife in the form of an elongated spear-head, with a short handle, ending in a cross, and symbolical of the spear which pierced our Lord's side; and lays it on the paten or disc (ὁ ἅγιος δίσκος), arranging afterwards in a specified order particles (μερίδες) cut in a pyramidal form from the oblation.

Five loaves or oblations are usually prepared in the Prothesis; in the Russian Church invariably so, according to King (p. 144), but in Greece one only is often prepared, and of old the number varied. The oblation thus prepared is covered with the "asteriscus" [p. 149], a sort of frame, consisting of two bars crossing each other and joined by a hinge at the centre, and bent into such a shape as to form, when they are at right angles, a support for the "veils," of which there are three; the innermost being called δισκοκάλυμμα, and the outer ἀήρ. It then remains in the Prothesis till the "great entrance," *i.e.* of the Elements in the liturgy.

At the "fraction" in the liturgy the priest breaks the Holy Lamb, there called "the Holy Bread" (τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον), into four[a] parts, and arranges them crosswise in the disc, thus—




He makes the sign of the cross over the chalice with the part [IC], which he then puts into the chalice; he communicates himself and the assistants with the part [XC], and the remaining two parts are divided among the lay communicants (Neale, *Introd.* 518).

For details of the office of the Prothesis, and their symbolical significance, see διάταξις τῆς θείας καὶ ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, as given in the *Euchologion mega*; also Goar, *Rit. Graec.* (note in S. Joan. Chrysost. Missam); Neale, *Introduction*, pp. 341, &c.; Martene, *de Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* vol. i. p. 117; and Allatius (*ut supra*). [H. J. H.]

**LAMB, THE.** [IN ART.] It appears best to treat early representations of the lamb as symbolic of our Lord (whether in the act of suffering or of triumph), apart from those of the sheep, which represent human members of the church of Christ. They are frequently brought together on the sarcophagi, and especially in the later mosaics within our period, as at SS. Cosmas and Damianus, and at St. Praxedes, in Rome; and

[a] v. Neale, Introd. p. 242.

[b] This word is sometimes used for the *impression*; sometimes for the *bread* itself, as bearing the *impression*.

[c] Martene, vol. i p. 117.

[d] This is identical with that described as impressed on the *Holy Lamb*.

[a] In the Roman Liturgy the Host (oblata) is divided into three parts: in the Mozarabic into nine, with special symbolism.

the distinction is often sustained by the simple expedient of making the Divine Lamb of larger size than His followers, as Aringhi, vol. i. p. 307 (lib. ii. cap. x.), or He bears the cross or monogram (ib. pp. 293, 295): both at p. 425. In the church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus (see Ciampini, *Vetera Monimenta*, vol. ii. tab. xv. xvi.) three symbolic phases of the form of the sheep or lamb are set forth. First He is represented above the keystone arch of triumph as prone, on a small highly-decorated altar, "as it were slain." Below stand full-length figures of our Lord and saints in glory, separated by the narrow belt of Jordan, JORDANES, from the sheep of the world below, who are issuing from the gates of "Jerusalem" and "Bethleem," to gather round the central Lamb with the nimbus, representing the Lord in His humanity [BETHLEHEM]. After the crucifixion, every paschal supper must have been understood to prefigure the Lord's death by its symbolic lamb. But it was not perhaps till the triumph of the cross under Constantine, when the upright or penal cross had taken the place of the decussated symbol [CROSS: MONOGRAM],



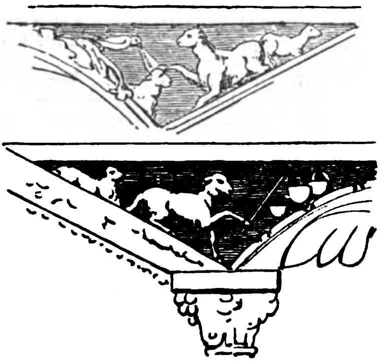
From Aringhi, i. 293.

that the lamb, as victim, came to be a constant object of contemplation, and His image began to be combined with the cross. In the great distresses of the succeeding centuries, the hopes and imaginations of clergy and people may well have been drawn to the Book of Revelation, and the distinction between the lamb as slain in sacrifice and the lamb conquering and triumphant seems to have been strongly felt and freely insisted on. In the sixth century, and as the cross gradually became exclusively a symbol of the manner of the Lord's death, not as of old, of His person or humanity, the lamb with crown or nimbus was placed at the intersection of the limbs of crosses [CRUCIFIX], and was in fact a mystic crucifix, with reference to the image in the Apocalypse, until the human form was substituted or added after the Quinisext Council. See Borgia, *de Cruce Vaticano* and *de Cruce Veliterna*. On the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (Bottari, tav. xv.; Aringhi, vol. i. p. 277) the spandrels of its pillared front are ornamented with curious sculptures of the symbolic lamb performing miracles and acts of ministry, mystically selected from the Old and New Testaments. He is striking water from the rock, changing water into wine, administering baptism to a smaller lamb, touching a mummy Lazarus with a wand, and receiving the tables of the law.

The lamb appears in the vault mosaics of the chapel of Galla Placidia, in Ravenna, and is prominent on the ornamented capitals of St. Vitale.

In a quite distinct symbolism, the lamb is found accompanying Adam and Eve (Aringhi, i. pp. 613, 621, 623) as the sign of the appointed labours of the latter in spinning. Abel is also seen offering a lamb (Bosio, iii. v. p. 159; Bottari, tav. cxxxvii).

Under article GEMS [vol. i. p. 718] will be found a highly interesting engraving of an



Tomb of Junius Bassus. (Aringhi, i. 277. Bottari, p. xv.)

annular stone, representing the Lamb of God surrounded by a nimbus.

The lamb appears with the insignia of the Good Shepherd (the pastoral crook and vessel of milk) in Aringhi (i. 557) from a painting in the Callixtine catacomb. Also with the monogram, Aringhi, i. 293, Woodcut, No. 1.

In Ciampini (*de Sacr. Ædif.* tab. xiii.), the usual procession of the sheep of the Hebrew and Gentile folds centres in a lamb, whose blood is received in a chalice, and flows away in five streams. This formerly existed in the ancient Basilica of the Vatican, but had been restored by Innocent III., and can perhaps with difficulty be taken, as it stands in Ciampini's plate, for an



From Ciampini, V. Mon. pl. xvi. vol. ii.

authentic copy of the ancient condition of the mosaic. He is represented on an altar table in

Ciampini (V.M. tab. xv. vol. ii.; also tab. xlvii.), perhaps with reference to the Paschal Feast.

Two or more sheep of the church frequently accompany the Good Shepherd, besides the one which He bears on His shoulders. They are often made to look to Him with an expression of awe and affection, and His hand is sometimes extended to bless them (Aringhi, i. 531, 532, 573, 587, from catacomb paintings; on sarcophagi, i. 295, 303, 307).

The CHURCH is supposed to be symbolised by the curious painting of a lamb between two wolves [vol. i. p. 389]. The original is rude in execution. As an emblem of innocence, the lamb is found in Boldetti, p. 365, and with an Orante, Bosio, p. 445. [R. St. J. T.]

**LAMB, OFFERING OF.** The general rule as to oblations upon the altar was that nothing should be offered there but the first fruits of corn and grapes in their season (*Can. Apost.* 3, *Conc. Africam.* can. 4), and bread and wine for the eucharist were constantly offered. In some churches, as, *e. g.* the Gallican, the rule was not so strict, so that money and other things were permitted to be offered (*Conc. Aurel.* i. can. 16); and it appears from a passage in Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) (*de Rebus Eccles.* c. 18), that a custom even existed in some places of consecrating a lamb, or offering it upon the altar, on Easter Day. This accusation is repeated by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 866, in his letter against the doctrines and practices of the West (*Ep.* 2, *ad Patr.*). The writers who replied to Photius in defence of the Western church, Ratramnus and Eneas, bishop of Paris, do not apparently deny the existence of such a custom. Du Pin (*Cent.* ix. p. 113) notices that an example of this usage is to be found in the life of St. Udalric, and that a form was provided in the old *Ordo Romanus* for consecrating the lamb to be sacrificed. Cardinal Bona, too (*Rer. Liturg.* ii. 8, n. 5), may be cited as a witness to the truth of the statement.

At first sight the practice looks very like a continuation of the Jewish passover. The strong repulsion, however, of the church from Jewish practices in those ages seems to render this unlikely; and we must probably regard it as being a singular and extremely crude way of indicating a mystical reference to the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God.

It can only have been an infrequent and obscure practice, and after the period mentioned we hear no more of it. [S. J. E.]

**LAMBERT (1)** Bishop of Maestricht † 709 (al. A.D. 696), comm. Jun. 5, *Mart. Metr.* Bede:

> "Junius in Nonis mundo miratur ade(m)ptum
> Et Sancti Lantberti animam trans sidera verti,"

but Sept. 17 (as a Martyr) *Mart.*, Bed., Hieron., Gell., Ado., Rab., Us., Notk., *Cal.* Angl., Stab., Autis.:

> "Lambertus quintum denum (xv. Kal. Oct.) virtute coronat
> Factio quem caesum semper tremibunda pavescit."—*Wandelbert.*

A church with shrine was erected on the site of the martyrdom, and Grimoald, son of Pepin, was killed there while praying for his sick father, A.D 714. Thither, in A.D. 727, the relics of Lambert were translated from St. Peter's church, Maestricht, and the see also, and the saint became patron of the city of Liége, that grew up round his cathedral. The shrine was unhurt when the church was burnt by the Normans, A.D. 882 (*Acta SS.* Sept. v. 556). Dec. 24 was the local anniversary of the translation (*v.* Reiner, *ib.* p. 552). There were also churches to him, before A.D. 770, at Nyvels and Hermael, near Maestricht, where the blind and lame were cured on occasion of the aforesaid translation (v. Godescalcus, *ib.* p. 580). Liége appears to have been a favourite pilgrimage. Sept. 17 is noted as a feast, in *Cal. Verd.*, and a 9th cent. calendar discovered by Binterim (*Denkwürdigkeiten.* v. i. 460).

**LAMBERT (2)** Bishop of Lyons, 7th century, † Apr. 14, church at Fontenelle dedicated to him, Oct. 1. (*Mart. Hieron.* Florentini; *Acta SS. Boll.* Apr. ii. 215.)

(3) Martyr at Saragossa, commemorated Apr. 16 (*ib.* p. 410). [E. B. B.]

**LAMBESE, COUNCIL OF** (*Lambesitanum Concilium*), said to have been held (A.D. 240) at Lambese in Algeria, when ninety bishops condemned Privatus for heresy, as we learn from St. Cyprian (*Ep.* 55: comp. Mansi, i. 787). [E. S. Ff.]

**LAMBESES**, martyrs of, in Africa, Feb. 23 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.), namely, Luciana, Felix, and 36 others. [E. B. B.]

**LAMMAS**, a name applied in England to August 1, the festival of St. Peter in the Fetters (ad Vincula) [PETER, ST., FESTIVALS OF]. Somner's account of it (*Dict. Sax. Lat. Angl.* s. v.) is, that Lammas is a corruption of Hlafmaesse, or loaf-mass, because it was an ancient custom to offer on that day loaves made of the new corn [FRUITS, OFFERING OF; LOAVES, BENEDICTION OF]. A fanciful hypothesis is, that St. Peter became patron of lambs, from the Lord's words to him, "Feed my lambs" (John xxi. 15). [C.]

**LAMPADARY** (λαμπαδάριος). 1. An official of the Greek church, whose business it was to set the wax-tapers in their places before they were kindled. (Heineccius, *Abbildung der Griechischen Kirche*, ii. 299; iii. 48, 58.)

2. An officer of the Imperial Court at Constantinople, whose duties are but imperfectly known. (Ducange, *s. v.*) [C.]

**LAMPADIUS**, martyr at Antioch, July 19 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach., Eptern.). [E. B. B.]

**LAMPADUS**, "our father the wonder-worker," hermit of Irenopolis, commemorated July 4 (*Men. Basil.*) He has a special office July 5 in the present Byzantine liturgy. From this it appears that "the cave, where his precious and holy relic" lay, was at one time a favourite pilgrimage (Arcudius, *Anthol.*). [E. B. B.]

**LAMPASUS**, martyr at Africa, Feb. 19 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach., Gellon.). [E. B. B.]

**LAMPRA.** Easter Day is sometimes called λαμπρά (sc. ἡμέρα or κυριακή) simply. Thus, the *Pentecostarion* (quoted by Suicer, *Thesaurus*

s. v.) speaks of *οἱ κανόνες τῆς λαμπρᾶς μετὰ τῶν εἱρμῶν*, the canons [of odes] for Easter Day, with the hirmoi. [C.]

**LAMPROPHORIA** (λαμπροφορία), the wearing of white clothing (ἐσθὴς λαμπρά), especially by the baptized in the week following their BAPTISM [§ 60, I. 163]. (Suicer's Thesaurus, s. vv. *λαμπροφορέω, λαμπροφορία, λαμπροφόρος*.) [C.]

**LAMPS.** The lamps of the early Christians have been found in many places in great abundance, more especially in the catacombs of Rome and other cemeteries. For the early Christians were accustomed, in common with Jews and pagans, to place lamps in the company of the dead[a] (Raoul Rochette in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* t. xiii. pp. 758–764 (1838); Birch, *Anc. Pott.* part iv. c. ii.; Martigny, *Dict.* s. v. *Lampes Chrétiennes*, and the references). Lamps of clay were found upon sarcophagi, at Vulci, in 1834, with Christian symbols, in company with coins of Constantine and his successors (Raoul-Rochette, *u. s.* p. 763); and have been met with either outside or inside Christian tombs and chambers in Rome, Naples, Corneto, Syracuse, Arles, Lyons, Carthage, and Alexandria. Others, of bronze, with chains attached for suspension, have been exhumed from the subterranean galleries and crypts of Rome, and in some rare cases hanging from the roof or vault; also clay lamps and candlesticks have been discovered in niches in the same situations, to give light to guide the wanderer through the gloom (Martigny, *u. s.* and references). A few (of clay) have been found in churches in Egypt, and were probably used for evening service (see Ducange, s. v. *Lucernarium*). Clay lamps, with Christian symbols, have also been met with among the ruins of the Palatine in Rome, and of houses in Geneva (De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1867, pp. 23–28), and in the recent excavations in and about Jerusalem, in other places beside tombs. Indeed clay lamps have been found in very many parts of the ancient Christian world; but not always bearing Christian symbols. Many from the Roman catacombs, for example, have only scallops and ornamental patterns of various kinds (Perret, *Cat. de Rome*, t. iv. pl. xix.); and the same remark may be made of some of the lamps from Jerusalem in the museum of the Palestine Exploration Fund, reasonably presumed to be Christian (Rev. G. J. Chester in *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 484–486, with figures),[b] as well as of others from Egypt and various other countries contained in the British Museum. In our own country early Christian lamps, like all other Christian works of the Roman period, are of the rarest possible occurrence. Hubner (*Inscr. Brit. Lat.* p. 240, n. 27) mentions one in the museum at Newcastle, with the chrisma (☧), and there is another, of red clay, in the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, with the same device in the centre and palm branches at the sides, found in Cannon Street, London (very like that figured by Bartoli, *Ant. Luc.* part iii. t. 22). A third was found at Colchester, of pale terra-cotta, having the chrisma slightly raised and coloured black (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1855, p. 91, and H. Syer Cuming, *in litt.*). Lamps were also, though rarely, made of silver. In an inventory of church plate delivered by Paul of Cirta to the persecutors in the time of Diocletian, occurs the item, "lucernae argenteae septem" (Ad calc. Optati, p. 266 in Bingham, *u. s.*); and it appears that a silver lamp has been found in Rome (R. Rochette, *u. s.* p. 759); a single example of an amber lamp, without any ornament, has also been met with in the same city, in the cemetery of St. Callixtus (Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 297, t. i. 7). The forms and symbols which the terra-cotta and bronze lamps present are sufficiently different to make it desirable to describe them separately.

(A) *Terra-cotta lamps.*—They are of various forms, but one of the most common is that which much resembles a modern teapot. It has a round body, with one or two apertures for oil; an ascending handle, often looped or perforated for suspension; and a horizontal spout opposite the handle for the wick. But the handle, body, and spout, are all liable to modifications of form, and the first and last (often nearly obsolete) are sometimes wholly wanting. The lamp may thus approach the form of a boat or of a shoe, to both which it has been some-

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[a] Many of them shew signs of having been much used, and there is little doubt that from about the 4th century lamps and candles were often kept alight before the tombs of the saints. This excited the indignation of Vigilantius (A.D. 404), who thought it heathenish and idolatrous; St. Jerome (*adv. Vigil.* c. 7), who is inclined to excuse it, as done "pro honore martyrum," nevertheless styles it "imperitia et simplicitas saecularium hominum vel certe religiosarum foeminarum." Not very long afterwards, however, Perpetuus, bishop of Tours, left provision in his will (A.D. 474), "ut oleum paretur pro Domini Martini sepulcro indesinenter illustrando" (D'Achery, *Spicil.* t. iii. p. 303, ed. 1723). At an earlier period more dislike was felt to keep lights burning during the day in cemeteries. The council of Elvira in Spain (A.D. 324?) says in its 34th canon: "Cereos per diem placuit in coemeterio non incendi: inquietandi enim sanctorum spiritus non sunt," where, however, we have a converse superstition. See Bingham, *Antiq.* lib. viii. c. 6, § 21. The practice of placing lamps within sepulchres was easily explained in a pious sense, "ad significandum lumine fidei illustratos sanctos decessisse, et modo in superna patria lumine gloriae splendere" (St. Jerome, quoted by Martigny, *Dict.* p. 351), but both the references (*adv. Vigil.* et *Vit. Paulae*, tacitly taken from Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 525) are erroneous.

[b] Among these is an Arabesque pattern, which may be intended for vine branches, where Mr. Chester supposes a reference to the Eucharist to be intended. The vine branch with grapes is realistically represented on a lamp of yellow unglazed clay of the common type from Melos, in the writer's possession, where many Christian lamps, nearly all bearing the cross, have been found; it may possibly be Christian. A not very legible potter's mark (?), perhaps ΕΦ: ΜΗ, is cut on the under side. Potters' marks have not been found on any Christian lamps at Jerusalem, and they would seem from the silence of authors to be very rare on Christian lamps generally. De Rossi mentions a lamp with the Good Shepherd and vine-branches, recently found in the Palatine excavations, having on the under side "the name of the potter or proprietor of the works stamped in beautiful letters, *as on the pagan lamps*, reading ANNI SER." probably, as he suggests, for *Anni Serviani*. The letters, he thinks, are of the 2nd or 3rd century; so that this will be amongst the earliest Christian lamps in existence (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1867, p. 16, and 1870, p. 79, pl. vi. figs. 1, 2). Mr. H. Syer Cuming has a similar specimen.

times compared; indeed, it was sometimes made in direct imitation of these objects either in clay or in bronze.[c] Occasionally the handle is of a whimsical form, as a female holding palm-branches (Perret, *Cat.* vol. iv. pl. xv. fig. 3), or, it may have a crescent outline (Séroux d'Agincourt, *Recueil*, pl. xxiv. n. 4). Pagan lamps are not rarely made in imitation of altars and other objects (see Birch, passim); and we have an example of a Christian lamp in the form of an altar (Perret, *u. s.* pl. xix. fig. 4).

The great mass of the terra-cotta lamps found in the catacombs of Rome, "lesquelles sont au premier rang des objets d'antiquité chrétienne qu'on en retire" (Raoul Rochette, *Catac. de Rome*, p. 49), appear to be of the 4th and 5th centuries; some are considered to be older (Séroux d'Agincourt, *Recueil*, passim), while a few seem to be later. Martigny (*Dict.* p. 152) thinks that a great many (*un grand nombre*) may be referred to the 2nd or to the 3rd century; but this is perhaps too much to say. Those of Gaul may be, like the sepulchral inscriptions, mostly of the 5th and 6th centuries; but it would be interesting to investigate the dates of Christian lamps more accurately than appears to have been done at present. Several recently found in the Palatine in Rome, bearing the fish, lamb, palm, chrisma, and cross, are considered by De Rossi to be of the 4th and 5th centuries; but others with the two last types (ornamented with gems) he inclines to place in the 6th century. Two of the three lamps from Geneva figured by him (one with the Apostles' heads, the other with a palm-tree), he places in the 4th century; the other bearing a chrisma, beautifully inlaid with crosses, squares, &c., about the beginning of the 6th. (See his *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1867, pp. 11, 24, 25.) Those from Egypt in the British Museum are probably of the 4th and 5th centuries. The principal[d] types are as follows:—

(1) *Christ as the Good Shepherd.* Bearing a sheep on his shoulders, probably from Rome[e] (Bartoli, *Ant. Luc. Sep.* pars iii. t. 28, Rome, 1691). The same type, with other sheep at his feet, sun and moon above, accompanied by ark and dove, scenes from Jonah's life, &c., catacombs of Rome. (Id. 29, and Perret, *Cat. de Rome*, vol. iv. pl. xvii. fig. 2; De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1870, pp. 85–88.) The same type of the shepherd, vine branches at the sides, Rome. (Perret, *u. s.* pl. xiii. fig. 1; see also a previous note.) Others in De Rossi, *Bull. Arch.* 1870. pl. 1 (from Ostia), and Sacken und Kenner, *Die Sammlungen des K.K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinettes*, p. 256 (Wien, 1866), who, as well as other writers, observe the similarity of the style of the figure to that of Hermes Kriophoros. Some of these may probably be earlier than the 4th century.



Clay Lamp, with Pastor Bonus, and other subjects. (Bartoli.)



Clay Lamp, with Christ accompanied by angels, &c. (De Rossi.)

(2) *Christ accompanied by angels.* Christ standing, having a cruciform nimbus in the

[c] Without referring to pagan examples, we have a notable instance of the boat of St. Peter and St. Paul (see below); a bronze lamp, on whose handle a dove is perched, and which may therefore not improbably be Christian, the body of which is a foot in the soldier's shoe (caliga), is figured by Licetus (*Luc. Ant.* p. 770); another, in the form of a boot, with palm branches on the sides, of terra cotta, probably Christian, is figured by Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 64.

[d] It is probable that among the lamps found in Africa more especially, of which the museums of Turin and Algiers possess large collections, there may be types not here enumerated. See Martigny's remarks on the rarity of their emblems (*Dict.* p. 353). The figures of lamps in the older books of Licetus, &c., are but rarely quoted, being of rude execution. Some of these and various others are repeated in Matranga's edition (Rom. 1841) of Mamachi's *Origines et Antiq. Christianae*, especially in tom. iii., while some would seem to have been originally executed for Matranga's work. The subjects are (with the exception of the labarum, see below) of the same general character as those which are here mentioned independently.

[e] When the locality of the lamps figured in this book is expressly mentioned, it is always Rome; where indeed the title-page professes that they were all found.

Byzantine style, bearing a long cross, between two flying angels, trampling on a lion and adder (cf. Ps. xci. 13). The Palatine. Rome; of the florid style, probably later than the 5th century. (De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1867, p. 12, fig. 1. Another and more perfect example in the Castellani collection. exhibited (1876) in the British Museum.) Christ seated, front view between two flying angels, each holding a crown. Found in a subterranean chamber at Corneto, full of Christian lamps, given to R. Rochette by Melch. Fossati, who regarded it as a Transfiguration, but this is doubtful. (R. Rochette, *u. s.*, p. 762. note; Martigny, *u. s.* p. 352.)

(3) *Fish, a symbol of Christ.* Rome, Catacombs, and Palatine. (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 12, fig. 5; Perret, *u. s.* pl. vii. fig. 1, and pl. ix. fig. 3.) Carthage (British Museum). Fish surrounded by six dolphins; very fine work in red clay, Algeria. (Martigny, *u. s.* p. 353.) See also below, under *Inscriptions*, and FISH (vol. i. p. 673).

(4) *Lamb, a symbol of Christ.* Rome, Catacombs, and Palatine. (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 12, fig. 2; Perret, *u. s.* pl. ix. fig. 2.)

(5) *Chrisma or monogram of Christ.* As X combined with P (☧), having a circle in centre; palm-branches at the sides of the lamp (Bartoli, *u. s.* t. 22). With loop of P to left; beautiful gemmed work; probably about the 6th century;



Clay Lamp, with gemmed chrisma. (De Rossi.)

Rome. (De Rossi *u. s.* p. 12, fig. 8. For similar work compare Birch, *Anc. Pot.* vol ii. fig. 192.) Others in Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* pl. xxiv. fig. vii.; De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 12, figs. 3 and 4; Perret, passim, &c. With loop of P to left, formed like a crook; Rome. (Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* pl. xxiv. fig. ix.) The chrisma, besides being found on Roman lamps in various forms, occurs also commonly in Gaul (Martigny, *u. s.*), and has been met with in Britain (see above), and in the catacombs of Syracuse (British Museum) and in Carthage (British Museum), and doubtless in many other places.

(6) *Alpha and Omega* (a monogram between them); Rome. (Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* t. xxiv. fig. vi.) Chrisma between them, the letters inverted (Rev. S. S. Lewis).

(7) *The Cross.* Latin cross, with circle in centre (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 12, fig. 6); Greek cross (Perret, *u. s.* pl. xiii. fig. 4). Including five circles. and various pellets, a representation of a pendant (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 13, fig. 11; Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* pl. xxiv. fig. viii). All the above are from Rome. With the extremities forked, accompanied by an inscription (see below); also the Maltese cross; Jerusalem (Chester, *u. s.* pp. 484–5, both figured.) The cross is common on Gaulish lamps, and found on several vases from Milo (Melos) (Martigny, *u. s.*). Carthage (gemmed work); Calymna (one curiously formed of lozenges, with open centre); Egypt. (All in the British Museum.)

(8) *Apostles.* Figure seated on a throne surrounded by twelve heads; De Rossi thinks a prince or other illustrious convert is represented as in the midst of the Apostles; Geneva in the ruins of a house. Probably of the 5th century. (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 25, fig. 1.) Heads of the twelve Apostles surrounding a gemmed chrisma; Roman catacombs. (*Mus. Corton.* t. 84; Perret, *u. s.* pl. xiii. fig. 2.) [Two heads, suggested to be Peter and Paul, in caps surmounted by cruciform stars, are really those of the Dioscuri; same locality. (Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* pl. xxiv. fig. 5.)]

(9) *Fisherman, as symbol of an Apostle.* Holding net and staff in his right hand, a fish in his left; on reverse of lamp a gemmed cross. (*Mus. Corton.* t. 85.)

(10) *Female saint between angels*, Carthage. (British Museum.)

(11) *Cock, symbol of vigilance* (Martigny, *u. s.* p. 177), by some presumed to refer to St. Peter (Chester, *u. s.* p. 483); Rome. (Perret, *u. s.* pl. ix. fig. 4. Compare one in Brit. Mus.)

(12) *Dove, symbol of innocence*, Rome. (Perret, *u. s.* pl. xv. fig. 4.) Common on lamps of Gaul. (Martigny, *u. s.*) Carthage; on one lamp two doves facing; on another, one only. (British Museum.) See also Sacken und Kenner, *u. s.*

(13) *Peacock*, with tail spread out, and ornamented with three nimbi; emblematic of the Trinity. In Mr. H. Syer Cuming's collection. (Cuming, *in litt.* See also *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1855, p. 91.)

(14) *Horse, symbol of the end of life's course;* Rome. (Perret, *u. s.* pl. xix. fig. 2.)

(15) *Stag.* (Cf. Ps. xlii. 1.) Rome? (Licet., *de Lucern. Antiq. recond.* p. 927, with fig.) Algeria (Münter, *Symb.* p. 112, referred to by Martigny, *u. s.* p. 353).

(16) *Hare*, supposed to be symbol of the swiftness of life, Lyons; on a vase of red clay, in the possession of the abbé Martigny. (Martigny, *u. s.* p. 353. See also p. 368, s. v. *Lièvre*.)

(17) *Frog, as a symbol of the resurrection.* Egypt, in the catacombs of Alexandria among other places, in conjunction with the cross. (Birch, *Anc. Pott.* vol. i. p. 52; Chester, *u. s.* p.

483. See also below under *Inscriptions*.) Several examples in the British Museum. Many lately found bear a late Greek A (A), impressed on the bottom, probably for Alexandria, where they were made. Chester, in *Academy*, Feb. 5, 1876, p. 123, who has some valuable remarks on the varied forms of these lamps.

The symbolic interpretation of the frog may be regarded as determined by the inscription given below; but it is not so certain that some of the animals mentioned above were meant to have any symbolical interpretation whatever. Some of them occur on Pagan lamps (Birch, *u. s.* vol. ii. p. 289), as does also the lion, which likewise is found on a lamp, of Christian fabric apparently, in the British Museum. This animal was sometimes taken as a Christian symbol of watchful power. (Martigny, *u. s.* p. 369. See also the articles in this Dictionary under the titles of the animals named above.)

(18) *Chalice*, Western Christendom. (Chester, *u. s.* p. 483.) One with two handles, a tree springing from it, Calymna (British Museum). Cf. CHALICE, vol. i. p. 337.

(19) *Palm-tree*, Rome. (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 13, fig. 9.) Geneva. (*Id.* p. 25, fig. 2.)

(20) *Palm branches*, Rome. (Perret, *u. s.* pl. xiii. fig. 4, and pl. xix. fig. 4.) Jerusalem, much conventionalised. (Chester, *u. s.* pp. 483–4, one figured.) Egypt. (British Museum.)

(21) *Star*, inscription around; see below; Egypt. (Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* pl. xxii. fig. 14.)

The following subjects, to say nothing of doubtful types, are from the Old Testament:—

(22) *Noah's ark and dove*. See above, under No. 1.

(23) *Scenes from life of Jonah*. See above, No. 1. Jonah beneath gourd. (Mamachi, *u. s.* tom. i. p. 254, tab. iv. fig. 3.) Jonah and the whale (a sea-dragon). (British Museum.)

(24) *Spies bearing grapes*, Carthage. (British Museum.)

(25) *Jewish candlestick*, under various forms. With seven branches, six being bent in the middle at right angles; palm branch (?) on either side. Catacombs and Palatine, Rome. (Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* pl. xxiv. fig. iii.; De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 7, fig. 12.) No palms, and branches of candlestick curved (Birch, *Anc. Pott.* vol. ii. fig. 192; Bartoli, *u. s.* t. 32; perhaps a Jewish work; probably from Rome). Quite conventionalised Rome (Perret, *u. s.* pl. xiii. fig. 5); sometimes with a Christian inscription; Jerusalem. (Chester, *u. s.* pp. 484, 485, one figured.) Algeria. (Martigny, *u. s.* p. 353.) Carthage. (British Museum.)

Of pagan types, Christianised, we have the following:

(26) Venus holding apple, transformed into an Eve, as Séroux d'Agincourt suggests, but? Catacombs of Rome; good work, and probably of a very early period. (Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* pl. xxiv. fig. 2.)

(27) Orpheus, who is made as a kind of symbol of Christ. Catacombs of Rome. (Perret, *u. s.* pl. xvii. n. i.)

There are also some other lamp-types of the Christian period, but which can hardly be intended to bear any Christian significance. The most curious is a fish swallowing an aquatic bird (De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 18.0. tav. iv. n. 9, seemingly about the 6th century): another is a man killing a lion with a sword (British Museum). Some lamps appear to bear Christian portraits, either full-length (De Rossi, *u. s.* 1867, p. 25), or the bust only; one in the British Museum has apparently the head of an emperor, perhaps of Justinian.

Passeri (*Lucern. Fict.* vol. iii. pp. 126–7, t. xcii.) publishes a lamp of the usual type bearing the Graces, at the bottom of which is a cross, in dotted lines, which leads him to suspect that it is made by a Christian artist; and adds, "nam et aliae plures apud me asservantur, quae omnino Christianae sunt, et tamen ethnicorum symbolis atque imaginibus adornantur, praesertim Victoriae, Herculis, Palladis et Apollinis citharoedi sive Orphei, quas omnes, cum per otium licebit, sua in sede collocatas publicabimus." This promise does not appear to have been fulfilled; and the Christianity of such lamps (the Orpheus-type excepted) may be questioned. De Rossi cannot accept the cross on the bottom of a lamp "per segno certo di Christianesimo" (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1870, p. 80).

The same types, as was to be expected, are not found in all places where Christian lamps have been discovered in considerable numbers. The Rev. G. J. Chester observes of those of Jerusalem: "Many lamp-types of more Western Christendom, from the catacombs of Rome, Syracuse, and Carthage, such as the Good Shepherd, the Sacred Monogram, the Dove, the Cock of St. Peter, and the Chalice, are entirely absent; and the same may be said of the disgusting and probably Gnostic device of the toad" [rather frog] "associated with the cross, so often found in the catacombs of Alexandria and elsewhere, in Egypt. The earthenware bottles, with the effigy of St. Menas, an Egyptian saint, who flourished in the 4th century . . . . so commonly found with Christian lamps in Egypt, are also absent. [See Böckh, *C. I. G.* p. 8978 and *Academy*, *u. s.*] The usual symbols of the Jerusalem lamps, which are all of a rude and cheap description . . . are the cross . . . ; the seven-branched candlestick . . . . and the palm branch . . . . These emblems, which the Christians of the mother of churches used and rejoiced in, in common with their brethren in more western lands, are all more or less conventionalised, and are represented in a distinctive and different manner." (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 483–4.)

The types commonly occupy the disc or centre of the body of the lamp, while the sides are either plain or more usually decorated with floral or geometrical ornaments, or with subordinate types, as a wreath of palm-branches, or medallions enclosing the chrisma, &c.; or, more rarely, they bear inscriptions. In the lamps of Palestine, however, the emblems are placed along the edge, and not in the body of the lamps, which are in most cases not round but pear-shaped (*Recov. of Jerus.* p. 484).

*Inscriptions on terra-cotta lamps.*—These are rare, only three being contained in Böckh's Greek-Christian inscriptions, though a few others are now known. The following are the most important:—

(1) Séroux d'Agincourt, *Recueil*, p. 59, pl. xxii. fig. 14; Böckh, *C. I. G.* n. 8980:

ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΟΚΤΟC (*sic*),

*i. e.* τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυεύκτου (*the Holy Polyeuctus*)

written near the edge of a lamp, with a star in the centre, found in a church at Coptos in Upper Egypt, probably dedicated to that saint. Others of the same character, bearing the names of St. Sergius, abbat, and St. Christina, abbess (ἀμμά), and St. Cyriacus, may be seen in Böckh, nos. 8979, 8981, and Birch, *Anc. Pott.* vol. i. p. 52. The lamp in the Roman College, on which is written in ink Ο ΑΓΗΟϹ ϹΑΚΕΡΔΟϹ, may have been destined for the priests' use. (See Martigny, *u.s.*)



Clay Lamp, with star and Greek inscription. (Séroux d'Agincourt.)

(2) G. J. Chester, *Recov. of Jerusalem*, p. 485, with figure;

ΦωC XΤ ΦΕΝΙ ΠΑCΙΝ,

i.e. φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσιν (*the light of Christ shines to all*; adapted from 1 John ii. 8). Another, similar, accompanied by a cross; both are from Jerusalem. The same inscription variously blundered occurs on several lamps found in the same neighbourhood, on more than one of which the Jewish candlestick occupies the same position as the cross in the lamp here figured. The



Clay Lamp, with cross and Greek inscription. (G. J. Chester.)

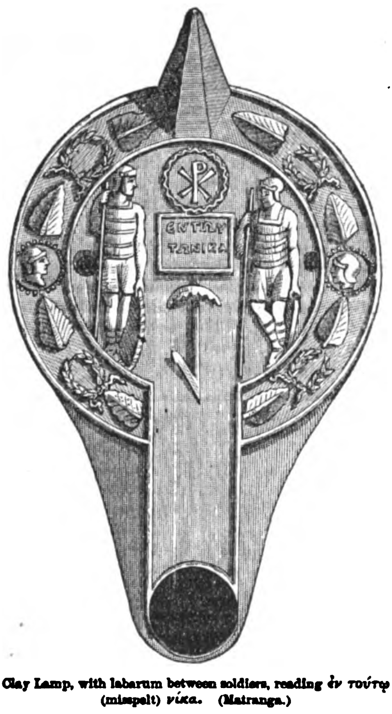
museum at Leyden has a lamp (from Egypt?) inscribed ΦωC ΕΞ ΦωΤΟϹ (*Light of Light*); and Dr. Birch mentions the same legend, and also ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΘΕΟΥ ΧΑΡΙϹ (*Theology is the grace of God*), as occurring on Christian lamps from Egypt (*u.s.*). Of other lamps from Jerusalem one bears the same candlestick with seven lights, and reads in letters partly inverted, λυχνάρια καλά (*beautiful lights*), in allusion to the type. Another appears to have ΙΧΘ for ΙΧΘΥϹ (*the Fish*). See Chester, as above (where more information may be found), and the Egyptian lamps in the British Museum.

(3) Chabouillet, *Catal. des Camées, &c. de la Bibl. Impér.* p. 607. (A drawing sent to him by M. Muret.) A lamp, doubtless found in Egypt, formerly in the collection of the Abbé Greppo, has upon it the representation of a frog, with a cross and the inscription—

ΕΓω ΕΙΜΙ ΑΝΑϹΤΑϹΙϹ.

The transformations of the frog seemed to the designer symbolical of the Resurrection; there seems no necessity to suppose any Gnostic feeling. The words are an adaptation from John xi. 25.

(4) A lamp is figured by Matranga in Mamachi, *Orig. et Antiq. Christ.* tom. iii. p. 37, tab. vi. fig. 2, on which a labarum of considerable size stands between two soldiers; on the tablet below the wreathed chrisma is written in two lines, ΕΝ ΤΩΤΤΩ (*sic*) ΝΙΚΑ. The margin is finely decorated with leaves, wreaths, and medallions. Apparently from the catacombs of Rome (in coemeteriis repertum). This is termed *vetustissimum monumentum*; it may be of about the 5th or 6th century, to judge from the figure.



Clay Lamp, with labarum between soldiers, reading ἐν τούτῳ (misspelt) νίκα. (Matranga.)

(5) Raoul Rochette (*u. s.* p. 763) mentions that lamps of the 4th century were found in 1834 in a little Christian cemetery at Vulci, bearing the type of heads surrounded by a nimbus, with in-

scriptions terminating with PAX CUM SANTIS (*sic*) or CUM ANGELIS. The early part probably mentioned the name of the person buried.

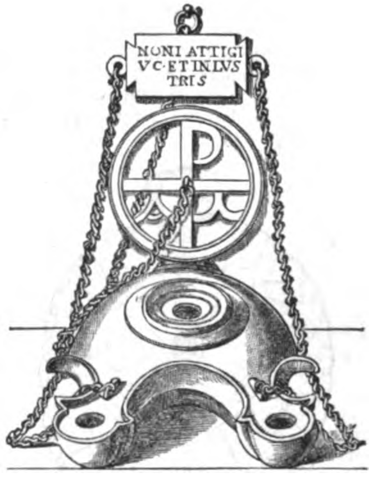
With regard to the paste, glaze, and style of art, it varies a good deal. The greater part appear to be of the bright red unglazed ware, called false Samian, which have been found in Egypt, among other places, where, however, the art of making lamps "seems to have been in a very low condition, and certainly inferior to its state in Rome and the provinces of Greece and Asia Minor." (Birch, *u. s.* i. 52, ii. 291.) The lamps of Palestine are of unequal merit, none being very high; while among the Roman lamps, of various ages, some are of very good work.

The number of Christian lamps, of terra-cotta, which enrich the museums of Europe, to say nothing of those in private hands, is very large; Martigny calls them almost infinite (*u. s.*). In this country the museum of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains the largest collection of Christian lamps of that region: in the British Museum there is a considerable number (between one and two hundred) of others from various localities.

(B) *Bronze lamps.*—With regard to the lamps of bronze, which have been found in the catacombs and elsewhere, they are generally thought to be for the most part of a later age than those of clay; and some of those which are preserved in museums lie under a suspicion of being forgeries (Martigny, *Dict.* p. 352). They have sometimes one spout, sometimes two, and are generally pierced for suspension by chains, some of which still exist. The chains sometimes met in an inscribed tablet, which was itself suspended. The curved pin for trimming the wick is occasionally found attached (Boldetti, *u. s.* p. 64). The earlier symbols, as the fish, hardly ever occur; the chrisma is frequent, and also the cross. Several of these lamps are figured by Bartoli, p. iii.; Perret, tom. v. *u. s.* tabb. 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 31; Bottari, *Roma Sotterr.* t. iii. tav. ccvi.–ccviii.; and the British Museum has about twenty others.[f]

The following notice of the Christian types which occur on bronze lamps must suffice:—

(1) *Chrisma.*—The handle formed by the chrisma in a circle, surrounded by vine leaves (Bartoli, t. 23). The same, surrounded by Jonah and his gourd (*ib.* t. 30). The same, plain, with transverse bar, accompanied by α and ω; an inscribed tablet above (see figure, *id.* t. 24). The same form of chrisma, on which a dove perches (*id.* t. 26).




Bronze Lamp, with handle formed by the chrisma, and α and ω bearing the name of Nonius Atticus vir clarissimus et illustris (Bartoli.)

(2) *Cross.*—Handle formed by a cross, above which dove (Perret, *u. s.* t. v. fig. 5). Other handles are formed by crosses of various forms (British Museum). By a cross, on the top of a gryphon's head, a chrisma on the body of the lamp (Bartoli, t. 25). Same type, but lamp has two spouts, and no chrisma (British Museum; same type, but done above cross; Syracuse, recently found; Rev. S. S. Lewis). By a cross placed between and overshadowed by wings (British Museum). A cross placed in the middle of an ornamented handle, with three central discs (British Museum). A few of the above lamps are somewhat boat-shaped.

(3) *Bird.*—Body of lamp in the shape of a phoenix (British Museum, two specimens). Cf. Licetus, p. 871 (with figure). Others in British Museum in form of a peacock or a duck, probably Christian.

(4) *Palm branches.*—Placed near the nozzles (Bottari, *u. s.* t. ccviii).

(5) *Boat, as a symbol of the Church* (see Martigny *Dict.* s. v. 'Navire').—(*a*) A bronze lamp in the form of a boat, is now in the cabinet of the Grand Duke of Tuscany (Bartoli, *u. s.* t. 31; Cahier et Martin, *Mélanges Archéol.* vol. iii. p. 15; Perret, *u. s.* t. 1). Two figures (Peter steering and Paul preaching) are at the ends of the boat, which bears an inscription on a label at the top of the mast in three lines:

DOMINVS LEGEM
DAT VALERIO SEVERO
EVTROPI VIVAS.

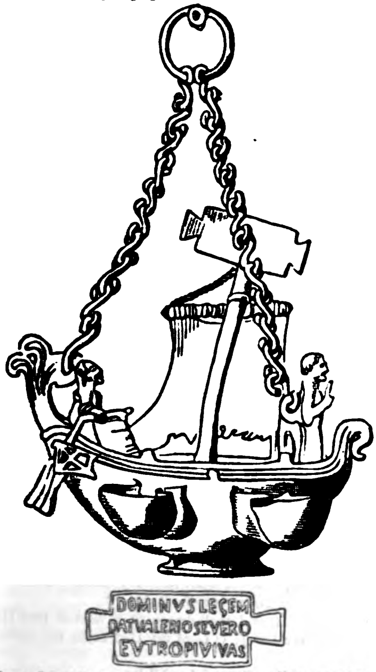
This inscription has long been a puzzle for the learned. (See Bellori at the end of Bartoli, p. 11; also Martigny, *Dict.* p. 352.) De Rossi (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1867, p. 28) seems to have hit on the true explanation, by suggesting that Eutropius is the praenomen of Valerius Severus; and that the acclamation congratulates him on

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[f] There are also some figured in the older work of Licetus, partly taken from Casalius, which seem to be of metal. See a very curious one, if it be genuine, with two spouts, a star on the body of the lamp, and a horseman standing on the side attached to the handle, which is a circle enclosing a chrisma, p. 782; also another, p. 870 (not made for suspension), having the Good Shepherd bearing a sheep, his head radiated, a suspicious peculiarity. For others more like those mentioned in the text, see pp. 951, 954, 994, which last gives a female called a Venus, under a gourd, otherwise much resembling Bartoli, t. 30. If indeed the two figures represent the same specimen, the drawing of Licetus is very bad; yet this seems to be the case: see Bellori's remarks.

The writer desires to express his special obligation to Mr. Percy Gardner for drawing up descriptions of the more important bronze lamps contained in the British Museum, as well as to the other officers of the museum for affording him every facility to inspect the objects mentioned both in this and in his other articles.

having accepted the law of the Gospel, he having been previously a pagan.




Bronze Lamp, in form of a boat, in which are St. Peter and St. Paul. (Giniez in Cahier and Martin, whence Perret.)

This most interesting lamp was discovered during excavations of the Mons Coelius at Rome, in the 17th century, and appears to have been first published by De la Chausse in his *Museum Romanum*, Rom. 1690, and has since been repeatedly noticed, but only recently correctly drawn by M. Giniez. It is probably one of the earliest Christian bronze lamps known, being found along with other antiquities "of a good period of the empire" (Bellori).



Bronze Lamp (boat ?), bearing chrisma, gryphon, and dolphin. (De Rossi.)

(6) Bronze lamp, perhaps intended for a boat, of very fine work, terminating at the poop in a gryphon's head, an apple in his mouth; the chrisma, on which a dove is perched, is between its ears; on the body of the lamp is another chrisma; at the other end (the prow) is a dolphin, with a loaf (?) in his mouth.

The dolphin, though no true fish, is here, as elsewhere, taken to be the symbol of Christ (as a fish). The apple in the dragon's mouth is interpreted by Monsignor Baillès to be the apple of Eve; while the loaf in the dolphin's mouth is regarded by him as the living bread of the Eucharist. [See DOLPHIN, FISH, GEMS.]

Probably (see De Rossi) of the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century. Found in the excavations of Porto. (De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1868, p. 77, tav. 1, fig. 1, and for 1870, pp. 72–76.)

It should be added that lamps as well as candles were, from the 4th century onwards, placed in churches on candelabra suspended from the roof. These were of metal, bronze, silver, or even gold. Allusion is repeatedly made to them in the *Liber pontificalis*, and elsewhere; they were often of large size and elaborate ornamentation. They were commonly known by the name of *Pharos* (watch-tower) or *Corona*, indicative of their general shape. (See Ducange, *Gloss.* under each word; and Martigny, *Dict.* p. 153.) They were of various forms as respects details. (See Papias, quoted by Ducange, *u. s.* Pharus.) A representation of one which approaches our period is given in a MS. of about the 9th century by Spallart, *Tabl. Hist. des Cost. et Moeurs*, pl. xx. n. 4, referred to by Guenebault (see below). It is in the form of an architectural composition surrounded by towers. See CORONA LUCIS. (For copious references to the earlier and later literature of Christian lamps, see Fabricius, *Bibl. Antiq.* pp. 1035, 1036; Guenebault, *Dict. Iconogr. des Monum. Chrét.* p. 105, Paris, 1843. In M. Cahier's paper on the *Couronne de lumière d'Aix-la-Chapelle* is much information about early Christian lamps and chandeliers (Cahier et Martin, *Mél. d'Archéol.* vol. iii. pp. 1–61). There are also treatises by Fanciulli, *De Lampadibus et Lucernis pensilibus in sacris aedibus Christianorum*, 4to. (with plates); and Greppo, *Sur l'usage des Cierges et des Lampes dans les premiers siècles de l'Église*, Lyon, 8vo. 1842, which the writer has not seen.)[a] [C. B.]

[a] Since the above was written the Rev. S. S. Lewis has called the writer's attention to an able paper by M. de Villefosse in the *Musée Archéologique* for 1875, entitled "Lampes Chrétiennes inédites" (3), to which is added an enumeration of the Christian lamps (15) in the Museum of the Louvre. Most of them have the same general types as those named in this article; but the following from Algeria and Tunis are additional:—(1) The Three Children in the furnace, in Phrygian caps, accompanied by the Guardian Angel; (2) The Magi (in Phrygian caps) and the Star (imperfect); both these are figured; (3) Bust of St. Paul (?); (4) Daniel (?). All are of clay. Mr. W. R. Cooper, in a paper *On the Horus Myth in relation to Christianity*, read before the Victoria Institute (March 6, 1876), mentions two terra-cotta lamps, shewing the influence of the Horus myth on Christian works of art. One in the Boston Museum, of which he gives a figure, bears "a large Greek cross, which completely divides it into four sections, in the two lower of which is placed the *crux ansata*, or the mystical cross of life, which was

**LAMPS, LIGHTING OF.** Lamps in churches were in early Christian times lighted just before the beginning of vespers, which were originally appointed to be said at the twelfth hour, *i.e.* the last hour before sunset, whence the office itself is sometimes called *duodecima*. "Prima sic dici debet, pungentibus jam radiis solis, et vespera adhuc declinantibus radiis ejus." "In aestivo vero tempore adhuc altius stante sole *Lucernaria* inchoentur propter breves noctes" (*Reg. S. Bened.* cc. c. 34). The Benedictine practice in the last century is said to have been to say vespers in the winter at 3 P.M., in the summer at 3½ P.M. (Grancolas. *Com. in Brev.* cap. xxxviii.)

The lighting of the lamps was accompanied by certain prayers and psalms. These were known as *psalmi* and *preces lucernales* (St. Basil, *ad Amphil.*; St. Jerome, *Ep. ad Laetam*, &c.), and the office of vespers as *lucernarium* or *lucernalis*[a] *v. lucernaria hora* (St. Aug. Sermo i. *ad fratres in Er.*). "Hora nona [i.e. as the context shews, after the ninth hour] *lucernarium* facimus," and the hours of prayer are thus enumerated: "hora tertia, sexta, nona, *lucernarium*, medio noctis, gallicinio, mane primo." [S. Jerome *in Ps.* 119 (120).] The apostolic constitutions also bid the faithful come together at eventide to sing psalms and offer prayers, and they call Ps. 140 (141) ἐπιλύχνιον (i. 59 and viii. 35).

These psalms and prayers were originally said separately from, and as introductory to, vespers properly so called; later they were incorporated into the office, the first part of which was known as *Lucernarium*, or in Greek τὸ λυχνικόν, and the whole office of vespers was sometimes, though less accurately, called by the same name. The directions for the "lychnic" in the Greek *Euchology*, for a solemn vigil (ἀγρυπνία), are as follows: The officer who put the lamps or candles in their places was called λαμπαδάριος; he who lighted them, καταγυριάρης (al. κατηγοριάρης, Goar, 272).

The priest, having vested in the sacristy (ἱερατεῖον), comes out and censes the whole church and the icons, and, entering into the bema, censes the holy table, saying with a loud voice—"Glory be to the holy, and consubstantial, and life-giving and indivisible Trinity, in all places now and ever, and to ages of ages. R. Amen." Then the superior, or the appointed monk (ὁ προεστὼς ἢ ὁ ταχθεὶς μοναχός[b]), sings the prooemiac psalm, *i.e.* Ps. 103 (104), the priest remaining within the bema, with the holy doors closed. At the verse, "When Thou openest Thy hand they are filled with good," he comes out with the canonarch (or precentor—μετὰ τοῦ Κανονάρχου[c]), and, after a prescribed reverence, goes to his place: the canonarch remains standing in the centre, and recites the stichi, or versicles for the day. At the verse of the psalm, "In wisdom hast Thou made them all,"[d] the priest removes, and, standing bare-headed, says the "prayers of the lychnic" before the holy doors. These prayers are seven prayers for pardon and protection during the night, each ending in the usual manner with the ascription of praise. After their conclusion the priest says the great "synapte" (τὴν μεγάλην συναπτήν). The appointed section (or Cathism—κάθισμα) of the Psalms is then said, and after that the deacon says the little "synapte."[e] The office of vespers proper is then continued.

When there is no vigil, the rite is simple. The holy doors are not opened, but the priest, standing before them bare-headed and vested in a stole, says with a loud voice—"Blessed be our God in all places now and ever, and to ages of ages." Then the superior or the appointed monk recites the prooemiac psalm without modulation (χύμα, *i.e.* "fusâ voce sine cantu," &c., Goar), and the rest of the office is gone through as before.

In the Ambrosian office, the antiphon at the opening of vespers is still called "Lucernarium," and contains an obvious allusion to the name.

That for ordinary Saturdays and Sunday is:

"For Thou, O Lord, shalt light my candle; O Lord my God, make my darkness to be light.

"V. For in thee I shall discomfit a host of men [Lat. eripiar a tentatione]; O Lord my God make my darkness to be light.

"*Iterum.* For Thou, O Lord," &c.

and that for other week days:

"The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom then shall I fear?

"V. The Lord is the strength of my life: of whom then shall I be afraid?

"*Iterum.* The Lord is my light," &c.

The Mozarabic vespers also begin (after the *Kyrie Eleison* and *Paternoster*, said secretly) with the salutation by the priest, "In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi lumen cum pace. R. Deo Gratia," and the "Lauda" which, with its prayer, immediately follows, has reference to the old rite, and is of precisely the same character as the Ambrosian "lucernarium."

The well-known hymn attributed by some to St. Ambrose, "Deus qui certis legibus noctem discernis ac diem," said in the Mozarabic

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always held in the hands of the Egyptian gods and goddesses, and which the good spirit applied to the lips of the mummy to bring it again to life." (Catacombs of Alexandria.) He considers the adaptation of Egyptian sacred emblems to Christian purposes to be clear enough in these figures. Another from Dendereh, which he figures after Denon, has the *crux ansata* for the principal cross, the looped postern of which surrounds the mouth of the lamp, and the central stem is extended upwards, so as to resemble a Greek cross also. No inscription on either lamp.

[a] By this term, however, Cassian appears to mean *Nocturns.*

[b] St. Basil, *Ep.* 37, *ad Neocaesarienses.*

[c] This word is interpreted by Goar (p. 29), "Canonum dux et inceptor," and may be sufficiently nearly represented by *Precentor*.

[d] There is a difficulty in understanding these directions, as the verse, "In wisdom," &c., occurs earlier in the psalm than "When thou openest," &c.

[e] The word synapte (συναπτή) is explained by Goar as "prayers compiled (compositas) for various persons and objects, and *collected* into one; whence the Greeks call it συναπτή, we (*i.e.* the Latins) *collecta*." Its form is that of a *Litany*, with *Kyrie Eleison* repeated after each clause. Of the two forms, here called *great* and *small*, one is fuller than the other. Prayers of this character are also called ἐκτενή, from their length, sometimes also εἰρηνικά, because the first petition they contain is for peace, or διακονικά, because said by the deacon. They are of varied form and contents, and occur very frequently in the Greek offices. The earliest form of a synapte is given in the *Apostolic Constitution*, viii. 9.

breviary on the second Sunday in Lent, is headed in a hymnary printed by Thomasius, vol. ii., "recedente sole, ac die cessante, hora incensi Lucernae;" and the hymn of Prudentius, "Inventor rutili Dux bone fulminis," is called "Hymnus ad incensum Lucernae." This is the ordinary opinion. Lesley, however, in the preface to the Mozarabic Missal, gives reasons derived from the composition of the hymn in favour of its having been composed, not for daily use, but for the lighting of the Paschal candle on Easter Eve. The hymn is said in the Mozarabic breviary on the Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany, and, according to the Sarum and York rites, on Easter Eves at the benediction of the Paschal candle.

See also Martene, *De Ant. Rit.* iv. 42, &c.; Grancolas, *Commen. in Brev. Rom.* i. c. 38, &c.; Casali, *de Veter. Sacr. Christ. Ritib.* c. 44; Gavanti, sec. iv. c. 6.

Reference to the *Lucernarium* may be seen in the following collects, which are the first collects (orationes) at vespers in the Ambrosian rite on an ordinary Wednesday and Friday.

*On Wednesday.*—Vespertinum incensum nostrum quaesumus Domine, clementer intende, ut ignitum eloquiem tuum credentium corda purificet. Per Dominum.

*On Friday.*—Gratias tibi agimus, omnipotens Deus, quod declinante jam die, nos vespertini luminis claritate circumdas: petimus immensam clementiam tuam: ut, sicut nos hujus luminis claritate circumvallas, ita Sancti Spiritus tui luce corda nostra illuminare digneris. Per Dominum. [H. J. H.]

**LAMPSACUS, COUNCIL OF** (*Lampsacenum concilium*), held at Lampsaki on the Hellespont, A.D. 364, as Pagi shews. Orthodox bishops were invited to it; and it is described as a council of Homoousians by Sozomen (vi. 7) if the reading is correct. But those who directed it must have been really Semi-Arians; for they professed to be partisans of the Homoiousian formula, and of the creed published at Antioch, besides siding with Macedonius by whom the godhead of the Holy Ghost was denied. What made Sozomen think well of them probably was that they were treated with marked favour by Valentinian; while they condemned the extreme party which Valens espoused, and which he ordered them into exile for dissenting from. On this too they seem to have despatched a still more orthodox account of themselves to Rome, which contented Liberius (Soc. iv. 12; comp. Mansi, iii. 378, and *Roman Councils*, 16). [E. S. Ff.]

**LANCE, HOLY** (*ἁγία λόγχη, cultellus*); a liturgical instrument of the Greek Church, in the shape of a small knife formed like a spear. The annexed representation from Goar gives its form. It is used in the common Greek rite in the preparatory office of prothesis to divide the Host from the holy loaf previous to consecration. This earlier fraction, the primitive antiquity of which is doubtful, is distinctly symbolical, and has no reference to the subsequent distribution, for which another fraction has always been made. The typical allusion to the circumstances of our Lord's Passion receives greater force and vividness in the Greek Church, from the use of the "holy spear" for the division of the loaf, as commemorative of the piercing of our Lord's body by the Roman soldier. The priest makes four cuts to separate the host from the oblation, and also stabs it more than once, accompanying




The Holy Lance. (From Goar.)

every cut or stab with appropriate texts of Scripture, *e.g.* "He was led as a lamb to the slaughter," "One of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side," &c.

The use of the holy spear is not found in the purely Oriental liturgies, *e.g.* those of the Syrians and Egyptians, a fact which leads Renaudot to question whether the rite is of primitive antiquity, since these churches borrowed their discipline from the Greek Church in the earliest ages. It is entirely unknown in the Western Church.

(Augusti, *Handbuch*, vol. ii. p. 751; Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. i. c. xxv. § 6; Goar, *Euchol.* p. 116; Neale, *Eastern Church*, p. 342; Scudamore, *Not. Euch.* p. 539.) [E. V.]

**LANCIANA**, martyr at Amecia in Pontus, Aug. 18 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.). [E. B. B.]

**LANDAFF, COUNCILS OF** (*Landavensia concilia*). Three such are given in Mansi (ix. 763 sqq.) dated A.D. 560; but, even if genuine, they were simply meetings of the bishop, his three abbats, and his clergy, for excommunicating or absolving great offenders: in the 1st case Meuric, in the 2nd Morgan, kings of Glamorgan: in the 3rd Gwaednerth, king of Gwent; all of them under Oudoceus third bishop of Llandaff, and therefore scarcely before the 7th century. "The book, however, in which these records occur is a compilation of the 12th century" (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Documents*, i., notes to pp. 125 and 147). [E. S. Ff.]

**LANDEBERT.** [v. LAMBERT (1).]

**LANDELIN**, founder of the abbeys of Lobbes, and of St. Crispin at Valenciennes, † June 15, A.D. 687 (v. *Acta Sanctorum*, Jun. iii. 538). [E. B. B.]

**LANDERIC**, bishop and founder of the Maison Dieu at Paris (7th cent.), † June 10 (v. *Acta Sanctorum*, Jun. ii. 280). [E. B. B.]

**LANDOALD**, apostle of Ghent, commemorated March 19 (v. *Acta Sanctorum*, Mar. iii. 35), also June 10 (MS. *Kal. Belg.*). [E. B. B.]

**LANDRADA**, abbess of Bilsen under Lambert, † July 8 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Jul. ii. 619). [E. B. B.]

**LANDRIC**, bishop of Metz, c. 700, † Apr. 17 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Apr. ii. 483). [E. B. B.]

**LANDS OF THE CHURCH.** [PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH.]

**LANDULF**, bishop of Evreux, Aug. 13 (7th century) (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.), called Laudulf, *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. iii. 96. [E. B. B.]

**LANDUS.** [v. LANNUS.]

**LANIPENDIA.** In the Rule of Caesarius for Virgins (c. 27 in *Acta SS.* Jan. i. p. 732) the care of the wool from which the sisters' habits were to be made is committed to the care of the superior (praepositae) or the *lanipendia*, the sister appointed to take charge of the woollen manufacture. The word is used in a similar sense by Paulus, *Digest.* 24, 1, 38. [C.]

**LANISTA.** (1) A trainer of gladiators, who frequently contracted for the supply of swordsmen for Roman spectacles. The horror which the Christians felt for GLADIATORS [see the word] was of course intensified in the case of one who was regarded as a trader in man's flesh, and an accessary to murder. Thus Tertullian (*de Idol.* c. 11) says that if homicides are excluded from the church, lanistae are of course excluded. What they had done by the hands of others, they must be reputed to have done themselves.

Prudentius (*c. Symmach.* ii. 1095), speaking of the inhumanity of the vestals in going to the gladiatorial shows, seems to use lanista in the sense of a gladiator simply:

"sedet illa verendis
Vittarum insignis phaleris fruiturque lanistis."

(2) The word lanista was sometimes used contemptuously by Christian writers to designate a priest who actually slew victims with his hands. Thus Ennodius of Ticino († 521), in his sermon on the dedication of a church of the Apostles on the site of an idol's temple (*Dict.* ii.; in Migne, *Patrol.* 63, p. 268 C), speaks of the multitude of victims slain by the butcher-priests (per lanistas). He even speaks of the priest under the Mosaic law as "lanista Judaicus." (*Lened. Cerei, Opusc.* ix. 260 B.)

(Bingham's *Antiq.* XVI. x. 13; Macri *Hierolex.* s. v. *Lanista.*) [C.]

**LANITANUS** or **LAMTANUS**, martyr at Thessalonica, June 25 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.). [E. B. B.]

**LANNUS**, martyr at Horta in Italy, May 5 (v. *AA. SS.* May, ii. 49; compare p. 9*). [E. B. B.]

**LANTA**, martyr, May 31 or June 1 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.). [E. B. B.]

**LANTERN.** [IN ARCHITECTURE.] The elevated portion of the fabric covering the intersections of the nave and transepts of a church. In the earlier churches of the dromical or basilican plan the cruciform arrangement is not of frequent occurrence; where it is met with it is sometimes merely indicated by the position of the columns, no corresponding alteration being made in the roof. Sometimes the transept takes the form of another nave with its own continuous roof placed at right angles to the true nave, from which it is separated by the "arch of triumph." Neither of these arrangements allows of the introduction of a lantern. The earliest examples of this feature are met with in the Lombard churches, especially those of Pavia, in which a combination was attempted of the long nave and aisles of the old basilicas, and the dome of the Byzantine churches. The section of St. Michael's, at Pavia [GALLERY, I. 706], affords a very good example of this combination. We there see the centre of the cross elevated into a low octagonal tower, covered with a tiled roof containing a hemispherical cupola, supported on arched pendentives. We have a similar arrangement in the churches of San Pietro in cielo d'oro, built by king Luitprand, after A.D. 712, and San Teodoro, c. 750, in the same city. This novel feature speedily found general favour, and by the influence of the Carlovingian kings of Italy, the Lombard style having passed into the Rhenish provinces and into France, the lantern was universally adopted in later churches. [E. V.]

**LAODICEA, COUNCILS OF** (*Laodicena Concilia*). (1) Held at Laodicea, in Phrygia, whither St. Paul, according to the inference drawn from Col. iv. 16, addressed a letter now lost (Westcott, *Canon*, p. 408, and App. E.): and St. John a remonstrance, as one of the churches named in the Apocalypse. Its date has been much canvassed. It was once thought contemporary with the council of Neo-Caesarea, and prior to that of Nicaea. Beveridge says the mention of the Photinians in the 7th canon negatives this, as there was no such sect then. But Ferrandus the deacon, in quoting this canon, omits the Photinians. The Isidorian version does the same. Besides, the classing of Photinians, who were fell heretics, between the Novatians and Quartodecimans, who were merely schismatics, in a canon where no others are named, seems more the act of a scribe than a council. Dionysius, however, bears out the Greek. On other grounds it may be said that these canons, having been from the earliest times placed after the canons of Antioch in the code of the church, we can hardly date them earlier than A.D. 341; and if their connexion with a council of Illyria, suggested by Beveridge (*Annot.* p. 193), and with the semi-Arian bishop Theodosius, suggested by Godfrey (*ad Philostorg.* viii. 3–4), be allowed, probably not earlier than A.D. 375 [ILLYRIAN COUNCIL, I. 813]. It would be thus a semi-Arian council, like that of Antioch, whose canons were received ultimately by the church for their intrinsic worth. We will consider the form in which they have come down to us further on. They were 59 in number, all on discipline: but the 59th, when given in full, is sometimes divided, so as to form a 60th.

By the 1st second marriages may be condoned after a time. By the 11th the appointment of female presbyters (πρεσβύτιδες) is forbidden. Fourteen canons, beginning with the 14th, relate to services in church, and should all be studied, particularly the 19th, which is a *locus classicus* on the ordering of the liturgy. The 35th seems directed against the errors which St. Paul condemns (Col. ii. 18). The 45th forbids baptizing after the second week in Lent. The 46th appoints Maundy Thursday for the *redditio symboli*. The 50th forbids the breaking of the Lenten fast on that day. By the 52nd weddings and birthdays are not to be celebrated in Lent. By the 57th bishops are not to be ordained in future to villages and country places: and all who have been are to do nothing without leave from the city bishop. The presbyters destined to be their substitutes are to be similarly bound.

And now comes the 59th canon, of which there is a shorter and a longer form: the longer con-

taining a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testaments, specified as what ought to be read in church by this council. But this half of the canon is not found in the Latin version of these canons by Dionysius, nor in the Greek collection of John Scholasticus, any more than in the Latin collections of Martin or Cresconius all of which, however, exhibit the shorter form. Again, it is omitted in most Greek as well as Latin MSS. of these canons. On these grounds Professor Westcott, after considerable research, and with a praiseworthy desire to be impartial, has decided against its genuineness (*Canon*, pp. 382–90, and App. D. 1). But he has here deferred too much to his German authorities, and by so doing has missed more than one cardinal point in this inquiry. This is how the matter really stands. We seem to know of no Greek version of these canons earlier than the one represented by Dionysius in his translation. They form part of the 165 canons which he says he translated from the Greek. And this version could not have been known to the West much earlier than his own time, or these canons would not have been omitted entirely from the older Latin collection described as the *Prisca Versio*, of which the oldest MS. is in the Bodleian, and from other collections indicated by the Ballerini (*de Ant. Coll.* ii. 3).

Yet that there must have been another Greek version of them circulating in the West, coincidently with, if not before, the Dionysian one, is clear, for this reason. The Isidorian version of these canons includes this catalogue: and among the canons attributed to the council of Agde, A.D. 506, by Hincmar and others (Mansi, viii. 323, with the note), no less than four of these Laodicean canons, the 20th, 21st, 30th, and 36th, are reproduced word for word, except where MSS. differ, in the Latin of the Isidorian version (*ib.* p. 366). Thus this catalogue must have been circulating in Spain and in the south of France, translated of course from the Greek when, or possibly before, Dionysius published his version in which it is wanting.

Another even more cardinal point remains. Anybody who will compare the *form* in which these canons are presented to us by Dionysius, with all the others translated by him, will see directly that it cannot have been the form in which they were passed, but that it is a mere abstract, identical with the form in which all canons are quoted in the Greek collection of John Scholasticus (περὶ τοῦ, &c.), and the Latin collections of Ferrandus and Martin. The abstract supplies merely the principle, not the details of each canon. Dionysius translated all the other canons in full, because the Greek contained them in full. Of the Laodicean he translated no more than a summary, because the Greek contained no more. The Greek from which the Isidorian version was made was likewise no less an abstract, except in this one case. Thus, except in this one case, the original canons have not been preserved, which accounts for their late appearance; and there is a reason both for this exception and also for its not having obtained general currency. Particular churches had their own catalogues of the Scriptures—their own use—which they would not have exchanged for another. Accordingly, Ferrandus and Martin have dispensed themselves from including any catalogue in their collections. Dionysius includes the African in his, because he was giving the African canons in full. Cresconius has it in his *collection* for the same reason, but omits it in his *compendium*, on grounds similar to those on which the Laodicean was omitted in the Greek copy which Dionysius and others had before them. John Scholasticus, patriarch of Constantinople, where probably there was no earlier use, gives that of the apostolic canons, as being most authoritative. Anyhow, he would have shrunk from borrowing on such a point from *this* synod, it being a semi-Arian synod. Professor Westcott has not failed to observe that the Laodicean Catalogue is identical with that of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. Just so, but was not St. Cyril connected at one time with the semi-Arians? Still further, may not its origin be thus held to account satisfactorily for its getting into the *Spanish* collection? In general the Latin-speaking churches were much attached to the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, of Tobit and Judith, which the African catalogue receives freely, but which this excludes, and to the Apocalypse, which this excludes also.

Let us now see which way intrinsic considerations point. The first half orders that no private psalms, nor uncanonical books, should be read in church. What were private psalms? There was just one such, at all events, that was popular in the Alexandrian church. It is called sometimes "a private psalm of David;" and sometimes "extra numerum." But it is reckoned the 151st psalm by St. Athanasius himself (*Ep. ad Marcell.* § 25); and it is also found as such in the Alexandrine Codex. Now, in the latter half, or catalogue, the Psalter is pointedly said to consist of 150 psalms, as if with the direct object of excluding this. Again, what is the one book of the New Testament which is not found in this catalogue? It is the Apocalypse—certainly not the least known in Asia Minor; yet when we recall the character of the special reference to the Laodicean church which it contains, its absence from the traditional list of books to be read in that church is surely natural.

But for this one omission in the New Testament, and saving that Baruch is coupled with Jeremiah in the old, and no reading of the Apocrypha tolerated in church at all, this Laodicean catalogue coincides with our own throughout: and it is identical with that of St. Cyril, as has been said, and embodies the mature judgment expressed by Eusebius, a still more pronounced partisan and contemporary. Thus its genuineness really presents no opening for attack on general grounds; while the special arguments in its favour, intrinsic as well as external, are full as strong as we could expect, always bearing in mind that these canons have come down to us through a collector, and not in the shape in which they passed (Mansi, iii. 563–600 with the notes; Hefele, § 93). The parallel case which occurs in Cresconius illustrates this to a nicety.

Possibly these canons had not been added to the code of the church when it was confirmed at Chalcedon; yet they must have formed part of it when Dionysius translated them, and as such been confirmed by the quinisext and 7th councils. But whether the 59th was confirmed in

its longer or its shorter form, it was certainly not confirmed to the exclusion of the Apocalypse from the *church catalogue*.

2. A.D. 481–2, at which Stephen junior, who had been elected to the see of Antioch, but thrust out on false charges, was restored (Mansi, vii. 1021). [E. S. Ff.]

**LAOSYNACTES** (λαοσυνάκτης), an official of the patriarchal church of Constantinople, whose business it was to assemble the deacons and take care that they attended to their duties. (Suicer, *Thesaurus*, s. v.) [C.]

**LAPETA, COUNCIL OF** (*Lapetense Concilium*), one of three synods held A.D. 495, or thereabouts, under Barsumas, Nestorian archbishop of Nisibis, at Lapeta, near Bagdad. Three canons are given to it; but a thirteenth has been cited. By the third of them all the clergy, as well as the laity, are permitted to marry at their discretion (Mansi, viii. 143, et seq.) [E. S. Ff.]

**LAPIDES SACRI.** I. Bounds or landmarks, so called because originally consecrated to Jupiter by Numa Pompilius (FESTUS, s. v. *Terminus*).

They must be distinguished from the milestones or *milliaria*, which were also known as *lapides*. (DICT. OF GR. AND ROM. ANT. art. *Milliare; Terminalia*.)

The reverence for boundaries was, however, of far older growth. The Mosaic law forbade the removal of a landmark (Deut. xxvii. 17). Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* lib. i. c. 2) attributes the first use of boundaries to Cain.

Among the Greeks landmarks were commonly put under the protection of some divinity (Plato, *de Leg.* viii.; Ulpian, *Collat. Leg. Mosaic.* xii.; Paulus, *Sentent.* i. 16, and v. 22, 2).

Caius Caesar (A.D. 37–41), in his agrarian law, imposed a fine on those who should remove landmarks, *dolo malo*, of fifty *aurei*, to go to the state (*Digests*, lib. xlvii.; tit. *de Termino Moto*, 22, n. 3).

Nero (A.D. 54–68) ordered the slave who should commit this offence to be put to death, unless his master would pay the penalty (*ib.* and see Callistratus, *de Cognitionibus*, lib. 3, 5).

Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) promulgated a law punishing the offence with various periods of imprisonment, with forced labour or with stripes, according to the position and age of the offender (*ib.* n. 2).

In the *Corpus Juris Civilis* a great mass of references has been collected by way of commentary on these laws, which may be consulted with advantage.

Later codes are much less distinct than the foregoing in their provisions, and less severe. In the code of Theodosius, A.D. 438 (lib. ix. tit. 1; *de Accusatione*, lib. 1), we have merely, "qui fines aliquos invaserit, publicis legibus subjugetur."

Similarly in that of Justinian, A.D. 529 (lib. ix. tit. 2, *de Accusationibus et Inscriptionibus*), "eos qui terminos effoderunt, extraordinariâ animadversione coerceri deberi, praeses provinciae non ignorabit."

II. This phrase is also employed to censure the effacing of the ancient boundaries of dioceses, by bishops desirous of extending their jurisdiction. Pope Innocent (A.D. 402–417), in one of his letters (*Ep.* 8, *ad Florentium*), reminds the bishop to whom he wrote that the Scriptures forbade the removing of boundaries, and that therefore he should abstain from endeavouring to reduce others under his rule. In this sense we find pope Leo I. (A.D. 440–461) also writing to Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica (*Ep.* i. c. 8): "Suis igitur terminis contentus sit quisque, nec supra mensuram juris sui affectet augeri."

Among the False Decretals are to be found many instances of the employment of the phrase in this symbolic sense, which is so far an evidence of usage at the time when they were concocted.

III. In the record of the proceedings of the second Nicene Council, A.D. 787, we find sacred images or statues referred to under this phraseology. [S. J. E.]

**LAPSI.** The term applied to Christians who in time of persecution denied their faith. In the early persecution under Domitian, A.D. 95–6, when it may be presumed that all who had been converted to Christianity had counted the cost of their profession, the name does not occur. But the severe onslaught on Christianity which was made a century later, in the reign of Severus, found the Christians less prepared to resist unto blood in behalf of their religion. Some bribed the soldiers and accusers to overlook them, others paid a sort of periodical tax to secure toleration. The exemption thus purchased, though stopping short of a positive lapse, was at best a compromise; and although the usage was permitted by some bishops, it, like flight in time of persecution, was abhorrent to the rigid Montanism of Tertullian (Tertull. *de Fugâ in Persecutione*, cc. 12, 13). The next persecution was that under the emperor Decius, A.D. 249–51. It was a systematic attempt to eradicate Christianity, not so much by putting its adherents to death, as by compelling them to recant. Participation in a heathen sacrifice was the test ordinarily applied. And the shameful eagerness with which Christians rushed to purge themselves by this test, and even carried their infants with them, is disclosed by Cyprian (*de Lapsis*, cc. 6, 7). Multitudes also only avoided the actual sacrifice by bringing certificates [LIBELLI] from the magistrates to the effect that they had offered. During the troubles of the church under Valerian, A.D. 258–60, instances of recantation were far more rare. But in the final persecution, which began under Diocletian, A.D. 303, and raged with intense severity until the edict of Constantine establishing religious equality, A.D. 313, the Christians were exposed to a new trial, to which numbers succumbed. An attempt was made to extirpate the sacred scriptures, and the *lapsi* who delivered up their books were branded with the name of TRADITORES.

The treatment of the lapsed who had polluted themselves with Paganism in the Decian persecution occupies a considerable part of the Epistles of Cyprian. His treatise *de Lapsis*, written immediately after the termination of the persecution, is an appeal to them to seek readmission into the church by penitence. The terms however on which they should be admitted were not easily decided. Cyprian him-

self had gone into concealment while the persecution was hottest, a course which somewhat compromised him in the eyes of the Roman clergy (*Ep.* viii.), but which he defended on the ground that he had received a divine direction (*Ep.* xvi. 3), and that his presence only exasperated the fury of the populace (*Ep.* xx. 1, *de Lapsis*, c. 8). From his concealment he had to determine how the lapsed should be treated. The matter was complicated by a practice which appears to have originated in the African church during the Severan persecution (Tertull. *ad Martyr.* c. 1), of confessors and martyrs giving letters of recommendation to penitents, requesting the bishops to shorten their penance. The practice was kept in some order by deacons visiting the martyrs in prison, and guiding and checking them in the distribution of their favours (*Ep.* xv. 1). On the cessation of the Decian persecution the privilege was greatly abused; for not only were letters given to any indiscriminately, but given in the name of martyrs who were dead (*Ep.* xxvii. 1, 2), and given in such a form as to include the friends of the petitioner (*Ep.* xv. 3). The custom afterwards led to such disorders as to call for the interference of councils (*Conc. Eliber.* c. 25, 1 *Conc. Arelat.* c. 9). The holders of these letters demanded immediate communion, which some bishops, yielding to the popular clamour, granted (*Ep.* xxvii. 3). The decision of Cyprian was that the holders of letters of martyrs who were pressed by sickness, might be at once restored after confession, even before a deacon if death was imminent (*Ep.* xviii.) and after imposition of hands (*Ep.* xix.); but that the rest must wait till tranquillity was restored and "the bishops meeting with the clergy and in the presence of the laity who stood fast," could grant them the public peace of the church. If any meanwhile received the lapsed into communion, they should themselves be excommunicated (*Ep.* xxxiv. lv. 3). This decision was announced to the Roman clergy (*Ep.* xxvii.) and to the confessors at Rome (*Ep.* xxviii.), and met with the approval of the Roman church (*Ep.* xxx.).

In the spring of 251 Cyprian returned to Carthage, and, in a council with his bishops (*Ep.* lv. 4), made a formal investigation into the case of the lapsed. The conclusion announced was that libellatics were to be received at once (*Ep.* lv. 14); that some who had once sacrificed, but when put to the trial a second time, rather endured banishment and confiscation of goods, were likewise to be restored (*Epp.* xxiv. xxv.); that others who had at first confessed Christ, and when afterwards exposed to torture denied Him, and had been doing penance for three years, should no longer be excluded (*Ep.* lvi.); and that those who were sick should receive peace only at the point of death (*Ep.* lvii. 1). Of the remainder, the penance should be long protracted, but the hope of ultimate communion not denied (*Ep.* lv. 4). These decisions were also submitted to Rome, and accepted by Cornelius in a largely-attended synod (*Ep.* lv. 5). So matters remained till the following year, when Cyprian receiving, as he intimated, a divine warning of the renewal of the persecution, announced to Cornelius that a Carthaginian synod had resolved to receive into communion all the lapsed who desired to return (*Ep.* lvii.).

It was on the solution of these questions that Novatian broke away from the church. At the beginning of the difficulty two letters attributed to him (*Epp.* xxx. xxxvi. *apud Cyp.*) requested that the lapsed who were sick might be restored to communion. But afterwards, when his notions had become more rigid, he took up the position that the church had no power to restore them on any terms; he did not deny that they might personally repent, but that any repentance could ever lead to a re-admission to church communion. A lapser by a unanimous decree of the Western church was debarred from ordination (*Ep.* lxvii. 6). And a priest who lapsed was restored only to lay communion. Cyprian indignantly repudiates the libel that the lapsing priest Trophimus was allowed after due penitence to resume his sacerdotal functions (*Ep.* lv. 8). But in troubled times these rules could not always be enforced (Bingham, *Antiq.* VI. ii. 4). [Compare LIBELLI.] [G. M.]

**LARGIO**, martyr at Augsburg, Aug. 12, Usuard (from Acts of St. Afra). He may be the same as the following, and Augsburg a mistake for August. [E. B. B.]

**LARGUS**, martyr on Salarian Way, translated to Ostian Way by pope Marcellus; commemorated March 16 (*Mart. Rom.* Gell., Bede, Ado, Usuard, Wand.); and Aug. 8 (*Kal.* Bucher; *Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach., Gell.; *Mart.* Ado, Usuard), (others do not *name* him this day); and (2) martyr in the East, Aug. 9 (*Mart. Hieron.*); and (3) at Aquileia, Mart. 16 (Usuard), 17 (*Hieron.* D'Ach.) are probably the same. Is the name Aquileia introduced from the martyrdom of Hilary? [E. B. B.]

**LARNAX** (λάρναξ) is sometimes used for a coffin. Thus the author of the life of St. Martina of Rome (*Acta SS.* Jan. i. p. 18) says that her body was placed in a coffin or shrine of onyx (onychinum larnacem). Compare Torigi *de Cryptis Vaticanis*, p. 551, 2nd ed. (Macri *Hierolex.* s. v. *Larnax*). [C.]

**LASCO**, martyr in Asia, Feb. 23 (cod. Usuard. Marchian.). D'Achery's edition of the *Mart. Hieron.* has Cosco. It may be the name of a place, or a confusion with Grisco. [E. B. B.]

**LASREN**, Lasrian, Laisrenn, Molaisi, Dolaisi, are forms of a name under which are distinguished or confounded—(1) son of Nadfraech, abbat of Devenesh, on Lough Erne, d. Sept. 12, 563, commemorated at Belach Ui Michen, Sept. 15. (2) or Lazarinus, abbat of Durrow, 3rd abbat of Iona, d. Sept. 16, A.D. 605. (3) at Men (in Queen's Co.?), Sept. 16. (4) on Lough Laoigh in Ulster, Oct. 25. (5), (6), (7), (8), Dec. 26, Jan. 17 and 19, March 8. (9) son of Caire, hermit at Lamlash, on coast of Arran, abbat of Rathkill and Leighlin, consecrated bishop at Rome †639, commemorated April 18 (*Mart. Donegal*, p. 105, Bp. Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 407 (who names him Molio, because a cave at Lamlash is called St. Molio's cave); *Acta SS. Bolland.* Apr. ii. 540). (10) abbat of Innis Murray, † Aug. 12, *v.* Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 287. [E. B. B.]

**LASREN, ORDER OF**, or Molaisi, one of the eight orders of Irish monks. This **Lasren** was either (1) celebrated for love of a stone

prison and of hospitality, or (2) "a flame of fire with his comely choristers." (*Martyrology of Donegal*, Dublin, 1864, pp. 245–247.) [E. B. B.]

**LASSARA**, virgin, Jan. 29 (Colgan, *AA. SS. Hibern.*). Thirteen others are commemorated in the *Mart. Donegal*, q. v. [E. B. B.]

**LATERAN, COUNCIL OF** (*Lateranense Concilium*), held A.D. 649, soon after the accession of pope Martin, in the church called Constantine's, at his palace on the Lateran, and chronologically the first of that name. Its deliberations were purely doctrinal and antimonothelite. Its acts have come down to us in Greek as well as in Latin, though Latin was, of course, the language employed. The Greek documents are said to have been translated into Latin in each case by one of the Roman notaries, before they were read out: letters from the African church, being in Latin, were read out as they stood. The number of bishops subscribing to it was 106, almost all Italians, including the pope; and of its sessions, or secretaries—so called from being held in the sacristy—five. The first was opened by a speech from the pope, followed by a letter to him from Maurus, bishop of Ravenna, to the same effect, which was read and approved. At the second, other orthodox documents addressed to himself or his predecessor were recited. At the third, writings of a contrary description, by Theodore, bishop of Pharan, and the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople, Cyrus and Sergius, together with the Ecthesis of the emperor Heraclius, inspired by the latter, were produced and reflected upon. At the fourth, after some further comments on what had been read at the third, two more documents of the same kind were rehearsed:—1, a letter of Paul, actual patriarch of Constantinople, to the late pope Theodore; and 2, the Type of Constans, the reigning emperor. Both having been pronounced unsound, *codices* of the dogmatic rulings of each of the previous five general councils were produced from the papal archives and read out in answer to them all. Among these was the celebrated ordinance at the end of the definition of the fourth council, on the unalterableness of the creed. Attention was again directed in the last session to that subject, by reciting what the fifth council had said of its entire agreement with the other four, and with all the great fathers and doctors of the church: extracts from whom were then read, to shew their harmony with each other. Similarly, passages were produced afterwards from the works of earlier heretics, to expose their agreement with the errors that were now broached. Twenty canons followed in condemnation of Monothelism and its patrons in the East, who are several times mentioned by name; complete reserve being maintained about pope Honorius throughout. Letters to announce this result, or in connexion with this subject, were despatched by the pope to the emperor Constans, the metropolitans of Carthage and Philadelphia, and other churches of the East; besides an encyclic to the faithful in general. In all of them he styles himself "servus servorum Dei." Maurus, bishop of Ravenna, it should be added, in writing to him, arrogates the same style. (Mansi, x. 789–1188.) [E. S. Ff.]

**LATERCULUS.** A tile or earthenware tablet on which the times of the moveable festivals, or at least of Easter, were inscribed, with the view of giving public notice of them. Thus the 4th council of Orleans (A.D. 541) enacted (c. 1) that Easter should be celebrated according to the *laterculus* or cycle of bishop Victorius. That confusion arose in Spain at a somewhat later date from the difference of the Paschal-cycles in use (diversa observantia laterculorum) is evident from the 5th canon of the 4th council of Toledo (A.D. 633), which enjoins the several metropolitans, three months before Epiphany, to consult each other, and when they have ascertained the proper day for the celebration of Easter to signify it to their comprovincial bishops.

(Macri *Hierolex.* s. v. *Laterculus.*) [C.]

**LATIN, USE OF** [LITURGICAL LANGUAGE].

**LATINA**, martyr, June 2 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.). [E. B. B.]

**LATINUS**, bishop of Brescia (2nd century), March 24 (*Acta Sanctorum*, March, iii. 473). [E. B. B.]

**LATOPOLIS, COUNCIL OF** (*Latopolitanum Concilium*), A.D. 347, at Latopolis, in Upper Egypt, at which St. Pachomius was put on his defence. (Mansi, iii. 141.) [E. S. Ff.]

**LATROCINALIS** is a name given to the synod which met at Ephesus A.D. 449 [EPHESUS, COUNCIL OF (6), I. 615]. It was also applied by pope Nicolas to the "conciliabulum" assembled by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, in the year 863. [C.]

**LATUINUS**, first bishop of Seix in Normandy, † June 20 (*Acta SS.* Jun. v. 10). The name is almost certainly Teutonic. [E. B. B.]

**LAUDA.** (1) A short antiphon which occurs after the gospel in the Mozarabic mass. In the *Regula* prefixed to the breviary, a *lauda* is thus distinguished from an *antiphona*—"*Antiphona* est, quae dicitur sine Alleluia; et *Lauda* quae cum Alleluia dicitur." But a *lauda* retains its name when Alleluia is omitted at the proper season. The Gospel is concluded with "Amen," and then after the salutation "The Lord be with you," R. "And with thy spirit," follows the Lauda. The normal form is a verse, usually, though not always, taken from the Psalms, preceded and followed by Alleluia. Thus the *Lauda* for Ascension Day is "Alleluia, V. God is gone up with a merry noise, and the Lord with the sound of the trump. Alleluia." After the first Sunday in Lent *Alleluia* is omitted till Easter Eve, when it is resumed; an additional *lauda* without Alleluia being said on that day after the Epistle. On the Thursday before Easter the *Lauda* is longer than usual, and consists of seven verses (not consecutive) of Ps. cviii. (cix. Eng. Ver.); and on Good Friday there is no *Lauda*, but *Preces* instead.

In the Ambrosian mass the corresponding antiphon is called *Antiphona post Evangelium.* In the Roman there is nothing which corresponds, and the Creed follows the Gospel immediately.

(2) An antiphon of the same character as the foregoing, but longer, and broken up into verse

and response, several of which occur in the day-hours of the Mozarabic breviary. They vary with the office of the day. They are thus said:—

At *Vespers*, two; one at the beginning of the office, short, and usually with a reference to the time of day; the other before the hymn, somewhat longer, and with "Glory and honour," &c. ([a]), introduced before the last clause. Also at the close of the office after the benediction, additional *laudae* are found. Most frequently one, though often two or more (for instance, on the third Sunday in Lent there are as many as six), each followed by a short prayer (oratio), generally a reproduction of the sentiment of the *Laudа*. These correspond in some measure to the *Commemorationes* of the Roman breviary.

At *lauds* two are said in the course of the office, and one, or sometimes more, each with its prayer at the end, as at vespers.

At each of the *lesser hours*, except compline, when there is none, a *lauda* is said before the hymn. This is the general arrangement, but there are of course exceptions. There is also a short "commemoration" (of the time of day) after vespers and lauds daily, which consists of a short *lauda* and a prayer.

As specimens of the ordinary form of *lauda*, those for the first vespers of the first Sunday in Advent may be given:—

*Lauda at the beginning of the Office.*—"From the rising up of the Sun, unto the going down of the same. P. The Lord's name be praised. V. Blessed be the name of the Lord, from this time forth for evermore."

[This Lauda never has "Alleluia."]

*Before the Hymn.*—"Alleluia. Send us help from the sanctuary; and strengthen us out of Sion, O Lord.[b] P. When we call upon thee. Alleluia, Alleluia. V. We will rejoice in thy salvation, and triumph in the name of the Lord our God. P. And strengthen us out of Sion, O Lord. V. Glory and honour, &c. P. When we call upon thee." [H. J. H.]

**LAUDACIA** (*Mart.* Gell.); Laudaia (*Hieron.* D'Ach.); martyr, July 26. Probably a copyist's error for the place Laodicea. [E. B. B.]

**LAUDACUS.** [LAUDICEUS.]

**LAUDANA** or **LAUDUNA.** In Anastasius *Vitae Pontiff.* (s. v. *Adrian*, § 325, Migne), we read that pope Adrian made two "laudanas" of silver, weighing eight pounds each, which he placed over the RUGAE [probably doors or curtains] of the presbytery, where the silver arch is. Calepinus supposes these laudanae to have been rods or cornices of silver; but in fact their nature and use appear to be altogether matter of conjecture.

(Macri *Hierolex.*; Ducange, *Gloss.* s. v.) [C.]

[a] The Mozarabic form of the *Gloria Patri* is "Gloria et *Honor* Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto in saecula saeculorum." The word *Honor* was added at the fourth council of Toledo, the addition being justified by the words of Ps. 28 [*E. V.* 29] v. 2, "Afferte Domino gloriam et honorem," &c., and by the ascription of praise in *Apoc.* v. 12, "Dignus est Agnus. . . accipere honorem et gloriam et benedictionem" (*Brevis Missae Muzarabum Explicatio*, A. Lorenzana).

[b] This "P" is explained by Arevalus as *Psalmus*. It has also been taken to stand for *Presbyter*.

**LAUDEMIUM** (also written *Laudimium*). The name which is given to the price which a farmer or a vassal paid to the owner or feudal lord of the land on being invested with the possession of a copyhold tenure [EMPHYTEUSIS], or on a renewal of the investiture; or for the right of alienating the fief to another. "Concessimus quod de feodis et retrofeodis in emphitheosin . . . . datis . . . . nulla financia debeatur, nisi seu fuerint castra, ville, seu loca alia . . . . quo a nobis in feudum vel homagium, seu ad servitium aliud teneantur, de quibus alienationem fieri nolumus sine nostro *Laudemio*, aut nostra gratia speciali." (Præcep. Lud.: x. *Fr. Reg.*, quoted by Ducange.) The amount of the *Laudemium* varies. In Germany it is stated to be 2 per cent. of the estimated value of the property at the time of entering or renewal: and in Bavaria, and practically in a large part of Germany, to amount to 5 per cent. of that value. The law of *emphyteusis* was derived from the Roman law, and introduced into ecclesiastical law with but slight modification of the civil procedure. The object of *emphyteusis* was always real property, usually land, but it might be a building. The owner of the property was called *dominus emphyteuseos*; and the tenant, *emphyteuticarius*, or *emphyteuta*.

The word *laudes* is used in a similar sense for the price paid by a vassal to his feudal lord for the power of alienating his fief to another; and *laudare* in the sense of receiving such *laudes*. The words *laudemium* and *laudes* both imply the consent and approbation which the feudal lord gives to the translation. (*v.* Ducange *in loco*, Pichler, *Jus Can.* lib. ii. lit. xvii. 24, &c.) [H. J. H.]

**LAUDICEUS**, bishop, buried in the cemetery of Callistus, and perhaps after the time of Sixtus III. commemorated, with the other popes and bishops there buried, on Aug. 9 (De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* ii. 33–46, 228, 229). [E. B. B.]

**LAUDOMAR** [*v.* LAUNOMARUS].

**LAUDS (1)**, see HOURS; OFFICE, THE DIVINE.

**(2)** Under the Lower Empire when public honour was done to a great personage the acclamations of the people, which took a conventional shape, were called Laudes (Gr. πολυχρόνιον). The customary formula under the heathen emperors may be learnt from the cries of the Roman army on an occasion mentioned by Lampridius (*Vita Diadum.*): "Jupiter Optime Maxime, Macrino et Antonino vitam. Tu scis, Jupiter, Macrinus vinci non potest. Tu scis, Jupiter, Antoninus vinci non potest" (Lindenbr. in Ammian. *Hist.* xvii. 13). After a speech of Constantius to his soldiers (A.D. 358) the whole assemblage of them, "vocibus festis in laudes imperatoris assurgens, Deumque ex usu testata non posse Constantium vinci, tentoria laeta repetit" (Ammian. *u. s.*). Whether they gave a Christian turn to the laudes or retained the old cry does not appear. The historian uses the word Deum in the case of Julian (363), whose soldiers would certainly appeal to Jupiter: "Principem superari non posse Deum usitato more testati" (xxiv. 1); and it is worthy of note that the soldiers of Valens, when deserting to Procopius at Mygdos in 365, called Jupiter to witness: "Testati Jovem invictum Procopium

fore" (*ibid.* xxvi. 6). The custom, however, at length assumed a Christian character, and was observed even in churches. When St. Augustine, in a synod held in the church of the Peace at Hippo, A.D. 426, proposed Eraclius as his coadjutor with right of succession, "a populo acclamatum est. *Deo Gratias: Christo Laudes*, dictum est vicies terties. *Exaudi Christe, Augustino vita*, dictum est sexies decies. *Te patrem, te episcopum*, dictum est octies" (August. *Epist.* 213, § 1). A similar instance occurs in the history of a synod held under Symmachus, who became pope in 498: "Exaudi, Christe. Symmacho papae vita sit," was repeated twelve times (Gratian, ii. xvi. 57). About the year 520 we read of the legates of the bishop of Rome being met by Justin the emperor and Vitalian the consul, "cum gloria et laudibus" (Anast. Biblioth. *Vitae Pont. R.* n. 53; comp. nn. 84, 105; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vi. 11). The portraits of the usurper Phocas and his wife were received with acclamations at Rome on April 25, 602, "in the basilic of Julius by all the clergy and senate," the cry being, "Exaudi, Christe. Phocae Augusto et Leontiae Augustae vita" (Relatio inter Epp. Greg. M. xi. 1; Labbe, *Conc.* v. 1509; comp. *Vita Greg.* auct. Joan. Diac. iv. 20). On one of Charlemagne's visits to Rome Hadrian, while "celebrating masses to Almighty God, caused lauds to be paid to the aforesaid Charles" (Anast. *u. s.* n. 97). When the same prince was crowned by Leo III. on St. Peter's Day, 800, the lauds were, "Carolo piissimo Augusto a Deo coronato, magno, pacifico imperatori" (*ibid.* 98). After anointing him the pope said mass, or more probably proceeded with it—the account being thus continued: "Et peractâ missâ .... obtulit ipse," &c. From later authorities we learn that acclamations in a mass took place after the collect. See Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. iv. iii. 13; *Ordo Rom.* xii. i. 2, xiii. 7, 10 (ante epistolam post orationem), xiv. 31; in *Mus. Ital.* ii. They were at length formed into litanies to Christ and the saints—*e.g.* the priest says thrice and the clerks respond, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat. *Then the priest says*, Exaudi Christe. *The clerks answer*, Nicolao summo Pontifici et universali papae vita. *The litany follows.* Salvator mundi, Tu illum adjuva. S. Petre, S. Paule, S. Andrea, &c. *And the response to each is*, Tu illum adjuva. *Then follows*, Exaudi Christe. Ludovico a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico regi vita et victoria. Redemptor mundi, Tu illum adjuva. S. Michael, S. Gabriel, S. Raphael, S. Joannes. &c., *with the response to each*, Tu illum adjuva;" and similarly for any number of persons, fresh saints being invoked for each (Bona, *Rer. Lit.* ii v. 8, from Goldastus, *Antiq. Alem.* ii. 2). Compare a form in Martene *u.s.* from a Soissons MS. Durandus (*Pontificale MS.* cited by Sala on Bona *u. s.*) speaks of lauds which began like the foregoing (Christus vincit, etc), as said not after the collect, but "immediately after the Kyrie eleison." [W. E. S.]

**LAUDULF** [*v.* LANDULF].

**LAUNOMARUS**, abbat, † at Dreux, Jan. 19 (6th or 7th century), Usuard (Wandelbert?), *v.* *Acta SS.*, Jan. ii. 593. [E. B. B.]

**LAURA.** The small monastic communities in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, called Lauras, are a connecting link in the history of the rise and progress of monachism, between the solitary asceticism of the hermitage and the more organised, less self-dependent asceticism of the monastery. A laura was an aggregation of separate cells, under the not very strongly defined control of a superior, the inmates meeting together only on the first and last days, the old and new Sabbaths, of each week for their common meal in the refectory, and for their common worship in the chapel attached to each of these lauras. On the other days of the week they dwelt apart from one another, each in the silence and solitude of his cell, subsisting on bread and water, the ordinary fare of the primitive founders of monasticism. The cells, though separate, were in close proximity to one another, like the wigwams of an Indian encampment, and all clustering round the chapel of the community. (Bened. Anian. *Concord. Regul.* Menardi *Comment.* III. i.; Du Cange, *Glossar. Lat.* s.v. *Laura;* Joan. Hierosol., *Vit. Joan. Damasc.* p. 693.) Usually each cell contained one inmate only; but under Pachomius, in Tabenna, three resided together in each cell (Sozom. *H. E.* iii. 14).

The origin of the word "Laura" is uncertain. By one account it is Ionic (Du Cange, *Glossar. Gr.* s.v.); by another, it is a contraction of the Greek for labyrinth (λαβύρινθος) and expressive of the narrow pathways winding in and out among the cells ("wynds"); more probably it is another form of "labra" (λάβρα), the popular term in Alexandria for an alley or small court. (Suicer, *Thes. Eccles.* s.v.; Epiphan. *Haeres.* xlix.) The worst explanation of the word is that which derives it from "*οἱ λαοὶ ῥέουσι*," as if it were a thoroughfare, along which a crowd streams.

One of the most celebrated lauras was one founded by Chariton, a hermit, at Pharan, near Jerusalem (Bulteau, *Hist. de l'Ordre de S. Benoist*, I. i.). Others are recorded to have been founded in the 5th century by Sabas, a celebrated desert-saint, Gerasimus, Euthymius and the empress Eudocia.

As the coenobitic life became more prevalent, young and inexperienced monks were discouraged generally from venturing on the solitary life without previous training with other monks, under the authority and supervision of an abbat. Thus Euthymius advised the youthful Sabas to quit his separate cell in the laura, and to join a coenobium for a time (Cyril. Scythopol. *Vit. S. Sab.*). Gerasimus is said to have established a coenobium in the midst of his laura (Cyril. Scythopol. *Vit. S. Euthym.*).

Obviously life in a laura incurred a twofold danger, being exposed at the same time to the temptations peculiar to solitude, and to those which are incidental to a number of persons living together under no strict rule, without much restraint of any kind, and without the necessity of constant occupation. The denizens of a laura are sometimes termed "lauretae" (Mosch. *Prat.* cc. 3, 4); they have been compared to the "inclusi" of Western monachism, but there are many points of difference. [See INCLUSI.] [I. G. S.]

**LAURENCE, ST.** [IN ART]. St. Laurence usually carries a copy of the Gospels to denote

his office of deacon. In the church of St. Laurence, in Agro Verano, at Rome, there is a mosaic of the 6th century, representing the martyr with an open book in his hand, on which may be read the words "dispersit, dedit pauperibus" (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* tab. lxvi. 2), in allusion to his kindness to the poor.



St. Laurence. From Martigny.

Like other martyrs he bears a cross, frequently jewelled (Aringhi, ii. 354). In the basilica of Galla Placidia, at Ravenna, there is a mosaic shewing him standing before the heated gridiron, holding the cross and the Gospels (*Vet. Mon.* i. lxvii.). On the bottom of a glass cup the sacred monogram, with A on one side and ω on the other, is placed behind the head of the saint (Bottari, tab. cxcviii.). Sometimes we find him seated between St. Peter and St. Paul, as though the Apostles having introduced him into the heavenly city were giving him an honourable place therein (Buonarr. p. 104). Another glass cup has the figure of the saint, with the legend Victor Vivas, in nomine Lavreti (Buonarroti, xix. 2); this cup may very likely have been used at an AGAPE on the martyr's day, which was observed at Rome with much solemnity. Lupi (*Dissert. e Lett.* i. 192–197) describes two ancient representations of the martyrdom of St. Laurence; one, a cameo, shews the saint stretched upon a gridiron, while two executioners stir the fire beneath, and a third brings wood to replenish it; in the other, a leaden medallion, we see the martyr at the moment of death; his soul, personified by a female figure, ascending with clasped hands, receives a crown from the outstretched arm which symbolises the Almighty; the emperor, laurelled and sceptred, is seated in a curule chair, and seems by his attitude to be giving directions; a slave stands by his side. Arevallo (*in Prudent.* p. 936) gives a glass which represents the martyr face downwards on the gridiron, his name LAVRECIV being written above.

(Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v.) [C.]

LAURENCE (*Laurentius*, *Lorenzo*, *Laurent*, *Louwerijs*), chief deacon of Rome, broiled to death Aug. 10, A.D. 258.

The fact is not mentioned by extant writers till the middle of the 4th century, and yet had an immediate and wide-spread influence (which it will be the object of this article to trace) on the life of the church.

It may be taken as a typical instance of martyrdom, so that under this head it will be possible to gather specimens of all the honours that were paid to martyrs.

I. As administrator of the charities of the metropolitan church, Laurence is celebrated in ancient liturgies almost as much as for his sufferings. "He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor," is quoted in the Greek cathisma, and is the introit in the Gregorian missal. The Mozarabic lessons, Ecclus. xxxi. 5–12; 2 Cor. ix. 7–13; Matt. vi. 19–34, apply rather to the deacon than to the martyr, and there is the same epistle in the Ambrosian liturgy (*Patrol.* lxxxv. 811). Nor did he only administer temporal relief, but the reading of the Gospel and the cup of the Lord. Hence the late legend of his connexion with the Holy Grail. However he had died, all the Christians and all the poor of Rome would have felt his loss.

II. When such a man was stretched naked (ἁπλωθεὶς, lit. 'simplified,' *Menology of Basil*) on an iron grating over a slow fire, and "his living limbs hissed over the coals" (the phrase is found alike in the Roman Sacramentaries of Leo and of Gelasius, in the Mozarabic and the Gothic), the grief, the horror, the admiration, and the awe, would make it an anniversary never to be forgotten. The death by torture of a Roman citizen was not a common thing. It was a deed intended to strike terror far and wide.

III. His anniversary is fixed to Aug. 10 by the Feriale of Liberius (A.D. 354), and the universal consent of Western and Byzantine calendars. Aug. 11, if ever found, is merely a slip. In the metrical martyrology of Bede, for 'bissenis,' read

"Bis *binis* victor superat Laurentius hostem."

The lectionary of Luxeuil and sacramentary of Bobbio are said to stand alone in the West in omitting Laurence (*Patrol.* lxxxv. 811). But as the same sacramentary commemorates Laurence daily in the ordinary mass, it is manifest that the omission only shews that Columban's monks had no special service for the day, not that they omitted the commemoration. He is found in the Feilire of Aengus the Culdee.

There does not seem to be the same general consent about any other festival of the church whatsoever.

IV. Prudentius, in his hymn for the day, declares that from that day forward the worship of the foul gods grew cold, that his death was the death of the temples (περὶ στεφάνων, iii. 497, 509). The canon in the Greek liturgy speaks of him (ode δ) as "finally plucking down the memorial of the impious conceit of the erring."

If this be so, it is important to fix the epoch of his death. Now this may be done with certainty, though from the close of the 5th century onwards there was a wide-spread error as to the date, which referred it to the persecution of Decius. We are, however, enabled to correct the error by the abundant evidence that Laurence suffered a few days after pope Xystus or Sixtus II. And we know, from the contemporary evidence of Cyprian, that Sixtus was executed on the 6th of August in the opening of the persecution of

Valerian, A.D. 258 (Cypr. *Ep.* 82, ed. Migne). Cyprian himself suffered in the following month.

V. Now generally the Greek menologies, the Egyptian-Arabic menology (v. *Acta SS.* Aug. tom. ii. 125 B), the Spanish-Gothic calendar (Migne, *Patrol.* lxxxv. 1051), and the Mozarabic missal and breviary, transfer Xystus from the 6th to be subordinated to and celebrated along with Laurence on the 10th. This is the more remarkable, as Xystus is said to have been of Greek extraction, and as the Mozarabic lessons are concerned with the *diaconate* of Laurence. The fact that while Ambrose has separate hymns (72, 73) for Sixtus and Laurence, Prudentius has only one for both, seems to shew that these were the primitive arrangements in Spain. They are quite peculiar to that country in the West. The Synaxarion in the menology of Basil makes Xystus say to Laurence, "To-morrow we are delivered up." But Prudentius (like Ambrose, *de Off.* i. 41) makes him predict the martyrdom of the latter after an interval of three days, c. 28.

VI. The canon in the Greek liturgy is addressed to Laurence alone, and consists of eight odes, 32 troparia on the ACROSTIC [see I. 14].

Λαυρέντιον κράτιστον ὑμνῶ προφρόνως.

VII. In Ethiopia Laurence seems to be commemorated as Lavernius on Nahasse 15 = Aug. 8 (v. Ludolf, *Comm. Hist. Ethiop.* p. 425). In the ancient Syrian martyrology, Sixtus is the only Roman martyr (see De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, ii. 376). Eusebius in his history seems ignorant of the martyrdom even of Sixtus. Cyprian does not mention Laurence. The calendar of Carthage, like the rest of the West, distinguishes the festivals of Xystus and Laurence.

VIII. There is another saint joined with Laurence in the Greek liturgy, his jailor and convert Hippolytus, whose name seems to have suggested that he should be dragged along the ground by wild horses till he died:

τὸν Ἱππόλυτον ἱπποδέσμιον λέγω
ἐνάντιον πασχοντα τῇ κλήσει πάθος.

His death is clearly mentioned as subsequent to those of Laurence and Xystus. The calendar of Polemeus Silvius at Rome in A.D. 448, including nine only of the most popular festivals, omits Xystus, but inserts both Laurence and Hippolytus (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xiii. 676).

IX. These two festivals were the great harvest home of the Roman church. St. Laurence's day is still the signal for burning the stubble in the Campagna (Knight, *Latium*, 3). So the rustics would perhaps be better able to resort to the city for the second festival, which is graphically described by Prudentius.

X. The Sacramentary of Leo has only one mass distinctly for Hippolytus's festival, but seven for Sixtus, and fourteen for Laurence. The 1st, 10th, and 12th of these seem to be for his vigil, for they speak of 'preventing' his day. There is also a mass for the vigil in the Sacramentaries of Gelasius and Gregory.

XI. In the Sacramentary of Gregory, two masses are given on the day itself, an early and a public mass. The Capitulare given in Martene (*Thes.* v. 76), which is referred by De Rossi to the opening year of Benedict II., gives the gospel for the vigil Matt. xvi. 24–28; for the early mass Matt. x. 37–42; for the public mass John xii. 24–26. One of Augustine's sermons for the festival (Sermon 305) is on the last-named gospel. Sermon 304 refers to Prov. xxiii. 1, 2 as the Old Testament lesson. Sermons 302 and 303 seem to refer to Matt. v. 12 and Luke xxi. 19 as read in the gospel for the day, but the references may really be to Matt. x. 42 and Matt. xvi. 25, in which case the arrangements would be the same in Africa as at Rome, and Sermon 303, in which he complains of the small attendance and great heat, would be preached at the vigil. In the modern Roman missal the gospel is John xii. 24–26 still, and the epistle is abridged from that in the Mozarabic and Ambrosian liturgies. Chrysologus of Ravenna, in his 135th sermon, quotes Phil. i. 29 as part of the epistle for the day. This would be very applicable to the deacon in the absence of his bishop. To Maximus of Turin three homilies (74–76) and four sermons (70–73) on this feast are ascribed. The 3rd of these sermons (72) is word for word the same as is ascribed to Leo. Three times in the other sermons he quotes Luke xii. 49, which may have been one of the gospels read at the festival in Turin.

XII. The Sacramentary of Gelasius, though it does not give a second mass to the day, gives vesper collects such as this:—"May his blessing be with us in Thy glory whose confession in Thy virtue has to-day been made our plea." Cf. 2 Pet. i. 3.

XIII. The Sacramentary of Gregory does not give a special service for the octave. No more does the modern missal, though the day is still observed. This, and the octave of Peter and Paul, are the only two in Usuard. The permanence of his felicity is made in Leo and Gelasius the ground for a repeated memorial of it.

XIV. The Gothic missal has neither vigil nor octave. From the absence of a triple benediction the feast would seem to have been less important in France than those of Andrew, Stephen, John, the Holy Innocents, Cecilia and Clement. Neither Boniface nor Charlemagne prescribe it as a holiday (sabbatizandum), only Chrodogang names it among those on which there is to be full service (Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, t. 5, pt. 1, p. 299). In this missal Sixtus and Hippolytus are not associated with Laurence on his day, but he is commemorated in the proper prefaces on theirs as well as on his own. The Sacramentary of Leo says much of Sixtus leading the way for his deacons, but it commemorates two others of them along with him. The Gothic missal applies the same thus: "He was an example to others, for Laurence followed." And on the 13th it says: "Who when Hippolytus was yet occupied in the tyrant's service of a sudden madest him the fellow of Laurence." So the *Mart. Hieron.*, which belongs to Auxerre, names both Laurence and Hippolytus on the 6th, as well as on their own days.

XV. In the Greek church the triple festival falls within the octave of the Transfiguration, which is therefore commemorated on it. Hence in one êchos the martyrdoms are viewed as themselves a theophany.

XVI. In the litany used at compline throughout Lent, in the Greek church, Laurence is named next to the Apostles and Stephen. He is invoked in the Breton Litany (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. 82). Also in the Coronation Litany (Muratori, *Lit. Rom.* ii. 463).

XVII. He is commemorated in the ordinary canon of the mass, in the Gelasian, Frankish and Gregorian missals, and in that of Bobbio. He is put next to the early popes and Cyprian.

(For the Western liturgies in the above article we have used Muratori *Liturgia Romana*, t. i. 389–401, 658–662; t. ii. 108–113, 625–629; also t. i. 696; ii. 3, 693, 777. For the Eastern, Arcudius, *Anthologica*.)

### Churches of St. Laurence.

#### A. *Rome, Foris Murum.*

I. The Basilica di San Lorenzo fuori is said to have been founded by Constantine (Anastasius, *Vita Silvestri*).

II. Of Sixtus III. we are told, "Moreover he made a basilica to the blest martyr Laurence, which Valentinianus Augustus (the 3rd) granted, where also he offered gifts" (Anast. *Vit.* xlvi.). This was a new basilica beside the old. Rededication of it to Laurence, Sixtus and Hippolytus is mentioned in the *Mart. Hieron.*, Nov. 2 (De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* ii. 36). Hilary made beside the church of Laurence, monasteries and a bath and a praetorium of St. Stephen (Anast. *Vit.* xlviii.). Then after the one year's popedom of Anastasius, Symmachus in the days of Theodoric, "constructed beside the church of St. Laurence," as well as of St. Paul and St. Peter, "habitations for the poor" (Anast. *Vit.* liii.). We read in the time of Belisarius (A.D. 537), that "the churches and bodies of the martyrs were exterminated by the Goths" (Anast. *Vit.* lx. § 99).

Anastasius tells us that Pelagius II. (A.D. 577–590), who was made pope at a time when the Lombards were devastating Italy, and when there were such rains as threatened a deluge (and would therefore endanger a church built on a hillside), "made over the body of the blest martyr Laurence a basilica constructed from the foundation, and adorned his sepulchre with tablets of silver" (Anast. *Vit.* lxv.). The mosaic inscription enables us to identify the presbytery or most ancient part of the present church as identical with this church of Pelagius. The old pavement, recently brought to light, dates from the 6th century.

For a discussion of this basilica De Rossi in the *Bulletini* for 1864 may be consulted.

#### B. *Rome, within the Walls.*

I. *In Damaseo, parochia.*—We are told by Anastasius that Pope "Damasus made two basilicas, one to St. Laurence near the theatre of Pompey, another outside the walls on the Aurelian Way, where he himself rests," †385.

II. *In Fonte.*—S. Lorenzo in Fonte is near the Forum of Trajan on the way to the Esquiline, and is said to contain the fountain that sprang up at his prayers to enable him to baptize Hippolytus. This church may also have been founded by Damasus: see an epigram in Migne (*Patrol.* xiii. 411 n.).

III *In Lucinae.*—The church in Lucinae, which is on the site of the Horologium of Augustus, is said by Tillemont to be often mentioned in the time of Symmachus, A.D. 498–514 (Tillem. *Mém.* iv. 597).

IV. *In Miranda, monasterium.*—S. Lorenzo in Miranda is in the temple of Antoninus Pius, and Faustinae in the Forum, near the church of St. Adriano, in the old temple of the Three Fates. There was a monastery that had long been in ruins and inhabited by seculars, that Adrian restored in the name of SS. Adriano and Lorenzo and richly endowed.

V. *In regione tertia, parochia.*—Simplicius (A.D. 468–483) constituted a hebdomada [Octave] for the third region at St. Laurence, that presbyters should remain there for the sake of penitents and baptism. S. Lorenzo a' Monti may represent the parish, but not the site of the church.

VI. *In Panis perna.*—The church in Panis perna is said to be where Laurence was put to death in the baths of Olympias. There have been many conjectures as to the name, but it is simply explained by the fact that there was a temple of Silvanus or Pan at this place (see Venuti, *Antichità di Roma*, c. vi. p. 101).

VII. *Ad Taurellum.*—The roof of a church of Laurence ad Taurellum, "dum nimis vetustissimum inerat," was repaired by Adrian. Of S. Lorenzo in piscibus, de' PP. delle scuole, close to St. Peter's, I find no trace unless it be this.

VIII. *In Formosa.*—The church in Formosa was close to the church of St. Cyriacus, probably therefore on the Pincian (Anastasius, *Vita Adriani Patr.* xcvi. n. 95). This, and those in Lucina and in Damaseo, were the three important churches of Laurence in Rome in Charlemagne's time. Montfaucon (*Diar. Ital.* c. 14, p. 205) gives no reason for identifying it with Panis perna.

IX. *In Palatinis, Monasterium.*—There was a monastery of St. Laurence "on the Palatine in the deserts" that Adrian restored and joined with a monastery of Stephen, called Bajanda. It is often mentioned later, as a limit of floods. Mr. Burn (*Rome*, p. 177, see plan at p. 155) thinks he has identified the basilica of Jove, where Laurence was tried, as on the Palatine.

XI. *Oratorium in the Lateran.*—There was a chapel of Laurence in the Lateran where Toto was ordained, A.D. 768.

XII.—*Stations in the Churches.*—There were stations in the churches and basilica on LXX[ma.] Sunday *ad S. Laurentium*; gospel, the labourers in the vineyard.

Foris Murum.

The Friday after the 1st Sunday in Lent.
*The 3rd Sunday.*
*The Saturday before the 5th Sunday.*
*The Wednesday after Easter.* John xxi.

*In Lucinae; Friday after the 3rd Sunday in Lent.*

*In Damaseum; Tuesday after the 4th Sunday.*

Those in italics are still observed.

#### C. *Elsewhere.*

I. *In Constantinople.*—The relics of St. Stephen are said to have been brought by Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius II., to Constantinople in A.D. 439, and laid in the church of St. Laurence there, which her husband's sister Pulcheria had built near her own palace, in a place called Petrion or Blachernae, on the left of the Ceratine Gulf, in front of a church of the Virgin. Marcellinus Comes (in De la Bigne, vi. 1, 365); Theodorus Lector (*ib.* 505); Procopius (*de Aedif. Justin.* i. 6, 17). The union of the relics of Stephen, Laurence, and Agnes in this church is said to be commemorated Sept. 29, but is not in the *Menology* of Basil (Tillem. iv. 598).

II. *At Ravenna.*—There was in the beginning of the 5th century a church of St. Laurence at Ravenna.

III. *At Milan.*—The basilica of St. Lorenzo at Milan was originally the cathedral. There is an epigram on it by Ennodius, bishop of Ticino (A.D. 505), poem lvi. (De la Bigne, *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* vi. 1, 301).

IV. *At Tivoli and Porto.*—There was also a church of Laurence at Tivoli, restored by Leo III. And at Porto he had both a church and a monastery on the island, with vineyards attached.

V. *At Norcia* there was a church destroyed by the Lombards, and rebuilt by Sanctulus, as we are told by Gregory the Great (*Dial.* 3, 36).

VI. *In Switzerland.* — At Brionum Castra (probably Brione, in the Val Verzasca) there was a church of St. Laurence burnt down by the Lombards, in the rebuilding of which a celebrated miracle occurred. See Gregory of Tours (*Glor. Mart.* i. 42).

VII. *In Gaul.*—The churches of St. Laurence traceable in Gaul are—

*a.* At Vienne, built by St. Severus about A.D. 450, on a hill between four mountains above the town, with a treasure found on the spot (*Acta SS.* August, t. ii. p. 350).

*b.* To St. Laurence and St. Germain at Clermont, built by Eoricus, king of the Goths, where St. Gall was buried (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii.).

*c.* A monastery in Paris in the time of Clotaire, of which St. Domnolus was abbat before he was bishop of Le Mans. It is now a parish in the faubourgs (see Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vi. 9, 25).

*d.* On Mont Lois, near Tours, built by Perpetuus, sixth bishop of that city (*ibid.* x. 6).

VIII. *In Africa.*—Relics of Laurence were deposited under an altar at Setif, in Africa, in A.D. 452 (De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* i. 220).

**(2)** An earlier martyr named Laurentius is mentioned by Cyprian (*Ep.* 34), commending Celerinus: "His grandmother, Celerina, was long ago crowned with martyrdom; also his uncle on the father's side, Laurence, and on the mother's side Egnatius. Sacrifices for them, as ye remember, we offer as often as we celebrate in common the passions and anniversary days of the martyrs." Yet the Calendar of Carthage knows no other Laurence but the saint of Aug. 10. The little Roman martyrology celebrates him along with Celerinus on Feb. 3, but it appears by the *Mart. Hieron.* that this day properly belongs to Celerina, and that the African Laurence belongs to Sept. 24 or 28.

**(3)** Another is mentioned April 12. (*Mart. Hieron.*)

**(4)** Laurentinus and Pergentinus, boys, brothers, martyred at Arezzo under Decius, June 3. (*Mart. Rom.*) The *Mart. Hieron.* mentions Laurentius only.

**(5)** The martyrdom of Laurence and Hippolytus under Decius at Fossombrone (Forum Sempronianum), Feb. 2 (*Mart. Hieron.*) is very suspicious. St. Apronianus is commemorated the same day. The cathedral of Fossombrone is sacred to this St. Laurence. (*Acta SS.* Feb. i. 286.)

**(6)** The illuminator, bishop of Spoleto, Feb. 3. Seemingly an apocryphal personage. (*Acta SS.* Feb. i. 362.)

**LAURENCE (7)** On May 10, the Byzantine distich is,—

> *συναλλαγή τις πρὸς Θεὸν Λαυρεντίῳ*
> *πόνους 'Εδὲμ λαβόντι τὴν πορρωπόνην.*

(*Acta SS.* May, ii. 389.)

**(8)** Presbyter of Novari, and ecclesiastical writer of the 4th century. Martyred, with the boys he taught, by the Arians on April 30. (*Acta SS.* April, iii. 763.)

**(9)** Archbishop of Milan, † July 19, A.D. 512.

**(10)** Bishop of Siponto in Apulia, † Feb. 7, A.D. 550. (*Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 57.)

**(11)** Archbishop of Canterbury. † Feb. 2, A.D. 619. Into Laurencekirk in Scotland no woman might enter. (*Acta SS.* Feb. i. 289.)

**(12)** Bishop of Naples, † July 19, A.D. 717. [E. B. B.]

**LAURENTINUS.** [LAURENCE (4).]

**LAURIANUS,** of Seville, killed July 4 (6th century). (*Mart. Hieron.*) [E. B. B.]

**LAURINUS,** martyr of Terni, April 14. (*Mart. Hieron.*) [E. B. B.]

**LAURUS (1)** and Florus, twins, sculptors, thrown into a well in Illyricum by Licinius. Their relics were revealed to Constantine, and brought by him to their native Byzantium, August 18. (*Menology of Basil.*)

**(2)** Of St. Malo, 7th century, † Sept. 30. (*Acta SS.* Sept. viii. 692.) [E. B. B.]

**LAUSTRANUS,** died 640, commemorated Apr. 11 (*Men. Scot.*), as well as LASREN, Apr. 18. [E. B. B.]

**LAUTO,** bishop of Coutances, † Sept. 22, A.D. 568. [E. B. B.]

**LAVABO.** The description of the Eucharistic rite by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. Myst.* v. 2, p. 325) begins with the deacon presenting water to the celebrant (τῷ ἱερεῖ), and the presbyters who encircle the altar, for the purpose of ablution. And this (Cyril continues) was not merely for the sake of personal cleanliness, it was a symbolic act, to which refer the words of David, "I will wash my hands in innocency, O Lord, and so will I go to thine altar" (Ps. xxv. [E. V. xxvi.] 6.) It does not appear from this whether the verse was actually chanted during the ablution, though its appositeness is recognised. (Compare Dionys. Areop. *Hierarch. Eccl.* c. 3.) According to some MSS. of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom (Daniel, *Codex Lit.* iv. 330), the priest and deacon after vesting for the liturgy wash their hands in the prothesis, saying, "Νίψομαι ἐν ἀθῴοις," and the rest of the psalm. In the Roman rite, the washing of the hands occurs after the oblation of the unconsecrated elements, and thus precedes the preface and the more solemn part of the office. After the censing of the altar and the priest, while the deacon is censing the other ministers, the priest washes his hands, saying, "Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas et circumdabo altare tuum, Domine," and the rest of the psalm. As Amalarius of Metz († 837) does not mention this custom, it was probably introduced in the Roman office after he wrote his treatises *de Ecclesiasticis Officiis* and *Eclogae de Officio Missae*. [C.]

**LAVACRUM.** [BAPTISM; FONT.]

**LAVATORY** [MONASTIC]. Monasticism has never been partial to frequent personal ablutions. On the contrary, it has from the first discouraged them, as a form of self-indulgence, and as inconsistent with bodily austerities. Probably this inherent antipathy to bathings and washings was in great measure a result of the reaction from the luxury and licentiousness of the Roman baths under the empire. Certainly the maxim which places cleanliness next to godliness has no place in the biographies of the saints and heroes of monasticism, even in climates where bathing would seem almost one of the necessities of life. Jerome warns ascetics against warm baths as morally enervating (Hieron. *Ep. ad Rustic.*); and in a letter to one of his female disciples denounces every sort of bathing for women (Id. *Ep. ad Laet.*). Augustine allows a bath* once a month only (Aug. *Ep.* 109). This aversion to bathing is one of the many indications of the tendency, which seems inseparable from monasticism, to the Manichean notion of matter being intrinsically evil.

The various monastic rules agree very closely in discouraging the use of baths. Even the tolerant rule of the great Benedict only permits them for those who are weak and delicate, forbidding them generally ("tardius concedatur") for the young and healthy (Bened. *Reg.* c. 36). Evidently he is speaking only of baths within the walls of a monastery; bathing in a river or lake, or in the sea, being of course out of the question (cf. Martene *ad loc.*). Hildemarus interprets the expression "tardius" to mean only before the three great festivals — Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide. Other commentators restrict the phrase to Christmas and Easter only; others take it as a permission for the monks to bathe after doing any very dirty work, &c. (Martene *ad loc.*) Similarly, Isidorus Hispalensis orders baths to be used very sparingly, only as a remedy, never for gratification (Isidor. *Reg.* c. 20). The rule of Caesarius of Arles permits them only in cases where the doctor prescribes them, and without any regard to the inclination of the patient (Caesar. *Reg.* c. 39). The rule ascribed to Augustine is to the same effect (*Reg. Aug.* c. 29), and adds that no monk is to go alone to the baths, nor to choose his companions, but that two or three of the brethren are to be told off by the prior for this purpose. In the same way the council of Aachen in A.D. 817 enacts that the control and regulation of the baths is to belong to the prior (*Conc. Aquisgr.* c. 7). An anonymous rule, which has been ascribed to Columbanus, called *Regula Cujusdam*, orders delinquent monks, as a penance, to make the necessary preparations for the washing of their brethren's heads on Saturdays, and for their baths just before the great festivals, especially Christmas (*Reg. Cuj.* c. 12; cf. Columban. *Poenitent.*; ap. Menard, *Comment. ad loc.*). Radegundis is said to have built baths for the use of the nuns in the convent (of Ste. Croix) which she founded at Poitiers; before long some irregularities occurred, which the abbess was accused of conniving at, in regard to the use of these baths (Gregor. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* x. 16). See further Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus.* [I. G. S.]

* In his *Confessions*, where he describes his grief for the death of his mother, he speaks of bathing as recommended to him for his depression of spirits, and mentions an absurd derivation of the Greek word βαλανεῖον as meaning a relief to anxiety.

## LAW.

SYLLABUS.

I. "Law" and "Law of Nature," and early Christian authorities upon.

II. Positive Law of the *State*. Attitude of the earlier Christians to.
- Law of the State as directly affecting the Christian Church before Constantine, and legislation of Constantine.
- Legislation between time of Constantine and of Justinian.
- Justinian's legislation.
- Legislation of the Barbarian, Frank, and English kings.
- Legislation of Charlemagne.

III. Internal legislation of the *Church*.

The word *Law* has this in common with the Latin *jus*, the French *droit*, and the German *recht*, that it is at once abstract and concrete. It means both the idea of rules of conduct proceeding from a competent authority and also the rules themselves. The word and the various meanings conveyed by it have been submitted to searching criticism of late years in this country, especially by Bentham and writers more or less distinctly influenced by him. The only part of the controversies thus originating which is relevant here is that which relates to the use of the word *law*, in such expressions as "Law of Nature," "Natural Law," "Law of God," "Moral Law." It is not very satisfactory nor historically true to conclude, with Mr. Austin (*Lectures on Jurisprudence*), that the original use of the term *Law* is a political one, and that the ethical and theological uses are wholly metaphorical and derived. Sir H. S. Maine's review of the history of the expression "Law of Nature" (*Ancient Law*, chap. iv.), rather supports the doctrine that the expression was borrowed from quite another region than the political one, and that it was in the task of correcting and amending this one that it found its most worthy uses. There is no doubt that Hooker's opposition of "humane law," "that which men probably gathering it to be expedient they make it a law," to that other law which, "as it is laid up in the bosom of God, they call eternal, receiveth according to the different kinds of things which are subject unto it different and sundry kinds of names," certainly expresses a logical distribution of law as old as the Christian Church itself, and somewhat older. The constant references in Cicero's writings to the distribution of *jus* into *natura* and *lex* (see particularly *De Leg.* i. 15, 16, and *Orat. partit.* 37), are especially interesting from the attention which Lactantius (vi. 8) calls to them, in the celebrated passage in which, citing Cicero's panegyric on the "vera lex recta ratio naturae congruens constans sempiterna," he speaks of "dei lex illa sancta illa coelestis quam Marcus Tullius in libro de Republicâ tertio poene divinâ voce depinxit." The expressions of St. Paul in reference to a law written in the hearts of the Gentiles (Rom. ii. 15) are quite in accordance with the doctrines of the leading Roman jurists a century after his time, when

Roman law was at its climax; as for instance appears from the language of Paulus (47 Dig. iii. 1, § 3) about theft, "quod *lege naturali* prohibitum est admittere." The early Christian writers constantly allude to the law of nature, and often base elaborate arguments either on its existence or on its precepts. Thus Origen (*c. Celsum*, viii. 52) speaking of the persuasion he had of the salvation of the heathen whose lives had been good, and recalling noble practical maxims laid down even by the enemies of the faith, says, "you will find no men in whom the common notions of what is good and bad, just and unjust, have been wholly blotted out." So, again, Tertullian (*adv. Jud.* cap. v.) says he contended that "before the law of Moses was written on tables of stone, there was an unwritten law which was naturally understood and held in trust by the patriarchs." St. Ambrose (*Epist. ad Rom.* cap. v.) divides the "natural law" into three parts, one concerned with shewing honour to the Creator, another with leading a good life, and a third with making known God and the right way of life to others. St. Jerome (*Epist. ad Galat.* chap. iii.) says that by this "legem naturalem" Cain acknowledged his offence, and Pharaoh, before the law was given by Moses, confessed his misdeeds. St. Chrysostom builds an elaborate argument on the existence and import of a law of nature (*Homil.* xii. ad Pop. Ant.), and says that "at the beginning God made the knowledge of good and evil self-taught; for we stand in no need of learning that indulgence is evil and self-restraint good, but we know it from the first;" and "when He said 'thou shalt do no murder,' He did not add, 'for murder is doing wrong;' but He simply said, 'thou shalt do no murder,' thereby merely forbidding what was sinful without teaching why it was so." The general subject of the attitude of the earlier writers, Christian, Jewish, and Heathen, towards the law of nature, will be found discussed in such works as Selden, 'De Jure Naturae et Gentium secundum disciplinam Hebraeorum,' Pufendorf, 'Jus Gentium et Naturae,' and the Prolegomena to Grotius, 'De Jure Belli et Pacis.' From the above extracts it will sufficiently appear from what sources a knowledge of the law of nature was to be extracted, and what was the import of the assertion of the later canonists that no dispensation from it was obtainable.

As contrasted with the "Law of Nature," what is sometimes called "Positive Law" may be considered under three heads:—I. Such part of the general laws of the state as happened to affect Christians because of conflicts of allegiance to which it casually gave rise. II. Such special laws of the state as were enacted in different countries and at successive epochs for the purpose of regulating the Christian society, and determining the organisation of the Church; and III. Such internal regulations as were made by the church itself, either in pursuance of what it held to be an inherent legislative authority, or in the character of a subordinate legislature, exercising permissive powers in dependence on the state.

I. The attitude of Christians towards the general law of the state in the territory of which they found themselves, was broadly defined for them at the very opening of Christian history, in the words so much quoted in after times, "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's," and in the part of the twelfth chapter of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, in which the Apostle discusses the relation of the members of the Church to the "powers that be." It would seem that during the whole of the first century no questions of seriously conflicting allegiance presented themselves, the only aspect in which the early church found itself in opposition to the laws of the empire being that it was not formally incorporated among the recognised cults, that is, it was not, like Judaism, a "religio licita." Nevertheless Tertullian intimates that it had slipped in as such, and that Tiberius had even proposed, on receiving the report of Pontius Pilate, to give Christ a place among the gods (*Apol.* c. 5, and 26). Pliny's letter to Trajan (about A.D. 111) describes the Christians in Bithynia as a law-abiding people, "bound together by no unlawful sacrament, but only under mutual obligations not to commit theft, robbery, adultery, or fraud." It was, however, when he submitted them to the test of adoration before the statues of the gods and of the emperors, and the malediction of Christ, that they were recalcitrant. The amount of subservience to customs bearing the semblance of idolatry which was justifiable in a Christian became the subject of serious perplexity between the period at which the Christians had grown to be numerous and important enough to attract public attention, and that at which the church secured its political victory over paganism. The difficulty was encountered at two points; one, where, owing to general suspicion on other grounds, a Christian was subjected to the test of sacrificing or doing an overt act of worship to the emperor; the other, where the common functions of a civil or military life involved what seemed to be idolatrous usages. It is a matter of some doubt how far the Christians of the 2nd and 3rd centuries consented to serve in the imperial armies, though the expressions of Christian writers, and the arguments of Tertullian with respect to the extent to which Christians might go in receiving military rewards, leave no doubt as to the prevalent opinion that service was not sinful in itself, nor as to the actual practice (Tertull. *de Coronâ Milit.* cap. xi.; see Milman's *History*, bk. ii. cap. vii. and Neander). Some of the Christian writers bestow great pains in solving fine casuistical problems as to how far conformity might go. Thus Tertullian (*de Idololatriâ*, cap. xvii.) thinks a Christian might walk simply in a procession but must not sacrifice, nor give the word for another to sacrifice, nor place the victims, nor bind their temples, nor pronounce any solemn words, nor make any adjuration. Then, again, he discusses the question as to what slaves and faithful freemen should do when their masters or patrons are officially engaged in sacrificing. He intimates, in another place (*Apol.* c. 34), that it might be allowable to call the emperor lord but not god.

With respect to the general duty of obeying the law of the state, the Christian writers are unanimous in upholding it. Indeed they habitually base their defence against imputations from without on their loyalty. Thus Justin Martyr

(*Apol.* i. 17) says that "wherever we are we pay the taxes and tribute imposed by you, as we were instructed to do by Him," and "while we worship God alone in all other matters, we cheerfully submit ourselves to you, confessing you to be the kings and rulers of men." Irenaeus (v. 24), speaking even more strongly, and alluding to the perpetual "calumny of the devil" to the contrary, says, "we ought to obey powers and earthly authorities, inasmuch as they are constituted not by the devil but God;" and "that kings are the ministers of God, and are put in authority by the command of that same One to whose command men owe their very existence." Tertullian (*Apol.* c. 42) presents a vivid picture of the complete implication of the life of the Christians with that of the pagans, in a passage which leaves no doubt that it was the persuasion of the church that conformity was a general duty, and nonconformity only a particular exception from it. "Itaque non sine foro non sine macello non sine balneis tabernis officiis tabulis nundinis vestris coeterisque commerciis cohabitamus in hoc saeculo: navigamus et nos vobiscum et militamus et rusticamur et mercamur; proinde miscemus artes, opera nostra publicamus usui vestro."

Later Christian history, however, brought forward a wholly new class of problems arising out of the active interference of the secular government with the internal affairs of the church. This led to the question being mooted which has never been theoretically answered as to how far the church and its members are morally entitled to resist a law which indirectly affects, as they think perniciously, the interests of the church. The letter of Gregory the Great, addressed to the emperor Maurice (A.D. 582–602), who had interdicted all persons occupying civil functions from becoming clerks or entering a monastery, may be cited in order to shew what was probably a characteristic mode of solving such problems after the time that the church became an authority competing with the state. "As for me, submitting to thy order, I have sent this law to the various countries of the earth, and I have said to my serene lords in this paper whereon I have deposited my reflections, that this law goes against that of the all-powerful God. I have therefore fulfilled my duty upon each side; I have rendered obedience to Caesar, and I have not been silent as to what appeared to me to be against God." (Greg. M. *Epist.* lii. p. 65.)

II. The laws of the state specially affecting the Christian Church may affect it as a corporate society, or assemblage of corporate societies; or may affect its officers individually; or its members individually. And among the laws that affect the members of the church individually will properly be included all those which confer privileges or impose disabilities on any persons whatever on the ground of their not being members of the church. Thus the general purposes of the laws directly affecting the church may be arranged as those of (1) conferring privileges, or imposing disabilities on members of the church as such, or upon other persons not being such, as, *e.g.*, Jews, pagans, heretics, and apostates; (2) prescribing and controlling the *organisation* of the church, personal and material; and, with this view conferring privileges or imposing disabilities on church officials of all classes; (3) regulating the *property* of the church, of its officers, and of its members; (4) determining questions of disputable *jurisdiction* in respect of ecclesiastical, civil, and criminal suits and offences; and (5) giving effect to the internal legislation of the church itself. It might be expected that at some periods of church history some of the classes of laws owing their origin to these different purposes would be found to be more prominent than the rest, and at other periods other classes of laws. Indeed, it is the case that for long periods together some of these classes of laws often seem to be wholly absent, either through the inactivity of the state, or from there being no materials recognisable by the state on which law could operate. For instance, in early days the whole of the civil law as affecting the church would be gathered up in the disabilities and penalties inflicted on its individual members. But between the time of Pliny's letter and the persecution at the beginning of the 4th century, under Galerius and Diocletian, the organisation of the church was becoming recognised, if not formally protected, and even the property of the church secured to it by law.

Thus it seems that about the time of Alexander Severus (A.D. 222), "Christian bishops were admitted at court in a recognised official character, and Christian churches began to rise in different parts of the empire, and to possess endowments in land" (Milman, ii. 231). "The Christians" (says Gibbon, writing of this period, c. xvi.) "were permitted to erect and consecrate convenient edifices for the purpose of religious worship; to purchase lands, even at Rome itself, for the use of the community; and to conduct the elections of their ecclesiastical ministers in so public, but at the same time in so exemplary, a manner, as to deserve the respectful attention of the Gentiles." But the history of a few years later shews upon what a frail foundation these privileges rested; and it was not till after Constantine's victory over Maxentius in A.D. 312 that the legal rights and duties of the Christian church, its officers, and its members, began to be ascertained with a constantly advancing precision. It is not necessary to distinguish here the successive steps by which Constantine first supported by his legislation paganism and Christianity impartially; then co-operated with the organisation of the church; and finally (as in his dealings with Arius) overbore that organisation by the weight of his personal authority. There are scarcely enough materials in existence to decide the question as to how far, at any time, Constantine went in suppressing the use of pagan rites by the general law. After reviewing all the authorities and the passages in Eusebius directly bearing on the point, Dean Milman is of opinion that Constantine only abolished two kinds of sacrifices, that is, private sacrifices connected with unlawful acts of theurgy or of magic; and the state sacrifices heretofore offered by the emperor himself, or by others in his name. The passage in the Theodosian Code (*Cod. Th.* xvi. 10, 2), from a law of Constans in which he cites an edict of his father, is distinctly in favour of an universal prohibition. "Cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum

aboleatur insania. Nam quicunque contra legem divi Principis parentis nostri et hanc nostrae mansuetudinis jussionem census fuerit sacrificia celebrare competens in eum vindicta et praesens sententia exseratur." We have in the Theodosian Code very clear indications of the legal measures by which Constantine (1) fenced round the Christian community, by inflicting disabilities on those outside, as in the law (*Cod. Th.* v. 1) to the effect that all privileges given in respect of religion attached only to "Catholicae legis observatoribus; haereticos autem atque schismaticos non tantum ab his privilegiis alienos esse sed etiam diversis muneribus constringi et subici;" (2) recognised the organisation of the church by allowing slaves to be manumitted "in gremio Ecclesiae," provided it was done "sub aspectu antistitum" (*Cod. Th.* iv. 71), and supported its institutions by allowing no other business than emancipations and manumissions to be performed on Sunday (*Cod. Th.* iii. 12, 1, 2, 3). Constantine also exempted the clergy from the burdensome liability to serve on town councils (*Cod. Th.* xvi. 2; 1, 2, 3). A provision was, however, introduced which throws light on the notion of ordination prevailing at the time, to the effect that if any one should, subsequently to the making of the law, become ordained solely in order to evade his civil obligations, he must be restored to his civil character (restitui et civilibus obsequiis inservire). The whole of this law may be instructively contrasted with the legislation of Justinian (*Cod.* i. 4, 26), by which he specially provides for bishops becoming an essentially constituent part of provincial town councils.

In the two hundred years which intervened between the time of Constantine and that of Justinian, legislation directly affecting the Christian church made rapid progress in all its departments. It was in the joint reign of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius (A.D. 380) that the formal law was passed which figures in the codes both of Theodosius and of Justinian, by which Christianity was constituted the exclusive religion of the Roman empire, both in the East and in the West. "We command all who read this law to embrace the name of Catholic Christians, deciding that all other idiots and madmen should bear the infamy attaching to their heretical opinions, and as they will first meet with the penalty of divine vengeance, so they will afterwards receive that condemnation at our hands which the Heavenly Judge has empowered us to administer." (*Cod. Jus.* I. i. 1.)

From this period laws begin to appear for determining questions of disputable jurisdiction, such as the law of Arcadius and Honorius A.D. 399 (*Cod. Th.* xvi. 11, 1), giving the bishops exclusive jurisdiction in "religious" matters, but in these only: "quotiens de religione agetur episcopos convenit judicare: coeteras vero causas quae ad ordinarios cognitores vel ad usum publici foris pertinent legibus oportet audiri." At the very end of the Theodosian Code appears what is called an "extravagant" law of Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, "de episcopali judicio," prescribing that bishops be not occupied in trying ordinary matters, but whenever a matter presented itself relating to Christian authority (quae pertineat ad Christianam facultatem), it should be decided by the highest priestly functionary in the district (see AUDIENTIA EPISCOPALIS, I. 152). The special penalties imposed on immoral clergy belong also to the part of the law which regulates and supports the organisation of the church. Such were those imposed by the law of Valens and Valentinian (A.D. 370, *Cod. Th.* xvi. 11, 20) on ecclesiastics, or "ex ecclesiasticis vel qui continentium se volent nomine nuncupari viduarum ac pupillarum domos adeant;" they were "publicis exterminari judiciis," and were held incapable to take any benefit under a will of a woman to whom they had attached themselves under pretext of religion. The practice of requiring such laws as directly affect the church to be publicly read in the church, is an interesting token of the public recognition of these Christian buildings. The law just cited is said to have been read in the churches, "lecta in ecclesiis;" and Theodosius the younger had his law against the Nestorians, and Constantine his letter to the church of Alexandria, in absolution of Athanasius, read in the churches; and the practice was in use under the Visigoths at the close of the laws of which people we read, "Suprascriptas leges omnes lectas in ecclesiâ S. Mariae Toleti sub die xi. Kalend. Feb."

The laws affecting the Christians which were enacted between the time of Constantine and the publication of the Theodosian Code in A.D. 438, are mostly contained in the 16th book of that code, the code itself having been promulgated in the same year, both in the Eastern and Western empires. The next important legislative events occurred in the middle of the sixth century, in the reign of Justinian. The product of Justinian's legislative exertions in respect of the church appears in the first book of his code (the revised edition of which—the only one which has come down to us,—was published in A.D. 534), and his Novells which cover a period of legislation extending from A.D. 535 to A.D. 565. The first book of the code also contains the laws which had been passed by successive emperors since the publication of the Theodosian Code. Of this intermediate period between A.D. 438 and A.D. 534, there appear in Justinian's Code (Book 2) several important laws regulating the rights and liabilities of the clergy, confirming the claims of the church to have property transferred to it in life and on death (*Cod.* i. 2, 14), directing the clergy as to the administration of property left by will for the redemption of captives, and for the use of the poor (i. 3, 28), and determining the rights, duties, and general functions of those betaking themselves to a conventual and monastic life. The right of sanctuary as available in all parts of the empire is explicitly vindicated and defined by a law of Leo I. in A.D. 466. (*Cod.* i. 12, 6.)

The comprehensive legislation of Justinian, especially that which took place between A.D. 535 and A.D. 565, and is recorded in his Novells, extends to all the branches of law in which, according to the above classification, it is possible for the civil law directly to affect the Christian community. It will be convenient to review the general character of the laws passed in Justinian's reign in conformity with that classification.

(1.) Of laws conferring privileges or imposing disabilities on individual members of the church, or on other persons because they are not such members, the fifty-second constitution

(*Novell. Auth.*) is an instance, the effect of which was to exclude Jews, Samaritans, Montanists, and other heretics (aliter respuendos homines quos nondum hactenus recta et immaculata fides illucet sed et in tenebris sedent animis vera non sentientes sacramenta) from the beneficial exemptions enjoyed by the orthodox in respect of service on town councils, and to allow their testimony in courts of law only in cases in which the interest of an orthodox suitor, or that of the state seemed to call for it. Another instance is supplied by the limitation of the newly conceded rights of intestate succession in accordance with natural, instead of the older civil relationship to those who belonged to the "Catholic Faith." (*Nov. Authen.* 114.) Yet a further instance is the law forbidding marriages between god-parent and god-child (*Cod.* v. 4, 26) on the ground that "nothing else could so surely introduce an affectionate paternal relationship, and thereby justly forbid marriage, as a tie of this sort by which souls are bound together through the mediation of God."

(2.) With laws regulating and protecting the organisation of the church Justinian's legislation is replete, and the 134th Novell is a small code in itself. Bishops and monks were absolutely forbidden to act as guardians, and priests and deacons were allowed to act only on their formal request, and they were all forbidden to undertake any civil function. The bishops were forbidden to move from place to place without the permission of the metropolitan or the emperor. The bishops, patriarchs, and archbishops in each province were to assemble once or twice a year, and to examine into all causes and offences. By the 59th Novell it is forbidden to introduce the "sacred mysteries" into private houses, unless certain of the clergy were especially invited with the approval of the bishop. The limitation of the number of the clergy, and of the expenses attending on ordination, were carefully provided for (*Nov. Auth.* 3, 5, 16).

(3.) Of laws regulating the property of the church the seventh constitution is an important specimen. It lays down the general principle that no church or church officer is entitled to part with, by gift, sale, exchange, or perpetual lease, any immovable property of the church, or the sacred vessels of the church, save only (in this last case) for the redemption of prisoners, the right of the Government to force a sale at a fair price being reserved. A later law (*Nov. Auth.* 43) permits the alienation of immovables in the case of inability to pay state dues, and if the income of the immovables does not suffice; and a still later law (*Nov. Auth.* 67) provides that lands and other immovables left to the church by will for the redemption of captives, or for the support of the poor, may be sold for the purpose should it appear that no certain income from the property can be relied upon otherwise [ALIENATION, I. 50]. To the same class of topics belong the legal restrictions upon building churches, monasteries, and houses of prayer without first making a preliminary grant of the property to provide for the services (*Nov. Auth.* 69, 2).

(4.) Laws regulating jurisdiction, of course, became increasingly precise at this period, and the final Novell, already cited, contains numerous provisions on the subject. By the 80th Novell, persons having any cause of action against monks, ascetics, or nuns, must bring the case before the bishop; by the 129th Novell, the bishop might, in case a judge deferred giving sentence, either press the judge to proceed or himself investigate the case afresh, pronounce sentence, and report the neglect to the emperor. Provision was also made for parties trying their case before a friendly tribunal composed of the judge and the bishop, so as to avoid the necessity of referring the case to the tribunal at the capital. Bishops administering justice with partiality were to be punished. In the 134th Novell important provisions are contained, by which all causes of complaint against a member of the clerical body are to be laid, in the first instance, before the bishop, and the sentence, if accepted by both parties within ten days, is to be carried out by the civil judge; if the sentence is not accepted the civil judge is to examine the case afresh, and if he differs from the bishop an appeal is allowed (see APPEAL, I. 126). In criminal cases, if the bishop condemns, the convicted clerk is first to be shorn of his "honour and grade" according to ecclesiastical rules, and is then tried by the civil judge. If the civil judge is approached first, and the prisoner is found to be a clerk, the case must go before the bishop, who, if he finds the clerk guilty, is to deprive him of his office and hand him back for sentence to the civil judge. If the bishop does not find him guilty he is to defer the deprivation, while security is taken and the case referred to the emperor for his decision.

(5.) As to laws enforcing the internal legislation of the church, the 120th Novell is important, the first chapter of it solemnly giving the force of law to the sacred ecclesiastical rules expounded or established by the four Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. Subsequently to the time of Justinian, the Iconoclastic controversy in the East (commencing A.D. 726) is interesting, in reference to the present subject as exhibiting the firm legislative control that the Eastern emperors either retained or assumed to themselves over the ritual of the church. The conquests of Justinian in Italy led to his complete body of laws being applied *en masse* to the subjects of his re-conquered provinces, for whose use the Novells, or such of them as originally appeared in the Greek language, were translated into Latin. But before the victories of Justinian in Italy the Theodosian Code had already been introduced in an almost complete shape into the code of the Visigoths issued in A.D. 506 by Alaric II. He was succeeded by Theodoric, his father-in-law, who united thereby the kingdoms of the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths. In this way it appears that in the early part of the sixth century the laws affecting the church, as they were embodied in the Theodosian Code and in the code and Novells of Justinian, were introduced into Italy almost simultaneously from the East and the West; and it may be conjectured that, in this way, the legislation of Justinian, as well as of his predecessors, became the basis of the legislation of the barbarian kings. There is reason, however, to suppose that the barbarian kings were less disposed to interfere with the internal order of the church than the Eastern emperors. They were mostly Arians, they were not gifted with the theological subtlety which seems to have

distinguished some of the rulers in the East, and some of the most eminent of them are conspicuous either for toleration or for religious indifference (see Guizot's *Civilisation in France*, Lect. xii.). In an edict of Clothaire II. (A.D. 615) we have a distinct recognition of the principle that the clergy are, in the first instance, to be tried by an ecclesiastical and not by a civil court; and, for the case of suits between the clergy and other persons, a court is established composed of chiefs of the church sitting together with the ordinary secular judge. The law of the Ripuarian Franks (*Lex Rip.* xxxi. § 3, lviii. § 1) provides for the clergy being tried by the Roman law. The Salic law, in its oldest form, bears few marks of ecclesiastical legislation, and is almost exclusively occupied with defining the pecuniary penalties for civil and criminal offences. In its reformed shape it wears the impress of the mature ecclesiastical legislation of Charlemagne.

The laws of the Saxon kings in various English kingdoms afford instruction as to contemporaneous legislation in all the German kingdoms under the influence of the Roman church. The code of Ethelbert, who seems to have begun to reign about A.D. 561, contains a number of precise regulations on general matters, of which only the first touches the church, robbery from which is to be punished by a fine of twelve times the value stolen; robbery from the bishop, by a fine of eleven times the value; from a priest, or nine times; a deacon, of six times; and so on. In the code of Wihtraed, who seems to have begun to reign in A.D. 691, there is a fair amount of ecclesiastical legislation, including the principle that the church shall enjoy immunity from taxes, and sundry minute rules in respect of compensation for offences by and against the clergy. The celebrated laws of Ina, who came to the throne about A.D. 688, mark a distinct stage in social and political advance. While dealing largely with the common criminal offences, against which the previous codes were mainly directed, they also contain numerous specific laws directly affecting the church; as that, "the ministers of God shall observe their own proper laws"; that "children shall be brought to be baptized within thirty days, under a penalty of thirty solidi"; that "a slave doing work at his master's bidding on the Lord's day shall thereby become free"; and that "the right of sanctuary availed to save the life of a criminal, but he must make compensation" (Wilkins's *Leges Anglo-Saxonicae Ecclesiasticae et Civiles*). Some curious instances of the active co-operation of the church and the state in respect of punishing the offences of the clergy against the ordinary civil and criminal law in the earlier part of the seventh century in Britain appear in some very early works cited by Mr. Haddan and Professor Stubbs (*Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 1869). The *Liber Landavensis* (a compilation of the twelfth century) records the excommunication by Oudaeus, bishop of Llandaff, at the beginning of the seventh century, of Mensig and of Morgan, kings of Glamorgan, for murder, after swearing amity upon relics in the bishop's presence, in each case lands being given to the see of Llandaff by the culprit when reconciled. The same work records similar proceedings in the case of a fratricide committed by Gwoednerth, king of Gwent; and in other cases Eddius, in his life of Wilfrid (A.D. 709), mentions that the holy bishop, Wilfrid, on one occasion, standing before the altar, and turning to the people, "enumerated before the kings the lands which previous kings had granted and the sacred sites which the British clergy had deserted in flying before the enemy." This seems to imply a re-endowment by the Saxon kings with lands previously held by the British church.

The legislation of Charlemagne, which continued through his entire reign, that is, from A.D. 768 to A.D. 814, and which was reproduced over and over again in closely resembling forms in the different countries successively reduced under his rule, recalls that of Justinian by its comprehensiveness and its particularity. Nevertheless, the capitularies of Charlemagne not only mark the progress which the church had made during the past 200 years in internal organisation, but they also seem to bespeak the spontaneous energy of the church in legislating for itself, rather than the mere weight of imperial authority, to which so many of the earlier laws were due. Much of Charlemagne's legislation in respect of the church is identical with that of Justinian, and with that of the earlier Saxon codes, and this affords evidence that legislation of this sort was largely controlled by ecclesiastical usage and tradition, and by the direct influence exercised by the authorities of the church on the civil lawgiver.

It will be convenient to exemplify Charlemagne's legislation by reference to such of the main department of possible legislation in reference to the church as were above distinguished for the purpose of convenient arrangement, and are alone prominent at this date. They concern (1) the organisation and ritual of the church, (2) the property of the church, of its officials, and of its members, and (3) jurisdiction.

(1.) In respect of the organisation and ritual of the church, the laws of Charlemagne are extremely numerous and precise. Thus (Cap. A.D. 769) priests are to be subject to their bishops, and to give an exact account on the first day of Lent of their ministry, and of the rites they have performed; and to entertain the bishop on his visitations. No priest is to undertake the care of a church without the bishop's assent, nor to pass from one church to another. Priests are not to celebrate mass except in places dedicated to God, or, if upon a journey, in a tent and at a table consecrated by the bishop. The bishops and clergy were specially interdicted from engaging in battle or accompanying the armies, excepting a few bishops with their attending priests selected to perform sacred duties; also from hunting with dogs and keeping hawks and falcons. Every bishop was to visit his diocese (parochia) once a year, and put a stop to pagan rites and ceremonies (auguria, phylacteria, incantationes vel omnes spurcitias gentilium). Bishops were to have due authority over priests and other clerics within their diocese (Cap. A.D. 779), and to be themselves subject to the metropolitans. A bishop was not to receive a cleric attached to another diocese, nor to ordain him to a higher function. The faith and good life of candidates for ordination was to be investigated by the bishop, and fugitive clerics and strangers were not to be received or ordained without "literae commendaticiae" and the licence of

their own bishop (Cap. A.D. 789). Bishops were precisely directed as to the subjects of their preaching, such as belief in the doctrines of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, and of the Resurrection, sins for which eternal punishment was due, love of God and one's neighbour, faith, hope, humility, patience, alms, confession, and the like. A number of general directions were given to the clergy as to conduct, such as in respect of swearing in the course of conversation (sed simpliciter cum puritate et veritate omnia decet), entering taverns, getting drunk, or making others so, and preaching the gospel to the people on festal and the Lord's days. Precise regulations are given as to the observance of the Lord's day. No servile work was to be done, or journeys undertaken, except for purposes of warfare, fetching food, and burying the dead. Everyone was to attend church, and the celebration of the mass, and praise God for all the good things He had done on that day. Official public meetings and the public administration of justice were not to take place on that day, except in circumstances of urgent necessity (Cap. A.D. 789, de partibus Saxoniae). The bodies of Christian Saxons were to be buried in the cemeteries of the church, and not in the "tumuli" of the pagans. Children were to be baptized within a year, or a fine was imposed on the person responsible for the neglect. The right of sanctuary was defined very much in the same language as in earlier laws. Homicides and other persons accused of committing crimes punishable with death would not be excused by taking refuge in a church, and no food must be given them there (Cap. A.D. 779). By a later capitulary of A.D. 789 none were to be violently expelled from a sanctuary, but they were to remain till a formal judicial inquiry could take place (dum placitum praesentetur); see also Cap. A.D. 803, 3. Breaking into a church was an offence punishable with death. A synod was to meet twice a year (Cap. A.D. 806). A province was never to be divided between two metropolitans. Lastly (Cap. A.D. 803), reading in church was to be distinct (lectiones in ecclesia distincte legantur).

(2.) As to the *property* of the church, a considerable part of Charlemagne's laws is concerned with regulating the right to tithes. The general principle of paying tithes is laid down in the capitulary of A.D. 789 ("De partibus Saxoniae"), that every one, noble as well as free born, should give the tenth part of his substance and his labour to the church and the priests." The principle is affirmed over and over again, and applied in detail to various kinds of property. The history of this part of Charlemagne's legislation is passed succinctly in review by Professor Brewer in an Appendix to his *Endowment and Establishment of the Church of England*, Part I., to which it is sufficient for the present purpose to refer. Bishops and abbats were cautioned as to bestowing a diligent custody on the treasures of the churches, lest by treachery or negligence any gems, vases, or other treasures be lost (Cap. A.D. 806, 3). It was specially provided (Cap. A.D. 804, 3) that if any one wishes to build a church on his own property, he must first have the bishop's assent and licence, and that the ancient tithes payable to the older churches must not be diverted to the new one.

(3.) With respect to *jurisdiction* no judge was to punish a priest, deacon, or cleric, "without the consenting knowledge of the pontifex," under pain of separation from the church till he confesses and amends. Bishops were to administer justice to the clergy in their dioceses; and if an "abbat, priest, deacon, sub-deacon, does not obey the bishop, the metropolitan must interpose, and if he cannot settle the matter, the parties must come to the king "cum literis metropolitani" (Cap. A.D. 794). Priests accused of crimes were to be tried at a synod in accordance with a capitulary of pope Innocent's; if they were convicted, they were to be removed from the sacerdotal office. By Cap. A.D. 812, if bishops and abbats could not settle their disputes they must come before the king himself. All other officials were warned against presuming to try such high matters without special authorisation from the king. The decrees of the councils of Nicaea, Chalcedon, Antioch, and Sardica were incorporated in the legislation. From the preface to some of the capitularies, it seems that the laws were in fact passed as much by the authority of the church as by that of the state. Thus the capitulary of A.D. 779 opens "Anno feliciter undecimo, &c. qualiter *congregatis in unum synodali concilio* facto capitulare *episcopis abbatibus* virisque inlustribus comitibus una cum Domino nostro se," &c. [See CAPITULARY.]

III. The laws made by the church itself, whether in pursuance of an inherent legislative faculty it holds itself to possess, or as a subordinate legislature dependent on the state, must be considered under the heads of (1) the modes by which the law has at different periods been made, and (2) the modes by which it has been enforced. (1.) It will have been seen from the preceding review to what an extent at different periods and from opposite causes, such as the complete preponderance of the state over the church at one period and the intimate implication of the state with the church at another, the same authority which enacted laws for the state also prescribed the most minute regulations for the internal order of the church, and often at the same moment and in the same document. So true is this, that in the case of some of the capitularies of Charlemagne, and of the legislative acts of the early Saxon kings in England, it is hard to say whether the law-making authority was a church synod or the king surrounded by his ordinary councillors, the bishops, abbats, and chief secular officials in the kingdom. Nevertheless, the church claimed from the earliest times the right of independent legislation, though the limits of this right became soon contested in practice through the interposition of the Eastern emperors, and in theory also as soon as the church of Rome assumed for itself the claim of being the chief, or even the exclusive organ of church legislation (see COUNCIL, I. 473; CANON LAW, I. 265; DECRETAL, I. 539), and thereby precipitated the inevitable controversy with the secular authority in different countries.

(2.) The modes by which the church has been enabled, or has attempted, to make her laws effective by applying suitable penalties for their infraction have always been in fact largely subject to the explicit or implicit control of the state, and the more so as the church and the state became co-extensive. Nevertheless, the church has also succeeded in herself punish-

ing her own members and officers for breaches of her laws, and, in the times of her greatest strength, has done so even when the offender, as in the case of Theodosius the Great, was a crowned head. Apart from excommunication, partial or total, temporary or permanent, and public reproof or degradation of office, the most common forms that ecclesiastical penalties gradually took was the enforcement of some painful austerity or discipline [PENITENCE], subsequently commuted for, or admitting of, a regular substitute in a fine. [FINES, I. 671.] It is well-known by what gradual but certain steps this notion of accepting pecuniary compensation for some of the lighter offences gradually led to the principle of admitting for all but a very few "mortal" sins a like satisfaction; and then to the whole system of INDULGENCES [I. 834] by which ecclesiastical penalties were mitigated. An examination of the older Salic law and the Ripuarian law, already alluded to, will go far to explain how the notion of pecuniary compensation for sins so easily took root in the Western church. It was, in fact, the common form of all the civic legislation in the German kingdoms which was not directly borrowed from Rome. It has, however, been observed that Tertullian's education as a lawyer led him in his treatise *De Poenitentiâ* (c. 19), to regard the ecclesiastical fine exacted for "homicidium, idolulatria, fraus, negatio, blasphemia et fornicatio," rather as a "satisfactio" or temporary security for future good conduct than as a penalty for past transgressions. Probably both ideas coalesced in the late church law relative to penance.

The question naturally suggests itself how far, before the death of Charlemagne, the church was in a position to rely upon the co-operation of the state in enforcing her own laws and the procedure of her own courts; for instance, by imparting to a sentence of deprivation its appropriate civil consequences. The truth was that, from the times of the earlier Christian emperors, the jurisdiction of the bishops, in respect of certain matters and persons, was placed upon exactly the same level as the jurisdiction of a civil court (see especially the law of Honorius and Theodosius II., A.D. 408, giving the force of a civil judgment to the sentence of a bishop on a voluntary reference to his arbitration—a law often imputed to Constantine,—and Justinian's 134th Novell already cited). Again, under the municipal government of the empire, in all the later stages of its history, the bishop was intimately concerned in civic administration of the most secular kind in all the chief towns and especially at Rome (see 1 *Cod. Jus.* iv., and Guizot's *Civilisation in Europe*, Lect. ii. and Gibbon in reference to Gregory I. chap. xlv.). Lastly, Charlemagne, in constituting his itinerant magistracies, combined in one commission a Comes and a bishop, "ut uterque pleniter suum ministerium peragere possint" (Cap. A.D. 803, chap. iv.). It thus resulted that all the machinery was constantly at hand for enforcing the judgment of the bishop in strictly ecclesiastical matters in the same way as the judgment of a secular court.

But, furthermore, it is to be borne in mind that the canons by which ecclesiastical penalties were imposed were, up to the death of Charlemagne, scarcely distinguishable from the ordinary laws of the empire. The legislative body was, as often as not, constituted in exactly the same way whether engaged in secular or religious legislation, and frequently discharged both classes of business at the same sitting. Both Justinian and Charlemagne expressly incorporated among the published laws of the realm the canons of four general councils (not the same ones); an incessant control and supervision is exercised by the civil ruler over the sitting of councils, and provision is made for the time being fairly distributed between secular and religious business. Thus king Sigibert, in addressing Desiderius, the bishop of Cahors (A.D. 650), directs that no "synodale concilium" be held in his kingdom without his knowledge. The seventeenth council of Toledo in A.D. 694 decreed that in the first three days of every such assembly ecclesiastical affairs should be debated, and then—but not till then—the affairs of the state; and Charlemagne (Cap. A.D 811, chap. iv.) directs that the abbats, bishops, and counts are to be distributed into different chambers with a view to laymen not interfering with ecclesiastical affairs. Again, while it is probable enough that during the period here concerned excommunication was felt to be a heavier punishment than any ordinary punishment known to the secular laws, and therefore needed no supplement from these, there are signal instances on record of specific legislation for the purpose of moderating or increasing the effect of an ecelesiastical sentence. Thus, in A.D. 595, Childebert makes a decree against those who, on being excommunicated for murder, still continue obstinate. Pepin (Cap. A.D. 755) makes a similar decree: "Si aliquis ista omnia contemserit et episcopus emendare minime potuerit regis judicio exilio condemnetur;" and, lastly, Charlemagne, in redressing a curious abuse which followed from persons excommunicated for murder wandering about the country and presenting scandalous exhibitions of distress, decrees (A.D. 789) "nec isti nudi cum ferro sinantur vagari qui dicunt se data sibi poenitentiâ ire vagantes. Melius videtur ut si aliquid inconsuetum et capitale crimen commiserint in loco permaneant laborantes et servientes et poenitentiam agentes secundum quod sibi canonice impositum est."

It may be said, generally, that up to the epoch at which the legal organisation of the church was distinct and complete enough to enable the pope to contend on equal terms with the emperor, either the necessities for secular aid in support of ecclesiastical discipline were too rare to attract general attention, or such general harmony of spirit and such a use of common judicial machinery prevailed, as to disguise the real character and amount of the secular interference, or the extreme ecclesiastical penalties were in practice more potent than any civil ones, and therefore stood in no need of support from these.

(See Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*; Walter, *Kirchenrecht*; Bickell, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechtes*; Hebenstreit, *Historia Jurisdictionis Ecclesiasticae*; Biener, *de Collectionibus Canonum Ecclesiae Graecae*; Baluze, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*; Gengler, *Germanische Denkmäler*; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastica*

*Documents illustrative of the Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain and Ireland*; Wilkins, *Leges Anglo-Saxonicae Ecclesiasticae et Civiles*; *Codex Theodosianus*; *Corpus Juris Civilis*.)

[S. A.]

**LAWSUITS.** [LITIGATION.]

**LAWYERS.** The attitude of the church towards lawyers, as towards all persons holding anything like official positions, was, during the era of persecutions, that of suspicion and almost dislike. In some churches they could not be ordained; for we find in a letter of pope Innocent I. (A.D. 402–417) (*Ep.* 23, *ad Conc. Tolet.* c. 2) that he complained of the custom existing in the Spanish church of admitting such to ordination, and proposed "that no one should be admitted to the clerical order who had pleaded causes after he was baptized." That this represents the practice of the Roman church there can be little doubt, nor that the rule was soon extended over the French and Spanish churches. And he orders that for the future such persons, if ordained, should be deposed, together with those who ordained them: "ut quicunque tales ordinati fuerint, cum ordinatoribus suis deponantur." We find the council of Sardica (A.D. 347) enacting in its thirteenth canon that a lawyer (σχολαστικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς) might proceed through the grades of reader, deacon, and priest, even to the episcopate, if he were a suitable man. But as Du Pin observes (*Cent.* iv. p. 261), the Sardican canons were never received by the whole church, nor embodied in the collection authorised by the council of Chalcedon.

We find that such legal assistance as was required by a church or diocese was in the East often, perhaps usually, rendered by a clergyman. The record of the council of Ephesus shews us Asphalius, a presbyter of Antioch, managing the law business (τὰ πράγματα τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας) of that church. Similarly John, who appears in the account of the Constantinopolitan council held under Flavian A.D. 448), and ecclesiastical history affords many other instances.

And in the course of another hundred years, this state of things had so far developed that it was necessary for Justinian to prohibit (*Novell.* cxxiii. c. 6) the clergy from practising in the courts, or discharging the official function of bail or surety: "Sed neque procuratorem litis, aut fidejussorem pro talibus causis episcopum, aut alium clericum, cujuslibet gradus, aut monachum proprio nomine, aut ecclesiae, aut monasterii sinimus;" and the reason assigned is that they would be thereby hindered in their sacred ministry. In earlier times, the apostolic canons (can. 6) had briefly forbidden bishop, priest, or deacon, to undertake *any* secular cares, on pain of deposition. The Theodosian code has many provisions against the oppressions practised by those holding legal offices; excessive and illegal exactions, maintenance for themselves while on their circuits, and such like, which do not immediately concern us here.

The quotation given above from the *Novellae* of Justinian shews that a need was actually experienced by churches and religious houses for the aid of men learned in the law in the management of their property and the defence of suits at law. The need grew with the growth of ecclesiastical possessions; and a tendency shewed itself among the clergy and monasteries even in the West, to find the men required out of the members of their own body, in spite of the canonical prohibitions, which seem to have been in a great degree arbitrary from the first, or which at best rested on a tradition descending from the period of the persecutions. Pope Gelasius (492–496) admitted these officers to the minor orders: "Continuo Lector, aut Notarius, aut certe Defensor effectus, post tres menses existat Acolythus." The formula with which the defensores were admitted is curious: "Si nulli conditioni vel corpori teneris obnoxius, nec fuisti clericus alterius civitatis, aut in nullo canonum obviant statuta, officium Ecclesiae Defensorum accipias," &c. We may, perhaps, conclude from a letter of pope Gregory the Great (590–604) that the notaries of the church of Rome were usually subdeacons (lib. vii. *Ep.* 17).

But by the time we come to the latter part of the 7th century, we find that these legal offices were for the most part in the hands of laymen, at all events in Gaul. The second council of Mâcon (A.D. 585) had a canon forbidding lawyers to prosecute suits on the Lord's Day, under pain of being disbarred (can. 1). And we find among the Decreta of pope Eugenius II. (A.D. 824) one forbidding "advocati," evidently laymen, to usurp or seize by force any recompense beyond what they were entitled to by ancient right and custom. [S. J. E.]

**LAY BAPTISM.** [BAPTISM, § 80, I. 167; LAITY, § 3.]

**LAY COMMUNION.** Offences which in a layman were punished by ἀφορισμός, segregation or suspension of the right to communicate, were in the clergy punished by reduction to "lay communion." That is to say, they were reduced to the condition of laymen, deprived of office, and forbidden to exercise their clerical functions. When a clerk was said to be denied lay communion, it meant that he was excommunicated as well as deprived. As two erroneous opinions have been maintained respecting lay communion, one that it meant communion in one kind, the other that it was reception of the sacrament with the laity, i.e. without the bema or the chancel, it is desirable to illustrate the subject by an ample chain of testimony. The 15th Apostolical canon orders that any clergyman staying in another diocese against the will of his own bishop, shall not be allowed to celebrate, "but may nevertheless communicate there as a layman." By the 62nd, a clerk who had denied Christ, or his own office, in a time of persecution, was "after penance to be received as a layman." Cornelius of Rome writing to Fabius of Antioch, about 251, says of one of the bishops who had consecrated Novatian, but afterwards confessed his fault, "All the people present entreating for him, we communicated with him as a layman" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 43). When Rufinus translates this, about the year 490, he says, "He was received into *lay communion*," that phrase having sprung up in the interval. Cyprian, writing in 252, says of Trophimus, who is supposed to be the bishop mentioned by Cornelius, "He was so admitted that he communicates as a layman" (*Epist.* 55 *ad Anton.*). Two years later the same father says that Basilides,

another offending bishop, on his repentance, "thought himself sufficiently happy, if it were granted him to communicate even as a layman" (*Ep.* 67 *ad Felicem*, &c.). Again, in a letter to Stephen of Rome, A.D. 256, St. Cyprian declares that it had been decided at Carthage "by consent and common authority" that presbyters and deacons, who had fallen into heresy or schism, should "on their return be received on this condition, that they should communicate as laymen" (*Epist.* 72 *ad Steph.*). There is extant an account of a council held in that city in the same year, at which a bishop delivered it as his opinion, that "all schismatics and heretics who had turned to the church should be rebaptized, but that those who seemed to have been ordained should also be received among the laity" (sent. 4). The council of Elvira, A.D. 305, orders that a deacon who had committed a great crime before ordination, and did not come forward as his own accuser, should be five years in penance, and then "receive lay communion" (can. 76). This is the earliest instance of the use of that expression. At the council convened at Cologne to consider the case of the Arian bishop of that city, one of the bishops present expressed himself thus: "Because Euphrates denies that Christ is God, I agree that he cannot be a bishop, who ought not to receive even lay communion" (*Synod. Agripp.* sent. 2). This council is assigned with some doubt to the year 346. We may observe that in the last two instances there is a probable reference to the Eucharist, the reception of which was the chief privilege and sign of communion in the other sense. In 347 the council of Sardica decreed that if two bishops whom it deposed "asked for lay communion, it should not be denied them" (can. 19). St. Athanasius, writing in 349 or the year following, says that it was "notorious, and a thing beyond doubt with every one, that Colluthus (who had affected the title and performed the acts of a bishop) had died a presbyter, and that every ordination by him had been annulled, and all ordained by him in the schism had been made laymen, and so came to synaxis" (*Apol. contra Arianos*). St. Basil A.D. 370: "Those clerks who sin a sin unto death are deposed from their order, but not kept from the communion of laymen. For thou shalt not punish the same offence twice" (*ad Amphiloch.* c. 32). Siricius of Rome, A.D. 385: "Let any clerk who shall have married either a widow, or at all events a second wife, be at once stripped of every privilege of ecclesiastical dignity, lay communion only being conceded to him" (*Epist. ad Himer.* c. 11). At a general African council assembled at Hippo in 393, it was decreed that the Donatist clergy should on their return to the church be "received into the number of the laity" (can. 41). The council of Toledo, A.D. 400 (can. 4) decreed that a subdeacon who married for the third time should, after suspension from communion for two years, "being reconciled by penance, communicate among laymen." A Roman council under Felix, A.D. 487, of bishops who had been rebaptized among heretics: "It will be proper that they lie under penance (should they repent) to the last day of their life; and that they be not on any account present at the prayers, not of the faithful only, but even of the catechumens, to whom lay communion only is to be restored at their death" (can. 2). The council of Agde, in France, A.D. 506, of clergymen guilty of crime: "Deposed from the honour of office let such an one be thrust into a monastery, and there let him receive lay communion only as long as he lives" (can. 50). The council of Lerida, in Spain, A.D. 524, of clergymen who, after professing repentance, had fallen again into gross sin: "Let them not only be deprived of the dignity of office, but not even receive the holy communion, except when dying" (can. 5). Here the sacrament is distinctly meant, by the reception of which they might have been consigned to "lay communion" in its true and proper sense. The council of Orleans, A.D. 538, orders that any clerk, from a subdeacon upwards, who shall cohabit with his wife, be "deposed from office according to the decrees of former canons, and be content with lay communion" (can. 2). By two other canons of this council, the offenders are to be reduced to lay communion, but that phrase is not employed. In one case, "deposed from office, communion being granted to him, he is to be thrust into a monastery for the whole period of his life" (can. 7); in the other, "communion being granted to him, he is to be degraded from his order" (can. 26). That "lay communion" was used as a punishment to the end of our period and later appears from the following chapter out of the 6th book of the *Capitularies of the French Kings* collected by Benedict the deacon, A.D. 845: "If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or subdeacon shall go to the war, and put on warlike arms for fighting, let him be deposed from every office, so that he have not even lay communion" (c. lxi. Comp. *Canones*, Isaac Episc. Lingon. tit. xi. c. x.).

From the foregoing extracts it will be inferred that the expression "lay communion" had generally no immediate reference to the reception of the Eucharist. It merely denoted the whole position of a layman in full communion with the church. But as that sacrament was only given to persons in full communion with the church, it came to the same thing whether a deposed clerk were said to be allowed lay communion, or to receive the sacrament of the holy communion. One who passed out of penance into lay communion would of course be formally absolved by the bishop, before he could receive the sacrament; but there is no reason to believe that any form of admission was generally employed, when a disqualified clerk passed, without performing penance, into the position of a lay communicant. There appears, however, to have been one exception in the church of Rome, if we may trust to an Epistle ascribed to Innocent I., about 404, but believed on good grounds to be spurious: "It is the law of our church to grant lay communion only to those who come over from the heretics (who however have been baptized among them) by the imposition of hands" (*Ep. ad Epist. Maced.* c. 4).

A criminous clerk fell into lay communion by the application of a principle laid down by many councils and writers; viz. that one who had been under public penance was incapable of orders. Thus St. Augustine: "It hath been most strictly decreed that after penance performed for crime liable to condemnation no one should be a clergyman" (*Epist.* 185, *ad Bonif.* c. x. § 45). [See PENITENCE; ORDERS, HOLY.]

Heretics returning to the church were always subjected to this discipline. St. Augustine represents the Donatists arguing thus: "If, say they, it behoves that we do penance for having been out of the church, and against the church, that we may be capable of salvation, how is it that we remain clerks or even bishops after that penance?" (*ibid.* § 44). Replying to this, St. Augustine says in effect that their recognition was not good in itself for the church, but was permitted in order to end a worse evil, the continuance of the schism. When the Nicene council, A.D. 325, admitted the Novatian clergy to communion, it imposed no penance, and even allowed them to retain their rank and exercise their functions, if they live in places where there was room for it (can. 8). When Cornelius of Rome, 251, received the Novatian presbyter Maximus to communion, he also permitted him to continue in his office (*Epist.* 49, *inter Epp. Cypr.*).

II. There was another punishment for offending clerks, of which we read in a few canons under the name of communio peregrina, the communion of travellers, or, as it has been less properly rendered, of strangers. The 3rd canon of Riez, A.D. 439, directs that a schismatical bishop shall on his return to the church either be "encouraged by the title of chorepiscopus, as the 8th canon of Nicaea speaks, or by peregrine communion, as they say." The council of Agde orders that contumacious and neglectful clerks shall have "peregrine communion assigned to them, but so that when penance shall have corrected them, they may be again enrolled and reassume their order and dignity" (can. 2). Here we observe in passing that the penitentia of which this canon speaks must be repentance or private penance; because, as we have seen, no one could exercise any clerical function who had ever been subject to public penance. The same council says: "If any clerk shall have stolen from a church, let peregrine communion be assigned to him" (can. 5). The 16th canon of Lerida directs that a clerk who, on the death of his bishop, had stolen anything from his house, or fraudulently concealed anything, shall be condemned with the longer anathema, as guilty of sacrilege, and that the communion of travellers be hardly granted to him." The 2nd and 5th canons of Agde appear in the code of Charlemagne and his successors compiled by Angesisus and Benedict in the 9th century (*Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 1075, 1094, 1225).

Peregrine communion has been supposed by several writers to be identical with lay communion. That they differed, and how, will appear from the following considerations. (1.) There would otherwise be no propriety in the name, travellers having no more to do with lay communion than residents. (2.) The council of Agde in one canon (50) imposes lay communion on clerks guilty of capital offences, forgery, and false witness: while others inflict peregrine communion on contumacy (c. 2) and theft from a church (c. 5). From this we infer that the latter penalty was something less severe than the former. (3.) Again, the 2nd canon of Agde shows that a clerk reduced to peregrine communion might be restored; whereas we have seen that lay communion was for life. (4.) The name suggests the nature of the punishment. It appears to intimate that the clerk on whom it was inflicted was placed in the position of a traveller who came to a strange church without bringing letters of communion. [See KOINONIKON.] Such a visitor was admissible to the less sacred offices of religion, but not permitted to receive the Eucharist until a letter, vouching for him, arrived from his own bishop. Hence we see that peregrine communion involved abstention from the sacrament for a time, which lay communion did not. [W. E. S.]

**LAY ELDERS.** [ELDERS.]

**LAZARUS (1).** In Ethiopia his first death is commemorated March 13, his resurrection March 16, his second rest, in Cyprus, of which he was bishop, May 22. From Citium in Cyprus his relics were brought to Constantinople, Oct. 17, A.D. 890, by Leo the Wise (Tillem. ii. 36). Before that time he had no fixed day among the Greeks, unless he be meant by Lycarion, Feb. 8 (*Menol. Basil.*), but was celebrated on the vigil of Palm Sunday (Tillem. ii. 37). At Rome in the 7th century he was commemorated with Martha only, Dec. 17—a custom seemingly taken from their convent near Bethany (*Mart. Rom.*; Usuard).

(2) Bishop of Milan, † Feb. 11, A.D. 449. (*Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 521.)

(3) The name occurs in the *Mart. Hieron.* April 12.

(4) Oct. 18. (*Cal. Ethiop.*)

(5) With Thalassius, Dec. 6. (*Cal. Ethiop.*) [E. B. B.]

**LAZARUS (IN ART).** The Resurrection of Lazarus is naturally a subject very frequently represented in Christian Art. We find it in catacombs, churches, and cemeteries, in paintings, sculptures, and mosaics, on simple slabs, and on sarcophagi (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. tab. 97). In some cases, where no such painting, mosaic, and sculpture exists, either outside or inside the tomb, we find small statues of Lazarus, in metal or ivory, affixed to the exterior. In early representations of this great event, Lazarus appears as a small mummy-like figure swathed in bandages, the head is bound with a napkin, which surrounds the face, leaving it uncovered (Buonarroti, *Vetri*, tab. vii. 1). The Lord stands before this figure, which is placed upright at the entrance to a small temple, and in most instances He touches it with a rod. Sometimes He extends His right hand, whilst in the left He holds a half-opened volume (Bottari, tab. xxviii.-xlii. etc.). In some examples the right hand is free, and raised in the act of benediction according to the Latin form (Aringhi, ii. 121), sometimes His hand is laid upon the head of Lazarus (*id.* ii. 183). An example in the cemetery of Callixtus (*id.* i. 565) shews us an exact representation of a chrysalis instead of the swathed figure; possibly allusion to the resurrection may be here intended. On some Gallican sarcophagi, Lazarus appears extended on the ground, no tomb being visible, as in an example in the "Musée Lapidaire" of Lyons (No. 764; Millin, *Midi de la France*, Atlas, pl. lxv.). On glass cups, where the greater portion of the design is, as usual, in gold, the graveclothes are in silver (Buonarroti, vii. 2; Perret, iv. pl. xxxii. 97). Disregarding the sacred text, we find some artists giving folding-doors to the tomb of Lazarus (Buonarroti, vii.

3), though it was in fact closed with a stone. Sometimes it is hewn out of the natural rock, without any attempt at architecture (Aringhi, ii. 331), and shrubs are placed upon the two steps at the entrance.

Some artists, who probably had but a slight acquaintance with Jewish customs, have placed the body of Lazarus in a sarcophagus (Bottari, tab. lxxxix.), adorned with lions' heads, and even supported by sphinxes, subjects of very rare occurrence in early Christian Art (*ib.* tab. cxciii.). The diminutive, even infantine, proportions of the body of Lazarus, as represented by ancient artists, cannot fail to excite attention. It may be that the beginning of a new life is thus symbolized; but more probably this is only an instance of a custom frequent in other representations of the Lord's miracles, of making the object of the miracle small in comparison with the Lord Himself [BLIND, HEALING OF, I. 241]. A curious fresco in the cemetery of Rennes (Aringhi, ii. 329), shews the swathed figure standing on the flat without any support, and without the usual temple. In paintings and on glass [GLASS, I. 730], the two essential figures—the Lord and Lazarus—are alone represented. A fragment of a mosaic given by Marchi (*Monum.* tab. xlvii.) furnishes perhaps the only exception to this rule. In this, a female figure, presumably one of the sisters of Lazarus, kneels at the feet of the Lord, and extends her hands towards him.



Lazarus. From Martigny.

This is of much more frequent occurrence in the bas-reliefs of sarcophagi. These are of more recent date, and always complete the scene with the figures of Martha and Mary (Aringhi, i. 335), or at least the latter, prostrate or kneeling, at the feet of the Saviour (*ib.* i. 323, etc.), or sometimes devoutly kissing his hand (*ib.* i. 423). A curious sepulchral stone, unfortunately broken, shews two hands behind the Lord, all that remains of a figure, probably that of Mary, which formerly stood there (Perret, iv. 13). Sometimes the scene is completed and enlarged by the figures of two or more disciples, towards whom the Lord turns as if to draw their attention to the miracle (Aringhi, i. 427).

The Christian artists of these early times frequently connect Old and New Testament subjects, between which any real or fancied analogy is traceable. Thus, in many instances, particularly on sarcophagi, we have Moses striking the rock, introduced as a pendant to the resurrection of Lazarus. We even find the two subjects united, as in the fresco of an arcosolium given by Aringhi (ii. 123). In another fresco in the cemetery of Rennes, the figures of the Lord and Moses are nearly identical in dress, in attitude, and even in countenance (*ib.* 329). Even on simple sepulchral slabs we find the two subjects associated in a similar manner (Perret, v. pl. lxiii. 29).

The tomb of Lazarus was guarded with religious care by the faithful, and visited by them with the other sacred and memorable places in Palestine (Jerome, *Epist.* ii.). We learn from Jerome also (*De Loc. Heb.* s. v. *Bethania*) that a church was built upon the site. This is also mentioned by Bede, but it seems certain that there was no church there in the time of Constantine, as the itinerary of Jerusalem made in that emperor's reign contains no allusion to it. (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v.) [C.]

**LEA (1)** Widow, friend of Jerome † at Bethlehem, March 22 (*Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 381).

**(2)** Martyr in Africa, Sept. 28 (*Mart. Hier.* Florentini). [E. B. B.]

**LEACUS**, martyr at Nicomedia, Jan. 27 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.), in Africa, *Mart.* Gellon. [E. B. B.]

**LEANDER.** Bishop of Seville, and converter of Goths from Arianism under Recared, commemorated Feb. 27, Ado (Usuard). His name is added, without specification, in the *Hieronymian Mart.* Also on Feb. 28 (D'Ach. *Spicileg.* iv. 630). [E. B. B.]

**LECERUS**, deacon at Antioch, Jan. 15 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.). [E. B. B.]

**LECTERN** (*lectorium, lectoria*). A standing desk in a church, from which certain portions of service were read. It appears to have been of later introduction than the Ambo [AMBO], and to have differed from that by being placed in the centre of the choir instead of at the side. *Lectoria* are very frequently mentioned in the "liber pontificalis" of Anastasius among the gifts made by the popes to the basilicas. They are described as being of large size, often made of, or coated with, the precious metals, and richly moulded and embossed. They were usually provided with candelabra (*cerostata*) standing on either side, lighted on Sundays and festivals (Anastas. pp. 397, 419, 546). Leo III. (A.D. 795, 816) gave a lectorium "of purest silver of wondrous size" with candelabra to St. Peter's (Anastas. p. 399). Leo IV. (A.D. 847–855) also gave to the same basilica one of silver, chased, standing on four feet, surmounted by a lion's head, with four candelabra plated with silver (*ib.* 552). St. Eligius is stated to have plated a lectorium with gold (Audoenus, *Vit. S. Elig. apud* Ducange). Hariulphus (*apud* Ducange) speaks also of lectoria constructed of marble, silver and gold.

The cloth that covered a lectorium was termed *lectorinus.* (*Annal. Mediolan. apud* Muratori, tom. xvi. col. 810.) [E. V.]

**LECTICARIUS.** The name given in Justinian's *Novella* 43 (Pref.) to the members of a guild for interring the dead, from their carrying the *lectica* or bier. See COPIATAE, DECANUS (1). [C.]

**LECTION** (*Lectio*: ἀνάγνωσις; *Leçon*; Eng. *Lesson*). The words ἀνάγνωσις and *Lectio* may be taken in a wider sense to include all readings which formed part of Divine Service. [EPISTLE; GOSPEL; PROPHECY.] The word *Lection* is here however taken in a narrower sense, to denote the readings of selected passages during the ordinary daily office. Such readings were of three kinds.

1. Passages of Holy Scripture.
2. Passages from comments or homilies of the Fathers.
3. Acts of Martyrs or other saints.

The readings from Holy Scripture, of which Justin Martyr speaks, were connected with the administration of the Eucharist, and are therefore to be regarded rather as corresponding to the Epistle, Gospel, and Prophecy of later times, than to the lections with which we are now concerned. It is not until a later date that we find distinct indications of the mingling of lections with Psalmody, as in the Hour-Offices of the present day.

There are in the Eastern Daily Offices no lections from Scripture. The scheme of service given in the Apostolical Constitutions (ii. 57–62) contains none, and even to this day the ordinary Greek offices are entirely devoid of them. In the morning office on Sundays and Festivals the Gospel is read. That lections from Scripture were in use in the province or district represented at the council of Laodicea, in the fourth century, we have distinct evidence in the canon quoted below, though ultimately another system prevailed in the East generally. This system was that of the intermixture of ODES with psalms; and Archdeacon Freeman regards these odes as the equivalents of the Western lections, which, with their long responsories, came to be in fact, "a long and elaborate piece of music interrupted at intervals by a very brief recitative out of Holy Scripture" (*Divine Service*, i. 70, 125, 345). We may perhaps regard this absence of lections from the Eastern offices as an indication of their connection with the synagogue, where Moses appears to have been read "every Sabbath day" only.

The council of Laodicea, about A.D. 360, enjoined (c. 17) that in the assemblies for worship (συνάξεσι) the psalms should not be said in continuous series, but that between each psalm there should be a lection (ἀνάγνωσις); and this only from Canonical Scripture [CANONICAL BOOKS, I. 279]. At a somewhat later date, John Cassian tells us (*De Coenob. Inst.* ii. 4) that throughout all Egypt the custom was to divide the psalms into groups of twelve; after the saying of each twelve there followed two lections, of the Old and the New Testament. This very ancient custom is observed (he says) the more religiously in all the monasteries of that district, because it was reputed to be no invention of man, but to have been brought from heaven by an angel. The third council of Carthage (c. 47) forbade anything but canonical Scripture to be read in churches. St. Augustine also (*Epist.* 64. c. 3) speaks of the danger of reading in the church other writings than those contained in the canon received by the church. Isidore of Seville (*Regula*, c. 7) says that in the office the lections were taken generally from the Old and New Testament, but on Saturdays and Sundays from the New only.

The Rule of Caesarius *ad Monachos* (c. 20) prescribes that in vigils from the month of October to Easter there should be two Nocturns and three "Missae" [*i.e.* lections, whether from the Bible or from Passions]; also (c. 25) that on every Sabbath, every Lord's day, and every Festival, there should be twelve psalms, three antiphons, and three lections; one from the Prophets, one from the Apostle, and a third from the Gospel. The Rule of Aurelian (Migne, *Patrol.* vol. 68, p. 304) orders in the nocturns on ordinary days two lections of the Apostle or the Prophets, and Capitulum in Paschal nocturns three, from the Acts, the Apocalypse, and the Gospels. It also (c. 14) enjoins that the ordinary course of the lections be interrupted and proper lections substituted, on festivals.

St. Benedict's Rule (c. 9) prescribes that in the winter half of the year, when the long nights permitted prolonged nocturns, after the saying of six psalms and the abbat's benediction, while all sat on benches there should be read in turns by the brothers from the book on the lectern three lections, with a responsory at the end of each, the last responsory followed by a *Gloria*. These lections are to be not only from the Old and New Testament, but also from the expositions of Scripture by orthodox doctors and Catholic Fathers of the highest repute (nominatissimis). After these three lections come the remaining six psalms, with *Alleluia*; then the lection of the Apostle (*i.e.* the Capitulum) said by heart, the verse and the *Kyrie Eleison*. Who are to be reckoned "nominatissimi doctores" is matter of some doubt; some only reckon Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory to belong to this class; others add such writers as Basil, Hilary, John Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, and Bede. See the note on c. 9 in the *Regula Commentata* (Migne, *Patrol.* vol. 66, p. 272).

We learn from the *Miracula S. Stephani* (ii. 2; in Martene, iv. v. 2) that a letter of bishop Severus was read after the canonical lections. And it appears from a letter of Gregory the Great (*Epist.* x. 22) that in some cases at least comments of distinguished doctors were read in his time; for he disapproved the conduct of Marinianus, bishop of Ravenna, who had ordered his (Gregory's) comments on the Book of Job to be read at vigils; "bid him," he writes to John the sub-deacon, "cause comments on the Psalms to be read at vigils, as being especially adapted to promote good dispositions among the seculars; for while I am yet in the flesh, I will not have anything which I may chance to have written published at once to all men." From which it appears that there was no objection to the reading of comments on Scripture in the offices—which, indeed, seems to have been a recognised practice—but only to reading comments of the then living pope.

In the life of St. Stephen the younger, A.D. 767 (Migne, *Patrol. Ser. Graec.* vol. 100, p. 410), we read that the saint while yet a boy, instead of sitting down, as was the custom during the reading of the lections, stood close to

the chancel rails and listened to the reader, and so learned to repeat what was read, whether a martyrdom, or a life, or a sermon of some pious Father, especially St. John Chrysostom.

The council of Clovesho, A.D. 747 (c. 15, Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 367), forbids the clergy to sing or read in their offices anything not sanctioned by common usage; that is, they are to use only what is sanctioned by Holy Scripture and what the practice of the Roman church permits (tantum quod ex S. Scripturarum auctoritate descendit et quod Romanae Ecclesiae usus permisit). This canon shews that lections were taken not only from Holy Scripture, but from other books sanctioned by the Roman church.

In the lections used in the daily office, which were not wholly scriptural, many defects and errors had been introduced before the eighth century, especially in the Gallican lectionaries. This led Charlemagne, in a *Constitutio de Emendatione Librorum et Officiorum Ecclesiasticorum* of the year 788 (Baluze, *Capitul.* i. 203), to make the following provision for their amendment: "Whereas we have found many of the lections compiled, with however good intent, for use in the nocturnal office, unfit for their purpose, as having no name of an author appended and being full of innumerable blunders; we do not allow in our days inharmonious solecisms to be heard in divine lections in the sacred offices, and have given our mind to bring the same lections into a better way. And we laid the perfecting of that work upon Paul the deacon, one of our household, namely, that carefully going through the sayings of the Catholic Fathers, he might (as it were) gather certain flowers out of their exquisite meads, and weave those which are most profitable into one garland. Who, desiring to yield devoted obedience to our Highness, after reading through the tracts and sermons of divers of the Catholic Fathers and choosing the best, has presented to us in two volumes a series of lections, cleared of errors, suitable for each festival throughout the circle of the year. Of all which pondering the text with our sagacity, we sanction the same volumes with our authority, and deliver over to you, religious readers, to read in the churches of Christ."

That the practice of reading Acts of Martyrs on their festivals had begun before the time of St. Augustine is evident from a sermon of his on St. Stephen (*Sermo* 315, c. 1), in which he lays stress on the fact that the passion of the first martyr was contained in a canonical book, while acts of other martyrs to be recited at their commemorations could scarcely be found at all. And again he says (*Sermo* 273, c. 2), "You heard the questions of the persecutors and the answers of the confessors when the passion of the saints was read." Nor was this a custom peculiar to Africa. Various old monastic rules (*e.g.* Aurelian *de Ordine Psallendi*, Migne's *Patrol.* tom. 68, p. 396) prove that the reading of lives of the saints or acts of martyrs in the offices was also a custom of the Gallican church. A lectionary of Luxeuil, which Martene believed to be of the seventh or eighth century, contains lections from the acts of SS. Juliana and Basilica. Avitus of Vienne († 523) in a fragment of a homily (*Fr.* vi.; Migne, *Patrol.* 59, p. 297) mentions that the passion of the martyrs of Agaune was read "according to custom"; and Caesarius of Arles (*Sermo* 300 in Augustine's *Works*, v. v. p. 2319, Migne) speaks of the long readings from passions (passiones prolixae) in the church. Gregory of Tours (*De Gloria Martyrum*, i. 86) states that the Passion of Polycarp was publicly read.

In the church of Lyons it seems that none but Scripture lessons were anciently read, even on the vigil of a saint. The bishops who were present at the Collatio Episcoporum before king Gundebald in the year 499 (D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, iii. 304 ff. Paris, 1723), unanimously determined to hold vigil at the tomb of St. Justus, whose festival happened to occur at that time. In this office we find that the lections were wholly from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; no acts of St. Justus were read even in the vigil of his own festival. Nor was the church of Rome by any means ready to admit Acts of Martyrs into the public offices. The Decretal of Gelasius I. (Gratiani *Decret.* Dist. xv. c. 3, § 17)[a] states that such acts are, in accordance with ancient custom, not read in the Roman church, out of caution, for in many cases the names of the writers are unknown, and they are sometimes written by infidels or unskilful persons in a manner altogether unworthy of the subject. And even at a comparatively late date Acts of Martyrs seem to have been excluded from the offices in some districts, for Martène (iv. v. 4) states that in many MS. lectionaries of the Cistercian order in Maine, about five hundred years old in his time (*i.e.* so late as the twelfth century), no lections are found, but passages of Scripture and homilies of the Fathers.

And the same distrust of the numerous acts of martyrs which were current in the church, appears in the sixty-third canon of the Trullan Council, at the end of the seventh century. "We decree," runs the canon, "that Martyrologies falsely composed by enemies of the truth, with the view of dishonouring the martyrs of Christ, and bringing those who hear them into unbelief, should not be published in the churches, but delivered to the fire; and we anathematize those who receive them or give heed to them as true." In the same spirit pope Hadrian writes (*Epist. ad Car. Magn.*): "Lives of the Fathers not resting on authority (sine probabilibus auctoribus) are not read in the church. Those which bear the names of orthodox writers are both received and read. For the canons of the church sanction the reading of the Passions of the Martyrs in the church when their anniversaries are celebrated."

In the time of St. Augustine, if not earlier, the practice had established itself of assigning certain lections to certain days; these, says the saint in the opening of his exposition of the first epistle of St. John, were so fixed in their courses that no others could be read. To the same effect, the first [Mansi's second] council of Braga [circ. A.D. 563], decreed (c. 2) that in the vigils or "missae"[b] of festivals, all [the clergy of the province] should read the same and not different lections.

[a] The copies of this document vary greatly, and it is difficult to say how much is interpolated.

[b] It must be borne in mind that this word was not limited to altar-offices. [MISSA.]

It does not appear however, even when certain lections were assigned to certain days, that their extent was limited in the same exact manner as in modern Breviaries; the reader continued to read the passage of Scripture, or of a Father, or the Passion, as the case might be, until the chief person in the choir signed to him to stop. A common practice in monastic churches was for the presiding brother to clap his hands; in the church of St. Martin, at Tours, he called out "fac finem," words which Martene (iv. v. 6) found written at the end of the lections in an old lectionary. Charles the Great, when he was present at the office, used to stop the reader by some kind of cough or grunt (sono gutturis); and in a church where the emperor was present it was useless to "get up" a portion beforehand; every one in the choir had to be prepared to read, if called upon, any portion of the lections of the day (*De Eccl. Cura Car. Mag.*, quoted by Martene, iv. v. 6). In the Roman church it was an ancient custom for the deacons to sing the first words of *Tu autem Domine* at the end of lections (*Ordines Rom.* pp. 123 and 174). It was not uncommon for the end of the lections to be marked beforehand in the book with a piece of wax, such as Martene (*u.s.*) says that he has often seen in ancient lectionaries still adhering to the spot.

As to the extent of each lection it is ordered in the rule of Aurelian that three or four pages be read, according as the copy used was written in larger or smaller characters.

The practice of reading a certain series of passages in the offices having once grown up, it was natural that books should be formed containing the requisite extracts. This took place in fact at a comparatively early period. Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epist.* iv. 2) mentions among the good deeds of Claudian († 470), brother of Mamertus of Vienne, that he drew up a lectionary:

> "Hic solemnibus annuis paravit
> Quae quo tempore lecta convenirent."

Gennadius (*De Scriptt. Eccl.* c. 79) says of Musaeus, a Gallican writer contemporary with Claudian, that he extracted from Holy Scripture the lections for the festivals of the whole year, with responsories and capitula adapted to the lections and the season.

The *Liber Pontificalis* (c. 218, p. 1055, Migne) relates of pope Zacharias († 752) that he placed in charge of the armarius or librarian of St. Peter's church at Rome all the codices belonging to his own house, which are read throughout the year at matins (qui in circulo anni leguntur ad matutinum). It is, however, not quite clear in this case whether the books in question were lectionaries, or whether they were not rather the works from which lections were taken. The work described under INSTRUCTION (I. 862) was a lectionary, though of limited extent.

Lections were generally said not by persons in major orders, but by sub-deacons or persons in minor orders. Gregory the Great (*Epist.* iv. 44; App. n. 5, p 1334, Migne) laid down on this point that the saying of Psalms and other lections was to be performed by sub-deacons, or, in case of necessity, by yet lower orders; a decree which seems to exclude mere laymen from this office altogether. To the same effect the second [third] council of Braga (c. 45) decreed that no one should act as singer or reader in the choir without regular ordination to such office (non liceat in pulpito psallere aut legere nisi qui a presbytero [al. episcopo] lectores sunt ordinati; compare *Conc. Laod.* c. 15). The second Council of Nicaea also (c. 14) censures the practice of young persons, who had received no imposition of hands from the bishop, reading on the ambo, whether in monastic or other churches. The first [second] Council of Braga (c. 11) ordered that readers should not perform their office in the church in their secular dress. [LAITY, II. 914.]

Silence was proclaimed before a lection. "What trouble is there," says St. Ambrose (*Enarr. in Ps.* i. (c. 9, p. 741), "to obtain silence in the church when lections are read!" And it was usual for the bishop or the principal person present in choir to give his benediction and sign to the reader to begin. The reader coming in with his book, says Gregory of Tours (*De Mirac. S. Martini*, i. 5), was not allowed to begin to read until the saint [Ambrose] gave him permission by a nod. This, however, relates to an altar-lection.

It is evident from several passages quoted above that the lections were read on the ambo or pulpitum, by which we are to understand in many cases not merely a pulpit or lectern, but the whole of the raised stage or foot-pace in a church on which the choir was stationed. The church of the monastery of Bec had, in Martene's time (IV. v. 11), at the top of the steps of the ambo a pulpit for lections.

For the congregation to sit during the reading of lections was regarded in early times as a concession to infirmity; "when long Passions or other lessons are read," says Caesarius of Arles (*Serm.* 300, *u.s.*), "let those who are unable to stand, humbly sit in silence, and with attentive ears listen to what is read." Sitting afterwards became the usual posture. St. Benedict in his rule (c. 9) expressly permitted the brothers to sit during lections; and at a later period (about 1060) Peter Damian (*Opusc.* 39) speaks of sitting during lections as a universal custom of his time.

With the reading of lections was connected from ancient times the use of RESPONSORIES (see the article).

(Martene, *de Ritibus Antiquis*; Grancolas, *Traité de l'Office Divin*; Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, vol. i.) [C.]

**LECTIONARY.**—I. *Proofs of early Use.*—Those who refer the use of a formal table of stated lessons taken from Holy Scripture to the Church of the 3rd century [Vol. I. p. 622] can plead in favour of their opinion that, before the close of the 4th century, such a practice was both universal and regarded as already ancient. Chrysostom devotes a whole homily to explain the reason why the Acts of the Apostles are publicly read throughout the festal season between Easter-day and Whitsun-day, and elsewhere states that the rule of the fathers (τῶν πατέρων ὁ νόμος) directs that book to be laid aside after Pentecost. Even such a purely arbitrary arrangement as the reading of the book of Genesis in Lent had become so inveterate in his time (ταῦτα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀνεγνώσθη σήμερον), that after having gone through the first part of that book in his discourses at Constantinople in the Lent of A.D. 400, he defers the remainder until

the season came round again the following year: the offering up of Isaac alone, as Augustine tells us, "ideo in ordine suo, diebus quadragesimae, non recitatur," as being reserved for the services of Holy Week. Chrysostom also advises his hearers to read at home during the week-days such Saturday and Sunday lessons as they knew would be expounded in course on the next Lord's day, and Bingham (*Antiquities*, book xiv. ch. iii. s. 3) adds to these well-known passages others to the same purport gathered from Origen, Augustine, and Ambrose, vouching for the custom (*de more*) of reading Job and Jonah during the Holy Week. Cyril of Jerusalem also (A.D. 348), having to speak of the Ascension, remarks that on the previous day, being a Sunday (**τῇ χθὲς ἡμέρα κατα τὴν κυριακὴν**), that event had formed the subject of the appointed lesson (**ἐν τῇ συνάξει τῆς τῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων ἀκολουθίας**). Since in all these scattered notices we meet with nothing to contradict, but everything to correspond with the established order of later times, Dean Burgon is fully justified in his conclusion that, "although there happens to be extant neither *Synaxarium* (*i.e.* Table of proper lessons of the Greek Church), nor *Evangelistarium* (*i.e.* Book containing the ecclesiastical lections *in extenso*), of higher antiquity than the 8th century,—yet that the scheme itself, as exhibited by those monuments—certainly in every essential particular—is older than any known Greek manuscript which contains it by at least four, in fact by full five hundred years" (*Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark*, p. 195). Yet even the oldest Greek manuscripts (for to the Greek calendar of lessons we are for the present confining ourselves) bear distinct traces of having been used for liturgical purposes. Without insisting upon more doubtful instances, it is thus that we can best explain the omission of the confessedly genuine verses (Luke xxii. 43, 44) from four of our chief uncial MSS. (A, B, R, T) of the 4th and 5th centuries; the sacred words not having been publicly read in their proper place, but after Matth. xxvi. 40, as a part of the service for the vigil of Good Friday, where they occur in every extant lectionary, and even in one cursive copy of the Gospels (*Cod.* 69), which, though itself as late as the 14th century, is known to follow a very ancient text. The double insertion of the noble doxology, Rom. xvi. 25–27, after ch. xiv., as well as in its proper place at the end of the epistle, by the *Codex Alexandrinus* of the 5th century, is best accounted for by its being so set in lectionaries as part of the proper lesson for the Saturday before Quinquagesima. *Codex Bezae* (D), again, of about the 5th century, prefixes to Luke xvi. 19 the formula **εἶπεν δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν παραβολὴν**, which is the liturgical introduction to the Gospel for the 5th Sunday of St. Luke. Another of Cod. D's prefixes, **καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ**, John xiv. 1, is almost identical with that in the English Prayer Book for St. Philip and St. James's Day. But the strongest case of all is perhaps Mark xiv. 41, where after **ἀπέχει** is read in Cod. D and a few of later date (*e.g.* Cod. 69), the senseless interpolation **τὸ τέλος** or **τέλος**, "the end," which manifestly came into the text from the margin of ver. 42, where it indicates in the usual manner the close of the Gospel for the third day of the carnival week. Since in this last case the patent transcriptural error is met with also in the Peshito Syriac, and in some forms of the Old Latin version, which together will probably carry us back to the 2nd century, it is hard to resist the inference "that the lessons of the Eastern church were settled at a period long anterior to the date of the oldest manuscript of the Gospels extant" (Burgon, p. 226).

II. *Greek Liturgical Books.* — The earliest known *Synaxaria*, or tables of ecclesiastical lessons throughout the year, are found in two copies of the Gospels now at Paris, *Cod. Cyprius* (K) and *Campianus* (M). These, together with fragments of *Menologia*, or tables of saints'-day lessons, annexed to them, were published by Scholz at the end of the first volume of his Greek Testament, in 1830. The margins of both these manuscripts, and of their contemporary, Cod. L, also at Paris, all three being of the 8th or 9th century, are covered with liturgical notes either by the original scribe or by a hand of the same period, which indicate, mostly in red ink, the beginnings and ends of the lessons (ΑΡΧΗ, ΤΕΛΟϹ), the days on which they are to be used, and often the initial words whereby they are to be introduced. After this date quite a majority of manuscripts of the Gospels proper are furnished with marginal notes of this kind, and very many with *synaxaria* and *menologia*, full of crabbed abbreviations and sometimes added in a later age. Perhaps no known *evangelistarium*, or book containing the ecclesiastical lessons in full, like those English church lectionaries which have recently come into use, can be ascribed with confidence to an earlier period than the 9th century. A fragment at St. Petersburg, described by Tischendorf, contains some Arabic writing decidedly more modern, yet dated A.D. 1011. A noble and complete copy at Parham (No. 18), written at Ciscissa in Cappadocia, bears the date of A.D. 980, and Harl. 5598 in the ritish Museum is only fifteen years later. A few others, *e.g. Cod. Nanian.* 171, in the Grand Ducal Library at Venice, and Arundel 547 in the British Museum, are probably anterior to the dated copies just mentioned, which, however, we are safest in taking as the groundwork of our conjectural estimates in regard to others which are not dated. Evangelistaria of the 10th and 11th centuries are almost always large folios, written (as was convenient for the purpose they were intended to serve) in bold characters of the uncial form, a fashion which in other books had almost entirely given place to the cursive or running hand. Their material is a coarse thick parchment, quite inferior to the fine vellum employed a few centuries before, though the leaves of a few, such as Parham 18, are still thin, white, and delicate. The lectionaries are almost always written with two columns on a page, and the headings and initial letters are often illuminated in gold and colours. Musical tones, in red ink, above and below the text, must have been designed to guide the reader's voice. Uncial codices of lessons from the Gospels number about seventy, those of the Acts and Epistles are less than ten; but indeed copies of the latter (commonly called the *Apostolos* or *Praxapostolos*) of any age scarcely amount to eighty, while of those of the Gospels about three hundred survive in various libraries, public and private. Some of the cursive or more recent lectionaries are

sumptuously bound, the covers being adorned with enamel and silver gilt ornaments, in rare cases forming single figures or groups, of much artistic merit. Tables of the Greek church lessons were printed at Venice in 1615–24 in two volumes which do not range together (*Cambridge Univ. Library*, ii. 288), and again, at the same place, in 1851. The following lists, however, are derived from manuscripts which in the *menologia* differ widely from each other. While the great church festivals are common to them all, different generations and provinces, and even dioceses, had their favourite worthies whose memory they specially cherished; so that the character of the menology (which sometimes formed a considerable, sometimes but a small, portion of a whole lectionary) will help to direct us to discover the district in which the volume itself was written. The lectionaries we have chiefly used for our present purpose, are, in the Gospels, Arundel 547, Parham 18, Harl. 5598 (all described above), Christ's College, Cambridge, F. 1, 8, of the 11th century; Burney 22, in the British Museum, presenting a very remarkable text, with a subscription dated A.D. 1319; Dean Gale's O. iv. 22, of the 12th century, now at Trinity College, Cambridge; but this last contains the full lessons from Easter to Pentecost, with those of the Saturdays and Sundays only (σαββατοκυριακαί) for the rest of the year. Wake 12, of the 11th century, at Christ Church, is not an evangelistarium, but replete with notes. For the Apostolos we have used but one copy, unfortunately imperfect, the week-day lessons of which are unusually full, viz. MS. No. iii. 24 (of about the 12th century) in the library of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. In some service-books will be found a few (in B-C. iii. 42 they are many) lessons taken from either division of the New Testament, which were read in connection with the liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom.

III. *The Greek Ecclesiastical Year.*—The Greek church seasonably begins its ecclesiastical year with the highest of our festivals, being Easter Day (ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη κυριακὴ τοῦ πάσχα), reckoning the seven weeks onward from Easter week (ἡ διακινήσιμος) and Low Sunday (ἀντίπασχα) to Whitsun-day (ἡ κυριακὴ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς). The Gospels from St. John (except a few proper lessons) and the Epistles from the Acts run on successively throughout these seven weeks, and evidently form one continuous scheme for every day in each week. Beyond this season, for the rest of the year, the Saturday and Sunday lessons stand apart from those of the five ordinary week days, which indeed seem to have been selected at a later period than the rest. On the morrow of the Pentecost (ἡ ἐπαύριον τῆς πεντηκοστῆς), St. John's Gospel having been exhausted, that of St. Matthew begins, and is read for eleven weeks without interruption, the Sunday after Whitsuntide not being kept as Trinity Sunday, as it has been in the Western church since the 12th century, but as the Greek All Saints' Day. The Greeks commemorate the Council of Nice on the Sunday before Pentecost. On the second day of the eleventh week after Whitsun-day St. Mark's Gospel is taken up, and read from the Monday to the Friday (παρασκευή) inclusive, for seven or at least for five weeks, the Saturday and Sunday lessons being still derived from St. Matthew. At this point comes in the difficulty, arising from the yearly variation of Easter Day in the calendar, which the Western church provides against by varying the number of its Sundays after Trinity. By the time that fifteen Sundays have elapsed after Pentecost, the Greek civil new year may have begun (Sept. 1) and with it the new indiction, when the Gospel of St. Luke was opened (ἀρχὴ τῆς ἰνδικτοῦ τοῦ νέου ἔτους, ἤγουν τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ, Arundel 547, Parham, 18). The ecclesiastical lessons from St. Matthew and St. Mark, however, from the 7th century downwards, would seem to have gone on until after the day of the Exaltation of the Cross, Sept. 14 (which is still used in England to fix our autumnal Ember week), by way of doing special honour to a festival recently instituted. (Δέον γινώσκειν ὅτι ἄρχεται ὁ Λουκᾶς ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς κυριακῆς μετὰ τὴν ὕψωσιν· τότε γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἰσημερία γίνεται ὃ καλεῖται νέον ἔτος. Ἢ ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς κγ′ τοῦ σεπτεμβρίου ὁ Λουκᾶς ἀναγινώσκεται, Burney 22, p. 191.) From whichsoever period the reading of St. Luke commenced, it proceeded without any break for eleven weeks, and, varied with the lessons from St. Mark for the five middle days of the week, for five or at least for three weeks more, when, if the Easter of the new year was early, the fast of Lent would be approaching. After reading as many of the lessons from St. Luke as were necessary, that for the seventeenth Sunday of St. Matthew (ch. xv. 21–28), called from its subject *the Canaanitess*, was always resumed (whether it had been read in its proper place or not), for the Sunday preceding that before the carnival (πρὸ τῆς ἀποκρέω), our Septuagesima, called by the Greeks *the Prodigal*, from the subject of its Gospel (Luke xv. 11–32). Then follow the Sunday of the carnival (τῆς ἀποκρέω), our Sexagesima, and that of *the Cheese-eater* (τῆς τυροφάγου), corresponding to our Quinquagesima. Next come the vigil of the fast of Lent, its six Sundays (the last being τῶν βαΐων, Palm Sunday), and the very full services of the Holy Week, the ecclesiastical year ending of course on Easter Even. Since the whole number of Sundays thus enumerated (even when *the Canaanitess* is reckoned twice) would amount to but fifty-three, a number which might easily of itself be insufficient to fill up the interval between two consecutive Easter Days, we must bear in mind that the menology supplies lessons for the Sundays before and after Christmas and Sept. 14, and for a Sunday after Epiphany, which could either be added to or substituted for the ordinary Gospels, as occasion required. The system of lessons from the Acts and Epistles is much simpler than that of the Gospels. Except between Easter and Pentecost they are not found at all for common week days, except in a very few lectionaries. The book of Genesis, it will be remembered, was read on such week days during Lent.

IV. *Table of Gospels and Epistles daily read throughout the Year in the Greek Church.*

Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην (7 weeks or 8 Sundays).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Easter Day (τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ κυριακῇ τοῦ πάσχα) | John | i. 1-17 | Acts | i. 1–8 |
| 2nd day τῆς διακινησίμου | " | i. 18–28 | " | i. 12–26 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | Luke | xxiv. 12–35 | " | ii. 14–21 |
| 4th .. .. .. | John | i. 35–52 | " | ii. 38–43 |

| Day | | Gospel | | Apostle |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5th day .. .. | John | iii. 1–15 | Acts | iii. 1–8 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | ii. 12–22 | „ | ii. 22–36 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | iii. 22–33 | „ | iii. 11–16 |
| Ἀντίπασχα, or Low Sunday | „ | xx. 19–31 | „ | v. 12–20 |
| 2nd day of 2nd week | „ | ii. 1–11 | „ | iii. 19–26 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | iii. 16–21 | „ | iv. 1–10 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | v. 17–24 | „ | iv. 13–22 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | v. 24–30 | „ | iv. 23–31 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | v 30–vi 2 | „ | v. 1–11 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | vi. 14–27 | „ | v. 21–32 |
| Κυριακῇ γ', or 2nd after Easter | Mark „ | xv. 43–xvi. 8 | „ | vi. 1–7 |
| 2nd day of 3rd week | John | iv. 46–54 | „ | vi. 8–vii. 60 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | vi. 27–33 | „ | viii. 5–17 |
| 4th (6th day of Gale, O. 4.22) | „ | vi. 48–54 | „ | viii. 18–25 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | vi. 40–44 | | viii. 26–39 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ: 4th in Gale) .. | „ | vi. 35–39 | „ | viii. 40–ix. 19 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | xv. 17–xvi. 1 | „ | ix. 19–31 |
| Κυριακῇ δ', or 3rd after Easter | „ | v. 1–15 | „ | ix. 32–42 |
| 2nd day of 4th week | „ | vi. 56–69 | „ | x. 1–16 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | vii. 1–13 | „ | x. 21–33 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | vii. 14–30 | „ | xiv. 6–18 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | viii. 12–20 | „ | x. 34–43 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | viii. 21–30 | „ | x. 44–xi. 10 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | viii. 31–42 | „ | xii. 1–11 |
| Κυριακῇ ε', or 4th after Easter (*of the Samaritan woman*). | „ | iv. 5–42 | „ | xi. 19–30 |
| 2nd day of 5th week | „ | viii. 42–51 | „ | xii. 12–17 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | viii. 51–59 | „ | xii. 25–xiii. 12 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | vi. 5–14 | „ | xiii. 13–24 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | ix. 39–x. 9 | „ | xiv. 20–27 (–xv. 4, B–C iii. 24). |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | x. 17–28 | „ | xv. 5–12 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | x. 27–38 | „ | xv. 35–41 |
| Κυριακῇ ϛ', or 5th after Easter | „ | ix. 1–38 | „ | xvi. 16–34 |
| 2nd day of 6th week | „ | xi. 47–54 | „ | xvii. 1–9 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | xii. 19–36 | „ | xvii. 19–27 (28, B–C iii. 24). |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | xii. 36–47 | „ | xviii. 22–28 |
| 5th Ἀναλήψεως, Ascension Day | πρωῒ (Matins) | | Mark | xvi. 9–20 |
| For the Liturgy | Luke | xxiv. 36–53 | Acts | i. 1 (or 9)–12 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) | John | xiv. 1–10 (11 Gale). | „ | xix. 1–8 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) | „ | xiv. 10–21 (Gale omits 18–20). | „ | xx. 7–12 |
| Κυριακῇ ζ', or 6th after Easter (τῶν ἁγίων τιη' [318] πατέρων ἐν Νικαίᾳ) | John | xvii. 1–13 | „ | xx. 16–38 (16–18; 28–36, B–C iii. 24). |
| 2nd day of 7th week | „ | xiv. 27–xv. 7 | Acts | xxi. 8–14 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | xvi. 2–13 | „ | xxi. 26–32 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | xvi. 15–23 | „ | xxiii. 1–11 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | xvi. 23–33 | „ | xxv. 13–19 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | xvii. 18–26 | „ | xxvii. 1–xxviii. 1 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | xxii. 14 25 | „ | xxviii. 1–31 |
| Κυριακῇ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς. πρωῒ (Matins) | „ | xx. 19–23 | | |
| For the Liturgy | „ | vii. 37–viii. 12 | „ | ii. 1–11 |

N.B.—John vii. 53–viii. 11 is not included in the lesson for the Pentecost, but is appointed in menologies to be read at the feasts of certain penitent women (p. 65).

Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.

| Day | | Gospel | | Apostle |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2nd day of 1st week (τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πεντηκοστῆς) | Matth. | xviii. 10–20 | Eph. | v. 8–19 |
| 3rd day of 1st week | Matth. | iv. 25–v. 11 | | |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | v. 20–30 | | (*Hiat* B–C iii. 24). |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | v. 31–41 | | |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | vii. 9–18 | | |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | v. 42–48 | Rom. | i. 7–12 |
| Κυριακῇ α', All Saints (τῶν ἁγίων πάντων) | „ „ | x. 32, 33; 37, 38; xix. 27–30 | Heb. „ | xi. 33–xii. 2 |
| 2nd day of 2nd week | „ „ | vi. 31–34; vii. 9–14 | Rom. | ii. 1–6 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | vii. 15–21 | „ | ii. 13, 17–27 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | vii. 21–23 | „ | ii. 28–iii. 4 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | viii. 23–27 | „ | iii. 4–9 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | ix. 14–17 | „ | iii. 9–18 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | vii. 1–8 | „ | iii. 19–26 |
| Κυριακῇ β' .. .. | „ | iv. 18–23 | „ | ii. 10–16 |
| 2nd day of 3rd week | „ | ix. 36–x. 8 | „ | iv. 4–8 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | x. 9–15 | „ | iv. 8–12 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | x. 16–22 | „ | iv. 13–17 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | x. 23–31 | „ | iv. 18–25 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ „ | x. 32–36; xi. 1 | „ | v. 12–14 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | vii. 24–viii. 4 | „ | iii. 28–iv. 3 |
| Κυριακῇ γ' .. .. | „ | vi. 22, 23 | „ | v. 1–10 |
| 2nd day of 4th week | „ | xi. 2–15 | „ | v. 15–17 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | xi. 16–20 | „ | v. 17–21 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | xi. 20–26 | „ | vii. 1.... |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | xi. 27–30 | | (*Hiat* B–C iii. 24). |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | xii. 1–8 | | |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | viii. 14–23 | Rom. | vi. 11–17 |
| Κυριακῇ δ' .. .. | „ | viii. 5–13 | „ | vi. 18–23 |
| 2nd day of 5th week | „ | xii. 9–13 | „ | vii. 19–viii. 3 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | xii. 14–16; 22–30 | „ | viii. 2–9 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | xii. 38–45 | „ | viii. 8–14 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | xii. 46–xiii. 3 | „ | viii. 22–27 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | xiii. 3–12 | „ | ix. 6–13 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | ix. 9–13 | „ | viii. 14–21 |
| Κυριακῇ ε' .. .. | „ | viii. 28–ix. 1 | „ | x. 1–10 |
| 2nd day of 6th week | „ | xiii. 10–23 | „ | ix. 13–19 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | xiii. 24–30 | „ | ix. 17–28 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | xiii. 31–36 | „ | ix. 29–33 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | xiii. 36–43 | „ „ | ix. 33; x. 12–17 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | xiii. 44–54 | „ | x. 15–xi. 2 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | ix. 18–26 | „ | ix. 1–5 |
| Κυριακῇ ϛ' .. | „ | ix. 1–8 | „ | xii. 6–14 |
| 2nd day of 7th week | „ | xiii. 54–58 | „ | xi. 2–6 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | xiv. 1–13 | „ | xi. 7–12 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | xiv. 35–xv. 11 | „ | xi. 13–20 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | xv. 12–21 | „ | xi. 19–24 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | xv. 29–31 | „ | xi. 25–28 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | x. 37–xi. 1 | „ | xii. 1–3 |
| Κυριακῇ ζ' .. | „ | ix. 27–35 | „ | xv. 1–7 |
| 2nd day of 8th week | „ | xvi. 1–6 | „ | xi. 29–36 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | xvi. 6–12 | „ | xii. 14–21 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | xvi. 20–24 | „ | xiv. 10–18 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | xvi. 24–28 | „ | xv. 8–12 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | xvii. 10–18 | „ | xv. 13–16 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | xii. 30–37 | „ | xiii. 1–10 |
| Κυριακῇ η' .. .. | „ | xiv. 14–22 | 1 Cor. | i. 10–18 |
| 2nd day of 9th week | „ | xviii. 1–11 | Rom. | xv. 17–25 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ „ | xviii. 18–20; xix. 1, 2; 13–15 | „ | xv. 26–29 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | xx. 1–16 | „ | xvi. 17–20 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | xx. 17–28 | 1 Cor. | ii. 10–15 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | xxi. 12–14; 17–20 | „ | ii. 16–iii. 8 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ | xv. 32–39 | Rom. | xiv. 6–9 |
| Κυριακῇ θ' .. .. | „ | xiv. 22–34 | 1 Cor. | iii. 9–17 |
| 2nd day of 10th week | „ | xxi. 18–22 | „ | iii. 18–23 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ | xxi. 23–27 | „ | iv. 5–8 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ | xxi. 28–32 | „ | v. 9–13 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ | xxi. 43–46 | „ | vi. 1–6 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ | xxii. 23–33 | „ | vi. 7–11 |

| 7th day of 10th week (σαββάτῳ) | Matth. xvii. 24–xviii. 1 | Rom. xv. 30–33 |
|---|---|---|
| Κυριακῇ ι' .. .. | „ xvii. 14–23 | 1 Cor. iv. 9–16 |
| 2nd day of 11th week | „ xxiii. 13–22 | „ vi. 20–vii. 7 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ xxiii. 23–28 | „ vii. 7–15 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ xxiii. 29–39 | (Hiat B–C iii. 24). |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ xxiv. 13 or 14 or 15–28 | |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ xxiv. 27–35; 42–51 | „ ends vii. 35 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ xix. 3–12 | „ i. 3–9 |
| Κυριακῇ ια' .. | „ xviii. 23–35 | „ ix. 2–12 |
| | Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον. | |
| 2nd day of 12th week | Mark i. 9–15 | „ vii. 37–viii. 3 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ i. 16–22 | „ viii. 4–7 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ i. 23–28 | „ ix. 13–18 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ i. 29–35 | „ x. 2–10 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ ii. 18–22 | „ x. 10–15 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | Matth. xx. 29–34 | „ i. 26–29 |
| Κυριακῇ ιβ' .. | „ xix. 16–26 | „ xv. 1–11 |
| 2nd day of 13th week | Mark iii. 6–12 | „ x. 14–23 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ iii. 13–21 | „ x. 31–xi. 3 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ iii. 20–27 | „ xi. 4–12 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ iii. 28–35 | „ xi. 13–23 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ iv. 1–9 | „ xi. 31–xii. 6 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) | Matth. xxii. 15–22 | „ ii. 6–9 |
| Κυριακῇ ιγ' .. | „ xxi. 33–42 | „ xvi. 13–24 |
| 2nd day of 14th week | Mark iv. 10–23 | „ xii. 12–18 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ iv. 24–34 | „ xii. 18–26 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ iv. 35–41 | „ xiii. 8–xiv. 1 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ v. 1–20 | „ xiv. 1–12 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ v. 22–24; 35–vi. 1 | „ xiv. 12–20 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) | Matth. xxiii. 1–12 | 1 Cor. iv. 1–5 |
| Κυριακῇ ιδ' .. | „ xxii. 2–14 | 2 Cor. i. 21–ii. 4 |
| 2nd day of 15th week | Mark v. 24–34 | 1 Cor. xiv. 26–33 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ vi. 1–7 | „ xiv. 33–40 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ vi. 7–13 | „ xv. 12–20 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ vi. 30–45 | „ xv. 29–34 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ vi. 45–53 | „ xv. 34–40 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) | Matth. xxiv. 1–13 | „ iv. 17–v. 5 |
| Κυριακῇ ιε' .. | „ xxii. 35–40 | 2 Cor. iv. 6–11 (15 B–C iii. 24). |
| 2nd day of 16th week | Mark vi. 54–vii. 3 | 1 Cor. xvi. 3–13 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ vii. 5–16 | 2 Cor. i. 1–7 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ vii. 14–24 | „ i. 12–20 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ vii. 24–30 | „ ii. 4–15 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ viii. 1–10 | „ ii. 15–iii. 3 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) | Matth. xxiv. 34–37; 42–44 | 1 Cor. x. 23–28 |

Then follow, if read in this place—

Κυριακῇ ιϛ' .. Matth. xxv. 14–30 2 Cor. vi. 1–10

N.B.—If this week was required before the new year or new indiction began, some of the lessons from St. Mark which follow the 12th Sunday of St. Luke were taken for this 17th week so far as needed, and after them (the Epistles for the week being 2 Cor. iii. 4–12; iv. 1–6; 11–18; v. 10–15; 15–21).

| (σαββάτῳ) ιζ' | Matth. xxv. 1–13 | 1 Cor. xiv. 20–25 |
|---|---|---|
| Κυριακῇ ιζ' | „ xv. 21–28 (*the Canaanitess*). | 2 Cor. vi. 16–vii. 1 |
| | Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν. | |
| 2nd day of 1st week of new year .. | Luke iii. 19–22 | 2 Cor. vi. 11–16 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ iii. 23–iv. 1 | „ vii. 1–11 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ iv. 1–15 | „ vii. 10–16 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ iv. 16–22 | „ viii. 7–11 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ iv. 22–30 | „ viii. 10–21 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ iv. 31–36 | 1 Cor. xv. 39–45 |

N.B.—If the 16th or 17th Saturdays of St. Matthew be not read at the end of the old year, then the omitted Epistles are used when St. Luke commences, and the Epistle for each succeeding Saturday and Sunday must be looked for, out of its place, one or two weeks back. But if this be actually the 18th Sunday after Pentecost, all the following Epistles will be given correctly.

| Κυριακῇ α' of the new year (Apostolos ιη') | Luke v. 1–11 | 2 Cor. ix. 6–11 |
|---|---|---|
| 2nd day of 2nd week | „ iv. 38–44 | „ viii. 20–ix. 1 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ v. 12–16 | „ ix. 1–5 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ v. 33–39 | „ ix. 12–x. 5 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ vi. 12–16 | „ x. 4–12 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ vi. 17–23 | „ x. 13–18 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ v. 17–26 | 1 Cor. xv. 58–xvi. 3 |
| Κυριακῇ β' (Apost. ιθ') | „ vi. 31–36 | 2 Cor. xi. 31–xii. 9 |
| 2nd day of 3rd week | „ vi. 24–30 | „ xi. 5–9 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ vi. 37–45 | „ xi. 10–18 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ vi. 46–vii. 1 | „ xii. 10–14 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ vii. 17–30 | „ xii. 14–19 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ vii. 31–35 | „ xii. 19–xiii. 1 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ v. 27–32 | „ i. 8–11 |
| Κυριακῇ γ' (Apost. κ') | „ vii. 11–16 | Gal. i. 11–19 |
| 2nd day of 4th week | „ vii. 36–50 | 2 Cor. xiii. 2–7 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ viii. 1–3 | „ xiii. 7–11 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ viii. 22–25 | Gal. i. 18–ii. 5 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ ix. 7–11 | „ ii. 6–16 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ ix. 12–18 | „ ii. 20–iii. 7 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ vi. 1–10 | 2 Cor. iii. 12–18 |
| Κυριακῇ δ' (Apost. κα') | „ viii. 5–15 | Gal. ii. 16–20 |
| 2nd day of 5th week | „ ix. 18–22 | „ iii. 15–22 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ ix. 23–27 | „ iii. 28–iv. 5 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ ix. 43–50 | „ iv. 9–14 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ ix. 49–56 | „ iv. 13–26 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ x. 1–15 | „ iv. 28–v. 5 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ vii. 1–10 | 2 Cor. v. 1–10 (4 B–C iii. 24). |
| Κυριακῇ ε' (Apost. κβ') | „ xvi. 19–31 | Gal. vi. 11–18 |
| 2nd day of 6th week | „ x. 22–24 | „ v. 4–14 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ xi. 1–9 | „ v. 14–21 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ xi. 9–13 | „ vi. 2–10 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ xi. 14–23 | Eph. i. 9–17 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ xi. 23–26 | „ i. 16–23 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ viii. 16–21 | 2 Cor. viii. 1–5 |
| Κυριακῇ ϛ' (Apost. κγ') | „ viii. 27–35; 38–39 | Eph. ii. 4–10 |
| 2nd day of 7th week | „ xi. 29–33 | „ ii. 18–iii. 5 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ xi. 34–41 | „ iii. 5–12 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ xi. 42–46 | „ iii. 13–21 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ xi. 47–xii. 1 | „ iv. 12–16 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ xii. 2–12 | „ iv. 17–25 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ ix. 1–6 | 2 Cor. xi. 1–6 |
| Κυριακῇ ζ' (Apost. κδ') | „ viii. 41–56 | Eph. ii. 14–22 |
| 2nd day of 8th week | „ xii. 13–15; 22–31 | „ v. 18–26 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ xii. 42–48 | „ v. 25–31 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ xii. 48–59 | „ v. 28–vi. 6 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ xiii. 1–9 | „ vi. 7–11 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ xiii. 31–35 | „ vi. 17–21 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ ix. 37–48 | Gal. i. 3–10 |
| Κυριακῇ η' (Apost. κε') | „ x. 25–37 | Eph. iv. 1–7 |
| 2nd day of 9th week | „ xiv. 12–15 | Phil. i. 2... |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ xiv. 25–35 | (Hiat B–C iii. 24). |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ xv. 1–10 | |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ xvi. 1–9 | |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ xvi. 15–18; „ xvii. 1–4 | |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ ix. 57–62 | Gal. iii. 8–12 |

| Day | Gospel | Epistle |
|---|---|---|
| Κυριακῇ θ′ (Apost. κϛ′) | Luke xii. 16–21 | Eph. v. 8–19 |
| 2nd day of 10th week | „ xvii. 20–25 | |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ xvii. 26–37; „ xviii. 18 | |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ xviii. 15–17; 26–30 | |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ xviii. 31–34 | |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ xix. 12–28 | |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ x. 19–21 | Gal. v. 22–vi. 2 |
| Κυριακῇ ι′ (Apost. κζ′) | „ xiii. 10–17 | Eph. vi. 10–17 |
| 2nd day of 11th week | „ xix. 37–44 | |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ xix. 45–48 | |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ xx. 1–8 | |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ xx. 9–18 | |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ xx. 19–26 | |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ xii. 32–40 | Col. i. 9–18 |
| Κυριακῇ ια′ (Apost. κη′) | „ xiv. 16–24 | 2 Cor. ii. 14–iii. 3 |
| 2nd day of 12th week | „ xx. 27–44 | |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ xxi. 12–19 | |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ xxi. 5–8; 10, 11; 20–24 | |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ xxi. 28–33 | |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ xxi. 37–xxii. 8 | |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | „ xiii. 19–29 | Eph. ii. 11–13 |
| Κυριακῇ ιβ′ (Apost. κθ′) | „ xvii. 12–19 | Col. iii. 4–11 |
| 2nd day of 13th week | Mark viii. 11–21 | |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ viii. 22–26 | |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ viii. 30–34 | |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ ix. 10–16 | |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ ix. 33–41 | |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | Luke xiv. 1–11 | Eph. v. 1–8 |
| Κυριακῇ ιγ′ (Apost. λ′) | „ xviii. 18–27 | Col. iii. 12–16 |
| 2nd day of 14th week | Mark ix. 42–x. 1 | 1 Thess. i. 6–10 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ x. 2–11 | „ i. 9–ii. 4 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ x. 11–16 | „ ii. 4–8 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ x. 17–27 | „ ii. 9–14 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ x. 24–32 | „ ii. 14–20 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | Luke xvi. 10–15 | Col. i. 2–6 |
| Κυριακῇ ιδ′ (Apost. λα′) | „ xviii. 35–43 | 2 Tim. i. 3–9 (1 Tim. i. 15–17, B-C iii. 24). |
| 2nd day of 15th week | Mark x. 46–52 | 1 Thess. iii. 1–8 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ xi. 11–23 | „ iii. 6–11 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ xi. 22–26 | „ iii. 11–iv. 6 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ xi. 27–33 | „ iv. 7–11 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ xii. 1–12 | „ iv. 17–v. 3 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | Luke xvii. 3–10 | Col. ii. 8–12 |
| Κυριακῇ ιε′ (Apost. λβ′) | „ xix. 1–10 | 1 Tim. vi. 11–16 |
| 2nd day of 16th week | Mark xii. 13–17 | 1 Thess. v. 4–11 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ xii. 18–27 | „ v. 11–15 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ xii. 28–34 | „ v. 15–23 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ xii. 38–44 | 2 Thess. i. 1–6 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ xiii. 1–9 | „ i. 11–ii. 5 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | Luke xviii. 1–8 | 1 Tim. ii. 1–7 |
| Κυριακῇ ιϛ′ (the Publican, Apost. λγ′) | „ xviii. 9–14 | 2 Tim. iii. 10–15 (B-C iii. 42). |
| 2nd day of 17th week | Mark xiii. 9–13 | 2 Thess. ii. 13–iii. 5 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ xiii. 14–23 | „ iii. 3–9 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ xiii. 24–31 | „ iii. 10–18 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ xiii. 31–xiv. 2 | 1 Tim. i. 1–8 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ xiv. 3–9 | „ i. 8–14 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | Luke xx. 46–xxi. 4 | „ iii. 13–iv. 5 |

N.B.—The Gospel for the Sunday preceding that which the Western church calls Septuagesima is always that of the *Canaanitess* (Matth. xv. 21–28), which would sometimes displace one or two of those immediately preceding, as in the case of our Sunday next before Advent. Two weeks' lessons from the Epistles are also kept in reserve, to be used here if necessary. They are numbered from the weeks after Pentecost, as indeed are all the Epistles in the Greek lectionaries, viz.—

| Day | Epistle |
|---|---|
| Κυριακῇ λδ′ .. .. .. | 2 Tim. iii. 10–15 |
| (2) .. .. .. .. | 1 Tim. ii. 5–15 |
| (3) .. .. .. .. | „ iii. 1–13 |
| (4) .. .. .. .. | „ iv. 4–9 |
| (5) .. .. .. .. | „ iv. 14–v. 10 |
| (6) .. .. .. .. | „ v. 17–vi. 2 |
| σαββάτῳ λε′ .. .. | „ iv. 9–15 |
| Κυριακῇ λε′ .. .. .. | 2 Tim. ii. 1–10 |
| (2) .. .. .. .. | 1 Tim. vi. 2–11 |
| (3) .. .. .. .. | „ vi. 17–21 |
| (4) .. .. .. .. | 2 Tim. i. 8–14 |
| (5) .. .. .. .. | „ i. 14–ii. 2 |
| (6) .. .. .. .. | „ ii. 22–26 |
| σαββάτῳ λϛ′ .. .. | „ ii. 11–19 |

The day before Septuagesima Sunday is—

| Day | Gospel | Epistle |
|---|---|---|
| σαββάτῳ πρὸ τῆς ἀποκρέω (*before Carnival*) | Luke xv. 1–10 | |
| Κυριακῇ πρὸ τῆς ἀποκρέω (*the Prodigal*) | „ xv. 11–32 | 1 Thess. v. 14–23 |
| 2nd day of Carnival week | Mark xi. 1–11 | 2 Tim. iii. 1–10 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ xiv. 10–42 | „ iii. 14–iv. 5 |
| 4th .. .. .. | „ xiv. 43, xv. 1 | „ iv. 9 18 |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ xv. 1–15 | Titus i. 5–12 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | „ xv. 20, 22, 25, 33–41 | „ i. 15–ii. 10 |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | Luke xxi. 8, 9, 25–27, 33–36 | 1 Cor. vi. 12–20 |
| Κυριακῇ τῆς ἀποκρέῳ (*Carnival*, our Sexagesima) | Matth. xxv. 31–46 | 1 Cor. viii. 8–ix. 2 (1 Cor. vi. 13–20, B-C iii. 24) |
| 2nd day of the week of the *Cheese-eater* (τυροφάγου: a lighter fast) | Luke xix. 29–40; xxii. 7, 8, 39 | Heb. iv. 1–13 |
| 3rd .. .. .. | „ xxii. 39–xxiii. 1 | „ v. 12–vi. 8 |
| 4th .. .. .. | *deest.* | |
| 5th .. .. .. | „ xxiii. 1–43; 44–56 | „ xii. 14–27 |
| 6th (παρασκευῇ) .. | *deest.* | |
| 7th (σαββάτῳ) .. | Matth. vi. 1–13 | Rom. xiv 19–23; „ xvi. 25–27 (p. 50) |
| Κυριακῇ τῆς τυροφάγου (*the Cheese-eater*, our Quinquagesima) | „ vi. 14–21 | „ xiii. 11–xiv. 4 |

Genesis was read on the five middle week-days of Lent (p. 50). The special lessons from the New Testament were—

Παννυχὶς τῆς ἁγίας νηστείας (Vigil of Lent) Matth. vii. 7–11.

Τῶν νηστειῶν (Lent).

| Day | Gospel | | Epistle | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| σαββάτῳ α′ .. | Mark | ii. 23–iii. 5 | Heb. | i. 1–12 |
| Κυριακῇ α′ .. | John | i. 44–52 | „ | xi. 24–40 |
| σαββάτῳ β′ .. | Mark | i. 35–44 | „ | iii. 12–14 |
| Κυριακῇ β′ .. | „ | ii. 1–12 | „ | i. 10–ii. 3 |
| σαββάτῳ γ′ .. | „ | ii. 14–17 | „ | x. 32–38 |
| Κυριακῇ γ′ .. | „ | viii. 34–ix. 1 | „ | iv. 14–v. 6 |
| σαββάτῳ δ′ .. | „ | vii. 31–37 | „ | vi. 9–12 |
| Κυριακῇ δ′ .. | „ | ix. 17–31 | „ | vi. 13–20 |
| σαββάτῳ ε′ .. | „ | viii. 27–31 | „ | ix. 24–28 |
| Κυριακῇ ε′ .. | „ | x. 32–45 | „ | ix. 11–14 |
| σαββάτῳ ϛ′ (of Lazarus) | John | xi. 1–45 | „ | xii. 28–xiii. 8 |

Κυριακῇ ϛ′ τῶν βαΐων (Palm Sunday)—

πρωῒ (Matins) Matth. xxi. 1–11; 15–17

Κυριακῇ ϛʹ εἰς τὴν λιτὴν Mark x. 46–xi. 11
„ For the Liturgy—John xii. 1–18 Phil. iv. 4–9

The services of the Holy Week (ἡ ἁγία ἡ μεγάλη) are given at full length in nearly all the lectionaries, viz.—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2nd day .. | Matins .. | Matth. xxi. 18–43 |
| | Liturgy .. | „ xxiv. 3–35 |
| 3rd day .. | Matins .. | „ xxii. 15–xxiv. 2 |
| | Liturgy .. | „ xxiv. 36–xxvi. 2. |
| 4th day .. | Matins .. | John xi. 47–53, or xii. 17–47 |
| | Liturgy .. | Matth. xxvi. 6–16 |
| 5th day .. | Matins .. | Luke xxii. 1–36, or 39 |
| | Liturgy .. | Matth. xxvi. 1–20 |

Eve—Gospel of the Bath (νιπτήρ) John xiii. 3–10
After the Bath .. .. „ xiii. 12–17;
Matth. xxvi. 21–39; Luke xxii. 43, 44 (p. 50);
„ xxvi. 40–xxvii. 2 1 Cor. xi. 23–32.

At this season were read the twelve Gospels of the Holy Passion (τῶν ἁγίων παθῶν), viz.—

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) John xiii. 31–xviii. 1 | (7) Matth. xxvii. 33–54 |
| (2) „ xviii. 1–28 | (8) Luke xxiii. 32–49 |
| (3) Matth. xxvi. 57–75 | (9) John xix. 25–37 |
| (4) John xviii. 28–xix. 16 | (10) Mark xv. 43–47 |
| (5) Matth. xxvii. 3–32 | (11) John xix. 38–42 |
| (6) Mark xv. 16–32 | (12) Matth. xxvii. 62–66 |

Gospels for the hours of the vigil of Good Friday (τῆς ἁγίας παραμονῆς)—

| | |
|---|---|
| Hour (1) Matth. xxvii. 1–56 | (6) Luke xxii. 66–xxiii. 49 |
| (3) Mark xv. 1–41 | (9) John xix. 16–37 |

Good Friday (τῇ ἁγίᾳ παρασκευῇ) for the Liturgy—

Matth. xxvii. 1–38; Luke xxiii. 39–43; Matth. xxvii. 39–54; John xix. 31–37; Matth. xxvii. 55–61. 1 Cor. i. 18–ii. 2.

Easter Even (τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ)—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Matins (πρωΐ) | Matth. xxvii. 62–66 | 1 Cor. v. 6–8<br>Gal. iii. 13–14 |
| Evensong (ἑσπέρας) | „ xxviii. 1–20 | Rom. vi. 3–11 |

To these lessons from the New Testament for the whole ecclesiastical year from Easter Day to Easter Even nearly all the lectionaries annex eleven morning Gospels of the Resurrection (εὐαγγέλια ἀναστασιμὰ ἑωθινὰ), which were read in turn, one every Sunday at matins, viz.—

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) Matth. xxviii. 16–20 | (7) John xx. 1–10 |
| (2) Mark xvi. 1–8 | (8) „ xx. 11–18 |
| (3) „ xvi. 9–20 | (9) „ xx. 19–31 |
| (4) Luke xxiv. 1–12 | (10) „ xxi. 1–14 |
| (5) „ xxiv. 12–35 | (11) „ xxi. 15–25 |
| (6) „ xxiv. 36–52 | |

V. *Syriac Lectionaries.*—A valuable evangelistarium, written in a peculiar dialect of the Syriac language, called for the sake of distinction the *Jerusalem Syriac*, was first used by Adler in the Vatican (*MS. Syr.* 19), and has lately been published in full by Count F. Miniscalchi Erezzo (Verona, 1861–64). This book enables us to see that the ordinary lessons of the Syriac church at the period that it bears date (A.D. 1030), and probably long before, were identical with those of the Greek church as described above. In fact the Jerusalem Lectionary differs from the Greek for the portions which it contains little more than the various Greek copies do from each other. It does not supply the ordinary week-day lessons except from Easter to Pentecost and those of the Holy Week: the Menology also, as might have been expected (p. 51), is widely different in the two churches. Modern Syrian manuscripts and editions, however (such as that published by Professor Lee in 1816), are constructed on other principles; and agree with the Greek only on the occasion of such high festivals as hardly admitted a choice in their selection.

VI. *The Coptic Lectionary.*—For the Coptic, the other great branch of ancient Christianity in the East, we depend for the present mainly on a Coptic and Arabic manuscript, translated by Prebendary Malan in his *Original Documents of the Coptic Church*, No. IV. (1874), which he believes to agree very well with what is known elsewhere of *Il-Cotmarus*, the volume of lessons for the whole year. It contains only the Sunday and feast-day Gospels throughout the year, with the appropriate versicles and greetings annexed to each at full length; although we have the express testimony of Cassian (*Institut.* iii. 2) for the 5th century, that the Egyptians read both Epistle and Gospel every Saturday as well as every Sunday in their public services. The Sundays are arranged according to the months of the Coptic ecclesiastical year, which began August 29. The vigil or eve was always regarded as the commencement of each day. The manuscript being defective, the lessons for the first three Sundays, and some few others, cannot be given.

Month of Tot (Aug. 29–Sept. 27)—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4th Sunday—Evensong .. | Matth. | ix. 18–26 |
| Matins .. | „ | xv. 21–28 |
| Liturgy .. | Luke | vii. 36–50 |

Month of Babeh (Sept. 28–Oct. 27)—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st Sunday—Evensong | Matth. | xiv. 15–21 |
| Matins | | *deest folium.* |
| Liturgy .. | Mark | ii. 1–12? |
| 2nd Sunday—Evensong .. | Matth. | xvii. 24–27 |
| Matins .. | Mark | xvi. 2–5 |
| Liturgy .. | Luke | v. 1–11 |
| 3rd Sunday—Evensong .. | Mark | iv. 35–41 |
| Matins .. | Luke | xxiv. 1–12 |
| Liturgy .. | Matth. | (*deest folium*). |
| 4th Sunday—Evensong .. | „ | xiv. 22–33? |
| Matins .. | John | xx. 1–18 |
| Liturgy .. | Luke | vii. 11–22 |

Month of Hator (Oct. 28–Nov. 26)—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st Sunday—Evensong .. | Mark | iv. 10–20 |
| Matins .. | Matth. | xxviii. 1–20 |
| Liturgy .. | Luke | viii. 4–15 |
| 2nd Sunday—Evensong .. | „ | xii. 22–31 |
| Matins .. | Mark | xvi. 2–8 |
| Liturgy .. | Matth. | xiii. 1–8 |
| 3rd Sunday—Evensong .. | „ | xi. 25–30 |
| Matins .. | Luke | xxiv. 1–12 |
| Liturgy .. | „ | viii. 4–8 |
| 4th Sunday—Evensong .. | Matth. | xvii. 14–21 |
| Matins .. | John | xx. 1–18 |
| Liturgy .. | Mark | x. 17 31 |

Month of Kihak (Nov. 27–Dec. 26)—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st Sunday—Evensong .. | Mark | xiv. 3–9 |
| Matins .. | „ | xii. 41–44 |
| Liturgy .. | Luke | i. 1–25 |
| 2nd Sunday—Evensong .. | „ | vii. 36–50 |
| Matins .. | „ | xi. 19–28 |
| Liturgy .. | „ | i. 26–38 |
| 3rd Sunday—Evensong .. | Mark | i. 29–34 |
| Matins .. | Matth. | xv. 21–31 |
| Liturgy .. | Luke | i. 39–56 |
| 4th Sunday—Evensong .. | „ | viii. 1–3 |
| Matins .. | Mark | iii. 28–35 |
| Liturgy .. | Luke | i. 57–80 |

Month of Tubeh (Dec. 27–Jan. 25)—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st Sunday—Evensong .. | Luke | iv. 40–44 |
| Matins .. | „ | iv. 31–37 |
| Liturgy .. | Matth. | ii. 19–23 |

2nd Sunday—Evensong .. „ xiv. 22–33, or Mark vi. 45–54 (*Hiat MS.*)
Matins .. Mark iii. 7–12
Liturgy .. Luke xi. 27–36
3rd Sunday—Evensong .. John v. 1–18
Matins .. „ iii. 1–21
Liturgy .. „ iii. 22–36
4th Sunday—Evensong .. „ v. 31–47
Matins .. „ vi. 47–58
Liturgy .. „ ix. 1–38

Month of Amshir (Jan. 26–Feb. 24)—

1st Sunday—Evensong .. John vi. 15–21
Matins .. „ viii. 51–59
Liturgy .. „ vi. 22–38
2nd Sunday—Evensong .. „ iv. 46–54
Matins .. „ iii. 17–21
Liturgy .. „ vi. 5–14
3rd Sunday—Evensong .. „ v. 39–vi. 2
Matins .. „ xii. 44–50
Liturgy .. „ vi. 27–40
(in another copy v. 27–46)
4th Sunday—Evensong .. Luke xvii. 1–10
(in another copy to ver. 19)
Matins .. John v. 27–39
Liturgy .. „ xix. 1–10

The four days which follow this Sunday compose the fast of Jonah.

2nd day of week .. Matins .. Matth. vii. 6–12
Liturgy .. „ xii. 35–39
3rd day .. .. Matins .. Luke xiii. 6–9
Liturgy .. „ xi. 29–36
4th day .. .. Matins .. Matth. xi. 25–30
Liturgy .. „ xv. 32–xvi. 4
5th day (Passover of Jonah) Matins .. Mark viii. 10–21
Liturgy .. John ii. 12–25

*Great Sunday of the first gathering in of Crops*—

Evensong .. Mark xi. 22–26
Matins .. Luke xxi. 34–38
Liturgy .. Matth. vi. 1–4

*For any fifth Sunday of the Month in the first six Months of the Year*—

Evensong .. Matth. xiv. 15–21
Matins .. Mark vi. 35–44
Liturgy .. Luke ix. 12–17

Gospel lessons for the seventh month, Barmahat (Feb. 25–March 26), and the eighth month, Barmudeh (March 27–April 25) are not given, inasmuch as the proper lessons for the holy season, from the beginning of Lent to Pentecost, here intervene and extend to the second Sunday of the ninth month, Bashansh.

The Holy Fast—

1st Sunday—Evensong .. Matth. vi. 34–vii. 12
Matins .. „ vii. 22–29
Liturgy .. „ vi. 19–33
(2nd, 3rd, and 4th Sunday wanting. *Hiat MS.*)
5th Sunday—Evensong .. Luke xviii. 1–8
Matins .. Matth. xxiv. 3–36
(in another copy Luke xviii. 9–14)
Liturgy .. John v. 1–18
6th Sunday—Evensong .. Luke xiii. 22–35
Matins .. Matth. xxiii. 1–39
(in another copy Matth. xx. 17–28)
Liturgy .. John ix. 1–39
Saturday of Lazarus—
Matins. Luke xviii. 31–43 (in another copy Mark x. 46–52)
Liturgy. John xi. 1–45
7th Sunday of Hosannas (Palm Sunday)—
Evensong .. John xii. 1–11
Matins .. Luke xix. 1–10
Liturgy (1) Matth. xxi. 1–17
(2) Mark xi. 1–11
(3) Luke xix. 29–48
(4) John xii. 12–19

Great Thursday of the Covenant of the Basin—
Gospel .. John xiii. 1–17
Liturgy .. Matth. xxvi. 20–29
[Good Friday has no service noted]
Saturday of Lights (Easter Even)—
Matins .. Matth. xxvii. 62–66
Liturgy .. „ xxviii. 1–20
Feast of the Glorious Resurrection—
Matins .. Mark xvi. 2–8
Liturgy .. John xx. 1–18
Feast of Terms, or of the Fifty Days—
1st Sunday—Evensong .. Luke v. 1–11
Matins .. John xxi. 1–14
Liturgy .. „ xx. 24–31
2nd Sunday—Evensong .. „ vi. 16–23
Matins .. „ vi. 24–34
Liturgy .. „ vi. 35–46
3rd Sunday—Evensong .. „ vii. 30– ?
Matins .. „ viii. 21–30
Liturgy .. „ viii. 30–50
4th Sunday—Evensong .. „ vi. 54–69
Matins .. „ viii. 51–59
Liturgy .. „ xii. 3–50
5th Sunday—Evensong .. „ xiv. 21–25
Matins .. „ xv. 4–8
Liturgy .. „ xv. 9–16
Ascension Day—Evensong Luke ix. 51–62
Matins .. Mark xvi. 12–20
Liturgy .. Luke xxiv. 36–53
6th Sunday—Evensong .. Mark xii. 28–40
(in another copy John xiv. 1–7)
Matins .. „ xiv. 8–20
Liturgy .. „ xvi. 23–33
7th Sunday (Pentecost)—
Evensong .. „ vii. 37–44
Matins .. „ xiv. 26–xv. 4
Liturgy .. „ xv. 26–xvi. 15

Month of Bashansh (April 26–May 25)—

3rd Sunday—Evensong .. Matth. xxii. 34–40
Matins .. { From Luke: the Resurrection
Liturgy .. Luke x. 25–28
4th Sunday—Evensong .. Matth. xii. 1–8
Matins .. John xx. 1–
Liturgy .. Luke iv. 1–13

Month of Bawaneh (May 26–June 24)—

1st Sunday—Evensong .. Matth. xvii. 1–13
Matins .. „ xxviii. ? –20
Liturgy .. Luke xi. 1–13
2nd Sunday—Evensong .. „ iv. 38–41
Matins .. Mark xvi. 2–5
Liturgy .. Luke v. 17–26
3rd Sunday—Evensong .. Matth. vii. 7–12
Matins .. Luke xxiv. 1–12
Liturgy .. Matth. xii. 22–34
4th Sunday—Evensong .. „ v. 27–48
Matins .. John xx. 1–18
Liturgy .. Luke vi. 27–38

Month of Abib (June 25–July 24)—

1st Sunday—Evensong .. Luke ix. 1–6
Matins .. Matth. xxviii.?–20
Liturgy .. Luke x. 1–20
2nd Sunday—Evensong .. „ xvi. 1–18
Matins .. Mark xvi. 2–5
Liturgy .. Matth. xviii. 1–11
3rd Sunday—Evensong .. Luke xiv. 7–15
Matins .. „ xxiv. 1–12
Liturgy .. „ ix. 10–17
4th Sunday—Evensong .. „ vii. 1–10
Matins .. John xx. 1–18
Liturgy .. „ xi. 1–45

Month of Mesre (July 25–Aug. 23)—

1st Sunday—Evensong .. Mark vi. 45–56
Matins .. Matth. xxviii.?–20
Liturgy .. Luke xx. 9–19
2nd Sunday—Evensong .. Luke xviii. 9–17
Matins .. Mark xvi. 2–5
Liturgy .. Luke v. 27–39

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3rd Sunday—Evensong | .. Luke | xi. 27–36 | |
| Matins | .. „ | xxiv. 1–12 | |
| Liturgy | .. Mark | iii. 22–34 | |
| 4th Sunday—Evensong | .. Luke | xvii. 20–37 | |
| Matins | .. John | xx. 1–18 | |
| Liturgy | .. Mark | xiii. 3–31 | |

Short or intercalary month Nissi (Aug. 24–28, with a sixth day in leap year)—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sunday—Evensong | .. Luke | xxi. 12–33 |
| Matins | .. Mark | xiii. 32–37 |
| Liturgy | .. Matth. | xxiv. 3–35 |

For a fifth Sunday in any of the six summer months two sets are given, to be used as required—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Evensong | .. Matth. | xiv. 15–21 | .. Luke | xiv. 16–24 |
| Matins | .. Mark | vi. 35–44 | .. Matth. | xvi. 5–11 |
| Liturgy | .. Luke | ix. 12–17 | .. Mark | viii. 13–21 |

VII. *The National Lectionaries of the Eastern Churches compared.*—This Coptic table of Sunday Gospels throughout the year is far ruder and less satisfactory in every way than that of the Greek church, to which, at first sight, it bears a little resemblance. On closer inspection it may be observed that the Gospels for the early morning service, several of which recur three or four times over, are often identical with the Gospels of the Resurrection used periodically by the Greeks at the same hour (p. 57). The Copts also agree with the Greeks in reading St. John's Gospel almost exclusively between Easter and Pentecost, while the appointed Gospels for the Holy Week (including the preceding Saturday), as also for Ascension Day, accord to a degree which cannot be accidental. The same may be said in regard to the services of the great unmovable season of Christmas, which we here subjoin. The Jerusalem Syriac lessons are the same as the Greek. We infer, on the whole, from these partial resemblances in the midst of general diversity, that the lessons for the chief festivals, being in substance the same in all the lectionaries, were settled at an earlier date than those for ordinary occasions.

| | Greek. | | Coptic. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sunday before Christmas | Matth. | i. 1–25 | | | |
| Christmas Eve | Luke | ii. 1–20 | Evensong | Matth. | i. 1–17 |
| | | | Matins | „ | i. 18–25 |
| | | | Liturgy | Luke | ii. 1–20 |
| Christmas Day | Matth. | ii. 1–12 | Evensong | „ | iii. 23–38 |
| Dec. 26—εἰς τὴν σύναξιν τῆς θεοτόκου | | | Matins | John | i. 14–17 |
| (*Communion of the Mother of God*) | „ | ii. 13–23 | Liturgy | Matth. | ii. 1–12 |
| Saturday πρὸ τῶν φώτων (*Feast of Lights, or Epiphany*) | | | Eve of the Glorious Baptism— | | |
| | „ | iii. 1–6 | Evensong | Matth. | iv. 12— |
| | | | Matins | John | iii. 22–29 |
| Sunday πρὸ τῶν φώτων | Mark | i. 1–8 | Liturgy | Luke | iii. 1–18 |
| Vigil of the θεοφανία | Luke | iii. 1–18 | Glorious Baptism— | | |
| Θεοφανία (Epiphany)—Matins | Mark | i. 1–9 | Evensong | Matth. | iii. 1–12 |
| Liturgy | Matth. | iii. 13–17 | Matins | Mark | i. 1–11 |
| | | | Liturgy | John | i. 18–34 |

Thus the Coptic Christians agree with the Greeks in commemorating the Lord's baptism only on Jan. 6, and not the visit of the Magi, which was principally regarded in the Western church [EPIPHANY]. Yet the Gospels relating to the baptism (Matth. iii. 13–17, Luke iii. 23) appear in the old lectionary of the Gallican church, which had early and close communion with the East (p. 60); and Luke iii. 15–23 is still the English second lesson for the morning service.

A comparison of the lessons for the other festivals pertaining to our Lord suggests the same conclusions as those for the Christmas season.

| | Greek. | | Coptic. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb. 2.—Presentation in the Temple | Luke ii. | 22–40 | Evensong | Luke | ii. 15–20 |
| | | | Matins | „ | ii. 40–52 |
| | | | Liturgy | „ | ii. 21–39 |
| Aug. 6.—Transfiguration—Matins | „ | ix. 29–36 | Evensong | „ | ix. 28–36 |
| or | Mark | ix. 2–9 | Matins | Matth. | xvii. 1–9 |
| Liturgy | Matth. xvii. | 1–9 | Liturgy | Mark | ix. 2–13 |

In contrast with these resemblances it is well to note that in the services for the 7th century festival, that of the Elevation of the Cross, which has such influence on the later forms of the Greek lectionaries (p. 52), there is but a single passage in common between the two nations, and that one (John viii. 28–30) too obvious to be overlooked by either.

| | Greek. | | Coptic. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sunday before the Elevation | Gal. | vi. 11–18 | | | |
| | John | iii. 13–17 | | | |
| Sept. 14.—Elevation of the Cross | 1 Cor. | i. 18–24 | Sept 14.—Evensong | John | viii. 28–42 |
| | John | xix. 6–35 | Matins | „ | xii. 26– |
| Saturday after the Elevation | 1 Cor. | i. 26–29 | Liturgy | „ | x. 22– |
| | John | viii. 21–30 | | | |
| Sunday after the Elevation | Gal. | ii. 16–20 | | | |
| | Mark | viii. 34–ix. 1 | | | |

In the Jerusalem Syriac, John xi. 53 precedes ch. xix. 6–35 as the Gospel for Sept. 14.

VIII. *Lectionaries of the Western Church.*—The tables of lessons we have hitherto examined have little in common with the Epistles and Gospels of the English church, and were evidently constructed on a different principle. The season of Advent, which is purely a Western institution, being regarded as a prelude to the high festival of Christmas, has appropriately opened the ecclesiastical year through western Christendom, at least from the 7th century downwards. The yearly changes rendered necessary by the variation of the Easter season were henceforward made by fixing the proper positions for Advent and Septuagesima Sundays,

as in our *Book of Common Prayer*. The Western lectionaries, however, while they agree with each other in their general character and arrangements, present considerable differences in detail, which well deserve the student's attention. Although the *Comes* or *Lectionary* ascribed to St. Jerome by its editor Pamelius (*Liturgica*, Colon. 1571), and by others [EPISTLE], may not safely be regarded as a work of the 4th century, and is probably three or four centuries later, yet as regards the Epistles and Gospels it corresponds closely with the Roman service-book, whose selection, having been long familiar to Englishmen through the *Use of Sarum* (circa A.D. 1078), was wisely retained in all important particulars by those who compiled the two Prayer Books of Edward VIth's reign. Besides the *Comes*, and widely departing from it, exist lectionaries of the Gallican and Spanish churches, the former rendered accessible by the labours of Cardinal Bona (*De rebus liturgicis*, Paris, 1672), of Thomasius (*Liber Sacramentorum*, Rome, 1680), and of Mabillon (*De liturgia Gallicana*, Paris, 1685, &c.) [GOSPELS]. There can be little doubt that the peculiar features of the Gallican service-book were derived from that close intercourse which subsisted between the churches of Asia and of Southern Gaul, commencing with the mission of Pothinus in the middle of the 2nd century. Its variations from the Roman standard attracted the notice of our St. Augustine at the end of the 6th century (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 27), and held their ground for nearly two centuries later, when Pepin and Charlemagne gradually brought in the Roman missal. The Spanish or *Mozarabic* liturgy seems originally to have been the same as the Gallican, but in course of time considerable divergences arose between them. It had not to yield to the Roman Use before the end of the 11th century, and its memory was long cherished by reason of the proud national feeling of the Spanish clergy and people (Palmer, *Origines Liturgicae*, sect. x.) In this Mozarabic Use from Easter to Pentecost, in the Gallican during Easter week, and in the *Comes* on the octave of Pentecost, the Apocalypse, which we have not yet met with, is read as a kind of third lesson, and before the Epistle. Again, in Greek lectionaries, portions taken from the Old Testament are of rare occurrence, as in Christ's College Evangelistarium, where passages from the Septuagint version (Isa. iii. 9–13; lii. 13–liv. 1; Jer. xi. 18–xii. 15; Zech. xi. 10–14) are included in the services for the Holy Week. In the Latin books, however, they are found to a far greater extent, nor ought any argument for a more modern date be drawn from their presence in the *Comes*. St. Ambrose expressly testifies that in his time the book of Jonah was read in the Holy Week, and the first chapter of that prophet is found in the Gallican and the Spanish, as well as in the *Comes*, as part of the course for Easter Even. The book of Job, on the other hand, is not met with there, although the language of Jerome as well as of Ambrose might lead us to expect it (Bingham, *Antiquities*, book xiv. ch. iii. 3). Reserving for a separate article [PROPHETS] much further notice of the lessons from the Old Testament (which were chiefly taken from Genesis, the Proverbs, and Isaiah), we subjoin the table of Western Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and greater feasts throughout the year, according to the three most ancient authorities.

IX. *Table of Western Lessons throughout the Year.*

| | COMES. | GALLICAN. | MOZARABIC. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st Sunday in Advent | Rom. xiii. 11–14 | .. .. | Rom. xv. 14–29 |
| | Matth. xxi. 1–9 | .. .. | Luke iii. 1–18 |
| 2nd " " | Rom. xv. 4–13 | .. .. | Rom. xiii. 1–8 |
| | Luke xxi. 25–33 | .. .. | Matth. xi. 2–15 |
| 3rd " " | 1 Cor. iv. 1–6 | .. .. | Rom. xi 25–36 |
| | Matth. xi. 2–10 | .. .. | Matth. xxi. 1–17 |
| 4th " " | Phil. iv. 4–7 | .. .. | 1 Cor. xv. 22–31 |
| | John i. 19–28 | .. .. | Mark xii. 38–xiii. 33 |
| Christmas Eve | Rom. i. 1–6 | .. .. | |
| | {[Matth. i. 18–21, Sarum Use]} | John i. 1–15 | |
| Christmas Day | Heb. i. 1–12 | Heb. i. 1–13 | Heb. i. 1–12 |
| | John i. 1–14 | Luke ii. 1–19 | Luke ii. 6–20 |
| Sunday after Christmas | Gal. iv. 1–7 | .. .. | .. .. |
| | Luke ii. 33 | .. .. | .. .. |
| Circumcision | Gal. iii. 23–29 | 1 Cor. x. 14–31 | Phil. iii. 1–8 |
| | Luke ii. 21 | Luke ii. 21–46 | Luke ii. 21–40 |
| Sunday after Circumcision | .. .. | Eph. i. 3–14 | Heb. vi. 13–vii. 3 |
| | | Matth. ix. 2–35 | John i. 1–17 |
| Epiphany | Isai. lx. (for Epistle) | Isai. lx. 1–16 | Isai. lx. 1–19 |
| | Matth. ii. 1–12 | Tit. i. 11–ii. 7 | Gal. iii. 27–iv. 7 |
| | | Matth. iii. 13–17 | |
| | | Luke iii. 23 | Matth. ii. |
| | | John ii. 1–11 | |
| Octave of Epiphany (and Sunday within the Octave) | John i. 29–34 | | |
| 1st Sunday after Octave of Epiphany | Rom. xii. 1–5 | 1 Cor. i. 6–31 | Rom. i. 1–17 |
| | Luke ii. 41–52 | Luke iv. 16–22 | Luke ii. 42–52 |
| 2nd " " " | Rom. xii. 6–16 | 1 Cor. x. 1–13 | Rom. vi. 12–18 |
| | John ii. 1–11 | Matth. xxii. 36–xxiii. 12 | Luke iv. 14–22 |
| 3rd " " " | Rom. xii. 16–21 | .. .. | Rom. vi. 19–23 |
| | Matth. viii. 1–13 | .. .. | Luke xi. 29–41 |
| 4th " " " | {Rom. xiii. 8–10? [xiii. 1–5, Sarum]} | .. .. | Rom. vii. 14–25 |
| | Matth. viii. 23–27 | .. .. | Luke xii. 10–31 |
| Feast of Purification | {Mal. iii. 1–4 (for Epistle)} | .. .. | {Mal. iii. 1–4; Phil. iii. 1–18} |
| | Luke ii. 22–32 | .. .. | Luke ii. 22–40 |
| 5th Sunday after Octave of Epiphany | Col. iii. 12–17 | .. .. | Rom. viii. 3–11 |
| | {Matth. xi. 25–30? [" xiii. 24–30, Sarum]} | .. .. | Luke xii. 54–xiii. 17 |

| | COMES. | GALLICAN. | MOZARABIC. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Septuagesima Sunday | 1 Cor. ix. 24–x. 4 | .. .. | 1 Cor. i. 10–17 |
| | Matth. xx. 1–16 | .. .. | Luke xiv. 26–35 |
| Sexagesima Sunday | 2 Cor. xi. 19–xii. 9 | .. .. | 1 Cor. ii. 10–iii. 6 |
| | Luke viii. 4–15 | .. .. | Luke xv. 11–32 |
| Quinquagesima Sunday | 1 Cor. xiii. 1–13 | .. .. | 1 Cor. xii. 27–xiii. 8 |
| | Luke xviii. 31–43 | .. .. | Luke xvi. 1–15 |
| Dies Cinerum | Joel ii. 12–19 (for Epistle) | .. .. | James i. 13–21 |
| | Matth. vi. 16–21 | | Matth. iv. 1–11 |
| 1st Sunday in Quadragesima | 2 Cor. vi. 1–10 | 2 Cor. vi. 2–10 | 2 Cor. v. 20–vi. 10 |
| | Matth. iv. 1–11 | .. .. | John iv. 5–42 |
| 2nd „ „ | 1 Thess. iv. 1–7 | .. .. | James ii. 14–23 |
| | Matth. xv. 21–28 | .. .. | John ix. 1–38 |
| 3rd „ „ | Eph. v. 1–9 | .. .. | 1 Pet. i. 1–12 |
| | Luke xi. 14–28 | .. .. | John xi. 1–52 |
| 4th „ „ | Gal. iv. 22–v. 1 | .. .. | 2 Pet. i. 1–11 |
| | John vi. 1–14 | .. .. | John vii. 2–24 |
| 5th „ „ | Heb. ix. 11–15 | .. .. | 1 John i. 1–7 |
| | John viii. 46–59 | .. .. | John x. 1–16 |
| Dies Palmarum | Phil. ii. 5–11 | Heb. xi. 3–34 | Gal. i. 1–12 |
| | Mark xi. 1–10? | John xii. 1–24 | John xi. 55–xii. 13 |
| | Matth. xxvi. 1–xxvii. 61 | | |
| Great Week, 2nd day | Isai. l. 5–11 | | |
| | Zech. xi. 12–13 | Dan. ix. 20–27 | |
| | John xii. 1, &c. | | |
| „ 3rd day | Jer. xi. 18 and Wisd. ii. 12, &c. | Jer. xviii. 11–23 | |
| | Mark xiv. 1, &c. | „ xix. 7–13 | |
| „ 4th day | Isai. lxii. 11, &c. | Lament. iii. 1–22 | 1 John ii. 12–17 |
| | „ liii. 1, &c. | .. .. | Matth. xxvi. 2–16 |
| | Luke xxii. 1, &c. | | |
| In Coena Domini | 1 Cor. xi. 17–32 | .. .. | 1 Cor. xi. 20–34 |
| | John xiii. 1–38? | Matth. xxvi. 2–5 | Luke xxii. 7–62 |
| Parasceue (Good Friday) | Hos. vi. 1, &c. Ex. xii. 2, &c. | Isai. lii. 13–liii. 12 | Isai. lii. 13–liii. 12 |
| | | Jer. xi. 15–20; xii. 7–9 | Prov. iii. 24–26 |
| | John xviii. 1–xix. 37 | Amos viii. 4–11 | 1 Cor. v. 6–vi. 11 |
| | | | Matth. xxvii. 1–54 |
| | | | John xix. 31–35 |
| Great Sabbath (Easter Even) | Gen. i. v. xxii.; Ex. xii. xiv.; Baruch iii.; Ezek. iii.; Isai. iv.; Jonah i.; Deut. xxxi. xxxii.; Dan. iii.; Ps. xlii.; Col. iii.; Matth. xxviii. | Gen. vii. 10–viii. 21; xxii. 1–19; xxvii. 1–40; Ex. xii. 1–50; xiii. 18–xiv.; xv.; Ezek. xxxvii. 1–14; Isai. i. iii. iv.; Jonah i.; Rom. vi. 3–12; Matth. xxviii. | Gen. i. v. xxii.; Ex. xii. 4; Isai. ii.; Ezek. xxxvii; Hab. i.; Jonah i.; Dan. iii.; Rom. vi. 1–11; Matth. xxviii. |
| Pascha (Easter Day) | 1 Cor. v. 7, 8 | 1 Cor. xv. | Apoc. i. 1–8 |
| | Mark xvi. 1–11 | Luke xxiv. 1–12 | Acts ii. 14–39 |
| | | | John xx. 1–18 |
| Easter Monday | Acts ii. 14–25 | Apoc. i. ii. 1–7 | Apoc. ii. 1–7 |
| | Luke xxiv. 13–35 | Acts ii. 14–40 | Acts i. 15–26 |
| | | Mark xv. 47–xvi. 11 | Mark xvi. 9–20 |
| Easter Tuesday | Acts xiii. 26–33 | Apoc. ii. 8–17 | Apoc. ii. 8–11 |
| | Luke xxiv. 36–48 | Acts i. 15–26 | Acts ii. 42–47 |
| | | | Luke xxiv. 13–35 |
| 4th day in Easter week | Acts xiii. 16–25 | Acts xv. 1–13 | Apoc. ii. 12–17 |
| | John xxi. 1–14 | 1 Cor. xv. 47–56 | Acts iii. 1–9 |
| | | John xi. 1–45 | Luke xxiv. 36–16 |
| 5th day „ | Acts viii. 26–40 | Apoc. xiv. 1–7 | Apoc. ii. 18–29 |
| | John xx. 11–18 | Acts iii. 1–19 | Acts iii. 12–29 |
| | | John xx. 1–9 | Luke xxiv. 46–53 |
| 6th day „ | 1 Pet. iii. 18–22 | Apoc. xix. 5–16 | Apoc. iii. 1–6 |
| | Matth. xxviii. 16–20 | Acts v. 17–41 | Acts iii. 19–26 |
| | | John xx. 11–18 | John xxi. 1–14 |
| Sabbath „ | 1 Pet. ii. 1–10 | Apoc. xxi. 1–8 | Apoc. iii. 14–22 |
| | John xx. 1–10 | 1 Cor. xv. 31–45 | Acts viii. 26–40 |
| | | John xxi. 1–14 | John xxi. 15–19 |
| Octave of Easter Day | John v. 4–10 | 1 Cor. xv. 12–28 | Apoc. v. 1–13 |
| | John xx. 19–31 | John xx. 19–31 | Acts xiii. 26–39 |
| | | | John xx. 19–31 |
| 2nd Sunday after Easter | 1 Pet. ii. 21–25 | .. .. | Apoc. iii. 1–6 |
| | John x. 12 (11)–16 | .. .. | Acts iii. 5–12 |
| | | | John v 1–18 |
| 3rd „ „ | 1 Pet. ii. 11–19 | .. .. | Apoc. xiv. 1–7 |
| | John xvi. 16–22 | .. .. | Acts iv. 13–22 |
| | | | John iv. 45–54 |
| 4th „ „ | James i. 17–21 | Luke xvi. 22–31 | Apoc. xix. 11–16 |
| | John xvi. 5–15 | .. .. | Acts iv. 23–31 |
| | | | Luke viii. 40–ix. 2 |
| 5th „ „ | James i. 22–27 | Acts xvi. 19–36 | Apoc. xxii. 1–5 |
| | John xvi. 23–30 | Mark vii. 31–37 | Acts v. 12–32 |
| | | | Mark ii. 13–22 |
| Rogation Days | James v. 16–20 | .. .. | .. .. |
| | Luke xi. 6–13 | .. .. | .. .. |
| Vigil of Ascension | Eph. iv. 7–13 | .. .. | .. .. |
| | John xvii. 1–26 | .. .. | .. .. |
| Ascension Day | Acts i. 1–11 | Acts i. 1–11; Eph. iv. 1–13; John xiii. 33–35; xiv. 1–14; Luke xxiv. 49–53 | Apoc. iv. |
| | Mark xvi. 14–20 | | Acts i. 1–11 |
| | | | John xvi. 5–22 |

| | Comes. | Gallican. | Mozarabic. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sunday after Ascension | 1 Pet. iv. (7)–11 | Acts xviii. 22–xix. 12 | Apoc. vii. 9–12 |
| | John xv. 26–xvi. 4 | John xvii. 1–26 | Acts xiv. 7–16 |
| | | | Mark ix. 13–28 |
| Vigil of Pentecost | Gen. i. xxii.; Ex. xv.; | .. .. | Num. xi. 16–29 |
| | Deut. xxxi.; Isai. iv.; | | Acts xix. 1–6 |
| | Jer. iii.; Ps. xlii. | | John iii. 1–18 |
| | Acts xix.; John xiv. | | |
| Day of Pentecost | Acts ii. 1–11 | Joel ii. 21–32 | Apoc. xxii. 6–17 |
| | John xiv. 23–31 | Acts ii. 1–21 | Acts ii. 1–21 |
| | | John xiv. 16–29 | John xiv. 15–27 |
| Octave of Pentecost | Apoc. iv. 1–10 | Gal. vi. 8–14 | Eph. i. 16–ii. 10 |
| | Acts v. 29–42? | Matth. xvi. 24–27 | Luke xix. 1–16 |
| | John iii. 1–15 | | |
| 2nd Sunday after Pentecost | 1 John iv. 8–21 | .. .. | 1 Cor. xiv. 26–40 |
| | Luke xvi. 1 or 19–31 | .. .. | Matth. iv. 18–25 |
| 3rd " " | 1 John iii. 13–18 | .. .. | 2 Cor. iii. 4–iv. 6 |
| | Luke xiv. 16–24 | .. .. | Matth. viii. 23–27 |
| 4th " " | 1 Pet. v. 6–11 | .. .. | Gal. iii. 13–26 |
| | Luke xv. 1–10 | .. .. | Matth. xii. 30–50 |
| 5th " " | Rom. viii. 18–23 | .. .. | Phil. ii. 5–18 |
| | Luke vi. 36–42 | .. .. | Matth. viii. 28–ix. 8 |
| 6th " " | 1 Pet. iii. 8–15 | .. .. | 1 Cor. iii. 18–iv. 5 |
| | Luke v. 1–11 | .. .. | Matth. xiii. 3–23 |
| 7th " " | Rom. vi. 3–11 | .. .. | 1 Cor. i. 18–ii. 9 |
| | Matth. v. 20–24 | .. .. | Matth. xiii. 24–43 |

For the rest of the ecclesiastical year we can use only the *Comes*, whose lessons are here almost identical with those of our *Book of Common Prayer*, only that they are sometimes rather shorter.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8th Sunday after Pentecost | Rom. | vi. 19–23 |
| | Mark | viii. 1–9 |
| 9th " " | Rom. | viii. 12–17 |
| | Matth. | vii. 15–21 |
| 10th " " | 1 Cor. | x. 6–13 |
| | Luke | xvi. 1–9 |
| 11th " " | 1 Cor. | xii. 2–11 |
| | Luke | xix. 41–47 |
| 12th " " | 1 Cor. | xv. 1–10 |
| | Luke | xviii. 9–14 |
| 13th " " | 2 Cor. | iii. 4–9 |
| | Mark | vii. 31–37 |
| 14th " " | Gal. | iii. 16–22 |
| | Luke | x. 23–37 |
| 15th " " | Gal. | v. 16–24 |
| | Luke | xvii. 11–19 |
| 16th " " | Gal. | v. 26–? |
| | Matth. | vi. 24–33 |
| 17th " " | Eph. | iii. 13–21 |
| | Luke | vii. 11–16 |
| 18th " " | Eph. | iv. 1–6 |
| | Luke | xiv. 1–11 |
| 19th " " | 1 Cor. | i. 4–8 |
| | Matth. | xxii. 34–46 |
| 20th " " | Eph. | iv. 23–28 |
| | Matth. | ix. 1–8 |
| 21st " " | Eph. | v. 15–21 |
| | Matth. | xxii. 1–14 |
| 22nd " " | Eph. | vi. 10–17 |
| | John | iv. 46–53 |
| 23rd " " | Phil. | i. 6–11 |
| | Matth. | xviii. 23–35 |
| 24th " " | Phil. | iii. 17–21 |
| | Matth. | xxii. 15–21 |
| 25th " " | Col. | i. 9–11 |
| | Matth. | ix. 18–22 |
| 26th " " | Rom. | xi. 25–32? |
| | Mark | xii. 28–34? |
| Sunday next before Advent | Jer. | xxiii. 5–8 (for the Epistle) |
| | John | vi. 5–14 |

The Roman service-books do not contain the lessons for the 26th Sunday after Pentecost, though, like the *Comes*, they appoint Jer. xxiii. 5–8 and John vi. 5–14 for the Sunday next before Advent. The Sarum missal adopts the modern method of reckoning by Sundays after Trinity, and even in the *Comes* the extra lesson from the Apocalypse, and perhaps the Gospel also, bear upon the mystery now commemorated on the octave of Pentecost. Thus in the Roman use, as in our modern books, the Sundays of the year provided with Epistles and Gospels are fifty-four, in the *Comes* fifty-five, since the service for the octave of Epiphany could be taken for the first Sunday after Epiphany, if six Sundays should intervene between Jan. 6 and Septuagesima. It also deserves notice that in the Ambrosian liturgy, which has not yet been displaced by the Roman in the province of Milan, as also in the Mozarabic use, there are six Sundays in Advent, which commences on the first Sunday after St. Martin's day (Nov. 11), not on the Sunday nearest to St. Andrew's day (Nov. 30), as in the rest.

X. *Menologies, or Calendars of Saints' Days, with their proper Lessons.*—The several schemes for ordering the Epistles and Gospels throughout the year, as adopted by the ancient church in its various branches, bear so little resemblance to each other that it seemed advisable to keep the Greek *Synaxaria* separate from the corresponding tables of the Coptic and Western communions. The menologies, on the other hand, wherein the lesser festivals and saints' day services are arranged according to their respective places in the ecclesiastical year, may very well be comprised in a single table. We select from the mass of such days those which have been widely celebrated or are in any other way characteristic or remarkable. The italic letters, *c*, *g*, *m*, *r*, *s*, will suffice to indicate what belongs to the Coptic, Gallican, Mozarabic, Roman (*Comes*), or Jerusalem Syriac books respectively. The lessons to which no such letter is annexed are of Greek origin, and we commence with the beginning of the Eastern ecclesiastical year, being Aug. 29 with the Copts, Sept. 1 with the Greeks. The variations noted (*e.g.* Sept. 2 *infra*) are those of Greek manuscripts adapted to church reading.

**Aug. 29.** The New Year (1st day of Tot)—
- Evensong .. Matth. ix. 14–17?
- Matins .. Mark ii. 18–22.
- Liturgy .. Luke iv. 14–22. *c.*

The Copts kept the Beheading of John the Baptist a day later, *vide infra*.

**Sept. 1.** Simeon Stylites—
Col. iii. 12–16. Luke iv. 16–22. Also in *s.*

Sept. 2. John the Faster—
1 Tim. ii. 1–7 (Heb. vii. 26–30, B-C iii. 24).
Mark v. 14–19 (Wake 12).
John x. 9–16 (Harl. 5598, Gale).
John xv. 1–11 (Parham, 18).
„ 3. Our Father Antioma—
John x. 7–16. *s*.
„ 4. Babylas and the saints with him—
Luke x. 1–3; x. 12. Also in *s*.
„ 5. Zacharias, Father of the Baptist—
Matth. xxiii. 29–39. *s*.
„ 6. Eudoxius, martyr—
Mark xii. 28–37. Also in *s*.
„ 8. Birthday of the Mother of God—
Matins, Luke i. 39–56. *s* (in Parham 18, Luke i. 39–56, is read Sept. 1).
Liturgy, Phil. ii. 5–11; Luke x. 38–42; xi. 27, 28. Also in *s*.
„ 14. For the Greek, Syriac, and Coptic services of this season, see above, p. 60.
„ 15. Nicetas—Heb. xiii. 7–16; Matth. x. 16–22. Also in *s*.
„ 16. Euphemia—Rom. viii. 14–21; Luke vii. 36–50 (Gale). Also in *s*.
„ 18. Theodora—Epistle as Sept. 2; Gospel, John viii. 3–11. (So Parham 18; but Theodosia, Luke vii. 36–50 in Codex Cyprius.)

This section, as we noticed above, p. 53, is only read at commemorations of the present kind. The Jerusalem Syriac and the Codex Cyprius have it for Pelagia Oct. 8, and the Christ's College copy has John viii. 1–11 also for Pelagia, but on Aug. 31. In two of the Burdett-Coutts manuscripts John viii. 3–11 is appointed εἰς μετανοοῦντας καὶ γυναικῶν.

Sept. 20. Eustathius and his company—
Eph. vi. 10–17; Luke xxi. 12–19. Also in *s*.
„ 21. Jonah, the prophet—Luke xi. 29–33. *s*.
„ 24. Thecla—2 Tim. i. 3–9; Matth. xxv. 1–13. Also by the Greeks on Nov. 8, Heb. ii. 2–10; Luke x. 16–21.
„ 29. Michael and all Angels, *r*—
*Comes*. Apoc. iv. 1–11; Matth. xviii. 1–10.
*Mozar*. Apoc. xii. 7–11; 2 Thess. i. 3–12; Matth. xxv. 31–46.
Kept by the Coptics on Nov. 8—
Evensong .. Matth. xiii. 44–52.
Matins .. Luke xv. 3–7.
Liturgy .. Matth. xiii. 31–43.
„ 30. Gregory the Armenian—
Col. ; Matth. xxiv. 42–47 (51 *s*).
Oct. 2. Cyprian and Justin—John xv. 1–11 (Gale).
„ 3. Dionysius the Areopagite—Acts xvii. 16–23, 30; Matth. xiii. 45–54. Also in *s*.
„ 6. Thomas the Apostle—1 Cor. iv. 9–16; John xx. 19–31.
„ 9. James, son of Alphaeus—Matth. x. 1–7; 14, 15.
„ 11. Nectarius—Matth. v. 11–19 (Gale).
„ 13. Papylus, Carpus, and Trophimus—
Matth. vii. 12–21.
„ 18. Luke the Evangelist—
Col. iv. 5–19; Luke x. 16–21. Also in *s*.
„ 21. Hilarion—2 Cor. ix. 6–11; Luke vi. 17–23. Also in *s*.
„ 23. James, ὁ ἀδελφόθεος—James i. 1–12; Mark vi. 1–7 (5 *s*). Kept by *s* Dec. 28.
„ 25. The notaries Marcian and Martorus or Martria—
1 Cor. iii. 9–17; Luke xii. 2–12. Also in *s*.
„ 26. Demetrius and commemoration of earthquake—
2 Tim. ii. 1–10; Matth. viii. 23–27. Also in *s*.
„ 30. Cyriacus, patriarch of Constantinople—
James v. 12–16, 19; John x. 9–16.
Nov. 1. All Saints, *r*—
*Mozar*. .. Apoc. vii. 2–12; 2 Cor. i. 1–7; Matth. v. 1, 2.
*Sarum Use*. Apoc. vii. 2–12; Matth. v. 1–12.

The Greeks kept this festival on the Sunday after Pentecost, but on Nov. 1 (some place it July 1), The Holy Poor (τῶν ἁγίων ἀναργυρίων), Cosmas and Damianus—
1 Cor. xii. 27–xiii. 7; Matth. x. 1, 5–8.
So also *s*, with the title 'Thaumaturgorum Kesma et Damian.'

Nov. 3. Dedication of church of George the Martyr *c*—
Evensong .. Matth. x. 16–23.
Matins .. „ x. 1–23.
Liturgy .. Luke xxi. 12–36.
„ 4. Commemoration of the Four Beasts, *c*—
Evensong .. Mark viii. 34–ix. 1.
Matins .. John xii. 26–36.
Liturgy .. „ i. 43.
„ 13. John Chrysostom—
Heb. vii. 26–viii. 2; John x. 9–16.
„ 14. Philip the Apostle—
Acts viii. 26–39; John i. 44–55.
„ 16. Matthew the Apostle—
1 Cor. iv. 9–16; Matth. ix. 9–13.
„ 17. Gregory Thaumaturgus—
1 Cor. xii. 7, 8, 10, 11 (B-C iii. 24) Matth. x. 1–10 (Wake 12).
„ 21. Martyrdom of Mercurius, *c*—
Matins .. Luke xii. 2–12.
„ 25. Clement of Rome—
Phil. iii. 20–iv. 3; John xv. 17–xvi. 1.
„ 27. Silas the Apostle, bishop of Corinth—
Acts xvii. 10, 13–16; xviii. 4, 5.
„ 30. Andrew the Apostle—
1 Cor. iv. 9–16; John i. 35–52.
Dec. 3. Copt. (5 in B-C iii. 42). Entrance into the Temple of the Holy Virgin (a distinct feast from that kept Feb. 2), *c*—
Matins .. Matth. xii. 35–50.
„ 4. Barbara and Julian—
Gal. iii. 23–29; Mark v. 24–34. Also in *s*.
„ 20. Ignatius, ὁ Θεόφορος—
Heb. iv. 14–v. 6 (Rom. viii. 28–39, B-C iii. 24); Mark ix. 33–41. Also in *s*.
„ 22. Anastasia—Mark xii. 28–44, *s*.
Saturday before Christmas—
Gal. iii. 8–12; Matth. xiii. 31–58 (Luke xiii. 19–29, Gale).
Sunday before Christmas—
Heb. xi. 9, 10, 32–40; Matth. i. 1–25 (17, *s*)
„ 24. Christmas Eve—Heb. i. 1–12; Luke ii. 1 20.
Προεόρτια—1 Pet. ii. 1–10 (B-C iii. 24).
Matins of the Nativity, *s*—Matth. i. 18–25.
„ 25. Christmas Day—Gal. iv. 4–7; Matth. ii. 1–12.
„ 26. (Greek and *s*) εἰς τὴν σύναξιν τῆς Θεοτόκου—
Heb. ii. 11–18; Matth. ii. 13–23.
Saturday after Christmas—
1 Tim. vi. 11–16; Matth. xii. 15–21.
Sunday after Christmas—
Gal. i. 11–19; Mark i. 1–8: the same lessons being appointed for Innocents' Day (Dec. 29) with the Greeks and Copts.
„ 26 *r*, 27 Greek (in Wheeler 3, Aug. 2). Stephen—
Acts vi. 1–7; Matth. xxi. 33–42.
*Comes*. Acts vi. 8–vii. 60? Matth. xxiii. 34–39
*Gallic*. „ vi. 1–viii. 2; „ xvii. 23–xviii. 11.
*Mozar*. „ vi. 4–viii. 4; „ xxiii.
„ 27. John the Evangelist—
*Comes*. Ecclus. xv. 1–; John xxi. 19–24.
*Gallic*. Apoc. xiv. 1–7; Mark x. 35–45.
*Mozar*. Wisd. x. 9–18; 1 Thess. iv. 12–16; John xxi. 15–24.
The Greeks keep the feast of John the Divine on May 8, and the Jer. Syriac that of John the son of Zebedee—
1 John i. 1–7; John xix. 25–27; xxi. 24, 25.
His μετάστασις is kept Sept. 26 with Epistle 12 John iv. 1; 16–19 (B-C iii. 24).
„ 28. Holy Innocents *r*—
*Comes*. Apoc. xiv. 1–5; Matth. ii. 13–18.
*Gallic*. Jer. xxxi. 15–20; Apoc. vi. 9–11; Matth. ii.

Dec. 28. Holy Innocents, r—
*Mozar.* Jer. xxxi. 15–20; 2 Cor. i. 2–7; Matth. xviii. 1–11.

Jan. 1. Circumcision—1 Cor. xiii. 12–xiv. 5; Luke ii. 20, 21; 40–52.
For Western service, see p. 61.

„ 3. Matth. iii. 1, 5–11, *s*.
Saturday πρὸ τῶν φώτων—1 Tim. iii. 13–iv. 5; Matth. iii. 1–6.
Sunday πρὸ τῶν φώτων—2 Tim. iv. 5–8 (B-C iii. 24); Mark i. 1–8.

„ 5. Vigil of θεοφανία—1 Cor. ix. 19–x. 4; Luke iii. 1–18.

„ 6. Θεοφανία (Epiphany)—
Matins .. Mark i. 9–11.
Liturgy .. Tit. ii. 11–14; iii. 4–7: Matth. iii. 13–17.
Saturday μετὰ τὰ φῶτα—Eph. vi. 10–17; Matth. iv. 1–11.
Sunday μετὰ τὰ φῶτα—Eph. iv. 7–13; Matth. iv. 12–17. Also in *s*.
For the Coptic Epiphany services see p. 60; for those of the West, p. 62.

„ 7. John the Fore-runner—1 John v. 1–8; John i. 29–34. Also in *s*.

„ 8. Marriage at Cana, c—
Evensong .. Matth. xix. 1–12.
Matins .. John iv. 43–54.
Liturgy .. John ii. 1–11.

„ 10. Gregory the Younger (Nyssen)—Eph. iv. 7–13; Matth. iv. 25–v. 12 (John x. 39–42, *s*).

„ 11. Theodosius the Coenobiarch—Luke vi. 17–23; xx. 1–8, *s*.

„ 15. Ἰωάννου τοῦ καλυβίτου (Juhanna Tentorii)—Matth. iv. 25–v. 12, *s*.

„ 16. Mourning for our Lady, the Virgin, c—
Evensong .. Luke x. 38–42.
Matins .. Matth. xii. 35–50.
Liturgy .. Luke i. 39–56.

„ 18. Chair of St. Peter, r—
*Comes*. Heb. v. 1–10? Matth. xvi. 13–19.
*Gallic*. Acts xii. 1–17; Matth. xvi. 13–19; John xxi. 15–19.
*Mozar*. 1 Pet. v. 1–5; Matth. xvi. 13–19.

„ 20. Euthymius—2 Cor. iv. 6–11; Matth. xi. 27–30.

„ 22. Timothy—2 Tim. i. 3–9; Matth. x. 32, 33, 37, 38; xix. 27–30.

„ 23. Clement—Phil. ii. 9–? Matth. xii. 1–8.

„ 28. Efrem patris nostri—Matth. v. 14–19.

Feb. 1. Vigil of Presentation—(πρὸ ἑορτῆς), Heb. vi. 19, 20; vii. 1–7.

„ 2. Presentation of Christ in the Temple—
Heb. vii. 7–17; Luke ii. 22–40. Also in *s*.
For Coptic service see p. 60; for Western, p. 62.

„ 3. Simeon ὁ θεοδόχος and Anna—Heb. ix. 11–14; Luke ii. 25–38.

„ 15. Onesimus the Apostle, bishop of Illyricum—Philem. 1–3, 10–18, 23–25.

„ 23. Polycarp—Eph. iv. 7–13; John xii. 24–36.

„ 24. Finding of John Baptist's Head—
Matins .. Luke vii. 18–29.
Liturgy .. 2 Cor. iv. 6–11; Matth. xi. 5–14 (2–15, *s*).

March 8. Hermas the Apostle, bishop of Dalmatia—Heb. xii. 1–10.

„ 9. The Forty Martyrs in Sebais—Heb. xii. 1–3? Matth. xx. 1–16. Also in *s*.

„ 24. Vigil of the Annunciation—Luke i. 39–56 (Gale).

„ 25. Annunciation—Heb. ii. 11–18; Luke i. 24–38. Also in *s*.
*Mozar*. Phil. iv. 4–9; Matth. i. 1–23.
*Sarum Use*. Luke i. 26–38.

April 1. Mariam Aegyptiacae—Luke vii. 36–50. See note on Sept. 18.

„ 23. St. George the Martyr, ὁ τροπαιοφόρος—
Matins .. Mark xiii. 9–13 (B-C iii. 42).
Liturgy .. Acts xii. 1–11 (Cod. Bezae), or 1 Cor. iii. 9–17.

April 25. (Oct. 19, B-C iii. 24) Mark the Evangelist—Col. iv. 5, 10, 11, 18; Mark vi. 7–13.

„ 30. James, son of Zebedee—Matth. x. 1–7, 14, 15.

May 2. Athanasius—Heb. iv. 14–v. 6; Matth. v. 14–19.

„ 21. Constantine and Helen—Acts xxv. 13–19 (xxvi. 1, 12–20, B-C iii. 24); John x. 2–5, 27–30.

„ 26. Jude the Apostle—John xiv. 21–24.

June 11. Bartholomew and Barnabas the Apostles—Acts xi. 19–30; Mark vi. 7–13.

„ 14. Elisha the Prophet—James v. 10–20; Luke iv. 22–30. Also in *s*.

„ 19. Jude ὁ ἀδελφόθεος—Mark vi. 7–13.

„ 23. Vigil of John the Baptist—
*Comes*. Jer. i. 5; Luke i. 5–17.
Isai. xli. 27, &c.; Luke i. 18–25.

„ 24. Birth of John the Baptist—Rom. xiii. 11–xiv. 4; Luke i. 1–25, 57–80. Also in *s*.
*Comes*. Isai. xlix. 1–? Luke i. 57–68.
*Gallic*. Isai. xl. 1–10; Acts xiii. 16–47; Luke i. 5–25, 56–67, 68, 80.
*Mozar*. Jer. i. 5–19; Gal. i. 11–24; Luke i. 57–80.

„ 28. r. Vigil of St. Peter and St. Paul—Acts iii. 1, &c.; John xxi. 15–24.

„ 29. St. Peter and St. Paul—2 Cor. x. 21–xii. 9; Matth. xvi. 13–19. Also in *s*.
*Gallic*. Acts viii. 15–27; Matth. v. 1–16.
*Mozar*. Eph. i. 1–14; John xv. 7–16.
*Sarum*. Acts xii. 1–11; Matth. xvi. 13–19.

„ 30. The Twelve Apostles—Matth. x. 1–8 (ix. 36–x. 8, *s*).

July 8. Procopius—Luke vi. 17–19; ix. 1, 2; x. 16–21.

„ 22. Mary Magdalene, ἡ μυροφόρος—2 Tim. ii. 1–10; Mark xvi. 9–20 (Luke viii. 1–3, *s*).

Aug. 1. The Maccabees—Heb. xi. 24–40; Matth. x. 16–22. Also in *s*.
*Mozar*. Wisd. v. 1–5, 16, 17; Eph. i. 1, &c.; Luke ix. 1–6.

„ 6. Transfiguration—
Matins .. Luke ix. 29 (28, *s*)–46, or Mark ix. 2–9.
Liturgy .. 2 Pet. i. 10–19; Matth. xvii. 1–9 (*s* adds 10–22).
For the Coptic see p. 60; Mozar. as in octave of Pentecost.

„ 7. Dometius the Martyr—Mark xi. 22–26; Matth. vii. 7, 8.

„ 15. Assumption of the Virgin—Phil. ii. 5–11; Luke x. 38–42.

„ 20. Thaddeus the Apostle—1 Cor. iv. 9–16; Matth. x. 16–22.

„ 25. Titus—2 Tim. ii. 1–10; Matth. v. 14–19.

„ 29 (30 of Copts, as 29 begins their new year). Beheading of John the Baptist—
Matins .. Matth. xiv. 1–13.
Liturgy .. Acts xiii. 25–32 (39, B-C iii. 24) Mark vi. 14–30.
Also in *s*.
*Comes*. Heb. xi. 36, &c.; Mark vi. 17, &c.
*Gallic*. Heb. xi. 33–xii. 7; Matth. xiv. 1–14.
*Mozar*. 2 Cor. xii. 2–9; Matth. xiv. 1–14.

At the end of the Calendar are added in most lectionaries a few proper lessons for special occasions. Such are the following:—

Εἰς τὰ ἐγκαίνια, Dedication of a Church—2 Cor. v. 15–21, or Heb. ix. 1–7; John x. 22–28.

| *Comes*. | | *Gallic*. |
|---|---|---|
| Apoc. xxii. 2, &c. | | Gen. xxviii. 11–22. |
| 1 Cor. iii. 8, &c. | | 1 Cor. iii. 9–17. |
| 1 Kings viii. 22, &c. | | John x. 22–28. |
| Luke xix. 1, &c. | | Luke xix. 1–10. |

εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας—James v. 10–15; Rom. vi. 18–23; xv. 1–7; Matth. viii. 14–17; x. 1; John iv. 46–53.

εἰς ἀνομβρίαν—James v. 17–20 (B-C iii. 24); Matth. xvi. 1–3; Luke iv. 24–26 (Harl. 5598).

εἰς κοιμηθέντας—Acts ix. 32–42; Rom. xiv. 6–9; 1 Cor. xv. 20–58; 2 Cor. v. 1–10; 1 Thess. iv. 13–17; John v. 24–30. The last two lessons are included

in the ἐξοδιαστικὸν, or Greek Burial Service, in B–C iii. 42.

Sanctae Christianae, *s*—Matth. xxv. 1–13.

Justorum, *s*—Matth. xi. 27–30.

*Comes*. 1 Macc. ii.; 1 Thess. iv.; 1 Cor. xv.; Ezek. xxxvii.; Apoc. xiv.; John v. vi. xi.

Depositio Episcopi—

*Gallic*. Isai. xxvi. 2–20. 1 Cor. xv. 1–22. John vi. 49–59.
*Mozar*. Job xix. 25–27. Rom. xiv. 7–9. John v. 24–30.

Depositio Christiani—

*Gallic*. 1 Cor. xv. 51–58; John v. 19–30.

XI. *Relation of Lectionaries to the Chapter-divisions of the New Testament.*—Since lectionaries exhibit the text of the New Testament piece-meal, and in an order peculiar to themselves, the usual divisions into larger chapters (κεφάλαια), and, in the Gospels, into the so-called Ammonian sections, have no place in them. At the end of certain ordinary manuscripts of the Gospels, however, we find stated the number of lections (ἀναγνώσματα) which each contains, not without some variation in the several amounts. Wake 25 at Christ Church, and [5] II. A. 5 at Modena agree in reckoning the ἀναγνώσματα in St. Matthew at 116, in St. Mark at 71, in St. Luke at 114, in St. John at 67. Euthalius, bishop of Sulci, in the latter part of the 5th century, divided the Acts into 16 ἀναγνώσεις or ἀναγνώσματα, St. Paul's Epistles into 31; but these must have been long paragraphs, and can have had no connection with the much shorter lessons in the *Praxapostolos* which we have enumerated above.

XII. *Literature.*—Add to the references annexed to [GOSPEL], and to those cited in the course of the present article, F. H. Rheinwald, *Kirchliche Archäologie*, Berlin, 1830, pp. 273–6, 442–459; Campion and Beaumont, *Prayer Book Interleaved*, Cambridge, 1866, *passim*: F. H. Scrivener, *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 2nd edition, Cambridge. 1874, pp. 69, 71, 75–82, 290–3. [F. H. S.]

**LECTOR.** [READER.]

**LEGACY.** [PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH].

**LEGATE.** The words πρεσβευτής, *legatus*, *legatarius* (Bede, *E. H.* i. 29, etc.) are used in ecclesiastical documents for agents or emissaries of ecclesiastical authorities.

I. *Various instances of the employment of legates or deputies.*—Sometimes they were sent by councils. Two bishops, Epigonius and Vincentius, were sent by the 6th council of Carthage on an embassy to procure from the emperor the right of asylum for criminals in all churches. (*Cod. Eccl. Afric.* can. 56.) Legates were sent from the same council to the bishops of Rome and Milan (c. 56) and to the Donatists (c. 69). It is also probable that after the time of Constantine legates were sent from the great councils to announce their decisions to the emperor. (Vales. *Annot. in Theodoret. H. E.* iv. 8.) Legates were also sent to councils as the representatives of provinces. (*Cod. Eccl. Afric.*, praefat. et cc. 90–96.) At the same council (c. 90) some of the bishops of Numidia explained that they were present as individuals, as a formal legation could not be sent on account of the troubles in the province [compare COUNCIL, I. 482]. Sometimes they were sent as representatives of individual bishops. Lucifer of Cagliari (for instance) sent his deacon to represent him (εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ τόπον) at an Alexandrian synod, with power to accept its decrees on his behalf (Socrates, *H. E.* iii. 6). So at the council of Hertford, it is said that Wilfrid of Northumberland was present in the persons of his legates, "per proprios legatarios adfuit." (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 5, p. 147; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 119.) They were also sent by bishops to transact their business with other sees. Such were the legates (πρεσβευτάς) sent by Flavian, bishop of Antioch to Rome, A.D. 381 (Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 23). Bede (*H. E.* i. 33, p. 74) speaks of a certain abbat Peter, who being sent as a legate to Gaul, was drowned on his passage at Arnfleet, and also (*H. E.* ii. 20, p. 102) of a bishop of Rochester, who was sent by Archbishop Justus as his legate to Honorius, bishop of Rome, and drowned in the Mediterranean.

II. *Legates of the Roman See.*—In the Roman empire, the officials through whom the emperor governed his provinces were called *Legati* [DICT. OF GREEK AND ROM. ANTIQ. *s.v.*] As the extent of the ecclesiastical dominion claimed by the Roman see was, from a comparatively early period, too wide to admit of the personal superintendence and administration of the pope, he appointed representatives (probably following the imperial precedent) to exercise some portion of his authority, in cases where he could neither be present himself, nor regulate the business in hand by letter. Such representatives, though we may include them all under the general term "Legates," were known by various names, according to the office which they discharged. They were sometimes sent for a special occasion, as to represent the pope at a council. These were *legati missi*, sometimes said to be *a latere*. At the court of Constantinople, and sometimes elsewhere, the pope was always represented by a permanent official, called an *Apocrisiarius* or *Responsalis*, corresponding nearly to the *Nuncio* of modern times. And again, when appeals to Rome became frequent, the pope constituted vicars apostolic in the most distant regions of his dominions; that is, he empowered a local prelate to decide such appeals in his name, reserving only the most important for the decision of the Roman see itself. Such a commission was at first given to a particular bishop personally; but when it had been conferred on several successive incumbents of the same see, it naturally came to be regarded as a privilege of that see. Legates of this kind were called in the Middle Ages *Legati nati*.

It is confessed that during the first three centuries of the church there are but faint traces of the exercise of papal authority through legates; though it is sometimes assumed that the three persons whom Clement sent to Corinth with his letter (*Epist. ad Cor.* c. 59), Claudius Ephebus, Valerius Bito, and Fortunatus, were not mere messengers, but plenipotentiaries of the apostolic see (Binterim, III. i. 166). With the accession of Constantine a new period begins in this respect for the church.

1. The term "de latere" is an ancient one, and seems to imply one from the household or familiar friends of the sender, with the implication that he carried with him, as it were, a portion of his principal's personality. So Leo I. (*Epist.* 67), speaking of his legate at Constanti-

nople, asserts that the people of Constantinople possessed a certain portion of himself, "quandam mei portionem." The council of Sardica (c. 7) desired the bishop of Rome, in case of need, to send "presbyters from his own side" (ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πλευροῦ πρεσβυτέρους, de latere suo presbyteros) into the provinces in order to determine appeals from bishops who had been forced to abdicate by provincial councils [APPEAL, I. 127]. Legates of this kind were sent on various occasional missions. Thus Leo I. sent Julian of Cos to the emperor Marcian after the council of Chalcedon for the purpose of opposing the progress of the Eutychian and Nestorian heresies, and invested him for this particular duty with the full power of the papal see (Leo Mag. *Epist.* 113 [al. 56]), and in an epistle to Pulcheria states that he has constituted him his full representative that he might be a pledge and hostage of his own loyalty (Id. *Epist.* 112 [al. 58]). Sometimes the legates were to act in conjunction with the bishops of the province to which they were sent. So Leo I. sent Lucentius (a bishop) and Basilius (a priest) to Constantinople, joined in commission with Anatolius, then bishop, after the pseudo-synod of Ephesus, with power to receive into communion those who should repudiate their share in the council, the case of Dioscorus alone being reserved for the judgment of Rome (Leo I. *Epist.* 85 [al. 46]). Sometimes they were sent merely to inquire and report. So Leo I. sent Prudentius, a bishop, to Africa to ascertain the truth concerning certain alleged irregularities connected with the ordination of bishops. In this case he was to possess the authority of the papal see as far as inquiry went, but only to report to Rome the result of his inquiries (Leo I. *Epist.* 12 [al. 87]).

The great missionaries of early times, who have gone forth under the authority of the Roman see, are frequently spoken of as papal legates. Thus Augustine of Canterbury, who was sent by pope Gregory the Great, is sometimes spoken of as his legate, though it does not appear that when he became archbishop of the English greater powers were conferred on him than on other archbishops who received the pall from Rome (Thomassin, I. i. 31, 6). Of Boniface, the great apostle of Germany, Hincmar says (*Epist.* 30, c. 20, p. 201) that popes Gregory II. and Gregory III. constituted him "legatum Apostolicae sedis," for the reformation of the Christian religion in the parts where he laboured. His commission, which was a peculiar one, empowered him to ordain presbyters and afterwards bishops, without assigning him any particular see. It was not until the year 751 that pope Zacharias, the successor of Gregory III., made him bishop of Mentz and metropolitan of Germany and part of Gaul (Thomassin, I. i. 31, 1–5).

The COUNCILS of the church have from the first afforded a field from the claims of papal legates. At Nicaea the representatives of the Roman see were the two presbyters, Victor [or Vitus] and Vincentius, who would have accompanied the pope, if he had been able to make the long journey from Rome to Bithynia. Who were the presidents in this famous assembly has been matter of endless dispute. Eusebius (*Vita Const.* iii. 13) simply says that the emperor, after his opening speech, gave place to the presidents of the assembly (παρεδίδου τὸν λόγον τοῖς τῆς συνόδου προέδροις): but who were these? Athanasius (*Apol. de Fuga*, c. 5, quoted by Theodoret, *E. H.* ii. 15) speaks of the venerable Hosius as a man who, from his weight of character, of course took a leading part in any synod where he was present (ποίας γὰρ οὐχ ἡγήσατο συνόδου); but he gives no hint that he derived any precedence from papal delegation. There can, in fact, be little doubt that Hosius and Eusebius of Caesarea were the real presidents at Nicaea, and that mainly through the favour of the emperor. Gelasius of Cyzicus (Labbe, ii. 155), writing towards the end of the fifth century, is the first to assert that Hosius appeared at Nicaea as a delegate of Rome, and the same authority (*ib.* 267), in the confessedly imperfect list of subscriptions, makes Hosius sign first, followed by the Roman presbyters Victor (or Vito) and Vincentius. Perhaps Gelasius, who was evidently a wholly uncritical reporter, has transferred to Nicaea the practice of his own age. For by the fifth century it had become a common practice for the popes to send representatives to councils.

In what capacity Hosius presided at the Council of Sardica has been much discussed; it seems probable that he owed his pre-eminence rather to his personal merits and the favour of the emperor than to any appointment of the see of Rome.

The African bishops in council at Carthage, A.D. 419, protested against the presence of the legates from Rome, declaring that sanction for sending such legates could be found in none of the councils, and entreating him to withdraw them for the sake of peace (*Cod. Eccl. Afric.* c. 138; Bruns, *Canones*, i. 200). The legates, however, Faustinus, bishop of Potentia, and two presbyters named Philippus and Asellus, were received at the council, the place of Faustinus being second to Aurelius the president, in conjunction with Valentinus, bishop of Numidia. (*Cod. Eccl. Afric.* Praefat., in Bruns, *Canones*, i. 156.)

In the council of Constantinople of the year 381, neither Damasus of Rome nor any other Western prelate took any share, either personally or by legate.

Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, was locumtenens or legate of Rome in the Nestorian controversy; "vicem nostram propter marina et terrena spatia ipsi sancto fratri meo Cyrillo delegavimus," says Celestinus in the document by which he professes to excommunicate Nestorius (Labbe, iii. 373). To the council of Ephesus the pope had sent two bishops, Arcadius and Projectus, and a presbyter, Philip, with instructions to regulate their conduct by the advice of Cyril, but in all things to uphold the authority of the see of Rome. They were not to press their attendance upon the assembly; when they were present, they were to take notes of what passed, without joining in the debates; at the close of the council, they were to report to the pope himself, and afterwards accompany Cyril to Constantinople, to lay the conclusions of the Fathers before the emperor (Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri*, i. 335). Great pains were taken on this occasion to make the vindication of orthodoxy at Ephesus appear the work of the pope, acting through Cyril and the legates; their instructions were read in the council, and re-

corded in its minutes; the legate Philip then declared its proceedings to have been in conformity with them, and in the name of the see of Rome pronounced the condemnation and deposition of Nestorius, "according to the formula which the holy pope Celestinus had committed to his care." Arcadius and Projectus signified their assent. Cyril then caused the papal ratification to be recorded in the terms in which it had been conveyed to them (Greenwood, p. 339 f.).

These may suffice as instances of the employment of legates to represent the Roman see in the great councils. One or two examples may be given of legates sent from Rome to England, as having a special interest of their own.

At the council of Hatfield (A.D. 680) John the Roman precentor was present, having come from Rome under the guidance of the English Benedict Biscop, to introduce the Roman manner of saying the offices in his new monastery at Wearmouth. It is said of him that he joined with the rest in confirming the decrees of the Catholic faith (pariter Catholicae fidei decreta firmabat), i.e. in receiving the decrees of the first five general councils, and declaring the orthodoxy of the English church in respect of the Monothelites; but nothing is said of any precedence granted to him; the council was summoned by command of the English kings, and presided over by the English archbishop Theodore (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 17, 18; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 141 ff.).

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ad an. 785) relates that in that year there was a contentious synod at Calcyth [probably Chelsea], and also that in that year messengers were sent from Rome by pope Adrian to England, to renew the faith and the peace which St. Gregory had sent us by Augustine the bishop, and they were worshipfully received. The head of this legation was George, bishop of Ostia. These legates, in fact, were present at two councils, one in the north and one in the south of England, probably at Finchale and Chelsea respectively, but as to the extent of the authority they claimed we know nothing, except that they made application to the Mercian and Northumbrian kings respectively for the assembling of the councils. Their names do not appear among the subscriptions (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 443–461).

The bearers of the letters sent by pope John IV. (A.D. 640) to the Irish bishops and abbats about the Pelagian heresy were in some sort legates, as two of them at least—Hilary, the arch-presbyter, and John, the primicerius—are described as vicegerents of the apostolic see (servans locum sanctae sedis apostolicae). (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 19, p. 100.)

And it may be observed generally that in the earlier ages of the church papal legates in councils by no means took the position which a later age assigned to them, after Gregory VII.'s vigorous assertion of the privileges of his see. Thus the legate Faustinus, at the council of Carthage, took his place below the bishop of that see, Aurelius; Eusebius of Vercelli, legate as he was, yielded precedence at Alexandria to Athanasius. At CHALCEDON [I. 334] the lay dignitaries occupied the place of honour, and controlled the proceedings of the council throughout; on their left were the Roman legates, on their right Dioscorus of Alexandria and Juvenal of Jerusalem. Julianus, who was rather a legate to the emperor than to the council, took his place after the first twenty bishops. Cyril took the first place among the bishops in the third general council at Ephesus, but this precedence was probably due as much to his rank as patriarch of Alexandria, as to the fact that on this occasion he was vicegerent of the pope [EPHESUS, I. 615]. Moreover, legates did not (in the period with which we are concerned) attempt to set themselves above the sovereign power, but addressed themselves to kings and emperors respecting the summoning of councils and other ecclesiastical business. As the claims of papal legates simply represent the claims of the papacy, the further account of them must be referred to the article POPE.

2. The *Apocrisiarii* or *Responsales* were so called, as being the persons through whom the *Responsa* or judgments of their principal were communicated to the court to which they were accredited. Hincmar says that Apocrisiarii were instituted when Constantine removed the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium, from which time agents (responsales) both of Rome and of other chief sees were maintained at the imperial court; a statement probable in itself, though the authority is late. Hosius, bishop of Cordova, certainly acted as a kind of ecclesiastical minister at the court of Constantine, but there is no evidence whatever that he represented the see of Rome there, or that he held any definite office under Constantine (Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 112, 3rd edition). Petrus de Marca (*De Concord. Sacerd. et Imp.* v. 16) places the formal institution of Apocrisiarii at a later date. Referring to the letter of Leo the Great to Julianus, bishop of Cos (*Epist.* 86), in which the pope gives him a general commission to act on behalf of the Roman see at the court of Constantinople in the repression of the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, he says, "this gave occasion to the sending of agents or apocrisiarii (responsales) of the apostolic see to the capital city, especially after the time of Justinian; . . . for at that time there were constantly in the court *diaconi responsales*, who both took charge before the emperor of cases in which the Roman church was peculiarly interested, and kept watch over matters of faith and discipline. At the same time they were as it were hostages of the public faith, guaranteeing the obedience due to princes."

Several legates of the Roman see at the court of Constantinople are known to history. Thus Liberatus records (*Breviarium*, c. 22) that pope Agapetus made the deacon Pelagius his apocrisiary at the imperial court; and Gregory the Great relates that he himself, when a deacon, acted as apocrisiary of Pelagius II. with the emperor, using the expression, "tempore quo exhibendis responsis ad Principem ipse transmissus sum" (*Dialogus*, iii. 23). Justinian (*Novel.* 6, c. 2; 123, c. 25) desires bishops not to come in person to court, but to transact their business there by the agency of apocrisiarii.

After the 6th Oecumenical Council we find Constantine Pogonatus writing to Leo II. to send him an apocrisiary, who in all ecclesiastical matters should not only represent his person but actually possess his power, "in emergentibus sive dogmaticis sive canonicis et prorsus in omni-

bus ecclesiasticis negotiis vestrae sanctitatis exprimat ac gerat personam." (*Conc.* vi. Act 18, Labbe.) Leo in consequence sent the subdeacon Constantine, who had been one of his legates at the council, and requested the emperor to receive him as his minister, "ut ministrum digne suscipiat." Thomassin (*Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* i. 2, c. 108, §§ 27, 28) thinks that this was an evasion of the request to send a legate with full powers, lest he should be induced by the power of the emperor to commit himself to acts for which the papal see would be responsible.

3. The popes of Rome have frequently granted special privileges, such as may be called legatine or vicarial, to certain distinguished sees. The first of these was that of Thessalonica. In the year 379 the great prefecture of Illyricum Orientale was assigned to the Eastern emperor. But the see of Rome had probably for a long time claimed patriarchal authority over this division of the empire, and Damasus, the then pope, was unwilling to allow a mere political severance to affect his spiritual authority, and therefore appointed Acholius, bishop of Thessalonica, metropolitan of that prefecture, his representative or vicar for the diocese of Illyricum Orientale (Greenwood, *Cathed. Pet.* i. 259). From the scantiness of our information as to this transaction we know little or nothing of the exact nature of the powers conferred on this legate. Leo the Great (*Epist. ad Anilium Thess.*) confirms to the archbishop of Thessalonica powers over Illyricum which (he says) had been conferred under his predecessors Damasus, Siricius, and Anastasius. See the *Responsio Pii VI. ad Metropolitanos Mogunt. etc. super Nuntiaturis Apost.* Romae 1790. Vicarial or legatine powers were also conferred on the see of Arles, the "Gallican Rome." Thus Zosimus (A.D. 418) made Patroclus, bishop of Arles, his vicegerent; Hilary gave the same office to Leontius; Gelasius I. to Aeonius; Symmachus to Caesarius; Vigilius to Auxonius; and at length, the same privilege having been continued to a series of bishops, it was definitely granted and assigned to the see of Arles (Gregorii *Epist.* iv. 50, 52, 54). See also Gregory's seventh response to Augustine of Canterbury, in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 22. And the same thing took place also with regard to other sees.

(Petrus de Marca, *de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. v.; Böhmer, *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, lib. iii., tit. 37, c. 36; Van Espen, *Jus Ecclesiasticum*; Thomassin, *Nova et Vet. Eccl. Discipl.*; Walther, *Kirchenrecht*; Jacobson in Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.*, s. v. *Legaten.*) [P. O. and C.]

**LEGATION** (*Legatio*, πρεσβεία). A body of legates entrusted with any commission, *e.g.* Soc. *H. E.* iv. 12; Soz. *H. E.* vi. 11. When the legates were not a mere deputation, but had full power to act on their own authority, it was called a free legation, "legatio libera" (*Cod. Eccl. Afric.* c. 94, 97; see Ducange, *Gloss.*). The commission given to the legates was called a letter of legation, "literae legationis." At the 6th council of Carthage the various legates presented their credentials, which were read to the council, "offerentibus legationis literis et recitatis" (*Cod. Eccl. Afric.* c. 90). Sometimes it appears to have been used for the duty entrusted to a legate. Thus Leo I. (*Epist.* 26) speaks of a commission given to the empress Pulcheria to procure the summoning of a fresh council after the Pseudo-Synod of Ephesus as a legation, hâc sibi specialiter a beatissimo Petro Apostolo legatione commissâ. But the word for the most part is convertible with LEGATE.

[P. O.]

**LEGENDA.** This word properly denotes whatever is appointed to be read to the congregation during public worship. It has however acquired the restricted sense of the records of the lives and acts of the saints and martyrs, which were appointed to be thus read. Collections of these records date from the 2nd century, and were known as *Acta* (*i.e.* the registers containing the official records), *Sanctorum*, or *Acta Martyrum.* They contained the most important sayings and deeds of the saints, both martyrs and confessors. The earliest reputed compiler of the acts of martyrs is St. Clement of Rome, who is said to have employed scribes "*notarios*," to collect the acts of martyrs throughout the different districts of the city. The practice appears to have spread into the African church. St. Cyprian (*Ep.* 37, *ad Clerum*) writes: "Denique et dies eorum quibus excedunt, annotate, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus."

Eusebius also (*Hist.* v. 4) speaks of such a collection, "Whoever cares to do so, may easily obtain the fullest information on this subject by reading the epistle itself,[a] which, as I have already said, I have inserted in the collection of the *Acts of Martyrs*" [τῇ τῶν μαρτυρίων συναγωγῇ]. He gives at length the account of the martyrdom of Polycarp and his companions (iv. 15. See also vii. 41–42).

Hence Eusebius has been often looked upon as the first to compile a martyrology. St. Jerome made a compendium of the acts as compiled by Eusebius.

Any further question as to the growth of martyrologies belongs more properly to another place [MARTYROLOGY]. It is sufficient here to point out their origin and antiquity.

In the persecution of Diocletian many authentic records of this nature perished, in consequence of a general edict to burn them (Gregor. Turon. *de Gloria Martyr.*). Gelasius (A.D. 492) rejected as spurious writings of this nature then in circulation, and forbade them to be read in churches.

The third council of Carthage (A.D. 397), Can. 47, after ruling that besides the canonical scriptures nothing should be read publicly in the church under the name of Holy Scripture, adds that the passions of the martyrs may be read on their anniversaries. "Liceat etiam legi passiones martyrum, quum anniversarii eorum dies celebrantur." And it appears from various sermons of St. Augustine (Ser. xlvii. *de Sanctis*, &c.) that the practice was general in his day. Cassiodorus, in the 6th century, writing to certain abbats says (*Instit. div. Lect.* c. 32), "Passiones martyrum legite constanter."

The practice was to read the "acts" of those saints and martyrs who were to be commemorated in the liturgy on the day following, in order that the faithful might join in the commemora-

[a] *I.e.* from the martyrs of Lyons to Eleutherus.

tion with memories refreshed. When the daily services were reduced to order, the martyrology was appointed to be read in choir, at the end of Prime, after the Orison (Oratio) which is followed by the usual "Benedicamus Domino," R. Deo gratias; the lection which contains the memorials of the saints for the next day being read. The lection is followed by the *Verse* and *Response*. V. Pretiosa in conspectu Domini. R. Mors sanctorum ejus; and a few prayers.

From a MS. appendix to the Roman Responsorial and Antiphonary, which is considered to be of the 9th century, it appears that the passion and acts of a saint were only read in the churches dedicated to that saint (ubi ipsius *titulus* erat) until the time of pope Adrian I. A.D. 772.

This reading of the martyrology with the prayers which follow it is usually considered a distinct office from Prime, and known as *officium capitulare*. In many churches it was said in a different place. Thus in the old statutes of the church of Paris: "Thence (*i.e.* from the choir after Prime) they go into the chapter house, [or possibly another chapel in the church], where, after the reading of the acts of the saints, and the diptychs of the deceased, let prayers be made for their repose." [Inde in capitulum[b] progrediuntur, ubi gestis sanctorum et diptychis defunctorum perlectis, fiant preces pro eorum requiem.] Again in the rite of Avranches: "Prime ended, let the brothers assemble in the chapter house, and let the lection of the Martyrology be read, lest any festival of a saint which should be celebrated on the morrow be omitted through inadvertence." [Primâ finitâ, in capitulum conveniant fratres, Martyrologii lectio legatur; ne aliqua sancti festivitas in crastino celebranda negligenter omittatur.] So also the old ritual of St. Martin at Tours. Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, A.D. 742, introduced the practice into his chapter among his reforms. On the other hand the martyrology was often read in *choir*, not in *chapter*. This was directed by the old *ordinarium* of Senlis, which, after directions for the office of Prime, proceeds: "After the aforesaid orison the *calendar*[c] (calenda) is read by one of the boys, and terminates thus: *and of all the many other holy martyrs and confessors and virgins*. Then the anniversary which is contained in the Martyrology is announced." So also the *ordinarium* of the *Cathedral* of Tours. "Then follows the lection from the martyrology, read *in choir* with a sufficiently loud voice . . . . A boy says '*Jube, Domine, benedicere*.' The priest gives the *benediction*,[d] and after the reading of the lection is to say "*Pretiosa in conspectu*," &c. After this a boy is to announce the anniversary which is to be celebrated on the following day. The reading of the Martyrology *in chapter* appears to have been limited to the more important monastic houses and colleges of canons, and usually in connexion with the reading of the *rule of the house*, which by the council of Aix la Chapelle (A.D. 817) was directed to be bound in one volume with the martyrology. The custom gradually died out (it had ceased at St. Martin's at Tours in the 15th century); and in the printed breviaries, monastic as well as secular, the *officium capitulare* is printed so as to form part of Prime without any break.

In a decree of the Congregation of Rites (10 Jun. 1690. Meratus in Ind. Decr. Brev. 163) we find the following ruling:—

"After what has been said, the hour of Prime is terminated when 'Benedicamus Domino' is said, and what follows is only a sort of appendix; whence it appears, that in the same manner as the church here inserts daily the reading of the Martyrology, and Prime of the Blessed Virgin, when this is to be said, so anything else may be inserted; though we do not recommend that this should be done, because what is now supplemented is considered to complete Prime as it were [Primam veluti integrare],[e] or to be an additional part of it."

In addition to the readings at Prime, on festivals with three nocturns, the lessons of the second nocturn are as a rule taken from the acts of the saint of the day.

The custom of reading at nocturns such acta as were worthy of credit is thought to have grown up in the 8th century; that of reading them in the liturgy much earlier, as has been already stated. They were read before the epistle and briefly recapitulated in the preface. In the course of the liturgy, the bishop ascended the chair (cathedram conscendente) and gave an explanation of them, which was the origin of the sermons of the Fathers in honour of the martyrs (see, *inter alia*, S. August. Sermo 2, *de S. Steph.*). This custom was kept up in France till the 9th century, and in Spain till beyond the 10th; and the acts were inserted in the sacramentaries and missals of both countries.[f] They were never inserted in the Roman, as appears from the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries and missals, which make but spare and cautious mention of the martyrs and their sufferings in the preface alone.

Among Latin martyrologies, those compiled by Bede, and by the Benedictine monk Usuardus, in the 9th century, may be mentioned.

The Greek equivalent to the martyrology is the menology (μηνολόγιον), so called because its contents are arranged according to months. The lection for the day is called the "synaxarion" (συναξάριον), and is inserted at full length in the menaea (which contains the variable parts of the office, and so in some measure correspond to the proprium Sanctorum of the Latin breviaries) after the sixth ode of the canon for the day said at Lauds. It is introduced by its proper stichos, nearly always two iambic lines, containing some allusion to the saint or play upon his name, followed by a hexameter line, of the

[b] Locus in quem conveniunt Monachi et Canonici, sic dictum, inquit Papias, quod *capitula* ibi legantur (Ducange *in loco*). [CHAPTER-HOUSE, I. 349.]

[c] *I.e.* the list of names for the day.

[d] *I.e.* the appointed benedictory formula before the lection.

[e] *I.e.* to fill up the measure of. Compare Lucretius, i. 1031.

[f] The *Mozarabic Missal* is still distinguished for the variety and length of its prefaces, called *Illationes*. They vary with each mass, and that for St Vincent, for example, occupies more than three closely-printed quarto columns, and one and a half or nearly two columns of the same type is a frequent length. The prefaces of the old *Gallican Missal*, called *Immolationes* or *Contestationes*, are as varied as the Mozarabic, but as a rule considerably shorter. [PREFACE.]

nature of a "memoria technica" of the date.[g] There is usually more than one synaxarion to a day, each in commemoration of a different saint; in which case, with few exceptions, each has its own iambic stichos; but the first alone the hexameter line. Other saints of the day are commemorated by the simple reciting of their names and death, stating usually its manner, followed by a stichos, but with no synaxarion. These readings and commemorations are concluded with the clause—"By their holy intercessions, O God, have mercy upon us. Amen" (ταῖς αὐτῶν ἁγίαις πρεσβείαις, ὁ Θεὸς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Ἀμήν).[h] There are great variations in different menologies. The emperor Basil the Macedonian directed one to be compiled, A.D. 886, which may be taken as a type of others.

Baronius, *Praef. ad Martyr. Rom.* Paris, 1607; Bona, *de Div. Psal.* c. xvi. 19; Durant, *de Rit. Eccl.* iii. c. 18; Gavanti, *Comm. in Rub. Miss. Rom.* sec. v. c. 21; Martene, *de Ant. Rit.* iv. 8; and the *Breviaries* and the *Menaea* passim; Cavalieri, *Op. Lit.* vol. ii. cap. 37, Dec. 2, and c. 41, Dec. 12 and 17, &c. See also Augusti, *Christ. Archaeologie*, vol. vi. p. 104. [H. J. H.]

**LEGER, ST.** [LEODEGARIUS.]

**LENEY, COUNCIL OF** (*Leniense Concilium*), held at Leney in Ireland, A.D. 630, or thereabouts, respecting Easter, which was kept differently then in Scotland and Ireland from what it was in Rome. In other words, if the fourteenth day of the moon fell on a Sunday, it was kept on that Sunday, and not the following. St. Fintan here prevailed with his countrymen in favour of the old rule; but it was unfair of contemporaries to call them 'Quartodecimans' on that account. (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl.* c. 17; comp. Mansi, x. 611.) [E. S. Ff.]

**LENT** (τεσσαρακοστή, *Quadragesima*. The English name is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Lencten*, spring; with which may be compared the German *Lenz*, and the Dutch *Lente*. The titles for this season in languages of Latin derivation are merely corruptions of the name *Quadragesima*, as the French *Carême*, Italian *Quaresima*, etc. So also in the Celtic languages, as the Welsh *Garawys*, Manx *Kargys*, Breton *Corayz*, etc. In Teutonic and allied languages, the name for the season merely indicates the fast, as the German *Fastenzeit*, Dutch *Vaste*, etc. So also in the Calendar of the Greek church it is ἡ νήστεια).

1. *History of the observance.*—We can trace up to very early times the existence of a preparatory fast to Easter, for it is mentioned definitely by Irenaeus and Tertullian. While, however, the fast seems to have been one universally kept, there seems to have been very great latitude as to the duration of the fast. Thus Irenaeus writing to Victor, bishop of Rome, and referring to the disputes as to the time of keeping Easter, adds that there is the same dispute as to the length of the preliminary fast. "For," he says, "some think they ought to fast for one day, others for two days, and others even for several, while others reckon forty hours both of day and night to their day" (οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινάς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν[a] αὐτῶν). Irenaeus then goes on to say that this variety is not merely a thing of his own time, but of much older date (πολὺ πρότερον); an important statement, as carrying back the existence of the fast practically up to apostolic times (Irenaeus, *Ep. ad Vict.*; apud Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* v. 24).

Before, however, we pass on to consider the references in Tertullian, it must be noted that much discussion has arisen as to the punctuation of the above passage; for the translation of Ruffinus puts a full stop after τεσσαράκοντα, a plan which is adopted by some, as by Stieren and Harvey, the most recent editors of Irenaeus. We must remark, however, that not only are the MSS. said to be unanimous in giving the first-mentioned reading, but as Valesius (*not. in loc.*) justly points out, the general run of the Greek is palpably in favour of the same way.[b] (For a defence of the opposite theory, see Massuet, *Diss. in Iren.* ii. 23.)

We pass on next to consider the evidence furnished by Tertullian, who in one place speaks of the fast "die Paschae," as "communis et quasi publica jejunii religio" (*De Orat.* c. 18). This, of course, would be a fast on Good Friday. That the fast, however, was not confined to this day only, we learn from another place, where writing as a Montanist he says of the Catholics that they considered that the only fasts which Christians should observe were those "in which the bridegroom was taken away from them" (*De Jejunio*, c. 2; cf. also c. 13, where he draws a distinction between the obligation of the fast of the above-mentioned days and other fasts, especially the Stations, so called). Here then we have a fast for the period during which our Saviour was under the power of death.

Thus far it would appear that there was in any case a fast, whether on the day of our Lord's death, or for the above longer period; but in some cases extra days were added, varying in different churches. At a later period the same kind of variation prevailed, as we find, *e.g.* from Socrates and Sozomen. Thus the former (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 22) speaks of those in Rome as fasting for three

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[g] The following, for St. Polycarp (Feb. 23), may serve as a specimen:

*Stichoi.* σοὶ Πολύκαρπος ὡλοκαυτώθη Λόγε,
καρπὸν πολὺν δοὺς ἐκ πυρὸς ξενοτρόπως.
εἰκάδι ἐν τριτάτῃ κατὰ φλὸξ Πολύκαρπον ἔκαυσεν.

[h] This is the usual form of words and the invariable purport of the clause. Sometimes it runs "By the prayers of thy martyrs, O Lord Christ, have mercy upon us and save us. Amen" (ταῖς τῶν σῶν μαρτύρων εὐχαῖς, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς, ἐλέησον καὶ σῶσον. Ἀμήν).

[a] For ἡμέραν, Valesius (*not. in loc.*) conjectured that νηστείαν should be read, on account of the difficulty of understanding the expression "day," as applied in any sense to a period of 40 hours. There is, however, no MS. authority for this, and it cuts the knot of the difficulty rather than solves it.

[b] Thus a climax seems indicated in the καὶ of οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, and we should look for some connecting particle with the ὥρας. The Latin of Ruffinus is "nonnulli etiam quadraginta, ita ut horas diurnas ....": the *ita* has a decidedly suspicious appearance after the termination of the preceding word. Moreover, the fact introduced by *ita ut*, as to the fast being observed during the hours both of day and night, is simply inexplicable when taken in connexion with the preceding "nonnulli etiam quadraginta."

weeks before Easter, except on Saturdays and Sundays.[c] In Illyria, through all Greece, and in Alexandria [those of Illyria, the West (*οἱ πρὸς δύσιν*) throughout all Libya, in Egypt and Palestine (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 19)], a fast of six weeks' duration was observed. Others again continued it for seven weeks: these are spoken of vaguely by Socrates as *ἄλλοι*, and more specifically by Sozomen as those of Constantinople, and the countries round about as far as Phoenicia.[d] Socrates, however, states that these, while beginning the fast seven weeks before Easter, only fasted for fifteen days by intervals (*τρεῖς μόνας πενθημέρους ἐκ διαλημμάτων*); and Sozomen speaks of some who fasted three weeks by intervals (*σποράδην*) out of the six or seven weeks. Lastly, some fasted for two weeks, as the Montanists did.

Gregory the Great (*Hom. in Evang.* i. 16. 5; vol. i. 1494, ed. Bened.) speaks of the fast as of thirty-six days' duration, that is to say, of six weeks, not counting in the six Sundays. It will have been noticed above that Sozomen speaks of six weeks as the period observed by the Westerns, whereas it lasted through seven weeks in Constantinople and the East. Now in the East, Saturday as well as Sunday partook of a festal character,[e] and thus the number of actual fasting days would be in either case thirty-six. Of course those Eastern churches which only took six weeks would have but thirty-one days' fast. [The Saturday which was Easter Eve was of course in all cases excepted from the general rule of Saturdays.] In any case thirty-six was the maximum number of days' fast[f] (cf. Cassian, *Collat.* xxi. 24, 25; *Patrol.* xlix. 1200).

By whom the remaining four days were added, that is Ash-Wednesday and the three days following it, does not clearly appear. Gregory the Great (ob. A.D. 604) has often been credited with it (see *e.g.* the *Micrologus*, c. 49; *Patrol.* cli. 1013), but his remark which we have referred to above seems conclusive against this. The evidence also derivable from the Gregorian sacramentary, into which we must enter in detail when we come to speak of the liturgical part of our subject, points the same way. Thus the headings for these first four days never include the term *Quadragesima*, which occurs for the first time on the Sunday; and there seems ground for omitting the words *caput jejunii* in the heading to Ash-Wednesday. Martene (*De Ant. Eccles. Rit.* iii. 58, ed. Venice, 1783) shews that even after the time of Gregory the Great, the four additional days cannot for some time have been observed, at any rate at all universally, for the *Regula Magistri*, a writing apparently of the 7th century, orders that from Sexagesima the monks should fast till the evening on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, but that on other days up to Quadragesima they should take their meal at the ninth hour. Thus by the addition of these six days, the diminution caused in Lent by the taking out of the six Sundays was exactly counterbalanced (c. 28, *Patrol.* lxxxviii. 997). Clearly, therefore, this writer can in no way have viewed Lent as definitely beginning with Ash-Wednesday, and indeed the following day is not reckoned as part of the fast at all. On the other hand, the addition is certainly not to be fixed later than the time of Charlemagne, for (Martene, *l. c.*) the title "feria quarta *in capite jejunii*" occurs in MSS. of sacramentaries of and perhaps before his time. Similar evidence is furnished by the *Rule* of Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, in the latter part of the 8th century (c. 30, *Patrol.* lxxxix. 1071), and apparently in the Penitential of Egbert, archbishop of York from A.D. 732 to 766 (I. i. 37, *Patrol.* lxxxix. 410).

Others have referred the addition to Gregory II. (ob. A.D. 731), but the matter seems quite doubtful.[g] It may be remarked here in connexion with this latter prelate, that the *Micrologus* (c. 50, *supra*) states that it was he who first required the Thursdays throughout Lent to be kept as fasts, contrary to the ancient Roman usage. It is to Melchiades that the appointment of Thursdays as exceptions to the law of fasting in Lent is referred. This, however, is very doubtful, when viewed in connexion with the words of Gregory the Great already quoted.

Considering the diversity which we have found to prevail as to the duration of Lent, it is curious to see how persistently the word *τεσσαρακοστή* is adhered to, a point which puzzled Socrates (*l. c.*) in the 5th century. Although the origin of this name is by no means clear, there are at any rate some reasonable grounds for connecting it with the period during which our Lord yielded to the power of death, which was estimated at forty hours [*e.g.* from noon on Friday till 4 A.M. on Sunday]; and we have seen that Tertullian twice refers to the fast as continuing for the days "in quibus ablatus est sponsus." We must also not lose sight of the forty days' fasts of Moses, Elijah, and our Lord, as being especially suggestive of the number of forty. It will have been noticed that when the duration of the fast was considerably lengthened, in the majority of cases the number of days of actual fasting was still approximately forty.

2. *Object and purport of Lent.*—We may inquire in the next place what was the primary idea in the institution of such a fast, and what other reasons were subserved in the maintenance of it.

(*a*) From a passage of Tertullian already cited (*de Jejunio*, c. 13) it is clear that the fast primarily lasted for the time during which our Lord was under the power of death, to mark the mourning of the church when the bridegroom

[c] There is some difficulty here in the remark as to the Roman fast not holding on the Saturday. See Valesius's not. in loc.

[d] In illustration of the longer period of the fast observed in the East, we may refer to the case mentioned by Photius (*Biblioth.* 107; *Patrol. Gr.* ciii. 377).

[e] For an illustration of this, see *e.g.* Chrysostom (*Hom.* xi. *in Gen.* § 2; vol. iv. 101, ed. Gaume), who speaks of the relaxation afforded in Lent by the cessation of the fast on Saturday and Sunday. As regards the West an exception must be made in the case of Milan, where Saturday was viewed as in the East (see Ambrose, *de Elia et jejunio*, *infra*), also for Gaul (see Aurelian, *infra*).

[f] We may refer here to the notion that, since thirty-six days was one-tenth of the year, therefore in Lent was fulfilled the Mosaic precept of paying tithes (Cassian, *l. c.*).

[g] It is clear that in some parts the additional four days cannot have been accepted for a long time, for Martene (p. 59) speaks of the end of the 11th century as the period when they were recognised in Scotland.

was taken away. Of this mourning then, Lent is the perpetual commemoration. It is interesting to note here that the Montanists who observed three Lents in the course of the year (Jerome, *Epist.* 41, *ad Marcellam*, § 3; vol. i. 189, ed. Vallarsi), and kept one of them after Pentecost (Jerome, *Comm. in Matt.* ix. 15; vol. vii. 51), still agreed with the Catholics in viewing it as the mourning for the absent bridegroom, in accordance with our Lord's declaration.

(β) This primary reason having been fixed, we need not dwell on that reason for its maintenance drawn from its use as a means of quickening zeal, and as an aid to devotion generally, since this is applicable to any fast and has no exclusive reference to Lent. This particular fast, however, served as a special preparation for several important events directly connected with Easter. Chief among these was the Easter communion, which, even in the earlier days of the church, when Christians ordinarily communicated every Sunday, must have had an exceptional prominence; much more in later times when this frequency of communion had greatly diminished, and we find for example canons of councils ordering that all Christians should communicate at least three times a year, of which Easter should be one. (See *e.g. Concil. Agathense* [A.D. 506], cann. 63, 64; Labbe, iv. 1393.) This idea is dwelt upon by Chrysostom (*in eos qui primo pascha jejunant*, § 4; vol. i. 746, ed. Gaume; also *Hom.* 1, § 4, vol. iv. 10), and by Jerome (*Comm. in Jonam*, iii. 4; vol. vi. 416).

(γ) Easter again was the special time for the administration of baptism, which was necessarily preceded by a solemn preparation and fasting. The importance of the Lent fast to those about to be baptized is dwelt upon by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* i. 5; p. 18, ed. Touttée). The names of those who sought baptism had to be given in some time before (*ὀνοματογραφία*, *Procatech.* c. 1, p. 2; cf. c. 4, p. 4). A council of Carthage ordains that this shall be done a long time (*diu*) before the baptism (*Conc. Carth.* iv. [A.D. 398] can. 85; Labbe, ii. 1206), but a canon of Siricius, bishop of Rome (ob. A.D. 399) defines the time as not less than forty days (*Ep.* i. *ad Himerium*, c. 2; Labbe, ii. 1018).

(δ) Lent was also a special time of preparation for penitents who looked forward to readmission for the following Easter. (See Cyprian, *Epist.* 56, § 3: Ambrose, *Epist.* 20 *ad Marcellinam sororem*, c. 26; *Patrol.* xvi. 1044: Jerome, *Comm. in Jonam, l.c.*: Greg. Nyss. *Epist. Canon. ad Letoium*, *Patrol. Gr.* xlv. 222: Petr. Alexandr. can. 1, Labbe, i. 955: *Concil. Ancyranum* [A.D. 314], can. 6, *ib.* 1457.)

3. *Manner of observance of Lent.*—The special characteristics of Lent consisted in various forms of abstinence from food, the cessation of various ordinary forms of rejoicings, the merciful interference with legal pains and penalties, and the like.

(α) First of all must be noted the actual fast, which was generally a total abstinence from all food till the evening, except on Sundays, and in some cases on Saturdays. (Ambrose, *de Elia et Jejunio*, c. 10; *Patrol.* xiv. 743: *Serm.* 8 *in Psal.* 118; *Patrol.* xv. 1383: Basil, *Hom.* i. *de Jejunio*, c. 10; *Patrol. Gr.* xxxi. 181: Chrysostom, *Hom.* iv. *in Gen.* c. 7, vol. iv. 36; *Hom.* vi. *in Gen.* c. 6, vol. iv. 58; *Hom.* viii. *in Gen.* c. 6, vol. iv. 76.)

As to the particular kinds of food made use of when the fast was broken for the day, there would appear to have been in early times the utmost latitude. This may be gathered, for example, from the passage of Socrates already quoted (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 22). "Now we may notice," he says, "that men differ not only with respect to the number of the days, but also in the character of the abstinence from food, which they practise. For some abstain altogether from animal food, while others partake of no animal food but fish only. Others again eat of birds as well as fishes, saying that according to Moses they also were produced from water. Others abstain also from fruits (*ἀκρόδρυα*) and eggs, while some partake only of dry bread, and others not even of that. Another sort fast till the ninth hour, and then have their meal of various sorts of food" (*διάφορον ἔχουσι τὴν ἑστίασιν*).[h] He then goes on to argue that since no rule of Scripture can be produced for this observance, therefore the apostles left the decision of the matter to every man's judgment. It will thus be seen that though the fast was to be kept throughout the day, there was as yet an absence of any restriction as to the character of the food taken in the evening; it being, of course, assumed that great moderation was shewn, and that luxuries were avoided, in fact that the fast was not to be a technical matter of abstaining from this or that food, merely to enjoy a greater luxury of a different kind. The abstaining from flesh as any absolute and fundamental rule of the church was not yet insisted on, but still remained to some extent a matter of private judgment. An example, which illustrates a transitional state of things, is found in the incident related by Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 11) of Spyridon, bishop of Trimythus in Cyprus. He, when once visited by a stranger at the beginning of Lent, offered him some swine's flesh, which was the only food he had in the house. The latter refused to partake of it, saying that he was a Christian. "All the more therefore," said the bishop, "should it not be refused, for that all things are pure to the pure is declared by the word of God." Bingham (*Orig.* xxi. 1. 17), who cites the above instance, has strangely omitted to add that before acting thus, the bishop besought the Divine indulgence (*εὐξάμενος καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτήσας*), as though he were straining a point in doing as he did, though, on the other hand, such straining had not yet become a violation of a universally recognised law. We find a somewhat parallel illustration in Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 3), where a certain Christian prisoner named Alcibiades, who had lived on bread and water all his life, received a divine monition through Attalus, one of his fellow prisoners, that he did not well in thus refusing the good gifts of God.

On the other hand, we continually find protests being made against the conduct of those who, so long as the technical rules were observed, thought themselves at liberty to indulge in every luxury, instead of devoting the money saved by the fast

[h] The Greek here seems rather curious. Valesius conjectured that we should read *ἀδιάφορον*, *sine discrimine ciborum.*

to the relief of the poor.[i] (Augustine, *Serm.* 205, § 2, vol. v. 1337, ed. Gaume; *Serm.* 207, § 2, *ib.* 1341; *Serm.* 210, § 10, *ib.* 1353; Leo, *Serm.* 3, *de Jejunio Pentecostes*, vol. i. 319, ed. Ballerini.)

The same kind of reaction of feeling manifested itself in the indulging in special enjoyments in the days before the fast, and of this the carnival may serve as an illustration.[k]

It is not, however, to be supposed from all this, that there is an absence of positive enactments on the subject.[l] Thus one of the so-called apostolical canons orders that all clerics shall fast in Lent under penalty of deposition, unless they can plead bodily infirmity; a layman to be excommunicated (can. 69). The fourth council of Orleans (A.D. 541) also enjoins the observance of Lent, adding a rule that the Saturdays are to be included in the fast. (*Concil. Aurel.* iv. can. 2; Labbe, v. 382; cf. *Concil. Toletanum* viii. [A.D. 653], can. 9; Labbe, vi. 407.) It may be noted that Aurelian, bishop of Arles (app. A.D. 545) in laying down the rule for monks, orders that the fast shall be observed every day from Epiphany to Easter, save upon Saturdays and Sundays and greater festivals (*Patrol.* lxviii. 396). It was evidently considered that there should be a stricter rule for such than for Christians generally. The last part of the order refers to an increased severity of the fast during the last week; see *e. g.* Epiphanius, *Expos. Fidei* c. 22; vol. i. 1105, ed. Petavius. On this part of the subject reference may be made to the special article. [HOLY WEEK.]

(*β*) A second point which characterised the season was the forbidding of all things which were of a festal character. Thus the Council of Laodicea (circa A.D. 365) ordered that the oblation of bread and wine in the Eucharist should be confined to Saturdays and Sundays during Lent (can. 49, Labbe, i. 1505). A later council, that in Trullo (A.D. 692) ordains that on days other than the above two and the day of the Annunciation, there may be a communion of the presanctified elements (can. 52; Labbe, vi. 1165). Again, the Council of Laodicea forbids the celebration of festivals of martyrs in Lent, except upon Saturdays and Sundays (can. 51); and the following canon forbids the celebration of marriages and of birthday festivals in Lent, without any reservation. This last, however, perhaps only gradually came to be observed, for in the collection of Eastern canons by Martin, bishop of Braga in Spain, he cites no other canon for this use but that of the Council of Laodicea. Cf. also as to this point Augustine, *Serm.* 205, § 2 (vol. v. 1336); Egbert, *Penitential*, i. 21 (*Patrol.* lxxxix. 406); Theodulfus of Orleans, *Capitul.* 43 (*Patrol.* cv. 205); Nicolaus I. *Resp. ad consult. Bulg.* c. 48; (*Patrol.* cxix. 1000).

*A fortiori* all public games, theatrical shows, and the like, were forbidden at this season. Gregory of Nazianzum reproves one Celeusius, a judge, who had authorised spectacles during the fast (*Epist.* 112; vol. ii. 101, ed. Bened.). Chrysostom, in a homily delivered in Lent, asks his hearers what profit they have gained from his sermons, when through the instigations of the devil they all have "rushed off to that vain show (πομπῇ) of Satan, the horse-race" (*Hom.* vi. *in Gen.* c. 1; vol. iv. 48); and again he speaks of the great injury men who follow such practices do to themselves, and the scandal they are to others[m] (*Hom.* vii. *in Gen.* c. 1; vol. iv. 59).

(*γ*) The severity of the laws was relaxed during Lent. Thus the Theodosian Code in a law promulgated in A.D. 380 prohibits all hearing of criminal cases during that season (*Cod. Theodos.* lib. ix. tit. 35, leg. 4; vol. iii. 252, ed. Gothofredus). Another law, published in A.D. 389, forbids the infliction of punishments of the body "sacratis Quadragesimae diebus" (*op. cit.* 253). As a parallel case, probably referring to the Lent season, we may allude to what is said by Ambrose, in his funeral eulogy of the younger Valentinian, where he praises him in that when some noblemen were about to be tried in a criminal case, and the prefect pressed the matter, the emperor forbade a sentence of death during a holy season (*de Obitu Valentin. Consolatio*, c. 18; *Patrol.* xvi. 1424). See also Nicolaus I. (*op. cit.* c. 45, col. 998), Theodulfus of Orleans (*op. cit.* c. 42, col. 205).

A rarely occurring exception only serves to bring out more sharply the general observance of the rule, and thus it may be noted that the younger Theodosius orders (A.D. 408) that in the case of the Isaurian robbers, the examinations by torture should be held even in Lent or at Easter (*Cod. Theodos.* lib. ix. tit. 35, l. 7; p. 255, *ed. cit.*), on the ground that the suffering of the few was expedient for the benefit of the many.

Not only the criminal, but also the civil code was relaxed, for Ambrose speaks of the sacred season of the week before Easter when "solebant debitorum laxari vincula" (*Epist.* 20, c. 6; *Patrol.* xvi. 1038[n]).

(*δ*) Besides all these negative characteristics, we find also the endeavour to maintain a higher spirit of devotion, by an increased number of religious services. Thus in many cases, it would appear, sermons were delivered to the people daily throughout Lent, and Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis*, to which we have already often referred, and those εἰς τοὺς ἀνδριάντας were of this kind. (See esp. *Hom.* xi. *in Gen.* c. 3; vol. iv. 102).[o] We may also cite here Theodulfus of

[i] Thus Augustine (*Serm.* 205, *l. c.*), "ut pretiosos cibos quaerat, quia carne non vescitur, et insulitatos liquores, quia vinum non bibit."

[k] On this point, see J. C. Zeumer, *Bacchanalia Christianorum, vulgo das Carneval*, Jenae, 1699.

[l] The subject of dispensations relaxing the strictness of rules as to diet in Lent falls outside our present limits. We may perhaps just call attention to the word LACTICINIA (cf. French *Laitage*), often occurring in such documents for a mainly milk diet, as a curious parallel to the ξηροφαγία of the Greeks.

[m] A curious extension of this idea is found in the *Scarapeus* of abbat Pirminius (ob. A.D. 758), who among other things deprecates the use of vehicles in Lent (*Patrol.* lxxxix. 1041). Again Nicolaus I. protests against the practice of hunting at that season (*op. cit.* c. 44, col. 997).

[n] We may note here that the council of Nicaea (A.D. 325) appoints Lent as one of the two periods in the year for the sitting of a synod of the bishops of the province to revise the sentence of excommunication inflicted by any of the number in the preceding season, as a check upon undue severity (can. 5, Labbe, ii. 32).

[o] For another special manifestation of the same idea, see the rule laid down by the third council of Braga, that the three days at the beginning of Lent should be devoted to special forms of prayer, with litanies and psalms, by

Orleans, in whose *Capitulare* (c. 41, *supra*) it is ordained that all, save excommunicate persons, shall communicate on every Sunday in Lent. (Cf. also Augustine, *Serm.* 141 *in Append.* c. 5, vol. v. 2715.)

4. *Liturgical Notices.*—The earliest Roman sacramentary, the Leonine, is unfortunately defective in the part where Lent would occur, and we therefore first notice the references in the Gelasian sacramentary (*Patrol.* lxxiv. 1064 sqq.). This, in the form in which we now have it, has prefixed to the services for Lent an *ordo agentibus publicam poenitentiam* (c. 16), wherein it is ordained that the penitent be taken early on the morning of Ash Wednesday, clothed in sackcloth, and put in seclusion till Maundy Thursday, when he is reconciled. Then follow the forms for the week from Quinquagesima to the following Sunday, provision being made for the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, viewed as preliminary to, but as yet not forming part of, Lent. Thus in the *Secreta* of the first Sunday in Lent, we find "Sacrificium Domini, *quadragesimalis initii* solemniter immolamus. . . . ." Services are given for all the Sundays in Lent, and for all the week-days except Thursday [save only in the case of Maundy Thursday]. In the *Micrologus* (*l. c.*), Melchiades, bishop of Rome (ob. A.D. 314) is credited with the order that the Thursdays in Lent should not be observed as fasting days. As we have above remarked, the same authority speaks of Gregory II. as having been the first to require the Thursdays to be observed like the other days of Lent.

After the forms for the first week is given that for the first sabbath of the first month "in xii. lect. mense primo," which is followed by forms for ordination. The mass for the third Sunday bears the heading, "Quae pro scrutiniis electorum (i.e. for baptism) celebratur." In the Canon mention is to be made of the names of those who are to act as sponsors for those about to be baptized, and afterwards the names of these latter themselves. The fourth Sunday is headed, "pro scrutinio secundo," with the recitations of names as before, as also on the fifth Sunday. After this are given the various forms requisite for baptism, and the attendant rites, *ad faciendum catechumenum*, *benedictio salis*, exorcism, etc., with the setting forth of the creed (Greek and Latin), and the Lord's Prayer. It may be noted finally that Palm Sunday bears the further heading *De Passione Domini*, a title which in the Gregorian sacramentary is given to the previous Sunday. For details as to the week from thence to Easter (the real Passion-week, though this name, by an imitation of Roman usage, is often, with infinitely less point, applied to the preceding week), reference may be made to the special article [HOLY WEEK].

In the Gregorian Sacramentary, after forms for Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima, comes the mass for Ash Wednesday (col. 35, ed. Ménard). It is headed *Feria* iv., *Caput Jejunii*, the latter words, however, are wanting in one of the best MSS., the *Cd. Reg. Suec.*, a fact which has a bearing on the question as to Gregory the Great having been the first to add on the four days at the beginning of Lent, a view which we considered his own words already cited rendered very improbable. It may further be noted that while this sacramentary provides services for every day from Ash Wednesday to Easter, there is no trace of the word *Quadragesima* till the first Sunday, the previous Saturday, *e. g.*, being *Sabbatum intra Quinquagesimam*.

In the Ambrosian Liturgy, the service for Quinquagesima is immediately followed by that for "Dominica in capite Quadragesimae" (Pamelius, *Liturgg. Latt.* i. 324). The services for the week days in this liturgy are the same as in the Gregorian. The Sundays after the first bear the following names, from the subjects of the Gospels, (2) *Dominica de Samaritana*, (3) *de Abraham*, (4) *de Caeco*, (5) *de Lazaro*, [to the Saturday in this week is the heading *in traditione Symboli*, that is, for the approaching baptism], (6) *in Ramis olivarum*.

The ancient Gallican lectionary and missal, edited by Mabillon, make no mention of Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima, or of Ash Wednesday. The former gives for the Prophetic Lection and Epistle for the "Inicium Quadraginsimae" (*sic*) *i. e.* the first Sunday in Lent, Isaiah lviii. 1–14, 2 Cor. vi. 2–15. (Mabillon, *de Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. ii. p. 124.) The Gospel is unknown, as well as all the lections for the succeeding days till Palm Sunday, eight leaves of the MS. being wanting, The numbers, however, prefixed to the sets of lections shew that the missing ones correspond exactly with the number of Sundays in Lent, with nothing for any week day. For Palm Sunday the Prophetic Lection, Epistle and Gospel, are respectively Jeremiah xxxi. . . . 34 [the beginning is unknown, owing to the gap in the MS.], Heb. ii. 3–34, John xii. 1–24.

In the Gothico-Gallic missal are seven masses in all for the season of Lent, the first being headed "in initium Quadraginsimae (*op. cit.* p. 228), followed by four headed "Missa jejunii," and these by one "Missa in Quad." The seventh is a "Missa in Symbuli traditione" (cf. *op. cit.*, *infra*, p. 338 sqq.). Probably the two last masses are both for Palm Sunday; and these are followed by one for Maundy Thursday. As regards the mass "*in Symbuli traditione*" it will have been observed that the Ambrosian liturgy orders the creed to be communicated to the catechumens on the previous Saturday. Palm Sunday was the time ordinarily chosen in Spain and Gaul (cf. Isidore, *de Eccles. Off.* i. 37. 4; *Patrol.* lxxxiii. 772: also *Concil. Agath.* [A.D. 506], can. 13; Labbe, iv. 1385), where eight days is fixed as the period before baptism when the creed is to be imparted. Leslie (*op. cit.* 283) speaks of the above name as given to the fourth Sunday in Lent, but only cites a canon of the third council of Braga, which fixes the interval as twenty days (*Concil. Brac.* iii. [A.D. 572], can. 1; Labbe, v. 896). According to Isidore (*l. c.*), Palm Sunday was called *capitilavium*, because the children's heads were then washed with a view to the approaching Easter baptism.

In the Mozarabic liturgy, as we now have it, Sundays are reckoned up to the eighth after the octave of the Epiphany, followed by the "Dominica ante diem Cineris," and this by "feria iv. in Capite jejunii." It is clear, how-

ecclesiastics assembling together from the neighbouring churches, and "per sanctorum Basilicas ambulantes." (*Concil. Bracar.* iii. [A.D. 572], can. 9, Labbe, v. 898.)

ever, that in Spain, Lent originally began on the Sunday after Quinquagesima, which left thirty-six fasting days (cf. Isidore, *l. c.*: *Concil. Tolet.* viii. can. 9, *supra*), and thus there is no form for Ash Wednesday in the Hispano-Gothic use. The Mozarabic missal, therefore, has borrowed from the Toledo missal the office for the benediction of the ashes; the Gospel and prayers correspond with those for the first Sunday in Lent in the Hispano-Gothic use, and the Prophetic Lection and Epistle with those for the following Wednesday. Altogether the services in the Mozarabic liturgy are much out of order (Leslie, *Not. in Liturg. Mozarab.*; *Patrol.* lxxxv. 287). As a further consequence of the putting on of Ash Wednesday and three following days, whereas in the Hispano-Gothic use the title *Dominica in* (*ante*) *carnes tollendas* belongs to the first Sunday in Lent, in the Mozarabic it refers to Quinquagesima.

This latter has forms for Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays throughout Lent, and also for Maundy Thursday and Easter Eve. Under Ash Wednesday is given the form for the benediction of the ashes. In this rite (which, it may be remarked in passing, is one of those noted by Gillebert, bishop of Limerick [ob. after A.D. 1139], which may only be performed by a priest *in the absence of the bishop*, see BENEDICTIONS, p. 195), the priest or bishop (*sacerdos*), after blessing the ashes, sprinkles them with holy water, and they are then received from his hand by the clerics and laymen present. As each takes of them he is addressed in the words, "Memento, homo, quia cinis es, et in cinerem reverteris, age poenitentiam, et prima opera fac." The Prophetic Lection, Epistle and Gospel for this day are Wisdom i. 23-33; James i. 13-21; Matt. iv. 1-12.

A common name in Spain for the first Sunday in Lent was *Dominica in Alleluia*, because of the markedly festal way in which the day was observed, and from the special singing of *Alleluia* on that day. We may take this opportunity of remarking that the ancient Spanish use was to close on this day the doors of the baptistery, which were sealed with the bishop's seal, till Maundy Thursday. The seventeenth Council of Toledo [A.D. 694] dwells on this rule (cap. 2; Labbe, vi. 1364; cf. Hildefonsus Toletanus [ob. A.D. 669] *Adnot. de cognitione baptismi*, c. 107; *Patrol.* xcvi. 156). A notice of the same custom as prevailing in the Alexandrian church is found in the ancient lectionary published by Zaccagnius (*Collectanea Monumentorum Veterum*, p. 718).

The following are the Old Testament Lections, Epistles and Gospels given in the Mozarabic liturgy for the Sundays in Lent; those for the Wednesdays and Fridays we have not thought it necessary to add. (i.) Isaiah lv. 2-13 (but formerly 1 [3] Kings xix. 3-14, Leslie, *op. cit.* 296); 2 Cor. v. 20-vi. 11; John iv. 3-43. (ii.) Prov. xiv. 33-xv. 8; Gen. xli. 1-46; James ii. 14-23; John ix. 1-36. (iii.) Prov. xx. 7-28; Num. xxii. 2-xxiii. 11; 1 Peter i. 1-12; John vi. 56-71. (iv.) "mediante die festo" [a name due not only to the fact that on this day was the middle point of Lent according to the Hispano-Gothic use, but also because of the occurrence of the words "Jam autem die festo mediante ascendit Jesus in templum" in the Gospel for the day: Leslie, *op. cit.* 353] Ecclus. xiv. 11-22; 1 Sam. i. 1-21; 2 Pet. i. 1-12; John vii. 1-15. (v.) Ecclus. xlvii. 24-30, 21-33; 1 Sam. xxvi. 1-25; 1 John i. 1-8; John x. 1-17. (vi.) "Dominica in ramis Palmarum, ad benedicendos flores vel ramos." [For this rite see HOLY WEEK; also Leslie, *op. cit.* 388.] Ecclus. iii. 2-18; Deut. xi. 18-32; Gal. i. 3-13; John xi. 58-xii. 14.

In the Greek church there is a special service book, called the Triodion, for the period extending from what would be with us the last of the Sundays after the Epiphany (called with them the Sunday of the Pharisee and Publican, from the Gospel for the day) to Easter Eve. Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima, are respectively the Sundays of the Prodigal (from the Gospel for the day), τῆς ἀποκρέω (because from Sexagesima onwards flesh was not eaten; cf. οὐ μὴ φάγω κρέα 1 Cor. viii. 13, which enters into the Epistle for the day), and τῆς τυροφάγου (from the nature of the diet taken in the ensuing week). The Lent of the Greek church is begun on the day after Quinquagesima, no special regard being paid to Ash Wednesday. The Armenian church, however, begins on the Monday *before* Quinquagesima; the fast of this first week being known as the *Artziburion*, a word of very doubtful origin (Neale, *Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 742). The Epistles and Gospels used in the Greek church for the six Sundays of Lent are as follows: (i.) κυριακὴ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας (in memory especially of the final overthrow of the Iconoclasts), Heb. xi. 24-26, 32-40; John i. 44-52. (ii.) Heb. i. 10-ii. 3; Mark ii. 1-12. (iii.) κυριακὴ σταυροπροσκυνήσιμος, or simply σταυροπροσκύνησις [See CROSS, ADORATION OF, I. 501], Heb. iv. 14-v. 6; Mark viii. 34-ix. 1. (iv.) Heb. vi. 13-20; Mark ix. 17-31. (v.) Heb. ix. 11-14; Mark x. 32-45. (vi.) Phil. iv. 4-9, Gospel for Matins, Matt. xxi. 1-11, 15-17, for Liturgy, John xii. 1-18.

5. *Literature.*—For the foregoing matter, I am much indebted to Bingham, *Origines*, bk. xxi. ch. i.; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, vol. ii. part 2, pp. 592 sqq.; vol. v. part i. pp. 169 sqq. Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archäologie*, vol. x. pp. 393 sqq.; Ducange, *Glossarium*, s. v. *Quadragesima*; Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, vol. iii. cc. 18, 19. Reference may also be made to Filesacus, *Diatriba de Quadragesima Christianorum*, in his *Opuscula*, Parisiis, 1614; Dassel, *de Jure Temporis Quadragesimalis*, Argentorati, 1617; Daillé, *de Jejuniis et Quadragesima*, Daventriae, 1654; Homberg, *de Quadragesima veterum Christianorum*, Helmstadt, 1677; Liemke, *Die Quadragesimalfasten der Kirche*, München, 1853. [R. S.]

**LEO I.** (1) the Great, pope A.D. 440-461, is named first of all confessors in the Breton Litany (Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 82), second only to Silvester in that at the mass for an emperor in *Sacr.* Gregor. (Muratori, 463), Nov. 10, and commemorated that day (*Mart. Hier.* Raban), but April 11, (Bede, Raban, Notker), "Cujus temporibus synodus Chalcidonensis extitit" is added on that day first by Usuard. Commemorated in the Greek church, Feb. 18. April 11 is probably the day of his translation to a more conspicuous tomb in the basilica of St. Peter, by Sergius (A.D. 687-701). He had

an oratory in the days of pope Paul below the basilica of St. Peter without the walls (Anast. 85–95).

**LEO (2)** Pope A.D. 683, June 28 (Anastasius, the Capitulary published by Fronto, *Mart. Rom.* Bede, Ado, Usuard). Sollerius would make out that this was originally a festival of Leo I. But it is not certain that all the celebrations in the sacramentary of Gregory really date from Gregory's time. (For the collects there given v. Muratori, p. 100, or Migne; v. Rossi, i. 127.)

(3) Bishop of Catania, Feb. 20 (*Cal. Byz.*)

(4) Martyr, March 1 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

(5) Bishop of Sens, Apr. 22 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

(6) Confessor at Troyes, May 25 (Usuard.)

(7) Or Leontius, (*Mart. Gellon.*) martyr, Oct. 2 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

(8) Subdeacon, martyr at Rome, June 30 (*Mart. Hieron.* Usuard).

(9) Martyr, drowned by the mob at Patara in Lycia, under Lollianus, on February 18 (*Cal. Byz.* v. Tillem. v. 581); not in the *Menology* of Basil. He seems to have been confounded with Leo I. His acts, however, assign his death to June 30, an attempted identification with (8). [E. B. B.]

**LEOBARDUS**, monk of Tours, † Jan. 18, A.D. 583. (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 562.) [E. B. B.]

**LEOBINUS**, bishop of Chartres, † A.D. 557; commemorated Sept. 15. (Bede, Raban, Wandelbert, Usuard.) [E. B. B.]

**LEOCADIA**, virgin, of Toledo, commemorated Dec. 9 (*Cal. Hispano-Goth.; Mart. Rom. Parvum*). Ado adds that she died in prison on hearing of the tortures of Eulalia. She had three churches in Toledo: one on the site of her martyrdom, in which the Gothic kings were buried; a parish church at the spot where she was born; and a cathedral over her tomb, in which the councils of Toledo were held. On the Saracen invasion, about A.D. 724, her relics were carried into Hainault. (*De Vitis Sanctorum*, Cologne 1605. Sollier's Usuard.) [E. B. B.]

**LEODEGARIUS**, LEUDEGARIUS, LAUDEGARIUS (ST. LEGER), bishop of Autun, killed by Ebroin, mayor of the palace, A.D. 678, and commemorated Oct. 2, with a special service in the Gothic missal, as a martyr: "O beatum virum Laudegarium antistitem qui corpus nexibus absolutum, ora labiis minuatum oculisque orbatum, exilium perpetratum, lubricitatis saeculi postpositum, diversis tormentis passum, exemplum episcopis reliquit, . . . coronam immarcicilibus floribus remuneratur unde multae post reliquiae in Gallis floruerunt." The grammar is not perfect, nor is it clear what is meant by the relics of his heavenly crown blooming in Gaul. He is not named in the metrical martyrology of Bede. The place of his martyrdom is still St. Leger's wood. He was buried at Sercin. Afterwards the bishops of Autun, Arras, and Poitiers, contended for the possession of his body. They drew lots, and it fell to the latter, and was translated to the monastery of Maxentius at Poitiers, March 16, where a church had been dedicated to him the 30th October preceding. (*Acta SS.* Oct. i. 427, 428.) Monasteries were dedicated to him at Morbach in Alsace, and Massevaux or Masmünster on the Upper Rhine, about A.D. 726. (*Ib.* p. 434.)

**LEODEGARIUS (2)** Priest in Le Pertois, 6th century, † June 23. (*Acta SS.* Jun. v. 414.) [E. B. B.]

**LEODOWINUS**, archbishop of Treves (7th century), † Sept. 29. (*Acta SS.* Sept. viii. 169.) [E. B. B.]

**LEOGISILUS**, LENOGISILUS, or LONEGISILUS, presbyter at Le Mans (7th century), † Jan. 13. (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 112.) [E. B. B.]

**LEOLINUS**, bishop of Padua (4th century), † June 29. (*Acta SS.* June, v. 483.) [E. B. B.]

**LEOMENES**, Pontius, of Epineium in Crete, under Decius, martyred Dec. 23. (*Cal. Byz.*) [E. B. B.]

**LEONADIUS, (1)** commemorated in Ethiopia, Dec. 27; called by the Copts Leontius the patriarch, and commemorated by them on the 28th. (Ludolf, *Comm. ad Hist. Ethiop.* p. 403.)

(2) Commemorated in Ethiopia along with Benikarus, on Jan. 7. (*Ib.* 404.) [E. B. B.]

**LEONARD, (1)** A noble disciple of St. Remigius, founder of the monastery of Noblat (St. Leonard), near Limoges; commemorated Nov. 6. He is now honoured in the Greek church also on that day (Arcudius, *Anthologion*).

(2) A monk of Le Mans, who refused to be prior, † Oct. 15, A.D. 570. His relics translated to Corbigny A.D. 877. (*Acta SS.* Oct. vii. 45.) The two following are found in the additions to Usuard.

(3) Confessor at Vendoeuvre, Nov. 27.

(4) Confessor at Châteaudun, Dec. 8. [E. B. B.]

**LEONIANUS**, abbat of Vienne, † Nov. 16, circa A.D. 510. [E. B. B.]

**LEONIDES, (1)** Bishop of Athens, commemorated April 15. (*Cal. Byz.*)

> σκότος συνεῖχε τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀθρόον
> δυνάντος αὐταῖς ἡλίου Λεωνίδους.

He is perhaps intended by the mention of the name on April 16 in the *Hieronymian Martyrology*.

(2) Father of Origen, and martyr circa A.D. 204. On June 28, the name is joined with Potamiaena and the other disciples of Origen, and thus attached as a companion to Irenaeus the same day. (*Mart. Hieron.; Acta SS.* June vii. 321.) Supposed to be the one mentioned with Arator, Quiriacus, and Basilius, April 22 in the *Mart. Hieron.* and *Acta SS.* April, iii. 10.

(3) Martyr at Antioch, April 26. (*Mart. Hieron.*)

(4) Burnt to death with Eleutherius, Aug. 8. The *Mart. Hieron.* names Leonides only, and assigns him to Philadelphia. Some menologies add, "and the babes," and say that their synaxis was performed "in the house of St. Irene, in the buildings of Justinian outside the gate." (*Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 342.)

(5) The name is mentioned March 1 or Jan. 28, as a martyr at Antinous in the Thebais, under Decius. (*Acta SS.* Jan. iii. 448.) [E. B. B.]

**LEONILLA**, martyred with her three twin grandchildren, under M. Aurelius or Aurelian,

in Cappadocia, and translated to Langres in Gaul (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 437); commemorated Jan. 17 (*Cal. Byz.*, *Mart. Hieron.*, Bede, Ado, Usuard, but not in the *Parvum Romanum*). The Greeks call her Neonilla. (*Men. Basil.*) [E. B. B.]

**LEONIS**, martyr at Augsburg, or more probably at Rome (*Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 703 A), Aug. 12. [E. B. B.]

**LEONIUS (1)** Confessor, of Melun (St. Liene); commemorated Nov. 12 (Usuard, Wandelbert). Baronius refers him to Nov. 16, but this is a confusion with Leo (Sollier).

(2) Of Poitou, if not the same, Feb. 1. (*Acta SS.* Feb. i. 91.) [E. B. B.]

**LEONORIUS**, bishop in Brittany in the 6th century, † July 1. (*Acta SS.* July, i. 121.) [E. B. B.]

**LEONTIUS (1)** and his brothers, fellow-martyrs of Cosmas—Oct. 17 (*Cal. Byz.*); Sept. 27 (*Mart. Rom. Parv.* etc.).

(2) Martyr at Tripoli in Syria, under Vespasian, June 18. (*Menol. Bas.*)

(3) Bishop of Autun (5th century), † July 1. (*Mart. Hieron.*)

(4) Martyr at Nicopolis of Armenia, under Licinius, July 10 (*Menol. Bas.*). In the *Mart. Hieron.* Alexandria stands for Armenia [contracted Aria]. He is assigned to the right place next day.

(5) Martyr under Diocletian at Perga in Pamphylia, August 1. (*Menol. Basil.*)

(6) Martyr at Amasea in Pontus, August 19. (*Mart. Hieron.*)

(7) In Lucania with Valentia, August 20. (*Mart. Hieron.*)

(8) The entry is repeated next day, but the name is said here to belong to a bishop of Bordeaux of the 6th century. (*Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 442.)

(9) Martyr with Carpophorus at Vicenza, cf. Peter de Natalibus, l. 7, c. 87, either Aug. 20 (*AA. SS.* iv. 35) or March 19 (*Acta SS.* March, iii. 29).

(10) Martyr at Alexandria with Serapion, Sept. 15. (*Mart. Hieron.*)

(11) In Cappadocia, Nov. 22 (*ib.*). Bishop † A.D. 337. (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 63.)

(12) Martyr in the days of the Mussulmans in Ethiopia, May 26. (Ludolf, *Comm.* p. 416.) [E. B. B.]

**LEOPARDUS**, martyr at Rome; honoured at Aix-la-Chapelle from the time of Charlemagne, Sept. 30. (*Acta SS.* Sept. viii. 430.) [E. B. B.]

**LEOTHADIUS**, bishop of Auch, † Oct. 23, A.D. 717? (*Acta SS.* Oct. x. 122.) [E. B. B.]

**LEPERS, LEPROSI.** There are few notices of the treatment of lepers in the early church. It is probable the disease did not assume such dimensions as to call for special enactments. Ugolini, under the heading *De Morbis Biblicis*, has collected (*Thesaurus*, vol. xxx. 1544) several reasons why leprosy was less prevalent in the Christian than in the Jewish church. The council of Ancyra (A.D. 314) has a canon (c. 17) directed against τοὺς ἀλογευσαμένους καὶ λεπροὺς ὄντας ἤτοι λεπρώσαντας; which may refer either to actual lepers, or may signify that those who polluted themselves with unnatural crimes contracted a moral leprosy. The council orders that their station shall be among the χειμαζόμενοι, *inter hyemantes* [HIEMANTES]. In the Gallic church the bishops are directed by the 5th council of Orleans, A.D. 549 (c. 21), to take care that no lepers within their diocese are left destitute, but that they are supplied with food and raiment from the church funds. The 3rd council of Lyons, A.D. 583 (c. 6), gives a similar injunction, with the addition that the lepers are to be prohibited from wandering from one diocese to another. In some instances they must have been in danger of being cut off from all church membership, for pope Gregory II., A.D. 715–731 (*Ep.* xiii. *ad Bonifac.*), gives a formal sanction to the Holy Communion being administered to them, although not in company with others free from disease. Some special directions are also given by pope Zacharias, A.D. 741–752 (*Ep.* xii.) de regio morbo laborantibus; the *regius morbus* in this instance has been held by some to signify leprosy. Martene (*De Rit. Antiq.* iii. 10) has printed from French rituals various specimens of the forms and services to be observed in the treatment of lepers, but they lie outside our period. [G. M.]

**LEPTIS, COUNCIL OF** (*Leptense Concilium*), held A.D. 386, or thereabouts, at Leptis, in Africa, when nine canons contained in a synodical letter of pope Siricius to the African bishops, were received. By the second of them it is ordained that no single bishop may ordain another. (Mansi, iii. 670, and Supplem. *ad Colet.* i. 252, and see AFRICAN COUNCILS.) [E. S. Ff.]

**LERIDA, COUNCIL OF** (*Ilerdense concilium*), held A.D. 546—not 524, as was once thought—at Lerida in Catalonia, and passed sixteen canons on discipline, to which eight bishops subscribed, the bishop of Lerida subscribing last, and after him one presbyter representing a ninth. By canon 1, all who minister at the altar are commanded to abstain from shedding of blood under pain of being suspended for two years, and excluded from promotion ever afterwards. By canon 8, no clerk may lay hands upon any slave or pupil of his who has taken sanctuary. By canon 10, those who refuse to leave church, when ordered out for misbehaviour by the priest, are to be deemed contumacious and treated accordingly. By canon 14, the faithful may not communicate, nor so much as eat, with the rebaptized. Other canons are given to this council by Burchard: among them, one referring to the purgation of pope Leo III., which took place two and a half centuries afterwards (Mansi, viii. 609 sq.; comp. Catalan, *Conc. Hisp.* iii. 172). [E. S. Ff.]

**LESSON.** [LECTION; LECTIONARY.]

**LESTINES, COUNCIL OF** (*Liptinense Concilium*), said to have been held at Liptines, or Lestines, in Hainault, A.D. 743, or according to Mansi, 745; described as one of the five councils under St. Boniface, but beset with as many difficulties as the rest. 1. All the four canons assigned to it reappear among Carloman's capitularies, dated Liptines, A.D. 743 (Mansi, xi. Append. 105); indeed the first of them speaks of

the counts and prefects, as well as bishops, who had met there to confirm what a former synod had passed. 2. The heading says it was celebrated under Carloman, and makes no mention of Boniface. 3. Hincmar and others, who are supposed to refer to it, affirm that a legate from Rome, named George, presided at it jointly with St. Boniface. But George was not sent into France by Zachariah, but by Stephen II.; nor before Feb. 755 (*Cod. Carol. Ep.* viii. ed. Migne), by when St. Boniface had been dead eight months. Hence some have supposed a second council of Liptines in that year. The question is rather, whether the first has been truly described as a council. (Mansi, xii. 370–5 and 589. Comp. Hartzheim's *Conc. Germ.* i. 50, et seq.) [E. S. Ff.]

**LETTERS COMMENDATORY** [COMMENDATORY LETTERS].

**LETTERS DIMISSORY** [DIMISSORY LETTERS].

**LETTERS, FORMS OF** [LIBER DIURNUS; SUPERSCRIPTION].

**LETTERS, PASCHAL** [PASCHAL LETTERS].

**LETTERS, PASTORAL** [PASTORAL LETTERS].

**LETTERS ON VESTMENTS.** In the examples of early Christian art to be seen in the frescoes of the catacombs, and the mosaics of the basilicas, the dresses of the persons depicted are, in innumerable instances, marked by one or more letters or monograms on the border or outer fold. The letters thus employed are very various, and usually, if not always, belong to the Greek alphabet, and it must be acknowledged that hitherto no satisfactory explanation of their occurrence has been given. Those most frequently met with are I, H, X, T, Υ, Γ. The last letter, the capital gamma, was of such frequent use on the ecclesiastical robes of the Greek church, that it gave its name to a class of vestments [GAMMADIA]. Arbitrary symbols are also found, to which no meaning can be assigned, such as [], ʃ, ⅃, Π̄, Ξ, ▭, I, ⏀. The earlier school of Christian archaeologists which was resolved to find a sacred meaning in every detail of the picture or bas-relief under consideration, had no difficulty in deciding that T and X represented the cross in different forms, while both I and H stood for Jesus, and Γ invariably denoted an apostle (Bosio, *Rom. Sott.* lib. iv. c. 3, p. 592; Aringhi, *Rom. Subt.* ii. lib. vi. c. 28; Mellini apud Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* tom. i. c. xiii. p. 98). This supposed law, hastily deduced from insufficient evidence, has been entirely refuted by wider examination. Ciampini (*l. c.*) proves it to be quite baseless. The theory however propounded by him, and supported by Buonarroti (*Vetri*, p. 89), that those letters and monograms on the dresses were the weavers' marks is equally destitute of a solid foundation, and is ridiculed by Ferrario (*Costume antico e moderno: Europa*, vol. iii. p. 149; *Monumenti di Sant' Ambrogio in Milano*, p. 176), since the same marks appear in mosaics most widely separated both by time and place. Other theories, *e.g.*, that the letters indicate the name of the individual represented, or of the mosaic-workers, or even of the tailors who made the clothes, prove equally untenable, and the hopelessness of discovering any principle that would satisfactorily account at the same time for the variety and the identity of the marks has led some to assert that they were used capriciously (*e.g.*, Suarez, bishop of Vaison, *de Vestibus literatis*, p. 7), without any fixed law simply in imitation of an already established custom. The existence of this custom of weaving, or embroidering letters in the fabric, or sewing them on to the stuff, is proved by classical authorities. Pliny speaks of the ostentation of Zeuxis the painter, in having his name woven in golden letters on the border of his pallium at Olympia (*Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxv. c. 36, § 2). Apuleius speaks of "lacinias auro literatas" (*De Asin. aur.* lib. 6, ad init.). Vopiscus describes Carinus as adopting the same custom (Vopisc. *in Carin.*). Suidas (*s.v.*) defines τριβωνοφόρος as "one wearing a robe, having on it signs like small letters" (σημεῖα ὡς γραμμάτια). The purple *clavi* sewn on the senatorial robes, which gave its designation to the *laticlavium*, are considered by Rubenius to have been "letters, not mere stripes," "literas laciniis palliorum insertas" (*De Re vestiaria*, lib. iii. c. 12). In the well-known vision of Boethius, the ascent from practical to theoretical wisdom is symbolised by the letter Π woven into the bottom of the border of the robe of Philosophy, and Θ at the top, the intervening space being occupied with letters arranged like the steps of a ladder (*De Consolat.* lib. i. pros. 1). Although it is impossible to believe that the selection of the letters in the Christian representations was entirely capricious, it must be confessed that no satisfactory explanation of them has yet been given, and that the subject requires further elucidation. [E. V.]

**LEUCIUS (1)** Bishop of Brindisi, or LEONTIUS, or LAURENTIUS (Greg. *Ep.* vi. 62 (ix. 78), cf. De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* ii. 228), is commemorated Jan. 11. (*Mart. Hieron.*)

(2) Companion martyr of Thyrsus, at Nicomedia, under Decius, Dec. 14 (*Cal. Byz.* and *Men. Basil.*); but Jan. 18 and 20 *Mart. Hieron.* which on the latter day refers them to Nijon in Switzerland, whither their relics had been transferred; and at Apollonia Jan. 28. (*Mart. Rom. Parv.* etc.) [E. B. B.]

**LEUDOMARUS**, bishop of Chalons, † Oct. 2, before A.D. 589. (*Acta SS.* Oct. i. 335.) [E. B. B.]

**LEUGATHUS**, martyr, Oct. 22. (*Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 536.) [E. B. B.]

**LEUTFREDUS**, a confessor who by his prayers caused a fountain to well forth in Méer near Montfort-l'Amaury. June 21, Usuard. [E. B. B.]

**LEVITE.** (Λευΐτης, Λευείτης, *Levita.*) Professor Lightfoot has remarked (*on Philippians*, p. 187, 2nd ed.) that "the Levite, whose function it was to keep the beasts for slaughter, to cleanse away the blood and offal of the sacrifices, to serve as porter at the temple gates, and to swell the chorus of sacred psalmody, bears no strong resemblance to the Christian deacon, whose ministrations lay among the widows and orphans, and whose time was almost wholly spent in works of charity." Nevertheless, when the three orders

of the Christian ministry came to be universally recognised, the analogy between the bishop with his attending presbyters and ministering deacons, and the high-priest with his attending priests and ministering Levites, was on the surface so strong, that the terms appropriate to the one soon came to be transferred to the other. Thus Origen (*Hom.* 12 *in Jerem.* 3, iii. p. 196, ed. Delarue), quoted by Lightfoot (*ib.* p. 256), regards the priests and Levites as corresponding to the presbyters and deacons respectively. From the third century onward Levite is a frequent designation of the Christian ministry. Thus the 2nd council of Carthage, A.D. 390, designates (c. 2) the three orders of the ministry as antistites, sacerdotes, and Levitae (*Codex Eccl. Afric.* c. 3). Synesius (*Epist.* 58, p. 35, ed. Paris, 1640) speaks of the different grades of the ministry as Levites, presbyters, and bishops.

In the early portion of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, however, the bishops are regarded as succeeding to the Levitical privileges of the older dispensation. The bishops who serve the holy tabernacle, that is, the Holy Catholic Church, are the Levites in respect of the congregation (ii. 25. 5); the bishops inherited the Levitical privilege of receiving gifts for the benefit of the community (iv. 8. 1). On the other hand, in the later portion of the *Constitutions* (viii. 46. 3 ff.) the high-priest, priest, and Levite are regarded as analogous to bishop, presbyter, and deacon. [C.]

**LEVITO** (also *Levitonarium*, *Lebito*, *Lebitonarium*, *Lebetes*; *Λεβιτών*, *Λεβητών*, *Λεβητωνάριον*, *Λευιτών*, *etc.*). The name Levito, a word apparently of Coptic origin[a] (see Tattam's *Lexicon Aegyptiaco-Latinum*, *in Append.*), is used for a kind of sleeveless cloak, ordinarily worn by Egyptian monks—"Lebitonarium est colobium sine manicis, quali monachi Aegyptii utuntur (Isidore, *Etym.* xix. 22). The word occurs frequently in the *Rule* of Pachomius, of which we have Jerome's translation from Eusebius (*Vita*, c. 2; *Regula*, cc. 2, 67, 70, 81; in Jerome, vol. ii. 53 sqq. ed. Vallarsi). From this we learn that each monk was allowed two *Levitonaria* and a *Psiathium*, or mat, in his cell. The material, of which this dress was made, was doubtlessly linen. Ménard (*Not. ad Concord. Regularum, Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 2; *Patrol.* ciii. 1237) argues that in the passage of Isidore cited above, the word *lineum* has dropped out after *colobium*, for Papias, the grammarian, quoting apparently from Isidore, so reads it. Also, Ruffinus (*de Vitis Patrum*, c. 7; *Patrol.* xxi. 411) speaks of it as "*stupeum* colobium." Cassian again (*de Coenobiorum Institutis*, i. 5; *Patrol.* xlix. 68, where see Gazet's note) speaks of the Egyptian monks as "colobiis lineis induti." Also the *Rule* of Pachomius speaks of it directly as "tunica linea." We need not therefore attach weight to the definition given by Suidas, *χιτὼν μοναχικὸς ἐκ τριχῶν συντεθειμένος*. For further references, see Ephrem Syrus (*de Humilitate*, c. 88; vol. i. 326, ed. Assemani) and Palladius (*Hist. Lausiaca*, cc. 38, 52; *Patrol. Gr.* xxxiv. 1099, 1138); also Ducange, *Glossaries*, s. vv. [R. S.]

[a] In the article COLOBIUM it is suggested that the word is derived from *Levita*, since the colobium was the special vestment of deacons. This view, though found in some mediaeval writers, is, I think, quite untenable, as the passages already cited point distinctly to a primarily monastic use, and connect the dress essentially with Egypt.

**LIAFWINI.** [LIVINUS.]

**LIASTINONUS** (LIASTAMON), Egyptian martyr; commemorated Feb. 9 (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 294). [C. H.]

**LIBANIUS** (LEVANGIUS), bishop of Senlis, 6th century; commemorated Oct. 19 (*Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 447). [C. H.]

**LIBANUS**, Egyptian abbat; commemorated Ter. 3 = Dec. 29 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C. H.]

**LIBARIA**, virgin and martyr in Lorraine, 4th century; commemorated Oct. 8 (*Acta SS.* Oct. iv. 228). [C. H.]

**LIBEL** (*Libellus famosus*). The frequent enactments, both in ecclesiastical and civil legislation, against the circulation of libels, that is, scandalous charges circulated in writing, prove the frequency of the practice. The Theodosian Code (lib. ix. tit. 34, *de Famosis Libellis*) has detailed and rigorous enactments. Even the reader or collector of such libels is to be liable to capital punishment. And that of Justinian has provisions substantially the same. This seems to have been because the person in possession of or circulating a libel, was presumed, in law, to have been the author of it and punished as such (sciat se quasi auctorem hujusmodi ..... subjugandum). And this presumption might probably be rebutted by suitable evidence. The Apostolical Canons (Nos. 54, 55, 83) deal only with the case of a clergyman maligning another cleric, or a bishop, or the emperor; in the latter case he was to be deposed. Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. c. 17) remarks on the proneness of the clergy to present to the emperor accusations (*βιβλία*) against each other before the first council of Nice, and relates that Constantine ordered all these *libelli* to be burnt unread.

In a collection of canons said to have been delivered by pope Adrian to Ingilram, bishop of Metz, we find one apparently founded on the rule of law mentioned above, and embodying similar provisions. And the Council of Eliberis (A.D. 305) anathematised in its 52nd canon those who should be found to have circulated libels, "famosos libellos," in the church.

In the 6th century denunciations of this offence become much rarer. From that period forwards we have only a very few canons, and those in general terms, against libel. The councils are mostly occupied with a different class of offences, such as would naturally arise in the ruder state of society which followed upon the irruption of the barbarians and the fall of the empire. [S. J. E.]

**LIBELLATICI.** [LIBELLI.]

**LIBELLI.** I. In the Decian persecution the constitution of the courts employed to enforce conformity, and the number of minor officials dealing with individuals, rendered evasion easy. The approved form of submission to the state ritual was (as under Trajan) to offer sacrifice or incense, but it was possible also to tender submission in writing. The name of one who "professed" in

this way was subscribed to a renunciation of Christianity, or to a denial of the charge, or to a declaration of having recently or habitually attended sacrifices, or sometimes (unless Augustine has fallen into an unlikely mistake) to a mere profession of readiness to comply. This document was delivered to a magistrate, entered on the Acta, and finally published in the Forum.

II. Certificates of exemption, like the "Parliamentary Certificates" of our own history, were offered by officials for money, and actually thrust on persons who believed themselves, after privately avowing their faith, to be only purchasing exemption from the obligation to conform. This would have been simply a species of confiscation, which has rarely given great offence (the church penance for it was of six months' duration, *S. Pet. Alex.*, can. 5; but on the Montanist view of such acts see Tillemont *sur la persécution de Dèce*, note iii). But it is evident from the efforts of Cyprian to awaken penitence in respect of them, that the purport of this kind of libellus was not less objectionable than the first. They cannot have sanctioned exemption without some grounds alleged, and those grounds can scarcely have been any other than that the certifying officer declared himself satisfied of the sound paganism of the recipient.

The difficulties found by authors on the subject of libelli have arisen from the assumption that they were all of one kind, or that there could be any regular formal procedure for the evasion of procedure. On the contrary, every conceivable means would be adopted. The accounts are not irreconcilable, but are about different things. Cyprian's language is precise to technicality in the use of professional terms.

I. (1), That libellus which the suspected Christian tendered is characterised in Cyprian *de Lapsis*, xxvii. 22, "*Professio* est denegantis, *contestatio* christiani quod fuerat (cf. for this peculiar phrase, Cyp. *c. Demetr.* xiii. 11, id quod prius fueram) abnuentis." In *Ep.* 30, iii. 3, "*Professio* libellorum" is again the *exhibition* or *putting in* of such documents. *Profiteri* is the proper term, as in the *Acts of St. Agape* (Ruinart, p. 424), Christi *negationem scriptam profiteri*, and compare Aug. *de Bap. c. Don.* iv. 6. Again, *contestatio* means the plea, or statement of his own case, made by either party to a suit, answering to the διωμοσία of the Athenian courts. The Roman clergy in Cypr. *Ep.* 30, iii. 3, argue correctly that although a man may never have approached the altar, he is bound by the fact of having *put in a legal affirmation* (contestatus sit) that he had done it.

In the above passages the libellus is a document emanating from the recanting persons. Such are described in Peter of Alexandria (can. 5) as χειρογραφήσαντες. The nature of its contents is indicated in the passage of the *de Lapsis*, "He has declared himself to have done whatever another in fact sinfully did" (faciendo commisit), although this passage implies further the appearance of a deputy, a slave or heathen friend to personate him in the sacrificial act, as was common in the persecution of Diocletian.

The offence of the bishop Martial (*Ep.* 67, vi.) who was "stained with the libellus of idolatry," is explained by this use of the word *contestatus*. In the public proceedings (actis publice habitis apud) before the Ducenary Procurator, he had appeared to put in a declaration that he had denied Christ and adopted a heathen cultus. He is not accused of having ever actually sacrificed, and according to Augustine (*l. c.*) libelli might contain only a declaration of readiness to do so.

(2) A second class are spoken of by Novatian and the Roman clergy, as having virtually "given acknowledgments, quittances, or discharges" (accepta fecissent, the best authenticated reading, is a common term (Dirksen, *Manuale*, s. v.), but "acta facere," which Neander adopts, makes good sense, namely, "to put in a plea in a process"), though not present in person, "cum fierent;" inasmuch as they had made a *legal* appearance (praesentiam suam fecissent) by commissioning a proxy to register their names (mandando ut sic scriberentur) on the lists of conformity. Novatian argues that, as one who orders a crime is responsible for its commission, so one who sanctions (consensu) the reading in public (publice legitur) of an untrue declaration about himself is liable to be proceeded against as if it were true.

II. The other kind of *libellus* which emanated not from the renegade but from the magistrate, is described with equal precision. In the *Epistle to Antonian* (55, xi. 8), Cyprian says some of the Libellatici had received such. An opportunity for obtaining one presented itself unsought (occasio libelli oblata . . . ostensa); they went in person or by deputy (mandavi) to a magistrate, informed him of their religion, and paid a sum for exemption from sacrifice. Since no magistrate could issue an order simply staying the execution of an edict, his certificate undoubtedly contained a statement of the satisfactory paganism of its holder. Thus Cyprian tried to awaken their consciences, while they felt that they had avowed their religion, and that the form of the document was not their affair.

Again, in the *Exhortation of Martyrdom*, Christians are urged if a libellus is offered (libelli oblata sibi occasione) not to embrace the gift (decipientium malum munus), by the example of Eleazar, who refused the facilities offered him of eating lawful flesh as a make-believe for pork. The official connivance in each case would have enabled them to seem to do what they did not. The libellus is here something offered, and is a munus.

Thus nothing remains more clear than that the *libellus* of conformity is used for two kinds of documents. Maran thought the distinction was merely as to whether persons had been present or not at the registration of their names (*vita Cypriani*, vi.). Rigalt says that the libellatici only purchased a libellus of exemption. Tillemont alone has guessed that there might be two ways, "Peut-estre que l'on faisait et l'un et l'autre." Whether a document was issued also in cases of registration is not apparent; but all three sorts of persons are included under the name of libellatici.

III. Libellus is the proper name of a perfectly distinct kind of document issued by confessors or martyrs in prison, to those who had "fallen." When the reaction commenced among the lapsed, in their desire to recover their lost standing, some reappeared before the tribunals and suffered

torture or death; others dedicated themselves to the service of confessors, others entered on penances of undefined duration (Cypr. *Epp.* 24, 21, 56). Many more relied on vicarious imputations of merit, by means of intercessions, always owned as availing for the individual before God (praerogativa eorum adjuvari apud Deum possunt, *Ep.* 18, cf. *Ep.* 19, ii.), but now first used in subversion of church order. At first a letter from a martyr to the bishop only prayed that the case of a lapsed friend might be enquired into on the cessation of persecution; a period of penitence and the imposition of hands being understood to be necessary just as for other sins; some, like Saturninus, declined to venture even on this; Mappalicus requested it only for his sister or mother (Cypr. *Ep.* 20). But the presbyters who composed at Carthage the faction hostile to Cyprian perceiving the effectiveness which might be given to the practice, anticipated not only the bishop's enquiry but even the death of martyrs, and "offered the names" of lapsed persons (see Aubespine, *Obss. Ecc.* L. i. § vii., prefixed to Priorius's *Optatus*, 1676, p. 40), and gave them communion as duly restored penitents (*Ep.* 34) upon receiving such letters from confessors without the bishop's sanction. These *libelli* sometimes specified only one of a group to whom they were granted, "Communicet ille cum suis" (*Ep.* 15). Then they were issued in the name of deceased confessors, and of confessors too illiterate to write themselves (*Ep.* 27), and this so copiously that some thousands were supposed to be circulating in Africa (*Ep.* 20). The chief authority in this issue, Lucianus, when remonstrated with by Cyprian, seems to have replied almost at once by promulgating in the name of "all the confessors" (compare the letter of ἅπας χόρος μαρτύρων from Nicomedia, end of cent. iii. Lucian ap. Routh, *Reliquiae*, vol. iv.) an indulgence to "all the lapsed," and requesting Cyprian himself to communicate it to the provincial bishops, the sole condition annexed being that their conduct since their fall should have been satisfactory. This extraordinary document is extant, as Cyp. *Ep.* 23. Cyprian himself was prepared to concede some weight to these libelli in cases not undeserving of restitution, but the influence of the martyrs was ignored in the council (*Carth. Sub. Cyp.* i.) which regulated the terms of readmission. [AFRICAN COUNCILS, I. 38.]

These seditious *libelli* of the martyrs seem to have had no existence at Rome. This was no doubt due to the influence in the exactly opposite direction of Novatian over the confessors, whom he commends for maintaining "Evangelica disciplina" (*Ep.* 30, iv. 4), and who at first adhered to him, and not to the milder Cornelius. The Roman presbyters sympathise with the African episcopate, and deplore the similar revolts in Sicily, and in "nearly all the world." They say of Rome, "We seem to have escaped so far the disorders of the times." The petition of Celerinus at Rome to the confessors of Carthage for "Peace" to be granted to his sisters, implies that *libelli* could not practically be obtained at Rome (*Ep.* 22); accordingly the Roman confessors who correspond with Cyprian, urge humility on the Carthaginians, and go beyond him in strictness (*Epp.* 27, 31, 32).

[E. W. B.]

**LIBER DIURNUS.** The *Liber Diurnus Pontificum Romanorum* is a collection of formulae used in the correspondence and ordinary business, the "negotia diurna," of the Roman Curia.

Its date is determined within certain limits by internal evidence. In c. ii. tit. ix. p. 28, Constantine Pogonatus is referred to as departed. The formula which contains this reference therefore must have been drawn up or added to after the year 685. And Garnier argues that the book must have been compiled before the year 752, as it contains formulae of addresses to eparchs, which would, he thinks, not have been inserted after the date when eparchs were superseded. He considers the *Liber Diurnus* to have been drawn up in the time of Gregory II. (715–731), mainly on the ground, that in the second "professio fidei" of a newly-elected pope which it gives (p. 33 ff.), expressions and sentiments occur identical with some found in letters of that pope to the emperor Leo. Zaccaria, however, has shewn that at any rate the MS. which Garnier used was almost certainly not written earlier than the time of Gregory IV., as it contains an allusion (c. ii. tit. 2, p. 13) to the date of that pontiff's consecration (Nov. A.D. 827). And as it is very probable that many forms were left standing after they had ceased to be in actual use, no certain inference as to the date of the collection as a whole can be drawn from the fact, that forms are given for addresses to an exarch.

It was made use of by the early canonists, as Ivo of Chartres, Anselm, Deusdedit, and Gratian (Dist. xvi. c. 8); but as in the course of time forms of proceeding changed, it gradually fell out of use, and copies became rare.

Some time before the year 1650 the well-known Lucas Holstenius saw in the Cistercian monastery of S. Croce in Gerusalemme at Rome an ancient MS.[a] of the *Liber Diurnus*, and with some difficulty obtained from the abbat leave to have it transcribed—a task which is said to have been performed in a single night. While he was preparing to publish this, he heard of another MS. at Paris, in the possession of Sirmond, which was sent to him at Rome (Sirmondi *Opera*, iv. pp. 685 f. and 701). He does not appear however to have made any use of this MS., for what reason we do not know. His edition was printed, and a copy is found in the Vatican Library with the following title-page in Holstenius's own hand-writing: "*Diurnus Pontificum, sive vetus Formularium, quo S. Rom. Ecclesia ante annos M utebatur.* Lucas Holstenius edidit cum Notis. Romae typis Lud. Griniani, MDCL. 8vo." The notes are wanting, but Zaccaria, towards the end of the last century, saw Holstenius's preparations for them still preserved at Rome. The sheets were ready then in 1650, but not issued. The same book exactly, with the exception of some slight variations in the last sheet, is found with the printed title, "*Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum ex antiquissimo codice ms. nunc primum in lucem editus Romae typis Josephi Vannacci*, 1658." But the censors intervened, and the book was not pub-

[a] This MS. is described by Pertz (*Ital. Reise*, in *Archiv fur ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, v. 27) as an 8vo. volume of parchment of (probably) the 8th century.

lished, though some sheets of it were sent to Petrus de Marca in 1660 (Baluze on de Marca, *de Concordia*, I. ix. 7). It is almost certain that this suppression of the book was due to its condemnation of pope Honorius (*Professio Pontif.* p. 41) as abetting heretics, a sentiment which seemed to Cardinal Bona, when the matter was submitted to him as president of the Congregation of the Index, a perilous one. In the pontificate, however, of Benedict XIII. (1724–1730) copies of the edition called of 1658 (really of 1650) were permitted to circulate.

Meantime Jean Garnier published an edition of the *Liber Diurnus* in quarto at Paris, in the year 1680. This seems to have been founded on the Paris MS. In 1685 Mabillon (*Mus. Ital.* i. 75) saw at Rome the original MS. which had been copied for Holstenius, and finding in it some formulae not contained in Garnier's edition, inserted them in his *Museum Italicum* (i. pt. 2, pp. 32, 37), together with a selection of passages in which the reading of the MS. differed from that of Garnier's edition. These additions and various readings were used by Hoffmann in preparing the edition which he inserted in his *Nova Collectio Scriptorum*, vol. ii. pp. 1-268 (Leipzig, 1733). J. D. Schöpflin in his *Commentationes Hist. et Crit.* (Basil. 1741), pp. 502–524, having had access to a copy of the edition of Holstenius, noted almost all the places in which this differs from that of Garnier, and also added (pp. 525–530) those portions which are wanting in Garnier's edition, omitting four paragraphs, for what reason is not apparent. The edition of Riegger (Vienna, 1762) is a mere reprint of the original Paris edition. This is also reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. 105, with Mabillon's additions.

Garnier found the hundred and four formulae in the codex without arrangement or division into parts or chapters. He arranged the matter and divided it into seven chapters. Of these the first contains the proper forms for papal letters to the emperor, the empress, the patrician, the exarch, a consul, a king, a patriarch, etc.; the second treats of the election and consecration of a pope, together with the proper forms of the letters to be written on such occasions to the emperor, the exarch, and other official personages; the third, of the consecration by the pope of the suburbicarian bishops; in the fourth are four formulae for the bestowing of the Pallium; the fifth contains twenty-one formulae for various transactions between the pope and the bishops of his own consecration; the sixth relates to the management of the estates of the Church; and the seventh to the granting of privileges to various ecclesiastical corporations, as monasteries and hospitals.

The book contains matter of great interest both in a dogmatic and an archaeological point of view. The "Professions" of a newly elected pope refer to such matters as ecclesiastical tradition, the respect due to the creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople, the heresies to be abjured and condemned, the claims of the Roman primate. The particulars of the order to be observed and the persons to be informed, on a vacancy of the papal see, are brought into clearer light by this document than by any other of so early a date. Much is learned as to the relation between the pope and the bishops of his own archdiocese, and also between the pope and the metropolitans who owned his jurisdiction, as to the conditions and the periods of ordination generally, to the residence of bishops, to the care and distribution of the property of the church; as to the different classes of churches—basilicas, tituli, oratories, and the like—their consecration, their endowment, and the offices to be performed in them; and as to the care of the sick and poor. In a word, a considerable portion of the ecclesiastical —especially the Roman ecclesiastical—life of the 8th century, or thereabouts, receives illustration from the *Liber Diurnus*.

(See Garnier's preface to the *Liber Diurnus* [Migne, *Patrol.* cv. pp. 11–22]; and Zaccaria's *Dissert. de L. D.*, in his *Biblioth. R t.* t. ii. sec. ii. pp. ccxxix.–ccxcvi., Rome, 1781; and in Migne, cv. pp. 1361–1404. The most recent edition is that by Eug. de Rozière; Paris, 1869.) [C.]

**LIBERA NOS.** The amplification of the petition "Deliver us from evil," in the Lord's Prayer, found in almost all liturgies. For instance, that of the Gallican (which is variable), is on Christmas Day—"Libera nos, omnipotens Deus, ab omni malo et custodi nos in omni opere bono, perfecta veritas et vera libertas Deus, qui regnas in saecula saeculorum." That of St. James's Liturgy is given under EMBOLISMUS [I. 609]. Many liturgies contain supplications for the intercession of saints in the *Libera nos.* [INTERCESSION, I. 844.] [C.]

**LIBERALIS (1)** Martyr of Alexandria; commemorated April 24 (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 265). [C. H.]

**(2)** Of Altinum in Venetia, confessor, circ. A.D. 400; commemorated April 27 (Usuard. *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 489). [C. H.]

**LIBERATA (1)** Of Ticinum (Pavia), circ. A.D. 500; commemorated Jan. 16 (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 32). [C. H.]

**(2)** Of Mons Calvus (Chaumont), 6th century; commemorated Feb. 3 (Usuard. *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 361). [C. H.]

**(3)** Of Comum (Como), virgin and martyr, circ. A.D. 580; commemorated Jan. 18 (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 196). (C. H.]

**LIBERATUS (1)** Of Amphitrea (unknown); commemorated Dec. 20 (*Mart.* Usuard.) [C. H.]

**(2)** Abbat and martyr, circ. A.D. 483; commemorated in Africa Aug. 17 (Usuard. *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 455). [C. H.]

**(3)** Physician and martyr, circ. A.D. 484; commemorated in Africa Mar. 23 (*Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 461). [C. H.]

**LIBERIUS (1)** Archbishop of Ravenna, circ. A.D. 200; commemorated April 29 (Usuard. *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 614). [C. H.]

**(2)** (LIBERUS, LIBUS) Bishop; commemorated at Rome May 17 (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Acta SS.* May iv. 26). [C. H.]

**(3)** Bishop of Rome; commemorated Sept. 23 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Ado, *Append.*; Usuard. *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 572); Tagmen 4=Aug. 27, and Tekempt 7=Oct. 4 (Neale, *Cal. Ethiop.*); Aug. 27 and Oct. 6 (Daniel *Cod. Liturg.*). [C. H.]

**LIBERTINUS**, martyr at Gildoba in Thrace; commemorated Dec. 20 (*Mart. Hieron.*; cf. Usuard, ad diem, *Obss.*). [C. H.]

**LIBIUS** (LIBUS), martyr in Pannonia; commemorated Feb. 23 (*Mart. Hieron.*; Usuard. *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 366). [C. H.]

**LIBORIUS**, bishop of Mans, patron of Paderborn, 4th century, confessor; commemorated July 23 and June 9 (Usuard. *Auct.*; Ado, *Mart. Append.*; *Acta SS.* July, v. 394; see also Usuard. *Auct.* ad April 28, May 28). [C. H.]

**LIBOSA**; commemorated at Nicomedia Feb. 22 (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Acta SS.* iii. 289). [C. H.]

**LIBOSUS**; commemorated at Rome June 3 (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Acta SS.* June, i. 287). [C. H.]

**LIBRA.** In the later Roman empire the pound of gold was divided into 72 *aurei* or *solidi* (Codex, x. tit. 70, s. 5: see DICT. OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQ. *s.v.* "Aurum"). It was probably from this circumstance that a number of 72 witnesses was called *Libra Occidua* (Baronius ad an. 302, § 91 ff.). The same term is said to be applied to the suffragan bishops of the see of Rome, who were in number about 72 (Macri, *Hierolex.* s. v. *Libra*; BISHOP, I. 240). [C.]

**LIBRANUS**, of Clonfad, in Meath, abbat of Iona, 6th cent., and at Durrow, Mar. 11 (Aengus). [E. B. B.]

**LIBRARIES** BELONGING TO CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES. The information that we are able to give on this subject is fragmentary, but not without interest.

I. The most ancient library of Christian books mentioned by any historian is that at Aelia (Jerusalem), collected by Alexander, the bishop of that city, A.D. 212. Eusebius of Caesarea, writing about 330, says that it contained the epistles, from one to another, of many learned ecclesiastics of the time of Origen (A.D. 230), and that he had himself made very great use of it in compiling his history (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 20). There was a much larger and more famous library at Caesarea in Palestine, which appears to have been founded by Origen, with the munificent aid, we may suppose, of his friend Ambrosius, and to have been greatly enlarged by Pamphilus, the friend of Eusebius, A.D. 294. That it existed before the time of Pamphilus is clear from St. Jerome's account: "Having sought for them (books) over the world, but devoting himself especially to the books of Origen, he gave them to the library at Caesarea" (*Expos. in Ps.* 126, *Ep.* 34 *ad Marcellam*, § 1). The same author calls it the library of Origen and Pamphilus (*De Vir. Illust.* c. 113). In this library there was, as he informs us, the supposed Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel (*ibid.* c. 3), which is probably the book (in the same collection) which he elsewhere describes as a Gospel in Syro-Chaldaic, used by the Nazarenes (*Contra Pelag.* iii. 2). In another work he says, "I have been somewhat diligent in searching for copies, and in the library of Eusebius at Caesarea I found six volumes of the *Apology* for Origen" (by Pamphilus) (*C. Rufin.* ii. 12). It contained copies of the greater part of the works of Origen, made by Pamphilus himself (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* c. 75). The originals of the Hexapla were there, and Jerome corrected his copy from them (*Comment.* in Tit. iii. 9). Before the time of Jerome this library had fallen more or less into decay, but endeavours to restore it were made by two successors of Eusebius, viz. Acacius, 340, and Euzoius, 366 (Hieron. *ad Marcell.* u. s.). Of Euzoius, he says, on the authority of Thespesius Rhetor, that he "strove with great labour to refurnish with parchments the library of Origen and Pamphilus, which was already decayed" (*De Vir. Illust.* c. 113). Isidore of Seville, A.D. 636, asserts that the library of Pamphilus at Caesarea contained nearly 30,000 volumes (*Orig.* vi. 6).

There is extant the legal record of some proceedings that took place at Cirta or Constantia, in Africa, during the persecution of 303–304. It relates that the officers "went to the church in which the Christians used to assemble, and spoiled it of chalices, lamps, &c., but when they came into the library (bibliothecam), the presses (armaria) there were found empty" (in *Gesta apud Zenophilum*, Optati Opp. App. ed. 1703; comp. August. *c. Crescon.* iii. 29). Constantine directs Eusebius the historian in a letter which the latter has preserved (*De Vita Const.* iv. 36) to cause to be written for the new churches in Constantinople, "by calligraphic artists, thoroughly skilled in the art, fifty volumes of the sacred writings, such as he knew to be most necessary for the supply and use of the church, on well-prepared parchments, legible and portable for use." Such a gift would, we may suppose, be in many cases the germ of a great church library. Julian the emperor, A.D. 362, orders Ecdicius the prefect of Egypt to send him the library of George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria: "See that all the books of George be sought out. For there were at his residence many philosophical, many rhetorical works, and many of the doctrine of the impious Galilaeans (Christians), which we could wish were all destroyed, but lest with these the more useful be made away with, let them also be carefully sought for. But let your guide in this search be the scribe [perhaps secretary] (*νοτάριος*) of George himself. . . . But I am myself acquainted with the books of George; for he lent me many, though not all, when I was in Cappadocia, for transcription, and had them back again" (*Epist.* Jul. 9). Julian was collecting books to enrich the library founded by Constantius in the portico of the imperial palace, and removed by himself to a more suitable edifice, which he had erected for the purpose. See Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, ii. 9. 3. Hence it appears that the books of which the church was robbed did not return to her. Georgius Syncellus tells us that he had brought to him from the library of Caesarea in Cappadocia an excellent copy of the book of Kings, "in which was an inscription to the effect that the great and holy Basil (bishop of that see from 370 to 378) had himself compared and corrected the copies from which it had been transcribed" (*Chronogr.* p. 382; ed. Dindorf). St. Jerome, after referring a correspondent to several authorities, says, "Turn over the commentaries of all whom I have mentioned above; and make good use of the libraries of the

churches; and thou wilt arrive more quickly at that which thou desirest and hast begun" (*Epist. ad Pammach.* 49, § 3; comp. *Epist.* 112, *ad August.* § 19). St. Augustine, writing at Hippo about the year 428, says, "I have heard that the holy Jerome wrote on heresies; but neither have we been able to find that little work of his in our own library, nor do we know from where it may be obtained" (*De Haer.* sub fin.) When Augustine was dying, "he directed that the library of the church and all the books should be carefully kept for posterity for ever." He also left libraries to the church, "containing books and treatises by himself or other holy persons" (Possid. *Vita Aug.* 31). Theodosius the younger, 408–450, "collected the sacred books and their interpreters so diligently, as not to come behind Ptolemy" (Niceph. Call. *Hist. Eccl.* xiv. 3). Whether his collection was for the imperial library or the Patriarchium, we are not told; but the fact is worth noting, because it shews the spirit of the age. The leading ecclesiastics would not be behind the emperor. Hilary of Rome, A.D. 461, according to the Liber Pontificalis, "made two libraries in the Lateran baptistery" (Anast. *Vit. Pont.* 47). From the same authority we learn that the works of Gelasius, A.D. 482, were "kept laid up in the library and archive of the church" down to the 9th century (*n.* 50). Gregory I. A.D. 598, replying to the request of Eulogius of Alexandria that he would send him the Acts of the Martyrs collected by Eusebius, says, "Besides those things which are contained in the books of Eusebius himself concerning the deeds of the holy martyrs, I know none in the archives of this our church, or in the libraries of the city of Rome, except a few collected in the roll of a single book" (*Epist.* vii. 29). A narrative assigned to the year 649 or thereabout, shews that there was at that time a library already attached to St. Peter's. It is said that when Taio, bishop of Saragossa, who had been sent from Spain by king Chindasuind to procure the latter part of the *Moralia* of Gregory, could not learn from the pope or anyone else where it was, the very press in which it lay was pointed out to him in a vision, as he watched and prayed by night in that church (*De Visione*, etc., Labb. *Conc.* v. 1844). Willibald, A.D. 760, in the life of St. Boniface, says that the four books of St. Gregory were to his day put into the "libraries of churches" (Pertz, *Monum. Germ. Hist.* ii. 334). At this period, and earlier, as we learn from an epistle of Taio, above mentioned, few books were composed or copied in the west, and all were in danger of destruction, from the constant wars which desolated the Latin world (*Epist. ad Quiricum; Praefat. Saec.* ii. O. S. B. § v. lv. 17). His evidence refers to Spain, but the evil was felt at Rome equally, as we learn from a statement of the Roman synod in 680, to the emperors who had convened the 3rd council of Constantinople. After describing themselves as "settled in the northern and western parts" of the empire, the Latin bishops say, "We do not think that any one can be found in our time who can boast of great knowledge, seeing that in our regions the fury of various nations is every day raging, now in fighting, now in overrunning and plundering; whence our whole life is full of care, surrounded as we are by a band of nations, and having to live by bodily toil, the ancient maintenance of the churches having by degrees fallen away and failed through divers calamities" (Labbe, vi. 681). Agatho, then bishop of Rome, made this an excuse for the ignorance of his legates, whom he sent to the council, as he said, "out of the obedience which he owed" to the emperors, "not from any confidence in their knowledge" (*ibid.* 634). Bede (*De Temp. Rat.* 66, followed by Hincmar, *Opusc.* 20 c. Hincm. Laud.) says that when they arrived at Constantinople they were "very kindly received by the most reverend defender of the Catholic faith Constantine (Pogonatus), and by him exhorted to lay aside philosophical [*om.* Hincm.] disputations, and to seek the truth in peaceable conference, all the books of the ancient fathers which they asked for being supplied them out of the library at Constantinople." The records of the council tell us that the same legates besought the emperor that the "original books of the patristic testimonies adduced might be brought from the Patriarchium" (*Act.* vi. Labb. vi. 719); and we find the bishop of Constantinople himself speaking of the "books of the holy and approved fathers which were laid up in his Patriarchium" (*Act.* viii. *ibid.* 730; comp. 751, 780). A large number of extracts from the fathers are said to have been compared with the originals in the "library of the Patriarchium" (*Act.* x. coll. 788, 790, 798, &c.) Several testimonies alleged are also said to have been compared with a "silver-bound parchment book belonging to the σκευοφυλάκιον of the most holy high church" in the same city (*ibid.* 813, 814, &c.). There was at Constantinople also a registry or repository of documents (χαρτοφυλάκιον, u.s. 963) under the charge of an officer called the χαρτοφύλαξ (*ibid.*). Whether this was a department of the library or distinct from it does not appear. The great esteem in which the church library at Constantinople was held by all parties is attested by the fact that the iconolater Theophanes refused to look at a copy of Isaiah, brought from the emperor's library, alleging that all his books were corrupted, but asked for one from the library of the Patriarchium instead (*Continuatio*, iii. 14).

For some centuries after this the Greeks possessed advantages for the acquisition of knowledge over the Latins; though there were many in the west, especially among the bishops, who employed themselves in collecting and multiplying good books. Thus Bede says of Acca, who succeeded Wilfrid at Hexham, A.D. 710, that he "gathered together the histories of the sufferings (of the martyrs, &c.), with other ecclesiastical books most diligently, and made there a very large and noble library" (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 20). Egbertus, bishop of York from 732–766, is another example in our own country. Alcuin, in 796, writing to Charlemagne from Tours, where he had opened a school, says, "I am partly in want of books of scholastic erudition, that are somewhat difficult to be procured, which I had in my own country, through the good and most devoted diligence of my master, or my own labour, such as it was." He therefore desired that some youths might be sent into Britain to bring back whatever was necessary, "that there might not only be 'a garden enclosed' at York, but that there may be at

Tours also 'plants, an orchard with pleasant fruits'" (Cant. iv. 13), (*Epist.* 38). From William of Malmesbury (*De Gest. Reg. Angl.* i.) we learn that the master of whom Alcuin speaks is Egbert of York. Alcuin also celebrates in verse the library which Aelbert, another bishop of York, attached to his cathedral church, and gives the names of many of the fathers, poets, and grammarians, whose works were contained in it (*Poema de Pont. Ebor.* ll. 1525 *et seq.* tom. ii. p. 257). In 787 a great stimulus was given to the formation of libraries in cathedral churches within the dominions of Charlemagne, by an order issued by him for the establishment of schools in connexion with them (Labbe, *Conc.* v. 1779). Such schools, as we have seen, implied a good collection of books. A later edict of the same prince, after providing that there be "set up schools of reading boys," adds, "Let them learn the psalms, notes, chants, the art of determining the seasons (compotum), and grammar [in its ancient sense], in every monastery and episcopal church (episcopium). Let them also have Catholic books, well corrected" (*Capit.* ann. 789, c. 70). These laws of Charlemagne would certainly lead to the foundation of cathedral libraries where they had not existed before. It is probable that the smaller libraries found in connexion with many other churches owe their origin in a great measure to a similar edict of Lewis in 816. By this, bishops were ordered to "see that the Presbyters had a missal and lectionary and other books necessary to them" (c. 28; *Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 569). What some at least of these "other books," supposed to be necessary, were, we may gather from the following list in an ancient polyptychon, preserved in the church of St. Remigius, at Rheims: "A book of the gospels, a psalter, an antiphonary, a breviary [*i.e.* a table of the gospels for the year, in which they were indicated by their first and last words] . . . a computus, an order of baptism, a martyrology, a penitential, a passional, a volume of canons, forty homilies of St. Gregory" (*ibid.* ii. 1159). As soon as such a collection went beyond the requirements of the service, as in this case it did, the foundation of a church library was already laid.

II. We read of libraries attached to monasteries in the west at a somewhat early period. The rule of St. Benedict, A.D. 530, speaks of the benefit to be derived from the reading of the Catholic fathers, their conferences, institutes, and lives (c. 73), in a manner which implies access to a considerable number of such works. Compare the rule of Ferreolus, A.D. 553 (c. 19). In Lent every monk under the rule of St. Benedict received a book "from the library" (bibliotheca), which he was to read through before he could have another (c. 48). The rule of Isidore, A.D. 595, enters into details: "Let the keeper of the sacrarium (here = secretarium) have charge of all the books; from whom let all the brethren receive them one at a time, which they shall carefully read and handle, and always return after vespers. Let the books be asked for every day at the first hour; and let none be given to him who shall ask later" (c. 9). To shew the care with which the books were treated, we may mention that monks were allowed to have handkerchiefs in which to wrap them (Theodmar. Cassin. ad Car. Magn. in *Capit. Reg. Franc.* II. 1086), and that the council of Aix, 817, left it to the prior to determine, "when books had been received from the library," whether others should be given out or not (cap. 19). It would seem that, except in Lent, the ordinary monk did not have books out of the library for his private use; but the practice of reading aloud at meals implies a variety of suitable works. We hear of this even before the days of Benedict, viz. in the rule of Caesarius, A.D. 502: "While they eat at table, let no one speak, but let one read some book; that as the body is refreshed by food, so may the soul be refreshed by the word of God" (c. 9; comp. *Reg. S. Ben.* c. 38). Other times for reading were also appointed in some houses, as by the rule of Donatus for nuns, A.D. 640: "From the 2nd hour to the 3rd, if there be no need for them to work, let them employ themselves in reading . . . . Let one of the elder read to the rest, as they work together" (c. 20).

Cassiodorus, who built, or entered, the monastery of Vivarium, about the year 562, collected books for it from the more distant parts of the world, and directed his monks that, if they met with any book that he wanted, they should make a copy of it, "that by the help of God and their labour, the library of the monastery might be benefited" (*De Instit. Div. Litt.* 8). In the preface to his work on Orthography, he gives a list of twelve books on the subject which he used in compiling his own. As he was then 93 years old, they were presumably all at hand in his own monastery. The fact suggests a good collection of works on general subjects, as well as on divinity. Among the Epistles of Gregory I. is one written (A.D. 599) to the Defensor of Naples representing that the books of the monastery of Macharis had in a time of trouble been carried into Sicily by a certain presbyter, who had died and left them there, and requiring that they should be restored (*Epist.* viii. 15). The monks of our own country were not behind others in collecting books. E.g. Benedict Biscop, abbat of Wearmouth, having visited Rome in 671, "brought home not a few books of all divine erudition, either bought with a set price or given to him by the kindness of friends, and when on his return he came to Vienne he received those which he had bought and intrusted to friends there" (Bede, *Hist. Abbat. Wirem.* § 4). In 678 he paid another visit to Rome, and then "brought home an innumerable quantity of books of every kind" (*ibid.* 5). "A great quantity of sacred volumes" was part of the result of a third visit in 686 (§ 8). In his last illness he gave directions that "the very noble and complete library, which he had brought from Rome, as necessary for the instruction of the church, should be anxiously preserved entire, and neither suffer injury through want of care nor be dispersed" (9). This collection, which was divided between the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, was "doubled" by the zeal of his successor, Coelfrid (12). It is to these libraries chiefly that we owe the learning of Bede. The order of Charlemagne in 787 already mentioned was addressed to abbats as well as bishops, and the only copy extant is that which was sent to the abbat of Fulda. It is interesting to know that less than 50 years after

its promulgation, the famous Rabanus Maurus built a library there, which he amply stored with books (*Vita per Rodolf.* in Cave, *Hist. Litt.* nom. Raban). A beginning had been made, however, so far back as 754. When Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, was murdered by the Pagans at Dokem in east Frisia, they "broke open the repository of books . . . and scattered those which they found, some over the level fields, others in the reed-bed of the marshes, and flung and hid others away in all sorts of places." They were afterwards found and taken to Fulda, where three of them are still shewn, viz. a New Testament, a book of the Gospels, said to have been written by the martyr himself, and a volume stained with his blood, containing, with other tracts of St. Ambrose, *de Spiritû Sancto* and *Bono Mortis* (Willibaldi *Vita S. Bonif.* xi. 37, and Mabillon's *note*). In 799 Charlemagne founded an abbey at Charroux, which "he enriched with many relics and most munificent gifts brought to him from the east, and with a very rich library' (*Gallia Christiana*, ii. 1278). Many monastic libraries were destroyed by fire in the 9th and following centuries, in several of which books must have been accumulating during a lengthened period. For example, in 870, when the Danes destroyed the minster of Medhamsted (Peterborough), founded about 656, "a vast library of sacred books was burned with the charters of the monastery" (*Ann. Bened.* iii. 167, § 16, from Ingulf.). In 892 the monastery at Teano, near Monte Cassino, was burned down, "in which fire most of the deeds and instruments of the Cassinates were consumed, with the very autograph of the rule which the holy father Benedict had written with his own hand" (*ibid.* p. 283, § 67). About the year 900, the Hungarians destroyed the monastery of Nonantula by fire, and "burned many books" (*ibid.* 305, § 30).

We can give no certain information on the origin and condition of monastic libraries in the east during the period to which we are confined. We may, however, infer with great probability that monasteries began very early to collect books, from the fact that manuscripts of the highest antiquity are found in them at the present day. About 400 volumes of MSS. are now in the British Museum, which were brought in the years 1839, 1842, 1847 from a single Syrian monastery, viz. that of St. Mary Deipara, in the Desert of Nitria, or Valley of Scete. As a proof of the antiquity of some of these books, we may mention that the three volumes in which occur the several copies of the Epistles of St. Ignatius published by Mr. Cureton are, one earlier than 550, another some 50 or 60 years later, and the third "certainly not later than the 7th or 8th century" (*Corpus Ignatianum*, Introd. xxvii. xxxiii.). In the second of these volumes is a notice curiously similar to one quoted above respecting an English abbat, to the effect that Moses of Nisibis, the superior of the monastery, "gave diligence and acquired that book together with many others, being 250, many of which he purchased, and others were given to him by some persons as a blessing [see EULOGIAE (5)], when he went to Bagdad" (xxxi.). This bears date A.D. 931. The MS. bible found by Tischendorf (1844, 1859) in the monastery of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, is assigned to the 4th century (*Nov. Test. Sinait.* Tisch. Proleg. ix.). He obtained many other books from the same library, and many from monasteries in Palestine, at Berytus, Laodicea, Smyrna, in Patmos, and at Constantinople (*Notitia Edit. Cod. Sinait.* p. 7). In his collection, now at St. Petersburg, are various Greek fragments of the 5th and 6th centuries (*ibid.* p. 56); five of the New Testament of the 6th and 7th; and one of the 7th or 8th (p. 50): parts of some Homilies of St. Chrysostom (p. 55), and some liturgical remains of the 8th (p. 56); all in the same language; and a Syriac version of hymns and sermons by Gregory Nazianzen written in the 7th (p. 64). We do not multiply such facts, because, though very probable indications of the existence of monastic libraries in the East within our period, and of the nature of their contents, they do not amount to a direct and positive proof. [W. E. S.]

**LIBRARIUS.** The word *librarius* has two meanings—viz. either a 'book-seller' or a 'transcriber:' we are concerned with it in the latter sense. Of course there must have been transcribers in abundance before Christian times, if, as is said, the libraries of the Ptolemies at Alexandria, and of the kings of Pergamus in Asia Minor contained between them a million volumes and upwards in all languages (DICT. OF GR. AND ROM. ANTS. art. 'Bibliotheca'). Transcribers were frequently slaves at first, or else worked for money, and were not well paid. Hence the endless complaints of their ignorance, carelessness, or dishonesty which occur in the Fathers as well as in classical authors (Wower, *de Polymath.* c. 18, ap. Gronov. Thes. x. 1079). But with Christian times the office of transcriber for libraries insensibly passed into better hands. It was not that he became, strictly speaking, a public functionary, but he copied far more frequently for ecclesiastical bodies than for private persons: and was, in most cases, a member of the body for which he worked. Thus he worked, not for money, but as a duty: and not on chance books, but on books carefully selected for their contents by his superiors. This altered the character of his performances materially, besides going far to ensure their preservation. It is a simple fact in history, that Christianity stands between us and the written records of all preceding ages, and is our sole guarantee for their trustworthiness in their present state.

Origen was one of the first Christians who is said to have employed transcribers regularly for literary purposes (βιβλιογράφους, Euseb. *E. H.* vi. 23). Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, his friend and patron, was one of the first to form an episcopal library, which Eusebius found of great use in collecting facts for his history (*ib.* c. 20). Eusebius himself, by order of the emperor Constantine, had 50 choice copies of the scriptures made by experienced caligraphists on vellum, arranged in ternions and quaternions (*Vit. Const.* iv. 34–7, and Vales. *ad l.*). Pamphilus, the presbyter and martyr, with whom Eusebius was so intimate, enriched Caesarea with a large library, consisting of the works of Origen and other ecclesiastical writers, transcribed by himself (*ib.* c. 32, comp. St. Hier. *de Vir. Illust.* s. v.): and it was still in existence, and handy for readers, when St. Jerome wrote. [LIBRARIES.]

When parchment was scarce, one work was often effaced to make way for another. This may have been dictated here and there by religious prejudice: but in general what was least wanted at the time made way for what was most. The Scriptures themselves, or the works of the Areopagite—then regarded with almost equal reverence—were written over sometimes, as well as works like the Republic of Cicero—"Latent hodie," says Knittel (quoted by Mone, *de Libr. Palimp.* p. 2) in palimpsestis libris codices Novi Testamenti remotissimae antiquitatis: haec est prima ratio, cur magnae sint utilitatis codices rescripti."

We must never forget, in estimating their practices or productions, that *Christian* transcribers were of all ranks and capacities. "The highest dignitaries of the church and princes even, says Mr. Taylor (*Transmission of Ancient Books*, c. ii. § 5), "thought themselves well employed in transcribing the Gospels and Epistles, the Psalter, or the Homilies and Meditations of the Fathers: nor were the classical authors....neglected by these gratuitous copyists." And again: "Every church and every convent and monastery had its library, its librarian and other officers employed in the conservation of books" (*ib.* c. 1, § 1). Then, further, as Mr. Taylor observes, "The property of each establishment—and the literary property of each establishment was always highly prized—passed down from age to age, as if under the hand of a proprietor: and was therefore subjected to fewer dispersions and destructions than the mutability of human affairs ordinarily permits "(c. i. § 1). And again: "The places in which the remains of ancient literature were preserved during the middle ages were too many, and too distant from each other, and too little connected by any kind of intercourse, to admit of a combination or conspiracy for any supposed purposes of interpolation or corruption. Possessing, therefore, as we do, copies of the same author, some of which were drawn from the monasteries of England, others from Spain, and others collected in Egypt, Palestine, or Asia Minor, if, on comparing them, we find that they accord except in variations of little moment, we have an incontestable proof of the care and integrity with which the business of transcription was generally conducted " (*ib.*)....Transcribers were frequently concealed under other names, from being attached to some special office, or else from their art having come to be divided into different branches. They were the notaries, chancellors, clerks, readers, amanuenses, of most convents, as Mabillon shews (*Dipl.* i. 13). St. Isidore tells us of another distinction which is still more to the point. "Librarii," he says, "idem et antiquarii vocantur: sed librarii sunt, qui *et nova et vetera scribunt:* antiquarii, *qui tantummodo vetera*, unde et nomen sumpserunt" (*Etym.* vi. 14). If this be true, and other authorities might be cited for it, there was a class of copyists whose labours were confined to re-transcribing old MSS.

Illuminators, again, formed another branch of the profession. They designed the initial letters, laid on the gold, or painted the miniatures. Under this last word, again, we have the record of another class: *miniatores*, who filled in the 'rubrics.' In general, the transcriber left blanks both for the rubrics and illuminations, as we see from many MSS. whose blank spaces have been but partially filled, or left altogether untouched. Sometimes it happened that there were transcribers who did all for themselves. Otherwise, we may occasionally find the dates of the handwriting and of the decorations separated by a wide interval. [MINIATURE.]

After a MS. had been transcribed, it passed through other hands to be corrected (Mabill. *Suppl.* c. xiii. 29): and the corrections in many cases not being erasures, we see what was judged erroneous, and what was judged right at the time. They are perhaps oftener corrections of spelling, or of words omitted, than of anything else: while numerous errors of grammar are left untouched.

Handwriting, of course, varied with the age, though two or more were almost always in full use at the same time. The handwriting of the 13th century, for instance, was always liable to be imitated by transcribers who lived much later, but it was unknown to transcribers who lived much earlier. Antiquaries could reproduce obsolete styles, but could not anticipate styles as yet unborn. Consequently, the rise of the different styles may be fixed with some accuracy; not so their duration after they had become current.

"The instruments," say the authors of the *Nouv. Trait. Diplom.* (p. ii. § i. c. 10), "with which antiquity required that the work-room of a transcriber should be provided, were the ruler, compass, lead, scissors, penknife, hone, sponge, style, brush, quill or reed, inkstand or inkhorn, writing table, desk, vial with liquid for thinning ink become too thick, vial with vermilion for writing titles of books or chapters, and a box of pounce. Each of these instruments had its own special use."

Their materials were more limited. "Parchment," says Mr. Taylor (c. ii. § 1), "so called, long after the time of its first use from Pergamus, a city of Mysia, where the manufacture was improved . . . is mentioned by Herodotus and Ctesias as a material that had been from time immemorial used for books." Almost all the early MSS. we possess are written on this. "In the east, leaves of the mallow or palm were used in remote times . . . and the inner *bark* of the linden or teil tree . . . called by the Romans 'liber,' and by the Greeks 'biblos,' was so generally used as a material for writing as to have given its name to a book in both languages. . . . Tables of solid wood called *codices*, whence the term 'codex' for a MS. on any material . . . were also employed . . . leaves or tablets of lead or ivory are mentioned . . . and still oftener 'tablets covered with a thin coat of coloured wax,' removable 'by an iron needle called a *style*.' Paper made from the papyrus in Egypt was in considerable demand at one time, but it was found to be less durable than parchment. Cotton paper, 'charta bombacina,' which began to be used in the west about the 10th century, led to the introduction of paper from rags, as at present, about two centuries later.

"Transcribers frequently subscribed their names at the end of a MS., with the year in which it was written, accompanied by a pious

wish that posterity might profit by its perusal, and other particulars; numerous instances might be cited. The celebrated 'codex Amiatinus,' used by Tischendorf in his latest edition of the Vulgate of the Old Testament, has an inscription at the end of the book of Exodus, from which he infers it was transcribed by one of the disciples of St. Benedict named 'Servandus,' about A.D. 541" (*Proleg.* p. viii. ix.). Mabillon, in his *Diarium Italicum*, mentions a MS. of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul, inscribed with the name of Theophylact, presbyter and doctor of law, and dated 6492 from the Creation, or A.D. 984 (c. 25). This was in Greek. Another, the *Life of St. Gregory the Great*, by John the deacon, in Latin, has the following: "Ego, Ugo, indignus sacerdos, inchoavi hunc librum 8 Cal. Sept. et explevi eum 14 Cal. Oct. felicitèr concurrente sexto, indict. 15." Another, a work of Matthew Palmer the poet: "Antonius, Marii filius, Florentinus civis atque notarius, transcripsit Florentiae ab originali 11 Cal. Jan. MCCCCXLVIII. Valeas qui legas." . . . (*Ib.* and comp. c. 27.) "Qui legitis, orate pro me," was another pious and favourite parting sentence.[a] Most of the oldest MSS., however unfortunately, supply no such clue to their authorship or date, and there are very few that have not had later additions appended to them, often in the same handwriting, which throw doubts upon their earlier parts. Often, again, the same work has not been copied all through by the same scribe; and sometimes the writing of contemporary scribes varies as much as the writing of one age from another. Dedicatory pieces again, especially when in verse, are apt to mislead. Sometimes it is their complimentary vagueness, sometimes it is the affectation of a higher antiquity than really belongs to them, that has enhanced the value of a MS. unduly. When Waterland, for instance, speaks of the Vienna MS. as "a Gallican psalter, written in letters of gold, and presented by Charlemagne, while only king of France, to pope Adrian I., at his first entrance upon the pontificate, in the year 772" (*Crit. Hist.* p. 101), he draws his conclusion from the dedicatory verses in gold letters at its commencement. But these might have been written by *any* king Charles, on giving this psalter to *any* pope Adrian. And there was a combination of just such another king, and just such another pope in Charles the Bald and Adrian II.

For authorities, see Montfaucon, *Palaeog. Graeca*; Mabillon, *Iter Ital.* and *de Re Diplom.* with the Suppl., *Nouveau Traité Dipl.* in 6 vols.; Schwarz, *de Ornam. Lib.*, with additions by Leuschner; Casley, Pref. to *MSS. in the King's Library*; Mone, *de Libr. palimp.*; Guéranger, *Inst. Liturg.* p. ii. c. vi.; Labarte, *Handbook*, c. ii., and *Arts Indust.* vol. iii.; Taylor, *Transmission of Antient Books*; and the magnificently illustrated works of Count Bastard, Professor Westwood, and M. Silvestre. [E. S. Ff.]

**LIBRI POENITENTIALES** [PENITENTIAL BOOKS].

**LICERIUS** (GLYCERIUS), bishop and confessor at Conserans, 6th century; commemorated Aug. 27 (Usuard. *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 47). [C. H.]

**LICINIUS** (LIZINIUS), bishop of Angers, confessor; commemorated Feb. 13 (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 678); June 8 (*Mart.* Ado). [C. H.]

**LICTA**; commemorated at Caesarea, April 5 (*Mart. Hieron.*) [C. H.]

**LICTISSIMUS** (LECTISSIMUS), martyr; commemorated in Africa Apr. 26 (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 415). [C. H.]

**LIDORIUS** (LYDORIUS, LITTORIUS, LITORIUS), bishop of Tours, 4th century; commemorated Sept. 13 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Usuard. *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 61). [C. H.]

**LIGATURAE** (*Ligamenta*, *Ligamina*, *Alligaturae*, *Suballigaturae*, δέσεις, καταδέσεις, καταδεσμοί, περιάμματα, περίαπτα) were amulets or phylacteries *bound* (ligatae) to any part of the body of man or beast, in the hope of averting or driving away evil. The name was, however, often given to amulets attached to the person in any other way; as when suspended, in which case they were sometimes called by the Greeks ἐξαρτήματα. This is one among many gainful superstitions which St. Chrysostom charged "certain of the vagabond Jews" (Acts xix. 13) with practising, as their fathers had done before them. Thus he says to Christians to whom they promised health by such means: "If thou persevere for a short time, and spurn and with great contumely cast out of the house those who seek to sing some incantation over, or to *bind* some *periapts* to the body, thou hast at once received refreshment from thy conscience" (*Adv. Jud.* Hom. viii. § 7). The heathen were equally addicted to their use. Two or three examples out of many given by Pliny in his Natural History will suffice to shew this. Wool stolen from a shepherd, bound to the left arm, was supposed to cure fever (xxix. 4); the large-tined horns of the stag-beetle bound to infants "acquired the nature of amulets" (xxx. 15). A stone taken from the head of an ox bound to an infant relieved it in teething (*ibid.*). As the ox was believed to spit this stone out, if it saw death coming, its head must be cut off suddenly. These facts may serve to indicate the source of the superstition among Christians. Until the conversion of the emperors this practice was regarded by all as magic and unlawful. Thus Tertullian (A.D. 192) says of the wound caused by the bite of a scorpion, "Magic binds something round it; medicine meets it with steel and cup" (*Scorpiac.*). In the Apostolical Constitutions, probably compiled about the end of the 2nd century, bishops are forbidden to receive as catechumens those who "make ligaturae" (περιάμματα, viii. 32). The earliest intimation of their use by professed Christians occurs in the 36th canon of the Council of Laodicea, held probably about 365: "It is unlawful for those of the sacerdotal and clerical orders . . . to make phylacteries, which are the bonds of their souls. We have ordered those who wear them to be cast out of the church." It is implied here that these "phylacteries" were bound on, *i.e.* were ligaturae. When Martin of Braga (A.D. 560)

[a] The names of the principal caligraphers whose names have been preserved have been collected by Guéranger, *Institutions Liturg.* tom. iii. p. 288 ff.—[ED.]

made his collection of canons, he rendered the word "phylacteries" by "ligaturae" (can. 59; Labbe, v. 912). The words were, in fact, treated by many as synonyms, except when the Jewish practice mentioned in Scripture was intended. Of this we shall have further proof as we proceed. St. Epiphanius (A.D. 368) explains that the "phylacteries" of Matt. xxiii. 5 are not "periapts," as might be supposed "from the circumstance that some called periapts phylacteries" (*Haer.* 15, *c. Scribas*). When a distinction was made by Christian writers, the name of phylactery was restricted to those ligaturae which had writing in them. Thus Boniface at the council of Liptines, A.D. 743: "If any presbyter or clerk shall observe auguries . . . or phylacteries, *id est scripturas*, let him know that he is subject to the penalties of the canons" (*Stat.* 33). To proceed: St. Basil, in Cappadocia (A.D. 370) seems to imply an extensive recourse to such amulets by Christians: "Is thy child sick? Thou lookest about for a charmer, or one who puts vain characters about the neck of innocent infants, or at last goest to the physician and to medicines, without any thought of Him who is able to save" (*in Psalm* xlv. 2). Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia (A.D. 385) warns his neophytes against all such practices as among the "abominations of the Gentiles" and "by-ways of idolatry." "Deeds of witchcraft, incantations, suballigaturae, . . . are parts of idolatry" (*Tract.* iv. de Lect. Exodi). St. Augustine, in Africa, speaks of our subject in writings ranging from 397 to 426. Thus after mention of several "superstitious" practices, he says, "To this class belong also all ligaturae and remedies which even the science of the physicians condemns, whether in precantations or in certain marks which they call characters, or in any object to be suspended and bound on," &c. (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 20, § 30). A reference to earrings in this passage is cleared up by another (*Ep. ad Possid.* 245, § 2), "The execrable superstition of ligatures, wherein even the earrings of men are made to serve as pendants at the tops of the ears on one side (*De Doctr. Chr.* in summo aurium singularum) is not practised to please men, but to serve devils." Here, it will be observed, objects that were merely suspended are called ligaturae. In a sermon to the people the same father says, "One of the faithful is lying bed-rid, is tormented by pains; prays, is not heard; or rather is heard, but is proved, is exercised: the son is scourged that he may be received back. Then when he is tortured by pains, comes the temptation of the tongue. Some wretched woman or man, if he is to be called a man, comes to his bedside, and says, 'Make that ligature and thou wilt be well. Such and such persons (ask them) did it and were made well by it.' He does not yield, nor obey, nor incline his heart; yet he has a struggle. He has no strength, and conquers the devil. He becomes a martyr on his bed, crowned by Him, who for him hung on the tree" (*Serm.* 285, § 7). Compare a strictly parallel passage in *Serm.* 318, § 3. Elsewhere he says, that the "evil spirits devise for themselves certain shadows of honour, that so they may deceive the followers of Christ; and this so far . . . that even they who seduce by ligaturae, precantations, by machinations of the enemy, mix the name of Christ with their precantations" (*Tract.* vii. in Ev. Joan, § 6). Again, "When thy head aches, we praise thee, if thou hast put the gospel to thy head, and not had recourse to a ligatura. For the weakness of men has gone so far, and men who fly to ligaturae are so much to be bewailed, that we rejoice when we see that a bedridden man tossed with fever and pains has placed his hope in nothing but in the application of the gospel to his head; not because it was done to this end, but because the gospel has been preferred to ligaturae" (*ibid.* § 12). St. Chrysostom (398) is witness to the prevalence of the superstition both in Syria and Greece, *e.g.* in a homily preached at Antioch, "What should one say of periapts, and bells hung from the hand and the scarlet thread, and the rest, full of great folly? while nothing ought to be put round the child, but the protection of the cross. But now He who hath converted the world . . . is despised, and woof and warp and such ligaturae (περιάμματα) are intrusted with the safety of the child" (*Hom.* xii. *in Ep.* i. *ad Cor.* § 7) "What should we say of those who use incantations and periapts, and bind brass coins of Alexander the Macedonian about their heads and feet?" (*Ad Illum. Catech.* ii. 5). He says of Job that he did not, when sick, "bind periapts about him" (*Adv. Judae. Hom.* viii. § 6); and of Lazarus that "he did not bind plates of metal (πέταλα) on himself" (*ibid.*). "Some," he says, "tied about them the names of rivers" (*Hom.* viii. *in Ep. ad Col.* § 5). It appears that some alleged the compatibility of such practices with a sound belief. Hence St. Chrysostom warns his hearers, that "though they who have to do with periapts offer numberless subtle excuses for them, as that 'we call on God and nothing more,' and that 'the old woman is a Christian and one of the faithful,' it is nevertheless idolatry" (*ibid.*). He bids them as Christians make the sign of the cross, and to know no other remedy out of medicine (*ibid.*). Like St. Augustine he encourages the sufferer to resist the temptation to use amulets by telling him that patience has the merit of martyrdom: "Thou hast fallen into a sore disease, and there are present many who would force thee to relieve the malady, some by incantations, others by ligaturae (περιάμματα), some by some other means? Through the fear of God thou hast borne up nobly and with constancy, and wouldst choose to suffer anything rather than endure to commit any act of idolatry? This wins the crown of martyrdom," &c. (*Hom.* iii. § 5, *in Ep.* i. *ad Thess.* Comp. *Hom.* viii. *in Ep. ad Col.* u.s.). In France Caesarius of Arles (A.D. 502) denounces the use of "diabolical phylacteries hung" on the person (*Serm.* 66, § 5). Gregory of Tours (A.D. 573) speaks of a hariolus who "mutters charms, casts lots, hangs ligaturae from the neck" of a sick boy (*Mirac.* ii. 45). In another case which he relates, to expel "the noonday demon," they applied "ligamina of herbs," with incantations (*De Mir. S. Mart.* iv. 36). In a third, the parents of the patient, "as the custom is of country people, carried to him ligamenta and potions from the fortune-tellers and soothsayers" (*ibid.* i. 26). Isidore of Seville, in Gothic Spain, writing in 636, copies in his *Etymologicon* (viii. 9) the passage cited above from St. Augustine,

*de Doctr. Christ.* St. Eloy, bishop of Noyon, A.D. 640: "Let no Christian presume to hang ligamina on the necks of man or any animal whatsoever, even though it be done by clerks, and it be said that it is a holy thing and contains divine lections" (*De Rect. Cath. Convers.* § 5). In 742, Boniface, writing to Zacharias of Rome on the difficulties put in his way by the report of scandals tolerated in that city, says that his informants declared that they saw there among other relics of paganism, "women with phylacteries and ligaturae, bound, in pagan fashion, on their arms and legs, and publicly offering them for sale to others" (*Epist.* 49). The pope, in reply, says that he has already endeavoured to suppress these superstitions (*Epist.* i. 9). Boniface himself, the next year at the council of Liptines, sanctioned a decree for the abolition of all pagan practices. A list of them was appended to it, and in this we find, "Phylacteries and Ligaturae" (n. 10). In the 6th book of the Carolingian Capitularies is the following law: "That phylacteries or false writings, or ligaturae, which the ignorant think good for fevers and other diseases, be on no account made by clerks or laymen, or by any Christian, for they are the insignia of magic art" (cap. 72). Instead of such means, prayer and the unction prescribed by St. James are to be used. By the 42nd canon of the council of Tours (813) priests are directed to admonish the people that "ligaturae of bones or herbs applied to any mortal thing (man or beast) are of no avail, but are snares and deceits of the old enemy" (Sim. *Add.* iii. *Capit. Reg. Franc.* cap. 93). When the Bulgarians, A.D. 866, asked Nicholas I. if they might retain their custom of "hanging a ligatura under the throat of the sick," he replied, "ligaturae of this kind are phylacteries invented by the craft of the devil, and are proved to be bonds for men's souls" (*Epist.* 97, § 79). Probably we shall not be wrong in inferring from the foregoing testimonies that the practice prevailed at one time or another in every part of Christendom. It is also probable that it suggested the manner of many attempts to cure by those who looked solely for divine aid. *E.g.* St. Cuthbert (A.D. 685) sent a linen belt to the abbess Elfled, who was sick. "She girded herself with it," and was healed. The same belt "bound round" the head of a nun cured her of headache (Baeda, *Vita S. Cuthb.* c. 23).

In the 8th century we find a name of profession applied to those who offered to cure by means of ligaturae: "We decree that none become cauculatores and enchanters, nor storm-raisers, nor obligatores." (See *Conc. Aquisgr.* (A.D. 789), can. 63 (Labbe, 64); *Capit. Car. M. et Lud. P.* i. 62; vi. 374.) Similarly in a later law of Charlemagne (c. 40; *Capit. Reg. Fr.* i. 518).

[W. E. S.]

**LIGHTHOUSE** (*Pharos*). The lighthouse, as a symbol of the happy termination of the voyage of life, is of frequent occurrence in the cemeteries of the early Christians. Sometimes a ship in full sail appears to be steering towards it (Boldetti, *Osservazioni*, p. 372, but it is often found without the ship, as in the monumental slab of FIRMIA VICTORIA (Fabretti, *Inscript. Ant.* p. 566), in which, appearing with the crown and palm branch, and in conjunction with the name Victoria, it plainly typifies the triumphant close of a Christian career.

A kind of tower in four stories, crowned with flame, bearing an exact resemblance to a funeral pyre, is found on some imperial medals, particularly on those of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus (Mionnet, *De la rareté et du prix des Médailles Romains*, t. i. pp. 218, 226, 241). This symbol, however, though it misled Fabretti, does not appear to have any Christian significance (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v. *Phare*). [C.]

**LIGHTNING, PRAYER AGAINST.** Among the prayers for special occasions which follow the general form of office for a *Lite* in the Greek church, to be embodied in it as occasion shall serve [v. LITE], is one to be used in the time of danger from thunder and lightning. The prayer is too long to quote; it contains a confession of sin, an appeal to God's mercy, and an earnest supplication that he would assuage the fury of the elements.

In the Roman Ritual, under the head *de Processionibus*, we find "Preces ad repellendam tempestatem." The order is as follows:

The bells are rung, and those who are able to attend assemble in the church, and the ordinary litanies are said, in which the clause "a fulgure et tempestate, R. Libera nos Domine," is said twice: and after the litany and the Lord's prayer, Ps. 147 (147, v. 12, E. V. *Lauda Jerusalem*). Then follow some *preces* or versicles, said by the priest and people alternately, and the office concludes with five collects, and *aspersion*. Of the collects, the first is of an ordinary penitential character. The last four are these:

"A domo tua, quaesumus Domine spiritales nequitiae repellantur, et aeriarum discedat malignitas tempestatum."

"Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, parce metuentibus, propitiare supplicibus: ut post noxios ignes nubium, et vim procellarum, in misericordiam transeat laudis comminatio tempestatum.[a]

"Domine Jesu, qui imperasti ventis et mari, et facta fuit tranquillitas magna, exaudi preces familiae tuae, ut hoc signo sanctae crucis + omnis discedat saevitia tempestatum."

"Omnipotens et misericors Deus, quo nos et castigando sanas, et ignoscendo conservas: praesta supplicibus tuis ut et tranquillitatibus optatae[b] consolationis laetemur, et dono tuae pietatis semper utamur. Per."

The Roman missal contains a mass "contra tempestates" in which the *collect* is the first of these four collects, and the *post-communion* the last.

In the *Ambrosian ritual* there is a "Benedictio contra aeris tempestatem," of the same type as that in the Roman.

The clergy and people kneel before the high altar, where the tabernacle of the sacrament is opened, and after *Deus in adjutorium*, &c., these Psalms are said: 1, 14 [E. V. 15]; 53 [E. V. 54]; 69 [E. V. 70]; 86 [E. V. 87]; 92 [E. V. 93].

Then follow the *Litanies*, *Pater noster*, some

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[a] This collect is quoted by Martene (ii. 302) from an old MS. of cir. A.D. 500.

[b] *hujus opt.* in missal.

*preces*, and two prayers, each much longer than the corresponding Roman collects, but to the same effect, and the office ends with an aspersion with holy water at the door of the church.

[H. J. H.]

**LIGHTS, THE CEREMONIAL USE OF.** It may be safely affirmed that for more than 300 years there was no ceremonial use of lighted candles, torches, or lamps in the worship of the Christian church. This is evident from the language of early writers, when they have occasion to refer to the heathen practice of burning lights in honour of the gods. Tertullian, for example, A.D. 205, ridicules the custom of "exposing useless candles at noon-day" (*Apol.* xlvi.), and "encroaching on the day with lamps" (*ibid.* xxxv.). "Let them," he says, "who have no light, kindle their lamps daily" (*De Idolol.* xv.). Lactantius, A.D. 303: "They burn lights as to one dwelling in darkness .... Is he to be thought in his right mind who offers for a gift the light of candles and wax tapers to the author and giver of light? .... But their gods, because they are of the earth, need light that they may not be in darkness; whose worshippers, because they have no sense of heaven, bring down to the earth even those superstitions to which they are enslaved" (*Instit.* vi. 2). Gregory Nazianzen, about 70 years later, says, "Let not our dwellings blaze with visible light; for this indeed is the custom of the Greek holy-moon; but let not us honour God with these things, and exalt the present season with unbecoming rites, but with purity of soul and cheerfulness of mind, and with lamps that enlighten the whole body of the church; that is to say, with divine contemplations and thoughts," &c. (*Orat.* v. § 35). The reader will observe that the objection is not to the use of lights in idolatrous worship only, but to all ceremonial use of them, even in the worship of the true God.

I. There was, however, already by the end of the 3rd century a partial use of lights in honour of martyrs, which would greatly facilitate their introduction as ritual accessories to worship at a later period. We learn this in the first instance from their prohibition by the council of Illiberis in Spain, probably about the year 305: "It is decreed that wax candles be not kindled in a cemetery during the day; for the spirits of the saints ought not to be disquieted" (can. 34). By the saints we must here understand the faithful who went to the martyria for prayer. This is the explanation of Binius, Dupin, Mendoza, and others. They would certainly be more or less distracted by the presence of the lights, and they might fear to excite the attention of the heathen by them. Many, if we may infer from the language of the writers quoted above, would be offended at the rite itself. The practice, nevertheless, maintained its ground in Spain and elsewhere. For at the beginning of the next century, we find it attacked by Vigilantius, himself a Spaniard, of Barcelona. Jerome, who replied to him, does not deny that such a custom existed. His language even shews that he did not in his heart disapprove of it; but he pleads that it was due to the "ignorance and simplicity of laymen, or at least of superstitious (religiosarum) women," who "had a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge." Speaking for the church at large he says, "We do not, as you groundlessly slander us, burn wax tapers in clear light, but that we may by this means of relief moderate the darkness of the night, and watch till dawn." Yet he inconsistently defends the practice which Vigilantius condemned, comparing those who supplied the lights "in honour of the martyrs" to her who poured ointment on our Lord (*Contra Vigilant.* § 8).

II. In the time of St. Jerome we first hear of another practice, which would inevitably end in the ceremonial use of lights; viz. their employment as a decoration in churches on festivals. This is first mentioned by Paulinus of Nola, A.D. 407, who thus describes his own custom on the feast of St. Felix, to whom his church there was dedicated: "The bright altars are crowned with lamps thickly set. Lights are burnt odorous with waxed papyri. They shine by night and day: thus night is radiant with the brightness of the day, and the day itself, bright in heavenly beauty, shines yet more with light doubled by countless lamps" (Poem. xiv. Nat. 3, l. 99; comp. P. xix. N. 11, ll. 405, &c.). This does not prove his common use of lights by day, but that is made probable by another poem, in which, describing apparently the ordinary appearance of his church, he says:—

> "Tectoque superne
> Pendentes Lychni spiris retinentur ahenis,
> Et medio in vacuo laxis vaga lumina nutant
> Funibus: undantes flammas levis aura fatigat."
> Poem. xxxvii. Nat. ix. l. 389.

If such a practice prevailed in any degree duing the 4th century, it probably affords the explanation needed in the well-known story of Epiphanius, who once, when passing through a country place called Anablatha, "saw, as he went by, a lamp burning, and on inquiring what place that was, learnt that it was a church" (*Epist. ad Joan. Hieros.*).

III. The ritual use of lights for which such a custom prepared the way would probably have been only occasional for many ages, but for the conditions under which the worship of Christians was held during the first 300 years. Secrecy was necessary when persecution was active, and great privacy at all times. This led to their assembling after the daylight had failed, or before the sun rose. When the disciples at Troas "came together to break bread," it was evening, "and there were many lights in the upper chamber, where they were gathered together" (Acts xx. 7, 8). Pliny the younger, some 50 years later, told the emperor that the Christians were in the habit of meeting for common worship "before it was light" (*Epp.* lib. x. n. 97). From Tertullian (*De Coronâ*, iii.) we learn that it was the custom of his day to "take the sacrament of the Eucharist in assemblies held before dawn." The fear of discovery which induced this precaution caused them also to avail themselves of the catacombs and other subterranean places in which, while they were more free to choose their time of meeting, the natural darkness of the place itself would make artificial light essential. St. Jerome, speaking of the catacombs at Rome at a time when they were no longer in use for Christian worship, says, "They are all so dark that to enter into them is, in the language of the psalmist, like going down into hell" (*Comment. in Ezek.* lib.

xii. c. xl.). Some of the first churches even were, for the reason that we have indicated, built under ground. There is one still to be seen at Lyons, containing the remains of St. Irenaeus, "fort profonde et fort obscure," which is believed to be "one of the first churches in which the first Christians of Lyons used to assemble" (De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 71). Now there is every reason to believe that the necessary lights of this period became the ceremonial lights of the next. We do not know when they ceased to be necessary. Even in the 7th and 8th centuries, the station before the celebration of the Eucharist on high festivals still began at daybreak (*Ordo Rom.* i. 4; ii. 1; iii. 3; *Musae. Ital.* tom. ii.). They could hardly be needed to give light at that time; but a mystic meaning, already attached to them, must have led to their retention. The following is a description of their use in a pontifical mass of that period. When the bishop left the secretarium, he was preceded by 7 acolytes, each bearing a lighted wax candle (*Ordo R.* i. 8; ii. 5; iii. 7). As they came near the altar, they divided, 4 going to the right, and 3 to the left, that he might pass through. When the deacon went to the ambo to read the Gospel two of the lights were carried before him in honour of the book which he bore in his hands (i. 11; ii. 8; iii. 10). Our earliest authority now quoted does not tell us whether the lights were extinguished at any part of the service; but according to the next in date they were "extinguished in their place after the reading of the Gospel" (ii. 9). This was clearly a reminiscence of their original use. From the first two we learn that after the Kyrie the acolytes set the candle-stands (cereostata) on the floor (i. 26; ii. 5; comp. v. 6). The second further tells us that they were put "4 on the right and 3 on the left, or (as some will have it) in a row from south to north" (ii. 5). At a later period they were set "so as to form a cross" (vi. 5). After the Collect they were in the earlier age put "in one line from east to west, in the middle of the church" (ii. 6). In a later, we find them when extinguished set behind the altar (v. 7)—a practice which, in conjunction with the need of light at an early celebration, in due time paved the way for the introduction of altar-lights. The earliest document to which we have here referred is supposed by Ussher, Cave, and others to have been compiled about the year 730; but it evidently did not create all the rites which it prescribes. We therefore assume that those now described were practised at Rome at least during the latter part of the 7th century.

IV. To the same period we may, on the same grounds, refer the office of the TENEBRAE in its first stage. It was celebrated on the night before Good Friday. One-third of the lights in the church were extinguished after the first psalm of Nocturns; another third after the second, and the remainder, with the exception of seven lamps, after the third. These seven were extinguished at Matins; the first on the right side of the church, when the antiphon before the first psalm was heard; the second, on the left, at the end of the psalm, "and so on either side alternately down to the Gospel, *i.e.* the Benedictus; but at the Gospel the middle light is put out" (*Ordo*, i. 33; comp. App. § 2).

V. The Paschal Light (Paschal Post, Cereus Paschalis) is heard of at an earlier period. We have an almost certain reference to it in the *Liber Pontificalis*, where we are told (n. 42), that Zosimus, A.D. 417, "gave permission for the blessing of candles in the suburbicarian dioceses." Some copies (*Concil.* Surii, *Annal.* Baronii) even read cereum Paschalem here, and the passage can hardly refer to anything else. This was the tradition of Sigebert of Gemblours: "Zosimus the pope orders a wax candle to be blessed throughout the churches on the holy Sabbath of Easter" (ad ann. 417; Biblioth. PP. vii. 1358. Similarly Leo Ostiensis, *Chron. Cassin.* iii. 31). Two forms for the benediction of the Paschal Light were composed by Ennodius, who became bishop of Ticino in 511. They are still extant (see his works by Sirmond, *Opusc.* 9, 10, p. 453). Gregory the Great, writing in 605 to a bishop who was sick, says, "Let the prayers which in the city of Ravenna are wont to be said over the wax candle, and the expositions of the gospel which are made by the bishops (sacerdotibus) at the Easter solemnity, be said by another" (*Epist.* xi. 28, al. 33).

From the first *Ordo Romanus* (about 730) we learn that on Maundy Thursday, at the 9th hour, a light was struck from flint in some place outside the basilic at the door, if there was no oratory, from which a candle was lighted and brought into the church in the presence of the congregation. A lamp lighted "from the same fire" was kept burning until Easter Eve, and from that was lighted the wax candle which was solemnly blessed on that day (*Ordo Rom.* i. 32). Zachary, who became pope in 741, in a letter to Boniface of Mentz, says that "three lamps of great size (so lighted) placed in some more secret part of the church, burned to the third day, *i.e.* Saturday." He adds that oil for them was collected from every candle in the church, and that "the fire for the baptism of the sacred font on Easter Eve was taken from those candles" (*Ep.* xii. Labbe, *Conc.* tom. vi. col. 1525). It will be observed that lampas and candela are here synonymous. From the fragment of a letter of Hadrian I. A.D. 772, to the monks of Corbie, we learn that the priests and clerks did not put on their stoles and planetae on Easter Eve "until the new light was brought in that the wax candle might be blessed" (*Comment. Praev. in Ord. Rom.* Mabill. *Mus. It.* tom. ii. p. cii.). The blessing was pronounced by the archdeacon (Rabanus, *de Instit. Cler.* ii. 38).

There are two forms of the Benedictio cerei in the Gregorian Sacramentary (Murat. *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* tom. ii. col. 143). The former of these is also found in the Missale Gothicum (*Liturg. Gallic.* p. 241), in the Missale Gallicanum (*ibid.* p. 357), and again in the Besançon Sacramentary discovered by Mabillon at Bobio (*Mus. Ital.* tom. i. p. 321). This may be thought to prove that the rite was derived to France from Rome.

In Gothic Spain and Languedoc, both the prayers and ceremonial differed from those of Rome. The clergy assembled, not on Maundy Thursday, but Easter Eve at the 9th hour in the processus, a chamber connected with the church, and in small churches identical with the sacrarium. There the deacons received 12

wax candles from the bishop, who retained one for himself. They then entered the sacrarium, where the bishop himself proceeded to strike the flint. A candle (candela) was first lighted with the fire thus obtained, and a lamp (lucerna) was then lighted from the candle. They then returned into the processus, where the bishop took his seat. He next lighted his own candle from the lamp which a deacon had brought from the sacrarium, and the deacons then lighted theirs, also from the lamp. The deacon who held it then received a blessing from the bishop, for which no words were prescribed; and the bishop said an "Oratio ad benedicendam lucernam." They then entered the church in procession, the deacons with their lights preceding the lamp, the bishop and presbyters following it. As they entered the choir they sang an antiphon (Lumen verum, St. John i. 9) with versicle (populus qui sedebat, St. Matt. iv. 16) and gloria. The bishop or a priest next goes to the altar and says a prayer "ad benedicendum cereum." After this the deacons, who are themselves to bless the paschal lamp and candle, receive a benediction from the bishop, which is to fit them for that office. They then, while the bishop is in his chair behind the altar, and the presbyters are standing by him, solemnly pronounce a long form of blessing (benedictio lucernae) given in the sacramentary. A similar benedictio cerei followed, and the bishop then comes in front of the altar, and proceeds with the service of the day (*Missale Mozarabicum*, Leslie, pp. 174–178).

The benediction of the lamp appears to have been peculiar to this office, and the prayer is said by Elipandus, A.D. 792, to have been composed by Isidore of Seville (*Epist. ad* Alcuin. § xi. *inter Opp. Alc.*). He quotes a passage in it: "Induit carnem, sed non exuit majestatem," &c. by which we are enabled to identify it. See *Miss. Moz.* p. 176. It is certain that the 4th council of Toledo, A.D. 633 (can. 9), at which Isidore presided, recognised both the paschal lights:— "The lamp and the candle are not blessed in some churches on Easter Eve, and they inquire why they are blessed by us. We bless them solemnly because of the glorious sacrament of that night; that in the benediction of the hallowed light we may discern the mystery of the sacred resurrection of Christ, which took place on this votive night. And forasmuch as this rite is practised in churches in many lands, and districts of Spain, it is fit that for the unity of peace it be observed in the churches of Gallicia."

At Rome there was a singular custom in connexion with the paschal candle which, so far as we have been able to discover, was not adopted elsewhere. The number of years from the crucifixion was inscribed on it. Bede (*De Tempor. Rat.* c. 45) records such an inscription, which had been copied at Rome by some pilgrims from England, viz.: "From the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ are 668 years."

The paschal candle played a considerable part in the baptisms which took place on Easter Eve. When the font was blessed, "at the invocation of the Holy Spirit, which the priest pronounces with a loud voice, *i.e.* with deep emotion of mind, the candle that has been blessed, or those that have been lighted from it, are put down into the water to shew the presence of the Holy Ghost" (Pseudo-Alcuin, *de Div. Off.* Hittorp. col. 259). Only the lower part was immersed (*ibid.*), while the whole, when lighted, represented Christ the pillar of light; the part not yet burning, but ready to furnish the means of light, symbolised the Holy Ghost (Amal. *Var. Lect.* Hittorp. 1447). This was the baptism of the font mentioned above by Zachary. When the catechumens had been baptized, an unlighted candle was put into the hand of each. Litanies were then sung in the Roman ritual (probably only *Kyries*), and then the *Agnus Dei*, during which the precentor gave the word, "Light up," and the candles of the neophytes (Amalar. *de Antiphon.* c. 44; Pseudo-Alcuin, Hitt. col. 260), and all throughout the church (*Ord. Rom.* i. 45; Amal. *ibid.*), were at once lighted. Till that moment the lamps and candles of the church were not lighted for three nights, "to teach us," says the archdeacon of Rome to Amalarius (*u. s.*), "to turn away from joyfulness to sadness," as "joy was quenched in the hearts of the disciples of Christ so long as he lay in the tomb" (Amal. *ibid.*). They were relighted at the Agnus to shew that every one ought to receive light through that "Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world" (Amal. *de Eccles. Off.* i. 30). The mass of the resurrection began after the lighting of the candles (*Ord. Rom.* i. 45, and *Append.* 10; Amal. *de Antiph.* c. 44; Rabanus, *de Instit. Cler.* ii. 38). For "the seven white days," *i.e.* until Low Sunday, the newly baptized were daily present at the celebration of the Eucharist in their white robes and with their candles in their hands (Alcuin, *Ep. ad Car. Magn.* in Hittorp. col. 300; Raban. *u. s.* cap. 39). The symbolism is thus explained: "The eight days of the neophytes represent the course of this present life. For as the Hebrew people, after passing the Red Sea, entered the land of promise, trampling over their foes, preceded by night throughout their journey by a pillar of fire, so our baptized, their past sins done away, are daily led to the church preceded by a lighted pillar of wax" (Pseudo-Alc. *u. s.* col. 262).

VI. We first hear of these baptismal lights in the 4th century.[a] Zeno of Verona, A.D. 360, speaks of the "salt, fire, and oil, and poor tunic" given to the newly baptized (*Tract.* i. xiv. 4). St. Ambrose, 374, addressing a lapsed virgin, says: "Hast thou forgotten the holy day of the Lord's resurrection in which thou didst offer thyself to the altar of God to be veiled? In so great and so solemn an assembly of the church of God, amid the blazing lights of the neophytes, among candidates for the kingdom of heaven, didst thou come forward as if to become the bride of the King" (*De Laps. Virg.* v. 19). Gregory Nazianzen, in a discourse delivered on Easter Day about 385: "Our white dresses and light-bearing yesterday, which we celebrated both privately and publicly, all conditions of men nearly,

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[a] Cyril of Jerusalem, A.D. 350, has been supposed to mention these lights: "The call to be soldiers of Christ, and the lamps that lead the bride home, and the desire of the kingdom of heaven, .... have been yours" (*Catech. Praef.* i.); but he is speaking, not to the baptized, but to competentes, and by the bridal lamps he means those motions of the Holy Ghost and spiritual instructions which had lighted their way to Christ, and to the entrance of His kingdom.

and every high officer, illumining the night with abundant fire," &c. (In S. Pascha, xlv. § 2). About the year 500, a large number of Jews were converted at Auvergne, and we are told by Gregory of Tours, 573, that at their baptism "candles blazed, lamps shone, the whole city was bright with the white-robed flock" (*Hist. Franc.* v. 11). At the request of Gregory, Fortunatus wrote a poem on the event (*Poem.* v. 5), from which we may cite the following lines:—

> "Undique rapta manu lux cerea provocat astra:
> Credas ut stellas ire trahendo comas.
> Lacteus hinc vesti color est; hinc lampade fulgor
> Ducitur, et vario lumine picta dies."

We should infer from this that at baptisms of great interest others, beside the neophytes, carried lights. This is confirmed by the account which an eyewitness gives of the baptism of Theodosius the Younger, A.D. 401: "All were in white, so that you might fancy the multitude covered with snow. Illustrious patricians went before, and every dignitary with the military orders all carrying wax lights, so that the stars might be supposed to be seen on earth" (Marcus Gaz. *Epist. ad Arcad.* apud Baron. ad ann. § 28). The symbolism of these lights is thus explained by Gregory Nazianzen to some candidates for baptism: "The lamps which thou wilt kindle are a mystical sign of that lamp-bearing from thenceforth, wherewith we, bright and virgin souls, will go forth to meet the Bridegroom" (*Orat.* xl. in *Sanct. Bapt.* § 46).

VII. The gospel lights, to which incidental reference has been made, are first heard of in the 4th century. St. Jerome, A.D. 378, tells us that, "through all the churches of the east, when the gospel is to be read, lights are kindled, though the sun is already shining; not, indeed, to dispel darkness, but to exhibit a token of joy; .... and that under the figure of bodily light, that light may be set forth of which we read in the psalter, 'Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths'" (*Cont. Vigilant.* c. iii.). In the west the custom is first mentioned by Isidore of Seville, writing in 636, which makes it probable that it travelled to Rome through Spain, as several other rites appear to have done. He says (*Etymol.* vii. xii. 29), "Those who in Greek are called acolytes are, in Latin, called ceroferarii, from their carrying wax candles when the gospel is to be read, or the sacrifice to be offered; for these lights are kindled by them, and carried by them, not to dispel darkness, for the sun is shining the while, but for a sign of joy, that under the form of bodily light may be represented that light of which we read in the gospel: 'He was the true light.'"

VIII. There is ample evidence of the use of lights, both stationary and processional, at funerals in every part of the Christian church. When the body of Constantine lay in state, "they lighted candles on golden stands around it, and afforded a wonderful spectacle to the beholders, such as was never seen on the earth under the sun since the world was made" (Euseb. *Vita Constant.* iv. 66). Gregory Nyssen, A.D. 370, speaking of his sister's funeral, says that "No small number of deacons and sub-deacons preceded the corpse on either side, escorting it from the house in orderly procession, all holding wax candles" (*De Vita S. Macrinae*, in fin.). From Gregory[b] Nazianzen, we learn that the rite was in frequent, if not general, use at this time; for referring to the burial of Constantius, he says: "He is carried forth with the acclamations and escort of the people, and with these our solemn rites, viz. hymns by night, and torch-bearing, with which we Christians are wont to honour a religious departure" (*in Julian. Invect.* ii. *Or.* v. 16). St. Jerome, of the obsequies of Paula, A.D. 386: "She was borne by the hands of bishops, who even put their shoulder to the bier, while other pontiffs carried lamps and candles before her (*Ad Eustoch. Ep.* cviii. § 29). St. Chrysostom: "Tell me what mean those shining lamps. Do we not conduct them (the dead) forth as athletes?" (in *Epist. ad Hebr.* c. 2; *Hom.* iv. § 5). When the remains of Chrysostom himself were removed from Comana to Constantinople in 438, "the assemblage of the faithful covered the mouth of the Bosphorus at the Propontis with their lamps" (Theodoreti *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 36; comp. 34). At the funeral of St. Germanus of Auxerre, A.D. 447, "the multitude of lights beat back the rays of the sun, and maintained their brightness even through the day" (Constant. in *Vita S. Germ.* ii. 24; ap. Surium, Jul. 31). When Euthymius died in Palestine, A.D. 467, the patriarch of Jerusalem "went down to the laura himself, and transferred, with accompaniment of lamps and psalms, that holy body of the blessed one to the abode which he had himself built, trusting it to his own hands alone" (*Euthymii Vita*, c. 112; *Eccl. Gr. Monum.* ii. 296, Cotel.). Corippus, the grammarian, describing the ceremonial at the funeral of Justinian, A.D. 565, says that, "a thousand stands of gold and silver with candles set on them filled the halls," and that when the corpse was taken out for burial, "the whole populace went out in procession from the palace, the mournful bands burning funereal torches" (*De Laud. Justin. Min.* iii. 9, 38).

At Paris, in 585, king Guntram buried a murdered grandson "with the decoration of innumerable candles" (Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* vii. 10). When queen Radegund was buried at Poictiers in 587, "the freewomen, who carried candles (cereos) before her, all stood round the grave. Every one gave her name inscribed on her candle. They all, according to the order prescribed, gave the candles to one of the servants. A dispute arises among the people; some said that the candles themselves ought to be put into her holy tomb; others said not" (*Vita St. Radeg.* auct. Baudonivia, cap. v.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. 13). The question was settled by one of the candles leaping out of the hands of the servant who held them, and falling at the feet of the corpse.

IX. From this use of lights the transition was easy to leaving them in the sepulchre, or near the grave, when the nature of the place admitted of it. We accordingly often read of lights in the martyria or oratories erected over the re-

[b] Gregory (*Orat.* vii. 15) has been quoted as saying that his mother carried a lamp at the funeral of her son Caesarius, but the original has, not λαμπαδοφορίᾳ, but λαμπροφορίᾳ, and tells us that she wore a shining white dress. The error is due to the old Latin translation, which gives "cereorum gestatione" as the equivalent to λαμπροφορίᾳ. See edit. Morell. *Or.* x. tom. i. p. 169.

mains of martyrs. We have already seen this forbidden in the daytime by the council of Illiberis, about 305, because it tended to distract those who resorted to them for prayer. St. Jerome, as we have also seen, owns and defends the practice, though ascribing it to weak and ignorant persons. We may cite an instance from the Dialogues of Gregory, A.D. 595. That author relates that St. Peter once appeared to the sacristan, not long deceased, of the church dedicated to him at Rome, and in which the saint's body lay, when he had risen at night "to trim the lights by the entrance" (lib. iii. c. 24). Gregory's suggested explanation is, that he did so in order to shew that he was always cognizant of, and always ready to reward "whatever was done out of reverence for him." Gregory of Tours tells us that two energumens entering a monastery at Malliacum (Maillé-Lallier), declared that it contained the tomb of St. Solemnis, and said: "When you have found it, cover it with hangings, and burn a light." Miracles followed the discovery, and we read that one person who had been cured of an ague, "having prayed and lighted candles, held them in his hands throughout the night, keeping vigil there" (*De Glor. Conf.* 21). A lamp gave perpetual light at the tomb of St. Marcellinus of Iverdun (*ibid.* c. 69), and of St. Marcellus of Die in Dauphiny (*ibid.* 70). The oil in both these instances was supposed to be endued with miraculous power. Franco, bishop of Aix, A.D. 566, having been plundered by a powerful neighbour, is said to have addressed St. Merre, before whose tomb he had prostrated himself, in these words: "Neither light shall be burnt here, nor psalmody sung, most glorious saint, unless thou first avenge thy servants of their enemies, and restore to holy church the things by force taken from thee" (*ibid* 71).

X. The next step, naturally, was to treat any supposed relic of the saint, however small, with similar tokens of veneration. In the 5th century, we read of a man who had been cured of lameness after praying in a church where relics of St. Stephen and other saints were thought to be preserved, "lighting candles and leaving his staff there" before he went home (Evodius, *de Mirac. St. Steph.* i. 4; App. vi. *Opp.* Aug.). Gregory of Tours having dedicated an oratory, removed thither from a church relics of St. Euphronius and others, "candles and crosses shining" as they went (*De Glor. Conf.* 20). In another oratory at Tours were alleged relics of John the Baptist, before which a lamp burnt, the oil of which bubbled miraculously (*Mirac.* i. 15). The bishop of a certain sea-town in the east, hearing that some relics of St. Julian were in a ship that had just arrived, "moved the people to go in procession to the port with lighted torches" (*ibid.* ii. 33). During an epidemic at Rheims in 546, a relic of St. Remigius was carried through the city "with lighted candles on crosses, and with candlesticks" (*De Glor. Confess.* 89). Lights fixed on crosses were an invention of St. Chrysostom, who employed them in those nocturnal processions which he instituted at Constantinople to counteract a similar custom of the Arians (Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 8).

XI. Lights before relics were naturally followed by lights before images, when the latter began to be unduly honoured. There are no instances, however, earlier than the 6th century. Some MSS. of Gregory of Tours relate a miraculous cure performed with oil from a lamp before the picture of St. Martin in a church at Ravenna (*De Mirac. St. Mart.* i. 15). This proves, at least, that the practice was known to the writer, while its novelty and partial distribution may be inferred from the fact that Paulus Warnefridi, telling the same story, says that "there was an altar in honour of St. Martin, with a window near it, in which a lamp was set to give light" (*De Gest. Longob.* ii. 13). In the east, John Moschus, A.D. 630, tells the story of a hermit who, when about to visit any holy place, used to set a candle before the picture of the blessed Virgin, trusting to her to keep it burning until he returned (*Pratum Spirit.* c. clv.). In 715, Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, writing to another bishop, says: "Let it not scandalize some that lights are before the sacred images and sweet perfumes. For such rites have been devised to their honour.... For the visible lights are a symbol of the gift of immaterial and divine light, and the burning of sweet spices of the pure and perfect inspiration and fulness of the Holy Ghost (*Ep. ad Thomam*, in Labbe, *Conc.* vii. 313). In 787, the second council of Nicaea gave its sanction to the practice already popular by a decree that "an offering of incense and lights should be made in honour" of the icons of Christ, of angels, of the blessed Virgin, and other saints (Labbe, *u. s.* 556). This was one of the practices which even the more moderate of the emperors opposed to image worship endeavoured to put down (*Epist.* Mich. Balb. ad Ludov. Pium in *Decreta de Cultu Imag.* Goldast. p. 619).

XII. During the last three centuries of our period, a custom prevailed of offering candles to God, and at length to the saints, with prayer for recovery from sickness, and other benefits. *E.g.* a girl who had been long ill made a candle of her own height, which she lighted and held burning, "by the help of which (God pitying her in the name of the holy woman St. Radegund), the cold was expelled before the candle was consumed" (*Vita S. Radeg.* § 32; Venant. Fortun. A.D. 587; compare the *Life* by Baudon. § 20). Gotselin, the monk who, in the 9th century, wrote a life of St. Augustine of Canterbury, when relating the cure of a cripple, says, that he had received from a charitable woman "a light to offer" to the saint (§ 2, *Acta SS.* O. B. tom. i.). By the council of Nantes, A.D. 660, all persons were forbidden "to make a vow or to carry a candle or any gift when going to pray for their health, except at the church to the Lord their God" (can. 20). The object, it must be explained, was to put down heathen superstitions, not to discourage saint-worship. In the life of St. Sabas, ascribed to Cyril of Scythopolis, A.D. 555, there is a story of a silversmith who, having been robbed, "went immediately to the martyrium of St. Theodore, and for five days supplied (and probably tended, ἐποίησα) the lights of the nave, and remained there night and day weeping at the rails of the bema" (§ 78, Cotel. *Mon. Graec.* iii. 355).

XIII. Candles were also offered as a token of thankfulness for mercies received. For example, when Justin the Younger, on his accession, went

with the empress to a public service of thanksgiving, they both offered frankincense and candles (Corippus, *u. s.* ii. 9, 71; comp. v. 317). A wax candle was offered at the tomb of St. Eucherius of Orleans, A.D. 738, by a woman whom he had converted (*Vita S. Eucher.* § 10; *Acta SS.* O. B. iii. 599).

XIV. The Liber Pontificalis (*Anastat. Bibl'ith.* n. 85) tells us that Sergius I. A.D. 687, ordered that on the feast "of St. Simeon, which the Greeks call *hypapante*, a litany (*i.e.* procession) should go forth from St. Adrian's, and the people meet it at St. Mary's." The Greeks had observed the feast for some time (with what ceremonies we cannot say); but this appears to be its introduction at Rome. Sergius was a Syrian of Antioch by birth, and was more likely to bring in an eastern custom than many of his predecessors. This feast (Feb. 2) was afterwards called the Purification of St. Mary, and was marked by so profuse an use of lights that it acquired the name of Missa Luminum (Candlemas). Lights are not mentioned in the above account, nor by the interpolater who in the 9th century or later adapted Gregory Nyssen's Sermon *de Occursu Domini* to the feast; but they were so common in processions at Rome, that they were probably carried in it from the first; especially as the words of Simeon (Luke ii. 32) suggested them as appropriate to the occasion. The earliest witness to their use however is Bede, 730, who says that the festival took the place of the old lustrations of February: "This custom of lustration the Christian religion did well to change, when in the same month, on the day of St. Mary, the whole people with the priests and ministers go in procession through the churches and suitable parts of the city with the singing of hymns, all carrying in their hands burning wax lights, given them by the pontiff" (*De Temp. Rat.* 10). The only other witness before the death of Charlemagne is Alcuin, in a sermon (*in Hypapanti*, § 2) before that prince: "The solemnity of this day, while it is unknown to some Christians, is held by many in greater honour than the other solemnities of the year; but above all in that place, where the Catholic Church has obtained the primacy in its chief pastor, is it held in so great reverence, that the whole populace of the city collected together, shining with huge lights of wax candles, celebrate the solemn rites of masses, and no one without a light held in his hand enters the approach to a public station;—as if, in sooth, being about to offer the Lord in the temple, yea, to receive also the light of faith, they are outwardly setting forth by the sacred symbolism (religione) of their offering that light wherewith they shine inwardly" (Baluz. *Miscell.* ed. Mansi, ii. 52). Martene and others have cited similar references to the lights of this festival, which, if genuine, would be earlier than Bede, from homilies ascribed to St. Eloy, bishop of Noyon, A.D. 640, and Ildefonsus, bishop of Toledo, 657; but those homilies are by careful critics assigned respectively to the 9th and 12th centuries. See Oudin in nn.

It will be observed that Bede speaks of the candles as "given" by the bishop of Rome. He does not say "blessed." Similarly, Pseudo-Alcuin (*De Div. Off.* Hittorp. 2..1): "They receive all a single wax candle from the hand of the pontiff." Amalarius, A.D. 827 (*De Eccl. Off.* iv. 33) and Rabanus, 847 (*De Instit. Cleri*, ii. 33), also mention the lights, but not any benediction. Nor can we find any form of blessing in any sacramentary written before the 9th century. There is one in a Tours missal of that age, but so inferior in composition that it can hardly be older than the missal itself. We give it here:—"*A Prayer at the Blessing of the Lights.* O God, the true light (lumen), propagator and author of the light (lucis) everlasting, pour into the hearts of Thy faithful the brightness of perpetual light (luminis); and (grant) that whosoever in the holy temple of Thy glory are adorned with lamps of present lights, being purified from the contagions of all vices, may be able to be presented unto Thee, with the fruit of good works, in the temple of Thy heavenly habitation; for the," &c. (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iv. 15, 5). [W. E. S.]

**LILIOSA**, martyr; commemorated Aug. 27 (Usuard. *Mart.*); Bede as LIBIOSA same day.

**LILY.** Though this flower may be considered as a scriptural symbol from St. Matt. vi. 28, no particular meaning seems to have attached to it at any early date. The κρίνα of that passage may be the scarlet anemones which every traveller must have observed in the Holy Land during the spring, or rather, as the writer is inclined to fancy, the delicate and lovely cyclamens which flower in great plenty in both spring and autumn in the valley of Jehoshaphat. The early Christian decorators made little generic distinction in the wreaths of flowers they painted or carved on graves. The Italian use of the lily may probably date from Giotto and the early Florentine Renaissance, and would then refer to the red or white Giglio of the city arms. The subject of the Annunciation, so frequently treated from the earliest Byzantine or Lombard-Romanesque dates, would sooner or later bring the favourite flower of Florence and of France* in special pictorial relation to the blessed Virgin. In later days, it is considered as the lily of the tribe of Judah, and accordingly forms a symbolic essential to pictures of the Annunciation (Guénebault, *Dictionnaire des Monuments*, *s. v.*). But as a symbol, carved or painted, it is either ethnic or mediaeval, though used to convey the idea of virginal beauty in Cant. ii. 2, 16, &c. Its connexion with the lotus, dwelt on by Auber (*Symbolisme*, iii. 546), is not made out, and appears to be simply architectural, and founded on the convex or concave form of the bells of capitals of columns (1 Kings vii. 19, 22). See Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, ii. 128, 242, 137.

The following meanings are attached to the lily in the *Clavis* attributed to Melito of Sardes (*Spicilegium Solesmense*, iii. p. 475). It is fairest of flowers, and so resembles Him (Cant. ii. 1). It is golden on white, it has petals and six leaves, both perfect numbers, representing perfect deity and humanity. It possesses both beauty and medicinal virtue ("membris medetur adustis"), and so resembles the mother of God, who has pity on sinners.

* No earlier than Philip Augustus (Auber, vol. iii. p. 547).

Its green signifies humility; its whiteness, chastity; its golden hue, charity. It is the holy church; it is the glory of immortality; it is the Holy Scriptures, with reference to Cant. iv. 5; and a variety of impertinences of symbolism, which have been its weak side, and the bane of religious art, from a distressingly early date in the history of religion and art alike.

[R. St. J. T.]

**LIMINIUS**, martyr, in Auvergne, circ. A.D. 255; commemorated Mar. 29 (*Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 769). [C. H.]

**LINENTIUS**, confessor near Tours, 6th century; commemorated Jan. 25 (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 628). [C. H.]

**LINUS (1)** Bishop and martyr at Tyre; commemorated Feb. 20 (*Mart.* Usuard.).

(2) Bishop of Rome, martyr; commemorated Sept. 23 (Usuard. *Auct.*; Ado, *Mart. Append.*; *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 539), and Nov. 26 (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). One of the saints of the Gregorian canon. [C. H.]

**LIOBA** (LEOBGYTHA, TRUTHGEBA), abbess, circ. A.D. 780; commemorated Sept. 28 (*Mart.* Ado, *Append.*, Usuard. *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Sept. vii. 748). [C. H.]

**LION.** It is difficult, as Ciampini admits (*Vet. Mon.* tab. 17), to attach specially Christian meaning to the form of an animal which has been an ethnic or universally human symbol of strength and courage from the earliest records of Egypt and Assyria. As part of a composite form, the shape of the lion is connected with the cherubic symbol. [See CHERUB in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible.*] The twelve lions of Solomon's throne (1 Kings x. 19, 20), to which Ciampini alludes, were intended of course as emblematic sentinels, after the fashion of Assyrian imagery; and he also notices that the eagle is used in the same manner, often in company with the lion, apparently for state and ornament alone. It is pretty certain, however, that the ideas of watchfulness and vigour, or authority in the faith, were connected with the leonine form, as it not unfrequently occurred in Christian churches, especially under Lombard rule. It is placed at the doors, very frequently as a solid base to small pillars in the porch, or tympanum; and also at the foot of ambons or pulpits; as a symbol no doubt of watchfulness, or even of wakefulness, according to the tradition of the lion's sleeping with open eyes. The lions of the gate of Mycenae may be an instance of ancient Greek use of the form in this sense. To this effect Martigny quotes Alciati's *Emblems* (*Deliciae Ital. Poetarum*, p. 20, Francof. 1558):

> "Est leo, sed custos, oculis qui dormit apertis;
> Templorum idcirco ponitur ante fores."

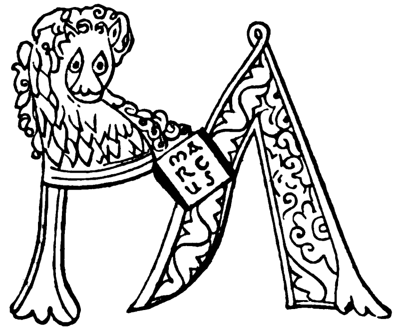
It is natural, of course, that archaeologists of all dates should wish to attach a specially Christian symbolism to the lion-form. But, as Ciampini shews, the principal sculptures of the subject are of early pre-Christian date; he gives two, in particular, from ancient Egypt (*Vet. Mon.* i. tab. 17), and the same associations have attended the image of the king of beasts from the first records of ideas. By the early church, it was adopted, like the originally ethnic images of the shepherd, the vine, or the fish; though not sanctioned, like them, by the Lord's use of the image.

Lions are sometimes represented as grasping the "hystrix" or porcupine, or holding a small human figure in their claws, apparently with tenderness, in the latter case (see Ciampini). The hystrix will in this case represent the power of evil, the human form the race of mankind. The Veronese griffin, mentioned by Prof. Ruskin (*Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. viii. p. 106), holds a dragon in his claws to typify victory over evil by the angelic powers.

On a gem figured vol. i. p. 715, the lion and serpent are represented on each side of a dove, which is placed on a wheatsheaf, bears the olive branch, and evidently represents the church. This Mr. King considers an illustration of the precept to be wise as serpents and harmless as doves; though it seems possible that the idea of contest with the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon, may be connected with it. This subject, though rare, occurs in a Vatican ivory from the abbey of Lorch, part of the binding of its ancient Evangeliary: and again in Gori (*Thes. Diptychorum*, vol. iii. iv.).

For the lions as attendant on Daniel, on sarcophagi and elsewhere, see Bottari, passim.

[R. St. J. T.]




From Bastard, 'Sacramentary of Gellone.'

**LIPHARDUS (1)** (LIETPHARDUS), bishop or archbishop of Canterbury and martyr, circ. A.D. 640; commemorated Feb. 4 (Bede, *Mart.*, *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 492). [LIFARDUS.] Bede has Liphard under both days.

(2) (LIFARDUS), of Magdunum (Meun); commemorated June 3 (*Mart. Hieron.*; Bede, *Auct.*; Usuard. *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* June, i. 298).

[C. H.]

**LIPPIENSE CONCILIUM.** [PADERBORN, COUNCIL OF.]

**LIPSTADT, COUNCIL OF.** [PADERBORN.]

**LIPTINENSE CONCILIUM.** [LESTINES, COUNCIL OF.]

**LITANY** (λιτανεία, *Litania* v. *Letania*). A litany is strictly any united prayer and supplication in the churches or assemblies of the faithful. "Litania, quae Latine Rogatio dicitur, inde et Rogationes." *Ordo Romanus*. By the word, however, is usually understood a form of alternative prayer, intercessory or deprecatory,

and of a penitential character, containing invocations to the Holy Trinity and to the saints, in which the people respond to each clause of the priest by the repetition of a short and expressive formula.

Litanies date from the earliest times of settled forms of Christian worship. Originally they were confined to the liturgy, properly so called; but in course of time, as forms of public prayer developed themselves, they are more frequently found apart from the liturgy, and appropriated to occasions of more than ordinarily earnest and penitential supplication, and specially associated with processions, during which they were repeated. Hence the procession itself was often called litania.

The word is sometimes spelt "letania," and some have drawn a distinction between the two forms, and argued that letania means a day appointed for special rejoicing. "Laetum ac festivum diem significat."[a] The words are, however, generally, and probably always, used as synonyms.[b]

The earliest and simplest form of Litany is the *Kyrie Eleison*, repeated three,[c] six,[d] twelve,[e] forty,[f] or more times. Mabillon (*Comm. in Ord. Rom.* i. 2, p. 34) describes a procession in which the people chanted alternately three hundred times *Kyrie Eleison, Christe Eleison*; and the *Capitulary of Charlemagne* (vi. c. 197) directs that during the funeral office, if the people do not know the Psalms, the men should repeat *Kyrie Eleison* and the women *Christe Eleison* while they were being chanted.

The expression has been thought by some to have been suggested by a sentence of Arrian (*Comment. de Epicteti Disput.* ii. c. 7), "Calling upon God we beg of Him κύριε ἐλέησον." It occurs however with slight variations in the Old Testament, and was in use in the Christian church before the date of the sentence just quoted. It has been used in the ecclesiastical offices of all nations, and from the earliest times. It is found in the liturgies of St. James, of St. Mark, and of the Greek Fathers, as well as in those of the Armenians, Syrians, and other Oriental Christians, whose rites are among the oldest extant, and who repeat it in the vernacular.

There is some uncertainty by whom it was introduced into the Latin Church. The chief writers on Ritual[g] attribute the introduction to Gregory the Great. But the custom appears to have been in use before his time, as the 5th canon[h] of the 2nd council of Vaison, in the time of Felix IV. (al. III.), A.D. 529, seems to shew, which speaks of the *Kyrie Eleison* as being then established in all the provinces of the East and of Italy, and directs it to be used in the churches of Gaul; and Gregory himself (lib. 7, *Ep.* 64), in answer to some who spoke of him as wishing to introduce the rites of the church of Constantinople into that of Rome, says: "We neither have hitherto said, nor do we now say, *Kyrie Eleison*, as it is said by the Greeks" [nos neque diximus, neque dicimus, &c.], and then he points out the double distinction: (1) that with the Greeks the whole congregation say it together, whereas with the Romans the clergy and people say it alternately; and (2) that the Roman use is to repeat *Christe Eleison* as often as *Kyrie Eleison* has been said, which the Greeks never do.[i]

The words were always said by the Latin church in Greek, for which practice different symbolical reasons have been given. St. August. (*Ep.* 178) compares it with the use of the Greek *Homoousion*, and remarks that as by the word *Homoousion* the unity of substance of the Trinity is confessed by all believers, so by that other, *Kyrie Eleison*, the nature of the One God is invoked by all Romans and barbarian. The words were said after the *Introit*, but originally the number of repetitions was not prescribed, but *Kyrie Eleison* was repeated by the choir until the presiding prelate directed it to be changed into *Christe Eleison*: "Schola vero, finita Antiphonia, ponit *Kyrie Eleison*, Prior vero scholae custodit ad Pontificem ut ei annuat si vult mutare[k] numerum Letaniae[l]" (*Ordo Rom.* v. num. 6).

It appears that in the 9th century the number of repetitions was prescribed (v. Amalarius, *de Div. Off.* iii. cap. 6), and by the 12th century at latest was established at nine, i.e. *Kyrie Eleison* (thrice), *Christe Eleison* (thrice), *Kyrie Eleison* (thrice). At this number it has since remained. Various symbolical reasons have been assigned for this number, on which it is not necessary to dwell. In the Ambrosian rite *Kyrie Eleison* is said thrice after the *Gloria in Excelsis*, thrice after the Gospel, and thrice at the end of the mass.

It has been questioned to whom the invocation is to be considered as addressed. When the form *Kyrie Eleison* alone is used, the prevailing opinion appears to be that it is addressed to the second person in the blessed Trinity, and Anastasius Sinaiticus[m] (*Contemp. in Hexaemeron.* lib. vii. cont.), referring to Dionysius the Areopagite,[n] says that God the Word was properly called Lord (Dominus, Κύριος), after and with reference to the Incarnation, and the dominion which He thereupon received. "He is called Lord [Dominus, nempe Κύριος] because He has the Lordship [ex eo quod κυριεύει]. Rightly, therefore, and fittingly and suitably, when God the Word in His advent to man took flesh and was seen upon earth, was He also called Lord. For previously He was called God (Θεός), as being the overseer (θεωρητής) of the world."

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[a] v. Pappenbrock, *Acta Sanct.* Jun. 28, in S. Leon. ii., where he gives his reasons.

[b] Augusti (*Chris. Arch.* 10. 33) says, "Aber dieser willkürlich gemachte Unterschied scheint nur auf einem Wortspiele zu beruhen."

[c] In the daily offices, *passim*.

[d] As in the litanies after Terce on certain days, in the Ambrosian use.

[e] As after the hymn at Lauds, and in Lent at the end of Vespers in the same use, and in Vespers of the Greek church.

[f] As in the daily night and day hours of the Greek church.

[g] *e.g.* Micrologus, Amalarius.

[h] There is some confusion in the canons of the two councils of Vaison (Vasio, in Gallia Narbonensis); the first was in the time of Leo the Great, A.D. 442.

[i] In the Ambrosian rite the invocation *Christe Eleison* is very rarely found, and only in borrowed forms.

[k] Otherwise called "mutare Litaniam."

[l] *i.e.* in alteram formulam, sc. *Christe Eleison*.

[m] Vid. *Biblioth. Max. Patrum*, vol. xiv.

[n] *Ib.* vol. ii.

When *Christe Eleison* is interposed, the invocation is usually considered to be addressed successively to each of the persons in the Trinity (see Amalarius, lib. iii. 6, and iv. 2; and S. Tho. Aquin. *Summa*, part iii. qu. 83, art. 4).

We have entered at some length into the use of *Kyrie Eleison*, as these words are the germ of all litanies. We will now proceed to their use and development.

I. As to the use of litanies in the *Liturgy*. In the Greek liturgies from the earliest times long intercessory prayers, broken into clauses, each with the same beginning, and responded to in the same words, have formed part of the introductory or *proanaphoral* part of the liturgy. In the Clementine liturgy, these prayers begin as follows. They are called "The Bidding of Prayer over the Faithful" (προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστῶν).

"*Let us pray* for the peace and the stability of the world and of the holy churches, that the God of the universe may give us His perpetual peace which cannot be taken away; that He would keep us to the end of our lives in the fulness of piety and godliness. *Let us pray* for the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church throughout the world, that," &c., and so on; the successive petitions comprising prayers for the diocese, the bishop and clergy, the married, the single, relations, travellers, captives, slaves, enemies, those who are in error, infants, &c.

Here no response is given at the end of each clause, but each begins with the same form, *Let us pray for* (ὑπὲρ . . . . δεηθῶμεν).

In the *Liturgy of St. James* these prayers occur in the same position as in the Clementine liturgy, shortly before the beginning of the Anaphora. They are of precisely the same nature, though differently worded. They are called the catholic and universal *collecta* or *synapte* (συναπτή); and, after a few opening words by the deacon, begin thus: "That God may send peace from heaven; that He may be gracious unto us, and preserve our souls,

"*Let us beseech the Lord*,"

and so on for twelve such clauses, each ending *Let us beseech the Lord* (τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν), and the last followed by κύριε ἐλέησον (thrice).

In the liturgies of St. Basil and of St. Chrysostom these prayers are the same for each. They occur in both at the opening of the liturgy, before the prayer of the first antiphon.

The deacon says: "Let us beseech the Lord in peace.

"*R. Kyrie Eleison.*

"*Deacon*. For peace from above, and for the salvation of our souls, let us beseech the Lord.

"*R. Kyrie Eleison*,

"For the peace of the whole world, for the stability of God's holy churches, and the unity of them all, let us beseech the Lord.

"*R. Kyrie Eleison.*"

and so on, the petitions making mention of all orders of men, for the king, his court and army, for success in battle, for fine weather, for the fruits of the earth, &c. These prayers are called in the rubrics,[o] εἰρηνικά, because of the introduction, "Let us beseech the Lord in peace," the first petition in all of them, as will be seen in the examples given, being for peace. They are also known as διακονικά, because said by the deacon; as συναπτή [Collecta][p], because they form, as it were, a *concatenation* of petitions fitted together into one; or as Ectene (ἐκτενή), because they are ordinarily long. They were recited by the deacon from the *Ambo*.

In the Armenian liturgy a litany of the same character, except that the response is not always the same, is said by the deacon and the choir alternately, immediately after the *Trisagion*,[q] and before the lections from Scripture, and the Creed.

In the West, missal litanies were also common. It was usual to say them immediately after the *Kyrie* on those days on which *Gloria in Excelsis* was not said, and this custom continued until the 9th century. They contained prayers for all estates of men, and were of the same character as the Greek.

An old form contained in a MS. at Fulda, and called a missal litany, begins thus:

"Let us all say with our whole heart and mind,
"*O Lord hear and have mercy* [Domini exaudi et miserere].
"Thou who beholdest the earth and makest it tremble,
"*We beseech Thee, O Lord, hear and have mercy.*
"For profoundest peace and tranquillity of our times,
"*We beseech Thee*," &c.
"For the holy Catholic Church, which is from the borders of the world unto the ends thereof,
"*We beseech Thee*," &c.,

and so on for 15 clauses.

In the Ambrosian liturgy, the missal litany is still said on the Sundays in Lent, immediately before the *Oratio super populum*, which corresponds with the Roman collect for the day. There are two litanies, of which one is used on the first, third, and fifth Sundays in Lent, the other on the alternate Sundays. They are framed entirely on the Greek model; often in almost the same words. They are said by the deacon, the choir responding. The first runs thus:

"Imploring the gifts of divine peace and indulgence with our whole heart and soul, we beseech Thee,
"*Lord, have mercy.*
"For the holy Catholic Church, which is here, and is dispersed throughout the whole world, we beseech Thee
"*Lord, have mercy*," &c., &c.

The original of this litany, which is a good specimen of missal litanies, is as follows:

"Divinae pacis et indulgentiae munera supplicantes ex toto corde et ex tota mente precamur te,
"*Domine miserere*" (repeated at the end of each clause).
"Pro Ecclesia sancta Catholica, quae hic et per universum orbem diffusa est, precamur Te." [These two words repeated at the end of each clause.]
"Pro Papa nostro *Ill.*[r] et Pontifice nostro *Ill.* et omni clero eorum, omnibusque Sacerdotibus ac Ministris, precamur Te.
"Pro famulis Tuis *Ill.* Imperatore, et *Ill.* Rege, Duce nostro, et omni exercitu eorum,
"Pro pace Ecclesiarum, vocatione gentium, et quiete populorum,
"Pro civitate hac et conservatione ejus, omnibusque habitantibus in ea,
"Pro aeris temperie ac fructu et fecunditate terrarum,

[o] Goar. Not. in *S. Chrys. Lit.*

[p] The English word *collect* conveys quite a different notion.

[q] This must be distinguished from the *Sanctus* of the liturgy.

[r] Sc. *Illo.*

"Pro virginibus, viduis, orphanis, captivis, ac poenitentibus,

"Pro navigantibus, iter agentibus, in carceribus, in vinculis, in metallis,* in exiliis constitutis,

"Pro iis qui diversis infirmitatibus detinentur, quique spiritibus vexantur immundis,

"Pro iis qui in Sancta Ecclesia Tua fructus misericordiae largiuntur.

"Exaudi nos Deus in omni oratione atque deprecatione nostra,

"Dicamus omnes, *Domine miserere.*"

The other litany is of precisely the same nature, but worded differently.

In the Mozarabic liturgy, missal litanies, called *preces*, are said on the first five Sundays in Lent, after the psallendo, which follows the prophecy, or Old Testament lection, and before the epistle. There is no essential difference of character in them from those hitherto mentioned, though prayers for mercy for the particular congregation occupy a larger space, and there is a much greater number and variety in them. They also have a distinctly rhythmical and stanzaic character, and an approximately accentual scansion, which a few corrections of the text, often corrupt, would probably restore throughout. Those for the first, second, and third Sundays are addressed to the Saviour; those for the fourth and fifth are put into His mouth. Their rhythmical character is clearly seen in the following opening of that for the second Sunday in Lent, which is in accentual iambic lines:[t]

"*Preces.* Miserere et parce clementissime Domine populo tuo: *Quia peccavimus Tibi.*
Prostrati omnes lacrymas producimus,
Pandentes Tibi occulta quae admisimus
A Te Deus veniam deposcimus.
R. *Quia peccavimus Tibi.*
"Orationem sacerdotum accipe,
Et quaeque postulant [? poscunt] affluenter tribue,
Ac Tuae plebi miserere Domine.
*Quia peccavimus Tibi.*"

And so on for nine such stanzas.

Or in that for the third Sunday:

"Rogamus Te, Rex Saeculorum, Deus Sancte,
*Jam miserere, peccavimus Tibi.*
Audi clamantes, Pater altissime,
Et quae precamur, clemens attribue,
Exaudi nos Domine. *Jam miserere, &c.*
Bone Redemptor, supplices quaesumus,
De toto corde flentes, requirimus
Adsiste propitius. *Jam miserere, &c.*"

And so on for seven stanzas.

That for the fourth Sunday begins thus:

"Vide Domine humilitatem meam, quia erectus est inimicus

"R. Miserere Pater Juste et omnibus indulgentiam dona."

| | |
|---|---|
| "A Patre missus veni | "Praedictus a Prophetis |
| Perditos requirere, | Natus sum ex Virgine, |
| Et hoste captivatos | Assumpsi formam servi |
| Sanguine redimere, | Dispersos colligere, |
| Plebs dira abjecit me. | Venantes ceperunt me. |
| R. *Miserere, &c.* | R. *Miserere, &c.*" |

And so on for nine stanzas, recounting the incidents of the Passion.

In the Roman liturgy these litanies did not establish themselves permanently. None appear in the sacramentary printed by Thomasius (vol. vi.), which cannot be later than the end of the 6th century.[a]

The interpolated or farced kyries, said at the mass instead of the simple kyrie on certain days, hardly come within our limits of time; but a reference to them, in connexion with the subject before us, may be allowed. They were common in the Middle Ages, and probably were intended to assist the devotion and bring out the mystical signification of the words. A few are printed in an edition of the Roman missal of Paul III., with the heading "Sequuntur quaedam devota verba super *Kyrie Eleison*, *Sanctus*, et *Agnus Dei*, ibi ob pascendam nonnullorum Sacerdotum devotionem posita, quae licet non sint de ordinario Rom. Ecc., tamen in certis missis ibidem annotatis licite dicendae."[z] These interpolated kyries were called "tropes."

The following is appointed for festivals, other than those of the highest class:

*Kyrie*, Rex genitor ingenite, vera essentia, *Eleison.*
*Kyrie* luminis fons, rerumque conditor, *Eleison.*
*Kyrie*, qui nos tuae imaginis signasti specie, *Eleison.*
*Christe* Deus formae humanae particeps, *Eleison.*
*Christe* lux oriens per quem sunt omnia, *Eleison.*
*Christe* qui perfecta es sapientia, *Eleison.*
*Kyrie*, Spiritus vivifice, vitae vis, *Eleison.*
*Kyrie*, Utriusque vapor in quo cuncta, *Eleison.*
*Kyrie* expurgator scelerum et largitor gratiae, quaesumus propter nostras offensas noli nos relinquere, consolator dolentis animae, *Eleison.*

II. In other of the daily offices of the church, litanies of the same description as those in the liturgy often occur. For instance, in the Greek church a litany, whether called "synapte" or by any other name, is said in the daily office of nocturns, and at great vespers of a vigil at the office of lighting of lamps. They also form part of many of the offices of the church contained in the euchology.

In the Ambrosian office, litanies are said (among other days) after terce on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent ("litaniae post tertiam"). These consist mainly of a series of penitential antiphons, divided into two parts by invocations to saints and two collects, and other forms.

The Mozarabic daily offices abound in short litanies, of the same nature as those in the mass. They are placed at the end of most of the offices in Lent and on days of penitence. They are in most cases evidently rhythmical, and are addressed to the Saviour.

The following is from terce on Tuesday in the fourth week in Lent, and is a fair specimen:

* A very frequent petition in these litanies.
[t] In the office books they are printed without distinction of lines.

[a] Among other reasons, (1) because *Filioque* does not appear in the Creed; (2) because there are no masses for Thursday in Lent, which (on the authority of Anastasius) Gregory II. instituted early in the 8th century; and (3) because masses for some festivals are wanting which were instituted early in the 7th century.

[z] They were in common use in England, and are said by some to have been introduced by Bede, and twenty-nine are given from the various missals. The Sarum missal directs that on all double feasts throughout the year one of the following *Kyries* (which are there given), with its verses (cum suis versiculis), shall be sung at the choice, within certain limits, of the precentor. It is said they were in use in Sicily in the middle of the last century. The one given in the text is found in the Sarum and Hereford missals.

*Preces.* Dicamus omnes: *Miserere nobis Deus.*
R. *Miserere nobis.*
V. Tu Redemptor, Jesu Christe, salva mundum Tua morte. R. *Miserere nobis.*
Qui pro nobis es percussus, et inique judicatus.
R. *Miserere nobis.*
Qui ligatus crucem portas, et in cruce Patrem vocas.
R. *Miserere nobis.*
Cujus latus perfoditur, et humilitas arridetur.
*Miserere nobis.*

The "miserationes" said at compline on week days in Lent are of the same nature. There is a different form for each day in the week.

III. The typical form of litany differs from those already noticed. It was, moreover, appropriated to other occasions of prayer, and used at other times than the ordinary liturgy or daily offices, and specially in connexion with processions.

The original and simplest form was, as we have seen, *Kyrie Eleison* and its repetitions. The smallest and most usual number of these repetitions was three, in the place of the second of which the Roman church, at an early period, substituted the form *Christe Eleison.* To this introduction was added an invocation to each Person of the Blessed Trinity severally and to all collectively, with *miserere nobis* at the end of each clause. Then followed invocations to the Blessed Virgin, angels and saints, each with *ora pro nobis.* Then "deprecations" from various evils, spiritual and temporal, each followed by *Libera nos Domine;* supplications for the church and all estates of men, each followed by *Te rogamus, audi nos;* the whole series concluding with the *Agnus Dei* thrice repeated, with the three successive responses—*Parce nobis Domine; Exaudi nos Domine; miserere nobis.* Then *Christe audi nos; Christe exaudi nos; Kyrie,* &c.; *Pater noster,* a few "preces" (said alternately), a psalm, or disconnected verses of psalms said consecutively, and sometimes called "capitula," and the whole concluded with prayers or collects (orationes), mainly for forgiveness and protection.

This is the outline of a Roman litany in its full development. The names of the saints invoked varied with the place, or the occasion, or the service, as in the Ambrosian litanies in Lent, already referred to, in which they vary with each litany. The list was always headed by the Virgin and the heavenly host. The *Agnus Dei* was added in the 9th or 10th century.[y] According to some authorities the essential parts of a litany, without which no form of prayer is properly entitled to the name, are the invocation of saints, and the *Christe audi nos,* &c., at the end of the supplications.

The following litany is found, under the title *Litania Romana,* in an old MS. sacramentary of Gregory the Great. It was doubtless adopted in some church or churches of Gaul, as appears from the introduction of the names of some saints who were not specially venerated at Rome (S. Maurice, † A.D. 286, S. Germanus, † A.D. 448, &c.), and from the petition for the Emperor of the Franks.

*Incipit Litania Romana.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kyrie Eleison .. | *ter.* | S. Philippe .. | *ora.* |
| Christe audi nos .. | *ter.* | S. Bartholomaee .. | *ora.* |
| Sancta Maria, | *ora pro nobis.* | S. Matthaee .. .. | *ora.* |
| Sancte Michael .. | *ora.* | S. Simon .. .. | *ora.* |
| S. Gabriel .. .. | *ora.* | S. Thaddaee .. | *ora.* |
| S. Raphael .. .. | *ora.* | S. Matthia .. .. | *ora.* |
| S. Johannes .. | *ora.* | S. Barnaba .. .. | *ora.* |
| S. Petre .. .. | *ora.* | S. Marce .. | *ora.* |
| S. Paule .. .. | *ora.* | S. Luca .. .. | *ora.* |
| S. Andrea .. .. | *ora.* | S. Stephane .. .. | *ora.* |
| S. Jacobe .. .. | *ora.* | S. Line .. .. .. | *ora.* |
| S. Johannes .. .. | *ora.* | S. Clete .. .. | *ora.* |
| S. Thoma .. .. | *ora.* | S. Clemens .. .. | *ora* |
| S. Jacobe .. .. | *ora.* | &c. | &c. |

[And so on for 101 names.[z]]

| | |
|---|---|
| Omnes Sancti .. .. .. .. | *Orate pro nobis.* |
| Propitius esto .. .. .. .. | *Parce nobis Domine.* |
| Propitius esto .. .. .. .. | *Libera nos Domine.* |
| Ab omni malo .. .. .. .. | *Libera.* |
| Ab hoste malo .. .. .. .. | *Libera.* |
| A periculo mortis .. .. .. | *Libera.* |
| Per crucem tuam .. .. .. | *Libera.* |
| Peccatores .. .. .. .. .. | *Te rogamus audi nos.* |
| Ut pacem nobis dones .. .. | *Te rogamus.* |
| Ut sanitatem aeris dones .. | *Te rogamus.* |
| Ut fructum terrae nobis dones | *Te rogamus.* |
| Ut aeris temperiem nobis dones | *Te rogamus.* |

Ut domnum Apostolicum *ill.* in sancta religione conservare digneris, *Te rogamus.*
Ut domnum Imperatorem et exercitum Francorum conservare digneris, *Te rogamus.*
Ut cunctum populum Christianum pretioso sanguine tuo redemptum conservare digneris, *Te rogamus.*
Ut iram tuam ab eo auferre digneris, *Te rogamus.*
Fili Dei, *Te rogamus.*
Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, *Miserere nobis.*
Christe audi.
Kyrie eleison.

Later forms of litanies are fuller, but in character do not differ from the earlier.

In the early Latin church various kinds of litanies were distinguished by different names. The principal of these were—

1. The *greater litany* (litania major), called also the *sevenfold litany* (litania septiformis).

This is said to have been instituted by Gregory the Great, A.D. 590, to be observed on St. Mark's day (April 25), for the purpose of averting the Divine wrath on the occasion of a pestilence then ravaging the city. In a sermon preached the day before, he urged the people to come at daybreak the next day with contrite heart and amendment of life to the sevenfold litany, for which he then proceeds to give directions. It was so called from its being divided into seven litanies or processions, each of which started from a different church, and singing litanies on their road, all met in the church of St. Mary the Great. "Let the litany" (*i.e.* the procession), he continues, "of the *clergy* proceed from the church of St. John the Baptist; the litany of *men* from the church of St. Marcellus the Martyr; the litany of *monks* from the church of SS. John and Paul; the litany of the *handmaidens of God* from the church of the Blessed Martyrs Cosmas and Damian; the litany of *married women* from the church of the Blessed Stephen the Protomartyr; the litany of *widows* from the church of the Blessed Martyr Vitalis; the litany of the *poor and infants* from the

[y] Letter from J. M. Tommasi to Eras. Gattola, abbat and librarian of Montecasino, dated Rome, 1690.

[z] The number of these invocations was sometimes much larger. A litany of the church of Tours, assigned to a date not later than A.D. 800, has more than 300.

church of the Blessed Martyr Cecilia "[a] (S. Greg. *Ep.* lib. ii. 2). In another passage Gregory speaks of litanies as already in existence, and their observance as familiar to the people:—"The return of this annual devotional celebration reminds us, beloved brethren, that we ought, by the help of God, to celebrate with earnest and devout hearts the litany which is called by all the greater (major)."

But there is an uncertainty. It may well be that Gregory found some litanies on a smaller scale in existence, and developed them. These litanies on St. Mark's day are still observed in the Ambrosian rite.

2. There were the litanies on the three Rogation days. These are said to have been instituted by St. Mamertus, archbishop of Vienne, A.D. 477. St. Avitus, his disciple, Sidonius Apollinaris (lib. i. 7, &c.), and Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* lib. ii. c. 34), relate the circumstances. The latter says there had been a great and destructive earthquake in the city of Vienne, which also suffered from war and wild beasts, and that as Mamertus was celebrating mass on Easter Eve, the royal palace in the city was struck with fire from heaven (divino igne) and destroyed. Upon this, he ordered litanies, with fasting, for the three days previous to Ascension Day. The rite was adopted in other French churches, and enjoined by the council of Orleans, A.D. 511. These litanies were not introduced into the church of Rome till the pontificate of Leo III. (A.D. 795–816). In Spain they were received still later. According to Ambrosian use, they are not observed on the original days of their institution, as is supposed on account of our Lord's words, "Can the children of the bridechamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them," &c. (St. Mark, ii. 19), but a week later, *i.e.* on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in the octave of the Ascension. The litanies are said after terce as on the days in Lent, and are of the same description, but somewhat longer. In the Mozarabic breviary the four days next before Pentecost are appointed as days of fasting—"ad exorandum Dm. nostrum J. C. pro peccatis nostris, ac pacem impetrandam vel pro sacris lectionibus audiendis; et ut veniat Spiritus Paraclitus, et munda nostra reperiat habitacula Ecclesiam Dni. frequentemus" (*Rub. in Brev. Moz.*). The ordinary service is modified by the addition of short preces at the end of terce, sext, and none.

There is some variation in the name by which the litany of the Rogation days is known. At first it seems to have been called, in Rome at least, letania "minor," partly to distinguish it from the litany on St. Mark's day, which was always called "major," and to which the epithet was appropriated, and partly, possibly, as suggested by Durandus—"quae minorem nacta sit auctorem; non Romanum Pontificem, sed Mamertum Viennae Allobrogum Episcopum." These litanies, however, were soon called "major," as in the council of Mentz, can. 33, A.D. 813—"Placuit nobis ut *Litania major* observanda sit a cunctis Christianis diebus tribus," &c. Menardus also says (in *Litania majore*): "Haec *Litania major* est Rogationum, quae in triduo ante Dominicam Ascensionem celebranda," &c. It was also sometimes called *Gallicana*, from the country in which it was instituted, while the Litany on St. Mark's day was called *Romana*.

The directions for the order of the Litany and procession on the Rogation days are given very fully from a MS. *ceremonial* of the Church of Vienne by Martene, iii. 126, and also the Litanies themselves for each day from a MS. *ordinary* of the church of Lyons. They present no peculiar features, but are interesting as pointing out clearly where the *Stations* occur, and at what churches. They are always said after Terce. After the ordinary litany, in which no psalm is said (Nulla dicas *capitula* sed orationem tantum), *Sext* is said, the processional office continuing with more invocations and antiphons, and at the last station of the day *None* is said, and then *Mass*. Afterwards the procession returns, saying alternately certain *preces*, and the whole terminates with the "Litany for any trouble" [Letania de quacunque tribulatione].

Litanies of the same character were said in some churches at other times. Thus the Mozarabic breviary prescribes Litanies and days of fasting on the *Jejunium calendarum Januarii*, *i.e.* the three days next before the Epiphany, for three days before the festival of St. Cyprian [Sept. 13], and for three days before that of St. Martin [Nov. 11], called *Jejunium calendarum Novembris*, as well as on certain other week days.

The Ambrosian rite also appoints Litanies for the week days of the last week in Advent, called *Feriae de Exceptato*.

3. Certain Litanies were also called septenary, quinary, ternary (*septena*, *quina*, *trina*). They were thus said at the font on Easter Eve:

The first subdeacon begins *Kyrie Eleison*, then the second repeats *Kyrie Eleison*, and so on till the seventh.

Then the first begins *Christe Eleison*, and so on till the seventh.

Then the first begins *Christe audi nos*, and so on till the seventh.

And the whole Litany is gone through in the same manner, each clause being repeated seven times, once by each of seven subdeacons. In the *Invocations* of the saints, seven names are recited out of each order of saints (dicuntur de quolibet choro septem sancti), seven from the apostles, seven from the martyrs, seven from the confessors, and seven from the virgins.

Then follows the *quinary* litany, said in the same manner by five subdeacons, the names of five saints being recited from each order, and then the *ternary*, said in the same manner by three.

Litanies were also used at baptisms, at administering extreme unction, and on other occasions, which it is not necessary to specify.

In a MS. Pontifical of Salzburg, the following metrical litany occurs:—

Rex sanctorum Angelorum, totum mundum adjuva,
Ora primum tu pro nobis, Virgo mater Germinis
Et ministri Patris summi, ordines Angelici,
*Rex Sanctorum.*

Supplicate Christo regi, coetus Apostolici,
Supplicetque permagnorum sanguis fusus Martyrum,
*Rex Sanctorum.*

[a] This sevenfold order is said to have been kept up at Tours as late as the 17th century, the clergy of the seven churches in the city starting each from their own church and meeting in the abbey church of St. Martin.

Implorate Confessores, consonate Virgines,
Quo donetur magnae nobis dies indulgentiae,
*Rex Sanctorum.*

(and so on through all the orders of saints, ending thus):

Praesta Patris, atque Nati compar Sancte Spiritus,
Ut te solum semper omni diligamus tempore,
*Rex Sanctorum.*

The following is "ex pervetusto codice seu ordine Romano Wirtinensis, in dioecesi Monasteriensi:—

"*Letania*" (for the first day of Rogation).
Humili prece ad Te clamantes semper exaudi nos.
Summus et Omnipotens Genitor qui cuncta creasti,
Aeternus Christus Filius atque Deus;
Necnon sanctificans Dominator Spiritus almus,
Unica majestas trinaque sola Dei,
*Ad Te clamantes.*
Ipsa Dei Genetrix, reparatrix inclyta mundi,
Quae Dominum casto corpore concipiens,
Perpetua semper radians cum virginitate
Indignos famulos Virgo Maria tuos,
*Humili.*
Angelici proceres, coelorum exercitus omnis,
Aeterno semper lumine conspicuus.
Armine ter trino supero per sidera regno
Laudibus aeternum concelebrans Dominum,
Petrus cum Paulo, Thomas cum Bartholomeo,
Et Jacob sanctus nos relevent precibus.
Andreas, Matthaeus, Barnabas atque Johannes,
Matthias, Lucas, Marcus et altisonus,

(and so on for 78 Elegiac verses, embodying the usual invocations of saints, and supplications of a litany).

These curious litanies are given by Martene, vol. iii. [See also LITE, PROCESSION.]
[H. J. H.]

**LITE** (λιτή). This word is explained as the united supplication of many. In the Greek church it has acquired the technical meaning of a religious procession accompanied with prayer; or of prayer for a special object made during such procession. Hence λιτή and περίπατος are used by Codinus[a] as synonyms, and both as equivalents of the Latin *processio*, ἔτι ψαλλομένου τοῦ ὄρθρου γίγνεται ὁ περίπατος, καὶ ἐστιν ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι ὡς ἔθος λιτήν, ἐν δὲ τῇ λιτῇ περιπατῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα. "Matutinis decantatis, *processio* fit, et necesse est supplicationem in procedendo fieri, et in *supplicatione* Imperatorem procedere." (Codinus *De off. aul. Const.* c. ii.) Again λιτή and λιτανεία are used by Cedrenus[b] as synonymous, αὐχμοῦ γενομένου λιτανείαν ἐποιήσαντο οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφοί . . . . ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν λιτὴν ὁ πατριάρχης σὺν τῷ κλήρῳ. So λιτανεύειν is used in the sense of "to walk in such a procession" (*Typicum Sabae*, c. 42).

*Litae* were used on various occasions of public calamity and intercession. The Greek euchology contains a general "office for different Litae, and vigils with supplications" [ἀκολουθία εἰς διαφόρους λιτὰς καὶ ἀγρυπνίας παρακλήσεων], the framework of which is common to all Litae, and is adapted to the special occasion by the introduction of proper prayers, epistle, gospel, and canon. These and some other minor varying portions are given for the following emergencies: in time of *Drought*; in peril of *Earthquake*; in time of *Pestilence*; in *storms on Land and at Sea*; on occasion of *Inroads of Barbarians*; in anticipation of *War*. There are also special prayers for occasions of intercession, such as, *in any public calamity*; for the *Christian people*; for the *Emperor and his Army*; in times of *famine*; *in danger of thunder and lightning*.[c]

The outline of the service is as follows:

The customary opening formulas (Ter sanctus—τρισάγιον. Most Holy Trinity—παναγία τριάς). The Lord's prayer. *Kyrie eleison* twelve times.

Psalm 142 [143, E. V. Domine exaudi].
The *great Synapte*.[d]
A few *Troparia* of the usual character.
Psalm 6.

"Then the first of the priests says a prayer proper to the *Lite*, and the deacon the *little Synapte*" (εἶτα λέγει ὁ πρῶτος τῶν ἱερέων μίαν εὐχήν, κατὰ τὴν λιτήν, ὁ δὲ διάκονος συναπτὴν μικράν).

Then begins the second station:—
[καὶ ἀρχόμεθα τῆς δευτέρας στάσεως.]
Psalm 101 [102, E. V. Domine exaudi].
A few *Troparia*.
The second of the priests says another prayer.
The *little Synapte*.
Psalm 78 [79. Deus venerunt].
A few Troparia and the *gradual* psalms.
The proper gospel and canon. Dismissal.
[εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ τὴν λιτήν, καὶ ὁ κανὼν παρομοίως.]

The special prayers in these offices are long; several occupying a closely printed folio column and a half, or more, and one (in time of pestilence) almost five such columns.

A *Lite* of a somewhat different nature from the foregoing occurs in the course of *Great Vespers of a Vigil*.

After the prayer of *Inclination of the head* [εὐχὴ τῆς κεφαλοκλισίας] the rubric proceeds: "Then we sing in this manner the *idiomela*[e] proper to the saint of the day, making procession in the *Narthex* (λιτανεύοντες ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι) the priest and the deacon going first with lights and censer. *Glory*. *Stichos* of the saint. *And now*, *Theotokion*[f], and after this the deacon, if he is present, or if not, the priest, says this prayer."

Then follows a prayer for protection through the intercessions of the saints, and prayers for all conditions of men, framed as an ordinary *Ectene*, but with *Kyrie eleison* repeated not after each clause, but three times after a group of several in the course of the prayer, and forty times at the conclusion.

The priest then says a short prayer, bids *Peace to all*, and after the injunction by the deacon to *bow the head to the Lord*, says a prayer for protection identical in substance with that immediately preceding the *Ectene*.

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[a] Codinus held the office of *Curopalata* at the court of the last emperors of Constantinople, and wrote (among other works) *de Officiis Eccl. et aulae Constantin.* Grae. et Lat.

[b] A Greek monk of the 11th century, who wrote *Compendium Historiarum* from the beginning of the world to A.D. 1057.

[c] There are corresponding offices for nearly all these occasions in the rituals of the Western church.

[d] The same, with the omission of the clauses for the king, &c., as that said in the office of the LUCERNARIUM.

[e] *i. e.* certain antiphons, or *stichi*, *i. e.* verses.

[f] *i. e.* an antiphon to the B. V. M.

Then the *Aposticha* (ἀπόστιχα)[g] are begun, and while they are being sung, the procession returns into the nave, preceded by lights, and singing both the *Aposticha* and the *Stichi* belonging to them (ἐνδόντες καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας στίχους αὐτῶν).

The office then finishes with the benediction of the loaves [see Article].

[This is extracted from the office for vespers (ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἑσπερινοῦ) given in the euchology. The "order of the sacred ministry" (διάταξις τῆς ἱεροδιακονίας), in the same book, gives fuller and more complicated rubrics, but the office is the same.]

Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica[h], speaking of this office (*op. cont. Haeres.*) says, "This (λιτή) is celebrated out of doors (ἔξωθεν) in the Narthex of the church, on Saturdays and chief festivals." He assigns also as the reason why the *Lite* is celebrated in the Narthex, that as the Saviour descended to our lower regions, so we implore His mercy, standing at the doors of the church as though at the doors of heaven.

Other occasional and extraordinary *Litae* take place, he says, when any plague or public calamity threatens. [See also LITANY and PROCESSION.] [H. J. H.]

**LITERAE COMMENDATORIAE.** [COMMENDATORY LETTERS.]

**LITERAE DIMISSORIAE.** [DIMISSORY LETTERS.]

**LITERAE FORMATAE.** [FORMA.]

**LITERAE PASCHALES.** [PASCHAL LETTERS.]

**LIETRAE PEREGRINORUM.** [KOINONIKON, I. 907.]

**LITIGATION** (*lites*). Lawsuits of any kind, especially before secular courts, were discouraged as far as possible. The 3rd Council of Carthage (c. 9) provides that any of the clergy who might appeal to a secular court in a civil matter, should in case of success forfeit what they had gained, if they desired to retain their offices. The 4th council of Carthage goes still farther. A bishop is altogether forbidden to undertake any lawsuit about a temporal matter (*Statut. Eccl. Antiq.* c. 19; Bruns, *Canones*, i. 143). The disputes of the clergy among themselves were to be settled by the bishop, either by persuasion or authority, those refusing to obey him were to be condemned by the synod (*c.* 59). Any catholic, lay or clerical, who referred any cause, just or unjust, to the decision of a non-catholic (alterius fidei) judge was to be excommunicated (*c* 87). The council of Chalcedon (*c.* 9) provides a series of appeals to ecclesiastical courts, ending with the tribunal of the emperor at Constantinople (*cf. Codex Eccl. Afric.* c. 125). The council of Vannes however (*c.* 9) permits the clergy to appeal to the secular courts by permission of their bishops, but an appeal from the decision of a bishop, or a suit against a bishop, must be made to other bishops, and on no account, on peril of excommunication, be referred to a secular court. The council of Agde (*c.* 31, 32; Bruns, *Can.* ii. 152) provides that those who refuse to cease from litigation at the bidding of the bishop shall be excommunicated, and forbids any of the clergy to carry a cause into a secular court without permission of the bishop, but permits them to plead in a cause that has already been taken there. The evidence of those who were prone to litigation was to be regarded with suspicion and not received without very careful inquiry into its truth (*Statut. Eccl. Antiq.* c. 58). In all lawsuits the faith and moral character of both parties were to be taken into consideration (*ibid.* c. 96). [P. O.]

**LITTEUS** (LITEUS), bishop and confessor in Africa; commemorated Sept. 10 (*Mart.* Usuard. Ado; *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 483). [C. H.]

**LITURGICAL BOOKS.** The present article relates not merely to such books as are necessary for the performance of the Liturgy proper, or Mass; but to all that are used in the performance of the offices of the church.

I. Before enumerating these, it will be convenient to attempt some answer to the question, "*When were liturgies or other formularies committed to writing for use in the church?*"

It is sometimes alleged that the great variety and length of the prayers, &c. in the liturgies and offices of the church preclude the supposition that these can ever have been said without book. And this is no doubt true; but it only throws us back on the further enquiry, when it was that liturgies and services became so lengthy and complicated as absolutely to require written manuals for their due performance—a question to which no definite answer can be given.

We cannot, in fact, inquire when liturgies were first written, without first inquiring when they were first celebrated in set forms; forms must have been adopted before they were written down, though it by no means follows that they were *at once* written; some forms may have been long handed down by tradition before they were committed to writing.

As it is certain that the Jews used forms of devotion in the Temple and in the Synagogue before the Incarnation, and as the services of the church were unquestionably influenced by those of the Synagogue, it seems to be a fair presumption that Christians also adopted set forms in their public devotions from an early period[a] To this it is objected that Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. c. 67) describes the president of a Christian assembly as sending up prayers "according to his ability"—an expression which (it is thought) must imply that the prayers were wholly dependent upon the powers of him who uttered them. But in fact it is probable that the words ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ simply mean "with all his strength," referring to the vehemence with which the prayer was uttered, and not to the matter of it; and Valesius has noted (on Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15, § 36), that ἀναπέμπειν is used specially of uttering with a loud voice. Indeed, when Justin describes (l. c.) the Christians as

[g] Goar (*in loco*) calls these τὰ ἀπὸ στίχων στιχηρά. They are *stichera* appended to *stichi*, or fragmentary verses from the psalms, and are explained as "versus e Davidicis versibus compositi."

[h] *Bibl. Max. Pat.* xxii.

[a] In saying this, the writer does not contend that forms of prayer were adopted to the exclusion of *ex tempore* prayer.

standing up together in a body, and uttering prayers (εὐχὰς πέμπομεν), we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the harmonious utterances of a multitude must have taken some well-known form, perhaps rather of the nature of short "preces" than more lengthened "orationes." And when he says (*Apol.* i. c. 13) that Christians thought it right to send "pomps and hymns"[b] to the Creator by means of language, rather than as the heathen did his words suit better the majestic style of Eastern prayers and odes, such as we have them, than the unpremeditated effusions of a presiding brother.

Another objection is found in Tertullian's assertion (*Apol.* c. 30), that Christians prayed without a prompter (sine monitore) because they prayed from the heart. We know too little of the functions of the heathen "monitor" to be able to say with certainty what kind of contrast is intended. If the monitor dictated the *words* of the prayer, the passage seems to imply that Christians needed no such aid, but prayed in such words as the heart prompted; if the monitor, like the deacon in Christian assemblies at a somewhat later date, simply proclaimed the object for which prayer was to be made from time to time, no such inference can be drawn. And, as Bingham has remarked (xiii. v. 5), in *public* prayer the presiding brother or presbyter must, in any case, have dictated words to the rest, whether with the help of a set form or not, or there could have been no common worship. On the whole, we conclude that Tertullian, in the passage before us, simply means that Christians needed no *urging* to pray, as some of the heathen did; they needed no prompting but that of their own hearts.

Again, it is contended (*e.g.* by Le Brun, tom. ii. *Diss.* i. p. 11 ff.) that certain expressions of St. Basil prove conclusively that liturgies were not committed to writing in his time. The passage in question is the following: τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; (*De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 27, § 66); that is, "which of the saints left behind for us in writing the words of the invocation at the displaying (or dedicating) of the bread of thanksgiving and the cup of blessing?" On this passage we have to remark, that St. Basil is here defending apostolic tradition; if, he says, we were to reject everything which has not direct written [*i. e.* scriptural] authority as being of no great importance, we should very much endanger the church; for many well-known practices rest only on tradition; as the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, the turning towards the East, the use of the words of invocation [EPICLESIS]. That he is referring to the want of *scriptural* authority for certain parts of the church service, not to the absence of written copies, is evident from the words which follow the passage quoted above: "for we do not by any means content ourselves with those words which are recorded in the Epistles or the Gospels, but we prefix and suffix others, as being of great efficacy in respect of the mystery, receiving them from the unwritten discipline (ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες)." Clearly when St. Basil says that the words of the Epiclesis were not received in a written form from any of the saints, he means that they were not contained in scripture, but formed a part of that mass of non-scriptural tradition which included so many well-known church observances. On the question, whether these formularies were committed to writing in his own time, his words determine nothing; what he says is virtually, that they were not contained in any writing of the apostolic age. In any case, St. Basil's expressions relate only to the Epiclesis in the liturgy, the exact words of which may perhaps not have been committed to writing until a comparatively late period, from the dread of profanation by the heathen.

In another of Le Brun's arguments (tom. ii. Diss. i., art. 5, p. 29–32), that the fathers expressly forbade the Lord's Prayer or the Creed to be written down on paper or parchment, he seems to have forgotten both that the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were regarded as much more secret and sacred than most other portions of divine service, and that these cautions were addressed to catechumens.

On the other hand, it has been supposed that some at least of St. Paul's quotations, which are not found in canonical scripture, are taken from Christian liturgies. As, for instance, in 1 Cor. ii. 9, the quotation, "eye hath not seen nor ear heard . . ." which is introduced with the words "καθὼς γέγραπται," is by no means exactly taken from Isaiah lxiv. 4, and may (it is contended) have been taken from a liturgy. The expression does in fact occur in the liturgy of St. James (Daniel, *Codex*, iv. 113), which however is, as a whole, unquestionably of much later date than the apostolic age. With greater probability it has been thought that the expression "faithful is the word" (πιστὸς ὁ λόγος), several times occurring in the pastoral epistles (1 Tim. i. 15; iii. 1; 2 Tim. ii. 11; Tit. iii. 8) implies the quotation of a saying or γνώμη familiar to the Christians in their assemblies, perhaps one which they were accustomed to repeat "with one voice;" the passage 2 Tim. ii. 11 in particular has very much the rhythm of an "ode" intended for chanting.

Whether we should reckon the books or rolls found in ancient Christian pictures [I. 877] as liturgical books is very doubtful. But we come upon the traces of at least some forms committed to writing in the 2nd century. Celsus (Origen *c. Cels.* vi. 40, p. 302 Spencer) says that he saw in the possession of Christian priests certain "barbaric books, full of names of demons and portentous expressions." These were in all probability forms of EXORCISM [I. 651], though Daniel (*Codex*, iv. 28 ff.) considers them to have been DIPTYCHS. They were at any rate some kind of formulary used by Christians. And the way in which Origen replies to Celsus, that Christians who duly worship God in the set prayers (προσταχθείσαις εὐχαῖς) are free from the assault of demons, seems at any rate to indicate the existence of forms. Eusebius declares (*H. E.* v. 28, § 5) that *written* odes (γραφεῖσαι) testified from the very beginning to the divinity of Christ the word of God; a passage which reminds us of the well-known phrase

[b] For the application of the word πομπή to language, compare Pseudo-Plato, *Axioch.* p. 369 D, πομπὴ καὶ ῥημάτων ἀγλαϊσμός.

of Pliny (*Epist.* x. 96 [al. 97]), "carmen Christo quasi Deo dicere." In the account of the martyrdom of Felix († 250) of Tubyza in Africa (Baluz. *Miscell.* ii. 77), the emperor is said to have put forth an edict, that the books—meaning apparently those which were the property of the church—should be taken from the bishops and priests by violence if necessary; and in the same narrative, the priest Januarius and the readers Fortunatus and Septimianus declare that the bishop had the custody of the books. In the 4th century, the evidence of the existence of liturgical books becomes more clear and definite. Pseudo-Athanasius, for instance, speaking of the rage of the Arians against the orthodox (*Epist. Ath. et Episc. ad Marcum*, in Migne, vol. 28, p. 1445), says that, among other things, they burned the church books. It is not improbable that the book which Hilary of Poitiers is said to have compiled (Jerome *de Scriptoribus Eccl.* c. 100), called *Liber Hymnorum et Mysteriorum*, was a collection of forms for the celebration of the sacraments. Gennadius (*De Viris Ill.* c. 48) describes certain books which Paulinus of Nola compiled as *Sacramentarium* and *Hymnarium*. Victor Vitensis (*Persec. Vandal.* i. 12) tells how Geiseric compelled the priests to give up the sacred vessels or all their books (ministeria divina vel libros cunctos).

The existence of something of the nature of a "mass-book" in the 5th century is testified by Gregory of Tours in the following circumstance (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 22). Sidonius Apollinaris († ca. 488), when the book from which he was accustomed to read the sacred office (per quem sancta sollemnia agere consueverat) had been mischievously taken away, was able to go through the whole service of the holy day "a tempore," to the admiration of all. This is mentioned as an instance of his readiness and command of expression, not of his memory; but even if we suppose that the saint extemporised the office, the passage equally proves that a "libellus" was in common use. Gregory also (*Vitae Patr.* c. 16, § 2, p. 1229) relates of Venantius, that coming one day to the church he said, "my eyes are dim and I cannot see the service book (libellum)," and requested a presbyter to say the office, which was (as the subsequent narrative shews) the altar service.

II. *List of Liturgical Books.*—The rule of Chrodegang (c. 79, in *Conc. Germ.* i. 119) lays down that every priest ought to have in his church the books which are necessary to enable him to read[e] masses, epistles, gospels, baptismal and penitential offices, the series of offices for the year (circulos anni) or the nocturnal lections, without further defining the books. The English Aelfric at a somewhat later date required that every presbyter should possess before ordination a psalter, a book of the Epistles, a book of the Gospels, a mass-book (librum missalem), books of the Canticles, a manual or encheiridion, a "gerim," a penitential, and a lectionary (Hardouin's *Conc.* vi. 982). Instead of the word "gerim," Mansi gives (*Suppl. Conc.* i. 1168) "Numerale," which is thought to mean a calendar or martyrology. [LIBRARIES, II. 986.]

We proceed now to give a list of liturgical books actually existing, and used (in most cases) from ancient times.

a. *Of the Western Church.*—For the saying of the several offices at the altar or in the choir there would evidently be required—

1. Some kind of directory as to the order and manner of performing the services and ceremonies appropriate to the several days. Such a book, which would contain what in modern times we call the *Rubrics*, the Latins called ORDO.

2. The actual matter of the prayers, thanksgivings, prefaces, &c., which were to be used in the offices. The SACRAMENTARY or MISSAL contained the prayers, &c., used in the altar offices on the several festivals throughout the year.

The plenary MISSALS, which contain all that is necessary for the performance of the altar-services, do not fall within our chronological limits. The Collectarium contained the COLLECTS [I. 403], and CAPITULA [I. 289], to be said in the Hour-offices.

3. The PSALTER contained the Psalms arranged for saying in the daily offices, together with the CANTICLES [I. 284], and the Psalm *Quicunque Vult.*

4. Provision was of course made for the reading the Scripture-portions appointed in the offices, whether at the altar or in choir. This was done either by marking in a copy of the Gospels, Epistles, or other books of Scripture, the passages to be read in the several offices; or by extracting the several passages and arranging them in a separate book [EPISTLE, I. 621; GOSPEL, I. 740; LECTIONARY, II. 953].

5. The ANTIPHONARY [I. 100] contained the Antiphons, Responds, and Invitatories used in divine service.

6. The Hymnarium contained the metrical hymns used in the offices.

7. It was sometimes found convenient to place the Benedictions in a separate volume called a BENEDICTIONAL [I. 199].

8. The MANUAL contained those offices (other than the Mass and the Hour-offices), which a presbyter could administer; and

9. The PONTIFICAL, those which only a bishop could perform.

10. The Penitential (*Poenitentiale*) contained not only the form of administering penance, but also the penances required for various forms of sin. [PENITENTIAL BOOKS.]

11. The Passional (*Passionale*, or *Liber Passionarius*) contained the acts of the martyrs who were commemorated on certain days of the year. [LEGENDA, MARTYROLOGY.]

β. The Greek Liturgical books in the list given below are probably, in several cases, of later origin than the eighth century; but as there is great difficulty in determining their exact date it seemed best to give the whole list according to the modern arrangement.

1. The Directory for saying the offices was called by the Greeks TYPICUM (τυπικόν).

2. The LITURGY proper (λειτουργία) contains the fixed portions of the office of the altar. If to this the offices for the administration of the other sacraments, benedictions, etc. are added, the whole volume is called EUCHOLOGION.

3. The MENAEA contains the portions both of the choir-services and altar-offices which are

[e] Or "understand," if "intelligi" be the right reading rather than "legere."

proper for the several Saints'-days or other festivals.

4. The HOROLOGION [I. 784] contains the daily offices for the hours of prayer.

5. The Greeks, like the Latins, have a book of the Gospels (εὐαγγέλιον); of Epistles (ἀπόστολος, or πραξαπόστολος); and of Lessons from the Old Testament (ἀναγνώσεων βίβλος). Also

6. The PSALTER (ψαλτήριον), containing the Psalms, arranged for recitation, and several other offices or portions of offices.

7. The TRIODION contains the CANONS of odes to be used in Lent; and a similar book, the PENTECOSTARION, contains the proper odes, &c. for the period from Easter to the octave of Pentecost.

8. The PARACLETICON, or Paracletice, contains the Troparia for the ferial offices.

9. The OCTOECHUS contains the ferial Stichera and Troparia from the vespers of the Saturday till the end of the liturgy on Sunday.

10. The MENOLOGION is equivalent to the MARTYROLOGY of the Western Church.

The ANTHOLOGION [I. 91] and Synopsis ought, perhaps, scarcely to be reckoned among liturgical books, as they are mere compilations for the use of ordinary worshippers, from the Paracletice, Menaea, and Horologion, of such portions as are most commonly in use.

The Hirmologion is a collection of HIRMOI (I. 773).

The Synaxaria are "the abbreviated lections from the Menologion, extracted from the Menaea, and published, for convenience sake, by themselves" (Neale's *Eastern Ch.* Int. 890).

The PANEGYRICON is a collection of sermons, by approved authors, for various festivals.

III. Among liturgical books, the first place, both for its importance and the splendour with which it was written, illuminated, and decorated [see below], is to be given to the Evangeliary, or book of the Gospels. Evangelistaria, or books containing only those passages of the Gospels which were read in the altar-office, are rare within our period, while many ancient MSS. of the Gospels bear marginal words or marks which shew that they have been used for liturgical purposes [LECTIONARY].

The book of the Gospels was an object of veneration in many ways. When the church was able to celebrate its services and arrange its churches without fear of persecution, and the sacred books were no longer concealed from the prying eyes of informers; then it came to be usual to lay the book of the Gospels in some conspicuous place in the church, or even on the altar itself [ALTAR, I. 66], (Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, x. 29; see the representations figured by Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* tab. xxxvii.). Compare ENTRANCE, GOSPEL. In councils it was not unusual for the Codex of the Gospels to be enthroned with great solemnity at the beginning of the assembly, as was done in the councils of Chalcedon, in the third and fourth of Constantinople, the second of Nicaea, and in the Roman synods of the years 642, 745, and 969. In the Christianised Empire, Justinian ordered the book of the Gospels to be deposited in the courts of justice (Binterim, iv. i. 225). From Chrysostom (*Hom.* 72 [al. 73] *in Matt.*, p. 669, Migne), and Jerome (*Comm.* on Matt. xxiii. 6, p. 186), we learn that in their time it was not unusual for Christians to have a copy of the Gospels hung from their necks, which was also a practice of pious ladies in the fifth century, according to the testimony of Isidore of Pelusium.

The oath in the Gospels was from ancient times regarded as one of the most solemn adjurations. [OATH.]

On the use of the book of the Gospels in ordination, see BISHOP, I. 221, and ORDINATION.

The Fathers of the Eighth General Council (*Constantinople*, A.D. 869, c. 7) approved the veneration paid to the book of the Gospels by the faithful.

The Evangeliary, to protect it from injury, was commonly placed in a clasped or sealed CAPSA when not actually in use; an example may be seen in a mosaic of the Liberian church in Rome, said to have been completed under Sixtus III. (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* i. 16). [C.]

IV. LITURGICAL BOOKS IN ART.—Dom Guéranger (*Institt. Liturg.* iii. 223 ff.) dwells on the devoted care with which the sacred books were transcribed, edited, and corrected, in early days. There was required of them, he says, accuracy and fidelity enough to set all men free from the least fear of alteration in the text; personal morality, well suited to the sanctity of divine mysteries; and a degree of dignity, if possible of splendour, in execution such as might impress the eye and the mind with religious respect. The MSS., when completed in the scriptoria, were corrected under the care of bishops and abbats, who either entrusted that duty to confidential hands, or, in many cases, executed it themselves. The copyists would have thought it sacrilege to depart in any degree from the words given them to reproduce.

Guéranger (iii. 225) quotes the prologue found in Alcuin's sacramentary, as a specimen of the spirit in which church-books were compiled and copied.

"But since there are some other forms which the holy church necessarily makes use of, and which the said father saw had been set forth by others, and so himself had passed them by, on this account we thought it worth the while to gather these up like blossoming flowers of the field, and collect them in one, and set them apart in the body of this MS. . . . and for the sake of this distinction we have set this prologue in the midst, so as to be the end of the first part of the book and the beginning of the second. . . . We pray you therefore, whoever shall have taken in hand this roll to read or transcribe it, that ye pour out your prayers to the Lord for me, for that we have been diligent to collect and correct these things for the profit of as many as may be. And we pray you to copy it again so diligently, as to its text, that it comfort the ears of the learned, and allow not any of the simpler sort to go astray. For it will be no avail, as saith blessed St. Jerome, to have made correction in a book, unless the corrected reading be preserved by the diligent care of the book-keepers."

Some of the personal prayers or benedictions of actual scribes are of great beauty, but few appear to have been preserved before the 11th century. One or two may be repeated here. Guéranger has extracted the first from a Greek evangeliary of that period. Their mournful

piety is certainly different from the quiet greeting of St. Paul's secretary, "I Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you."

"This book has been written by the hand of a sinner. May the most holy mother of God, and Saint Eutychius, vouchsafe to accept its homage, and may the Lord God, by intercession of the most holy mother of God and Saint Eutychius, grant us eternal life in heaven. Amen."

The two illustrious (and ominously named) caligraphs of the 9th-century evangeliary of St. Emmeran of Ratisbon speak to this purpose on its last page, in Latin elegiacs:—

"Bis quadringenti volitant et septuaginta
  Anni, quo Deus est virgine natus Homo;
Ter denis annis Karolus regnabat et uno,
  Cum codex actus illius imperio.
Hactenus undosum calamo descripsimus aequor,
  Littoris ad finem nostra carina manet,
Sanguine nos uno patris matrisque creati,
  Atque sacerdotis servit uterque gradum,
En Berengerius, Luithardus nomine dicti,
  Queis fuerat sudor difficilisque nimis.
Hic tibimet, lector, succedant verba precantis,
  Ut dicas, capiant regna beata poli."

Mabillon, *Iter Germanicum*, p. 53.

"Twice four hundred years are fled and seventy, since the God Man was born of a virgin: thrice ten years and one Charles had reigned when by his command this book was begun. Thus far we have traced our course over a troubled sea with our pen; our bark is staid on the shore at last: we two were born of the blood of one father and one mother, and each of us serves the office of priest, even we, called by name Berengarius and Luithard, to whom has been toil much and hard. Here, O reader, mayest thou thyself take up words of prayer, and say, May they reach the blessed kingdom of heaven."

Charlemagne exerted himself, amidst all the cares of his vast empire, to multiply exact copies [d] of evangeliaries, psalters, and sacramentaries, often destined as presents to his bishops for the use of their dioceses. There can be no doubt of the important effect produced on deep and imaginative minds, not greatly aided nor encumbered by book-study, by the lovely ornament, and sometimes energetic and powerful realizations of actual events, which are found in the great MSS. of early ages. There is no reason to doubt the story that king Alfred received help in the pursuit of knowledge, if he was not induced to learn to read, by the ornamental letters of a MS. (Asser, pp. 7, 8, ed. Walsingham). Charlemagne's devotion to the subject induced him to attempt the art of caligraphy and illumination with his own hand (Eginhard, *Vita B. Caroli Magni*, cap. vii.), "sed parum prosperè successit labor praeposterus et sero inchoatus."

Mabillon and Montfaucon both describe a MS. which is said to have been copied by the hand of Eusebius of Vercelli in the 4th century. (See *Iter Italicum*, xxv. p. 9, ed. 1687; *Diarium Italicum*, p. 445, 1702.) It contains the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, as Mabillon says; and it may here be observed, in passing, that the early grandeur of uncial characters, majuscular or minuscular, often made it necessary, for want of space, to divide the evangeliaries into parts; or even prevented their completion. The Eusebian evangeliary is in uncial writing, chiefly minuscular, says Guéranger (*Institutions Liturgiques*, iii. 312), and Montfaucon gives its alphabet. But both he and Mabillon speak of it as in a most lamentable state of fragility and decay, caused more by damp and former accidents, than by its age. "Membrana situ fere corrupta est, characteres paene fugientes et semideleti tantisper a Romana scriptura degenerant," says the latter; and Montfaucon seems to have regretted its probable destruction somewhat the less because he found it as a version, "a vulgata nostra toto coelo discrepantem." It has been published by Bianchini, Rome, 1749,[e] and is said to be still preserved in the treasury of its ancient convent.

In the 5th century the principal authentic specimens of evangeliaries yet remaining are the Vatican MS. above mentioned (1209), the Gothic evangeliary of Ulfilas, kept at Upsal,[f] the Latin evangeliary of St. Germain des Prés, and those at Cambridge, with perhaps the most important of all, the Syriac gospels, transcribed by the monk Rabula in 586,[g] now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. The Leonian sacramentary, the psalter of St. Germain des Prés,[h] and that of Zurich,[i] complete Guéranger's selection of liturgical MSS. of this century. Without giving his full list (iii. 289–292) of the works and caligraphers of the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries, we may mention the evangeliaries of Monza,[k] of Notre Dame de Paris, and that which bears the name of Colbert, both in the Bibliothèque National at Paris;[l] the Anglo-Saxon Cottonian MS. in the British Museum, and St. Kilian's at Würzburg, in the cathedral treasury, with the Cottonian psalter of St. Augustine. Of the 8th century, the Sacramentary of Gellone will be found admirably illustrated by Count Bastard, vol. i.; and the great Greek evangeliary of Vienna, with the Missale Francorum, Missale Gothicum, the Cottonian MSS., and others, in Silvestre's *Paléographie Universelle*.

Before proceeding farther, it may be well to call the reader's attention to the accurate meanings of a few terms, and one or two necessary explanations. The first has reference to the real function of the caligrapher, as distinguished from that of the illuminator or miniature-artist of later times. The illuminators, as Guéranger observes, begin their reign at the end of the

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[d] Kraser (*De Liturg.* p. 224) quotes Charlemagne's *Capitularies* (l. 62) thus: "Pueros vestros non sinatis eos vel legendo vel scribendo corrumpere: et, si opus est, Evangelium, et Psalterium, et Missale scribere, *perfectae aetatis* homines scribant cum omni diligentia."

[e] The silver cover of this ancient MS. is described by Mabillon, and will be referred to later in this article.

[f] See Migne, Ulfilas.

[g] Assemani, *Catalogue of Laurentian Library*; D'Agincourt, *Hist. de l'Art par les Monuments*; *Peinture* pl. xxvii.

[h] See *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vol. i. p. 686, nos. 2 and 3 in plate.

[i] Dom. Tassin. *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, tom. i. p. 686, no. 14 in. plate.

[k] Mabillon, *Iter Italicum*, p. 213: "Codex ex membranis purpureis, quadratis literis aureis exaratus, sed mutilum; Gregorii Antiphonarium continens; cum operculis ex ebore, quae ex una parte praeferunt effigiem Davidis regis, ex alia Sancti Gregorii cum disticho," etc. "Est et duplex *alterius codicis majoris* operculum ex auro, cum cruce ex utraque parte, addita hinc et inde haec inscriptione. Ex donis Dei dedit Theodolinda Reg. in Baseleca (*sic*), quam fundavit in Modöecia juxta palatium suum."

[l] Count Bastard, vol. i. *Peintures des MSS.*

12th, and enter on decided pre-eminence in the 13th century. They have little to do with our period, and their work marks the commencement of a new period when the study of natural beauty had begun, and the vegetable kingdom in particular began to be illustrated for ornamental purposes in the service books of the church. A distinction will be found, under article MINIATURES, between truly caligraphic and artistic ornament. (See Westwood, *Palæographia Sacra*.) Much of what we have to say on the subject of artistic ornamentation belongs to article MINIATURES: for the present the distinction must always be observed between the beauty, elegance, or splendour of the letters as writing, which is caligraphy, and the power of colour, form, and imagination displayed in pictures attached to the writing, which is fine art. It is difficult, if not impossible, to assign proper limits between these phases of decoration: and it is enough to say that they are combined in most liturgical MSS. of the earliest date which still remain to us; and, further, that in most of the most valuable the caligraphic art has its full share of importance, and that the decoration is subordinate to the writing, and dependent on the text, not only as to meaning and import, but also in appearance. The effect of the whole page, as to form and colour, has evidently been the chief object of the caligraphic artists as such, apart from the genuine piety of aim which really seems to have influenced them as their main motive. The text and its pictures form a whole, united, generally speaking, by the effect of grandly ornamented capital letters; unless, of course, the MS. be on purple vellum, when the ground colour gives the main effect, and determines all the rest of the ornament. Perhaps only one modern artist has revived this idea of the old caligraphists in a perfectly original way, but with exact analogy. The illustrations and ornamented writing of Blake's various poems, copied and executed by his own hand, renew and illustrate that excellent moderation of judgment of the old copyists, which made their pictorial ornament, however beautiful and ingenious, still always subsidiary to their caligraphy. The pictures were beautiful, they thought, the text was sacred; but even because the latter was chief and the one thing needful, too much attention could not possibly be given to the former.

The capital letters in liturgical MS. are generally of the kind called rustic, especially when several lines consist of smaller capital letters. But they are frequently executed in the best Roman style, as in the evangeliaries of Soissons and of Gellone, and in the sacramentary of Drogon. (Count Bastard, vol. i. ii.; Silvestre, *Paléographie Universelle*, 3me partie, § 2.) The uncial characters, or rounded capitals, with their particular beauties of size, clearness, and order, appear and reappear in all the richer MSS. down to the 11th century, when writing begins to be altogether Gothicised or made cursive, and the ornament is concentrated on the initial letters, and their accompanying miniatures. The artistic use of varied colour may be said to be based on the minium or red lead, from which the word miniature is derived. Green and yellow follow almost immediately in the Visigothic and Merovingian work; but while the richest MSS. were executed on purple or azure grounds, the use of varied hues was of course out of the question, and writing and ornament were alike executed in gold or silver. A very grand specimen of the earlier chrysographs, as they are called, in uncial capitals of gold and silver, is the celebrated psalter of St. Germain (Bastard, i. 1). But the use of purple vellum for books destined for the use of imperial students goes back to comparatively early days of the empire, on the eve of the triumph of the Christian faith; Maximin the younger received a purple vellum MS. of Homer as a present from his mother (Jul. Capitolin, *Vita Maxim.*). Sacred books, and in particular the evangeliaries, would naturally have been the first objects of Christian splendour, when such a thing became possible. The gospels of Ulfilas, the psalter of St. Germain above mentioned, with that of Zurich, and the evangeliary of Brescia, are on purple, and the evangeliary of Brescia on azure-blue vellum; but that of St. Germain has one side of each page dyed purple, the other in azure.

St. Wilfrid of York gave a purple evangeliary to his cathedral in the 7th century: the 8th produced those now at Vienna and Monza. Charlemagne presented one to his church at Aix-la-Chapelle, and another of his evangeliaries, entirely on purple vellum, is still, says Guéranger, the principal ornament of the library of Abbeville.[m] The splendid MS. preserved in the library of the Remonstrants at Prague, appears to the writer to be of about the same date. The great emperor's attachment to the art of caligraphy has been mentioned, and the splendour of the early empire was revived by him in this use of purple or azure books, necessarily written in either gold or silver. They reappear during the Carolingian age, and go out of use almost entirely in the 10th century, though the Bodleian Library at Oxford possesses a purple evangeliary, with whole-page pictures, dating from the 11th.

Silver-ink MSS. are much rarer than chrysographs, strictly so-called, but both metals are frequently used together, as in the evangeliary of Ulfilas and the psalters of St. Germain and of Zurich. The evangeliaries of Verona and Brescia are written almost entirely in letters of silver.[n] In the others the text is silver, with golden headings and initials, gold being used also for the sacred names.

Purple vellum begins to be economised in or before the 9th century, as in Charlemagne's psalter, presented to Adrian VIII. about the end of the 8th. This is now in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and has a limited number of purple pages. The antiphonary of Monza, of nearly the same date, is entirely purple.

In the sacramentaries of the 9th century, the canon of the mass is frequently on purple, or the frontispiece and first pages of the books; or texts to which special attention is to be drawn, are thus distinguished. Gradually the purple is arranged with other hues on a white ground, and begins to be used, artistically speaking, as a colour.

Golden writing was not, or was not long, con-

[m] Notice par M. de Belleval, *Mémoires de la Société Royale d'émulation, d'Abbeville*, 1836, 37.

[n] The latter admits a few golden letters.

fined to the purple, violet, or azure MSS.° Many which have but few coloured pages are chrysographs throughout; as the evangeliaries of Charlemagne (or of St. Martin des Champs), of St. Martin and St. Médard of Soissons (in Count Bastard's second volume). The expense of purple vellum seems to have been very great; so much so, that as early as the 4th century the bishop Theonas enjoins on Lucianus, the emperor's chamberlain, not to have the MSS. of the imperial library entirely in colour, unless by special order (D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. xii.). Charlemagne seems to have reserved this magnificence especially for evangeliaries, the Vienna psalter being only gold in part. For chrysographs on white, in the 9th century, they are too numerous to allow of more than brief mention of a few, besides those of St Médard and St. Martin already named. The evangeliaries of St. Emmerand at Munich, of Lothaire in the National Library of France, with his psalter; those of the abbeys of Hautvillers (Bastard, ii.) and Lorch (the latter now at the Vatican, with fine uncial writing on alternate bands of purple and azure), and the antiphonary of Goubert, monk of St. Bertin, are named by Dom Guéranger. Those of Charlemagne, or St. Martin des Champs (Gothic writing), and of St. Médard, and another very grand one, written for Charlemagne, in fine uncial, with large whole-page illustrations [see MINIATURES], the sacramentary of Drogo (golden uncial, rustic capitals, and cursive Gothic, with splendid Roman initials), the evangeliaries of Lothaire and Louis le Débonnaire, are all magnificently illustrated by Count Bastard, vol. ii., with that of Hautvillers. He also gives pictures from two magnificent bibles, written for Louis le Débonnaire and Charles the Bold; and one presented to the latter monarch by Count Vivien, abbat commendatory of Tours, which shews great progress in miniature painting, and attains something like a climax of splendour in ornamental caligraphy. The ceremony of its presentation to Charles the Bald is illustrated on its title-page with considerable skill, and perhaps with some attempts at portraiture. Its writing is a perfect example of what is called the Caroline uncial and demiuncial.

Guéranger goes back to the 7th century for the first employment of artistic design by the liturgical caligraphers of the Western church. They began naturally with their initial letters, making the illustration a part of the page considered as a whole, and keeping their art in equal alliance with their caligraphy. In the Eastern church the Rabula MS. shews how much could be done even in the 6th century, but its miniatures are inserted in rectangular spaces, and independent of the writing. (See Professor Westwood's *Palaeographia Sacra*, Introduction; also CRUCIFIX and MINIATURE.)

The canons of Eusebius of Caesarea were very early added to the sacred text: they are found in the MS. of Rabula, in the 6th century, accompanied with a free and luxuriant ornament: and in the western world the evangeliary of Ulfilas, of the same period, possesses them. The idea of architectural decoration of pages struck the caligraphers at once, as was natural. To consider a row of parallel columns as an arcade, separated by pillars, and to lavish wreath-, scroll-, and flower-work, or even birds, on their traceries, was an obvious and pleasing system of decoration. The Colbert evangeliary (Bastard, i.), 7th century, has its columns drawn firmly and beautifully with the pen: and it is most interesting to the artist, in an age of mechanical copying, to observe the extraordinary power and freedom of manual execution in many of these MSS., which in the opinion of the present writer, fully raise the ancient caligraphy to the level of a fine art. The O of Giotto was doubtless a fair test of his great executive power; but it is excelled in difficulty and interest by the pen-drawn birds and grotesques of the MSS. See GROTESQUE, I. 751 f; LION, II. 999, for instances of true pen-drawing. It is singular that the last relics of the vanished art should be the swans or birds of the modern writing-master's flourish.

The 8th and 9th century MSS. are richest in their decoration of the canons, and those of St. Martin des Champs, St. Médard, of the Church of Mans, of Hautvillers, and that written for Lothaire, are models of gorgeous grotesque. Sometimes there are twenty or twenty-five pages of them, worked out with inexhaustible variations and fancies. Gold and silver are lavished everywhere; the horizontal lines end in nondescript heads, the leaf-work is rich but chaste, and wreaths about the pillars like "the gadding vine;" and a first faint sign of naturalistic imitation appears in the very skilful use of gold to imitate the wavy cloudings and changing lines of polished marble pillars. Animals and small figures present themselves apparently just where they like, though always in places well adapted to balance of pattern and ordered arrangement. They are in some cases emblematic, as the evangelical symbols present themselves constantly, and there are endless nondescripts. A list is appended, taken from the above-mentioned MSS., which differ from the wild grotesques of the Gellone sacramentary of 7th century, by being often drawn with careful attention to natural character.ᵖ

A decided falling off in colour-power, with some carelessness of drawing, will be observed in the Hautvillers MS.: the bibles of Charles the Bald are either Franco-Saxon or Gallo-French, showing the serpentine spirals and endless interlacings of the Northern-Gothic work. Count Vivien's MS. shews equal splendour and higher aim in the artist: the great zodiac illumination is given by Count Bastard (vol. ii.).

In the Visigothic work of the Sacramentary of Gellone, 8th century, there is a crucifixion,

° The names of these colours are somewhat vague and must necessarily convey rather different ideas to different persons. The greater number of purple MSS. are at present of what would be called a puce colour, mostly dark and rich, but occasionally lightened by time, or deadened almost into black.

ᵖ List of animals represented in 9th century MSS. of the Western church:—

Antelope.
Centaur.
Cock and hen.
Crane.
Dove (white).
Eagle.
Elephant.
Hound (and compounded as griffin).
Lion (and compounded).
Peacock.
Pheasant.
Rhinoceros (bull-like), marking the idea of the "Unicorn" (MS. Lothaire).
Swan.
Stag and hind.
Stork.
Stockdove.

with angels; much blood is used, and the drawing is very rude. There is a miniature of the crucifix in the canon of the mass, the cross forming the T in the words "Te igitur." In the same MS. the Mass of the Invention of the Cross has in its initial letter the figure of a man squaring a tree-trunk, as if to form the upright stem. The "Leofric" sacramentary, in the Bodleian, 9th century, has highly-ornamented initials in the canon of the mass, but is without figures. Our Lord sits in the initial of the word *Quoniam*, at the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel, in the MS. of St. Médard. The grand whole-page St. Matthew of the Charlemagne evangeliary, with its mystic fountain and symbolic building of the Church, is an interesting example of the decoration of manuscripts. As Guéranger remarks, the ideas of the heavenly city or palace, and possibly the pillars and polished corners of the Hebrew Temple, may have been in the minds of the artists (Ps. cxliv., 12). We cannot agree with him (*Inst. Lit.* p. 366) as to their admirable knowledge of perspective; but ingenuity of invention, splendour of material, harmony of colour, and minute accuracy of hand, can go no further than in most of their works. Information about Byzantine architecture is certainly to be gathered from the illustrations of the Menologium or Calendar of the emperor Basil the Younger, and other works; as, for instance, Charlemagne's evangeliary. They remind the student of the architectural backgrounds of Giunto of Pisa, in the lower church of Assisi and elsewhere.

The ease with which cheap copies of the holy scriptures and other books are to be obtained in our own day, may prevent us from understanding the real and practical value of the sacred MSS. of the earlier ages, and still more from understanding the single-hearted devotion, and happy self-concentration, with which the copyists seem to have carried on their labours. It is probable that in most cases the best educated monks, or men of more natural refinement than others, must have been employed in the scriptoria of the great houses; at least in every monastery which professed the life of labour and prayer with sincerity, some sensible division of labour, according to various capacities, must have taken place, and the fine hands of the caligraphist or painter would hardly be set to hew wood or draw water, unless for temporary discipline.

It is singular that Martene, who records forms of benediction in use for all other objects, from emperors and empresses down to pilgrims' staves and scrips, says nothing in his chapter "De Benedictionibus," of forms for dedication of sacred books, though he gives the full order for blessing a writing-desk (scrinium) or book-case (capsa), (*De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, lib. iii. cap. 1). This is quoted from an English pontifical MS., and a second from a MS. of St. Victor, said to have been 500 years old, in his own time. The first, however, seems to apply to an arca or credence, and neither are within the limits of our period.

A specimen of malediction on any person guilty of stealing a 13th-century MS. is not to be omitted (Colbert, *Bibliothèque Nationale*). "This sacred gospel has been copied by the hand of George, priest of Rhodes, by the exertions and care of Athanasius, cloistered monk and by the labour of Christonymus Chartinos, for their souls' health. If any man dares to carry it off, either secretly or publicly, let him incur the malediction of the twelve apostles and let him also receive the heavier curse of all monks. Amen." The first day of the month of September, year 6743, of Jesus Christ 1215."

The missal of St. Maur des Fossés speaks to the same purpose. "This book belongs to St. Mary and St. Peter, of the monastery of the Treuches. He who shall have stolen or sold it, or in any manner withdrawn it from this place; or he who shall have been its buyer, may he be for ever in the company of Judas, Pilate, and Caiaphas. Amen, amen. Fiat, fiat. Brother Robert *Gualensis* (of Wales?), being yet young and a Levite, hath devoutly written it for his soul's health, in the time of Louis (le Gros), king of the French, and of Ascelin, abbat of this place. Richard, prior and monk, caused this book to be copied, in order to deserve the heavenly and blessed country. Thou, O priest, who ministerest before the Lord, be mindful of him. Pater noster."

The bindings and outer cases (capsae) of the more important liturgical books are in themselves a subject of no small interest. That of the Eusebian evangeliary of Vercelli is thus described by Mabillon (*Iter Ital.* p. 9, April 1685). "Codicis operculum ex argento, a Berengario imperatore ab annis fere octingentis instauratum, ex una parte Salvatoris effigiem, ex alio sanctum Eusebium exhibet; ad cujus caput hi versus adscripti leguntur:

> Praesul hic Eusebius scripsit, solvitque vetustas;
> Rex Berengarius sed reparavit idem.

In infima vero parte ad pedes Eusebii

> Argentum [o?] postquam fulvo decompsit et auro,
> Ecclesiae Praesul obtulit ipse suae."

He also mentions (p. 213, Jan. 1686) the ivory covers of St. Gregory's purple antiphonary, at Monza, one of which has a medallion of David, the other of the donor. The great MS. of Theodolinda (supra) has a golden cover, with the cross on each side. These ancient relics may be classed according to their material and ornaments, whether of carved ivory, of chased metal, or of metal with jewelled ornaments. A special interest attaches to the ivory covers, not only from their intrinsic value, but from the use of ancient consular diptychs [DIPTYCH]. There is no doubt that many of these ancient ivories have been employed by later ages in the bindings of liturgical books, sometimes with slight changes and adaptations, as in the antiphonary of Monza. This is, perhaps, the typical example of a consular diptych, converted to ecclesiastical use. Two ivory panels or plaques bear each its figure, perfectly recognisable as a consul of the 5th century, by the dress and the mappa of the games. But one of them has been converted into St. Gregory the Great, by the addition of a tonsure, and the addition of a cross to his staff of office.[q] The other has had his wand lengthened and curved into a shepherd's staff, and passes for David. The consular ivory of

[q] This Professor Westwood denies, *Early Christian Sculptures*, p. 34

Flavius Taurus Clementinus, now at Nuremberg, had an ecclesiastical diptych-list engraven on the ivory itself, and the Diptychon Leodiense, in memory of the consul Flavius Astyrius, forms one of the sides of an evangeliary in St. Martin's, of Liége, and is also engraved on the inside. (See Donati, *De Dittici degli Antichi profani e sacri*, Lucca, 1753–4; Gori, *Thesaurus veterum Diptychum*, Flor. 1751, fol.; and Maskell, *Ivories*, 1876.)

There is a passage in Cassiodorus in which he speaks of having designed and published, or set forth in a collected volume, a number of examples of carvings, or designs of some kind, for the external bindings of sacred books. "We have moreover designed skilful artifices in the coverings of our MSS.; so that there might be a covering of outer ornament over the beauty of the sacred text, herein perhaps in some sort imitating that example of the Lord's figuring, Who clothed in marriage garments those whom He thought worthy of invitation to His supper. Among which we have set forth many examples of designs (facturarum) represented in one volume, that any studious person may choose for himself any form of covering he shall prefer." (*De Institutione divin. Scripturarum*, cap. xxx.) These would probably be executed in ivory for the most part. The ivory of Murano (described by Costadoni in the collection of Calogera, tom. xx.) is of the greatest interest, as it is covered with reliefs of the ancient cubicula of the catacombs and of the earlier sarcophagi, and it may be considered earlier than the 8th century. The nail-holes intended to fix the ivory panel on the cover of the book to which it belonged still remain, as is the case with many ivories, which have been used for reliquaries and shrines, as in the case of the diptychs of Symmachus and Nicomachus (Gori, *Thesaurus*, tom. i. p. 207). For 9th-century ivories as bindings of church books, those of the evangeliary of Lorch in the Vatican, and of the sacramentary of Droyon and evangeliary, No. 99 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, may be referred to. The collection, or catalogue, of Professor Westwood, is the best reference in this country for all the more ancient documents on ivory.

The Gothic evangeliary of Ulfilas is called Codex Argenteus, on account of its rich binding of that metal; and the evangeliaries of St. Médard and St. Emmeran possess covers of enamel and gold respectively, the latter with embossed portraits. Plates of vermilion-enamel occur in the Eusebian gospels, and one of the covers of the Lorch evangeliary is of this material. This use of different metals was practised by Victor III., while at Monte Casino, under the name of Didier; who ornamented an epistolary for his abbey, with gold plate on one side and silver on the other; this binding was called dimidius (D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 402). Precious stones, and even relics, have been enclosed in these bindings, as by Didier of Monte Cassino, in the MS. of St. Emmerand, in the splendid ones of the Sainte-Chapelle,[r] and in many instances, and with great magnificence, in the Eastern church.[s]

The subjects represented in ivory or metal on covers of sacred books are of course, in most cases, simple in choice and in execution during our period. Guéranger mentions in particular the grand ivory cover of the Lorch evangeliary in the Vatican, which bears some resemblance in its carving to the work of the later sarcophagi, and which he vindicates on Gori's authority (*Thes. vet. Diptych.* tom. iii. tab. iv.) from the imputation of being a pagan ivory, altered and adapted to Christian use.[t] Our Lord is represented as holding the Gospel and treading down the Lion and the Dragon, attended by two angels bearing sceptres and rolls; above are two flying angels with a clipeate cross, and below, two subjects of the Magi before Herod, and also making their offerings to the Holy Child and His Mother.

On the great MS. 99 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, are Lazarus, the Samaritan woman, and the Entry into Jerusalem, treated much as in the sarcophagi. See *Trésor de Numismatique, Bas-reliefs et Ornements*, X. Série, II. Classe, 2 partie, pl. ix. x. xi. The sacramentary of Drogon has liturgical rites chased or embossed on its cover in eighteen compartments.

The embossed figure of our Lord on the Vercelli Gospels is probably one of the earliest in such a place, and dates from about 888. Representations of the crucifixion also begin in that age.

The folio work of Prof. Westwood, published 1869, contains an appendix note on the magnificent book-covers, "auro argento gemmisque ornata, which are repeatedly mentioned in connexion with fine early copies of the Gospels. They have, for the most part, long ago disappeared; but there still exist a number of metal cases which have served to hold some of the smaller Irish MSS., which generally exhibit restorations at various periods." They are also generally ornamented with crystals or other gems, and are known under the name of cumhdachs. See article on the *Book of Armagh*, p. 80; on the *Psalter of S. Columba*, p. 82; the *Book of Diurna*, pp. 83, 84; and the *Gospels of S. Mulling*, p. 93. Plate 51, fig. 9, represents a party of ecclesiastics from the cumhdach of the Stow missal, p. 88. The front of that of St. Molaise or Molasch is at fig. 6, pl. 53. "It is 5⅝ inches by 4½ inches, and 3½ inches deep; of bronze, bound with silver, overlaid with open-work, riveted, on white metal, silvered . . . a cruciform or wheel-cross design, with the emblems of the Four Evangelists at the angles, barbarously designed. Portions of gold filigree and interlaced ornaments, with some jewels, occupy some of the remaining compartments of the open-work, one ruby still remaining in its setting."

The capsae or cases in which the books thus gorgeously ornamented were deposited for safety were generally made of, or adorned with, plates

[r] On the gold bindings of the Sainte-Chapelle evangeliaries:—

| No. | Emeralds. | Pearls. | Sapphires. | Rubies. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 30 | 140 | 35 | 24 | (10th cent.) |
| 2. | 26 | 60 | 12 | 10 | Onyx 2. |

[s] Even in Constantinople. The Russian service books have been pronounced the most splendid in the world (La Neuville, *Relation de Moscovie*, à Paris, 1698, p. 193, quoted by Guéranger).

[t] It appears to be 8th or 9th century by the nimbi, the imago clipeata, and its overloaded ornament; it cannot be supposed to be of anything like primitive or classical antiquity.

of gold, silver, &c. They are mentioned repeatedly in mediaeval documents beyond our period; but Gregory of Tours says that Childebert obtained, in the plunder won from Amalaric, about twenty of these cases for evangeliaries, all covered with pure gold and precious stones[a] (*Hist. Francor.* cap. lxiii. p. 114; Migne, 71, 200). St. Wilfrid of York's evangeliary had a case of this kind (*Acta SS. O.S.B. Saec. IV.* part ii. 'Vita S. Wilfredi').

The study of this subject must necessarily lead, as has been said, to a full understanding of the reverence paid to the text of the Gospels, in particular, during the dark ages, and at a period when that text, like the oral prophecies of the Lord in Samuel's early days, was rare and precious in the eyes of those who were its keepers. Yet, in looking at the few and splendid relics of the magnificence of Byzantine or Carolingian ritual, it is impossible to help thinking of the vast mass of perished MSS. of far earlier days, written on humbler materials and for humbler hands; and on the important question, how far the skill, enterprise, and numbers of the regular book-transcribing and selling trades of Rome and the larger cities of the empire may have multiplied cheap copies of the Holy Scriptures in the first three centuries. This is for other hands; an article on the learning of the early Church by the Rev. Prof. Milligan (*Cont. Rev.* vol. x. April 1869) is well worthy of reference as bearing on the subject; but the important and strictly correct remark of the Commendatore de Rossi, that the early cycle of Christian ornament in the Catacombs is merely a *cielo biblico*, or scriptural repertory of Christian symbolism and history, bears also on this observation. It is impossible not to see that in the earliest centuries the Holy Scriptures were held to be the exclusive repertory of subjects for Christian art, and that the true and exclusive use of Christian popular art was general instruction in Scripture.

It seems possible that evangeliaries or forms of sacramental ministration may have been multiplied on papyrus, like other books, in large numbers by means of dictation—possibly to educated slaves or freedmen. If so, they have perished with other books in the wrecks of ancient civilisation.

The following inscription from the first folio of the Gospels of Treves may be taken (as prefixed to the facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon and Irish miniatures) to represent the commendatory inscriptions of the Greek MSS.

"Scriptori vita aeterna; Legenti pax perpetua; Videnti felicitas perennis; Habenti possessio cū salute. Amen Dō gracias: Ora pro me: D's tecum." [R. St. J. T.]

**LITURGICAL LANGUAGE.** It would seem natural that prayer and praise in the congregation should be made in the vernacular tongue of the people; and in the early days of Christianity there can be no doubt that it was so. St. Paul's depreciation of "speaking with tongues," in comparison with "prophesying" (1 Cor. xiv. 1–17), has not indeed a direct bearing on the question of liturgical language, for the "tongues" of which he speaks do not appear to have been foreign languages, but utterances which only persons specially gifted could interpret; but his reasoning on the necessity of so giving thanks and so speaking that the congregation may be edified, and may not merely hear sounds which convey no definite impression, applies in full force to services celebrated in languages "not understanded of the people." Even Guéranger (*Instit. Lit.* iii. 86, 88; compare Bona, *de Reb. Lit.* i. 5), eagerly as he defends the modern Roman usage, "has no difficulty in conceding that originally the church must have employed the vulgar tongue at the altar. . . . . As for the apostles themselves, there is no doubt that they celebrated the liturgy in the language of the people whom they instructed." In truth, we may safely conclude, on the testimony of Origen (*c. Celsum*, viii. c. 37, p. 402, Spencer), that in the third century "each man prayed to God in his own common speech (κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάλεκτον), and sang hymns to Him as he could."

Over a large portion of the East there can be no doubt that Greek—in which were written the great liturgies which bear the names of St. James, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and St. Mark—was the language of public devotion; for, from the beginning of the fourth century, Greek was the official language of the Eastern empire, and Constantinople the seat of a patriarchate. Numerous liturgies are also found in Syriac, whether translations of Greek originals or of independent origin. The Armenian, the Ethiopic, and the native Egyptian churches had also vernacular services. Of the early use of the latter we have an instance in the circumstance which Athanasius (*Vita Antonii*, c. 2, p. 633) relates of St. Anthony, that he was induced to sell all that he had by hearing the parable of the rich young man read in church. As we are expressly told that the saint knew none but his native language, this lection must have been in Coptic. Where a vernacular version, from whatever cause, was not used in the services, an interpreter explained what was read. Thus Procopius held three offices in the church at Scythopolis; first, that of reading; second, that of interpreting Syriac (in Syri interpretatione sermonis); third, that of exorcist.

It is probable that even in the West the first missionaries of Christianity spoke mainly Greek, the "lingua franca" of the educated class throughout Europe, and of the scattered communities of Jews and Jewish proselytes in Gentile cities. The church in Rome to which St. Paul wrote was a Greek-speaking community, and so it continued to be for several generations. Polycarp came to Rome to confer with Anicetus on the observance of Easter in the year 170. Eusebius tells us (*H. E.* v. 24) that on this occasion the pope—himself almost certainly a Greek—ceded to the stranger the privilege of consecrating the eucharist. It is in the highest degree improbable that Polycarp celebrated in any other language than Greek. At the beginning of the third century Hippolytus wrote in Greek, and evidently contemplated the church in Rome as a Greek-speaking society. The inscriptions on the tombs of popes Fabian (A.D. 251), Lucius (A.D.

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[a] The same author tells a story of a goldsmith who fraudulently combined with the saint's messenger to substitute silver for gold in the binding of an evangeliary. Both were swallowed up by the earth, "viventes et vociferantes." (*De Gloria Confess.* cap. lxiii. p. 946.)

252), and Eutychianus (A.D. 275) are in Greek; a fact which, as De Rossi (*Roma Sott. Christ.* i. p. 126) points out, evidences the official use of the Greek tongue by the Roman church in its solemn acts. And at an even later date, pope Sylvester (†335) wrote against the Jews in the Greek tongue; unless indeed the treatise which we possess is a Greek translation of a Latin original. From this time all trace of Greek as the language of the church of Rome vanishes; it probably migrated to Byzantium with the emperor and the court. Pope Leo (440–461) seems to have been ignorant of Greek; he was certainly unable to write it, for he speaks of the necessity of having an accurate Greek translation made of his letter to Flavian (*Epist.* 131 *ad Julian.*); and the words of Proterius (Leon. *Epist.* 133), apologising for the omission of a Latin translation of his letter, the responsibility of which (as it seems) he wished to leave to the pope, seem to imply that he could not read it in Greek. Survivals of the days when Greek was the liturgical language of the church of Rome are found in the *Kyrie Eleison* so frequent in her services; in the use of the Greek *Trisagion—Agios o Theos, agios ischyros, agios athanatos, eleison imas*—in the Holy Week; in the recitation of the Creed in Greek on behalf of a child to be baptized [CREED, I. 492]; in the reading of certain lections in Greek as well as in Latin [INSTRUCTION, I. 862]; and in the singing of the angelic hymn in Greek in the Christmas mass (Martene, *Lit. Ant.* I. iii. 2, § 6).

In the half-Greek districts of Southern Italy, Greek rites naturally lingered long; but the Greek element received a large accession when Leo the Isaurian, in the eighth century, placed a considerable part of Southern Italy under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the patriarchs of Constantinople, who not only founded new sees, but made vigorous efforts to introduce Greek rites. And these efforts of the pope's adversaries were seconded by the pope's adherents; for many Basilian monks who, like the pope, defended images, took refuge in the same region, where they naturally maintained their own services in their monasteries, which were numerous (P. P. Rodota, *Dell' Origine, Progresso, e stato presente del Rito Greco in Italia osservato dai Greci Monaci Basiliani e Albanese*, Roma, 1758). There is a strong indication of the mixture of the two languages in the following circumstance. The author of the life of Athanasius of Naples (†877), commonly supposed to be Peter the Deacon, speaks of "laity and clergy not ceasing in common prayer *in Greek and Latin*." Even the purely Western Benedictine Order was not insensible to the influence of the Greek colonies in its neighbourhood. Thus we read that the monks of Monte Cassino on Easter Tuesday, going from their monastery to the church of St. Peter, sang mass with a bilingual chant (Greek and Latin) to the end of the gospel (*Codex Cassin.* in Martene, *Monach. Rit.* III. xvii. n. 14).

In Southern Gaul we find another region which had received its civilisation mainly from Greece. There, says Dean Milman, "Latin had not entirely dispossessed the Greek even in the fifth century;" and Jourdain (*Traductions d'Aristote*, p. 44) refers to a MS. of Limoges in the National Library at Paris (No. 4458), which gives the *Gloria*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei* in the mass of Pentecost, in Greek. Doublet (*Antiq. de S. Denis*, c. 48, p. 366) tells us that on the festival of St. Denis the monks of the abbey of St. Denis, near Paris, chanted the whole mass in Greek, in honour of the Greek apostle of France, with Epistle and Gospel in Latin as well as in Greek.

The MS. Sacramentary, No. 2290, of the Paris National Library, which is of the ninth century, contains at the beginning the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the Nicene Creed, the *Sanctus*, and the *Agnus Dei*, in Greek, but in Latin characters. In the so-called "Athelstane's Psalter" (British Museum, Galba, A. xviii.), in a portion of the MS. which belongs to the early part of the ninth century, we find a short Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the *Sanctus*, in Greek, in Anglo-Saxon characters. And in a Psalter in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, called "Pope Gregory's Psalter," is a Creed in Greek.

At the time when Christianity was first preached, Latin was rapidly becoming the common tongue of a large part of Western Europe; the conquests of Rome, as St. Augustine remarks (*De Civ. Dei*, xix. 7), imposed the Latin language on the subject races. Latin was commonly spoken in the Roman colony of Africa, and in Africa we find the most considerable Latin writers of the early ages—Tertullian and Cyprian. St. Augustine tells us of himself (*Conf.* i. 14) that he learned Latin in the nursery, and contrasts the perfect ease with which he acquired this with the difficulty which he afterwards experienced in learning Greek. In preaching at Hippo he assumes that his congregation all spoke Latin, while some at least did not understand the native Punic; for, quoting a Punic proverb, he thinks it necessary to translate it into Latin: "quia Punice non omnes nostis" (*Serm.* 167, on Eph. v. 15, 16). The earliest distinct mention of a liturgical form in Latin appears to be Cyprian's citation of the *Sursum Corda* (*De Orat. Dom.* c. 31). Gaul from the time of its subjugation adopted the Roman customs and idiom with remarkable readiness; and in later times the civilised Gauls imposed their tongue on their Frankish and Norman conquerors. An incident related by Sulpicius Severus (*Vita S. Mart.* c. 9) may serve to shew that Latin was what we may fairly call the vernacular of at least a portion of Gaul in the fourth century. Martin was taken by force from his beloved monastery by a crowd of the neighbouring villagers to be made bishop. In the church to which he was taken some one in the crowd, opening a Psalter at random, read aloud from the eighth psalm the verse, "Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos, ut destruas inimicum et *defensorem*."[a] There was instantly a shout raised, for the people looked upon the passage as of ill omen to Defensor, a neighbouring bishop who had opposed Martin's election. In Spain also, after its subjugation by the Romans, the Latin language came into common use. It seems also to have been spoken in Dalmatia. Jerome at least, who was born there, clearly regarded it as his native language, and complains that he never heard of it in its purity while he

[a] The word *defensorem* is used in the older version for the *ultorem* of the present.

was living in the East (*Epist.* 7 [al. 43] *ad Chrom.* p. 18). Even in Britain after the time of Agricola the upper classes adopted to some extent the Roman language and customs (Tacit. *Agric.* c. 21).

When Latin was so generally diffused, it could not fail soon to become the vehicle of public worship. When public prayer was first offered in Latin in Rome itself we cannot tell, but it is an obvious conjecture that when the "old Italic" version of the New Testament came into use in Rome, prayers and thanksgivings were also said in the Latin tongue. That at an early date Latin became the liturgical language of (at least) much the greater part of Italy, of Gaul, and of Spain, admits of no doubt whatever. The "clerks" and officials everywhere spoke Latin throughout the Western empire. And even when Christianity was introduced into regions where little or no Latin was spoken, as Britain and Ireland, there is no evidence of vernacular services; the early evangelists of Britain, St Patrick and his followers in Ireland, the Roman missionaries to the Angles and Saxons, alike seem to have retained the Roman language in the offices which they introduced. Probably it would have seemed a kind of profanation to translate sacred phrases into the "gibberish" of barbarian tribes. Indeed it came to be maintained that a certain sacredness attaches to the three languages, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, of the inscription on the Lord's cross (Hilary of Poitiers, *Prol. in lib. Pss.* c. 15; Honorius of Autun, *Gemma Animae*, i. 92), and that these tongues alone—Syriac being taken to represent the ancient Hebrew—are fit vehicles for the public prayers of Christians. Hilary further elevates Latin to a dominant position among the three tongues, as the language of Rome, "specialiter evangelica doctrina in Romani imperii, sub quo Hebraei et Graeci continentur, sede consistit." Ulfilas did indeed give the Goths a vernacular version of the Bible, but even here there is no trace remaining of Gothic offices.

That the Latin of the service-books was often, even among the so-called "Latin" races, a tongue "not understanded of the people" seems scarcely doubtful. In Italy, for instance, where even at this day the peasantry speak several dialects neither mutually intelligible nor intelligible to those who only understand the literary Italian, we cannot suppose that the language of Leo and Gregory was everywhere understood. The same may be said of Spain and Gaul, and still more of Britain and Ireland. Provision was no doubt made for *instructing* the several races in their own tongues wherein they were born, and there is no reason to doubt that the nature of the several offices was explained to the faithful; but the offices themselves seem to have been invariably said in Latin. Whatever may be the case with the Syriac or other Eastern offices, in the districts where Greek and Latin were the ecclesiastical languages the gulf between the tongue of the church and the tongue of the people was always widening: the dialect of the streets came to differ widely from the unchanging idiom of the church, even while it retained the same name. In the eighth century this divergency became so marked that it was recognised by authority. A council at Frankfort in the year 794 (c. 52, *Conc. Germ.* i. 328; Baluze, *Capit. Reg. Fr.* i. 270) expressly repudiated the theory of the three sacred languages, on the ground that God heareth prayer in every tongue; and Charles the Great, insisting (*Capit.* v. 161, in Baluze, i. 855) that all men should learn the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, makes provision for the case of those who know none but their mother tongue: "qui aliter non potuerit vel in sua lingua hoc discat." The same monarch further directs (*Capit.* vi. 185; Bal. i. 954) that every presbyter should teach men publicly in his church, in the tongue which his hearers understand, truly to believe the faith of Almighty God in Unity and Trinity, and also those things which are to be said to all generally; as of avoiding evil and doing good, and of the judgment to come in the Resurrection. He who cannot do this of himself is to get a proper form of words written out by some more learned person, which he may read; and he who cannot even do this must exhort the people in the words, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Herard (*Capit.* 55, Bal. i. 1289) ordered that no man should be admitted to be a godfather who did not understand the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in his own tongue, and the nature of the covenant made with God. A council at Rheims, A.D. 813 (c. 15), enjoined bishops to preach in the dialects of their several dioceses, and in the same year a council at Tours (c. 17) ordered bishops to translate their homilies into the rustic-Roman or the Teutonic tongue. So the council of Mayence (c. 2) in the year 847. At a still earlier date the council of Lestines, A.D. 743 (*Conc. Germ.* i. 51; Swainson, *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 22) had ordered the Renunciations and Professions in baptism to be made in the vernacular—which is given in the canon—of the Teutonic converts. These instances shew that, while care was taken to instruct the faithful in the cardinal truths of Christianity, the offices in general were in the ecclesiastical tongue, Latin.

When the Slavonic races were converted in the 9th century, pope John VIII. (A.D. 880) not only permitted but recommended that the divine offices and liturgy should be said in their vernacular. It is interesting to notice that he expressly repudiates the theory of three sacred languages and no more, saying that Scripture calls upon all nations and all peoples to praise the Lord, and that the apostles spoke in all tongues the wonderful works of God (*Epist.* 293, *ad Swentopulc.* Migne, 126, p. 906). Nor is it (he continues) in any way contrary to sound faith and doctrine to say masses in the Slavonic tongue; or to read the gospel, or lessons of the Old or New Testament, well translated or interpreted; or to sing other hour-offices in it; for He who made the three chief tongues (linguas principales), Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, also made the others to His honour and glory. The pope however makes this reservation, that the gospel, to give it the more honour, should always be read first in Latin, and afterwards translated into Slavonic. Swentopulk and his judges may, if they please, hear mass in Latin. The Russian church retains to this day its vernacular services.

The following are instances of provision being made for the wants of a district where several languages were spoken. Theodosius the archi-

mandrite built within the circuit of his monastery four churches; one for the brothers of the house, in which the offices were said in Greek; one in which they were said in the vernacular of the Bessae, a barbarous tribe of the neighbourhood; one in which they were said in Armenian; and a fourth in which the brothers who were vexed with devils, and those who had charge of them, had their special service. The ordinary daily offices were thus said severally; but when the eucharist was celebrated, the office was said in the several churches and tongues to the end of the gospel, and then the several congregations (except the demoniacs) assembled in the Greek—the proper monastic—church for the remaining portion of the celebration (Simeon Metaphr. *Vita Theod.* c. 24, in Surius, Jan. 11). It is not quite clear whether the restriction of the more solemn part of the mysteries to one church and one tongue arose simply from a desire to symbolise more emphatically the oneness of the community, or from a reluctance to recite the anaphora in any other than one of the recognised "sacred" languages; and the same ambiguity attaches to the following somewhat similar instance. St. Sabas is said (Cyril Scythop. *Vita Sab.* cc. 20, 32, in Cotelerius, *Mon. Eccl. Graec.* iii. 247, 264) to have provided the Armenians with an oratory, and afterwards with a church, where they might say the psalmody, the megalion, and other portions of the divine office separately in their own tongue, but at the time of oblation join the Hellenists and communicate with them. The same event is narrated in Surius (Dec. 5) in the following form. Sabas transferred the Armenian congregation to the church which he had built, on condition that the glorificatio and reading of the gospels should take place in their own tongue, while they should partake of the divine mysteries with the rest. And the writer adds, that when some adopted an addition made by Peter the Fuller to the angelic hymn [SANCTUS], Sabas desired them to chant that hymn in Greek, that he might know whether they adopted the correct version; he apparently did not understand Armenian.

*Literature.*—Ussher, *Historia Dogm. de Script. et Sacris Vernaculis*; Bona, *de Reb. Liturg.* I. v. 4; Bingham, *Antiq.* XIII. iv.; Martene, *de Rit. Ant.* I. iii. 2; Krazer, *de Liturgiis Occ.* sec. v. c. 3; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. iv. pt. 2, p. 93 ff.; Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v. *Langues Liturgiques*; Bishop A. P. Forbes, *On Greek Rites in the West*, in *the Church and the World*, 1867, p. 145 ff.; W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 207, first edition; Probst, *Liturgie der drei ersten Christl. Jahrhunderte, Einleitung*, § 4. [C.]

LITURGY. (1.) The Greek words λειτουργία, λειτουργός, λειτουργεῖν, in their early usage are applied to the work or the agent in any public service. Etymologically we may compare δημιουργός. Λειτουργεῖν thus means to perform some service for the public. In Athens, it came to be used technically for the duty which wealthy men were especially called upon to render to the state, and the λειτουργία was the service which they rendered. [See "Leiturgia," IN DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.]

(2.) Except in a passage of Plutarch where the limitation is effected by the context, we do not find in classical Greek any sacred application of the word LITURGY other than is contained in the above. But in the Septuagint it is generally, though not exclusively, used in this behalf. Thus we have the word and its derivatives applied to the service at the altar; or to the service in or to the tabernacle; and in Daniel vii. 10, "Thousand thousands *ministered* unto Him."

(3.) In the New Testament the usage of the words is less restricted. Thus, kings are *ministers* to God, in attending on the duties of their high office (Rom. xiii. 6). Hence we pass on to the parabolic use of the word λειτουργός, in Rom. xv. 16. "So that I should be a *minister* to Jesus Christ (λειτουργὸν Ἰ. Χ.) for the Gentiles, in administering in sacerdotal or sacred fashion (ἱερουργοῦντα) the gospel of God, in order that the offering up of the Gentiles might become accepted, being sanctified in the Holy Ghost." Another instance of this parabolic use is to be found in Phil. ii. 17. "But even if I am poured out as a libation over the sacrifice and *ministry* (λειτουργία) of your faith, I rejoice and congratulate you all." Thus the special meaning of the word and its cognates in any particular passage must be determined (if at all) by the context. There can be no doubt of the meaning in Luke i. 23, "when the days of his *ministration* were accomplished." Some doubt is felt as to Acts xiii. 2, "As they *ministered* to the Lord, and fasted." Chrysostom explains the word by κηρυττόντων (preaching): it would rather seem to refer to some public ministration to the Lord, such as was accompanied with a fast. Of the Saviour it is recorded (Heb. viii 6), that He has obtained a more excellent *ministry* than the ministry of Aaron: the explanation being given in vv. 1, 2. "He is seated on the right hand of the Majesty in the heavens, a *minister* of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle." Thus the angels are *ministering* spirits, sent forth for service (εἰς διακονίαν), for the sake of those who are to inherit salvation.

(4.) In early Christian literature the word λειτουργεῖν was soon adopted in reference to sacred functions. Thus Clemens Romanus (l. c. 8) speaks of the old prophets as the *ministers* of the grace of God, speaking through the Holy Spirit. And in c. 44 he speaks of the office of the apostles as being their *Liturgy* or *Ministry*. In the process of time the word liturgy came, in practice, to be regarded as the appropriate designation of the Eucharistic office, but it is not quite clear when this limitation was generally accepted. At the council of Ancyra, (A.D. 314), a presbyter who had offered to an idol, was forbidden (c. i.) "either to offer or to address the congregation, or to minister any part whatever of the hieratic ministrations," ἢ ὅλως λειτουργεῖν τὰ τῶν ἱερατικῶν λειτουργιῶν. Canon 2 enforced a similar rule on deacons who had lapsed. Athanasius speaks of the Arians stopping the bread (τῶν λειτουργῶν καὶ τῶν παρθένων) of the ministers and the virgins. In the acts of the council of Ephesus mention is made of the evening and morning liturgies, and Theodoret (iii. 114) is also quoted as speaking of the evening liturgy, *i.e.* the evening service. The same writer (iii. 1065) speaks of the liturgy of the Holy Baptism:

and *Ep.* cxlvi. p. 1032, he says that in almost all the churches the apostolic benediction (2 Cor. xiii. 13) forms the introduction to the mystical liturgy. The additional *mystical* of course limits the term *Liturgy*, and, in fact, we shall find that this benediction stands at the commencement of the anaphora in most of the liturgies that will come under our review. It is not found in that of St. Mark, nor the Coptic St. Basil, nor in the Mozarabic. I may mention also here that it is not found in either the Roman or the Ambrosian or the Gallican Canon. Theodoret therefore refers to the liturgies of the Oriental churches proper.*

(5.) Turning now to the services for the administration of the Eucharist, which are specifically called LITURGIES, we may note in passing that the newly discovered complement to the first letter of Clemens Romanus contains liturgical phrases which we find also in the liturgy of the church of Alexandria, of which below. Apart from this, the earliest records of such service are contained in the letter of Pliny to Trajan, and the Apology of Justin Martyr. From the former, we know that the Christians used to meet on a stated day before it was light, and repeat alternately a hymn to Christ as God, and bind themselves *sacramento* that they would commit no crime; then they separated, and came together again a second time to partake of food, ordinary and innocent. The use of the word *sacramentum* here certainly seems to point to the reception of the Eucharist, for it is, of course, inconceivable that an oath to this effect should be repeated on every occasion:—it may, however, point to the Baptismal promise. But the accounts in Justin Martyr give us more information. He describes the service as it was performed after the administration of Baptism, and again on an ordinary Sunday. Combining the two accounts together we learn that during the service the records of the apostles or the writings of the prophets were read by a special reader, and, when he had ceased, the President instructed the congregation, urging them to imitate the noble things of which they had heard. United or common prayer was offered for those who were assembled, for those who had been baptized, and for all believers everywhere, that now that they had learned the truth they might by their good works be enabled to keep God's commandments so that they might attain to eternal salvation. The prayers were said standing, and apparently by all: and these being concluded they saluted each other with the kiss of peace. Then bread was brought to the president and a cup of wine and water; and now he, alone, with all his energy, sent up his prayers and thanksgivings, and the people assented with the word "Amen," and the deacons gave to each of those who were present a portion of the bread and wine and water over which the thanksgiving had been offered, and portions were also sent by their hands to those who were absent, and, Justin adds, the wealthy and willing give freely, each according as he wishes, and the collection is deposited with the president, and he assists the orphans and widows, those who are impoverished by sickness or other cause, those that are in prison, and strangers who may happen to be sojourning amongst them: and Justin twice announces that this is done on the day called Sunday. In his dialogue with Trypho we have frequent references to the Eucharist. From one of them we learn that at the time when the Christians offered their sacrifice to God, mention was made of the sufferings which the Son of God underwent (*Dialogue*, § 117).

(6.) A question has arisen whether this account refers to the service in Palestine—for Justin was a native of Samaria—or to the service near Rome, the seat of the emperors to whom his apology was addressed. The question seems to be settled by the following considerations:—The kiss of peace is given in the Roman church in the solemn mass after consecration: here it is before it. Again, it is one of the points which are noted as differencing the Roman from the other missae, that in the Roman order there was generally no lesson from the prophets. Here there was such lesson every Sunday.

Thus we have apparently sufficient warrant for the conclusion of Palmer (*Origines Liturgicae*, vol. i. p. 42) that Justin Martyr's account is of the liturgy of the patriarchate of Antioch. And it is interesting to note that later narratives agree with his description as far as it goes. All the points he introduces are found in the later liturgy of Jerusalem.

(7.) *Liturgy of Jerusalem.*—Passing over for the time the liturgy contained in the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, we proceed from Justin Martyr, who must have written about A.D. 150, to the lectures of Cyril, who was bishop of Jerusalem from the year 351 to 386. Cyril has left us seventeen lectures, delivered, apparently about the year 347, to the catechumens in the course of Lent, and five to the recently baptized, delivered shortly after Easter. In these five he gives descriptions and explanations of the sacramental offices, and, in the last of all, an account of the Communion Service. His hearers had been present at it, but they had not been taught the meaning of its several parts.

(8.) There can be no doubt that every marked feature of the office, as it then existed, is noted here by St. Cyril. He commences, however, after the dismissal of the uninitiated; at a point (that is) corresponding to the close of the sermon in the account of Justin Martyr. He describes the ablutions, possibly with LAVABO [II. 938], followed by the KISS of peace, and then proceeds to the *Sursum Corda*, Preface, *Sanctus*, Consecration, Intercession, Lord's Prayer [CANON, I. 269], *Sancta Sanctis*, *Gustate*, and COMMUNION [I. 413].

(9.) It is interesting to compare with this the liturgy of St. James,—the liturgy, that is, of the church of Palestine.

We have it in two forms: the one form from two Greek manuscripts (with a fragment of a third), of which the first was written during the 12th century at Antioch; the second MS. appears to have been transcribed at Mount Sinai during the 10th (Palmer, i. 21, 22). The second form, published by Renaudot, vol. ii. p. 29, is found in Syriac, and is still retained amongst the Monophysites or Jacobites in the East (Palmer,

* The use of λειτουργία as embracing the evening service continued even to the end of the 6th century (see Eustratius; Migne, 86, p. 2380 B).

i. 16). The points of similarity are sufficient to prove that they had a common origin, and undoubtedly what is common to the two must have been in use in the united church at the beginning of the 5th century, *i.e.* before the schism of A.D. 451.

(10.) We see, therefore, here, on the one hand, how the service of Cyril's time was even in a hundred years augmented by many additions, and we find on the other that nearly everything which Cyril mentions remains untouched, both in the Greek and Syriac liturgies. We have the "Sursum Corda" in both,—the "Vere dignum," the "Sanctus sanctus"; the precise words that the Holy Spirit may *make* this bread the Body of Christ, and this cup the Blood of Christ, the prayers for the living, the commemoration of, and the petitions for, the dead. The very words used by Cyril are found in the Greek. And thus we take a step forward in our history; and it is interesting further to notice that Jerome in his controversy with the Pelagians (book ii. sect. 23; Migne, vol. xxiii. p. 587), mentions that the voices of the priests daily sing that "Christ is the only sinless One." We find the expression both in the Syriac and in the Greek liturgies before us: "He is the only sinless one that has appeared upon the earth." Again, in the same dialogue, book iii., sect. 15, p. 612, Jerome says that our Lord taught His apostles that "daily at the sacrifice or sacrament of His body (the manuscripts read *sacramento*) believers should dare to say—Our Father which art in heaven." He refers, no doubt, as before, to the liturgy of Jerusalem, for his work seems to have been written in the neighbourhood of the Holy City shortly after the opinions of Pelagius had received encouragement from the bishop Johannes. Once more in his commentary on Isaiah, book ii. chap. vi. *v.* 20 (vol. xxiv. 88 of Migne), Jerome says, "Quotidie caelesti pane saturati dicimus; Gustate et videte quam suavis est Dominus,"—words which occur (I believe) only in the liturgy of St. James. The whole psalm is recited in the Syriac St. James.

(11.) Further illustrations have been drawn from the Homiletic writings of St. Chrysostom, of which several were written when he was a presbyter of the church of Antioch (see Palmer, i. 80, and Bingham, *Antiquities*, book XIII. vi.). It will be unnecessary to carry out this comparison at length, but we may note that Chrysostom speaks of the whole congregation joining in common prayer for those who were afflicted by evil spirits and those who were in a state of penance; and then he reminds his hearers how, when only the initiated remain, they prostrate themselves on the pavement, rise together, and the priest alone offers up the prayers, and the people respond. He mentions the benediction, "The Grace of our Lord," and the address, "Up with our mind and hearts." He speaks of the reasonable service, the bloodless sacrifice; he speaks of the cherubim and seraphim, of the invocation of the Holy Spirit to be present and touch the gifts lying upon the holy table; he speaks of the commemoration of the living and the dead, of the Lord's Prayer, of the holy things for holy persons, of the breaking of the bread of the Communion. All these but one (of which below) are found both in the Syriac and in the Greek, and so far our position is strengthened—that much that is common to the two belongs at least to the 4th or 5th century.

(12.) Two points remain to be noticed. i. After the words of institution the oblation in the Greek is this: "remembering then His life-giving sufferings, His saving cross, His death and resurrection from the dead, and His ascension into heaven; His session at the right hand of Thee, O God and Father, we offer to Thee this fearful and bloodless sacrifice."

The words in the Syriac liturgy correspond almost exactly to these, except that the oblation is made to Christ: "We remember Thy death and resurrection, Thy ascension into heaven, Thy sitting at the right hand of God the Father, and we offer to Thee this fearful and bloodless sacrifice." The difference is momentous, and the question at once arises which of the two is the more ancient form.

The Syriac is, as we have seen, in use at the present day. The Greek is, as we shall see, affected by later additions from foreign sources; but this fact alone would not, of course, decide the question as to the original form of this momentous formula.

(13.) ii. Our second point is this: Palmer draws attention (*Origines*, i. 24, 25) to several indications that the Greek liturgy of St. James has been affected by late interpolations. These we need not repeat here. I would add that the introduction of a Creed in the proanaphora is a further indication that the liturgy was altered after the date which I have specified. Another indication of change is this: that the prayer for the king, mentioned by St. Cyril and retained by the Syriac (p. 35), is omitted in the Greek, probably because the state rulers of Palestine favoured the Jacobites more than the orthodox. The appeal χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη, which is introduced, is entirely out of place, and ungrammatical; it must, therefore, be a late addition: and it is not in the Syriac. There is no prayer in the Greek for the energumeni, nor for the penitents, nor for the catechumens, and no notice of their exclusion. This fact also shews that the text of the manuscripts which we possess had been altered at a period when the custom of excluding the two former classes had ceased to be observed.

(14.) The paucity of the Greek manuscripts of course indicates that the rite of St. James has long ceased to be of general observance; in fact, it was first interpolated out of the liturgy of Constantinople, and then gave way before it. Yet it is said to be still used in islands of the Archipelago and elsewhere on St. James's day, but no manuscripts of the modern form have been brought to the west. The conclusion is that the Greek use was generally discontinued before the 13th century. Charles the Bald stated that the rite was celebrated before him; and we learn from Theodore Balsamon and his contemporary Marcus, orthodox bishop of Alexandria, that it, or a rite which went by this name, was still used in the 12th century on great feast-days in the churches of Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine. It was at that time unknown at Antioch.

(15.) *Liturgies of the Churches of Egypt.*—It will be best now to turn to the liturgies of the churches of Alexandria, with which I would connect the liturgy of the Coptic version of the Apostolic Constitutions. We have three

notices of the celebration in this version; two of them analogous to that in the eighth book of the Greek version, which is called the Clementine liturgy, and is really an account of a service after the consecration of a bishop. There are several points of deep interest connected with the Coptic constitutions, not the least that the Copts had introduced into their language the Greek terms for presbyter, deacon, bishop, Spirit, Eucharist, offering, salutation; indeed we may say every technical term connected with the celebration. We read (Tattam, *Apostolical Constitutions* in Coptic, with Translation; Orient. Trans. Fund, 1848; bk. ii. p. 32), "After the salutation and the kiss of peace, the deacons present the offering to the newly-made bishop; he puts his hand upon it with the presbyters, and says the eucharistia." It begins with the prayer, "The Lord be with you all," and the people say, "And with thy spirit." The bishop says, "Lift up your hearts;" they reply, "We lift them up unto the Lord." He says again, "Let us give thanks unto our Lord;" the people say, "It is right and just;" and then he is directed to say the prayers which follow according "to the form or custom of the holy offering." It is quite clear that the service was in Greek throughout when this version of the "canons of the apostles" was made. But Archdeacon Tattam, to whom we owe our edition of the book, unfortunately missed some of the points in his translation; and thus, to the mere English reader, his words can scarcely be said to represent adequately the character of the original. Thus *ευχωμεν*, he translates "Let us pray." It was really a mistake for *ἔχομεν*.

(16.) We have a further account in the same second book (Tattam, p. 62). This may be compared with the last lecture of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, for it is the account of the Communion as administered to the newly baptized. We have again the instruction that the deacon should bring the offering to the bishop, and that the latter should give thanks over the bread and over the cup of wine, because of the similitude of the one to the flesh of Christ, and of the other to the blood of Christ. Mention is made of an offering of milk and honey in remembrance of the promise made to the fathers: "I will give you a land flowing with milk and honey." Then the bishop divides the bread, and gives a portion to each. "This is the bread of heaven, the Body of Christ Jesus" (the last clause in Greek). The presbyter or deacon takes the cup, and gives them the blood of Jesus Christ our Lord, and the milk and the honey, saying, "This is the Blood of Christ Jesus," and he who receives says, "Amen."

The account concludes: These things have been delivered to you briefly concerning the holy Baptisma and the holy Offering.

(17.) There is yet a third account in the fourth book (§ lxv. p. 116). This is a second representation of the service after the ordination of a bishop; it is somewhat longer than the other, supplying additional details. Thus we have the direction of the deacon: "Let no unbeliever remain in this place;" the words bidding them salute one another with a holy kiss; the exclusion of the catechumens and the "hearers," and of all who were not partakers of the holy mysteries. The deacons bring the gifts to the bishop to the holy altar (*θυσιαστήριον*), the presbyters standing on his right hand and on his left, and the "high priest" prays over the offering that the Holy Spirit may descend upon it and make the bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ. Then all partake; first the clergy, then all the people, and then all the women; a psalm was sung during the distribution, and when all was over the deacons called out, "We have all partaken of the blessed Body and Blood of Christ; let us give thanks to Him;" the bishop gives them the blessing, and they are told to depart in peace.

(18.) There can be no doubt that the rubrics of these second and fourth books represent the service at slightly different epochs; thus the word *ἀρχιερεύς*, which is limited to the Jewish high priest on p. 108, is given to the bishop on p. 122. The word *θυσιαστήριον* occurs, however, twice in the first book (p. 20). But the whole account will serve us as an introduction to the later liturgies of the church of Alexandria as we find them in the Greek and Coptic versions.

(19.) Of the Alexandrine Fathers, Clemens speaks (*Stromat.* i. 19) of those who use bread and water in the offering not in accordance with the canons of the church; and Origen of our offering sacrifices to the Father through Christ (on Isa. vi. 6; *Homil.* i. near the end; tom. xiii. *Lommatzsch*). Of the liturgies that have come down to us as connected with various branches or offshoots of the church of the patriarchate of Alexandria, Renaudot gives several, but they may be reduced to three distinct works:—

(1) The Greek liturgy of St. Mark and the Coptic of St. Cyril.
(2) A Coptic, Arabic, and Greek liturgy, entitled the liturgy of St. Basil. This must be carefully distinguished, as we shall see hereafter, from the liturgy of the church of Caesarea.
(3) A Coptic, Arabic, and Greek liturgy, entitled the liturgy of St. Gregory the Theologian, i.e. Gregory Nazianzen.

To these we must add what is called 'The Universal Canon of the Aethiopic Church.'

(20.) The Greek liturgy of St. Mark and the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril are related to each other, as are the Greek and Syriac liturgies of St. James; they have much in common; but the liturgy of St. Cyril has been used even to the present day by the Monophysites, who have formed the mass of the Egyptian Christians, whilst that of St. Mark was in use only for a limited time by the Melchites or orthodox. For the latter body being small in numbers, and weak in influence, have, for many ages, been drawn within the circle of the church of Constantinople, and have used the liturgy of that church. And thus it is that apparently only one copy of the Greek liturgy of St. Mark has survived. This was found in a monastery of the order of St. Basil, at Rossano, in Calabria. Renaudot saw it at Rome in the house of the religious of the same order. The MS. is of the 10th or 11th century. By comparing the two together, we are able to infer what was the common property of the whole patriarchate before the schism of A.D. 451, and thus also to discover what each body added at later periods.

The liturgies of St. Basil and St. Gregory are

also used by the Monophysites (Renaudot, i. 154); the former on fast days, the latter on feast days, except in Lent and the month "Cohiac," during which the liturgy of St. Cyril is used.

(21.) We will turn first to the Greek liturgy of St. Mark and the Coptic of St. Cyril. We have already mentioned that words recently discovered in the Epistle of Clemens Romanus are found here. These words are (Bryennius, p. 105), "Raise those that are fallen; bring back those who are wandering; feed those who are hungry; deliver those of us who are in bonds; comfort the feeble-minded." They are all found both in the Coptic (Renaudot, vol. i. p. 65), and in the Greek (Neale, *Greek Liturgies*, ed. 1868, p. 21). The Coptic has also: "Save those of us who are in trouble," which are also Clementine. This fact is interesting in more ways than one, as we shall see. I may mention now that it is a renewed proof of the connexion between the churches of Alexandria and Rome, to which Dr. Neale speaks in his 'General Introduction' (vol. i. p. 120). In the Greek St. Mark, we have the introductory or proanaphoral portion, which is quite distinct from anything in the Coptic. In point of fact, the liturgy of St. Cyril begins with the kiss of peace immediately preceding the *Sursum Corda* (Renaudot, i. 38). We are informed that the "Preparation" which is given in the Coptic St. Basil (Renaudot, i. 1–82) is always used, whatever the liturgy proper may be. Passing on to the canon, I would observe that the intercessory prayers, which are offered by the priest after the giving of thanks in the "dignum et justum est," are addressed in the Greek liturgy to the Father, in the Coptic to our Lord. In both, the Virgin is commemorated, whilst the "Hail thou that art highly favoured," occurring in the Greek, is not found in the Coptic. This, therefore, is apparently of late introduction. In the Coptic the prayer is addressed to Christ to receive "the sacrifices and oblations of those who offer on His spiritual heavenly altar;" in the Greek a similar prayer is addressed to God. The petitions which I have mentioned just now as occurring in Clemens Romanus occur at this part of the service. The words of St. Paul with reference to Christ (Eph. i. 21) are found in both, and thus it is with reference to Christ that the words follow, "Thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand of holy angels and archangels stand before Thee!" Then the words of institution follow. In both versions the appeal is made to God the Father that we are setting forth the death of His Son, and confessing His resurrection, and waiting for His second coming to judge the world; and with this before our mind "we have set before Thee Thine own of Thine own gifts." The epiclesis or invocation follows, the same in both, bearing, however, internal marks that it was composed after the council of Nicaea, a prayer for sanctification, and the Lord's Prayer. Here the Coptic of St. Cyril lapses into the Coptic St. Basil. The Greek, however, proceeds to the end. The "Sancta sanctis," on p. 28, and the "unus Pater sanctus," etc., on the same page; the benediction and the dismissal, p. 30.

(22.) By comparing the Coptic St. Basil with the Greek and Arabic versions of the same liturgy, we are again able, in some degree, to note the history of liturgic change. It would appear that many of the Greek phrases were continued in use in the Coptic church, as we have already noticed them in the Coptic version of the Apostolic Constitutions (Renaudot, i. 13). Here, after the "Sanctus," the liturgy reverts to the history of our fall, our being placed in paradise, our transgression. It thus passes onwards with great beauty through the warnings given by the prophets to the birth of the Saviour, His love for us, His death, His resurrection, His ascension. Then it records how He left to us this great mystery of piety (the words of 1 Tim. iii. 16) and instituted the Eucharist, giving the words of the institution. Then it proceeds as in the Greek St. Mark, only where that had "we have offered to Thee of Thine own gifts," here we read, "we *do* offer Thee." The Epiclesis follows, in the Coptic the appeal being to Christ, in the Greek and Arabic to God.

Then come the intercessory prayers (not *before* the words of institution, as in St. Mark and St. Cyril), and these are addressed to God. Commemoration is made also of the Virgin and other saints, including, in the Coptic St. Basil, several of a late date, and the diptychs are read and the Lord's Prayer follows; then an interesting absolution of a precatory character and the "Sancta sanctis." The fraction takes place and a confession (which we also find in the Gregorian liturgy), "that this is the flesh of Christ which He received from the Virgin, and made one with His divinity and delivered for us all on the cross." Further intercessions—in some respect like those of Clemens Romanus, but with the addition, "give rest to those who have fallen asleep before us"—follow in the Arabic, but are not in the Coptic. The dismissal of the people takes place, and then that of the deacons. This does not occur in the Coptic. The communion of the people is mentioned in the Coptic (p. 24), but not in the Greek or Arabic.

(23.) The liturgy of St. Gregory will not detain us long; it begins in the Greek and Arabic with a prayer which is also found in the Greek St. James (Neale, *G. L.*, p. 54), with a few words interpolated that the "sacrifice may be for the rest and refreshment of our fathers who have fallen asleep before us, and for the strengthening of Thy people." Moreover, in the Greek "St. James" it is addressed to God, in the Egyptian "St. Gregory" to Christ. This liturgy resembles the Egyptian St. Basil rather than that of St. Cyril; after the "vere dignum," however, there is a hymn of thanksgiving which we do not find there, but, in some respects like the other, it passes on to a touching appeal to God. "No language can measure the ocean of Thy love: Thou madest me a man, not Thyself being in need of my service; . . . . it is Thou who, in the bread and the wine, hast delivered to me the mystic participation of Thy flesh."

The account of the Institution follows in the form of a narrative addressed to the Saviour, and the priest continues: "Remembering Thy coming upon earth, Thy Death, Thy Resurrection, Ascension and coming Advent, we offer to Thee of Thine own gifts"; and he beseeches Christ to come and complete the mystic service, to send His Spirit and sanctify and change the gifts into the Body and Blood of our redemption.

Intercessory prayers now follow, and the commemoration of the saints departed: the diptychs are read, and another appeal to Jesus Christ. The Lord's Prayer follows, and after a while the thanksgiving after Communion; but here both the Coptic and the Arabic fail us, so that the prayers in the Greek which follow appear to be late.

(24) It remains only to speak of the Ethiopic canon, which commences (Renaudot, vol. i. 472) with some beautiful passages from Holy Scripture. From p. 476 we have much in common with the Coptic St. Basil. The canon proper begins on p. 486, but it is strange that we have nothing corresponding to the "Lift up your hearts" of almost all the other liturgies. The intercessory prayers precede the words of institution, and then follows the appeal, "We are setting forth Thy death, O Lord. We believe Thy resurrection, ascension, and second advent, and keeping the memorial of Thy death and resurrection we offer to Thee this bread and this cup." The epiclesis follows: the prayer for pardon for the living, the prayer for rest for the dead. The *Sancta sanctis* with the confession as we found it in St. Basil, the Communion of the people, the thanksgiving after Communion and the Lord's Prayer—the only instance that yet we have met with of such position. We need not discuss the other Ethiopic forms; they are seven in number, but five have never been published (Neale, i. 325).

(25.) Some question has arisen as to the relative claims of these liturgies of St. Basil and St. Mark to be the primitive liturgy of the Egyptian church. Renaudot gives the place to "St. Basil," Palmer to "St. Mark." The latter founds his judgment in part on the comparison of both with the Universal Canon of the Ethiopians, which he considers to "agree exactly in order and substance with the liturgies of Cyril and Mark, and no others" (i. p. 90). An entirely independent collation leads the writer to reject this statement, and to regard the Alexandrine St. Basil, and the Ethiopian Canon as intimately connected with each other. A comparison of the liturgies with quotations by any of the Alexandrine Fathers, may facilitate our judgment.

(26.) We shall receive but little assistance from the general tone of Origen's treatise on prayer, except by noting that when he expresses (as he seems to do) his wish that prayer should be addressed mainly to the Father through the Son, his language would seem to intimate that in his time the general custom of his church was to address their prayers to Christ. His reference to the thousand thousands and myriads of myriads (*against Celsus*, viii. 34) may be paralleled out of all the liturgies. Cyril of Alexandria (we take these references from Palmer, i. 102–3) refers to the Seraphin (not Cherubin as Palmer has it) veiling their faces; this is not mentioned in "Basil," but it is mentioned in the others. The same father says (*Epist. ad Johan. Antioch.*), "We are taught also to say in our prayers, 'O Lord our God, give us peace: for Thou hast given us all things,'"—words to which we find the nearest resemblance in the *Basilian* Coptic and Greek. St. Mark has only "O king of peace, give thy peace to us in harmony and love." Origen on Jeremiah (xiv. § 14) remarks, "We often say in our prayers, Give me a portion with the prophets, give me a portion with the apostles." A petition resembling this is found both in the Coptic St. Basil and St. Cyril, and the Greek St. Mark. It would be scarcely fair to draw from this the conclusion that what is called St. Basil's Liturgy was used at Alexandria in the time of Cyril, rather than that which we call St. Mark's; but it would seem that when St. Cyril wrote the words I have quoted, the liturgy which bears his name had not been amended. Other references have been noticed in Dionysius of Alexandria, Isidore of Pelusium, and Athanasius, but they do not throw any light on the point before us. It is worthy however of remark that Isidore states distinctly that the sacerdos or bishop uttered the words "Peace be with you," from the extremity or highest point of the church, "imitating the Lord assuming His chair when He gave His peace to His disciples."

(27.) *Liturgy of Caesarea.*—There can be no doubt that St. Basil, who was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia during the years 370–379, committed to writing, and delivered to the order of monks which he established, a liturgy. And when we look at the well-known words which have been often quoted from his treatise on the Holy Spirit [CANON, I. 269], we can scarcely doubt that this liturgy preserved (at least in its chief features) that form and order which had been traditionally used within the diocese or (possibly) the patriarchate of Caesarea. Our difficulty is to recover the service as it came from the hands of Basil. We have the form which passes by his name and now in the East shares with the so-called liturgy of St. Chrysostom the reverence of the churches. It is used, we are told, on all Sundays in Lent but Palm Sunday, on Maundy Thursday and Easter Eve, on the festival of St. Basil himself, and on the vigils of Christmas and of the Epiphany. Dr. Neale and Dr. Littledale (*Greek Liturgies*) have printed this from two recent editions, published the one at Venice, the other at Constantinople; whilst Daniel has given it in a form presenting considerable variations from both.

The Alexandrine liturgy assigned to Basil we have already noticed. With the exceptions mentioned below (§ 29), it differs entirely from the Greek St. Basil. Besides this there is a Syriac liturgy which goes by the name of Basil, a Latin translation of which Renaudot gives from Masius in his second volume. But most important for our purposes is the Greek copy, found in a manuscript of the end of the 9th century which belonged once to the library of St. Mark at Florence (introduced probably at the time of the council), but is now in the Barberini collection at Rome. This was printed for the first time in Bunsen's *Hippolytus and his Age* (vol. iv.), and again in his *Analecta Ante-Nicaena* (vol. iii. pp. 201–236), and it is strange that it has not attracted the attention it deserves.

(28.) This liturgy commences with the prayer which the priest offered in the sacristy, when he placed the bread upon the disc: this is followed by the prayers of the three antiphons. These are all found in the liturgy as published by Daniel, but we must exclude here, as throughout, almost all the rubrical directions relating to the action and language of the deacon. The

prayer of Introit is given next, then the prayer of the Trisagion, and the prayer said by the bishop when he took his throne. This is now omitted, in consequence, no doubt, of the change of ritual. Prayers for the catechumens, for the faithful, for the bishop himself (the last connected with the cherubic hymn) follow, and then the prayer of oblation, which is distinctly stated to be a prayer of the holy Basil. The kiss of peace here follows, and the order to the deacons to look "to the doors;" and the people say the creed. Then come the apostolic benediction and the 'Sursum Corda.' The "dignum et justum est" is entirely eucharistic, and this is succeeded by an eucharistic introduction to the words of institution. But here, unhappily, a sheet (four leaves) of the manuscript is missing, and we are unable to say what was the exact form of the prayer of invocation, or of that of intercession until we come to the petition for the clergy, in the middle of which the next sheet commences. The words with which the Lord's Prayer is introduced are interesting. It is followed by a petition that Christ our God would attend to us from His holy habitation, and come to sanctify us, seated above with the Father, and invisibly present with us. Then the "sancta sanctis," and the "unus sanctus:" and the priest is directed to take portions from the holy Body, and place them in the holy cup. Then "after all have partaken," whilst the deacon is saying τὴν εὐχὴν, the priest ἐπεύχεται. This is a prayer of thanksgiving for the reception. Collects follow: one to be uttered outside the sanctuary, the other when the priest retires to the sacristy, and so the liturgy concludes. If we may supply from the more modern liturgy the parts lost in the missing sheet, availing ourselves of the analogy which the collations of the rest of the work suggest, we must conclude that the words of institution were embodied in an address to God the Father, and pleaded that "remembering the sufferings of His Son, His cross, His death, His resurrection, ascension, and second coming, and offering to God His own of His own—in all things, and because of all things—we bless Him, we glorify Him, we give thanks to Him." In the prayer of invocation the priest pleads that being admitted to minister at God's holy altar, not because of his own righteousness but because of God's mercy and pity, he draws nigh to it: and that having offered the antitypes of the holy Body and Blood of His Christ, he beseeches God that His Spirit should come on the congregation and the gifts and (ἀναδεῖξαι) exhibit the bread and cup as the precious Body and Blood of our Lord. There is a prayer that all who partake of the one bread and the cup may find mercy with all the saints (the Virgin and St. John the Baptist are especially mentioned), and then after a while the prayer passes on to petitions for the living.

(29.) Reverting now for a moment to the Alexandrine liturgy of St. Basil, we must notice that the three prayers, which in the Greek and Arabic are distinctly ascribed to the great bishop, *i.e.* the prayer of the Kiss of Peace (Renaudot, i. 60), the prayer at the breaking of the bread (p. 72), and the doxology (now in the Lord's Prayer) and prayer of bending the head (p. 76) are all of them found in the Barberini copy, and are all of them contained in the modern liturgy. Not one of them however is in the Coptic St. Basil; these facts may possibly allow us to infer that the Alexandrine Greek received its title from the prayers of St. Basil which it incorporated, but that the Coptic version was made before they were admitted. If so, we have some little light thrown upon the relative dates of the various documents, and it would appear that the Coptic is older than the Greek Alexandrine in its present form. We have already mentioned that in no other respect can we trace any similarity between the Alexandrine Basil and those which bear the great Bishop's name in the Barberini manuscript and in the modern Oriental Church.

(30.) Daniel has noted the portions which are common to the modern Basil, and the so-called liturgy of St. James. A comparison with the Barberini manuscript will help us to judge how far these portions are modern. For example, in both we have the apostrophe, "Let all human flesh be silent and stand with trembling, for the King of kings and Lord of rulers comes forward to be sacrificed, and to be given for the food of the faithful." In the liturgy of St. James this is found near the commencement of the service, when the priest is bringing in the holy gifts: in that of St. Basil, it is placed after the invocation, before the communion of the priest. It seems scarcely appropriate in either place. The fact is that it is not to be found either in the Syriac St. James, or in any of the liturgies that bear the name of St. Basil.

Daniel is silent on the comparison between the Greek and Syriac liturgies of St. Basil (see Renaudot, vol. ii. 543). On comparing the latter with the Barberini copy (supplemented where it fails from the modern service), it will be found that from the apostolic benediction to the words speaking of the memorial of Christ's death and resurrection, the language is nearly identical (Renaudot, ii. 545–548; Bunsen, 214–223). This identity stops suddenly where the latter has, "We offer to Thee Thine own, of Thine own," the former passing on to an appeal for mercy and pardon. The invocation is nearly identical, but the Syriac immediately afterwards gives indications of being interpolated; it has a superabundance of epithetic additions. This is followed by prolonged intercessory prayers, one of which connects the liturgy with the church of St. Peter and St. James; but the collect introducing "Our Father" is, as we have said, the same. The prayer beginning "Father of mercies, God of all comfort," has received modifications. The distinguishing feature of the Syriac liturgy is, that the verbal oblation of the venerated and bloodless sacrifice is made after the invocation.

(31.) *Liturgy of Constantinople.*—The patriarchate of Constantinople dates from the year 381, and the churches subject to this metropolis have used for many years a liturgy which bears the name of St. Chrysostom. Lebrun contends that there was no liturgy ascribed to this great father for 300 years after his death; and it seems not improbable that the work which now bears his name received that name as being used in the city of which he was the most famous bishop in its earlier years. The modern liturgy of St. Chrysostom is used most extensively in the east; Dr. Neale says, through the

four patriarchates and Russia, except on the days when the liturgy of St. Basil is used. To us this is a disadvantage, because, if this were the only evidence we possessed, it would be the more difficult to discover what parts of it are truly ancient. Dr. Neale gives the service as he found it in a work printed at Venice in 1840, corrected by a later edition from Constantinople; Daniel (vol. iv. 327–372) "ad normam ecclesiae Graecorum hodie acceptam et probatam." Dr. Neale's book was originally published in the year 1850, two years before Baron Bunsen printed in the fourth volume of his work *Hippolytus and his Age*, a transcript of this liturgy from the Barberini manuscript. It seems to be inexcusable, however, that Daniel, whose fourth volume came out in 1853, should have been content with the meagre collations with this MS. given by Goar in his *Euchologion*, and have neglected the transcript of Bunsen.

(32.) With the aid of this manuscript we may put upon one side as of uncertain date the thirteen paragraphs which occupy pages 337 to 339 in Daniel's book, and besides this, we must reject the eight succeeding pages, with the exception of one brief prayer. Almost all the rubrical directions (as in St. Basil) disappear; they belong to a period since the time of Charlemagne. Once more, the prayers which the deacon is requested to repeat outside, whilst the priest within the veil is praying μυστικῶς, must be rejected also as of later introduction; and the division of the consecrated bread into the four parts, each part containing two letters of ΙΣΧΣΝΙΚΑ [see ELEMENTS, I. 603; FRACTION, I. 687], is also proved to be later.

The rubric directing the elevation of the bread (Daniel, p. 365; Neale's *G. L.* p. 140) is also shewn to be modern; so too the introduction of the boiling water. And one thing more attracts attention. As in the rite of St. Basil so here, it was assumed that all would partake. This is altered now. Lastly, in the modern Greek ritual there is an appeal at the very close to St. John Chrysostom that, "having used his liturgy, we may have his intercession that our souls may be saved;" this is also proved now to be of later date than the year 900. Indeed, the liturgy itself is *sine titulo* (Bunsen, iii. 197). The very ascription of the Liturgy, therefore, to St. Chrysostom may be of a date subsequent to the time when this MS. was transcribed.

(33.) It only remains for us to note that in this the early edition of St. Chrysostom, the Kiss of Peace precedes the Creed, and the Creed precedes the Apostolic Benediction. The "dignum et justum est" is truly eucharistic, and the "Sanctus, sanctus" is speedily followed by the words of institution. The text with reference to the bread resembles that accepted now in the Epistle to the Corinthians, τοῦτ' ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. The liturgy proceeds: "Remembering His saving command and all things done by Him, and offering Thine own of Thine own, we praise Thee." The priest proceeds: "We offer to Thee, moreover, this reasonable and bloodless service, and we beseech Thee, send down Thy Holy Spirit on us and on these gifts that lie here before Thee, and make this bread the Body of Thy Christ . . . ." The offering is represented as made on behalf of all who have gone to rest in the faith, "Fathers, patriarchs, prophets, especially the Holy Virgin" Then intercessions follow on behalf of the living;—amongst them, "for those in mountains, caves, and holes in the earth." (This is now omitted.) "For faithful Kings, and our Queen, lover of Christ." (This possibly points to a precise date when the original of this manuscript was prepared.) Then there is a prayer of commendation to God of ourselves, our lives, and our hopes, followed by the Lord's Prayer. Christ is entreated to come to sanctify us. At last we have the "Sancta sanctis," the "Unus sanctus," and the thanksgiving after the Communion.

(34.) *Liturgy of the Nestorians or Chaldean Christians.*—Notwithstanding the fearful massacres to which even during the last forty years they have been subjected, there still remain among the cities of Mesopotamia Christians who trace their origin to the influx of Nestorians after the council of Ephesus. They possess three liturgies, or rather three anaphorae, ascribed respectively to the Apostles (*i. e.* SS. Adaeus or Thaddeus and Mari), to Theodore of Mopsuestia, and to Nestorius himself. These are used at specified times of the year, but the pro-anaphoral and post-Communion portions of the liturgy of the "Apostles" are never omitted. Latin translations of the three from Syriac manuscripts brought into Europe by emissaries of the Roman church are given by Renaudot in his collection (vol. ii.).

An English translation of the services now in use has been recently published by Dr. Badger. Any effort to point out what portions of these are really ancient, apart from the instruction we have received from our previous investigations, must rest on hypothesis only; but the distinguishing features of the liturgy of the Apostles are (1) that in it our Lord's words of institution are not introduced at all, and (2) that the prayers of intercession both for the living and the dead are connected with the oblation which is made before the epiclesis. In the liturgies of Theodore and of Nestorius, the words of institution are found. It would certainly seem from this that, so far, the 'Liturgy of the Apostles' must be very ancient, as it is inconceivable that the words of our Lord, if at any time brought into the service, could at any subsequent period have been omitted (see § 59 below).

There are some points of difference between the liturgy as given by Renaudot and that given by Dr. Badger, indicating probably that even during the last few hundred years additions have been made to that which had been in use; but as these additions must fall into a period far below the 9th century, it is unnecessary to discuss them further here. We should mention, however, that the canon begins with the apostolic benediction, and we have, as everywhere else, the "sursum corda." The words are introduced simply in the liturgy of the Apostles; but in the liturgies of Theodore and Nestorius, as given by Dr. Badger, they are embodied in a highly rhetorical appeal. Some passages of a Nestorian tendency are discoverable in the last-named liturgy. The other two have no such traces.

(35.) *Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions.*—It remains now only that we should briefly discuss the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions, commonly called, "The Liturgy of St.

Clement." [APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS, I. pp. 119-126.] We have already given (§§ 15, 17) a brief account of the Eucharistic services as we find them in the Coptic edition of these constitutions. Ludolf, in his *Commentarius ad Historiam Aethiopicam* (pp. 324–327), gives a Latin translation of the corresponding passage in the Ethiopic version of the constitutions. This has been reproduced by Baron Bunsen in his *Analecta Ante-Nicaena* (vol. iii. pp. 106–126). It commences with "The Lord be with you, and with thy spirit. Up with your hearts," etc.; then an Eucharistic address to God for the gift and work of His Son, passing at once to the words of institution, which are given in the simplest form. The prayer proceeds, "calling to mind, therefore, His death and His resurrection," etc., "we offer to Thee this bread and cup, rendering Thee thanks that Thou hast made us worthy to stand before Thee, and to perform the functions of Thy priesthood." The Holy Spirit is invoked upon the oblations, but there is no prayer that He will make them the Body and Blood of Christ. The prayer is, "that those who partake of the gifts may be fulfilled with that Spirit." We have the "Sancta sanctis," and the "Unus Pater sanctus," etc., and the "Hymn of Praise;" the latter, possibly, consisting of the 148th Psalm. The people enter to receive the "medicine of their souls," and the thanksgiving follows with a collect. The service concludes, "*Depart in peace*, and so the Eucharist is accomplished." It will be noticed that the Lord's prayer is not introduced.

(36.) Neither is the Lord's Prayer introduced in the so-called liturgy of St. Clement. This liturgy is found in some MSS. of the eighth book of the Greek *Apostolical Constitutions*, but in the valuable Oxford manuscript (*Codex Baroccianus*) it is entirely omitted. There are other marks that it is an interpolation of late date. In the manuscripts where it occurs, it follows on the service for the consecration of a bishop, as it does in the Coptic and Ethiopic constitutions. The Greek liturgy begins with the apostolic benediction, and the unbelievers, the hearers, the catechumens, etc., are then dismissed in order. Then comes a long intercessory prayer, the "kiss of peace" is given, and the apostolic benediction is repeated in a slightly different form; we have the "sursum corda" and the "dignum et justum." This is Eucharistic, detailing the blessings of the creation and the history of God's dispensations to mankind. When we reach the victories of Joshua, the ascription of glory by the Cherubim and Seraphim, "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus," is introduced, and the Thanksgiving passes on to record the mercies of the incarnation, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord; then the bishop introduces the words of institution, and recites how, "Remembering His sufferings, His resurrection, His ascension, and second coming, we offer to Thee, our King and God, according to His appointment, this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee by Him;" then follow the epiclesis and the great intercessory prayer, the various clauses of which are introduced by the words, "We pray Thee," or "we entreat Thee," or "we offer to Thee," or "we beg Thee." After this come the "Sancta sanctis" and the "Glory to God in the highest." All the people receive in order; first, presbyters, then deacons, sub-deacons, etc. The psalm, "I will always give thanks to thee," (which includes the words, "O taste and see,") is sung during the Communion. The post-Communion service begins with a prayer of thanksgiving, the benediction from the bishop follows, the deacon says, "Depart in peace."

(37.) Considerable doubts are felt as to whether the liturgy was ever celebrated after this fashion. At all events we have here the advantage of examining a rite, as it was proposed at some time not later than the 4th century. It can scarcely have been altered or interpolated since that time. It is worthy of mention that the liturgical expressions, which have been noted in the recently recovered pages of the genuine Epistle of Clemens Romanus, are not found here as they are found in the Alexandrine service books; this would be an additional proof, if proof were wanting, that the ascription of the liturgy to St. Clement is purely fictitious.

(38.) *Liturgy of the Churches of Carthage, etc.*—In passing from Alexandria along the coast of Africa to Carthage we pass from an order of things of which the characteristics were Greek to another whose characteristics were Latin. The early writers of the Carthaginian churches are so important and so voluminous that from their works which have come down to us we can supply many details of the Carthaginian services—our sources of information being perhaps more trustworthy than any "liturgy" would be which professed to have been prepared by St. Augustine. Thus we know from Tertullian (*Apology*, xxxix.) that in the gatherings of the faithful, "the most approved seniors presided." The same chapter in the *Apology* mentions that at their gatherings the Christians in one body sued God by their prayers. They prayed for the emperors and for their ministers, for the state of the world, for the quiet of all things, "for the delay of the end." The sacred writings were called to remembrance, selections being made apparently with a view to the emergencies of the times,—and an exhortation followed. Then we infer that all were directed to leave the church who were under censure. A collection of money was made on one day of the month, the money collected being used for the relief of the poor, and for the succour of those who were suffering for conscience sake. No doubt Tertullian is describing features of the ordinary Sunday Eucharist. The section passes on to speak of the Agapae. Elsewhere we learn that the passages from Scripture were taken from the Prophets, from the Epistles or Acts of the Apostles, and from the Gospel (*Apology*, xxii.), and that psalms or (*Ad Uxor.* ii. 9) hymns intervened between these sections. Tertullian frequently insists that these rites had been "handed down to us." In praying they turned to the east (*Apology*, xvi.), lifting up their hands to God the Father (*Idolat.* vii. 7). We have two ascriptions of glory, one (*Ad Uxor.* i. 1) "To whom be honour, glory, majesty, dignity, and power, for ever and ever." The other (*De Oratione*, iii.), "To whom be honour and power for all ages."

With regard to the second part of the eucharistic office, to which he apparently gives the title '*Officium sacrificii*' we have additional evidence. The prayers for the emperor seem to

have been repeated here; the words *Sursum suspicientes* (*Apology*, xxx.) probably refer to the *Sursum corda*, which we know was used at Carthage in the time of Cyprian. The Lord's Prayer formed part of the prayers; after it the faithful drew near and gave to each other the kiss of charity (*de Oratione*, xiv.). The communion followed. This part of the service was undoubtedly kept as a mystery from unbelievers. At some time during the service apparently, special mention was made of individuals by whom or on whose behalf the oblations were offered. With reference to the living, this seems to have been done on the day, monthly or otherwise, when they made their gifts; on behalf of the dead, on the anniversary of their removal.

(39.) Cyprian, who died in 258, gives us information which indicates the progress of ritual even in the few years which had elapsed since the writing of these works of Tertullian's. The offerer is the bishop (sacerdos) or the presbyter, "they offer the sacrifices to God" (*Epistles* iv. and lxviii.). The sacrifice was celebrated daily (*Ep.* liv.). The lessons were read from a *pulpitum*. The *Sursum corda* and *Habemus ad Dominum* are spoken of explicitly in the treatise on the Lord's Prayer. The mixed cup was used, signifying, as Cyprian stated, "the union of Christ with His people." The sacrament was given into the hands of the people; and frequently, if not generally, they took a portion of it home, reserving it in a small box, and partaking of it from day to day. The bread and wine used for the sacrament were taken out of that which had been offered, and Cyprian complains of the rich as at times consuming a part of the sacrifice which the poor had offered. — Towards the end of the 4th century (A.D. 398) the well-known laws were enacted, forming part of the canons of the African church, by which the offerings at the sacrament were restricted to bread and wine mixed with water, and the sacrament was always to be received fasting, except on Maundy Thursday, and at the altar prayer was always to be addressed to the Father. These are frequently spoken of as if they were canons of the universal church. As a body they seem, however, in the first instance, to have been observed only in the country where they were enacted, and we have had numerous instances already which shew that the last canon was never accepted in the churches of the East.

(40.) We come now to St. Augustine, from whose voluminous writings we may learn much on the subject before us. Mone (*Lateinische und Griechische Messen*) has collected from Augustine's sermons the chief passages there found bearing upon the liturgy, and to him I am indebted for much contained in this and the preceding paragraphs. The exclusion of all save the initiated and those in full communion with the church from being present at the Eucharist, was still most rigidly maintained in the province of Carthage. The three lessons from the Prophet, Epistle and Gospel were now taken apparently according to a fixed rule; between the Epistle and the Gospel a psalm was sung (*Sermon* clxv. 1): and this was the daily use of the church. The second part of the service (*Sermon* 311) commenced with the *Sursum corda*, in which the answer of the people was *Habemus ad Dominum;* the priest responded, "*Let us give thanks to our Lord God*" (68, 5). The people attested, "*It is meet and right so to do*" (227). In the canon the martyrs were mentioned, but prayer no longer was made on their behalf. The prayer of consecration is called the *Sanctificatio*, and Augustine reserves to the priests, as distinct from the laity, the function of offering the sacrifice. After the consecration followed the Lord's Prayer, apparently said by the clergy alone. The *Pax vobiscum* followed, and the kiss of peace (*Sermon* 227). Then the communion, then the dismissal. Apparently there was at some period a confession of sins, beginning with the word *confiteor* (*Sermon* 67), at which, as well as at the petition *Forgive us our debts*, the people smote their breasts. Augustine's sermons give us of course ample illustrations of the addresses which were made to the people on these occasions, no doubt at the early part of the service, as in the time of Tertullian; and the great bishop tells us (*Sermon* 49), that *post sermonem fit missa catechumenis: manebunt fideles.*

It will be noticed that we have had no intimation here of the apostolic benediction, with which the Greek liturgies generally commence, nor a word informing us of the character of the prayer of consecration. There is no intimation of any epiclesis or invocation; no hint given as to the *sanctus*. Of course we must remember that the Communion office proper was essentially a mystery, and we have no right to expect *à priori* that the sermons would give us as much information regarding it as in fact they do. We might surmise that Augustine's private letters would prove a more fertile field of information than his sermons.[b] To these, therefore, let us now turn.

(41.) I would mention, therefore, first, that we read in Letter cxxxiv., addressed to Apringius, the pro-consul, that Augustine "invoked Christ on his behalf in the holy mysteries." Thus we have an instance here of a prayer addressed to Christ. A reference to the feasts held in the churches, and deemed by the ignorant people to be "solatia mortuorum," will be found in No. xxii. Infants communicated, indeed their communion was deemed to be necessary for their salvation (*Epist.* clxxxii. § 5, and clxxxvi. § 29). The offering was considered to be of the Body and Blood of the Lord; and Augustine mentions that, on one certain day of the year (of course Maundy Thursday), it was received in the evening. His sermons have not spoken of any benediction, but Letter clxxix. (§ 4) shews that there was one, and tells us what the form of the benediction was. The bread used at the Communion appears to have been brought to the church in the form of one loaf. At all events, Augustine says (*Epist.* clxxxv. § 50, p. 994 of Gaume) that the one bread is the sacrament of unity. Letter ccxvii. (Gaume, p. 1212) speaks of the priest at the altar exhorting the people to pray for unbelievers, that God would convert them to the faith; for the catechumens, that He would inspire in them a desire for regeneration; and for the faithful, that b

[b] The sermons *ad infantes de Sacramento* (227 272) contain, however, much information to our purpose.

His gift they may persevere in that which they have begun—a prayer analogous to what we have seen in the liturgy of St. Clement. The *Domine Deus Sabaoth*, and the *Holy, Holy, Holy*, are introduced in his interesting letter to Januarius (lv.), in which mention is also made of the *Alleluia*, and of the custom of praying *standing* between Easter and Pentecost.

In the Oriental liturgies mention was made of the church dispersed throughout the world; the words are found in Letter lxxxvii. The custom of adoring is referred to in more than one place. But the classical passage is in his famous letter to Paulinus (No. cxlix.), in which he tries to explain the meaning of the different words in 1 Tim. ii. 1, *prayers, orations, supplications*, etc. If we take the words as they are found consecutively in our version, he would say that the *supplications* embrace all that is done in the celebration of the sacrament before that which is on the table of the Lord begins to be blessed,—the *prayers*, when it is being blessed and sanctified and broken for distribution, the part "which ends in almost every church with the Lord's Prayer,"—the *intercessions*, when the people is being blessed by the imposition of hands and commended to God's great mercy,—the *giving of thanks*, concluding all.

(42.) We thus have the following clearly laid down as contained in the *African Liturgy* in the time of St. Augustine. The preliminary part included lessons from Scripture, hymns, sermons, and the prayers for the unbelievers, catechumens, and believers which we have described above.

Then, all being excluded except the initiated, the oblations of the people appear to have been made, and the opening words, "Sursum corda," with the "Vere dignum et justum est;" with this we connect of course the "Sanctus." Then came what Augustine would call the "sanctification of the sacrifice," concluding with the fraction, and probably a prayer of fraction, such as we found in the Alexandrian liturgies; the Lord's Prayer ensued. Then came the kiss of peace, this being followed by the benediction of the people, "whom the priest offers up to God;" then the participation of the sacrament and the giving of thanks,—the last part of the service before the dismissal. The three petitions mentioned by Augustine (Letter cxlix.) are also mentioned by Fulgentius of Ruspe in his letter to Bitellus (No. cvii.); two of them are alluded to in a treatise of the same bishop, *De bono perseverantiae*. It is probable that no great change was introduced into the liturgy for many years after the death of the great bishop Augustine.

(43.) *Spanish Liturgies, of the time of Isidore.*—The liturgy of the Spanish Church in its earlier years has a singular interest in several respects. It is quite clear that it was framed in the first instance independently of the Roman Church, although in the time of Innocent the First great efforts were made to render it similar to that of the church of the prince of the Apostles. But time was required for these efforts to succeed. Thus Guéranger (vol. i. p. 133) refers to a council of Gironne, held in the year 517 (Labbe, vol. i. p. 568), the first canon of which directed that throughout the province of Tarragona the use of the metropolitan church was to be observed. The council of Braga, in the year 565, passed an enactment of the same character for the province of which it was the metropolis, which would be nearly conterminous with Gallicia. The same lessons were to be read at mass through all the churches; all the bishops or presbyters and the people were to retain the salutation, "The Lord be with you," "And with thy spirit," "in the manner that all the East observed it from apostolic tradition," but at the same time directions were given that the masses were to be celebrated in the order which their late bishop, Profuturus, had received in writing from the authority of the apostolic see. In 633 a uniformity was established, not in each province severally, but throughout the whole extent of the peninsula or, as it is called, through all Spain and Gaul (that is *Gallia Narbonensis*); and amongst other things it is mentioned about the same time that the Kyrie Eleison was repeated, and the "Sicut erat in principio" was added to the "Gloria Patri," to meet the heresy of the Priscillianists, "as it had been done not only at the apostolic see, but also throughout all the East, Africa, and Italy."

(44.) Isidore, the famous archbishop of Seville, who presided in one or more councils at Toledo, has left us two books on the ecclesiastical offices, which are supposed to have been written about the year 633. (He succeeded Leander as bishop in the year 595, and died in the year 636.) In the thirteenth and three following chapters of the first book, he gives us information as to the liturgy of his day. He mentions that, "In Africa the Alleluia was sung only on Sundays, and on the fifty days after Easter; but with us, according to the ancient tradition of the Spains, it is sung at all times, except the days of Lent and other fast days." It would appear also, that what was called the *offertorium* was sung. With reference to the order of the mass, or "the prayers with which the sacrifices offered to God are consecrated," he claims that St. Peter was the author of the service which was celebrated throughout the whole world. He speaks of there being seven prayers or orations, the first being one of exhortation to the people, inciting them to earnest prayer to God; the second is a prayer to God, that He will mercifully receive the prayers and oblations of the faithful; the third is poured forth either for those who offer, or for the faithful who have departed this life, that by the same sacrifice they may obtain pardon; fourthly, comes, connected with the kiss of peace, a prayer that all, being mutually reconciled to each other, may partake worthily of the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, because the indivisible Body of Christ admits not of dissension. Then follows, fifthly, the illatio, which answers to the PREFACE in the Roman Missal. It is described by Isidore as connected with the sanctification of the oblation in which "the whole universe of terrestrial creatures and heavenly powers are urged to join in the praise of God," and the "Hosanna in the Highest" is sung. Then succeeds, sixthly, that which in some manuscripts is described as the "confirmatio" of the sacrament, in others, the "conformatio," that "the oblation which is now offered to God, being sanctified by the Holy Spirit, may be conformed to the Body and Blood of Christ." Seventhly, the Lord's Prayer fol-

lows, in which he notices likewise seven petitions—the first three for things eternal, the last four for things temporal. In chapter xvi, Isidore speaks of the Nicene Creed as proclaimed to the people at the time of the sacrifice, and in the next, of the priestly benedictions. In chapter xviii. he teaches on the nature of the sacrifice. [Compare ELEMENTS, I. 602.]

(45.) Isidore does not mention the part of the service at which the Nicene Creed, as he calls it, was recited; but we know that at the third council of Toledo, in 589, king Reccared had ordered that the creed of the hundred and fifty should be recited "in the liturgy before the Lord's Prayer throughout all the churches of Spain and Gaul, according to the form of the Oriental churches." [CREED, I. 491.] This position of the creed is not that which was adopted by the Roman church, but it is that which the creed of the hundred and fifty occupies in the liturgy which we must proceed now to discuss, namely—

(46.) *The Spanish or Mozarabic Liturgy.*—The Mozarabic Liturgy was first printed under the direction of Cardinal Ximenes, in the year 1500. The manuscript which he used must have been of a comparatively late date; for as Lorenzano, subsequently archbishop and cardinal, noticed in the preface to his edition (which was dedicated to Benedict XIV. and has been reprinted in Migne's series, vol. lxxxv.) the book makes mention of St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Anthony of Padua, all belonging to the 13th century, to which I would add, that in the first part, amongst the greater festivals, there is a mass for the feast of Corpus Christi, which we know was not introduced until the same century. It would be extremely difficult, therefore, to say what parts of the services are ancient, and what portions fall below the chronological limit by which we are bound; and it must be understood that much that follows is stated under reservation.

(47.) On comparing, however, the account given by St. Isidore, with the masses which we find in the Mozarabic Liturgy (as given by Lorenzano, Migne, p. 109; compare Daniel, i. p. 65, etc.), we have every point mentioned by Isidore reproduced in the liturgy. The exhortation to the people is found almost everywhere, under the heading *Missa*. We have the *Alleluia* at the beginning, apparently, of every mass, except those to be used in Lent (Daniel, pp. 55–57). We have the prayer that God would receive the oblation (*ibid.* p. 67). We have the prayer for the offerers (*ibid.* p. 69). The prayer for the Holy Spirit must have been displaced, for in the modern form it follows here. We have the "Dominus vobiscum" and "Et cum Spiritu tuo" (p. 71). That connected with the kiss of peace, which is the fourth prayer mentioned by Isidore, follows on p. 77. Then the "*Illatio*" follows, p. 79. It is, as Daniel describes it, a somewhat long ascription of glory, beginning with the "Dignum et justum est," varying almost every Sunday of the year, but always ending with the "Sanctus, sanctus" and the "Hosanna in the Highest." The "Confirmatio," or "Conformatio," consists of the narrative of the institution. The choir recite the creed whilst the priest elevates the consecrated elements; the Lord's Prayer follows, and the benediction before the communion. Thus, with the one exception of the invocation of the Holy Spirit, the position of each prayer mentioned by Isidore is found here to be the same as that to which he assigned it.

(48.) There are some points which have not yet been mentioned which establish still more closely the connexion of this liturgy with those of the Oriental churches. We have three Lessons at least—four in Lent. The first, or first two, from the Old Testament; the next from the Acts of the Apostles or the Epistles; the last from the Gospel. The offering was distinctly made before the consecration, the choir retained the use of the Greek words, "Agyos, Agyos, Agyos." The Apostolic Benediction is found as in the Greek liturgies. After the Kiss of Peace we have the "Sursum corda" and the "Habemus ad Dominum." In the other Latin liturgies the words of institution are always introduced thus: "Qui pridie quam pateretur." In the Greek liturgies it always was, "Who, in the night in which He was betrayed." The Mozarabic follows the Oriental form, and this serves as an indication that, at all events, in some points the Spanish has never been altered, for the prayer which follows is (I believe) throughout the volume entitled *Post pridie: oratio, i. e.* the modern rubric assumes that the prayer of consecration had run in the Roman form. [CANON, I. 272.] Once more, we have the *Sancta sanctis* here, and the choir sings, *Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus.* I think I might add that we have the words, "Give redemption to the captives, health to the infirm," as we had them in the liturgy of St. Mark, and "Rest to the departed," as we found the addition made in another of the Oriental liturgies.

(49.) But most curious of all is the rite which is peculiar to the Mozarabic Liturgy, of dividing the bread. [FRACTION, I. 688.]

(50.) One point more remains to be noticed: That the prayer "Post nomina" is very frequently addressed to Christ, and in many of the petitions so addressed our Lord is entreated to "accept the offering now made to Him;" the same may be noted in the petitions *Post pridie*, in which our Lord is entreated to sanctify the sacrifices. (See for examples, Migne, pp. 129, 138, 175, 195, 202, 204, etc.) Thus it is apparent that the canon of the church of Carthage, to which attention has been drawn, was not observed in Spain at the time when these services were framed.

(51.) *Gallican Liturgies.*—We know from the correspondence which passed between Gregory the Great and the missionary Augustine that the customs of the churches in Gaul and at Rome were different, even in the Mass or Eucharist. (Greg. *Ep.* xi. 64; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 19.) The difference continued during the seventh and the greater part of the eighth centuries; but the introduction of the Roman chant into Gaul in the time of Pepin was followed up by a command of Charlemagne that every presbyter should celebrate the Mass according to the Roman order (*Capitul.* v. cap. 219-371), and for this purpose Charles obtained a copy of what professed to be the Gregorian Sacramentary from his friend Pope Hadrian. This order was not carried out without some heartburnings, for we find in the next century the abbat Hilduin remarking to Louis

the Pious that the older rites had been observed in Gaul from the very earliest times, and, as a proof, he referred to "the missal books, which were most ancient and were almost eaten up by age." (Hilduin, *Vita Dionys. Areop.*, in Surius, Oct. 9; Palmer, i. 145.)

(52.) We must, of course, conclude that these "missal books" were not reproduced in the schools founded by Charlemagne and watched over by Alcuin and others. Indeed, they became so rare before the accession of Charles the Bald, that that monarch mentioned in his famous letter to the clergy of Ravenna (quoted by Mabillon, *Lit. Gall.* p. 20) that he was indebted to the clergy of the church of Toledo for his knowledge, that "up to the time of his grandfather, the Gallican churches had celebrated the divine offices in a manner different from those adopted in the churches of Rome and Milan." We cannot be surprised, therefore, at finding that the liturgical remains of the early Gallican church are very scanty, and we shall welcome with the greater thankfulness the discoveries of Thomasius, Martene, Mabillon, and Mone.

(53.) If we remember the early connexion of the churches of Lyons and Vienne with the East, we shall of course expect that the ritual of these churches must exhibit some points of resemblance with the ritual of the church of Ephesus. From the undoubted writings of Irenaeus (I abstain from using the so-called Pfaffian fragment), we learn but little of the eucharistic office of his day, but we do learn that it contained the words *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, that the service included an offering or sacrifice to God through Christ Jesus of the first fruits of His creatures, that there was an invocation (*ἔκκλησις* or *ἐπίκλησις*) on the bread and the *temperamentum* offered (i. 3. 1; iv. 17. 5; 18. 4, 5). These points remind us of the Oriental rites. Later allusions to the Gallican service, found in the writings of Gregory of Tours and others, have been collected by Mabillon in his learned work, *de Liturgia Gallicana*, published in 1685; and additional light is thrown upon the subject by the discovery in the library of St. Martin's, at Autun, of two letters, ascribed in the MS. to Germanus, the famous bishop of Paris, who died in the year 576. The discovery was made by Martene, who published the document *verbatim et literatim* in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. They are reproduced in Migne's series (vol. lxxii. pp. 83–98), and Migne has given as an appendix to them Mabillon's work *de Liturgia Gallicana* (pp. 101–447), and also the same writer's further work, entitled *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* (pp. 448–576).

(54.) We have altogether in these reprints:—

*a.* The *letters of St. Germanus*, of which I have spoken. They seem to be somewhat fragmentary, and I am disposed to regard the former as giving an account specifically of the service on Easter Eve and Easter Day. (Migne, *ut sup.* pp. 89–98.)

*b.* A *Lectionary* of the Gallican church, which Mabillon found at Luxeuil, and which he assigned to the end of the seventh century. (Migne, pp. 171–216.)

*c.* A Missal, entitled in the manuscript, though in a later hand, *Missale Gothicum*. This is considered by the learned as representing the ritual of the south of France about the beginning of the eighth century. (It contains a service for the martyrdom of St. Leodgar, who was killed in 678.) The volume is very interesting, exhibiting indisputable marks that the services it contains were framed not merely at different times, but on different principles. Several holy days are noted by Mabillon as having been introduced at a period subsequent to the Lectionary, which he described as above. (Migne, pp. 225–318.)

*d.* Then follows a missal entitled *Missale Francorum*, in consequence of petitions that it contains for the king and kingdom and rulers of the Franks. This missal concludes (at least in its present form) with a fragment of the Roman canon as it exists in the Gregorian Sacramentary; the earlier part is occupied with very interesting ordination offices. Morinus considered the MS. to be of the sixth century, but Mabillon puts it later. It evidently belongs to an epoch at which the Roman services were ousting those of the Gallican church. (Migne, pp. 318–340.)

The MSS. (*c*) and (*d*) are now in the Vatican. The former is numbered Vat. Reg. 626, or Alex. Vat. 317 (the accounts differ); the number of the other is apparently Alex. Vat. 257. They must have come from the Library of Fleury, which was dispersed by the Huguenots.

*e.* The *Missale Gallicanum* which follows in Mabillon (Migne, pp. 340–382) is also at the Vatican (Vat. Pal. 493); it came from the library at Heidelberg. It contains interesting expositions of the Creed and Lord's Prayer, and, almost unmutilated, the services for Easter Day. It is believed to represent the use of Mid-France in the eighth century.

*f.* To these must be added the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, above referred to. It was found by Mabillon at Bobio, and was regarded by him, as by others, as indicating the services of the neighbourhood of Besançon. It commences with the Gregorian Canon under the title *Missa Romensis cottidiana* (Migne, pp. 451–580).

*g.* And M. Mone, the librarian at Carlsruhe, discovered in the library under his care palimpsests from which he was enabled to decipher several old masses. The volumes came from the famous Benedictine convent of Reichenau, the island near Constance. Baron Bunsen has thrown additional light upon them in the third volume of the *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*.

(55.) A comparison of these manuscripts shews that if the suppositions regarding their origin are correct, there must have been a great variety in the details of the Eucharistic services in the various dioceses or provinces of France. Taking, however, the liturgy of St. Germanus as our guide, we learn that in his time, on the day or days of which he describes the services, when the priest came from the sacristy the clerk sang a kind of introit, and then the deacon proclaimed silence. The salutation followed, *Dominus sit semper vobiscum*, with the usual response. Lections were read from a Prophet, an Apostle, and a Gospel. The "Aius," or Ἅγιος, in Greek and then in Latin, preceded the "prophet," and the Song of Zacharias followed it. The *Benedicite* followed the Apostle, the "Aius" being again sung before the Gospel. The book was carried to the pulpit, preceded by seven candles, signifying the seven gifts of the Spirit. [Compare GOSPEL, I. 743.] A homily followed upon the

Gospel, and a prayer by the deacon. Then, Germanus says, intimation was given that the catechumens must leave the church; but his words seem to shew that though the form was kept up, the occasion had ceased. The oblations were now brought in (they are designated as being the Body and Blood of Christ, which seems to me to indicate that we have here the service of Easter Eve) amidst the singing of the choir; the *Lauds* or *Alleluia* followed, "as in the Revelation" (iv. 8–11), and the Angelic Hymn; and the names of the departed saints were recited, "as if heaven were opening at the second coming of Christ." The Kiss of Peace was given, and then the *Sursum corda*, the "confractio et commixtio corporis Christi" (the breaking being connected with a strange legend), whilst the prostrate clerks were singing an anthem (apparently the *Sanctus, Sanctus*). On this followed the Lord's Prayer, the benediction of the people ("Pax fides et communicatio corporis et sanguinis Domini sit semper vobiscum"), and the communion. Then, what Germanus called the Trecanum, which he describes as containing "the mystery of the Trinity," in such words as seem to me to suit only the εἷς ἅγιος κ. τ. λ. of the Oriental liturgies; and with this Germanus's account of the form of the service terminates. It will be noticed that he omits to inform us of the moment when the consecration took place, although we find in an earlier part of the letter that "pridie quam pateretur Dominus," our Saviour said, "Hic est calix sanguinis mei mysterium fidei qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum:" which are the words of the Gregorian Canon. This omission and other reasons prevent me from accepting this account as a description of the ordinary liturgy of the Gallican church at the time of Germanus. The account seems rather to be that of one of the services at the season of Easter.

(56.) With this we may compare the results of Mone's discoveries amongst the palimpsests at Carlsruhe. We should not be justified in regarding the originals of these as all of one date, but we may supplement the account of Germanus by what we find here. It would appear that there was occasionally or generally a prayer *post prophetiam*, and, after the catechumens were dismissed, a *praefatio*, which was an address to the congregation, explaining the service which followed, and calling upon them to join heartily in it. This was followed by a collect. The oblations were then made, and the names both of living and departed members of Christ's body were read, prayers being offered both *ante nomina* and *post nomina*. Then came the kiss of peace and the prayer *ad pacem*, and the service proceeded with the *Sursum corda*, etc. (though this is not mentioned) and the *contestatio*, which answered to the modern preface. Of these contestations there was evidently a great variety. This of course led up to the *Sanctus*, and we have various collects entitled *post sanctus*; the words of institution (we have not them at length) were introduced "qui pridie," and part of them seem to have been uttered *secreto*, for, after them, comes in one missa a "post secreta." (We have three instances here of an invocation.) Then came the Lord's Prayer with variable introductions, all entirely different from the Gregorian, and a variable EMBOLISMUS. Then must have followed the Communion, for the next prayer is entitled generally *post communio*, once only *post mysterium*; then came the collect and the final benediction.

(57.) The first sacramentary published by Mabillon entirely upholds the correctness of our inferences drawn from these palimpsests, and at the same time exhibits marks of progress towards later modes of thought. In these missals, which were prepared for the Sundays and older established festivals, we have the *praefatio*, still the title for an address to the congregation: the *collectio post nomina* frequently shews that the names recited had been names of the living who had made their offerings or sacrifices, at the same time that it included at times a prayer for the dead. The *Vere dignum et justum est* is entitled (generally in the older services) *immolatio missae*, sometimes *contestatio*. The form of the *mysterium* or *secreta* always begins *Qui pridie*. The words of consecration are not given. The *post secreta* is either a prayer or an expression of belief. There seems to have been two *benedictiones populi*, one a prayer before communion, the other a blessing before dismissal. The general character of the *Missale Gallicanum* (Migne, pp. 339, etc.) is the same. We still find the titles *immolatio* and *contestatio* prefixed to the *Vere dignum et justum est*, but there are a few indications that a change of service was being introduced when the manuscript was prepared, such as *immolatio nunc missae* or *contestatio nunc*, and in a very few instances the *post communionem* is altered to *post eucharistiam*. The character of the collects *post nomina* is the same as in the Gothic missal.

(58.) The other two sacramentaries i.e. the *Missale Francorum*, and the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* (which Mabillon found at Bobio) contain, either in whole or in part (the former manuscript being mutilated), the Gregorian canon. We must therefore assign them to the ninth century (or the later years of the eighth) at the earliest. In the former the title *super oblat.* has replaced the words *post nomina*, and the offerings have become the oblations of God's people. The names of the offerers are no longer recited: and the *Memento etiam* appears in the canon, after the consecration. We have still benedictions "ad plebem," pp. 336, 337.

From the letter of the Monks of Mount Olivet to pope Leo III., we know that the creed of Constantinople was used in the chapel of Charlemagne. [CREED, § 15, I. 492.] We find no notice of it in any of the manuscripts.[c]

(59.) *Roman Liturgy.*—We must now turn to one of the most difficult subjects,—the history and characteristics of the liturgy in use in Rome. We have seen evidences that it differed materially from the Liturgy of Gaul in the middle of the 8th century, and we know, with considerable accuracy, the form which it assumed before the end of the 9th century; but

[c] A prayer in the earlier MS. (p. 227), "Give deliverance to the captive, sight to the blind," may remind us of a similar petition in the Alexandrine liturgies. The prayers *post nomina, ad pacem, post secreta*, are also frequently addressed to our Lord. There is a distinct invocation of the Holy Spirit on pages 246, 257, and on page 266 (the Thursday in Holy Week) I notice the "Agnus Dei."

the evidence is very limited as to its previous growth. In the accounts of the 9th century we meet with statements that Alexander (A.D. 100 to 106) combined the history of the Passion of our Lord with the prayer of the priest, when the masses were celebrated (see § 34); that Xystus (107-116) directed that during the service the people should sing the hymn *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*, etc.; that Telesphorus (117-127) ordered that at the commencement of the sacrifice the angelic hymn *Gloria in excelsis Deo* should be sung on the night of the Nativity alone. These and similar statements, found in the works of Walafrid Strabo and others, indicate a belief that the portions referred to were of great antiquity. Greater credence may perhaps be given to details such as these which follow. Caelestinus (422) is said to have directed that Psalms of David should be sung before the sacrifice, in addition to the reciting of parts of St. Paul's Epistles and the Holy Gospel. Of Leo the Great (440-462), it is distinctly stated that he added the words "sanctum sacrificium et caetera:" and of Gelasius (about 495), that he framed with great caution prefaces for the sacraments. The letter of Vigilius to Profuturus, Bishop of Braga, has been already referred to: he sent to the Spanish bishop the text of the "canonical prayer," "which by God's mercy we have received (he said) from apostolic tradition." The letter is preserved, the enclosure unhappily is lost. But in the letter he gives the important information that "in the celebration of masses, at no time and on no festival was the order of the prayer different. They always consecrated in the same form the gifts offered to God." Then we come to the work of Gregory the Great, of whom it is stated by the Deacon John that he made additions to the ritual of the church, that he ordered the ALLELUIA [I. 56] to be said at other times beside Pentecost, the *Kyrie eleison* to be sung, and the Lord's Prayer to be recited immediately after the canon over the sacrifice. (The *Canon* here would seem to be the list of saints commemorated in the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*. For an example of this limited meaning, see Muratori *de Lit. Rom.* i. 555.) Gregory is also declared by his biographer to have reduced into one volume the Gelasian codex of the solemnities of the mass, by removing many things, altering a few, and adding others "pro exponendis Evangelicis lectionibus." His letter to John the bishop of Syracuse (*Epist.* ix. 12) seems to shew that the Deacon John was correct in his account of the alterations which Gregory had introduced, and several writers agree in narrating that Gregory added the words "diesque nostros in tua pace disponas." They are found in the prayer *Hanc igitur*. With these brief hints we shall be better able to examine the documents which have come down to us.

(60.) The first, and undoubtedly the oldest, is a sacramentary discovered in the library at Verona, and published by Blanchini in the year 1735. He gave to it the title *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, and attributed it (without any documentary evidence) to pope Leo the Great. An examination of the contents of the work has induced almost all the great ritualists to differ herein from Blanchini; and it seems now to be generally agreed that the manuscript was prepared by some ecclesiastic for his own, either private or public, use. It is mutilated at the commencement, and does not give the canon of the Mass. It contains, however, a collection of prayers such as were used at the eucharistic services, one or two collects for the day, a prayer of oblation, a *Vere dignum*, a prayer after communion, and a benediction. Of these there is an immense variety; thus there are eight "sets" of prayers for the festival of St. John and St. Paul, and twenty-eight for that of St. Peter and St. Paul (Migne, lv. pp. 47, 49, etc.). Titles to the prayers occur very rarely; we have, however, *preces* for the collects on p. 110; *super oblata* on pp. 106, 110; and on the same pages, *postcommunio* and *super populum*. We are thus severed from the *post nomina* of the Gothic sacramentary, and brought more into connexion with the *Missale Francorum* and the Bobio manuscript. The Ballerini have remarked that in a mass for Pentecost the prayer *Hanc igitur* is represented as preceding the *Communicantes* (p. 40). On p. 70 there is an *embolismus* (the only one I have discovered), and on p. 75, "Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, quaesumus, mente capiamus," etc., and a distinct invocation of the Holy Spirit on pp. 79, 147 (compare p. 139). On p. 117 we find two prayers, still more resembling the Gregorian *Hanc igitur* and *Quam oblationem;* the former has the words "diesque meos clementissima gubernatione disponas"; in the latter it seems to have been assumed that the reader needed only the first few words, his memory would supply the rest. If so, we carry the petition, *Quam oblationem*, back to a period before the time of Gelasius.

We meet with so many prayers for the rulers or princes of the "Roman Name" that we can have no difficulty in assigning the book to some *Roman* priest or bishop; and the manner in which the Roman primacy is urged (as we find it in no other sacramentary) may be deemed to justify Blanchini in his opinion that Leo might have been the compiler. We learn from Gerbert (*Vetus Liturgia Alemannica*, i. 80) that the effect of the discussions which followed his publication on the mind of Blanchini was this: he became persuaded that the work was still more ancient than at first he deemed it to be, and attributed it to Sylvester, who was pope from 314 to 355. One thing is clear, that, when the book was written, the liturgy at Rome had not assumed the character which Vigilius ascribed to it in the middle of the sixth century, unless we limit most rigidly his language as to the form of consecration.

(61.) In the year 1680 the learned *Thomasius* (afterwards Cardinal) published the contents of a manuscript which, having belonged to Petau, was then in the library of Queen Christina, and is now in the Vatican (Vat. 1455 according to Daniel, 316 according to Muratori). This part of Thomasius' work was republished by Muratori in the first volume of his learned work *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, and with it, in Migne's series, vol. lxxiv. p. 847, etc. The manuscript is of the tenth century, and is entitled, *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli*. It contains several prayers for the princes of the Roman kingdom and the governors of the Roman empire (Muratori, pp. 729-731); but one of the well-known collects for Good Friday (p. 561)

has the prayer, "Respice propitius ad Romanum sive Francorum benignus imperium." Thus the Roman work had been adapted for use in France in the ninth or tenth century, and it is impossible to say how far this adaptation extended. We know that there were in the monastery at Centula (St. Richerius near Corbey) in the ninth century, fourteen Gelasian and three Gregorian missals, and thus it was inferred by Thomasius that this manuscript might represent the Gelasian order. All doubt on the subject was removed in the year 1777 by Gerbert, who discovered three similar books in the libraries of Switzerland, and the sacramentary, as distinct from the Canon of the Mass, may now unhesitatingly be described as Gelasian. It consists of three books, the prayers for great festivals, ordinary holy days, and ordinary Sundays, being arranged separately. Scattered over the work we have the word *oratio* prefixed to the collect of the day; the *secreta* as now in the Roman missal; the *Vere dignum* varying with almost every festival; on p. 553 the words *infra actionem* form a rubric to the *Communicantes*, and the *Hanc igitur* is similarly introduced. Then we have *post communionem*, and lastly *ad populum*. Thus the benediction followed the communion. There is no mention anywhere of the use of the Constantinopolitan Creed in the service (perhaps we might scarcely expect such mention), but in the Order for the preparation for Baptism (which had commenced on the Monday in the third week in Lent, on p. 533), after the "opening of the ears," the acolyth recited this Creed in the name of the children, and the clause on the Procession ran in Greek, "tonectupatros emporeuomenon"; in Latin, "ex Patre procedentem" (compare Dr. Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 158, or the writer's *Creeds*, p. 138). The omission of the clause *Filioque* is a further indication of the connexion of this volume with Rome.

(62.) But when we come to the canon of the Mass the "Canon actionis" as it is called, which is to be found in the third book (Muratori, p. 695), we find the words, "diesque nostros in tua pace disponas;" and, with the exception I shall mention just now, this canon agrees in every respect with what was deemed in the tenth century to be the Gregorian canon. It will be remembered that the Gregorian canon is also to be found in the "Missale Francorum" and the "Missale Gallicanum" of Besançon, although the books in other respects differ from the Roman use. It seems probable, therefore, that the work before us indicates that, although the Gelasian Prefaces etc. were used in some parts of France in the ninth or tenth century, still the directions of Charlemagne had been carried out completely, and the Gregorian *canon* had replaced all others.[d]

(63.) The exception to which I have referred is this. In the prayer *Communicantes* of the Gregorian canon the twelve martyrs commemorated were all connected immediately with the church in Rome. In the MS. before us mention is also made (either in the text or margin) of Dionysius, Rusticus, Hilary, Martin, Augustine, Gregory, Jerome, Benedict, Eleutherius. Of these, Hilary and Martin are also named in the *Missale Francorum*; and they, with Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, Jerome, Benedict, in the Bobio or Besançon copy. Thus these names carry us down to a period far later than Gelasius. Indeed, at p. 515 we have *capitulum Sancti Gregorii Papae*.

(64.) Again, there is here no *Memento etiam* of those who have "preceded us with the sign of faith and rest in the sleep of peace." It seems, however, that this is missing from several important manuscripts of the Gregorian canon (see Daniel, i. 38), and thus the omission cannot be regarded as a point of difference between it and the text before us. The same may be said of the clause, *Pro quibus tibi offerimus* in the *Memento Domine*. Thus we have no satisfactory direct evidence of the contents of the canon as left by Gelasius.[e] But I must mention that, as we have it here, we find that after the Lord's Prayer and the *embolismus* the Peace was given by the priest, with the usual response; announcements were made of festivals or fasts, and of sick persons to be prayed for; *post haec communicat sacerdos cum omni populo*; fourteen collects are given under the title, "Post commun." and as many more under the words, "Item Benedictiones super populum post communionem."—There is no account of these benedictions in the brief summary of the Gregorian rite to which I must now proceed.

(65.) After these remarks the Gregorian Liturgy will not detain us long. Muratori speaks of four or five MSS. which were known in his time; to these the search of later investigators has added several more, so that Daniel professes to give the various readings in the *Ordo* and *Canon* of nineteen MSS. Of these several present similar titles: "Liber sacramentorum de circulo anni expositum a sancto Gregorio Papa Romano editum ex authentico Libro Bibliothecae Cubiculi scriptum." Muratori thinks (not unreasonably) that this repetition of the same grammatical error indicates that these were all (or, all but one) transcripts of one copy taken from the *cubiculum* of the custodians of the relics at St. Peter's. The copy which he uses in his margin, has *editus*. But, as Muratori says, no one can believe that we have the book as it came from the hand of Gregory. The masses vary in the several editions; some copies have only nine prefaces; others have many more. The festivals vary; all (as I understand) include a commemoration of St. Gregory himself. Even the account, "Qualiter missa Romana cele-

[d] Some questions on this point seem to be set at rest by observation of the following fact. Ratram, in his letter to the Emperor Charles the Bald on the Body and Blood of our Lord, § 2, refers to two collects used by the priest in the service of the Mass. Of these collects one is in the Gregorian Sacramentary, and indeed is used to the present day. Both are contained in that published by Thomasius and Muratori as the "Gelasian," and they are found nowhere else. Thus we may conclude that this really was the Gelasian sacramentary as used in France in the ninth century; and that this Gelasian sacramentary continued in use in combination with the Gregorian canon. And it follows that we have no distinctive copy of the true Gelasian canon. (The passage from Ratram may be seen in *Gieseler*, third period, division 1, § 14, note 6; and the collects referred to in Muratori, i. 657. 671.)

[e] It would appear that one of Gerbert's MSS. of the Gelasian sacramentary contains two prayers for the faithful departed; one before, the other after, the consecration. [CANON, I. 271.]

bratur," varies in the details which I shall mention as I proceed.

(66.) What is now called the *Ordo* (of which we have no notice in the Gelasian Sacramentary) is given briefly but satisfactorily. Mention is made of the *Introit*, the *Kyrie eleison*, the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, to be used on Sundays and festivals if a bishop is present, otherwise only at Easter. When the Litany is said, neither the *Gloria in excelsis* nor the *Alleluia* is sung. Then followed the *Oratio* or *Oratio Missalis*, *i. e.* the collect for the day; the *Apostolum* (sic) or Epistle; then either the *Gradalis* or the *Alleluia*: then the Gospel. This was followed by the offertory, and the prayer *super oblata*, which varied; it is called the *secreta* in one MS. It concluded with the words, *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*, which were recited aloud. The absence is noted (Gerbert, p. 301) of the salutations before the Epistle and before the Gospel, of the Creed, and of the Sermon. Then the canon commenced, but the records end with the salutation after the embolismus; *i. e.* we have no account of the communion, or the kiss of peace, or the benediction. The Vatican MS. used by Muratori has, however, one line more, *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis*, which is also contained in two or more other MSS. In the body of the books we have for each day a prayer *ad complendam*, answering to the similar prayer in the modern missal.

(67.) I think it is certain that all the known MSS. of this sacramentary were used north of the Alps, yet not one of them refers to the use of the "Nicene" Creed in the service of the Mass. We know, however, that the Gallican churches used the *Gloria in excelsis* every Sunday, and that the recitation of the creed spread very much after the fall of Felix and Elipandus. The collects *super oblata* have never (I believe) any reference to the offerers. This had been discouraged by Pope Innocent I. The persons named in the *Te igitur* are different in the different manuscripts. In some places the king was prayed for; in others the emperor: many omitted the petition, *pro omnibus orthodoxis*, and all the MSS. but one (the Vat. Othob.) omit the words, *Pro quibus tibi offerimus.*[f] The *Memento etiam* on behalf of those who have died with the sign of faith is absent from five of the MSS., and in two other early copies it is inserted in the margin. The names adduced in the prayer commencing *Nobis quoque* are again all Roman. (This collect is referred to by Innocent III. as indicating the *growth* of the Roman service.)

(68.) *Ambrosian Liturgy.*—The church of Milan was said to have been founded by Barnabas, and it seems to be undoubted that it was regarded as entirely independent of Rome until Gregory in 593 attempted to exercise patriarchal privileges within the province. Milan certainly had a liturgy of its own, which, notwithstanding repeated efforts on the part of the Roman patriarch, was, though with some modifications, retained until our own times. One of the most important of these efforts was encouraged by Charlemagne, who, in his anxiety to compel the Lombards to follow the example he had set to his earlier subjects, carried off to Rome all the service-books he could collect at Milan, with the intention of replacing them by Roman offices (Mabillon, *Iter Ital.* tom. i. part ii. p. 106, etc.). Eugenius, a Gallican bishop, induced Leo to exercise some forbearance in the matter, and thus the Milanese rite was preserved; but, as the account proceeds, only one copy of the earlier service-book could be discovered, so that from it the more recent copies must have been taken.

(69.) This statement seems to be in some degree corroborated by the fact that no manuscript of very ancient date has been discovered containing the Ambrosian rite. The sacramentary published by Pamelius in 1571 differs considerably even in the canon from the modern rite given by Daniel, and it differs too in the service for the Thursday before Easter from that which Saxe, the librarian at Milan, furnished from a very old manuscript to Muratori (*de Lit. Rom.* i. 131). The text of Daniel approximates more nearly to that of the modern Roman Ordo and Canon than that given by Pamelius, shewing, I conceive, that the efforts of various popes to induce the Milanese to resign their inheritance have tended to encourage the admission of details from the Roman liturgy. Thus, the text of the *Confiteor* (Daniel, p. 50) and the absolutions, the *Munda cor meum* (p. 62), the *Hanc igitur* (p. 84, in which the well-known Gregorian words *Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas* are to be found), the *Supplices te rogamus* (p. 90), the *Libera nos* (p. 96) do not occur in Pamelius, nor do other prayers of great importance given by Daniel (pp. 100, 102, 104): and the language of many others differs considerably.

(70.) Taking the text of Pamelius as our guide, we observe that, after two private prayers said by the priest before and whilst he draws near to the altar, an *Ingressa* takes the place of the Roman *Introit;* and that before the *Gloria in excelsis* there is an *oratio super populum*, corresponding to our collect for the day. The salutations, *Dominus vobiscum*, etc., are very frequent; after the *Gloria in excelsis* (in which, as in the older copies, the *Qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis* is not repeated) the *Kyrie eleison* follows. (In the Gregorian it precedes the Angelic Hymn.) Three lessons were read, as in the Gallican and Spanish rites—the Prophecy, the Epistle, the Gospel; a *Psalmulus*, consisting of two (or more) verses suited to the Prophecy, was sung after it; a *Benedictus* preceded the Epistle, and a verse for the day with the *Alleluia* followed it; the first few words of the *Gloria in excelsis* and a suitable benedictory prayer preceded the Gospel; salutations, the *Kyrie eleison*, and an antiphon succeeded it. The oblations of the bread and the cup were then made, and they were made even until our own day in a manner recalling the earlier conceptions of the church; they were brought in, not by the deacon, but by ten aged men and as many women, and presented by them to the priest. He had previously offered an *oratio super sindonem*, which varied with the day or season; then came the *orationes secretae ad munus oblatum*, and a prayer resembling the *suscipe Sancte Pater* of the Roman office, and two others commencing *Et suscipe Sancta Trinitas* (these differ in very interesting details from those which in the Roman book follow the recitation of the creed). According to the book before us a prose hymn entitled *offerenda* was

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[f] They are omitted *in loco* both in the Bobio MS. and in the *Missale Francorum*, and in the explanation of Amalarius.

then chanted (it began *Ecce apertum est templum tabernaculi testimonii*, and ended with the *Sanctus* of the Apocalypse), and this introduced the creed. Then followed the varying prayer *super oblatam* repeated aloud, and the "preface to the canon" followed. The prefaces (they are so entitled) are numerous. The canon commenced in a manner similar to the Gregorian, but the *Hanc igitur* and *Quam oblationem* were replaced by a single prayer commencing *Fac nobis*. (This is not in Daniel, nor is there notice there of the washing of the fingers of the priest which here ensued, its position differing from that in the Roman book.) Then immediately ensued the *consecratio panis per verba Christi* and the *consecratio calicis*, and the *commemoratio passionis resurrectionis et ascensionis Domini*—all differing from the Gregorian text; but we have the *Memento etiam* and the *Nobis quoque*. The *Per quem* differed materially: there was a special prayer for the confraction and commixtion, and the Lord's Prayer followed with a doxology. The *Pacis nuntiatio*, including a prayer, *Pax in caelo, pax in terra, pax in omni populo, pax sacerdotibus ecclesiarum Dei; pax Christi et ecclesiae maneat semper nobiscum*. Then followed prayers of the priest before and after he communicated, and the communion of the bystanders (V. *Corpus Christi*, R. *Amen*). With the last exception, and that of the offering of the priest after his reception, *Deo gratias, Deo gratias*, etc., the modern or Daniel's text here differs almost entirely from that of Pamelius, which has nothing analogous to the prayers of the Roman Liturgy. Then, an appeal to the church to rejoice, entitled *transitorium*; a varying prayer *post communionem*; *Dominus vobiscum*; *Kyrie eleison*; *Benedicat et exaudiat nos Deus*; *Procedamus in pace*, *R.* *in nomine Christi*, and the service concluded.

(71.) The importance of our subject is such that it is necessary to say a few more words on the canon which Muratori printed in his famous work (p. 131), from the copy furnished to him by Saxe. Here we find the *Hanc igitur oblationem* adapted for the day, and the *Quam oblationem*, neither of which is in Pamelius; but there is a prayer commencing *Haec facimus*, to which I know of nothing analogous anywhere else. The service is represented as then passing on to a prayer resembling in some respects that commencing *Per quem*, and on this the Lord's Prayer follows. Thus then (if Muratori's account may be implicitly trusted) we have no offering after consecration, no prayer for those who have departed with the sign of faith, no commemoration of the (Roman) martyrs, no ceremony of fraction before the Lord's Prayer; all of which are contained in the rite as published by Pamelius. The fact is remarkable, and the discrepancy seems to require some explanation. We have an indication in both services that, as we have them, they are later than 800; for in both we have a prayer for the emperor, and Charles was not crowned emperor before that year.

(72.) We have no account of the early liturgy of the patriarchate of Aquileia.

(73.) *Liturgies of the British Islands.*—We are in almost entire ignorance of the character of the liturgies of the ancient British and Celtic churches. It is of course most probable that they resembled in some degree the uses of the churches in Gaul or Spain, but of the extent of this resemblance it is impossible to speak precisely. A curious document originally published by Spelman, and much used by Ussher, Stillingfleet, and others, may be found in Haddan and Stubbs (i. 138–140). It seems to have been written in the latter part of the seventh or in the eighth century, and professes to give some notes on the various 'courses' in use in Western Europe. The 'Cursus Gallorum' is referred to St. John, and it is stated that it was used widely. The 'Cursus Scottorum,' of which a marked feature was that the *Sanctus*, the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, the Lord's Prayer, and the *Amen* were chanted by all the congregation, male and female, is assigned to St. Mark; and its introduction into Britain and Scotland is attributed to Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus, who visited the islands about the year 429. It thus (as Professor Stubbs says) is silent on the liturgy of Britain before 429, and its evidence, so far as it is worth anything, only "asserts that the Irish liturgy used by St. Patrick was neither Roman nor Gallican, but Alexandrian." Coming down to the next century, we find an assertion attributed to Gildas, that the Britons were opposed to the whole world and to the Romans in particular, "in the mass" (H. and S. i. 112). The date is questioned by Mr. Stubbs, who would refer the assertion to a later period; but, of course, if true in the seventh or eighth century it must have been true in the sixth as to the opposition to Rome. The words of Gregory to Augustine (*ib.* iii. 19) authorised the latter to form a purely Anglican rite, and we know from his proposals to the British bishops (Bede, *E. H.* ii. 2, in Palmer, i. 178), that in matters of custom, in which at the time "the latter differed from the use of Rome and of the church universal," Augustine would give up all points but three. He insisted that they should celebrate Easter at the proper time, should baptize after the Roman ritual, and should join him in preaching the word of the Lord to the English nation. "Everything else, however contrary to our customs, we will bear with equanimity." Of course as long as the Britons and Celts refused to observe the Roman Easter, they must have refused to adopt the Roman ritual for the Eucharist. And we know that the Roman Easter was not observed either in Scotland or Ireland before the beginning of the eighth century. Bede (*H. E.* v. 15, see Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 110) states that Adamnan came to Aldfred, king of the Angli, about the year 704, and whilst staying with him saw the canonical rites of the church, and was then persuaded how undesirable it was for him and his people, very few in number and living in an extreme corner of the earth, to retain customs which were opposed to those of the whole Christian world. Adamnan succeeded in inducing the North Irish churches to adopt the Roman Easter, but he died before he could persuade his own monastery at Iona to do the same. It yielded, however, about the year 716 (H. and S. ii. 114). The British churches persisted for a few years longer, but at length, between the years 755 and 850, the bishops in Wales gave way one by one (*ib.* i. 203, 204), following the example of their countrymen amongst the West Saxons, who had yielded to the persuasion of Aldhelm in 705 (*ib.* i. 674).

(74.) One Tirechanus, writing about the year

750 (H. and S. i. 115, 141. 154), stated that the second order of Irish saints (beginning from the year 544) receive their office of the Mass from David, Gildas, and Cadoc. Dr. O'Connor, in the year 1819 gave some account of a manuscript (then in the library at Stowe, now in the collection of Lord Ashburnham) which contained a missal that must have been in use in Ireland. His account has been supplemented and corrected by Dr. Todd. We are still, unhappily, in great ignorance as to the character of the service contained in the MS. Two things of moment, however, are known. First, that a copy of the Nicene Creed is found in it, omitting the word *Filioque*. But we are not told whether this is in the office of the Mass or in the scrutiny in preparation for baptism. If the latter, we are reminded of the Gelasian or Gregorian Sacramentary, for the exclusion of the *Filioque* points to a mark of difference in the Irish church from the churches of Spain and Gaul. We are told, secondly, that there are several collects in this missal before the Epistles; and we know that at a synod of Mâcon, held about 624, the objection was raised against the famous Columbanus, that he celebrated the solemnities of the Mass with a multiplicity of prayers or collects. Eustatius, who was then abbat of Luxeuil (the convent had been founded by Columbanus), defended the use. Additional confirmation is furnished by the two very interesting books of Mullen and Dimma, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. They are undoubtedly Irish, and although they contain only services for the visitation of the sick, yet these services bear very strong resemblance to each other, and the words, *Reffecti Christi corpore et sanguine, tibi semper dicamus, Domine, alleluia, alleluia* (which are repeated), are found, almost identically, in the words of the Spanish Liturgy, *Refecti Christi corpore et sanguine, te laudamus Domine, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia*. A post-communion collect commencing *Refecti* is frequently found in the Gallican and other services, but the jubilant *alleluia* is connected with it only in the Mozarabic rite. I have not seen in the Spanish books the concluding thanksgiving, *Deus tibi gratias agamus*, etc.

Mabillon (*De Liturg. Gall.* lib. i. col. iii. § 2) shews that the Roman order was not introduced into Ireland before the 12th century.

(75.) Mr. Haddan (H. and S. ii. p. 275) considered that the one fragment of *Scottish-Celtic liturgical* documents, that has as yet seen the light, is contained in the book of Deer;—a portion of the service for the Visitation of the Sick. It resembles closely that contained in the books I have just named, and thus it seems probable that the service was known from Aberdeen to Wexford. We thus connect the early Scottish rites also with those of Spain. It seems that in the 12th century the bishop of Glasgow introduced, with the consent of Pope Alexander III., the Sarum offices into his cathedral, and that his example was followed by other bishops in the next century (H. and S. 275 and 33). As the Sarum missal contains the Gregorian Canon, the inference is that the Scotch use up to that time must, like the Irish, have continued to differ from that adopted in Gaul and England.

(76.) Returning to England, we have only to notice that the Sarum, Bangor, York, and Hereford uses, which continued until the 16th century, all agreed in adopting the text of the Gregorian Canon. We must conclude that that canon had been introduced universally before the end of the 10th century, and thus we have proof that the 13th canon of the council of Cloveshoo (A.D. 747) had secured complete obedience, and that "in the celebration of the masses all things were then done after the example which they had in writing from the Roman church." This canon seems to refer only to days kept in memory of events in the life of our Lord, but the spirit of the enactment is manifest. And doubtlessly when the Welsh bishops finally adopted the Roman Easter, they adopted simultaneously the Gregorian Liturgy. [C. A. S.]

LITERATURE.—It is impossible to attempt to give here a complete account of the very extensive literature connected with liturgies. The following list contains the principal collections and editions of ancient liturgies, and works useful in the study of the principal rites of antiquity.

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*Works*, tom. viii. (Rome, 1597). Again by Hugh Menard from a MS. at Corbey, with a collation of many other MSS. and of the printed copies, and very copious notes, Paris, 1642. The text and notes of Ménard, with the *Scholia* of Rocca, were reprinted by the Benedictine editors in the *Works* of Gregory, vol. iii. (Paris, 1705); and in Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. 78. The *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* was published by Thomasius in 1680; reprinted in his *Opera*, tom. vi. (Rome, 1751); in Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. 74. The so-called Leonine Sacramentary was published by Jos. Blanchini in the *Prolegomena* to the work of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (Muratori, *Scriptores Ital.* iii. 55), under the title *Codex Sacramentorum Vetus a S. Leone Papa confectus*. These three sacramentaries, with other liturgical documents, were republished in an improved form by Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus* (Venetiae, 1748), with a learned dissertation *de Libris Liturgicis*, which is reprinted in Migne's *Patrol.* vol. 74. An *Ordo Romanus Antiquus* was printed by Hittorp [see below]; Mabillon published fifteen *Ordines Romani* in his *Museum Italicum*, vol. ii. (Paris 1689); reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. 68.

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**LIUDGER**, bishop of Mimigardford; commemorated March 26 (*Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 616). [C. H.]

**LIVARIUS**, martyr at Marsal; commemorated Nov. 25 (Usuard. *Auct.*).

**LIVENTIUS** (Usuard. *Auct.* Jan. 25). [LICENTIUS.] [C. H.]

**LIVING, COMMEMORATION OF.** [CANON; DIPTYCHS.]

**LIVINUS** (LIVINIUS, LIAFWINUS, LEBUINUS, LEBWIN, LIVIN), apostle of Flanders, 7th century, archbishop and martyr; commemorated Nov. 12 (Usuard. *Auct.*; *Mart.* Ado *Append.*; *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* ii. 431; Surius, *Prob. Sanct. Hist.*, ad diem). [C. H.]

**LIZERIUS**, Roman martyr at Venice, temp. Diocletian; commemorated Oct. 2 (*Acta SS.* Oct. i. 324). [C. H.]

**LIZINIUS.** [LICINIUS.]

**LLAWDOG** or **LLEUDAD**, Welsh saint, late in 6th century, commemorated Jan. 15, at Llanllawdog in Carmarthen (Rees, *Welsh Saints* (Lond. 1636), p. 274). [E. B. B.]

**LLECHID**, early in 6th century, Dec. 2, at Llanlechid, in Carnarvon (*ib.* p. 223).

**LLEUDAD** v. LLAWDOG. [E. B. B.]

**LLIBIO**, late 7th century, Feb. 28, at Llanllibio, in Anglesey (*ib.* p. 308). [E. B. B.]

**LLONIO** Lawhir ap Alan, early 6th century, has a church at Llanio, in Cardigan (*ib.* p. 221). [E. B. B.]

**LLWCHAIARN**, late 6th century, Jan. 11, at Llanllwchaiarn (*ib.* p. 275). [E. B. B.]

**LLWNI**, late 7th century, Aug. 11, at Llanllwni, in Carmarthen (*ib.* 308). [E. B. B.]

**LLWYDIAN**, late 7th century, Nov. 19 (*ib.*). [E. B. B.]

**LLYR**, late 7th century, Oct. 21, at Llanllyr in Cardigan (*ib.* V. also p. 169). [E. B. B.]

**LLYWEL** or Luhil, at Llywel in Brecon mid. 6th century, p. 253. [E. B. B.]

**LOAVES**, MULTIPLICATION OF. Representations of this miracle are very frequent in early Christian art. Perhaps the most common form of treatment is that given by Bottari (pl. lxxxv.), in which the Lord lays one hand on the loaves and the other on the fishes presented by two disciples, whilst at his feet are the "baskets" containing the "fragments." A sarcophagus in the Vatican, however, presents a noteworthy variation from this type (*Id.* pl. xix.). Here the loaves are placed in three baskets at the Lord's feet; in His right hand He holds a rod, which He extends over them, whilst He lays His left hand on the fish, presented by a disciple (see woodcut). The principal symbolic use of this subject was doubtless to keep before the minds of the faithful the perpetual supply of the heavenly bread provided in the Eucharist for the nourishment of their souls. Hence we find the second of the two recorded miracles of multiplication is the one usually chosen for representation, as in it the loaves multiplied are supposed to have been of wheat, the "barley loaves" being expressly mentioned on the first occasions. The seven baskets, which are of almost invariable occurrence in these representations, show unmistakably that the second of those miracles is referred to. [Compare MANNA.]



From Bottari (Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus).

The Lord almost always appears with a rod in his hand (Buonarr. *Vetri.* tav. viiij.) Upon a sarcophagus given by Bottari (iii. p. 201) the Lord holds a rod in one hand, and from the other rays of light appear to stream upon three baskets of loaves. This subject is represented in paintings, in sarcophagi (v. Bosio, *passim*) and sepulchral slabs (Perret, vol. v. pl. xlvii. 18), on glasses (Buonarr. loc. laud.), and on mosaics (Ciampini, *Vet. Monim.* ii. 98). On a curious sarcophagus in the Vatican the Jews appear to seize the Lord, perhaps to take him by force and make him a king (St. John vi. 15). [C.]

**LOAVES, BENEDICTION OF.** The procession of the *Lite* which occurs in the office of Great Vespers [v. art. LITE] returns into the nave of the church while the *Aposticha* are being sung; and each one puts down his candlestick[a] on either side of a table[b], already prepared by the *Cellarite* (or steward), on which stands a dish with corn and five loaves, such as we are in the habit of offering in church,; and on either side of the dish are two vessels (ἀγγεῖα); the one on the left filled with wine, the other on the right with oil. The priest with the deacon stands within the *beautiful doors* (τῶν ὡραίων πυλῶν)[c]. When the *Aposticha* are finished, *Nunc dimittis*, the *Trisagion*, and the Lord's prayer are said; and after certain *troparia* belonging to the day, and certain ceremonies which are detailed in the rubrics, relating mainly to the censing of the loaves, the priest takes one loaf in his hand, and says the following prayer in a loud voice:

"O Lord Jesus Christ, our God, who didst bless the five loaves in the desert, and didst feed five thousand men; do Thou bless these loaves also, the corn, the wine, and the oil; and multiply them in this holy monastery [*or* in the city], and throughout the whole world which is Thine, and sanctify the faithful who partake of them. For Thou art He that blesseth and sanctifieth all things, Christ our God; and to Thee we offer up [ἀναπέμπομεν] glory, with Thine eternal [lit. without beginning] Father, and Thine all Holy and Good and Life-giving Spirit, now and to all ages. *Amen.*"

Then Psalm 33 [34 E. V. Benedicam Domino] is said as far as the words, "Shall want no manner of thing that is good."

And the priest goes from his place, and stands before the Holy doors looking West. And after the end of the psalm he says:

"The blessing of the Lord and His mercy come upon you, by His grace and love for men now and ever and to all ages."

And the dismissal takes place.

A note at the end of the office of vespers adds: "Be it known that the bread which has been blessed is a preservative against all sorts of evils, if it be taken with faith."

The following form of "Blessing bread and distributing it to the poor on the feasts of the Ascension or Pentecost" is from an old Pontifical of Narbonne, and is stated [Martene, iii. 193] to have been used in other churches.

After rubrical directions for the procession, and other ritual observances, the deacon reads the gospel from St. John vi. 1. The officiating priest or bishop (Sacerdos vel Pontifex) begins, and the choir continues the antiphon *De quinque panibus*, &c.

*The Priest.* Dispersit dedit pauperibus.
V. Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem.
R. In die mala liberabit eum Dominus.
V. Numquid panem poterit dare?
R. Aut parare mensam in deserto?
V. Pluit illis manna ad manducandum,
R. Et panem coeli dedit eis
V. Cibavit illos ex adipe frumenti,
R. Et de petra melle saturavit eos.
V. Manducaverunt et saturati sunt,
R. Et desiderium attulit eis.
V. Panem angelorum manducavit homo.
R. Misit eis cibaria in abundantia.
V. Domine exaudi orationem meam.
R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

And the form concludes with two collects (the former of which is substantially the same as the Greek prayer already given, in a Latin shape) for blessing the bread, and that it may convey spiritual and bodily health and protection against all diseases to those who partake of it. [H. J. H.]

**LOCALIS ORDINATIO.** By ancient custom, no priest, deacon, or other ecclesiastic was permitted to be ordained without having a definite sphere in which to exercise his ministry, or, in the later phrase, without a title to orders. This was termed in the Western Church *localis ordinatio*, and the clergy, because ordained to the charge of a particular church or monastery, were termed *locales*. And it was specially forbidden that a clerk should be ordained to two churches, "cauponarum enim est" (*Syn. Nic. II.* can. 15). The first Council of Arles (A.D. 314) recognises this custom incidentally in its 22nd canon, ordering that priests and deacons who should relinquish the churches to which they were bound by their ordination (in quibus ordinati sunt) should return and officiate there only, and that those who did not obey should be deposed. And the Council of Valencia in Spain (A.D. 524) expressly forbids ordination unless the candidate should have first promised to keep to a single post (se futurum localem) in order that none ordained might be able to transgress ecclesiastical rule and discipline with impunity by removing from one church to another. To the same effect the Oecumenical Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) in its 6th canon, forbidding any to be ordained ἀπολελυμένως, *i.e.* absolutely and without a title. It annuls ordinations performed in breach of this rule. By the two following canons it declares all clergy residing in monasteries or

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[a] τὰ μανουάλια. So called because carried in the hand.

[b] τετραπόδιον. Called in the parallel rubric in the office for Vespers ἀναλόγιον, which word is explained as *pulpitum portabile.*

[c] It is disputed what is meant by this term. Here it evidently means the doors which separate the body (ναός) of the church from the narthex; for the rubric on the procession of the *Lite*, which starts from the interior of the church, says—διελθόντες διὰ τῶν ὡραίων πυλῶν . . . ἵστανται ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι, whence they are now returning. Dr. Neale, however, holds that these doors are the *exterior* doors of the narthex. The question appears to be connected with some ambiguity in the use of the term narthex, and probably with some structural variation in different churches. See Ducange, *Constan. Christ.* and *Gloss. Gr. barb.* 986; Goar, *Euch.* pp. 12, 14, &c.; Neale, *Intr.* pp. 197, &c. [DOORS, p. 574.]

serving chapels of the martyrs, to be locales. And we find pope Leo (*Ep.* 92, *ad Rustic.* c. i.) instructing his correspondent accordingly that ordination without this designation to a particular place was null, "vana est habenda ordinatio, quae nec loco fundata est, nec auctoritate munita."

The principle in fact was that such ordinations *had no mission*, and this idea kept in mind will in every instance give the reasons of the rule. It is not to be understood as binding a priest to the same church throughout his life, but it would seem that he was expected to keep as a general rule to the same diocese. He owed obedience to the bishop who ordained him to his first grade, and was bound to go and exercise his ministry whither he was sent by him. The 3rd Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) obliged Julian, a bishop, to send back to another bishop, Epigonius, a youth whom the latter had ordained as reader, although Julian had advanced him to the diaconate, and so might seem to have a claim upon him (can. 44). It was not usual for a bishop to promote to a higher grade a clerk ordained by another bishop. This was expressly forbidden by the ninth canon of a synod held at Angers, and by the tenth of another held at Vannes in Brittany. It was the breach of this well-known and understood rule that occasioned the loud complaints made by Demetrius of Alexandria when Origen, who was one of his deacons, was raised to the presbyterate in Palestine by the bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem. We find Gregory the Great (A.D. 590) writing to the bishop of Syracuse, requesting him to send back to their ordinary certain clerks who had taken refuge with him, having been ordained by another bishop (*Epist.* iii. 42).

Canonical penalties were imposed for breaches of this rule. The Council of Ilerda (*Lerida*, A.D. 524) suspended the bishop so offending from the power to ordain (can. 12). The third of Orleans (538) sequestered him altogether from officiating for six months (can. 6). The civil power appears at some periods to have been called in to relegate wandering clerks to their own diocesan (*Conc. Tolet.* xiii. A.D. 683, cann. 11, 12). The number of these seems to have been very great throughout the Western Churches. Isidore, writing in A.D. 595, calls them Acephali, and speaks of them as disgracing the church, and hardly deserving the name of clergy at all (Isid. Hispal. *de Eccles. Offic.* lib. ii. c. 3).

The same Gregory wishing to appoint the archdeacon of Catania to the vacant see of Syracuse, formally asked for him a release by the bishop of Catania from this bond of *localis* (*Epist.* iv. 30). In like manner the assent of the archbishop of Ravenna was formally applied for before the appointment of Florentius, archdeacon of Ravenna, to the see of Ancona (*Epist.* xii. 6). Many such instances occur in history. Charlemagne himself presided over a council held at Frankfort in 794, when complaint was made of the wandering habit of a part of the clergy, and sundry prohibitions of this were repeated (*Cap. Frankf.*). That neither bishop, presbyter, nor deacon should migrate from city to city, but remain attached to their own church according to rule (can. 7). That bishops should not receive wandering clergy (can. 27). That none should be ordained unattached (absolutè) (can. 28).

Nor could they throw off their clerical character in order to escape this bond of *localis* (*Syn. Caesaraugust.* can. 6; *Conc. Chalced.* can. 7; Justinian, *Novell.* vi. c. 7, *de clericis in alium vitae formam transeuntibus*). But the clerk could not be removed from his church or preferment at the mere will of the bishop (Greg. Mag. *Epist.* i. 19; iii. 13), though he might be transferred, "non invitus," from one to another (*Conc. Carthag.* iv. can. 27). The bishop might not in ordinary cases send a clerk into another diocese (*Conc. Antioch.* can. 22; *Can. Apost.* c. 35); but he might send him on a mission to the heathen, as *e. g.* Gregory the Great sent Augustine to the heathen English.

The priest might not travel without the licence and commendatory letters of his bishop under penalty of suspension (*Conc. Laodic.* A.D. 361, can. 42; also can. 41; and especially *Concil. Milev.* A.D. 416, can. 20, which is very express and detailed on this point). Similar canons were passed by the second of Seville (A.D. 619, can. 3; Worm. 868, can. 19). In 506 the Council of Agde imposed by its 64th canon the penalty of three years' suspension upon priests for absence from their churches for even three weeks.

The clerk seems not to have been quite helpless before the power of his bishop. The Council of Sardica (A.D. 381) gave permission to a clerk unjustly accused to appeal to neighbouring bishops, and to these a discretion to hear and judge of such a case (can. 17). But it is very cautiously worded, and seems to point rather to the rehabilitation of the clerk in his own diocese, than his admission to another. The thirteenth of Toledo, however, in its 12th canon gives to clerks a distinct right of appeal to the metropolitan and even to the sovereign. And see also a letter of Pope Leo I. (*ad Anastas.* c. 9), which imposes upon the metropolitan the obligation of compelling such a fugitive to return to his own church. And *Conc. Wormat.* can. 18.

There were occasional exceptions to this rule of making all clergy *locales*. Paulinus, bishop of Nola (A. D. 353–431) writes in his first letter to Sulpicius Severus that he was ordained a presbyter at Barcelona upon the express condition that he should not be bound to that church. But his was altogether a special case; that of a man of high rank and large fortune who was induced to take upon him the priesthood by the urgent persuasions of the people. The case of Jerome (A.D. 340–420) again is peculiar. He was ordained a presbyter by Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, having previously stipulated that he should not be obliged to quit his monastic life. He says (*Apol. ad Pammach.* tom. ii. p. 181) that he told Paulinus "si tribuis presbyterum ut monachum nobis non auferas, tu videres de judicio tuo." And from the tone of his description it would seem that like Paulinus of Nola, he too had been solicited to receive ordination. Yet we learn from Epiphanius that it struck him as very unusual and improper that Jerome and another presbyter, Vincentius, lived in retirement, discharging none of the duties of their function; not even celebrating the holy communion; a very remarkable thing at that time. But Jerome, whatever may have been his actual motive, was really in agreement with the principle of the canon of Chalcedon referred to above, which forbade men, ordained as he had been, to exercise their office. Theodore

(*Histor. Relig.* c. xiii. 3) records that Flavian, another bishop of Antioch, sent for Macedonius, a famous monk out of the neighbouring desert, and having ordained him a presbyter against his will, allowed him to return.

It is evident that even these exceptions are more apparent than real; that the rule of *localis* was absolute, and was strictly observed.

It extended also to bishops. No bishop was to be consecrated, except to a particular diocese, and to that he was to confine himself. We find the 1st Council of Nicaea (can. 15) recognising this fact in the plainest manner, and applying it to all the clergy, bishops, priests, or deacons. The above refers to clergy obtaining these removals, so to speak, by fair means: can. 16 of the same council deals with the case of presbyters and deacons breaking the rule of *localis* altogether lawlessly. Justinian promulgated a law (*Novell.* lib. iv. c. 2) forbidding bishops to be absent from their dioceses more than a year, except by command of the emperor. The 3rd of Carthage (397) forbids (can. 38) the translation of bishops; and this canon recites the case which formed its occasion, viz. that Cresconius, bishop of Villa Regia, had left his see, and settled himself over that of Tubunae, contrary to the rule. For a bishop might not be transferred from his original see without the approval of a provincial synod (iv. *Carth.* can. 27, which no doubt embodies an earlier rule).

Yet even here we find some exceptions. Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. c. 34) relates that Barses and Eulogius, monks of Edessa, and Lazarus, a monk of Mount Sigoron, were raised to be bishops, not of any diocese, but purely and simply as an honour, οὐ πόλεως τινὸς, ἀλλὰ τιμῆς ἕνεκεν. These appear, however, to be the only cases expressly recorded of a honorary episcopate, until a much later period. In the 2nd Council of Mâcon (A.D. 585) there were three bishops present who subscribed the acts of the council "non habentes sedes." The Council of Vermeria [Verberie, dioc. Soissons] (A.D. 752) complains of the number of *vagrant* bishops, and refuses to recognise the ordinations performed by them (can. 14), and three years after (A.D. 755) one at Verneville appealed to such bishops not to ordain in the dioceses of others (can. 13). For the case of the chorepiscopi, or assistant bishops, see CHOREPISCOPUS. Their want of title and jurisdiction in the Western Church was, in the reign of Charlemagne, held to be fatal to their episcopal character, "nam episcopi non erant, qui nec ad quandam episcopalem sedem titulati erant, nec canonicè a tribus episcopis ordinati." The whole class were therefore to be recognised as presbyters only, and their ordinations were to be disallowed "pro inanibus vacuisque habitae." [S. J. E.]

**LOCULUS.** [CATACOMBS, I. 306.]

**LOCUTORIUM.** [PARLOUR.]

**LOGIUM.** [RATIONALE.]

**LOGUORGUE,** martyr, commemorated May 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LOIS,** grandmother of Timothy, commemorated July 27 (*Arm. Cal.*). [C. H.]

**LOMANUS,** bishop of Trim, commemorated with bishop Fortchern Feb. 17 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 13). [C. H.]

**LONDON, COUNCIL OF** (*Londinense Concilium*), A.D. 605 or thereabouts, according to Mansi (x. 495), following Spelman and Wilkins, who mistook a general assertion of St. Boniface for one. (Stubbs's Wilkins, notes to pp. 51–2.) [E. S. Ff.]

**LONGI** (Μακροί). A name by which some Egyptian monks were known, who were concerned in the dispute between Theophilus of Alexandria and St. John Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. c. 30). He explains that the appellative applied only to three brothers, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Dioscorus, who were remarkably tall. [S. J. E.]

**LONGINUS (1)** Said to have been the soldier who pierced the Lord's side. His martyrdom at Caesarea in Cappadocia was commemorated March 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*: Usuard, *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* March, ii. 384). In the *Vet. Rom. Mart.* he occurs under Sept. 1, and in the *Auctaria* of Bede under March 15 and Nov. 22. Under the latter date a person of the same name, but otherwise not designated, occurs as suffering in Cappadocia (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Said to have been the centurion who stood by the cross, martyr, commemorated Oct. 16 (*Byzant. Cal.*; Basil, *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 271). The Bollandists make Longinus the soldier and Longinus the centurion both martyred at Caesarea in Cappadocia and both commemorated on March 15 (*Acta SS.* March, ii. 384). In Bede's *Auctaria*, Oct. 23, occurs a Longinus who suffered at Caesarea in Cappadocia.

(3) Soldier and martyr at Marseille, commemorated July 21 (Bede, *Auct.*).

(4) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Sept. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LONGUS (1)** Martyr at Rome, commemorated Oct. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr in Phrygia, commemorated Oct. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LOQUUMFAS,** female martyr at Barcelona, commemorated Feb. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LORD** (κύριος, δεσπότης, *Dominus*). On the Old Testament (LXX) usage of these several words, see DICT. OF THE BIBLE, art. *Lord*.

I. *Dominus*, see under that heading in vol. i.

II. Κύριος is a general title of respect, and, when employed in the vocative, exactly like *Sir* in English (St. John iv. 11, xii. 21).

Δεσπότης is employed sometimes in the same connexion: the use of *dominus* in later times is exactly similar.

Δεσπότης, κύριος, and *dominus* are bestowed upon bishops. In a letter from Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, we find him styling his correspondent lord (κύριος). This was probably an excess of adulation. The Prooemium to the acts of the 1st Council of Arles (A.D. 314) speaks of pope Sylvester as "Lord" (*Dominus*). Similarly the epistle of the synod at Gangra (324) speaks to the bishops of Armenia, as "dominis honorabilibus consacer-

dotibus." A letter of the Egyptian bishops to pope Marcus (336) asking for copies of the Nicene canons, is addressed (if we may trust the text) "domino sancto et Apostolici culminis venerando papae. And he, in replying, used a similar formula, "dominis venerabilibus fratribus." So the epistle of the Orientals to pope Julius I. (337).

In and after the time of Constantine we find many examples of this usage. St. John Chrysostom, writing to pope Innocent (A.D. 402–417, *Episc.* 122, *ad Innoc. Episc. Rom.*), superscribes his letter "Τῷ δεσπότῃ μοῦ τῷ αἰδεσιμωτάτῳ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ . . . . Ἰωάννης ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν." In fact henceforward it was applied to men of high rank, both in church and state, "pariterque caeteri principes atque nobiles tum ecclesiae tum reipublicae" (Spelman, *Glossar.* s. v. "Lord").

But yet the designation "Lord" was not universal in addressing bishops: many letters are found without it: and it is remarkable that St. Jerome, writing to pope Damasus, although he was his superior and patron, calls him merely "beatissimus papa." (The letter is curious, as being written to suggest that the "Gloria Patri" and Alleluia should be added to the psalms when sung; which had not, up to that time, been done at Rome.). Yet in the very next letter we find Stephen, archbishop of Aphricae (? Antiphra in Libya), addressing the same man in a synodical letter, as "lord" (*dominus*). So also this very Damasus in a letter to the bishops of Bithynia calls them "domini venerabiles."

The truth seems to be that whenever any one, cleric or layman, addressing a bishop, wished to be particularly respectful, he said "dominus" not otherwise.

By the early part of the 6th century it had become, in some parts of the church, an official style of those in high position, whether ecclesiastical or civil. The early Frank kings both received it themselves and bestowed it upon others. (*Epist. Clodov. Reg. Franc. ad Syn. Aurel. I.*) Compare SUPERSCRIPTION.

III. *Κύριος, Dominus*, was especially a title of the emperors, both in earlier and later times, before and after the Christian era. Augustus, indeed, forbad by an edict the addressing of himself as *Dominus* (Suet. *Vit. August.* c. 53), probably from a prudent political motive; and Tiberius (Suet. *Vit. Neron.* c. 27) renewed the prohibition. But afterwards the use of the title became very common; and Domitian caused himself to be styled, not only "Dominus" but "Deus" (Suet. *Vit. Domit.* c. 13). Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 34) praises the moderation of Augustus, and explains in what sense he himself employed the word; "dicam plane imperatorem dominum, sed more communi; sed quando non cogor ut Dominum Dei vice dicam. Ceterum liber sum illi; Dominus enim meus unus est, omnipotens Deus aeternus. . .Qui pater patriae est, quomodo dominus est? Sed et gratius est nomen pietatis quam potestatis: etiam familiae magis patres quam domini vocantur."

Arius and Euzoius, writing to Constantine about A.D. 326, call him "dominus noster." The bishops of the Council of Rimini (A.D. 359) address Constantius as "domine, amabilis Deo Imperator."

IV. Lord (dominus) appears to be sometimes used during this period in the sense of "saint." (*Epist. Cubilon. Conc. ad Theod.*) [S. J. E.]

V. *Liturgical use.* The word Κύριος is applied both to the first Person of the Holy Trinity, as in St. James, c. 26 (Daniel, *Codex*, iv. 105), where God the Creator is invoked as Κύριε ὁ Θεός; to the second, as in St. James, c. 5, where He is addressed as ὁ Κύριος καὶ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός; and to the Holy Trinity itself, as in St. James, c. 10, where Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to whom the hymn is sent up, are addressed as Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν. Δεσπότης is similarly used; in St. James, c. 21, for instance, we find it Δέσποτα ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, where God the Father is addressed; in St. James, c. 3, the Son is addressed as Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ. In Latin, the word *Dominus* is used as an appellation both of the Father to whom the prayer is addressed, and of the Son through whom it is offered.

In most Western rites the reader, when about to recite a lection, says "Jube, domine, benedicere." It has been doubted whether this is addressed to God or to the priest. It probably, however, as archdeacon Freeman (*Divine Service*, i. 113) has pointed out, is a request to the priest that he would desire a blessing, and might be rendered, "Sir, desire God to bless us" (compare Leslie's *Portiforium Sarisb.* p. 5, and note, p. lii.). The corresponding Greek form is simply εὐλόγησον δέσποτα, as (*e.g.*) in the Byzantine liturgy (Daniel, iv. 327, 329, etc.), where the δεσπότης is clearly the priest. It is noteworthy, that in the East the priest responded to the request by blessing God (εὐλόγητος ὁ Θεός), in the West by blessing himself and the congregation. See on this point the *Regula Benedicti Commentata*, note on c. 9, in Migne, *Patrol.* vol. lvi. p. 272. [C.]

**LORD'S DAY.** (ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, *Dominicus* or *Dominica dies.*) The origin of the name is undoubtedly to be found in the well-known passage (Rev. i. 10), ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Even if that passage stood alone, it would be difficult to accept either of the rival interpretations, one of which refers the name to the Sabbath, and the other to the "Day of the Lord." But taking into consideration the remarkable catena of patristic usage which, from Ignatius downwards, establishes the regular and technical use of ἡ κυριακή for the "first day of the week," it is not too much to say that these interpretations may be dismissed as unworthy of serious attention. The same usage, moreover (especially in connection with the history of the Paschal controversy), seems effectually to dispose of a third interpretation, which understands by the τῇ κυριακῇ the annual festival of the Resurrection, or Easter day. (On these points see Dr. Hessey's article "*Lord's Day*" in Smith's DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE.) We accept, therefore, unhesitatingly the traditional interpretation which sees in this passage of St. John a reference to the weekly Lord's day, as a well-known and established festival in the apostolic church. The more common scriptural designation of that day is the ἡ μία or μία σαββάτων (Matt. xxviii. 1; Mark xvi. 2; Luke xxiv. 1; John xxi. 19; Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2.) In one passage, Mark xvi. 9 (the disputed passage

at the close of the Gospel), we have *πρώτη σαββάτου* or *σαββάτων*. The use of the *ἡ κυριακή* by St. John marks transition to the common post-apostolic usage. In one well-known passage in the (so-called) Epistle of Barnabas (c. xvi.), for a reason suggested by the context, we find the day, in contrast with the Jewish sabbath, called the *ὀγδοὴ ἡμέρα*, an expression taken up and amplified into the *ὀγδοὴ ἡμέρα ἡ καὶ πρώτη* of subsequent Fathers. At a later period, when the hebdomadal division of the time began to prevail in the Roman empire, we find Christian writers designating the day by its heathen name (the *ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρα* of Justin Martyr). And from the time of the celebrated edict of Constantine, which speaks of the "venerabilis Solis dies," the two names were much interchanged, Christian writers sometimes using (though less frequently than we do) the name "Sunday," and on the other hand the Christian designation making its way into the statute book, as in the edict of Gratian, A.D. 386 ("Solis die, quem Dominicum ritè dixere majores"). [WEEK.]

(I.) Turning from the name to the thing, it seems impossible to doubt that from the earliest existence of the church the Lord's day was observed as the characteristic Christian festival, hallowed as a commemoration of that Resurrection of the Lord, which was the leading subject in the earliest forms of Christian preaching. To this primary consecration of the day was added a second, in the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, which in that year fell on the first day of the week. The passage in the Epistle of Barnabas referred to (*διὸ καὶ ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδοὴν εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς*) seems even to indicate the notion that it was the day of the Ascension also. We may naturally ask, How could a day so hallowed fail of reverent festal observance? We trace indications of such observance, brief indeed, but unmistakeable, in Holy Scripture itself (see Dr. Hessey's article or his *Bampton Lectures*); and these are still further illustrated by the testimony of early writers.

But the undoubted fact of this observance by no means involves the inference often drawn from it, that the keeping of the Lord's day must be traced to an apostolic decree, transferring to it, directly or by implication, the sanctity of the Sabbath, which was familiar to the early Christians, as being themselves Jews, or having been converted under Jewish influence. It is almost needless to say that of such a decree we have no evidence whatever, either in Holy Scripture or in Church History. Now in regard to Holy Scripture, it would, indeed, be most unsafe to allege its silence as conclusive against the existence of such a decree; although that silence must to some degree tell against it, especially when we consider the many references in the Pastoral Epistles to details of church order and practical religious life. But we are not left here to negative evidence. There are positive indications of an absolute freedom of dealing with such subjects, quite incompatible not merely with the existence of a formal apostolic decree, but even with the idea that the observance of the Lord's day had yet attained to the supreme and unique sanctity accorded to it in later ages. St. Paul's treatment of the general question of the observation of days in Rom. xiv. 5 (*ὃς μὲν κρίνει ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν, ὃς δὲ κρίνει πᾶσαν ἡμέραν· ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ νοῒ πληροφορείσθω*), and his unqualified condemnation of the "observing of days" in Gal. iv. 10—to say nothing of the tone of his celebrated reference to the abolition of the sabbath in Col. ii. 16—appear decisive on this point. Granting that the especial reference of the apostle was in all cases to the Jewish festivals, it is instructive to compare with his sweeping treatment of the subject the apologetic comments on these very passages, made by patristic writers, at a time when the Lord's day and other Christian festivals had established themselves in definite observance. See, for example, St. Jerome's twofold attempt to answer ("simpliciter" and "acutius respondere") the objection, "Dicat aliquis; Si dies observare non licet . . . nos quoque simile crimen incurramus, quartam sabbati observantes et Parasceven et diem Dominicam" (*Comm. in Gal.* lib. ii. ad c. iv. 10). If we pass from Holy Scripture to the writers of the early church, the fact of utter silence on this subject becomes more and more significant, when we remember their natural anxiety to appeal on all points to apostolic authority, their constant declaration or assumption that all Jewish observances had passed away, and their delight in tracing in these transitory observances types of the higher Christian ordinances, which were not to pass away. Hence we must, indeed, fully agree with those who urge that the celebration of the Lord's day is one of these essential and principal elements of the religious life of the church, which can plead apostolical authority. *A priori* we should hold it all but impossible that the day should have been neglected among the followers of Him who "was declared to be the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead." From the indications in holy Scripture, which have been so often commented upon, we cannot doubt that it was so regularly hallowed, as to make its observance. both to Christian and heathen, a distinctive mark of Christianity. But the notion that the Lord's day, in that completeness of sacred distinction from all other days which is now universal among all Christians, was formally established by apostolic decree is probably, in relation to historical truth, much what the old legend of the composition of the Apostles' Creed is to the actual process of its formation. In both cases what are chief treasures of our later Christianity grew up by the natural fitness of things and were never formally made. It is obvious that the true view of their genesis detracts nothing from their sacredness, nothing from their claim to be of the essence of the Christian system.

The history of the celebrated Paschal controversy is singularly instructive on this very point. If the Lord's day had been already stamped by definite apostolic decree as the one great Christian festival, deriving its sacredness from the resurrection of the Lord, it would have been impossible for the churches of Palestine and Asia to dream of keeping the annual commemoration of the resurrection itself on any day, except the Lord's day. But the gradual acceptance of the Roman view, disregarding all Jewish associations in consideration

of the greater fitness of the Lord's day[a] is exactly that which we might expect to result from such a process of gradual establishment of the Lord's day, as has been described above.

(II.) It is likely that in this case, as in so many others, the close of the apostolic age was a period of rapid development of formal church ordinance. The existence in A.D. 170 of a regular treatise on the subject by Melito, bishop of Sardis (see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 26), connected apparently with the Paschal controversy, seems plainly indicative of such a development. The well-known passage of Justin Martyr in his *Apology*, describes how "on the day called Sunday" there was a religious assembly of those who dwelt either in the cities or in the country. It notes the chief points of an established service—viz. the reading of the Apostles or the Prophets, the sermon, the prayers, the partaking of the bread and wine consecrated by thanksgiving and prayers, and the giving of alms, containing the germ of the clearly ancient liturgies. Nor is it possible to doubt that this celebration had become so marked as to impress the mind of the heathen with the distinctive character of the *status dies* of Pliny's famous letter to Trajan. In the passage from Dionysius of Corinth (A.D. 175), quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 22), the keeping of the Lord's day is spoken of as a matter of course (*τὴν σήμερον κυριακὴν τὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν*), very much as we might speak now. And in the method of its observance (the celebration of the Holy Communion being, of course, excepted) much was probably borrowed from the practice of the synagogue on the sabbath day. But it must not be supposed for a moment that such observance was identified in any degree with sabbatical observance, or based on formal obligation of the fourth commandment. On the contrary, the principle of its observance is exactly that which is indicated in the celebrated passage of Ignatius (*ad Magn.* ix.), *μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν*[b] *ζῶντες, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ.* To "sabbatize" is the mark of the Jew; the Christian is to live *κατὰ κυριακὴν*, i.e. not only in the observance of the Lord's day, but according to the spirit of that day, as something wholly diverse from the conception of the sabbath. The very types of the observance of the Lord's day, often fanciful enough, which were traced in the Old Testament, mark an entire separation in thought from the idea of the sabbath. In the Epistle of Barnabas (c. xvi.) for instance, the sabbath is a type of the millennium after the six thousand years typified in the six days of creation; the Lord's day, as the eighth day, is the beginning of another world (*ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχή*).[c] Justin Martyr, when he describes the special celebration of public service of the "day called Sunday" derives its sacredness, first, from its being the first day on which God, dispelling darkness and chaos, made the world, next, from the resurrection on it of the Lord Jesus Christ. This is in his Apology, addressed to the heathen (*Apol.* i. 67). Where he argues with the Jews, he actually makes the eighth day of the circumcision a type of our receiving the true circumcision of the heart through the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead on the first day of the week, which after the completion of the cycle of the days is the eighth day, though it is still the first (*Dial. with Trypho*, sect. 19).[d] This conception, fanciful as it is, is taken up more than once by later writers. Thus St. Augustine asks of circumcision, "Quare ergò octavo die? Quia in hebdomadibus idem primus qui octavus . . . . Finitur septimus, Dominus sepultus: reditur ad primum, Dominus resuscitatus. Domini enim resuscitatio promisit nobis aeternum diem, et consecravit nobis Dominicum diem" (*Serm. de Script.* clxix. 1170 C). Hence our Lord Himself, as being the rest of the just, giving them a *σαββατισμὸς* in the millennial kingdom, is occasionally called the Great Sabbath, of which the "little sabbath" of the Jews is but a type. The idea is perhaps suggested by Col. ii. 10, where the sabbath and the other Jewish festivals are "the shadow of things to come, but the body" (or substance) "is of Christ." And His rest in the tomb marked what was technically known as the *Μέγα σάββατον*, the last of the ancient sabbaths; His rising from the dead on the Lord's day began the new Christian era. The notion afterwards embodied in the title of the "Christian sabbath"—that the Lord's day is a spiritualized sabbath, to which the obligation of the fourth commandment is transferred, perhaps a revival of a patriarchal sabbath of all mankind, which had been for a time overborne by the rigid legalism of the Mosaic sabbath—has no *locus standi* whatever either in Scripture or in primitive antiquity.

But it should be noticed that the development of the Lord's day in relation to the sabbath would naturally differ considerably in Jewish and Gentile Christianity. To the Jewish Christians, in the earliest stages of the history of the church, the sabbath and the sabbatical rest would remain unaltered. Just as they united the "being with one accord in the temple" with the "breaking of the bread at home," so the cele-

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[a] In the treatise of Bede, *de Aequinoctio Vernali*, there is a curious account of a council of Caesarea, held under Theophilus, on the Paschal controversy. In the course of it (see Labbe, *Concilia*, i. 714) the bishops are represented as declaring the *Benedictions* of the Lord's day. (*a*) Because on it the light was created. (*b*) Because on it the people passed to freedom through the Red Sea. (*c*) Because on it the manna was given. (*d*) Because Moses (Ex. xii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 7, 8) commanded to keep "the first and the last day" (hoc est dominicus et sabbatum). (*e*) Because in Ps. cxviii. the words are spoken of it: "This is the day which the Lord hath made." (*f*) Because the Lord on it rose from the dead. The historical value of the account is of course more than questionable. But the light which it throws on the traditional ideas of the Lord's day is very interesting.

[b] The *ζωὴν* found here in the ordinary text is probably to be omitted, as in the Latin. *If* it be read it must be taken with *ζῶντες*.

[c] Compare St. Aug. *Serm. de Tempore*, cclix. 2 (vol. v. p. 1548 A Ben. ed. 1838): "Octavus dies in fine saeculi novam vitam significat: septimus quietem futuram sanctorum in hac terrâ." The sermon was preached on the first Sunday after Easter (the octave), and begins—"Hodiernus dies magno sacramento perpetuae felicitatis est nobis."

[d] Even in the eight saved in the ark for a new world he finds a type of the eighth day, on which Christ, the head of a new humanity, arose from the dead. (*Dial with Trypho*, c. 138.)

bration of the new Lord's day would present itself to them as something co-existing with the sabbath, incapable of being confounded with it.* The idea of Christian worship would attach mainly to the one; the obligation of rest would continue attached to the other; although a certain interchange of characteristics would grow up, as worship necessitated rest, and rest naturally suggested worship. Under these circumstances the two days would be regarded as festivals, perhaps at first almost co-ordinate; afterwards the dignity of the Lord's day must have continually increased, and that of the sabbath as continually decreased. Even after Jewish Christianity, as such, had passed away, the effect of this original attitude of mind might easily remain. To it may probably be traced the well-known continuance of the sabbath as a festival in the Eastern church (with the sole exception of the great sabbath of Easter Eve). Even the tradition that Marcion kept the sabbath as a fast, because it was the festival of the God of the Jews, to whom he refused all homage, perhaps illustrates, by its spirit of antagonism, the connexion of the festal observation of the sabbath with the old Jewish influence upon the church. The quasi co-ordination of the Lord's day with the sabbath in the 'Apostolical Constitutions' brings it out in its most striking form. [On this subject see SABBATH.] But it concerns our present purpose chiefly to remark that this preservation of the ancient sabbath in the church must have acted as a constant witness against any tendency to "sabbatize" the Lord's day.

Among purely Gentile Christians it would be far otherwise. To them, except for its sacred historic associations, the sabbath would have no existence. The attempt to "exercise dominion over them in respect of the sabbath day" was one of the Judaizing usurpations which St. Paul bade them repel. Hence to them the Lord's day would be the one sole weekly festival. The sabbath appeared simply as the eve of the Lord's day; even for that reason it might naturally be kept as a fast, according to the general though not universal custom of the Western church; and, wherever strong anti-Judaic feeling developed itself, it would incline men to adopt the same practice out of sheer antagonism. But for this very reason, paradoxical as the statement may seem, the tendency to sabbatize the Lord's day would be far stronger than under the other condition of things. The study of the Old Testament, and especially the recognition of the decalogue as the code of divine morality, must have suggested that the weekly celebration of a hallowed day of rest was a moral duty, concerning all mankind as such, to be regarded, indeed, as a privilege, but yet, if necessary, to be enforced on the disobedient as a law. Where could such a day be found but in the Lord's day? Round that day would gather naturally and insensibly all the ideas which once attached to the sabbath. It would be felt that such a transference of idea could only take place *mutatis mutandis*. Such distinctions would be made between the characteristic principles of Jewish and Christian observance as we find in St. Jerome on Gal. iv. 10, asserting the greater elasticity and spirituality of the Christian system. But these would not prevent a certain tendency to sabbatize the day, from which the very preservation of the ancient sabbath would guard the churches, in which Jewish influence had been strong.

In this process of development the difference in character and tone between Eastern and Western Christianity is remarkably shewn. The Greek mind, as represented by the Alexandrian school, inclined more to theoretical principle; the Latin mind, as in the school of Carthage, to practical rule. Clement of Alexandria, for instance, urges that to the true Gnostic every day is a holy day, and when he alludes to the Lord's day he deals with its observance (just as with the fasts of the Wednesday and Friday) transcendentally (*Κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ, ὅταν ἀποβάλλῃ φαῦλον νόημα καὶ γνωστικὸν προσλάβῃ, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων, Strom.* vii. 12). At the same time his implicit opposition of the Lord's day to the sabbath, as of the positive to the negative, is notable, as unconsciously preparing for the "spiritual sabbath" of the future. He speaks of the seventh day as being a rest only in the sense of an abstinence from evil, but it is said to introduce the first day, which is our "real rest," and the true birthday of light (*ἑβδόμη τοίνυν ἡμέρα ἀνάπαυσις κηρύττεται ἀποχὴ κακῶν, ἑτοιμάζουσα τὴν ἀρχίγονον ἡμέραν τὴν τῷ ὄντι ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμῶν τὴν δὴ καὶ πρώτην τῷ ὄντι φωτὸς γένεσιν, Strom.* vi. 16). His idea is to contrast the whole of the lower system of the law with the higher light of the gospel. But the passage, as it seems to suggest the representation of the one by the sabbath, and the other by the Lord's day, might lead naturally to the conception of some substitution of the one day for the other. Exactly in the same spirit Origen, in defending the Christians against Celsus, quotes the dictum: *ἑορτὴ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἢ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν*, and urges that the true Christian is always keeping Lord's days; and referring to Gal. iv. 10, apologises (much as St. Jerome does) for the setting apart of the "Lord's days and the Fridays, Easter and the Pentecost," as a necessary discipline for the less perfect. But he, like Clement, contrasts the Lord's day with the sabbath, as superior to it in nature, when in mystical commentary on Exod. xvi. 4, 5, he finds a foreshadowing of its superiority, in the gift on that day of the manna withheld on the sabbath. He makes the manna symbolic of the bread of heaven, the Word of God, unceasingly showered down on the Lord's day, and interprets "in the evening ye shall know that I am the Lord," of the rolling away of the stone and the earthquake at the close of the great sabbath on the eve of the first Lord's day (see vol. ii. p. 154, Bened. ed. 1733). And again, on John i. 6, in a curious mystical interpretation of the names of Zacharias, Elizabeth, and John, he describes the end of the old dispensation as the *σαββατισμοῦ κορωνίς*, and declares that from it we cannot derive *τὴν μετὰ τὸ σάββατον ἀνάπαυσιν*, the gift of which is connected with conformity, as to the death, so to the resurrection of Christ (see vol. iv. p. 86). Even in these writers we see a spiritual gravitation towards a

* This is illustrated by Eusebius' notice of the Ebionite practice (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 27): *τὸ μὲν σάββατον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἀγωγὴν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις παρεφύλαττον· ταῖς δ' αὖ Κυριακαῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῖν τὰ παραπλήσια εἰς μνήμην τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπετέλουν.*

virtual substitution of the Lord's day for the sabbath, not prevented by the assertion of the same superiority over it which the gospel manifests over the law. If we turn to Tertullian, the same conception of substitution presents itself in a more concrete form. He is anti-Judaic enough; the sabbaths and all the ceremonials of the law are, in his eyes, absolutely gone; they were but preparatory, and cannot continue when their function is completed. But in pleading against frequenting idolatrous festivals he makes the keeping of the Lord's day and the Pentecost the badge of Christianity, contrasting them with the heathen festivals on one side, and the sabbaths and "feriae aliquando a Deo dilectae" on the other. In speaking of the habit of standing in prayer on the Lord's day, he urges that on that day we should cast off all worldly anxieties, "differentes etiam negotia ne quem diabolo locum demus" (*de Oratione*, c. 23). The rest enjoined is, no doubt, simply a means, not an end; but it is notable as the first direct recognition of a sacred rest, as inseparable from the idea of the Lord's day. In a time like Tertullian's, when the church system was fully, even rigidly, organised, it is not difficult to trace here a preparation for some sabbatarianism hereafter.

In fact, two lines of thought must have coexisted in the church. On the one side there was the conviction, not only that the Jewish sabbath had passed away, but that the spirit of strict legal observance, especially in any negative aspect, was foreign to the whole spirit of the gospel. On the other side, there was the tendency to more regular and formal Christian observance, gathering naturally round the recurring weekly festival of the resurrection; and allied with this, the perception of the value of an ordinance of weekly rest, such as that ordained in the fourth commandment, to man as man. From this, by a natural transition, would grow up the disposition to set up the Lord's day, first for religious worship and then for rest, in some rivalry to the ancient sabbath, as being, indeed, superior in dignity and spirituality, but yet a supreme and unique festival, to be observed with equal strictness. These last lines of thought might enter sometimes into alliance, sometimes into conflict. Each would in turn emerge into prominence, and the conception of the Lord's day would fluctuate accordingly.

(III.) But with the beginning of the conversion of the empire a crisis came. The most important epoch in the history of the Lord's day is marked by the issue of the celebrated edict of Constantine: "Omnes judices urbanaeque plebes et cunctarum artium officia venerabili die Solis quiescant. Ruri tamen positi agrorum culturae liberè licenterque inserviant, quoniam frequenter evenit ut non aptius alio die frumenta sulcis aut vineae scrobibus mandentur, ne occasione momenti pereat commoditas coelesti provisione concessa" (see *Cod. Just.* book iii. tit. 12, 3). This edict was clearly intended to pay honour to the great Christian festival, although, in accordance with Constantine's general policy, it declined to identify the emperor with the religion, which he desired only indirectly to support, and only gradually to establish. The use of the heathen name of the "solis dies," with the vague title "venerabilis"—a title rendered the more ambiguous by the known reverence which Constantine had delighted to pay to the Sun-god—was probably something more than conventional. But the effect of the edict, at a time when Christianity was rising as rapidly as heathenism was sinking into decay, must undoubtedly have told mainly on the Christian festival. It would invest the observation of the Lord's day with all the strength (and the weakness) which the sanction of civil law to religious observance must necessarily produce. But more particularly by the prominence given to the idea of rest from ordinary work, which was emphasised all the more by the exemption granted to agricultural labour on the plea of necessity, it introduced a new conception of the day itself.[f] The advocates of the sabbatarian view in later times were not wholly wrong when they compared Constantine to Moses, on the ground that he instituted a kind of new sabbath in the Christian church. For whatever tendency there was already existing to sabbatize the Lord's day would be enormously increased by this interference of the temporal power. The idea of rest would become primary instead of subsidiary; the observance would have more of the law, less of the spirit.

The tendency towards sabbatarianism was evidently slow, for it had the old and well-established conception of the day to overcome. But, although slow, it appears to have been sure.

The edict itself was only the beginning of a long series of imperial laws, constantly increasing in stringency and in unambiguous connexion of the solis dies with Christianity. Eusebius (*de Vit. Const.* iv. 18, 19, 20) declares that Constantine himself went much farther in this course, as his adhesion to Christianity became more decided. He speaks of two edicts to the army, enjoining rest from arms on that day and celebration of religious worship, by the Christians in the church service, by the pagans in the fields, offering to the supreme Deity a prayer authorised by the emperor. This prayer he quotes. It is a prayer in which nothing occurs distinctively Christian, but which is essentially monotheistic and entirely unconnected with the pagan mythology. In speaking of the ordinance for the Christians, Eusebius calls the day the *Σωτήριος ἡμέρα ἣν καὶ φωτὸς εἶναι καὶ ἡλίου ἐπώνυμον συμβαίνει*: in reference to the heathen, simply *ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς ἡμέρα.* He then adds, *διὸ τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πολιτευομένοις ἅπασιν σχολὴν ἄγειν ταῖς ἐπωνύμοις τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμέραις ἐνουθέτει. ὁμοίως δὲ τὴν πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου*[g] *τιμᾶν μνήμης*

[f] In another law of Constantine, A.D. 321, there is a recognition of the fitness of certain exceptional legal operations for this day: "gratum et jucundum est, eo die quae sunt maximè votiva compleri, atque ideò emancipandi et manumittendi die festo cuncto licentiam habeant" (*Cod. Theod. II.* tit viii. 1). This appears to have been borrowed from older practice as to heathen festivals. But it is not improbable that in this case there was a special reference to the characteristic idea of the Lord's day, as the day of the completion of our redemption.

[g] This is an emendation for *τὰς τοῦ σαββάτου*, evidently necessary. There is a passage in Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* i. c. 8) which forms an excellent elucidation of this, especially of the last clause, in the words *ἐτίμα δὲ τὴν Κυριακὴν, ὡς ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάντος ἐκ νεκρῶν· τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν, ὡς ἐν αὐτῇ σταυρωθέντος.*

ἔγνεκά μοι δοκεῖν τῶν ἐν ταύταις τῷ κοινῷ Σωτῆρι πεπρᾶχθαι μνημονευομένων. This passage extends the statement to the civil population, and adds the celebration of the Friday to that of the Sunday. It is true that these edicts of Constantine are not found in the codes, and that Eusebius is anxious to make the most of the Christianity of the subject of his panegyric. But it is incredible that he should have been either misinformed or insincere in the main substance of his statements; and it would have been quite accordant with Constantine's temporising policy to issue such commands, as special edicts, not to be enrolled among formal laws. However this may be, under Constantine's successors there were reiterated enactments in this direction, free from the ambiguity of the original law.

Thus we have two laws prohibiting exaction of debt on that day, one under Valentinian and Valens (A.D. 368), protecting Christians against being forced into litigation on that day, the "dies solis, qui dudum faustus habetur" (*Cod. Theod.* VIII. tit. viii. 1); the other under Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius (A.D. 386), extending this immunity to all, calling the day plainly the "dies solis quem Dominicum ritè dixere majores," and branding any infringer of the law as "non modo notabilis, verum etiam sacrilegus" (*Cod. Theod.* VIII. tit. viii. 2). The progress marked by the contrast of these two laws is significant. The former, recognising the Christians as a sect, is exactly of the same nature as a law of Honorius and Theodosius in 409, protecting the Jews from being forced to work or litigation on the sabbath or other of their sacred days (*Cod. Theod.* II. tit. viii. 3). The latter accepts Christianity as the religion of the empire, and enforces on all by law the sacredness of its chief festival.

Again, the celebration of the day was gradually separated by law from all heathen and even secular associations. In 389, under Theodosius, the "solis dies" and the "Sancti Paschae dies" (the weeks before and after Easter) are included with the harvest and vintage seasons, the Kalends of January, and the days of the foundation of Rome and Constantinople, as forensic holidays (*Cod. Theod.* II. tit. viii. 2). In 386 it was ordered that no one should present to the people any spectacle on the "dies solis," "ne divinam venerationem confectâ sollemnitate confundat" (*Cod. Theod.* XV. tit. v. 2). In 425, under Theodosius the younger, we find a law enacting an entire abstinence from all amusements of the theatre or the circus, on the "Dies Dominicus," Christmas day, Epiphany, Easter, and the Pentecost, in order that the whole minds of Christians may be devoted to worship of God. It denounces any infringement of the law by "the infatuated impiety of the Jews or the stolid error and madness of heathenism," and orders the celebration even of the emperor's birthday to be set aside for the sake of the Christian holy day (*Cod. Theod.* XV. tit. v. 5). The same law is reiterated in even stronger terms under Leo and Anthemius (A.D. 469), in reference to the Lord's day, which is to be kept absolutely sacred, not only from business, but also from "obscene pleasures" of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre (*Cod. Just.* lib. iii. tit. xii. 11). Nor should we pass over a remarkable law of Honorius and Theodosius (A.D. 409), which expressly orders that on the Lord's day the judges shall have prisoners brought before them, to inquire whether they have been treated humanely, to see that food is given to the destitute, and that the prisoners be allowed, under guard, to go to the bath. The bishops were to put the judges in mind of this duty (*Cod. Just.* i. tit. iv. 9). It may be noted that at a later period (A.D. 529) under Justinian, the bishops were ordered to visit the prisoners on Wednesdays or Fridays (the Lord's day being probably thought to be too much occupied), to inquire into the cases of the prisoners, and to see whether any neglect of duty on the part of the magistrates had taken place (*Cod. Just.* tit. iv. 22). But the fifth council of Orleans, twenty years later (A.D. 549), orders the archdeacon or provost (praepositus ecclesiae) to make the visitation on the Lord's day itself, with a view to the relief of necessitous prisoners (see Labbe, *Councils*, vol. ix. p. 134). It should be observed that these laws recognise the positive duty of works of charity on the Lord's day, precisely as He Himself had recognised it on the sabbath.

This long series of temporal enactments (in considering which we have, for the sake of exhibiting them as a whole, anticipated chronological order) must have told very powerfully upon the conception of the Lord's day in the church itself, not only tending to formalize its celebration, but to invest it in great degree with the character of a sabbath. Still, however, there was no connexion of its observance with the obligation of the fourth commandment, and therefore no application to it either of the laws of the Jewish sabbath, or of our Lord's teaching on the subject, as modifying and spiritualizing these laws.

But when the legal enforcement of rest on the Lord's day was once established, the next step would not unnaturally follow. In fact, the conception of it, as formally sanctioned by a divine law, would recommend itself to different schools of thought. It would be a refuge to any who scrupled to accept in respect of Christian festivals the authority of a merely temporal power, not yet absolutely identified with Christianity. It would appear to earnest-minded men as a short and ready way of maintaining a high spirituality of tone, in the face of the conventional and insincere observance to which the imperial interference would probably give rise. It would afford to the courtly satellites of the emperor an opportunity of flattering his desire of being "a bishop as to things and men without," by representing him as being the restorer of a half-forgotten divine law. From various causes it would make its way; and, if once admitted, its simplicity and cogency would help it to supersede other pleas for the sacredness of the day.

(IV.) This effect is not at first visible in the great leaders of ecclesiastical opinion and faith. In them we find the same general line of thought which has already been described. It will be sufficient to quote a few leading examples from the East and West. St. Athanasius delights to trace signs of honour done prophetically to the Lord's day, the resurrection day of the Lord (ἀναστάσιμος ἡμέρα), as in the title of the sixth Psalm, "Upon the eighth" (which, however,

seems to have no reference to the eighth day at all) or in the celebrated passage of Ps. cxviii. 24, "This is the day which the Lord hath made," which he connects with the "stone made the head of the corner" (see v. 22). In the treatise "de Sabbato et Circumcisione" (which is ascribed to him, and questioned by the Benedictine editors somewhat hesitatingly), there is a curious passage, comparing the sabbath and the Lord's day. His idea is that the first creation had its end, and therefore its sabbatical rest; the second or new creation has no end, and "therefore God rested not in it, but worketh hitherto" (ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται), referring, of course, to John iv. 17. Accordingly (he says) "we keep no sabbath day (οὐδὲ σαββατίζομεν ἡμέραν), but we look forward to the sabbath of sabbaths" in heaven, which "the new creation does not accept as its end, but its manifestation and perpetual festival." But he adds, "as God commanded men formerly to keep the sabbath day as a memorial of the end of the older dispensation, so we keep the Lord's day as a memorial of the beginning of the second new creation" (οὕτως τὴν Κυριακὴν τιμῶμεν μνήμην οὖσαν ἀρχῆς δευτέρας ἀνακτίσεως). (See vol. iii. pp. 42, 43, 44, Bened. ed.) On the subject of circumcision, he repeats the old symbolism of the eighth day, as signifying the Lord's day; and adds significantly, ἡ ὀγδόη τὸ σάββατον ἔλυσεν καὶ οὐ τὸ σάββατον τὴν ὀγδοήν. But though in all this there is some suggestion of future ideas, there is still no view of the Lord's day as a sabbath. The passage in the Homily *de Semente* (falsely ascribed to him), in which we find the words, "The Lord changed the sabbath day into the Lord's day" (μετέθηκε δὲ ὁ Κύριος τὴν τοῦ σαββάτου ἡμέραν εἰς Κυριακὴν) speaks obviously in this the language of later times; and is as absolutely at variance with the tone of his teaching on this subject as with his general style and line of thought.

This same idea is still more fully and strikingly worked out by Epiphanius. He calls the sabbath of the Jews the "little sabbath," and, referring to the disciples' supposed breach of the sabbath in the corn-fields, he says that it signified the relaxation of the bond of this little sabbath, because "Christ, the great Sabbath was come," of whom Noah was a type and Lamech's words (Gen. v. 29) a prophecy; who is the great sabbath, first, because He gives us rest from our sins, and next, because the Father and the Holy Spirit have rested in Him (ἀναπέπαυνται ἐν αὐτῷ), and in Him all saints found rest" (*adv. Haer.* lib. i. tom. ii. p. 32). He refers, indeed, to the Lord's day, as of apostolic celebration, but in this he joins with it the Wednesday and Friday (*adv. Haer.* lib. i. tom. ii. pp. 23, 24); and mentions the occasional festal observation of the sabbath, and Marcion's deliberate protest against this by keeping it as a fast. From him alone we should hardly gather even what we know to have been true of the gradual emergence of the Lord's day into an unique observance, both as to worship and as to rest.

In connexion with this period it may be well to glance at the remarkable treatment of this subject in the "Apostolical Constitutions" which [see APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS] must be referred to about the fourth and fifth centuries. These exemplify in the clearest way the statement above made, that the preservation of the observance of the old sabbath tended to give clearness and certainty to the true idea of the Lord's day. In Book ii. c. 59, 2, we find the sabbath and "the day of the resurrection, the Lord's day" joined in an exhortation to special religious assemblies, which, however, goes on to dwell especially on the Lord's day, as that to which "the reading of the prophets, and the proclamation of the gospel, and the offering of sacrifice and the gift of spiritual food" peculiarly belong. In Book v. c. 18, 19, we have a vivid description of the fast of the "Great Sabbath," "when the bridegroom was taken away," and of the vigil of the Easter day, ending in the "offering of the sacrifice." Otherwise the general command is to keep both the sabbath and the Lord's day as feasts, the one in memory of the work of the Creator, the other of the resurrection (see Book vii. c. 23, 2). In a prayer of thanksgiving given in Book vii. c. 36, there is a remarkable passage on the sabbath and the Lord's day, which tells how the "sabbath is the rest from creation, the completion of the world, the seeking of God's laws, the praise of thanksgiving to God for all that He has given us. But rising above all these ideas, the Lord's day manifests to us the Mediator Himself, the guardian and lawgiver of men, the source of resurrection, the firstborn before all creation, God the Word, man born of the Virgin Mary, . . . who died and rose again; and so commands us to offer to God the highest of all thanksgiving." In Book viii. 33, 1, we find a command given in the names of St. Peter and St. Paul, "Let servants work five days, on the sabbath and the Lord's day let them rest, with a view to instruction in godliness in the church." This command introduces a series of commands to rest on holy days. It is notable, as looking like an apostolic extension of the enactment of the fourth commandment. But when the decalogue is expounded, we find that commandment explained thus, "Thou shalt keep a sabbath, on account of Him who ceased from creation but not from providence, a sabbath not of idleness of hands, but of meditation on his laws" (ii. 361). There is no idea of its transference for a Christian to the observance of the Lord's day.

In St. Chrysostom there is perhaps the first indication of the idea that the sabbath was so far of perpetual obligation, that the one day in seven should always be set apart. In his 10th Homily on Genesis, c. 1, we find him declaring that "God from the beginning teaches us figuratively, instructing us to set aside one day (or 'the first day') in the cycle of the week, and to devote it to work in spiritual things; for it was for this reason that God hallowed the seventh day" (ἤδη ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ προοιμίων αἰνιγματωδῶς διδασκαλίαν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς παρέχεται, παιδεύων τὴν μίαν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἅπασαν ἀνατιθέναι καὶ ἀφορίζειν τῇ τῶν πνευματικῶν ἐργασίᾳ, διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ὁ δεσπότης, κ.τ.λ.) (See Bened. ed. vol. iv. p. 80.) This treatment, however, of the subject is but slightly indicated, and it exists side by side with teaching of a more ancient type. Thus the sabbath is to him also the type of eternal rest in heaven (Comm. on Heb. iii. 8, vol. xii. p. 63). In his 39th Homily

on St. Matthew, he speaks of the formal sabbath as a condescension to the hardness of the hearts of the Jews, and urges that we should always keep festival by abstaining from evil, and "be idle with a spiritual idleness" (ἀργῶμεν ἀργίαν πνευματικήν), by keeping our hands from recklessness (vol. vii. p. 435). Still it is significant; it appears to indicate a transition towards the later idea of connecting the fourth commandment directly with the observance of the Lord's day. The circumstances of his time, and the evils with which he had to grapple, may have suggested this short and easy way of maintaining the sanctity of the great Christian festival.

We turn to the West, and take as specimens of church opinion, the three whom Milman has called the great organizers of Latin Christianity.

St. Ambrose (on Ps. xlii.) holds, like St. Athanasius, that the Lord's day is "the day which the Lord hath made," of Ps. cxviii.; of all the days on which God works mighty works, it has the leadership (praerogativa), because illuminated by the rising of the Sun of Righteousness. In his commentary on Ps. xlviii. we observe a marked instance of the tendency to supersede the sabbath by the Lord's day. The Psalm is to be sung "Secundâ Sabbati." What (he asks) is this but "the Lord's day, which followed the sabbath?" He clearly means that it followed it in old times, not only in order, but in dignity; for he goes on to speak of the "eighth day, at once the eighth and the first," as "sanctified by the resurrection," and now accordingly having "ex numeri ordine praerogativam, et ex Resurrectione Domini Sanctitatem." He actually interprets the σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον as signifying that "the sabbath, which was once first, now begins to be but the second after the first;" and lastly, he uses the phrase "Prima requies cessavit, secunda successit," connecting with this the declaration of the "sabbath keeping for the people of God" (in Heb. iv. 8, 9). Similarly commenting on the passage "Vespere Sabbati, quae lucescit in primam Sabbati," he remarks, "Before the resurrection the Evangelist spoke of the sabbath; after the resurrection he called it the first day of the week." It is true that he speaks of the "rest in Christ" as the true and "great sabbath," in the same sense as Epiphanius (*de Obitu Theod.*, vol. ii. 1206 B, Bened. ed. 1690). But, while he would have doubtless repudiated the idea that the Lord's day was the "Christian sabbath," his words certainly prepare for it.

St. Jerome's treatment of the subject is markedly characteristic. He (*adv. Jovin.* ii. 25) deals with the six days of work as representing this life, the seventh the "true and eternal sabbath," in which we shall be free. In the passage already referred to (*in Galat.* lib. II. vol. vii. p. 456, Bened. ed.) he lays it down that, strictly speaking, all days are equal to a Christian, "nec per Parasceven tantum crucifigi Christum et die Dominicâ resurgere, sed semper sanctam resurrectionis esse diem et semper eum carne vesci Dominica," and he goes on to contrast the strict limitation of the Jews to certain days with the freedom of the Christian to fast, to pray, to celebrate a Lord's day by receiving the Body of the Lord, at all times. On Ezek. xx. 10, 11, he has a curious passage, declaring the sabbath and circumcision to have been given as signs, "ut sciamus nos perfecto et aeterno sabbato requiescendum a saeculi operibus." "Unde in sex diebus operantes septimo die requiescimus, ut nihil aliud die ac nocte faciamus, nisi omne quod vivimus, deberi Domino noverimus, et redeunte hebdomade totos nos nomini ejus consecremus." While he bears constant testimony to the solemn observation of the Lord's day by religious worship, it is truly remarked by Dr. Hessey (*Bampton Lectures*, Lect. III.) that he describes the Egyptian *coenobitae*, as after church making garments for themselves or others, and tells the story of his visits to the tombs of the apostles and martyrs, not as religious ceremonies, but as seemly recreations. Throughout, both as to theory and practice, his view of the Lord's day is highly spiritual, with no tendency whatever to legal or sabbatical observance.

The same remark applies to the teaching of St. Augustine, who constantly refers to the question of the sabbath, and not unfrequently to the Lord's day. He expresses himself with singular clearness against any continuance of sabbatical obligation. In his *De Genesi ad Litteram* (Book iv., *Opp.* vol. iii. 208) he expressly says that in the time of full revelation of grace, that method of observance of the sabbath, which was symbolized by the rest of a single day, was taken away from the observance of the faithful (observatio illa sabbati, quae unius diei vacatione figurabatur, ablata est ab observatione fidelium). Similarly in his Epistle to Januarius (*Ep.* lv. vol. ii. 203) he expressly distinguishes the fourth (or, as he calls it, the third commandment, connecting it mystically with the third Person of the Holy Trinity), as one to be observed figuratively, from all the others, which are to be observed literally. In both passages he urges on the faithful a perpetual sabbath, partly of rest from the "old works," partly of working whatever good they work with a view to the eternal sabbath of heaven. The Lord's day (he adds) was declared not to the Jews but to the Christians by the resurrection of the Lord, and from that time only began to have its festal character. There was indeed a mystical signification of the eighth day (octavi Sacramentum) under the law, which he traces fancifully enough, but it was reserved and concealed, and the sabbath alone given for celebration. Exactly in the same way he declares against the Manicheans (*contra Adimantum*, sect. 2, 16, and *contra Faustum*, book vi. vol. viii. 209, 240, 343), that the literal or carnal observation of the sabbath is abolished, while its spiritual significance remains, in the acceptance of the invitation, "Come unto me, and I will give you rest." His principle is formally enunciated thus, "Apostolicam interpretationem spiritualiter teneo; Carnalem Servitutis observationem libertate contemno." In his treatise *de Spiritu et Littera*, sect. xiv. (vol. x. 328) he takes it so absolutely for granted that the observance of the sabbath according to the letter is carnal, that he thinks it necessary to plead that the principle, "the letter killeth," applies not only to the fourth commandment, but to the other nine. The sabbath day, he says elsewhere (on Ps. cl. vol. iv. 2411), signifies rest, the Lord's day, resurrection. The two ideas are in his view contrasted, as the old and new covenants are contrasted. Such is his genuine

teaching. There is, indeed, a passage in one of the Homilies *de Tempore* (*Hom.* 251), attributed to him, but unhesitatingly rejected by the Benedictine editors, and assigned by them to the 9th century, in which he is made to say that "the doctors of the church decreed to transfer all the glory of the Jewish sabbath-keeping to the Lord's day, so that what they celebrated in figure, we might celebrate in reality" (see vol. v. p. 3101). But this is in direct opposition to St. Augustine's general teaching; it clearly breathes the spirit of a later time, and shews traces of a well-known passage of Alcuin.

(V.) In these leading representatives of Christian thought, we find, therefore, not only a preservation of the older and truer ideas, but, generally speaking, a care (possibly prophetic) to enforce the spirituality of the Lord's day more carefully than ever. It is rather in the enactments of councils, embodying the common opinion of the church at large, that we trace the changes of conception which have been described above.

The great Council of Nicaea, taking the Lord's day and its observance for granted, merely directs that on the Lord's day and within the Pentecost, all shall pray standing (Canon 20). Subsequent councils, however, of the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries legislate frequently on the subject.

The first class of enactments is directed to the enforcement of ritual and devotional observances. Thus absence from the church on their Lord's days is made a ground for excommunication; fasting on the Lord's day is denounced as savouring of Manicheism; the refusal to join the prayers and receive the Holy Eucharist, and the practice of leaving the church during preaching, are censured and punished; all frequenting of the games or the circus on the Lord's day is strictly forbidden (see Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. III.). These enactments have no special significance as to the conception of the day. They simply take for granted its religious celebration after the primitive fashion; their existence only indicates that this celebration was becoming more and more a matter of legal regulation and enforcement.

There is, however, another class of enactments intended to secure and guard a quasi-sabbatical rest. To this the well-known canon of Laodicea (A.D. 363) seems certainly to belong. (See Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. ii. pp. 564, 565.) It declares that Christians "are not to Judaize and rest on the sabbath day, but to work on that day, and preferring the Lord's day in honour, on it, if possible, to rest as Christians (τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν προτιμῶντες, εἴγε δύναιντο, σχολάζειν ὡς Χριστιανοί). Obviously there is a marked distinction intended between the Jewish and Christian idea of rest; but still the result is to transfer a sabbatical rest to the Lord's day, and so to make it a kind of spiritualized and Christianized sabbath. This step being once taken, its necessary consequences follow, accumulating regulations of prohibition or injunction, until the original distinction is obscured or lost. The councils, in fact, were placed between tendencies to extreme observance and to extreme neglect. Thus at the third Council of Orleans (A.D. 538), we see that a certain public opinion had been growing up (persuasum est populis) that on the Lord's day no horse or ox or carriage should be used, no food prepared, nothing done for the cleanliness of the house or person. This the council wisely desires to check, and protests that such minute regulations "savour rather of Jewish than Christian observance" (ad Judaicam magis quam ad Christianam observantiam pertinere). It is accordingly laid down, somewhat vaguely, that the freedom hitherto used on the Lord's day should be preserved (quod antea fieri licuit, liceat). But in the very same canon abstinence from rural work in general is not only advised, in order that men may have leisure for church-going and prayer, but, in case of neglect, enforced by ecclesiastical censure (see Labbe, vol. ix. p. 10). On the other hand, the second Council of Mâcon (A.D. 585) declares itself driven to legislation, because "the people rashly profane the Lord's day, and as on ordinary days (privatis diebus) devote themselves to unceasing work." Accordingly the first canon pleads eloquently for the observation of the Lord's day, "which has given us the new birth and freedom from all our sins" (quae nos denuò peperit et a peccatis omnibus liberavit); on it "being made free from sin and become servants to righteousness, let us show the service which is perfect freedom" (liberam servitutem exhibeamus). "The day is the day of perpetual rest, which is suggested to us by the type of the seventh day in the law and the prophets." Hence it is urged that men should abstain from litigation and pleading, and should not even allow themselves on plea of necessity to yoke their oxen. Their whole soul is to be absorbed in hymns and praises; their eyes and hands raised all day to God. Not that there is value in bodily rest (corporali abstinentia), but in an obedience by which earthly actions may be set aside, and the soul raised to heaven. All this is spiritual exhortation; but it is significantly added that disobedience will be punished primarily by God, secondarily "by the implacable anger of the priest;" pleaders shall be nonsuited, peasants or slaves severely scourged, clerks or monks suspended for six months from communion with their fellows. (See Labbe, ix. 947.) It will be observed that in this canon there is a vague reference to the seventh day's rest, laid down in the fourth commandment, as foreshadowing the Lord's day. But this is a tentative step anticipatory of the future. Every enactment of quasi-sabbatical rest prepared for a sabbatarian theory; but it was far from being as yet established.

This is clear, if we turn to the writings of Gregory the Great, the foremost man of his day in character as in office, and the unconscious founder of the future papal power. He obviously followed St. Augustine in his view of the Lord's day and its significance, and in some of his references to Old Testament types of its sacredness [h] (see *Hom. in Ezek.* ii. 4). In a celebrated letter to the Romans (*Epist.* xiii. 1), written in reference to some introduction of strict rest on the sabbath, he declares that it

[h] One is, however, peculiar. On Job i. 5, he contends that in his sanctifying his sons after the seven days, he prefigured the eighth day or Lord's day. He adds: "Quia ergo octavo die offerre septem sacrificia dicitur, plenus septiformis gratiae Spiritu pro spe resurrectionis Domino deservisse perhibetur."

is Antichrist, who "at his coming shall cause the sabbath day, and the Lord's day to be kept from all work"—in the one case, he adds, for the sake of Judaizing, in the other, because he himself shall pretend to die, and to rise again. In regard to the sabbath, which is his chief subject, he lays down the broad principle that the laws of the old covenant were but typical, and in the light of Christ's coming can be kept only in spirit. "Our true sabbath is the Lord Jesus Christ Himself." He then protests against a prohibition of the bath on the Lord's day (evidently on sabbatarian grounds), in a tone which would apply to many other such ordinances. He is content to lay it down that on the Lord's day we are to cease from all earthly work, and to devote ourselves altogether to prayer (atque omni modo orationibus insistendum), in order that any spiritual neglect in the six days may be atoned for on the day of the resurrection. It would have been impossible for him so to have written, had the idea of the transference of the obligation of the fourth commandment to the Lord's day attained to anything like general acceptation.

There is a curious passage in a letter of Gregory to St. Augustine of Canterbury (considered to be of doubtful authenticity) which deals with fasting, and, referring apparently to Sundays in Lent, draws a singularly unpleasant picture of Sunday festivities. "De ipsa vero die Dominica haesitamus quidnam dicendum sit, cum omnes laici et saeculares illa die plus solito caeteris diebus accuratius cibos carnium appetant, et nisi nova quadam aviditate usque ad mediam noctem se ingurgitent, non aliter se hujus sacri temporis observationem suscipere putant; . . . unde nec a tali consuetudine averti possunt, et ideo cum venia suo ingenio relinquendi sunt, ne forte pejores existant si a tali consuetudine prohibeantur" (Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc.* iii. 54; Greg. *Opp.* ii. 1302, in *App. ad Epist.* xiii., from Gratian, Dist. iv. can. 6). It is possible that this practice indicates a reaction against the sabbatarianism referred to in Gregory's letter. Curiously enough, it exactly corresponds to those excessive sabbath festivities with which the Fathers of the 5th century reproach the Jews.

Meanwhile the current of opinion and legislation still continues to set in the sabbatarian direction. Legends of miraculous judgment on those who work on the Lord's day become rife. In the Life of St. Germanus of Auxerre (written by Venantius Fortunatus in the 6th century) we are told how the hand of a man at Essone, working on the Lord's day, and of a girl at Melun, spinning on the same day, were suddenly contracted (ita contrahitur digitus ut unguium acumen partem transiret in alteram), and how both were miraculously healed by St. Germanus (cc. 14, 16; Migne, *Patrologie*, lxxii. 61). As time goes on, such portents become more numerous and more striking; the hand which chops wood cleaves to the hatchet, or is withered; a cake made on the Lord's day streams with blood; a mill-wheel set in motion refuses to turn (see Heylin, *On the Sabbath*, part ii. c. v. 3, and Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, lect. iii. n. 261).

Naturally the decrees of councils and the commands of secular authority follow in the same course. Thus in England, in the 7th and 8th centuries, the laws of Ina, king of the West Saxons (about 690), lay it down that "If a 'theowman' work on Sunday by his lord's command, let him be free, and let the lord pay xxx shillings as 'wite' [fine]. But if the 'theow' work without his knowledge, let him suffer in his hide, or in 'hide-gild' [ransom]. But if a freeman work on that day without his lord's command, let him forfeit his freedom, or sixty shillings; and let a priest be liable to twice as much." (See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 215.) A law of about the same date makes the observation of the eve of Sunday, as well as the Sunday itself. "If an 'esne' do any servile labour, contrary to his lord's command, from sunset on Sunday eve till sunset on Monday eve [*i.e.* sunset on Saturday to sunset on Sunday], let him make a 'bote' of lxxx shillings to his lord. If an 'esne' do so of his own accord on that day, let him make a 'bote' of vi*d.* to his lord, or his hide" (*Laws of Wihtred, K. of Kent*, A.D. 696, ll. 9 and 10, in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 235).

In the Council of Clovesho (A.D. 747) it is ordered that all abbots and presbyters shall remain in their monasteries and churches on the Lord's day, abstaining from all business and from all travelling, except on inevitable necessity. But the object is stated to be that the Lord's day may be wholly dedicated to the worship of God, and that they may be ready to teach and to minister. Of the laity it is only said that on the Lord's day and other great festivals the people shall be invited by the priests to assemble in church for the hearing of the word and the celebration of the mass. (See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 367.) About the same time we find a "Judicium Clementis" (supposed to be Willebrord, A.D. 693), indicating a still greater extent of sabbatarian rigour. "If on the Lord's day any one by negligence works or bathes or washes his head, let him do penance seven days; if he repeats the offence, forty days; if he does so contumaciously (si per dampnationem facit hoc die) and refuses to amend, let him be expelled from the Catholic church like a Jew." (See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 226.)

(VI.) Still, however, it will be observed that even now no connexion of the Lord's day with the fourth commandment is avowed; and the process of sabbatarianism is therefore not complete. There is some reason to think that in this, as in some other ecclesiastical matters, we are to look to the time of Charlemagne for the final step. So late, indeed, as A.D. 797, a celebrated decree of Theodulph of Orleans (*Capitula*, n. 24; see Labbe, *Councils*, vol. xiii. p. 999), which was apparently observed beyond the limits of his diocese, speaking of the Lord's day, preserves the old teaching as to the grounds of its consecration, and deals with its observance freely and spiritually: "Diei vero Dominici, quia in eo Deus lucem condidit, in eo manna in eremo pluit, in eo Redemptor humani generis sponte pro salute nostra a mortuis resurrexit, in eo Spiritum Sanctum super discipulos infudit, tanta esse debet observantia, ut praeter orationes, et missarum solemnia, et ea quae ad vescendum pertinent, nihil aliud fiat. Nam et si necessitas fuerit navigandi, sive itinerandi, licentia datur, ita duntaxat, ut horum occasione missa et orationes non praetermittantur. Conveniendum est sabbato die cum lu-

minaribus cuilibet Christiano ad ecclesiam, conveniendum est ad vigilias sive ad matutinum officium. Concurrendum est etiam cum oblationibus ad missarum solemnia. Et dum ad ecclesiam convenitur nulla causa dici debet vel audiri, nulla jurgia sunt habenda: sed tantummodo Deo vacandum est, in celebratione videlicet sacrorum officiorum, et exhibitione eleemosynarum, et in Dei laudibus cum amicis, proximis, et peregrinis spiritaliter epulandum."

But Alcuin, Charlemagne's great ecclesiastical adviser, speaking of the Jewish observation of the sabbath, says expressly, "cujus observationem mos Christianus ad diem Dominicum competentius transtulit" (*Homil.* xviii. *post Pentec.* quoted by Heylin). It is true that this is said to have been done by custom; there is no word of scriptural authority, or even of any institution of the apostles. But still this passage seems to enunciate for the first time the idea of "the Christian sabbath."[1] And its meaning is illustrated by the laws of the time. A law attributed to Clotaire lays it down that no one should work on the Lord's day, "quia hoc lex prohibet, et *Sacra Scriptura in omnibus contradicit.*" Under Pepin (A.D. 791) a council at Friuli had strictly enforced the observance of the day, with some special restrictions apparently taken from the observance of the sabbath. But Charlemagne opens an imperial edict on the subject with the express words, "statuimus secundum quod et in lege Dominus praecepit," and proceeds to minute prohibitions against various kinds of work and to injunctions for attendance at divine service. (See Heylin, part ii. c. v.)

It is notable that not long after an edict appears at Constantinople by the emperor Leo Philosophus (A.D. 884) for the observance of the Lord's day, referring to the old edict of Constantine as too lax in its exemptions, and declaring absolute rest for labour, as "decreed by the Holy Spirit and the apostles taught of Him" (quod Spiritui Sancto ab ipsoque institutus apostolis placuit), arguing that "if the Jews honoured their sabbath, *which was but a shadow of ours,* how much more should we honour the day which the Lord hath honoured, and on it delivered us from dishonour and death!" (*Constit.* 54, see Heylin, part ii. c. v.). We note here that it is on apostolic authority that the sanctity of the Lord's day is based, although at the same time the Jewish sabbath is looked upon as the shadow of the Christian. The period is, in fact, one of transition. That the sabbatical authority of the Lord's day was not held in theory is clear, from the fact that the general teaching of the schoolmen follows the express declaration of Aquinas that "the observance of the Lord's day in the new law supersedes the observance of the sabbath, not by obligation of the (divine) law, but by the ordinance of the church and the custom of Christian people" (non ex vi legis sed ex constitutione ecclesiae et consuetudine populi Christiani), or as it is elsewhere expressed, "non de jure divino, sed de jure humano canonico." But the "custom of Christian people," when once directed in the line of quasi-sabbatical observance, would be apt to ground itself naturally on the divine law, which such observance seemed to suggest, and to which reference is certainly made in the decrees already quoted.

It lies beyond the limits of this article to trace the steady and excessive development of festal observance in the mediaeval church, the tendency to place other holy days on nearly the same level as the Lord's day, and to guard all alike by quasi-sabbatarian regulations of an elaborate and burdensome nature. Nor can we do more than allude to the twofold protest made against this at the Reformation. On the Continent generally, it tended to reject all holy days, and treat the Lord's day itself as a matter of simple church ordinance, which any church at its will might alter; in England, Scotland, and Holland, it singled out the Lord's day, placing it on a scriptural basis, as the Christian sabbath, ordained in the fourth commandment, and surrounded it too often with a more than Judaic rigour.

The conclusions, to which within the historical limits assigned to this article we must come, may be thus briefly recapitulated.

(*a*) The Lord's day must be regarded as a festival, coeval with the existence of Christianity itself—growing up naturally from the apostles' time, gradually assuming the character of the one distinctively Christian festival, and drawing to itself, as by an irresistible gravitation, the periodical rest, which is enjoined in the fourth commandment on grounds applicable to man as man, and which was provided for under the Mosaic law by the special observance of the sabbath.

(*b*) The idea of the Lord's day is wholly distinct from that of the sabbath, never for a moment confused with it in the early church, in which, indeed, the observance of the sabbath long survived, sometimes as a festival, sometimes as a fast. Wherever rest is associated with it, such rest is invariably regarded as entirely secondary, as simply a means to a higher end. Accordingly the original regulation of observances connected with the Lord's day is positive and not negative, and directed by principle rather than by formal rule.

(*c*) The tendency to sabbatize the Lord's day is due chiefly to the necessities of legal enforcement—first, as exemplified in the series of imperial laws, then in the decrees of councils, generally backed by the secular power—dealing inevitably in prohibition more than in injunction, and so tending to emphasize negative instead of positive observance. For such enactments the law of the Old Testament "mutatis mutandis" became naturally a model, and the step was an easy one, from regarding it as a model to taking it as an authority.

(*d*) The direct connexion, however, of such observance with the obligation of the fourth commandment can claim no scriptural and no high ecclesiastical authority. Either the observation of that commandment is expressly declared to be figurative (consisting of rest from sin, rest enjoyed in Christ, and rest foreseen in heaven), or careful distinction is made between the moral obligation of religious observance in general, and the positive obligation, now passed

[1] Heylin (*Hist. of Sabbath*, part ii. c. v. 13) asserts that the phrase itself is first found in Petrus Alfonsus in the 12th century: "Dies dominica ... Christianorum sabbatum est."

away, to keep the sabbath in particular. The notion of connecting it with the keeping of the Lord's day grows up in the first instance through the natural supersession of the sabbath by the Lord's day in the Christian church, and the temptation to transfer to the latter the positive divine sanction of the former; and, once introduced, maintains itself by the very fact of presenting a strong and intelligible plea against any degradation of the high Christian festival.

On this subject the following works may be consulted with advantage: Heylin's *History of the Sabbath*, part ii., full of learning, though defective in arrangement and criticism; Bingham's *Antiquities*, book xx. c. ii., containing much valuable matter, though needing some correction; Dr. Hessey's *Bampton Lectures on Sunday*, presenting the literature of the subject accurately and popularly; Probst, *Kirchliche Disciplin der Drei ersten Jahrhunderte* (pt. iii. c. i. art. 1) discuss the principal passages bearing on the question found in the writers of the first three centuries; Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, vol. v. part i. c. 4. In all there is much common material, derived from the obvious source of information on this subject — the writings of the Fathers, the edicts of the Imperial Codes, the canons of councils, and the mediaeval laws so often based upon them. The distinction is chiefly in the inferences drawn from these historical materials. [A. B.]

**LORD'S DAY** (LITURGICAL). The observance of Sunday began after None on Saturday, "ut dies Dominica a vespere usque in vesperam servetur" (*Conc. Francofurt.* A.D. 794), and the reason is given by Durandus (*Rat.* v. 9, 2): "Quia vespertina synaxis seu hora primum est officium diei sequentis." The Sunday office was longer and more solemnly observed than that of other days. The number of psalms and lessons, and the number of nocturns at the night office was increased. The Gregorian distribution of the Psalter gives eighteen psalms and nine lessons in three nocturns, instead of twelve psalms and three lessons in one nocturn: and the Benedictine twelve psalms, and three canticles, with twelve lessons in three nocturns instead of twelve psalms and three lessons, in two nocturns on week days. Te Deum was said at the end of Matins, except in Advent, and from Septuagesima to Easter.

The nocturnal office and that of Lauds were to be said (Mart. *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iv. 9) with modulation *tractim*, which word is explained as *lenta ac morosa modulatione*. Incense was offered (oblatum) at each nocturn, and the high altar censed at *Benedictus* at Lauds. The solemn benediction of the holy water "salis et aquae," a custom which is considered to have been introduced by pope Leo IV. A.D. 847–855, took place before mass; with which ceremony a procession was in many places joined. At the mass *Gloria in excelsis* was said except during Advent, and from Septuagesima to Easter Eve: and the creed was said at the mass and at Prime in the Sunday office throughout the year. The reserved Eucharist was renewed. Many other distinctions between the Dominical office, and that for week days, might be pointed out. Those already enumerated are among the most conspicuous.

In the Ambrosian use the Dominical office differs from the Ferial in several points, of which the following are the most prominent. No psalms are said at matins, but in their place three canticles, one in each nocturn.

In Nocturn I. The Canticle of Isaiah, cap. xxvi. *De nocte vigilat.*
In Nocturn II. The Canticle of Hannah, 1 Reg. II. *Confirmatum est.*
In Nocturn III. The Canticle of Jonah, cap. 1. *Clamavi*; or, during the winter: *i.e.* from the first Sunday in October till Easter, the Canticle of Habakkuk, cap. ii. *Domine audivi.*

Each of these canticles has its proper antiphon, and is followed by the usual form. V. *Benedictus es, Deus.* R. *Amen.*

After the third canticle three lessons are read, each with its response. These are not, as on week days, taken from scripture, but from a Homily on the Gospel of the day, and correspond therefore to the lessons in the third nocturn of the Roman Breviary. These are followed, except during Advent and Lent, by *Te Deum*, which is not said in the ferial office, and if Lauds are said separately, the office ends with a collect, and the customary form. V. *Benedicamus Domino.* R. *Deo Gratias.*

At Lauds after *Benedictus*, which begins the office both in the Dominical and the Ferial office,[a] follow, each preceded by its *oratio secreta*, and with its proper antiphon, the canticle of Moses (Exod. xv.) *Cantemus Domino* and *Benedicite*. In the place of these, on week days other than Saturday, Ps. l. (li.), *Miserere* is said, and on Saturday, Ps. cxvii. (cxviii.) *Confitemini.*

At the other hours there are certain differences in the disposition and number of the collects and antiphons, by whatever names they are called, but, as the general character of the office is unaltered, it is not necessary to enter minutely into them. Certain greater festivals, called *Solemnitates Domini*, have the office nearly identical with that of the Sunday.

In the Mozarabic rite the daily office differs throughout so much for the ordinary Western type that it is not easy to point out clearly in a few words the variations between that of Sunday and other days. The most conspicuous variation is at the beginning of matins, which on Sunday (after the opening) begin with the hymn *Aeterne rerum conditor*, followed by its *oratio*, and the three Psalms; iii. *Domine quid*, l. (li.) *Miserere*, lvi. (lvii.) *Miserere mei*, each with its antiphon and *oratio*, while on week days the corresponding portion of the office is an antiphon called *matutinarium*, and Ps. l. (li) *Miserere*,[b] with its antiphon and *oratio*. Sundays were of different degrees. The classification varied at different times, and in different churches, but the general Western division was into *Greater* Sundays: *Dominicae majores v. solemnes v. privilegiatae*: and

[a] Except on Sundays in Advent, when the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii.), *Attende Coelum*, is said. On Christmas Day both are said.

[b] This is the direction given in the *Regula* printed at the head of the Breviary. In the body of the Breviary the Psalm appointed for a week-day varies among the three Sunday psalms; and the *matutinarium* occurs later in the office, in the course of Lauds. The Mozarabic ritual directions are sometimes difficult to reconcile.

into *Ordinary* Sundays: *Dominicae communes*, *v. per annum.* Martene, *de Ant. Mon. rit.* iv. § 4, from the statutes of Laufranc, says, "Quinque dies Dominici sunt, qui communia quaedam inter se habent separata a caeteris diebus Dominicis, Dominica vid. prima de Adventu Domini, Dominica primae Septuagesimae, Dominica prima Quadragesimae, Dominica in medio Quadragesimae, Dominica in Palmis." He then proceeds to specify certain ritual peculiarities of those days mainly relating to the dress of the clergy, and the performance of the office in choir.[c] In this classification Easter day and Pentecost have already been reckoned among the "quinque praecipuae festivitates."

Another classification given by *Durandus* [vii. 1–4] defines Dominicae principales v. solemnes to be those "in quibus officia mutantur," of which he reckons five. Dominica prima de Adventu, Dominica in Octavis Pascha, Dominica in Octavis Pentecostes, Dominica qua cantatur *Laetare Hierusalem* [sc. Midlent Sunday] et Dominica in Ramis Palmarum; Easter and Pentecost being as before otherwise accounted for. To these the first Sunday in Lent was afterwards added, "quia fit officii in ea mutatio."

The later Roman arrangement, which is still in force, subdivides the greater Sundays, *Dominicae majores*, into two classes: (1) Sundays of the first class, *Dominicae primae classis*, viz. the first Sunday in Advent, the first Sunday in Lent, Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday, Easter day, Low Sunday, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday: and (2) Sundays of the second class, *Dominicae secundae classis*, viz. the second, third, and fourth Sunday of Advent, Septuagesima and the two following Sundays, and the second, third and fourth Sundays in Lent. The other Sundays in the year are ordinary Sundays, *Dominicae per annum.*

The Ambrosian rule classifies Sundays according to their office, as follows:—Easter day, Pentecost and Trinity Sunday are reckoned among the *Solemnitates Domini*, the highest class of festivals. The other Sundays are divided into two classes—(1) those which have a proper office, and (2) those which have the ordinary Sunday office.

Those which have a proper office—*officium proprium*—are the Sundays in Advent, those in Lent, and the Sunday after the Nativity.

The Sundays between Easter and Pentecost have the Paschal office—*Paschale officium*—which has certain ritual peculiarities, and the Sundays from the Epiphany to the beginning of Lent have a mixed office, *officium partim proprium, partim commune.*

The Sundays from the second after Pentecost to Advent have the ordinary office (*officium commune*).

The classification of Sundays in the Greek calendar is not so minute. Easter day stands in a class by itself, at the head of all the festivals of the year; and Palm Sunday and Whitsunday are reckoned among the *Twelve*,[d] which rank next in importance.

Many Sundays were (and are still) often designated by the first word of the introit of the Roman mass. Thus the first five Sundays in Lent are often known by the names, *Invocavit*,[e] *Reminiscere. Oculi, Laetare, Judica*; and the four Sundays following Easter as *Quasimodo, Misericordia Domini, Jubilate, Cantate.* Some again are customarily known by some peculiarity in the celebration. Thus the Sunday next before Easter[f] is known as *Palm Sunday* and *Dominica palmarum* v. *in ramis palmarum*, from the Benediction of the palm branches, and the subsequent procession which takes place on that day after terce and before mass; and the Sunday after Easter as *Dominica in albis*, or more fully *in albis depositis*, as it is called in the Ambrosian missal;[g] from its being the day after the Saturday on which those who had been baptized on Easter eve laid aside their white garments; or sometimes as *Clausum*[h] *Paschae*, from its being the conclusion of the Paschal celebration, and the second and following Sundays after Easter were sometimes called *Dominica* i[a] and ii[a] and *post albas*, or *post clausum Paschae.*

Other less familiar designations for particular Sundays which are found, are *Dominica carnelevale, de carne levario* v. *de carne levanda*, which would be Quinquagesima Sunday where Lent began on the following Wednesday, and the first Sunday in Lent in the Ambrosian ritual, which begins Lent on that day: *Dominica in Quadragesima* for the first Sunday in Lent, *Dominica mediana* v. *mediante die festo* [Miss. Mozar.] for the fourth Sunday in Lent, *Dominica Osanna* for Palm Sunday, also *Pascha floridum* from the flowers which were associated with Palm branches in the office for their benediction. Thus in the Mozarabic missal the office is to be said *ad benedicendos flores vel ramos*, and in the prayer of the office the clause occurs, "Hos quoque ramos et flores palmarum . . . hodie tua benedictione sanctifica." So also in the *Ordo Romanus*, "Dies palmarum, sive florum atque ramorum dicitur"; also in the Sarum missal the office is called *benedictio florum ac frondium*, and the phrase *creatura florum vel frondium*, or equivalent expressions frequently recur in it. In the York missal, too, we find the words "hos palmarum atque florum ramos, etc. . . ." *Dominica Rogationum* v. *D. ante Litanias* for the Sunday before Ascension.[i] Many other similar names might be adduced, though several would not fall within our limits of time.

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[c] Among other points it is directed that the refectory tables be covered with clean cloths (festivae mappae; sint et quotidianae, lotae tamen), and clean towels provided (manutergia candida et honesta).

[d] Otherwise called δεσποτικαὶ v. κυριακαὶ ἑορταί. They were originally seven in number, and a mystical reason for that number is given from St. Chrysostom. It was afterwards increased to twelve. The list at first contained Easter Day, which afterwards was placed by itself, and has otherwise slightly varied, the number remaining at twelve. The next order of festivals is called ἀδωδέκατα, *i. e.* not of the twelve; but it contains no Sunday.

[e] Thus the rubrics of the Missal speak of *Feria* ii[a], etc. *post Invocavit*, etc.

[f] So termed in the English Prayer Book.

[g] In the Ambrosian rite the days of Easter week are called *Feria* ii[a], iii[a], etc. . . . *in albis*, and those in the week next following *Feria* ii[a], iii[a], etc. . . . *post albas.*

[h] This expression must not be confounded with *Claves Paschae.*

[i] It may be noticed that several of these terms have established themselves in familiar use in England, though they nowhere appear in the service books, *e. g. Midlent Sunday, Palm Sunday, Rogation Sunday.*

The Dominical calendars throughout the year varied in different churches, and deserve a few words.

The Roman Calendar, as in use to the present time, is substantially the same as the early English (and as that now used among ourselves). The chief difference is that in it the Sundays throughout the summer are reckoned "*post Pentecosten*," instead of *post Trinitatem* as in the Sarum (and modern English) use; and that there are fewer of them. Thus in the Roman missal there are twenty-four Sundays *post Pentecosten*, in the English twenty-five *post Trinitatem*. In the York missal the Sundays were reckoned *post octavas Pentecostes*.

Allatius (*de Dominicis et hebdomadibus Graecorum dissertatio*) gives a Calendar "ad usum Breviarii Romani e bibliothecae Vaticanae Codice antiquissimo"; which (omitting all that does not relate to Sundays) runs thus:—

Dominica prima de Adventu Domini.
Dominica secunda ante Natale Domini.
Dominica tertia ante Natale Domini.
Dominica prima post Natale Domini.
Dominica prima, etc. post Epiphaniam.

(The Sundays after the Epiphany are reckoned up to Lent, but the names for the last three, Septuagesima, etc. are recognised.)

Dominica in Quadragesima.
Dominica prima mensis primi.
Dominica iii^a, iv^a, v^a, vi^a in Quadragesima.
Dominica Sancta in Pascha.
Dominica Octava Paschae.
Dominica i^a, ii^a, iii^a post Octavam Paschae.
Dominica post Ascensa Domini.
Dominica Pentecosten.
Dominica Octava Pentecosten.
Dominica ii^a, etc. Pentecosten.
Dominica post Natale Apostolorum [i. e. SS. Pet. et Paull. Jun. 29].
Dominica i^a, ii^a, etc. post Octavam Apostolorum.
Dominica i^a, ii^a, etc. post S. Laurentii [Aug. 10].
Dominica i^a, ii^a, etc. post S. Cypriani [Sept. 26].

The last of these Sundays is that next after the festival of St. Andrew, and then follow the three Sundays of Advent.

The Mozarabic Calendar contains six Sundays in Advent. The Sundays after the Epiphany are numbered continuously till the beginning of Lent, omitting the names Septuagesima, etc., the Sunday corresponding to Quinquagesima being known as *Dominica ante diem Cinerum v. ante carnes tollendas*, after Pentecost are reckoned as the first, second, etc., seventh Sunday after Pentecost. After the seventh no Sunday mass and therefore no Sunday name is given till Advent, except one for "In Dominica ante jejunium Calendarum Novembrium."

The Ambrosian Dominical Calendar, which in its main features is of high antiquity, is as follows:—

Dominica i^a, ii^a, iii^a, iv^a, v^a, vi^a in Adventu.

(These six Sundays are exclusive of and in addition to the Vigil of the Nativity, when it falls on a Sunday.)

Dominica post Nativitatem Domini.
Dominica i^a, ii^a, etc. post Epiphaniam.
Dominica in Septuagesima, in Sexagesima, in Quinquagesima.
Dominica i^a in Quadragesima (the beginning of Lent).
Dominica ii^a in Quadragesima (sometimes called the Sunday of the Samaritan Woman).
Dominica iii^a in Quadragesima (or the Sunday of Abraham).
Dominica iv^a in Quadragesima (or the Sunday of the Blind Man).
Dominica v^a in Quadragesima (or the Sunday of Lazarus).
Dominica Olivarum.
Dominica Resurrectionis, v. Dies Sanctus Paschae.
Dominica in Albis depositis.
Dominica ii^a, iii^a, iv^a, v^a post Pascha.
Dominica post Ascensionem.
Dominica Pentecostes.
Dominica i^a post Pentecosten.
Dominica in qua celebratur Festum Sanctissimae Trinitatis.
Dominica ii^a post Pentecosten, v. Dom. infra Octavam Corporis Christi.
Dominica iii^a, etc. post Pentecosten.
Up to the Decollation of St. Joh. Bapt. [Aug. 29].
Dominica i^a, ii^a, iii^a, iv^a, v^a post Decollationem.
Dominica i^a, ii^a Octobris.
Dominica iii^a. In Dedicatione Ecclesiae majoris.
Dominica i^a, ii^a, iii^a post Dedicationem.

The Greek Dominical Calendar differs in many respects. In all Western calendars the ecclesiastical year begins with Advent. The Greek Church has no such season,[k] and the year begins with the *Sunday of the Pharisee and the Publican*,[l] which corresponds to the Sunday next before Septuagesima. The order of the Sundays is as follows:—

Sunday of *the Pharisee and the Publican* [also called προσφωνήσιμος].[m]
Sunday of *the Prodigal Son*, answering to Septuagesima Sunday.
Sunday of *Apocreos* [so called because it is the last day on which meat is eaten].
Sunday of *Tyrophagus* [the last day on which cheese is eaten].
*First Sunday of the Fast*, or *Orthodoxy Sunday*, διάταξις τῆς πρώτης κυριακῆς τῶν ἁγίων νηστειῶν, ἤτοι τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας (*Typ. Sabae*, cap. xvii.). The celebration under this name is in commemoration of the overthrow of the Iconoclasts.[n]
Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth Sundays of the Fast.
Palm Sunday (κυριακὴ τῶν βαΐων).
Pascha (or Bright Sunday, λαμπρὰ κυριακή).
Antipascha (or the Sunday of St. Thomas), sometimes *New Sunday*, καινὴ ἢ νέα κυριακή (Theod. Balsamon in *Expos. de S. Bas.* etc. ad Amphil. *de Spir. Sanct.*).
Sunday of *the Ointment Bearers* (τῶν μυροφόρων).
Sunday of *the Paralytic*.
Sunday of *the Samaritan Woman*, or Mid Pentecost [μεσοπεντεκοστή].
Sunday of *the Blind Man*.[o]
Sunday of *the Three hundred and eighteen* [*i.e.* the Fathers of Nicaea]. Sunday in the Octave of the Ascension.
Pentecost.
*All Saints Sunday* (Trinity Sunday or First Sunday of Matthew).

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[k] There is a fast preparatory to the Nativity, called the *Fast of the Nativity*, which lasts for the forty days before Christmas.

[l] This and similar names of Sundays are derived from the subjects of the Gospels for the day.

[m] For the reasons given for this name, see Allatius *de Dominicis et Hebdomadibus Graecorum*, s. viii.

[n] There is a long and peculiar office for the day in the *Triodium*, but it is without our limits of time.

[o] The Sundays after Antipascha are variously reckoned as the 2nd, 3rd, etc., or as the 3rd, 4th, etc. Sunday after Pascha.

The Sundays from this point are called Sundays of *Matthew* or of *Luke* according as the gospels are taken from those Evangelists.[p]

Second Sunday after Pentecost, or Second Sunday of Matthew.
Third Sunday after Pentecost, or Third Sunday of Matthew.

and so on, up to the Exaltation of the Cross [Sept. 14], the Sunday before which festival is called:—

The Sunday before the Exaltation;
and that following is
The Sunday after the Exaltation.

After this the Sundays resume their reckoning from Pentecost, which varies with the years and are called *Sundays of Luke*, whose gospel is now read.

First Sunday of Luke.
Second " "
. . . . .
Sunday before the Nativity.
Sunday before the Lights [πρὸ τῶν φώτων, sc. Epiphany].
Sunday after the Lights.

The numeration from Pentecost, and of the Sundays of Luke is then resumed and continued till the Sunday *of the Pharisee and the Publican*. (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iv. (See also Allatius, *de Dom. et Heb. Graec.*; Ducange in *v. Dominica*; *Micrologus*; and the Latin and Greek office books *passim*. [Compare LECTIONARY.] [H. J. H.]

LORD'S PRAYER (the Liturgical use of the). I. In nearly all ancient liturgies this was said between the consecration of the elements and the communion. The earliest direct witness is Cyril of Jerusalem, A.D. 350; who, after explaining to his competentes, the Sanctus, prayer of consecration, and the intercessions, as they occur in the order of the service, proceeds, "Then, after these things, we say that prayer which the Saviour delivered to His intimate disciples, out of a pure conscience addressing God and saying, Our Father," &c. (*Catech. Myst.* v. 8). Optatus in Africa (A.D. 368), charging the Donatist bishops, who "gave remission of sins as if they had no sin themselves," with a self-contradiction, says, "For at that very time, when ye impose hands and remit offences, soon turning to the altar, ye are obliged to recite the Lord's Prayer, and in fact say, Our Father, which art in heaven, forgive us our debts and sins" (*de Schism. Don.* ii. 20). Now we know from St. Cyprian (*de Lapsis*, p. 128; ed. 1690) that in Africa penitents were reconciled after the consecration. St. Augustine, also in Africa (A.D. 397), puts the Lord's Prayer there: "When the hallowing (of the elements) has taken place, we say the Lord's Prayer" (*Serm.* 227, *ad Infantes*, *i.e.* the newly baptized; see before, vol. i. p. 836). Again, writing in 414, he says that by προσευχάς in 1 Tim. ii. 1, he understands those Prayers which are said "when that which is on the Lord's table is blessed, and hallowed, and broken for distribution; which whole form of prayer nearly every church concludes with the Lord's Prayer" (*ad Paulin. Epist.* 149, § 16). Again, to competentes: "When ye are baptized, that prayer is to be said by you daily. For in the church that Lord's Prayer is said daily at the altar of God, and the faithful hear it" (*Serm.* 58, c. x. § 12; see also *de Serm. Dom.* ii. vi. § 26; *Serm.* 17, § 5; 49, 8). St. Jerome must have thought the practice of saying it somewhere in the liturgy universal, for he says in a work written about 415, "So He taught His apostles, that daily in the sacrifice of His body, believers should make bold to speak thus, Our Father," &c. (*Dial. contra Pelag.* iii. 15.) Germanus of Paris is a witness to the use of France in the middle of the 6th century: "But the Lord's Prayer is put in that same place (*i.e.* after the consecration and confraction) for this reason, that every prayer of ours may be concluded with the Lord's Prayer (*Expos. Brev.* in Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. iv. xii. ii.) In the treatise *de Sacramentis*, ascribed to St. Ambrose, but probably written in France, near the end of the 8th century (see Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, pp. 590, 622, 2nd ed.) we read, "*I* said to you that before the words of Christ, that which is offered is called bread. When the words of Christ have been uttered, it is no longer called bread, but is named the Body. Wherefore then in the Lord's Prayer which follows after that, does he say, 'our bread' (lib. v. c. iv. § 24)?" Leontius of Cyprus relates of his contemporary, John the Almoner, pope of Alexandria, who died in 616, that during the celebration he sent for and exchanged forgiveness with a clerk, who was not in charity, after which "with great joy and gladness, he stood at the holy altar, able to say to God with a clear conscience, forgive us," &c. (*Vita Joan.* c.13; Rosweyd, p. 186). St. Augustine (as above) alleges the use of the Lord's Prayer after the consecration in "nearly every church." We find it in that place in every ancient liturgy, except the Clementine (*Constit. Apost.* viii. 13), in which it does not appear at all, and the Abyssinian (Renaudot, *Liturg. Orien.* i. 521), in which it is said, as in the English, after the communion. In the Nestorian of Malabar it occurs both before and after the communion (*Liturg. Mal.* Raulin, 324, 327).

When the Greek compiler of the liturgy called after St. Clement of Rome omitted the Lord's Prayer, he was probably guided by the old Greek liturgy of Rome, which we may suppose to have been before him. We know from St. Gregory, writing in 598, that, until he inserted it, the Lord's Prayer was, according to the plain meaning of his words, certainly not said between the consecration and reception, and therefore probably not said at all in the Eucharistic office of his church. He had been blamed for having (among other innovations) "given an order that the Lord's Prayer should be said soon (mox) after the canon" (*Epist.* viii. 64). His defence was, "We say the Lord's Prayer soon after the prayer (of consecration), because the apostles were wont to consecrate the host of oblation to that very prayer only (ad ipsam solummodo orationem), and it seemed to me very unbecoming to say over the oblation a prayer which some scholastic had put together, and not to say the prayer (traditionem, *lege fors.* orationem) which our Redeemer composed over His body and blood" (*ibid.*). The Lord's Prayer, then, had not been said over the elements either during or after the act of consecration, nor is any place suggested at which it was said. From

[p] The Sundays of Matthew and Luke are sometimes also called by the headings of the sections read.

one of the canons of the 4th Council of Toledo (A.D. 633) we should infer that there were some in Spain who did not, even at that time, think it a necessary part of the liturgy: "Some priests are found throughout the Spains, who do not say the Lord's Prayer daily, but only on the Lord's day. . . . Whoever therefore of the priests, or of the clerks subject to them, shall fail to say this prayer of the Lord daily, either in a public or private office, let him be deprived of the honour of his order" (can. 10).

II. The statement of Gregory that the apostles consecrated by saying the Lord's Prayer only is probably a mistake; but it is repeated by Amalarius, A.D. 827, and Leo VII. A.D. 936. The first says of the wine on Good Friday, "The apostolic method of consecration is observed, which said the Lord's Prayer only over the Lord's body and blood. Therefore, if it were not prescribed by the Ordo Romanus that the body of the Lord should be reserved from the 5th day of the week to the 6th, its reservation would be unnecessary; because the Lord's Prayer alone would be sufficient for the consecration of the body, as it is for the consecration of the wine and water" (*de Eccl. Off. Var. Lect.* Hittorp. col. 1445; see also i. 15). After inquiries made at Rome in 831, Amalarius omitted this passage, but not the letter of Gregory, who had been his authority (iv. 26). Micrologus, without citing Gregory, or mentioning the apostles, remarks that the Ordo Romanus commands the priest to consecrate on Good Friday wine not consecrated before with the Lord's prayer and immission of the Lord's body, that the people may be able to communicate fully" (*de Eccl. Obs.* 19). The Ordo itself ascribes the consecration to the mixture only (Amal. *u. s.* col. 1445; see Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 707, ed. 2). Leo forbad the Lord's Prayer in a grace at meals, "because the holy apostles were wont to say this prayer only in the consecration of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ" (*Epist.* ii. Labbe, ix. 697).

III. In the ancient liturgies the Lord's Prayer is introduced by a preface. In the Roman and Ambrosian this is not connected with any preceding form, but in the Greek, Oriental, and Ephesine, it is the conclusion of a separate prayer. The Roman preface is as follows, "Oremus. Praeceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati, audemus dicere" (*Sacram. Gelas.* Murat. i. 697). The Liturgy of Milan uses the same form generally, but on some feasts, as Easter and Christmas (Le Brun, Dissert. iii. 2; Pamel. *Liturgicon*, i. 304), the following: "Divino magisterio edocti et salutaribus monitis instituti audemus dicere," which is identical with a Gothico-Gallican form (*Liturg. Gall.* Mabill. 287). The original Ambrosian canon, however, was followed by a prayer for the presence of Christ, ending thus, "That we may receive the verity of the Lord's body and blood; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord, saying, Our Father," &c. (Murat. *Liturg. Rom.* i. 134). The Roman and Milanese prefaces have been given above in Latin, that the reader may compare them with the language of St. Cyprian, A.D. 252, in his treatise on the Lord's Prayer (*in init.*): "Evangelica praecepta . . . nihil sunt alia quam *Magisteria divina* . . . Inter sua *salutaria monita* et *praecepta* divina . . . etiam orandi ipse formam dedit." Of the title "Our Father," he says, "Quod nomen nemo nostrûm in oratione *auderet* attingere, nisi ipse nobis sic permisisset orare" (compare St. Jerome, as above). It is a probable inference that a preface, or prefaces, resembling those quoted, was used with the Lord's Prayer in the Latin church of Africa in the 3rd century. In the old Gallican missals there is a variable prayer, called Collectio ante Orationem Dominicam, of which the following is a brief example: "We beseech Thee, O God the Father Almighty, in these petitions wherewith our Lord Jesus Christ, thy Son, hath commanded us to pray, saying, Our Father," &c. (*Miss. Goth. Lit. Gall.* 190). Some of these "collects" in the Gothico-Gallican missals are exhortations (195, 202, &c.). One (238) is partly addressed to God and partly to the people. The Gallicanum Vetus of Mabillon (p. 346), and the fragment known as the Reichenau missal (*Gallican Liturgies*, Neale and Forbes, p. 1), have each an example of exhortation. This collect disappears from the missale Francorum (*Lit. Gall.* 326) and the Besançon sacramentary found at Bobio (*Mus. Ital.* i. 281), as they had both adopted the Roman canon. We do not know the preamble used by the Franks, as the MS. fails near the end of the canon. The Besançon canon is followed by a Gallican preamble, "Divino magisterio edocti, et divina institutione (formati, *Miss. Goth.* in *Lit. Gall.* 228) audemus dicere, Pater," &c. In the Mozarabic missal the formulary before the Lord's Prayer (headed Ad Orationem Dominicam) is often long. In some instances (Leslie, 20, 63, 85, &c.) it is not verbally connected with the latter. It may be a prayer to the Father (16, 20, 22, &c.) or to the Son (6, 12, 93, &c.), or an address to the people (10, 26, 32, &c.). The following example can hardly be classed under any of these heads: "That which is the way hath He shewn, that we might follow in it; that which is the life hath He taught, that we might speak of it; that which is the truth hath He ordained, that we might hold it. To Thee, Supreme Father, let us from the earth with trembling of heart cry aloud, Our Father," &c. (40).

In the ancient liturgy of Jerusalem, known as St. James, at the close of a long secret prayer, the priest says aloud, "And deign that we, O merciful Lord, may with boldness, uncondemned, with a pure heart, a contrite soul, unabashed face, sanctified lips, dare to call upon Thee, the holy God, the Father in the heavens, and to say, Our," &c. (Trollope, 99). This 'Εκφώνησις appears in abridged forms in the derived liturgies of St. Basil (Goar, 174), St. Chrysostom (80), and the Armenian (Neale's *Introd.* 622). In St. Mark, the priest concludes his secret prayer thus, "That with the holy disciples and apostles, we may say unto Thee this prayer, Our," &c. (Renaud. i. 159.) Then he says aloud the form above given from St. James, and the people say the Lord's Prayer. In the Syro-Jacobite liturgies there is also a secret prayer, which leads up to the Lord's Prayer thus,—"That we may dare to invoke Thee . . . and pray, and say, Our," &c. (Renaud. ii. 39, 131, &c.). In the Egyptian (Renaud. i. 20, 35, 50, 75, 116) and Nestorian (ii. 595) liturgies, the Lord's Prayer is introduced in a similar manner at the end of the prayer of Fraction.

IV. St. Augustine's expression, "All the faithful hear it" (see above), seems to imply that in Africa the people did not repeat the Lord's Prayer themselves in his time. When Gregory introduced it at Rome, he did not assign it to the congregation. "Among the Greeks, the Lord's Prayer is said by all the people, but among us by the priest alone" (*Epist.* u. s.). Yet elsewhere in the Latin church they said it. That it was so in France in the 6th century is clear from a story in Gregory of Tours. A dumb woman "on a certain Lord's day stood with the rest of the people. But it came to pass that, when the Lord's Prayer was said, she also opened her mouth and began to sing that holy prayer with the rest" (*Mirac. S. Mart.* ii. 30). In the Mozarabic Liturgy the people responded "Amen" at the end of the first clause, and the first three petitions: after "Give us this day our daily bread," they responded, "for Thou art God": after the two following petitions, "Amen": and after "Lead us not into temptation," they concluded with "But deliver us from evil" (Leslie, 6). In all the Eastern rites, as in their sources, St. James and St. Mark, this prayer is said by the people. In the Egyptian (Ren. i. 76, 77) and Syro-Jacobite (ii. 40, 131) they begin at "Hallowed be," &c. In the Nestorian, they say it all (Badger, *Nestorians*, ii. 237; Renaud. ii. 595).

V. St. Augustine more than once alludes to a custom of beating the breast when the words "forgive us our trespasses" were said in the liturgy: "If we are without sin, and we beat our breasts, saying, Forgive, &c., in this very thing at least we sin, even gravely; as no one can doubt; seeing that we lie while the very sacraments are being celebrated" (*Serm.* 351, 3, § 6. Similarly, *Serm.* 388, § 2). To what extent this custom prevailed does not appear.

For the form which followed the Lord's Prayer in every ancient liturgy, see EMBOLISMUS.

[W. E. S.]

**LORD'S SUPPER** (*Coena Domini*, *Coena Dominica*, Δεῖπνον Κυριακόν). I. The primary notion was of the Last Supper of our Lord, at which the eucharist was instituted. That, says Hippolytus, A.D. 220, was the "first table of the mystical supper" (in Prov. ix. 1, *Fragm.*). St. Chrysostom, A.D. 398, commenting on 1 Cor. xi. 20, says that St. Paul, by using the words "Lord's Supper," takes his hearers back to that "evening in which the Lord delivered the awful mysteries" (*Hom.* 27, in Ep. 1, ad Cor. § 2). With this view, he argues, the apostle called τὸ ἄριστον δεῖπνον, that which in practice was taken early in the day by the name commonly given to the meal which was eaten last (*ibid.*). Somewhat similarly Pseudo-Dionysius (probably about 520): "The common and peaceable participation of one and the same bread and cup . . . brings (us) to a sacred commemoration of the most divine and archetypal (ἀρχισυμβόλου) supper" (*Eccl. Hierarch.* c. iii. Cont. iii. § 1). Maximus, the commentator on this book, A.D. 660, here explains that "the mystical supper of the Lord is said to be ἀρχισύμβολον, in relation to the divine mysteries now celebrated" (*Scholium in loc.*). The "Lord's Supper" was, therefore, in the conception of the early ages of the church, in the first instance and emphatically, that supper of which our Lord partook Himself with His disciples the night before His death, and of which the first reception of the holy eucharist was conceived a part.

II. For some length of time the eucharist was celebrated in connexion with a meal taken by the faithful in common, in resemblance of the Last Supper [AGAPE]. It is probable that at first the whole rite, agape and communion, was called the supper, or the Lord's Supper, partly to veil the sacrament from unbelievers, and partly owing to the language of St. Paul in 1 Cor. xi. 20 being so understood. To illustrate this, we may mention that the word agape itself in one passage appears to cover both the meal and the sacrament. "It is not lawful either to baptize or to make an agape apart from the bishop." This is found in the epistle of St. Ignatius to the church at Smyrna (c. 8), one of those mentioned by Eusebius, and the passage itself is cited by Antiochus Monachus, A.D. 614 (*Hom.* 124; Migne, No. 89, col. 1822). Now when the compiler of the twelve epistles of Ignatius came to this passage, he expanded the words οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν thus: "Nor to offer, or bring a sacrifice, or celebrate a feast" (δοχήν). See Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, 109. Tertullian in 198 describes the agape under the name of a supper: "our Supper shews its nature by its name. It is called that which love is among the Greeks" (*Apol.* 39). At a later period, when the agape was celebrated with the eucharist on one day of the year only, viz., Maundy Thursday, in commemoration of the institution of the sacrament on that day, it was still called the Lord's Supper. *E.g.* the council of Carthage, A.D. 397, decrees that the "sacraments of the altar be celebrated only by men fasting excepting on that one day in every year on which the Lord's Supper is celebrated" (can. 29). Three years later St. Augustine, speaking of the custom of bathing at the end of Lent, says that "for this purpose that day was rather chosen in which the Lord's Supper is yearly celebrated" (*Epist.* 54, vii. § 10). Again, "We compel no one to break their fast (prandere) before that Lord's Supper, but neither do we dare to forbid any one" (*ibid.* § 9). In 691 the council of Constantinople (can. i. 29) cites the canon of Carthage, as given above, and abolishes the permission which it left.

III. The eucharist was the chief part of the Lord's Supper, whether that name was applied to the occasion of its institution or to the united observance of the first period after Christ. Hence it was almost inevitable that when the unessential part of that observance was dropped, the name should adhere to the sacrament. Some of the Fathers, indeed, thought, as we shall see, that St. Paul applied it directly to the eucharist in 1 Cor. xi. 20; so that the designation had a double origin. It is necessary to bring many testimonies to the extent of this usage, because it has been rashly denied, in a polemical spirit (by Maldonatus, Suarez, and others), that the sacrament was called the "Lord's Supper," or a "supper," however qualified, in the early church. Our earliest witness is Tertullian, who paraphrasing the words of St. Paul in 1 Cor. x. 21, says, "We cannot eat the supper of God and the supper of devils" (*de Spect.* 13). When Hippolytus, as above, calls the institution "the *first* table of the mystical supper," he

implies that any subsequent celebration may be so called. Dionysius of Alexandria, A.D. 254, says that Christ "gives Himself to us in the mystical supper" (*Tract. c. Samos.* R. ad Qu. 7). St. Basil, A.D. 370: "We are instructed neither to eat and drink an ordinary supper in a church, nor to dishonour the Lord's Supper (by celebrating it) in a house" (*Regulae brevius tract.* 310). St. Augustine, A.D. 396, expressly says that St. Paul "calls that reception itself of the eucharist the Lord's Supper" (*Ep.* 54, v. § 7). Again, "He gave the supper to His disciples consecrated by His own hands; but we have not reclined at that feast, and yet we daily eat the same supper by faith" (*Serm.* 112, iv.) In the regions of the East most do not partake of the Lord's Supper every day" (*In Serm. Dom.* ii. 7, § 25). Judas "drew near to the Lord's Supper equally" (with the other apostles) (*Tract.* 50 in St. Joan. Ev. § 10). "He permitted him to partake of the holy supper with the innocent" (*Epist.* 93, iv. § 15; Sim. *Psalm, c. Part. Don.* div. 16; *c. Litt. Petil.* ii. 23, § 53; 106, § 243; *Enarr.* ii. in Ps. xxi. (xxii.) § 27). St. Chrysostom, A.D. 398, he says again, "As oft as ye eat it, ye do shew the Lord's death; and this is that supper" (of which St. Paul speaks) (*Hom.* xxvii. in *Ep.* i. ad Cor. § 5). "As to draw near at random is perilous, so not to partake of those holy mystical suppers is famine and death" (ibid. § 8). "Believe that even now this is that supper at which He Himself reclined" (*Hom.* 50 in St. Matt. xiv. 34–36). Pelagius, A.D. 405: "The Lord's Supper ought to be common to all, because He delivered the sacrament equally to all His disciples who were present" (*Comment.* in Ep. i. ad Cor. (xi. 20); inter Opp. Hieron. v. ii. 997). Cyril of Alexandria, A.D. 412: "Let us run together to the mystical supper" (*Hom.* x. tom. v. ii. 371, and commonly). Theodoret, 423: "He (St. Paul) calls the Master's mystery the Lord's Supper" (*Comment.* in Ep. i. ad Cor. xi. 20). St. Nilus, 440: "Keep thyself from all corruption, and be every day partaker of the mystical Supper; for thus the body of Christ begins to be ours" (*Paraenetica* n. 120). Anastasius Sinaita, 561: "On the 5th day (of Holy Week) He gave the mystic supper which absolves all sin" (*in Hexaemeron* v.). Gregory of Tours, 573: "The day on which the Lord delivered the mystic Supper to the disciples" (*de Glor. Mart.* 24). Hesychius, 601: "The thanksgiving, that is, the oblation which holds the chief place in the Lord's Supper" (*in Levit.* p. 146 c.). The sacrament is frequently called by this author the mystical or the divine "Supper" (*ibid.*). Since the time of Justinian the Second, A.D. 686 (Leo. Allat. *de Domin. Graec.* xxi.), the choir have sung on Maundy Thursday in the Liturgy of St. Basil, "Make me this day, O Son of God, a partaker of Thy mystic Supper" (Goar, *Euchol.* 170). The foregoing testimonies appear to give an ample sanction to the usage of the Church of England, and to the statement of the Catechism of Trent, that "the most ancient Fathers, following the authority of the apostle, sometimes called the sacred eucharist also by the name of supper" (P. ii. *de Euch.* v.).

IV. In the 6th century we first find the name 'Coena Domini' given to Maundy Thursday, but generally then with some addition or explanation. The earliest example known to the writer occurs in a document of the year 519, "Quinta feria, hoc est, Coena Domini" (*Exempl. Sugg. 2ae Germani*, inter *Epp.* Hormisdae, Labbe, *Conc.* iv. 1488). Gregory of Tours, A.D. 573, uses the phrase "Day of the Lord's Supper" (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 21), and calls its rites "Dominicae Coenae Festa" (*ibid.* viii. 43). The first council of Mâcon, 581, "Coena Domini usque ad primum Pascha" (Can. 14). Isidore of Seville, 610, calls it Coena Domini in the heading of a chapter, but explains, as if the usage were not familiar, "*This* 'Supper of the Lord' is the fifth day of the last week of Lent" (*de Eccl. Off.* i. 28). The Besançon sacramentary, written later in the 7th century, gives an "Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians to be read on Coena Domini" (*Mus. Ital.* i. 315). The Gallican Lectionary also gives "Lessons for Coena Domini at Matins" (*Liturg. Gallic.* 128). In the first Ordo Romanus, probably about A.D. 730, the day is called both Feria quinta Coenae Domini, and Coena Domini (*Mus. Ital.* ii. 19, 30–33). A law of Carloman, in 742, says, "On Coena Domini let him (the presbyter) always seek fresh chrism from the bishop" (c. iii. in *Capit. Reg. Franc.* 147. So a law of Charlemagne in 769, col. 192). In 744 a chapter of Pepin ordered "every presbyter always on Coena Domini to give to the bishop a statement of the method and order of his ministry" (c. 4; *u. s.* i. 158). In the capitularies of the French kings is an order that "the presbyter on Coena Domini take with him two ampullae, one for the chrism, another for the oil to anoint catechumens and the sick" (L. i. c. 156). See other instances (coll. 824, 865, 953, &c.). It is evident that this singular designation of a day had quite established itself by the end of the 8th century. See MAUNDY THURSDAY. [W. E. S.]

**LORD'S TABLE.** I. For more than three hundred years after the institution of the sacrament the altar is but once called a table in the genuine remains of Christian writers. The exception occurs in an epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria (A.D. 254) to Xystus of Rome. He speaks of a communicant as "standing at the Table" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 9). The next instance is a full century later, viz. in the commentary of Hilary the deacon, 354: "When he partakes of the table of devils, he outrages the Lord's Table, *i.e.* the altar" (*Comm.* in 1 Cor. x. 21). The explanation in the last words implies that the phrase was not common in that sense. The same remark applies to a passage in the *Disput. c. Arianos* ascribed to Athanasius, but certainly later. The table in Prov. ix. 2 is there understood of "the Table" prepared by Christ, "That is, the holy altar" (c. 17; *App. Opp. Athan.* iii. 164). The usage was never general in the West, and the examples found in the Greek writers of the 4th and 5th centuries, considering how much they have left, are not really numerous. The following are from every great division of the church:—St. Basil, A.D. 370, says that the orthodox in the district of Gangra "overthrew the altars" of the heretic Basilides and "set up their own Tables" (*Epist* 226). Paulinus in Italy, 393: "There is everywhere one cup and one food of the Lord, and one Table and house of God" (*Poema* 17). Pru-

dentius in Spain, A.D. 405, "calls the altar dedicated to God" poetically, illa sacramenti donatrix Mensa (*de Coron.* Hymn. 9). St. Augustine in Roman Africa, writing probably in 416: "The sacrament is prepared on the Lord's Table (in Dominica Mensa), and is taken from (de) the Lord's Table" (*Tract.* 26 in Joan. Ev. § 15). Cyril of Alexandria not many years later speaks of the "holy Table" (*adv. Nestor.* 4; vii. 116). Socrates, 439, relates of Alexander the bishop of Alexandria that in the distress caused by the apparent triumph of Arius, he "entered the altar-place and prostrated himself on his face beneath the sacred Table" (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 37). At a later period the name of Mensa was, in the Latin church, generally given to the slab alone, while the whole structure was called an altar. In the east on the other hand, the latter name became unfrequent; the phrases "holy Table" (ἁγία τράπεζα) or "sacred Table" (ἱερὰ τρ.) being used instead. It will be sufficient to refer here to the rubrics of some ancient liturgies. That of St. James has, "When the priest sets the cup on the holy Table" (Trollope, 111). St. Basil, "The holy mysteries being removed from the sacred Table" (Goar, 175); "the setting down of the divine gifts upon the holy Table" (164). St. Chrysostom similarly has both "sacred" (82) and "holy (72, 73, 74, &c.) Table." The Armenian, "holy table" only (Neale's *Introd.* 562, 594, &c.). The rubrics of SS. Basil and Chrysostom do not employ the word "altar"; but it occurs in those of the earlier St. James (p. 36), St. Mark (Renaud. *Liturg. Orient.* i. 141) and St. Clement (*Constit. Apost.* viii. 12), the two latter using no other. We find it also in the Armenian rubrics (394, 432), in those of the Coptic St. Basil (Renaud. i. 4, 5, &c.); the Greek Alexandrian of St. Gregory (*ibid.* 91), the Ethiopian (500), the Syrian *Ordo Communis* (with "table of life") (*ibid.* ii. 42), and the Nestorian (*ibid.* 566, &c.). "Table" does not occur in the Nestorian rubrics. We cannot ascribe them to the age of Nestorius, but the fact witnesses to the early usage of the churches which became infested with his heresy. They adhered to the tradition of Ignatius and the sub-apostolic period, while the Syro-Jacobites, who separated from the church later, reflect the language of a later age.

II. We have cited a poem of Paulinus, in which he calls the altar "the table of God." That such language was not usual in Italy in his time appears certain from the fact that the same author in a prose composition gives the name of the "Lord's Table" to a table, as it is thought, in the Gazophylacium on which were set the gifts brought for the use of the poor. "Let us not suffer the Lord's Table to be left void for ourselves and empty for the poor" (*Serm.* 34, § 1); "Thou wilt know how much more profitable it is to put money out to increase on the Lord's Table" (§ 2). Our inference will hold, if Paulinus by the "Lord's Table" means a chest in the treasury, or even if it be a figure for the alms themselves.

III. The phrase "Lord's Table," "mystical Table," &c., are frequently used by ancient writers to denote not the structure (the use of which is, however, implied in them), but the Holy Communion itself. This usage may have arisen from the language of St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 21); it would certainly be fostered by it. For while some, as Hilary the deacon (*Comm. in loco*, "Mensae Domini, *i.e.* altari"), understood "the Lord's Table" of the altar, others, as Theodoret (*in loc.*), supposed the sacramental feast to be intended. Thus the latter paraphrases, "How is it possible for us to have communion with the Lord through His precious body and blood, and with the devils too, through the food that has been offered to idols?" This use of those terms is, however, common without any reference to 1 Cor. x. 21. Thus Gregory Nazianzen, A.D. 374: "Reverence the mystic table to which thou hast come; the bread thou hast received, the cup of which thou hast partaken" (*Orat.* 40, *de Baptismo*, i. 660). St. Ambrose, 374: "The mystical table is prepared for by fasting . . . That table is attained at the cost of hunger, and that cup . . . is sought by a thirst for the heavenly sacraments" (*de Elia*, x. § 33). St. Augustine, 396: "Thou hast sat down at a great table (*Prov.* xxiii. 1) . . . What is that great table, but that from which we receive the body and blood of Christ?" (*Serm.* 31, § 2; Sim. *S.* 304, § 1; 329, § 1; 332, § 2; *Tract.* 47, in St. Joan. Ev. § 3.) On the words "the poor shall eat and be satisfied" (*Ps.* xxii. 30), "for they have been brought to the table of Christ, and received of His body and blood" (*de Gratia, N. T.* 27, § 66). Again, after speaking of a "life-giving feast" which Christ gave to His church, "satiating us with His body, inebriating us with His blood," he says, "the church exults, fed and quickened by this table, against them that trouble her" (*Serm.* 367, § 6). St. Chrysostom, 398: "With a pure conscience touch the sacred table, and partake of the holy sacrifice" (*Hom.* vi. *in Poenit.* ii. 326). "On the festivals they come anyhow to this table" (*Hom.* vi. *de Philog.* i. 499). St. Hilary, 430: "There is a table of the Lord from which (ex qua) we take food, to wit, of the Living Bread . . . There is also the table of the Lord's lessons, at which we are fed with the meat of spiritual teaching" (*Tract.* in Ps. 127, § 10). Anastasius Sinaita, 561: "Many never trouble themselves about the self-cleansing and repentance with which they come to the sacred table; but with what garments they are adorned" (*de Sacra Synaxi*; Migne, 120. 89, col. 830). As the lay communicants did not "sit at," "touch," or even "come to" the material table or altar (see Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 361, 702, ed. 2), the foregoing passages cannot be understood of that. There are many, however, which must be understood of it, though from the inappropriate epithets employed, they appear at first sight to speak of the sacrament, *e.g.*, "I am not worthy to look towards this thy sacred and *spiritual* Table." This occurs in a prayer or preparation said before the priest places himself at the altar in the liturgy of St. James (Trollope, p. 27). [W. E. S.]

**LOT.** [SORTILEGE.]

**LOUTIERN** is invoked in the Breton liturgy given by Haddan and Stubbs (ii. 82). [C. H.]

**LOVE-FEAST.** [AGAPAE.]

**LUBENTIUS**, presbyter and confessor of Treves, commemorated Oct. 13 (Usuard. *Auct.* Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. vi. 202). [C. H.]

LUBERCUS, martyr of Caesarea in Spain, commemorated April 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Lubertus occurs for this day in the *Auctaria* of Bede. [C. H.]

LUCANIA, martyr in Africa, commemorated Dec. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCANUS (1), African martyr, commemorated April 28 (Bede, *Mart. Auct.*).

(2) Bishop of Sabiona, commemorated at Belunum July 20 (*Acta SS.* Jul. v. 70). [C. H.]

LUCAS (1) (ST. LUKE), evangelist, commemorated generally on Oct. 18. At Jerusalem, March 15 was set apart to him and to St. James the Apostle; at Aquileia, Sept. 3 was observed for the "ingressio reliquiarum" of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. John; in the city "Piralice," St. Luke's natalis was kept on Sept. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*). In the *Auctaria* of Bede, and in the Ethiopic Calendar, October 19 is assigned to St. Luke. The relics of St. Luke, with those of St. Andrew and St. Timothy, are said to have been transferred by order of the emperor Constantius to Constantinople, and there deposited in the church of the Apostles [ANDREW, p. 82]. (Hieron. *cont. Vigilantium: Patrol. Lat.* xxiii. 345; Basil. *Menol.* Oct. 18). St. Luke's translation was observed "in Oriente" on Oct. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*), and his natale on the same day (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*). His commemoration generally is given under Oct. 18 in Basil, *Menol.* and *Cal. Byzant.* See also Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 310.

The sacramentary of Gregory (p. 136) has a collect for St. Luke's *natalis*, which is assigned to Oct. 18; it prays the Lord for St. Luke's intercession; but the festival is omitted in some MSS. Krazer (*de Liturgiis*, 497) states the general belief that St. Mark and St. Luke are not mentioned in the Roman canon in the prayer *Communicantes* because of the uncertainty as to the fact of their martyrdom. Ciampini (*de Sacr. Aedif.*) does not mention any churches dedicated to St. Luke, but he cites various authors explaining why the vitulus of the Apocalypse was assigned as the symbol of this evangelist (*Vet. Mon.* i. 192). [EVANGELISTS IN ART, I. 633.] [C. H.]

(2) Deacon at Emesa, martyr with bishop Silvanus and the reader Mocius: commemorated Feb. 6 (Basil, *Menolog.*); Jan. 29 (*Byzant.*).

(3) Called "our father Lucas," of Sterion in Greece, commemorated with "our father Parthenius," bishop of Lampsacus, on Feb. 7 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(4) Bishop, martyr of Caesarea in Cappadocia, commemorated March 2 (Bede, *Mart. Auct.*).

(5) Bishop and martyr at Nicomedia, commemorated March 15 (Bede, *Mart. Auct.*).

(6) Martyr in Africa, commemorated March 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Deacon and martyr at Cordula, commemorated April 22 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bede, *Mart.*). The name in Bede is Lucus.

(8) Martyr at Milan, commemorated Nov. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(9) Stylite, commemorated Dec. 11 (Taksas, 15), (*Cal. Aethiop.*). [C. H.]

LUCEIA. [LUCIA.]

LUCELLA (1) Martyr at Nicomedia, commemorated Feb. 16, Mar. 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr in Africa, commemorated May 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr at Rome, commemorated May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr, commemorated Aug. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*) [C. H.]

LUCELLUS, martyr in Africa, commemorated March 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCERNAE. [LIGHTS.]

LUCERNARIA, virgin, commemorated July 30 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCERUS, martyr, Jan. 18 (Aengus), appears as Luricus in the *Martt. Hieronn.* Perhaps the name should be Glycerus. [E. B. B.]

LUCETELLA, martyr, commemorated Mar. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCIA (1) Virgin, commemorated Feb. 19 (*Cal. Aethiop.*).

(2) Virgin, martyr at Thessalonica, commemorated June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* June, i. 48).

(3) Virgin, martyr at Rome, commemorated June 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*), and on June 25 (*Vet. Mart. Rom.*).

(4) Virgin, martyr in Campania, commemorated July 6 (Basil, *Menol.*).

(5) Noble matron at Rome, martyr, commemorated with SS. Geminianus and Euphemia on Sept. 16 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 286). In Gregory's Sacramentary Sept. 16 is assigned as a festival to Lucia and Geminianus, neither of whom are named in the collect, though Euphemia, who is also separately commemorated on that day, is (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sac.* 130). The "natalis" (no day being named) of Euphemia, Lucia, and Geminianus, occurs in the Antiphonarium, but their names are not in the collect (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Antiph.* 710). Basil's Menology assigns Sept. 17 to Lucia, widow, and Geminianus jointly.

(6) [ST. LUCY of Anglican Calendar] Virgin, martyr at Syracuse under Diocletian, commemorated on Dec. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Cal. Byzant.*). She is one of those mentioned in the canon (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sac.* 4, 290 n.) occurring in connexion with Agatha and Agnes. There is a special service for her day and vigil (day of the month not mentioned) in the *Liber Responsalis* (842). In the *Liber Antiphonarius* (654) the festival of "St. Lucia, virgin," occurs between the second and third Sundays in Advent, but the collect does not contain her name.

(7) Virgin, martyr, commemorated at Antioch Dec. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCIANA (1) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Feb. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr at Constantinople, commemorated May 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr in Lucania, commemorated Oct. 29 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCIANUS (1) Bishop and confessor at

Leontium in Sicily, commemorated Jan. 3 (*Acta SS.* Jan. i. 136).

**LUCIANUS (2)** Martyr in Africa, commemorated Jan. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*).

(3) Presbyter of the church of Antioch, martyr at Nicomedia, commemorated Jan. 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*; Usuard, *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 357). The *Menology of Basil* and Daniel (*Cod. Lit.* iv. 271) place him under Oct. 15.

(4) Martyr at Beauvais, called both presbyter and bishop (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*; *Acta SS.* Jan i. 459).

(5) Martyr with Paula and others; commemorated Jan. 19 (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 220).

(6) Martyr at Ravenna, commemorated Feb. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Martyr at Nicomedia, commemorated Feb. 22, and another at the same place, Feb. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Feb. 24 (Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*; *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 460).

(8) Martyr in Campania, commemorated Mar. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(9) Martyr at Caesarea in Spain; commemorated April 15; also a bishop and confessor of the same place, on the same day (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(10) Martyr in Pontus, commemorated April 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Bede's *Auctaria* mentions him on the same day, at a place unknown.

(11) Martyr in Africa, commemorated April 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(12) Martyr at Tomi, commemorated May 27. (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*)

(13) Martyr in Sardinia, commemorated May 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(14) Martyr at Rome, commemorated June 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(15) Martyr at Caesarea in Cappadocia, commemorated June 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Acta SS.* June, ii. 8).

(16) Martyr in Africa, commemorated June 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Acta SS.* June ii. 678).

(17) Martyr with Peregrinus at Dyrrachium; commemorated July 7 (Basil, *Menol.*).

(18) Martyr at Antioch, commemorated July 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(19) Martyr in Africa, commemorated July 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(20) Martyr at Ancyra in Galatia, commemorated Aug. 31 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(21) Martyr in Cappadocia, commemorated Oct. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(22) Martyr at Florence, commemorated Oct. 25 (Bede, *Mart. Auct.*).

(23) Martyr at Nicomedia, commemorated Oct. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(24) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Oct. 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(25) Martyr at Caesarea, commemorated Nov. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*).

(26) Martyr, commemorated Nov. 25, but no place mentioned (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(27) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Dec. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**LUCIANUS (28)** Martyr at Tripoli, commemorated Dec. 24 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUCIDEUS**, Martyr in Africa, commemorated Jan. 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUCIFERUS**, bishop in Sardinia, commemorated May 20 (*Acta SS.* May, v. 197,* vii. 819). [C. H.]

**LUCILLA (1)** Martyr in Africa, commemorated Mar. 19 (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(2) Martyr at Nicaea, with 400 others, commemorated Mar. 25 (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(3) Daughter of deacon Nemesius, martyr at Rome, commemorated Aug. 27 (Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*), but Oct. 31 according to Usuard. [C. H.]

**LUCILLIANUS**, aged martyr at Byzantium, commemorated June 3 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil, *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 260; *Acta SS.* June, i. 274). [C. H.]

**LUCINA**, Roman matron, "discipula apostolorum," martyr at Rome; commemorated June 30 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Acta SS.* June, v. 533). [C. H.]

**LUCINA.** In the *Diurnum Romanum*, i. 7, c. 17, we find: "Sed dispensator qui pro tempore fuerit in eadem venerabili diaconia (*i.e.* quando *lucina* perficitur in eadem Diaconia pro remissione peccatorum nostrorum), omnes diaconitea et pauperes Christi, qui ibidem conveniunt Kyrie eleison exclamare studeant." Ducange supposes lucina here either to be synonymous with LUCERNA, the lamplighting, or to be a mistake for Litania. But in another instance that he quotes, "quantum vix in undecim lucinis laborare poterant," where he supposes it to mean simply 'days,' it would be more natural to take it for some special occasion of busy labour. Whether a great baptism day, or a great almsgiving day, or what else might be meant by it, and whether the name be taken from the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, or the church named from the office, must be matters of pure conjecture. [E. B. B.]

**LUCINUS (1)** Martyr "in Afrodiris," commemorated April 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Two martyrs of this name at Rome were commemorated on May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr at Rome, commemorated July 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUCIOLA**, two martyrs of this name, one in Africa, the other it is not said where, were commemorated March 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUCIOSA (1)** Martyr, it is not said where, commemorated Feb. 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr at Thessalonica, commemorated Feb. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr, it is not said where, commemorated Mar. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr at Rome, commemorated June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUCIOSUS**, martyr at Constantinople, commemorated May 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bede, *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**LUCIUS (1)** Confessor at Alexandria, commemorated Jan. 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**LUCIUS (2)** Two martyrs of this name were commemorated Jan. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr at Tarragona, commemorated Jan. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr at Apollonia, commemorated Jan. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*). An African martyr of this name was commemorated the same day (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 769).

(5) Martyr in the city of Augusta (London) in Britain, commemorated Feb. 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Martyr, commemorated Feb. 8, but it is not said where (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Bishop, martyr at Hadrianople, commemorated Feb. 11 (*Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 519).

(8) Martyr at Interamna, commemorated Feb. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(9) Martyr, commemorated March 2, but it is not said where (*Hieron. Mart.*). A bishop and martyr of this name at Caesarea in Cappadocia was commemorated on the same day (*Acta SS.* Mar. i. 130).

(10) Pope and martyr, commemorated on Mar. 4 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bede, *Mart. Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Mar. i. 301). Two martyrs of this name at Rome, but without any designations, are mentioned in the *Mart.* of Jerome under this day. Florus (ap. Bede *Mart.*) gives the bishop and martyr of Rome under Aug. 25.

(11) Martyr in Nicomedia, commemorated March 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(12) Bishop and martyr in Cappadocia, commemorated March 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). The *Acta SS.* (Mar. ii. 391) say that Cappadocia should be Nicomedia.

(13) Martyr at Alexandria, commemorated March 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(14) Of Cyrene, commemorated May 6 (*Acta SS.* May, ii. 99); the Menology of Basil makes him martyred at Cyprus, Aug. 21.

(15) Martyr of Alexandria, commemorated May 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(16) Martyr in Africa, commemorated May 23 (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). *Hieron. Mart.* names him Lucus.

(17) Martyr in Sardinia, commemorated May 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(18) Martyr at Nevedunum (Nyon), commemorated June 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*). The *Acta SS.* (June, ii. 632) mention Lucius and Amantius, martyrs of Parma, under this day, but leave the period uncertain.

(19) Martyr in the city of Dorosterum, commemorated June 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(20) Senator, martyr in Cyprus, commemorated Aug. 20 (*Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 28).

(21) Bishop and martyr in Africa, commemorated Sept. 10 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(22) Martyr with Chaeremon and others at Alexandria, or perhaps elsewhere in Egypt, commemorated Oct. 4 (*Acta SS.* Oct. iv. 329).

(23) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Oct. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 344).

(24) Martyr with Tertius at Antioch, buried at Alexandria, commemorated Oct. 19 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(25) Martyr at Nicomedia, commemorated Oct. 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

**LUCIUS (26)** One of four "soldiers of Christ," martyred at Rome under Claudius, commemorated Oct. 25 (Bed. *Mart.*).

(27) Martyr at Rome, commemorated Oct. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(28) Martyr, but it is not said where, commemorated Oct. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(29) Martyr in Lucania, commemorated Oct. 29 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(30) Martyr at Rome, commemorated Dec. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(31) Martyr, commemorated Dec. 14 (Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 277).

(32) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Dec. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**LUCOSA**, martyr at Antioch, commemorated on Mar. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUCRATIVE TAX** (*Descriptio Lucrativorum*, and also *unciae* and *denarismus*). A payment made to the *Curiales* of a city by the inheritors of an estate bequeathed to any one not a member of the *Curia*. Property left to the church was exempted from this payment by a law of Justinian. [IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE CLERGY, sect. ii. § 8; I. 826.] [S. J. E.]

**LUCRE.** [COVETOUSNESS.]

**LUCRETIA**, virgin and martyr at Emerita (Merida), commemorated Nov. 23 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUCRITUS**, martyr in Africa, commemorated on Jan. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUCROSA**, martyr at Augustodunum (Autun), commemorated on Sept. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUCUS (1)** Martyr in Greece, commemorated Jan. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Jan. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr with Musas, both deacons at Cordula, commemorated April 22 (Bed. *Mart.*).

(4) Martyr in Africa, commemorated April 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr at Constantinople, commemorated May 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Martyr at Alexandria, commemorated May 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Martyr in Africa, commemorated May 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(8) Martyr at Rome, commemorated June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(9) Martyr at Rome, commemorated June 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(10) Martyr at Alexandria, commemorated Aug. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(11) Martyr at Alexandria, commemorated Aug. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(12) Martyr in Mauritania, commemorated Oct. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUCUSA**, martyr at Rome, commemorated May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUDDULUS**, martyr, it is not said where, commemorated Oct. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUDI SACERDOTALES.** A law of the Emperor Theodosius the younger (*Cod. Theod.*

lib. vii. tit. 13; *de Tironibus Leg.* 22) releases certain persons in the proconsular province of Africa from payment of the tax known as *aurum tironicum*, a sum of money levied in lieu of the contingent of recruits to the legions which every province was liable to render. And these persons are denominated *sacerdotales*. The question arises, what class of persons are denoted by this term? There are two theories; the one that the persons intended were heathen priests, who were obliged by their office to exhibit *ludos* to the people at great expense; whence the reason for their exemption (Gothofred, *Comment. in Cod. Theod. in loc.*) The exhibition of *ludi* was no doubt a very expensive charge. But there appears to have been no kind of these games which the priests were bound to exhibit at their own expense (see DICT. OF GR. AND ROM. ANTIQ. *s. v.* Ludi), whilst those few in which they and not the aediles took the chief place, for the most part belong, as *e.g.* the Liberalia, to the class of *feriae stativae*, and entailed little trouble or expense in their celebration. Apart therefore from the difficulty of supposing a Christian emperor to be founding a special exemption for the benefit of the heathen priesthood, which the Christian clergy were not to share, the reasons adduced appear not to be conclusive. Tertullian (*Apol.* c. ix.) mentions incidentally the absolute prohibition by law of the sacrifices to Saturn throughout this very province of Africa, in the reign of Tiberius.

The other theory, maintained by Petit (*Variar. Lect.*), regards the Christian bishops as being the persons thus exempted. It is hardly probable that bishops should be classed with the heathen priests under the common title sacerdotales, a course which both parties would have resented as an insult. And it is not clear what in the case of bishops could have been the "majoribus expensis," which are alleged as the reason for this exemption. Yet this is perhaps to be preferred as the solution of an obscure question.

[S. J. E.]

**LUGIDUS** (LUANUS), abbat of Cluainfert in Ireland, commemorated Aug. 4 (*Acta SS.* Aug. i. 339).

**LUGLIUS** and **LUGLIANUS**, brothers, martyred at Lillerium in Artois and Mondiderium in Picardy, sec. vii., commemorated Oct. 23 (*Acta SS.* Oct. x. 117). [C. H.]

**LUGO, COUNCIL OF** (*Lucense Concilium*), held at Lugo, in Gallicia, by order of king Theodomir, A.D. 569, to lay down the bounds of the different sees in his dominions, with a view of curtailing any that were too large, which was accordingly done; Lugo thus itself becoming a metropolitan see. We find from the sees enumerated that his dominions extended into Portugal. The last named is called that of the Britons, and had thirteen churches belonging to them, and one monastery, given to it. A second council is supposed, by Mansi and others, to have taken place A.D. 572; the only real foundation for it being, that Martin, bishop of Braga, transmitted the collection of canons approved at Braga that year in a letter to the metropolitan of Lugo, with this address: "Nitigesio episcopo, vel universo concilio Lucensis ecclesiae:" which need not imply that any council was then sitting, or about to sit. (Mansi, ix. 815, et seq., with the later divisions appended there, and 845.)

[E. S. F.]

**LUGUSTA**, martyr in Africa, commemorated May 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUKE, ST., THE EVANGELIST** (IN ART). [See EVANGELISTS, I. 633.] Martigny refers to Borgia (*De Cruce Veliterna*, p. 133) for an engraving of a brazen cross, probably of the 8th or 9th century, which bears on its extremities busts of the four evangelists in person, instead of the symbolic creatures. Here St. Luke, like the others, bears a closed book in one hand and points to it with the other. It has been supposed that the evangelists are also personally represented on sarcophagi, as in that of Probus and Proba (Bottari, tav. xvi.; and at pl. cxxxi. in particular). In this last example, three figures hold the volume or roll, and stand in all probability for St. Matthew, St. John, and St. Mark. But the roll or book is frequently placed in the hands of all or any of the apostles. However, in a sepulchral urn, No. 36, in the Museum of Art, the apostles are represented with books rolled up, and the remaining four with them unfolded: the names are written on the rolls; St. Luke's as LVCANVS. The non-apostolic evangelists are, however, seldom added to the number of the twelve.

M. Perret (in *Catacombes de Rome*, vol. ii. pl. lxvi.) publishes a greatly damaged fresco from an arcosolium in the cemetery of Saint "Zoticus," wherever that may be. However, the fresco represents four standing figures, each of whom has at his feet a "scrinium" full of rolls. The two letters MA are legible near one of them, which may be St. Matthew or St. Mark. St. Luke must be one of the others. He is also represented among the four evangelists in the mosaics of the baptisteries of Ravenna (Ciampini, *Vet. Monumenta*, tab. lxxii. A.D. 451). Four figures holding books cannot well be other than the writers of the Gospels, though Ciampini expresses some doubt as to the subject of the painting.

The earliest representation of St. Luke as a painter is in the Menologium of Basil II., A.D. 980. See D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. xxxi., where the Virgin is sitting to him in a pleasant garden scene (perhaps on a house top), which reminds us of some of Fra Angelico's works. [R. St. J. T.]

**LUKE, ST.** [LUCAS (1).]

**LULLUS**, archbishop of Mainz, commemorated Oct. 16 (*Acta SS.*, Oct. vii. pt. 2, p. 1083). [C. H.]

**LUMINARE.** [CATACOMBS, I. 311.]

**LUMINOSA**, virgin, at Papia or Pavia, in Italy, commemorated May 9 (*Acta SS.* May. ii. 460). [C. H.]

**LUMINUM DIES.** [EPIPHANY.]

**LUPATUS**, martyr at Rome, commemorated Sept. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUPENTIUS**, abbat of Catalaunum (Châlons-sur-Marne), commemorated Oct. 22 (*Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 609). [C. H.]

**LUPERCIUS** or **LUPERCULUS**, martyr at Elusa (Eause), commemorated June 28 (*Acta SS.* June, v. 351). [C. H.]

**LUPERCUS**, one of the eighteen martyrs of Saragossa, commemorated April 16. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

**LUPIANUS**, confessor, commemorated July 1 (*Acta SS.* July, i. 32). [C. H.]

**LUPICINUS (1)** Bishop of Lyon, commemorated Feb. 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 360).

(2) Martyr, it is not said where, commemorated March 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Abbat, martyr, in the territory of Lyon, commemorated March 21 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 262).

(4) Martyr, at Rome, commemorated April 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr in Lydia, commemorated April 27.

(6) Hermit and confessor in Gaul, commemorated June 24 (Greg. Tur. *Vit. Pat.* cap. 13, *Patrol. Lat.* lxxi. 1064; *Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 817).

(7) Bishop, martyr at Vienne (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*) [C. H.]

**LUPRANPODUS**, martyr in Cappadocia, commemorated Oct. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**LUPUS (1)** Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne commemorated Jan. 27 (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 776).

(2) Martyr at Militana in Armenia, commemorated May 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*)

(3) Bishop of Limousin, commemorated May 22 (*Acta SS.* May, v. 171).

(4) Martyr at Rome, commemorated May 31 (*Hieron. Mart.*)

(5) Martyr at Thessalonica, commemorated June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Bishop of Troyes and confessor, his depositio commemorated at Troyes July 29 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Acta SS.* July, vii. 51).

(7) Bishop and confessor at Sens, commemorated Sept. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 248).

(8) Bishop and confessor, his depositio commemorated at Lyon Sept. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Usuard calls him bishop and anchoret, and places him under Sept. 25; as also *Acta SS.* Sept. vii. 81.

(9) Martyr with Aurelia at Cordova, commemorated Oct. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Oct. vi. 476).

(10) Bishop of Angers, confessor, commemorated Oct. 17 (*Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 104).

(11) Bishop of Soissons, commemorated Oct. 19 (*Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 448). [C. H.]

**LURICUS** v. **LUCERUS**.

**LUSOR**, youth at Bourges, confessor, his depositio commemorated Nov. 4. (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*) [C. H.]

**LUSTRALIS COLLATIO** (so called because it was paid at the end of every *lustrum*; also *χρυσάργυρον*, *chrysargyrum*, because the payment was made in gold and silver coins). A trading or licence tax, exacted from all who carried on any kind of trade. The inferior clergy were at first exempted from it. (See IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE CLERGY, sect. ii. par. 3.) [S. J. E.]

**LUTICIANUS**, martyr at Antioch, commemorated Dec. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*) [C. H.]

**LUTRUDIS** (LUTRUDE, LINTRUDE), virgin in Gaul, commemorated Sept. 22 (*Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 451). [C. H.]

**LUXURIUS**, martyr in Sardinia, commemorated Aug. 21; presumably the same as Luxurus, martyr in Sardinia, Sept. 26; both in *Hieron. Mart.* He is called Luxorius, and assigned to Aug. 21, in *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 414. [C. H.]

**LUXURUS** or **LUXURIUS**, martyr in Sardinia placed under Aug. 21 and Sept. 26. [C. H.]

**LUXURY** (*Luxuria*). The original signification of the word *luxuria* was that of an overflow or excess of fertility in crops or fields; thence it had the meaning of wantonness and of luxury generally: in mediaeval ecclesiastical Latin it expresses sins of uncleanness, "luxuriae concubinaticae, luxuriosos vel adulteros luxuriam explere cum consanguinea sua." (See Ducange, *s. v.*)

The church from the very first assumed an attitude of antagonism to luxury in every form. Simple and comely dress, plain food, an active, not an idle life, and a disregard of riches, were the outward marks of a Christian profession; and the circumstances of the early Christians were obviously such as to restrain any tendency to self-indulgence. So soon, however, as the church obtained any toleration in the empire and wealthy members joined her ranks, the case was altered. Even as early as the 2nd century Tertullian has frequent denunciations against intemperate "voluptates." He will not allow the public shows to be frequented by Christians. "The state of faith," he declares (*de Spectac.* c. 1), "the argument of truth and the rule of discipline bar the servants of God from the pleasures of the public shows." The outrageous immodesty of the theatre, no less than the contagion of idolatry in the whole apparatus of the shows, was held to render them inconsistent with the renouncements which were made at baptism. (For the words of renunciation, see BAPTISM, I. 160; RENUNCIATION.) What the church opposed was not festivity in itself, but the vice inseparable from the exhibition of the public plays. Cyprian, for example, writing to Donatus (c. 7), inveighs with severity against the shows; yet he dates his own treatise on the feast of the vintage (*ad Donat.* c. 1), which he implies that he was himself observing. An instance of the corruption which then prevailed in theatrical representations appears from the play which was called Maiuma, part of which consisted in the exhibition of naked women swimming in water. This disgraceful display was the subject of no less than eight imperial laws, and was not finally prohibited till the time of Arcadius (*Cod. Theod.* XV. vi. 2).

The tendency to luxury in the adornment of the person in the 2nd and 3rd centuries is apparent from the exhortations of Tertullian (*de Cultu Femin.*) and Cyprian (*de Habitu Virgin.*), in the West, and of Clement in the East (*Stromata*, ii. 10). They could not tolerate that Christian women should exhibit the same immodesty in their apparel, and should deck themselves with the same meretricious arts as were common in the depraved society of the heathen world. Cyprian treats of what is becoming in dress and behaviour in a consecrated virgin, but his treatise also exhibits the fashions which beguiled women generally in that age. He warns them (*de Habitu Virgin.* c. 7) against exposing their face and figure in public from want of modest clothing; he asks (c. 9) if it is God's wish that their ears should be scarred and traversed with costly earrings, or that a circle of black should be drawn round the eye; he cautions them against tampering with what God has formed, whether with "yellow dye or black powder or rouge;" and as the sum of the matter he gives them his fatherly advice, "be what you were fashioned by your Father's hand, remain with your countenance simple, your shoulders let alone, your figure natural, wound not your ears, circle not arm or neck with precious chain, fetter not ankles with golden bonds, stain not your hair, and keep your eyes worthy of seeing God." All such lascivious arts he regards, in common with other Christian fathers, as having been taught mankind by the apostate angels (*ibid.* c. 9). Closely allied to immodest dressing is wantonness of manners. Cyprian (*ibid.* c. 10) rebukes those of his flock who make no scruple when they attend marriage parties of abandoning themselves to revelry, "they interchange unchaste speeches, hear what is unbecoming and say what is unlawful, and are exposed to view, and countenance with their presence shameful language and convivial excess." The wedding-feasts very frequently formed an excuse for riot; and the lascivious singing and promiscuous dancing practised on these occasions were brought under canonical censure. The clergy more than once were forbidden (*Conc. Venet.* c. 11; *Conc. Agath.* c. 39) to sanction such gatherings by their presence. With respect to bathing, that luxury was not altogether prohibited, but the public baths were to be used with a regard to that honour which the doctrine of the Incarnation teaches is due to the human body. As a proof of the need that the church should regulate the use of the baths, Cyprian found it necessary to exhort even the virgins to abstain from bathing in company with men (*de Habitu Virgin.* c. 11). For a fuller account of these various developments of luxury, see BATHING, DANCING, DRESS, HAIR.

Part of the subject of over-indulgence in the pleasures of the table is treated under the heading of DRUNKENNESS. It remains to notice the efforts of the church to check luxury in food. The sumptuous meals, the pains and expense lavished in obtaining rare delicacies, the unbridled indulgence of the appetite which prevailed among the wealthy classes of the Roman empire are matters of notoriety. It was a primary duty of a society, one of whose fundamental moral precepts was the restraint of fleshly appetites, to make a stand against such flagrant abuses. Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 39) contrasts the simplicity of the Christian agapae, in which the guests eat as much as hungry men desire, with the Apaturian and Bacchanal festivals, for which a levy of cooks is ordered; and asks his opponents which is most likely to propitiate heaven in time of calamity (*ibid.* c. 40), the heathen daily fed to the full and about forthwith to dine, or the Christian dried up with fasting and pinched with every sort of abstinence. The simplicity of the agapae did not long survive, and some allowance must be made for Tertullian's rhetorical language, and his own habits of rigid self-denial; but after these deductions sufficient remains to shew that Christian meals in the 2nd century were a standing protest against luxury and excess in matter of food. Clement of Alexandria inveighs (*Paedagog.* ii. 1) against the lavishness and gluttony of heathen meals, and exhorts Christian converts to be satisfied with plain fare; he urges that meat should be eaten without sauces and boiled rather than roast, but recommends in preference such food as olives, herbs, milk, cheese, fruit, and honey. Among more specific directions of a later date the fourth council of Carthage, A.D. 398 (c. 15), requires the African bishops to maintain a frugal table. The plea that bishops should be free in entertaining magistrates and others in office that they might thus obtain readier access to them to intercede for criminals, is rejected by Jerome (*Ep. ad Nepotian.* cc. 3, 4). Judges, he says, will shew greater respect to frugal clergy than to luxurious ones. He adds, in the same epistle, that a clergyman who takes every opportunity of going to the entertainments to which he is invited soon sinks in estimation. By the *Apostolical Constitutions* (ii. 4) widows who are brought to want from gluttony or idleness are not to receive relief from the church. The directions in the Rule of Benedict, which was practical rather than ascetic in its aim, give the diet which was considered sufficient for all the purposes of an industrious life in Italy at the beginning of the 6th century. Each monk was allowed 1 lb. of bread daily, but flesh only in case of illness. At dinner two dishes of cooked *pulmentaria* were to be placed on the table, and a third dish of fruit and salad when it could be got (*Regula*, cc. 39, 40). The composition of these "pulmenta" or "pulmentaria" was various. Grain and vegetables cooked in different ways were their ordinary ingredients. Eggs, fish, cheese, and even fowls, if the flesh was minced, were admitted into them. One definition states that they were made ex mediae qualitatis materiâ; another, that they included any ordinary food except bread and meat. (See Ducange, *s. v.*) As we advance into the middle ages the ecclesiastical injunctions regarding food take the form of prohibitions of gluttony rather than of luxury. Gross feeding was one of the particular vices of the barbarian tribes which were being gradually incorporated into the church. The council of Autun, A.D. 670 (Labbe, *Concilia*, vi. 1888), forbad any priest who had overeaten himself to touch the sacrifice. In the *Penitential* of Gildas, which probably contains the earlier canonical rules of the British church, it is enacted that if a monk is sick from too much food on a day when he has received the sacrifice, he shall go without his supper and keep seven additional fasts (c. 7);

on any other day he shall keep one fast and be severely chided (c. 8). Similar injunctions are found in the early ecclesiastical documents of the Anglo-Saxon church. Theodore in his *Penitential* (I. i. 8) imposes a penance of three days on any one making himself ill by gluttony, with an additional penance (c. 9) if the offence is committed after receiving the sacred elements. In these rules he is followed by Archbishop Egbert, who moreover inflicts different sentences on different orders. Thus a 'clericus' overeating himself is to fast forty days (*Poenitent.* xi. 7), a monk or deacon sixty, a priest seventy, a bishop eighty (Bed. *Poenitent.* vi. 3, 4). Theodore (I. i. 4) made an exemption in favour of any one who had been fasting a long time, and then at Christmas or Easter, or any of the saints' days eat moderately, but did not make allowance for the weakness which succeeds a long fast, and causes sickness on eating.

The eating of unclean food frequently comes under notice in the Penitential Books of the 7th and 8th centuries. The existence of these decrees points to some remote influence of the Mosaic Law in the mediaeval church, and also indicates the lingering of barbarous habits among the converts to Christianity in the remote corners of Europe. The *Canones Hibernenses* (Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der Abendländischen Kirche*, p. 136) inflict (c. 13) four years on bread and water on any eating horseflesh; a severity which was probably called for by some local practices. For the same canons only impose (cc. 14, 15) forty days on those who eat flesh which dogs have torn or which has died from natural causes. By the *Penitential* of Theodore (I. vii. 6) it is no canonical offence if carrion is eaten from necessity. In the case (cc. 8, 9) of food which has been contaminated by a mouse or weasel having been drowned in it, if there is a small quantity it must be thrown away; but if there is much, it will be sufficient to sprinkle it with holy water. A goat or deer found dead in the forest (II. xi. 1), unless there is some appearance of its having been slain by the hand of man, must be thrown to the swine or dogs, on no account be eaten. Birds or beasts strangled in nets or slain by hawks (c. 2) must also be rejected, because the *Capitula* in the Acts of the Apostles prohibit the using of things strangled. Fish, however (c. 3), caught in a net may be eaten, because they belong to another order. The direction with regard to horse-flesh (c. 4) differs from the Irish canon. Theodore does not forbid it, but states it is not customary to eat it. Hares are allowable (c. 5), their flesh is said to be good for dysentery, more particularly the gall mixed with pepper. The *Confessionale* of Pseudo-Egbert adds that it is a remedy for face-ache. Bees (c. 9) stinging a man to death must be killed, but their honey may be kept. It is not necessary to reject either swine or fowl (c. 7) which have fed on carrion or human blood; but any which have fed on human flesh must not be eaten (c. 8) till the meat has been soaked. Bede (*Poenitential.* vii.) lays down the same injunctions in the main about unclean food. In these he is followed by Egbert, with some curious varieties of penance. Any one (Egbert, *Poenitential.* xiii. 4) knowingly eating or drinking what has been polluted by a cat or dog shall chant 100 psalms, or fast three days; if the offence is committed unknowingly, the penalty is halved. So any secular (c. 5) deliberately drinking any liquor in which a mouse or a weasel has been drowned, shall do seven days' penance in a monastery and chant 300 psalms. The penalty of eating food half raw was three days' penance, or chanting the psaltery.

Luxuria in the middle ages was used in ecclesiastical language to signify lust, more particularly such indulgence of the passions as was not included under ADULTERY, FORNICATION, or INCEST. The lascivious desire which stopped short of overt act was not generally brought under canonical censure; the rule of discipline being that the church judges actions only, and of actions those alone which create scandal. Secret thoughts, intentions, and desires were left to spiritual remedies. So the council of Neocaesarea, A.D. 314 (c. 4), merely states that any man who desires to sleep with a woman and does not accomplish it, has fallen from grace. No mention is made of penance. Even the Penitentials which pursue offenders into the minutest details, either assign no penalty to a desire, or a very slight one. The British canonical book which bears the name of the Penitential of Vinniaus (Wasserschleben, p. 108) states that if a man has meditated uncleanness but checked himself, although the sin is the same, the penitence may be light. And Theodore (I. ii. 21, 22) only bids such a man seek pardon from God; but if he has proceeded to wanton words, then he must be a penitent for seven days. Kissing a woman per desiderium was punished with twenty days (I. viii. 2). Rape was severely visited, both by civil and ecclesiastical law. One of the laws of Constantine (*Cod. Theod.* IX. xxiv. 1) condemned to the flames not only any one who committed a rape on a virgin, but even carried her off with her own consent against the will of her parents. This severity was a little modified by Constantius (*ibid.* c. 2); the crime was still a capital one, but only slaves guilty of it were to be burned. Under Jovian the scope of the law was extended (*Cod. Theod.* IX. xxv. 2), not only was it a capital offence to ravish a consecrated virgin, but even to solicit her to marry against the rule of her profession, whether she was willing or not. The offence was also brought under canonical discipline. The Apostolical Canons (c. 66) expel from the church the man who offers violence to a virgin not espoused to him, and prohibits his marrying any one but her however poor she may be. Basil assigns (*ad Amphiloc.* c. 22) four years' penance to one carrying off a virgin espoused to another man; and directs (*Ep.* 244) that not only shall the man himself suffer, but all his accomplices shall be censured, even to his family and the inhabitants of his village. The proof of the widespread existence of unnatural crime during the decay of the empire is too strong to be questioned (Clement Alex. *Paedagog.* ii. 10; Cyprian, *cont. Donat.* c. 8). And no serious efforts were made by the heathen emperors to put an end to it (see the authorities quoted by Bingham, *Antiq.* XVI. ix. 11). In the Christian imperial code, however, it was treated with extreme severity. Constantine ordered (*Cod. Theod.* IX. vii. 3) that offenders should be executed; and Theodosius (*ibid.* c. 6) that they should be burned. The decrees of the church on the subject shew that even Christians were not

altogether clean. Tertullian (*de Pudicit.* c. 4) states that offenders were kept not only from the porch of the church, but from contact with any part of the building, for such sins were not "delicta" but "monstra." The council of Elvira, A.D. 305 (c. 71), denies them communion even at death. By a canon of Ancyra, A.D. 314 (c. 16), those guilty before the age of twenty were to do penance as prostrators fifteen years, and then to be permitted to join in the prayers only for another five years before being admitted to full communion; if they are older than twenty, ten years are to be added to the penance; and if they exceed fifty years, then they are to be granted communion only at death. Basil (cc. 7, 62, 63) fixes their penance at either twenty or thirty years. The Penitentials which represent the ecclesiastical code of races which had not yet cast off the vices of barbarism, abound, as might be expected, with injunctions against unnatural lusts. In the British code the Penitential Book of Gildas (c. 1) lays down in curious detail the punishment of a presbyter or deacon who had so sinned. His penance was to extend over three years, every hour of which he was to beg pardon, and every week he was to add an extra act of penance (superpositionem) except on the fifty days after Easter: on the Lord's day he might eat bread without stint, and some dish fattened with butter, but on other days he was to take only a British *formella* of dried bread (paximatium) and vegetables and a few eggs. His allowance of drink was to be a Roman *hemina* of milk to recruit his strength, but if he had work to do, he was to be given a Roman *sextarius* of skimmed (tenuclae vel bolthutae) milk: his bed was to be made without much grass; and if at the end of a year and a half he shewed deep repentance he might receive the eucharist and sing the psalms again with the brothers. By the Penitential of Theodore (I. vii. 1) boys polluting themselves were to be flogged; and an offence against nature combined with any other *crimen capitale* was to be expiated only by seclusion in a monastery for life. For further particulars on a matter which does not admit of detail, but where the details are only too numerous, the reader is referred to these early Penitential Books (Theodor. I. ii. vii.; Bed. iii.; Egbert. iv. v.) [G. M.]

**LYCARION**, monk, martyr with Martha and Mary, commemorated Feb. 8 (Basil, *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**LYDIA (1)** Purple-seller of Thyatira, commemorated Aug. 3 (*Acta SS.* Aug. i. 199). [C. H.]

**(2)** Wife of Philetus, a senator, martyr, commemorated March 27 (Basil, *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**LYING.** It does not appear that the mere uttering of a falsehood, apart from any injury it might inflict, was brought under ecclesiastical censure. Tertullian, writing after he had joined the Montanists, and not likely therefore to err on the side of laxity, contrasts (*de Pudicit.* c. 19) the deadly sins which were visited with excommunication with those lighter offences of daily incursion of which discipline took no cognizance; and among these latter he enumerates thoughtlessly speaking evil, rash swearing, the breaking of a promise, and the telling of a lie from shame or necessity. This list does not include perjury, which was treated as a grave canonical offence. [OATHS.] Whether and under what circumstances it was held pardonable by any of the fathers to tamper with the truth, is a matter difficult to decide absolutely. Passages may be adduced which support a strict adherence to veracity at all times and at all hazards: on the other hand there are passages which seem to countenance equivocation or economy. What is beyond question is that they did not attempt to build up a system of accurate casuistry. That is the production of a later age. A collection of quotations bearing on the subject will be found in Jeremy Taylor (*Ductor Dubitantium*, III. ii. 5). One of the tenets which Augustine charges (*contra Mendac.*) the Priscillianists with upholding is, that they were at liberty to forswear themselves in order to conceal their secret doctrines.

On false witness the imperial code, following the early Roman law, affixed a heavy penalty. The false accuser was to undergo the same punishment (*Cod. Theod.* IX. xxxix. 1, 2, 3; XVI. ii. 21) which his accusation, had it been substantiated, would have brought upon the accused. This law of retaliation was to hold good (*ibid.* IX. i. 9, 14) whether the false charge attacked another's reputation or property or life. The frequent mention of the same offence in the canonical law shews that the evil was widespread in the church. The council of Elvira, A.D. 305 (c. 74), sentences a false witness to five years' abstention from communion; the kindred but, in the circumstances of the early church, far graver offence of "delatio" was visited by a lifelong exclusion (c. 73). [INFORMER.] The council of Agde, A.D. 506 (c. 37), puts false witnesses in the same category with murderers, and excommunicates them in general terms till they repent (cf. *Conc. Venet.* c. 1; IV. *Conc. Carthag.* c. 55). The legislation with regard to libel occupies a chapter of the Theodosian Code (IX. xxxiv. *de famosis libellis*). [LIBEL.] [G. M.]

**LYONS, COUNCIL OF** (*Lugdunensia Concilia*). Of the councils of Lyons, several have been misnamed and misnumbered.

**1.** Said to have been held A.D. 197, because this seems to have been the year in which St. Irenaeus addressed a letter, in the name of the brethren in France, over whom he ruled, to pope Victor, on the disputed question of keeping Easter, and because Eusebius speaks in general terms of synods and meetings of bishops having been held in connection with it (E. H. v. 23–4, comp. Mansi, i. 715 and 726).

**2.** A.D. 475, when a priest named Lucidus is said to have retracted his errors on predestination. But the only record of this is found in a work of Faustus, bishop of Riez, who was himself a semi-Pelagian.

**3** and **4.** A.D. 501 and 516, in which St. Avitus, of Vienne, is supposed to have taken part. But the first was a mere conference between the orthodox and the Arians (Mansi, viii. 241, comp. Pagi ad Baron. A.D. 501, n. 4), and to the second he refers himself but casually (*Ep.* xxviii. comp. Mansi, *ib.* 537).

**5.** A.D. 517, where Viventiolus, bishop of Lyons, with ten others, passed and subscribed to six canons. In the first of these, the twentieth

canon passed at Epaone respecting incestuous marriages, was reaffirmed with special application to Stephen, an official of king Sigismund, whose possible displeasure may have dictated the second and third. St. Avitus is also thought to have taken part in this council, but he is not named among those who subscribed to it. The title given to it of the first council of Lyons is misleading; and several canons are cited by Burchard and others as of this council, for which there would seem to be no foundation (Mansi, viii. 567–74).

6. Held A.D. 567, by command of king Guntram, and called the second council of Lyons, in which two bishops, named Salonius and Sagittarius, were condemned; eight bishops and six representatives of absent bishops subscribed to its canons, six in number; the bishop of Vienne subscribing first, and of Lyons second. Canon 2 decrees that the wills of the departed should be religiously maintained and carried out, even when they ran, or seemed to run, counter to the civil law. Canon 4 decrees that persons suspended from communion are to be restored only by him who suspended them. Canon 6 is of a piece with the second and third of Gerona. (Mansi, ix. 785–90, comp. Conc. Gerund.)

7. Held A.D. 589, under king Guntram, and called the third council of Lyons. Here the bishop of Lyons subscribed first, and of Vienne second, of eight present bishops, and twelve who subscribed through their representatives. Once more the number of canons passed was six; in most cases for giving effect to former canons. By the sixth lepers are to be sufficiently fed and clothed by the bishop of the diocese to which they belong, and not allowed to be wanderers (Mansi, ix. 941–4). [E. S. Ff.]

**LYRE.** The lyre is borne by the mystic Orpheus (see Aringhi, vol. i. pp. 547, 563, both pictures from vaultings of the Callixtine catacomb, and FRESCO, I. 696), and is held to represent the attractive power of the Lord. Aringhi quotes St. John xi.: "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men to Me," and proceeds to reflect on the lyre of Orpheus, "qui dulcisonis et concinnatis ad plectrum vocibus feras pertrahebat." Eusebius makes ingenious use of the simile in his oration *de Laudibus Constantini Imp.*, where he speaks of the Lord's saving all, "by the instrument of the human body with which He invested Himself; not otherwise than Orpheus the singer, who makes known his skill in art by his lyre, so that, as it is said in the Greek tales, he could tame all kinds of beasts with his singing; and by touching the strings of his instrument with the plectrum, could soften the wrath of merciless wild beasts."

Clemens Alexandrinus (*Paedag.* iii. 11, p. 246 D) includes the lyre among the symbols permitted to be used as signets. [GEMS, I. 712, 716.] For a curious illustration of the symbolic lyre of the passions or bodily nature, see CALF, I. 258. [R. St. J. T.]

# M

**MACALLEUS**, bishop in Cruachadia in Ireland, 5th century; commemorated April 25 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 366). [C. H.]

**MACARIA (1)** Martyr; commemorated Feb. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Commemorated at Alexandria April 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) or **MACHARIA**, commemorated at Antioch April 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MACARIUS** or **MACHARIUS (1)** ALEXANDRINUS or URBANUS, abbat; commemorated Jan. 2. (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 84.) Commemorated by the Greeks Jan. 19. (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Acta SS.* l. c.; Basil. *Menol.* designating him Romanus.)

(2) AEGYPTIUS, presbyter and abbat in Scithis; commemorated Jan. 15 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 1007). Commemorated by the Greeks Jan. 19. (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 25; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 84, 1007.)

(3) Martyr; commemorated, not said where, Jan. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(4) Martyr, commemorated Jan. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Commemorated with Rufinus, Feb. 28 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(6) Bishop of Jerusalem, confessor, 4th century, commemorated Mar. 10 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 34).

(7) Bishop of Bordeaux 4th or 6th century, commemorated May 4 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, i. 492).

(8) Martyr; commemorated at Lyon, June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(9) Martyr with Megetia of Milan; commemorated July 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, iv. 129).

(10) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch, July 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(11) Martyr; commemorated at Laodicea, July 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(12) Commemorated with Eugenius Aug. 5 (*Cal. Arm.*); assigned to Dec. 20 in Basil, *Menol.* For references to him in some codices of the Sacramentary, see Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sacr.* 22, 305, Migne.

(13) Martyr with Julianus in Syria; commemorated Aug. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 700).

(14) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia, Aug. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(15) Patriarch of Alexandria; commemorated Sept. 1 (*Cal. Aethiop.*).

(16) Martyr; commemorated at Nicaea, Oct. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(17) Martyr; commemorated at Puteoli, Oct. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(18) Martyr; commemorated in Africa, Nov. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

(19) One of Libyan birth; commemorated at Alexandria Dec. 8 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(20) Patriarch of Alexandria; commemorated Dec. 27 (*Cal. Aethiop.*). [C. H.]

**MACCABEES**, seven brothers martyred at Antioch with their mother under Antiochus; commemorated Aug. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.; Vet. Rom. Mart.;* Bed. *Mart.;* Basil, *Menol.*). Assigned to July 30 in *Cal. Armen.;* mentioned in some codices of the Gregorian sacramentary (*Lib. Sacram.* 409, Migne). [C. H.]

**MACCARTHENNUS**, bishop of Clochora in Ireland, confessor A.D. 506; commemorated Aug. 15 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 209). [C. H.]

**MACEDONIUS** (1) CRITHOPHAGUS, Syrian anchorêt; commemorated Jan. 24 (*Cal. Byzant.;* Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 593).

(2) Commemorated in Asia Mar. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Presbyter at Nicomedia, martyred with his wife Patricia and daughter Modesta; commemorated March 13 (*Hieron. Mart.;* Bed. *Mart.; Vet. Rom. Mart.;* Usuard. *Mart.;* Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 260).

(4) Bishop of Constantinople, 6th century; commemorated April 25 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 369).

(5) Martyred with two youths in Greece; commemorated June 28 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June v. 358).

(6) Martyred with Theodulus and Tatianus in Phrygia; commemorated Sept. 12 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 20).

(7) Martyr; commemorated at Caesarea, Nov. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(8) Martyr; commemorated in the city of Austis Nov. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MACELLINUS**, martyr, his depositio at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MACHADORUS**[a], Martyr with others at Antioch; commemorated July 19 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, iv. 587). [C. H.]

**MACHALDUS**, bishop in the Island of Mona, 5th century; commemorated Ap. 25. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 366). [C. H.]

**MACHAONIA**, martyr in Africa; commemorated Dec. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MACHARIA.** [MACARIA.]

**MACHARIUS.** [MACARIUS.]

**MACHARUS** (1) Commemorated April 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Commemorated July 10 at Alexandria and at Antioch (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MACHROSA**, martyr in Africa; commemorated Dec. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

[a] Machadorus is the heading of *Acta SS.*; but in the text Macedo, while *Hieron. Mart.* (which is the authority quoted) has Macharius, in Migne. Potthast also gives Machadorus.

**MACHUTUS**, bishop; his depositio commemorated at Antioch, Nov. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MACIDALES**, martyr; commemorated at Rome, June 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [MAGDALES.] [C. H.]

**MACNISCIUS**, bishop of Coneria, or Connereth, in Ireland, 6th century; commemorated Sept. 3 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 664). [C. H.]

**MÂCON, COUNCILS OF** (*Matisconensia Concilia*). Three councils of Mâcon are recorded; the two first being held by command of king Guntram.

**1.** A.D. 581, when 21 bishops subscribed to 19 canons: Priscus of Lyons first, and Evantius of Vienne next. In their preface they declare they are not going to make new canons so much as sanction the old. Yet their 6th canon is novel, as well in speaking of archbishops at all, as in ordering that they shall not say mass without their palls. So is the 7th, which threatens civil judges with excommunication if they proceed against any clerk, except on criminal charges. So is the 9th, which orders Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from Nov. 11 to Dec. 25 to be kept as fasts. Others relating to married priests and bishops, and to the Jews in general, are remarkable for their severity. Nine more canons are cited by Burchard and others as having been passed at this council. (Mansi, ix. 931–940.) [E. S. Ff.]

**2.** A.D. 585, when 43 present and 20 absent bishops, through their deputies, subscribed to 20 canons. In their preface Priscus, bishop of Lyons, is styled patriarch. The first canon is a short homily for the better observance of Sunday. By the second, no work may be done for six days at Easter. In the sixth, the 41st African canon is quoted with approval, which orders that the Eucharist shall be celebrated on all days of the year but one fasting; and further provision is made for what remains after celebration, by directing that it shall be consumed by persons of unblemished character, brought to church for that purpose, and enjoined to come fasting, on Wednesdays and Fridays, having been first sprinkled with wine. By the seventh, slaves that have been set free by the church are not to be molested before the magistrate. By the eighth, none that have taken sanctuary may be touched till the priest has been consulted. By the ninth and tenth, the civil power may not proceed against any bishop, except through his metropolitan; nor against any priest, deacon, or sub-deacon, except through their bishop. By the sixteenth, no relict of a sub-deacon, exorcist, or acolyth may marry again. By the nineteenth, clerks may not frequent courts where capital causes are tried. The twentieth orders the holding of councils every three years, and charges the bishop of Lyons with assembling them, subject to the assent of the king, who is to fix where they shall meet. King Guntram, in a dignified ordinance, published at the close of this council, intimates that the civil authority will not hesitate to step in, if the canons are not enforced with due rigour. (Mansi, ix. 947–64.)

**3.** A.D. 624, or four or five years earlier, according to Mansi, when the rule of St. Colum-

ban, which a monk named Agrestinus had attacked, was vindicated by Eustasius, abbat of Luxeuil, his successor. [E. S. Ff.]

**MACORUS**, martyr in Africa; commemorated Apr. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MACRA (1)** Virgin, martyr at Rheims, about A.D. 303, under the praeses Rictiovarus; commemorated Jan. 6 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 324).

**(2)** Virgin, martyr, in Mauritania Caesariensis; commemorated Jan. 9 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*). The name occurs as Martiana in Ado. [C. H.]

**MACRIANA, COUNCIL OF** (*Macrianum Concilium*), held at Macriana in Africa, A.D. 418, according to some, the only evidence for it being two canons in the collection of Ferrandus (n. 11 and 23), each attributed to a council of that name (Mansi, iv. 439, and see AFRICAN COUNCILS). [E. S. Ff.]

**MACRINA (1)** Grandmother of St. Basil, at Neocaesarea in Pontus; commemorated Jan. 14. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 952).

**(2)** Sister of Basil the Great; commemorated July 19 (Basil, *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 264).

**(3)** Commemorated at Rome July 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MACRINUS**, martyr with Valerianus and Gordianus; commemorated at Nivedunum, or Nyon, Sept. 17 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MACROBIUS (1)** Martyr; commemorated at Milan, May 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(2)** Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria, July 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(3)** Martyr; commemorated at Damascus, July 20 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*); called Magrobius in *Hieron. Mart.*

**(4)** Of Cappadocia, martyr with Gordianus and others, under Licinius; commemorated Sept. 13 (Basil, *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 55). [C. H.]

**MACULUS**, martyr; commemorated at Perusia in Etruria, Ap. 29 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MADELBERTA** virgin, abbess of Maubeuge, about A.D. 705; commemorated Sept. 7 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 103). [C. H.]

**MADELGISILUS**, hermit at Centulum (St. Riquier) in Picardy, in the 7th century; commemorated May 30 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, vii. 264). [C. H.]

**MADIARIA**, martyr; commemorated at Antioch March 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MADIELLIUS**, martyr; commemorated Sept. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MADILAMA**, virgin, martyr; commemorated Sept. 17 (*Cal. Aethiop.*). [C. H.]

**MADNESS, TREATMENT OF.** [DEMONIACS, I. 543; EXORCISM, I. 650; HIEMANTES, I. 772.]

**MAENA**, martyr in Sicily; commemorated June 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAFORS** (or *Mavors*; sometimes *Mafora*; Μαφώριον or μαφόριον) was a short veil covering the head and neck, and flowing down upon the shoulders.

I. It was originally an article of female dress: a cloak or veil. St. Athanasius mentions that the *maforium* of the Virgin Mary was believed in his time to be preserved in the palace of the Blachernal at Constantinople—Τὸ δὲ ἅγιον μαφόριον θεοτόκου ἐν Βλαχέρναις κεῖ. It is defined in a MS. Greek Glossary, quoted by Du Cange, as πέπλον, γυναίκειον ἱμάτιον. Another calls it distinctly a veil, τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς περίβλημα, and Suidas (*Lexicon*) treats it as synonymous with *ricinium*, a band for the head.

II. The term was also applied to a large coarse cape or hood, worn by monks in the Eastern church: the monkish *scapular*. Cassian (*de Habitu Monachor.* i. c. 7) describes it thus: "Post haec angusto pallio tam amictus humilitatem, quam vilitatem pretii, compendiumque sectantes, colla pariter atque humeros tegunt; quod mafortes tam ipsorum quam nostro nuncupatur eloquio." It was the working dress of monks, and a passage in Fortunatus (*Vita S. Hilarii*, c. ii. n. 2) seems rather to shew that the habit of a monk of peculiar sanctity would sometimes be folded or draped around his tomb; for he calls it "peplum seu velum quo sepulcra et tumbae sanctorum obvolvebantur." That, at all events, is the apparent meaning of the passage.

III. Some writers reckon *mafortes* among the vestments used in the services of the church, *i.e.* as a *cope* or *amice*. "Mafortem tramosericum rodomelinum aquilatum; item mafortem e teleoporphyro tramosericum opus marinum" (*Charta Cornutiana*, quoted by Ducange).

Cassian states that this habit was not generally used by monks in the West. [S. J. E.]

**MAGARUS (1)** Martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica Feb. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(2)** Martyr; commemorated in Africa Sept. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAGDALENE, MARY.** [MARIA (16).]

**MAGDALES**, martyr; commemorated at Tripoli June 12. Thus the Bollandists read the text of *Hieron. Mart.*, where Migne reads Tripolis and Macidales in a list of martyrs at Rome (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 507; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MAGDALVEUS**, bishop of Verdun, confessor; commemorated Oct. 4 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ii. 499). [C. H.]

**MAGI**, adoration of; commemorated Dec. 25 (Basil, *Menol.*). Compare MAGI IN ART. [C. H.]

**MAGI (IN ART) (1)** BEFORE HEROD. Two instances of this rare subject have been discovered by the industry of M. Rohault de Fleury, and are figured in his beautiful work *L'Évangile* (Tours, 1875), which is illustrated entirely from early art. One is from a rude fresco in the catacomb of St. Agnes, of which we subjoin a woodcut, without being able to speak with any certainty as to its date, though De Fleury attributes it to the 2nd century. The magi bear their gifts, and the star is very prominent. In

the original Herod's face has a look of anger and suspicion, but this may possibly have been inserted or enhanced by some ingenious copyist or

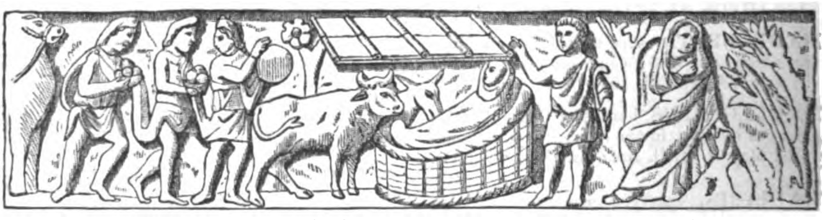


The Magi before Herod, from Rohault de Fleury 'Les Evangiles.' Pl. xvi. Cemetery of St. Agnes.

other workman, nothing being easier than sinister expression, especially in the large-headed and large-eyed drawings of the Roman decadence. The second example is from the mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome, and is one of the original mosaics of the 5th century. Herod bears the nimbus, a rather singular instance of its occurrence so early. Hebrew elders are with him unfolding their rolls of prophecy, and gazing upon him in a manner which appears to disquiet him, as though the text of St. Matt. ii. 3 was in the mind of the artist, and could not have been more graphically expressed by Raffaelle himself. Of the three kings, or magi, two wear the Phrygian bonnet or helmet, the third, who is of very youthful appearance, having long curled hair. They all wear long close-fitting hose, apparently much ornamented down the front of the leg, with short tunics, altogether presenting a rather mediaeval appearance. Martigny refers to the painting in St. Agnes (see woodcut), and says that Herod is supposed in it to be protesting with hand on heart his good intentions towards the Holy Child. See also Perret, vol. ii. pl. xlviii. He mentions a sarcophagus at Ancona, for which he refers to Bartoli, *Sopra un' area marmorea*, etc., Torino, 1768, which contains the same subject, with many figures. It will be found among Mr. Parker's Photographs, No. 2677, vol. xviii. Another at Arles bears the first scene of the history, the magi in the act of observing the star, two pointing it out to the third. Figured in Rohault de Fleury, *L'Évangile*, vol. i. p. 62.

(2) Adoration of. A special interest is attached to the subject of the Wise Men in the primitive ages. It seems to have retained its hold more strongly on the Christian imagination than many others, and has always been a favourite of graphic artists.

The number of magi is almost always three. Two or four sometimes occur, and Martigny attributes such changes of treatment to artistic motives. But a very different account is given by Mr. Hemans (*Historical and Monumental Rome*, p. 661) of the appearance of two instead of three in the celebrated 5th century mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore. "The Divine Child," he says, "is here seated on an ample throne, while another personage is seated on a lower chair beside Him. In the original composition that personage was an elderly male figure, no doubt intended for one of the magi, only two of whom are seen in the mosaic now before us, whereas in another of the groups (the three before Herod) we see three magi. A most unjustifiable alteration of this group was ordered when the church was restored by Benedict XIV. Instead of the male figure seated beside the Child was substituted that of Mary with a nimbus-crowned head and purple vestments. Among other innovations then made, one of the magi was omitted, and the mother's figure, originally standing behind the throne of the Child, was changed into that of an angel, adding a third to the group of celestial ministers in the backgroupd." The mosaic in its present state is figured in Rohault de Fleury, *L'Évangile*, i. p. 6, xxi. See also Angels and Archangels, §§ 3, 15, I. 84.



Adoration of the Shepherds and Magi. Bas relief, Lateran, on Staircase. Rohault de Fleury, 'Les Evangiles,' vol. i. pl. xix.

There can be little doubt that this subject belonged to the earlier cycle of the catacomb frescos. It is found in the cemeteries of St. Nereo with four Magi, in that of SS. Marcellinus and Peter with two. They appear for the most part to have been more or less rudely restored at various times. Their actual appearance may be understood from Parker's Photograph, No. 1613; St. Nereo (A.D. 523?), and No. 2116 (St. Marcellinus, A.D. 772). It is figured by Aringhi (vol. i. p. 587), from the walls of the Callixtine Catacomb: the Magi wearing the Phrygian cap and tunic, with modern boots, and rowelled spurs with spur-leathers; an addition in itself sufficient to cast a suspicion of restoration or reconstruction, even as early as Bosio's time, over all the paintings in the catacomb. At p. 615, on a Callixtine sarcophagus, they appear leading their horses, or perhaps camels. They are bearing their offerings, and guided by the star to the Holy Infant, who is wrapped in swaddling-clothes, and outstretched on a cradle under the shed with the ox and the ass. The Blessed Virgin sits apart, and Joseph stands by

her side. Figured again from the catacomb of SS. Marcellinus and Peter "inter duas lauros," at vol. ii. p. 117: with clavi or stripes on the tunics and on the robe of the Virgin mother. Again, with horses at ii. 159, and at 355, 395, from unknown sarcophagi; ten times in all.



The Magi and Virgin. Tomb of Exarch Isaac. Ravenna. 6th century. Rohault de Fleury, 'Les Evangiles,' vol. i. pl. xx.

Two highly interesting 6th-century examples from Ravenna are given by De Fleury (vol. i. plates xxi. and xxii.). One from the tomb of the exarch Isaac is here reproduced in woodcut; the other is the well-known mosaic of Sant'Apollinare nella Città. The latter is perhaps the earliest type of the Byzantine Madonna of the earlier middle ages, found at Torcello and Murano, still retained in the unchanging art of the modern Greek church, and reproduced most signally, perhaps, in the celebrated Borgo Allegri picture of Cimabue, now in Sta. Maria Novella in Florence. The attendant angels are thoroughly Byzantine, and may stand as examples for the severer ecclesiasticism of Justinian's day. The magi wear the traditional hose, with somewhat mediaeval crowns, cloaks, and tunics. Their ages are carefully distinguished, and their appearance curiously Gothic. Their names, SS. Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar, are given in the mosaic, perhaps for the first time. The Infant raises His hand in benediction, and the Blessed Virgin also. The group forms the end of the celebrated Procession of Female Saints.

An Adoration occupies the left-hand side of the fine sarcophagus of Ancona, 4th century. See above.

A curious bas-relief from the French crypt of St. Maximin is given by De Fleury (v. i. pl. xx.), which he assigns with possible truth to the 3rd century, and which we reproduce.



The Magi and Virgin, &c. (Lateran.) Rohault de Fleury, 'Les Evangiles,' vol. i. pl. xviii.

Perhaps the most interesting example of this subject which is left us is a carving made on the bone of a whale, now in the British Museum. It is among Prof. Westwood's fictile copies, and is figured in his *Catalogue of Fictile Ivories*, p. 234; in Stephens's *Old Runic Monuments*, vol. i. pp. 470 sqq.; and in Mr. Maskell's *Ivories, Ancient and Mediaeval*, p. 54. It was described by



Old English casket, made of the bone of a whale. Brit. Mus., from Maskell's 'Ivories.'

Mr. Franks in the 2nd Series of Papers of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. iii. p. 382. It forms part of a square coffer, incised with subjects in broad outline relief, the magi sharing the cover with a curious carving, which Dr. Westwood is apparently right in considering meant for Wayland Smith, as the hammer and pincers are unmistakeable, though Mr. Maskell

thinks it is a beheading of St. John. The three magi have round massive fells of hair, which might almost pass for a remembrance of the Phrygian caps, except that other figures on the chest have the same. Their boots and braccae are unmistakeable; they are offering their treasures in covers and paterae apparently, and are attended by an ornamental duck or swan. This bird is repeated to fill up space. The star is very large, and of many rays; there is a broad Runic border, and an inscription "Magi" in runes above the carving. The quasi-symbolic figures of the Virgin Mother and Child are extraordinary, the former ends at the waist in waving flourishes, perhaps typical of drapery, but ornamented with dots like an Irish initial letter; the Child consists entirely of a larger face or medallion held as usual before His Mother; the writer feels little doubt of its having been copied or adapted from some MS. of Durrow or Iona; and, as Mr. Maskell observes, following Mr. Stephens, it is one of the costliest treasures of English art; and, as a specimen of Northumbrian art and Northumbrian folk-speech, it is doubly precious.

The distinctively Persian dress of the magi, as represented on all the monuments, certainly deserves attention, as it indicates the connexion, in the Christian imagination, between the religion of Zoroaster and the coming of the Lord, which Zoroaster was supposed to have foretold. See Hyde, *de Religione veterum Persarum*, c. 31, p. 384, ed. Oxon. 1700), and *Magi* in DICT. OF THE BIBLE, ii. 190. F. Nork (*Mythen der alten Perser als Quellen Christlicher Glaubenslehren*, p. 82) considers that many representations of the Adoration of the Magi bear a decidedly Mithraic character. [R. St. J. T.]

MAGIC (*Ars Magica*, from *magus*, Persian مغ, *mugh*). "Among the Persians," says Porphyry, "they who are wise respecting the Deity and are His servants are called Magi" (*de Abst. Anim.* iv. 16, p. 165, cited by Rose (in Parkhurst), who also refers to Justin, i. ix. 7, xii. 13; Curtius, v. 1; and others). Xenophon distinctly ascribes to them the office of priests: "Then were the magi first appointed to sing hymns in honour of the gods at the dawn of every day, and to sacrifice daily to those gods to whom they, the magi, should declare sacrifice due" (*Cyrop.* p. 279; ed. Hutch.). The name (μάγος) is not used as a reproach in the Septuagint. See Dan. i. 20; ii. 2, 10, 27; iv. 7. The prophet Daniel was the head of the "Magi" in Babylon (Dan. v. 11). It is also the title given to those who were led by the star to Bethlehem (Matt. ii. 1, 7, 16). Nevertheless it had already acquired a bad sense among the Jews. Thus Simon (Acts viii. 9) is said μαγεύειν and to use μαγεία (11); while Elymas, a Jew, is expressly called a μάγος (xiii. 6, 8). This was the popular usage, and at length it prevailed entirely. "Custom and common speech," says St. Jerome, "have taken magi for *malefici*—who are regarded in a different light in their own nation; for they are the philosophers of the Chaldeans" (*Comm. in Dan.* ii.). It is probable, however, that Magism had long greatly altered for the worse, even in the practice of its best professors in its original home; for Origen, speaking of the magi of Persia, says, "From them the magical art of their nation takes its name, and has travelled into other nations to the corruption and destruction of those who use it" (*c. Cels.* vi. 80). Philostratus is also speaking of these Persian adepts, when he makes the strange statement, that they invoke God when they are working unseen; but subvert the public belief in the Deity, because they do not wish to appear to receive their power from Him. (*de Vit. Sophist.* in *Protag.* 498.)

The "curious arts" (τὰ περίεργα) renounced by the converts at Ephesus (Acts xix. 19) were, according to the common meaning of the term employed, the several branches of magic. What these were in the opinion of the early Christians we learn from many authors. Magicians, it was believed, could raise phantoms resembling persons deceased, could extract oracles from children, whom they entranced; nay, from goats and tables (Tertull. *Apol.* 23). In a book written a little before the end of the 2nd century, Simon Magus is represented boasting:—"I can make myself invisible to those who desire to seize me, and again visible when I wish to be seen. If I desire to flee, I can pierce mountains and pass through rocks, as if they were mud. If I were to cast myself down from a high mountain, I should be borne uninjured to the ground. If I were bound, I could release myself and bind those who had chained me. If imprisoned, I could make the bars open of themselves. I could make statues live, so that they were thought to be men by those who saw them. I could cause new trees to spring up suddenly, and produce boughs at once. If I flung myself into the fire, I should not burn. I change my face, so as not to be known; nay, I can shew men that I possess two faces. I can become an ewe or a she-goat. I can give a beard to little boys. I can shew gold in abundance. I can make and unmake kings" (*Recognit. Clement.* ii. 9. Comp. Pseudo-Clem. *Hom.* ii. 32; *Gesta Petri*, § 33). The supposed narrator is made to say that he saw a rod with which Simon was beaten "pass through his body as through smoke" (*Recog.* ii. 11; Ps.-Cl. *Hom.* ii. 24), and that a woman, his confederate, was seen, by a vast multitude surrounding a tower in which she was, to look out of every window on each side at the same moment (*Recog.* u.s. § 12); that he caused another to look like himself (*Gesta Petri*, 136), and "spectres and figures to be seen daily in the market place, statues to move as he walked out, and many shadows, which he affirmed to be the souls of persons departed, to go before him" (*Hom.* iv. 4; *Gesta Petri*, 45). Simon's fatal attempt to fly is related or alluded to by several early writers; as by the author of the Apostolical Constitutions (vi. 9), Arnobius (*adv. Gent.* ii. prope init.), Epiphanius (*Haeres.* xxi. 5), St. Ambrose or Hegesippus (*de Excid. Hieros.* iii. 2), Sulpicius Severus (*Sacr. Hist.* ii. 41), Maximus (*Serm.* 39), Pseudo-Augustine (*contra Fulgent. Don.* 23), etc. Many of the Gnostics, as Menander (Iren. *Haer.* i. 23, § 5), Basilides (24, § 5), and Carpocrates (25, § 3), with their disciples, were accused of "using magic and (mystic) images, and incantations, and all other curious arts (periergа)." See also Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 7. St. Irenaeus relates two stories of Marcus (about 160), which shew how

these arts were still brought into the service of heresy. He caused wine mixed with water, which he consecrated in the Eucharist, to appear purple and red (*i.e.* we presume, like venous and arterial blood); and again handing a small cup of wine and water to a woman, he ordered her to consecrate it; which done, he filled from it to overflowing a much larger cup (*ibid.* i. 13, § 2; Epiphan. *Haer.* 34, § 2). Magic, under one name or another, professed to heal by various means. It was represented to the sick, "If you would send for that praecantator, you would be well at once; if you were willing to hang such written charms (characters) on you, you could soon recover health. . . Send to that diviner; forward him your girdle or stomacher. Let it be measured, and let him look at it; and he will tell you what you are to do, and whether you can get over it. . . Such an one is good at fumigating: every one to whom he has done it, has become better at once. . . Come secretly to such a place, and I will raise up a person, who will tell you who stole your silver or your money; but if you wish to know it, take care not to cross yourself when you come to the spot. . . Women are wont to persuade each other that they ought to apply some charm (fascinum) to their sick children" (Caesarius, A.D. 502, *Serm.* 79, § 4). As we proceed, we shall see that astrology, storm-raising, sortilegy, etc. all come under the same general head of Magic.

II. The belief that there was something real in these arts was apparently universal. Even Celsus alleged them as a set-off against the miracles of Christ (Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 68). St. Peter was accused by the heathen of magic (August. *de Civ. Dei*, xix. 23). The Christian regarded it as evidence of the power and intervention of evil spirits in league with the wonder-worker. "By visions in dreams," says Justin Martyr, A.D. 140, "and by magic tricks do they lay hold of all those who do not strive at all for their salvation" (*Apol.* i. 14). It was said that they could be made to "obey mortals by certain arts, *i.e.* by magical incantations" (*Recog.* Clem. iv. 26). The truth of this is assumed both by Celsus and Origen, A.D. 230 (*c. Cels.* vi. 39; viii. 60–64); and it is a first principle with Tertullian (*de Animâ*, 56). Lactantius, A.D. 303, says, "Astrology, the arts of the aruspex and augur, and what are called oracles themselves, and necromancy and the magic art are their inventions" (*Div. Instit.* ii. 16). Minutius Felix, A.D. 220: "The Magi also not only know the demons, but whatever of the marvellous they pretend to perform, they do it by the aid of demons" (*Octav.* viii.). St. Augustine affirms the same thing: "All such arts, whether of a trifling or of a serious superstition, from a certain pernicious association of men and demons . . . are to be altogether renounced and eschewed by the Christian" (*de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 23, § 36; see *de Civ. Dei*, viii. 19). He distinguishes between "miracles of human and magic arts jointly (that is, of arts of demons working through men)" and miracles "of the demons themselves wrought by themselves" (*de Civ. Dei*, xxi. 6, § 1). His theory was that there were certain things which attracted and gave pleasure to evil spirits according to their several natures, as animals are pleased by the food proper to their kinds. As spirits, they took delight in certain properties "in the various kinds of stones, herbs, woods, animals, in charms, and rites" (*ibid.*). He thought that they made their peculiar tastes known to their followers: "For if they did not teach it themselves, how could men learn what each of them craved, what he loathed, by what name he was to be invited, by what compelled" (*ibid.*). Some affirmed that human souls served the magician: "They are invoked who have died an untimely or violent death,[a] on the ground that it seems probable that those souls will be most helpful to violence and injury, whom a cruel and untimely end hath by violence and injury torn from life" (Tertull. *de Animâ*, 57; *Apol.* 23; comp. St. Chrysostom, *de Lazaro Conc.* ii. 1). Simon, in the spurious Clementine books, is made to confess that he murdered a young boy, and by terrible adjurations bound his soul to assist him in his magic practices (*Recog.* ii. 13; *Hom.* Clem. ii. 26; *Gest. Petr.* xxvii.). Justin Martyr speaks of "necromancies and the inspection (of the entrails) of uncorrupted boys (see Dionysius Al. in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 10; so Eus. of Maxentius, viii. 14; *Vit. Const.* i. 36; Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 53) and the invocations of human souls (*Apol.* i. 18). It was denied, however, that a departed soul could be brought up, and alleged that the magician was deceived by the demons who really came to his call (*Recog.* iii. 49). St. Chrysostom: "This is a pretence and deceit of the devil: it is not the soul of the dead man that cries out, but the demon who makes those answers, so as to deceive the hearers" (*Hom.* 28 *in Matt.* viii. 29).

A particular spirit (δαίμων πάρεδρος) was in many cases supposed to attach himself to the sorcerer. Thus Justin M. (*u. s.*), "They who among magicians are called dream-senders and πάρεδροι." Irenaeus says of Marcus, "It is probable that he has also a familiar (δαίμονά τινα πάρεδρον), through whom he appears to prophesy himself, and causes those women to prophesy whom he deems worthy to partake of his grace" (*Haer.* i. 13, § 3). Elsewhere he speaks of "paredri and dream-senders" (*ibid.* 23, § 4; Sim. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 7). Tertullian: "We know that magicians, to explore secret things, call up (the dead) with the help of catabolici (spirits that seize and cast men down) and paredri and pythonic spirits" (*de Animâ*, 28).

III. An opinion prevailed widely in the early church, derived from Jewish sources, that magic was first cultivated when the children of Seth intermarried with those of Cain;[b] and that Ham, who had addicted himself to it, dreading

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[a] Biaeothanati. He uses the word twice in the same chapter. Cassian (*Instit.* vii. 14; *Collat.* ii. 5) and others (Lamprid. in *Heliog.*; Bede in *Martyrol.* June 27; *Passio S. Andr.* in Surius, Nov. 30; Julius Firmicus, very often. See Gazaeus, note *d*, on Cass. *Instit. u.s.* and Rocca note *e*, on *Sacram. Greg. Opp.* Greg. v. 275, ed. 1615) use the less correct form *biothanatus*. Another occurs in the preface of a "Salis et Aquae Benedictio" in the Vatican Ins. of the Gregorian Sacramentary, published by Angelo Rocca, in which the water is adjured to drive away "omnem umbram, omnem satanam, et omnes machinationes spirituum, immundorum, sive *bithonatum* sive errantium ex invocatione magicae artis" (*Opp.* Greg. *u.s.* 239). [BIOTHANATOS, I. 207; FAITHFUL, I. 658.]

[b] For this interpretation of Gen. vi. 2, see Euseb. Emis., A.D. 341 (*Fragm. Exeg. in Pentat.* Op. p. 186), St. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23, § 2), St. Chrysostom (*Hom.* 22 in Gen. vi. 1, § 3), Theodoret (in Gen. *Quaest.* 47), etc.

its loss at the deluge, engraved the secrets of his art "on plates of various metals, such as could not be spoilt by the flood of waters, and on very hard stones" (Cassian. *Collat.* viii. 21). It is elsewhere affirmed that Ham practised and taught magic (*Recog.* Clem. iv. 27; *Hom.* ix. 3–7); but not by writers of credit. The story of the engraved plates is evidently imitated from a tradition in Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 2, § 3) that the children of Seth engraved an account of their more lawful discoveries on "two pillars, one of brick and the other of stone." Another opinion was held by Justin Martyr (*Apol.* ii. 5) and Tertullian (*de Idol.* 9). These authors, supposing that "the sons of God" in Gen. vi. 2 were angels, make them the instructors of man in the art of magic.

IV. For more than three centuries after Christ there was no tampering with magic on the part of Christians. Though believing in the reality of the art, they ridiculed it as delusive and worse than useless. Thus Tertullian: "What then shall we say that magic is? That which nearly all call it, deception. But the nature of the deception is known to us Christians only" (*de Animâ.* 57). Minutius Felix (*Octav.* viii.), copied by St. Cyprian (*de Idol. Van.* p. 14; ed. 1690): "These spirits lie concealed under consecrated statues and images. They inspire the breasts of the soothsayers by breathing on them; they quicken the fibres of entrails, they govern the flights of birds, they rule lots, they give out oracles; they are always confounding false things with true; for they are deceived and they also deceive" (Cypr.). St. Cyprian adds that they send diseases and obtain credit for a cure by simply ceasing to afflict (*ibid.*; so Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* ii. 15). "They fill all things with snares, cheats, wiles, errors" (Lact. *u. s.* 14). "Skill in the art of magic is good for nothing but to cheat the eyes" (*id. u. s.* iv. 15).

V. The early Christians further believed that the demons, who were the real agents in the wonders of magic, could be controlled by the strong faith of any true Christian acting and speaking in his Master's name. Even of astrology, it was said, "until baptism that which is decreed holds: after it astrologers no longer speak the truth" (Clem. Alex. *Fragm.* § 78). The failure of the powers of evil began when Christ came. Tertullian: "We know the connexion between magic and astrology. . . The latter science was permitted until the gospel, that when Christ was born no one should thenceforth cast a person's nativity from the sky. . . So also the other kind of magic which works by miracles. . . . spun out the patience of God even to the gospel. . . . After the gospel, thou wilt nowhere find either wise men (sophistas) or Chaldeans, or enchanters or interpreters of dreams, or magicians, except such as are notoriously punished" (*de Idol.* 9). Origen held that "magicians having intercourse with demons, and invoking them as they have learnt and for their needs, can only succeed until something more divine and powerful than the demons and the charm (ἐπῳδῆς) which calls them, appears or is uttered" (*c. Cels.* i. 60). He suggests that the magi of St. Matthew ii. 1, finding that the spirits who served them had "become weak and strengthless, that their tricks were exposed and their power brought to nought," and remembering the prophecy of Balaam, were led to think that, He to whom the star guided them, "must be stronger than all demons, even those who were wont to appear to them and inspire them" (*ibid.*). Hence it was said that magic had been destroyed by the star of Bethlehem. So St. Ignatius A.D. 101, ὅθεν ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία (*Epist. ad Ephes.* 19). Compare St. Peter Chrysologus, A.D. 433 (*Serm.* 156). St. Basil, 370 (*de Hum. Christi Genev.* i. 591); St. Ambrose (*Expos. Ev. S. Luc.* ii. 48), etc. Of astrology especially, Clemens Al.: "For this reason a strange and new star arose that put an end to the ancient astrology" (ἀστροθεσίαν) (*Fragm* § 74); Sim. Greg. Naz. (*Carm. de Provid. Arcan.* v. l. 64). All this was by some understood in the command that the magi should depart into their own country another way (St. Matt. ii. 12). Thus Tertullian (*u. s.*): "They were not to walk in the ways of their former sect." St. Augustine more generally, but therefore inclusively, "Via mutata, vita mutata" (*Serm.* 202, § 4); Sim. Chrysol. (*Serm.* 159); St. Ambr. (*Exp. Ev. S. Luc.* i. 46); St. Leo (*Serm.* 32, § 4); Greg. M. (*in Evang. Hom.* x. sub fin.).

VI. When after the conversion of Constantine such practices were found among professed Christians, the most strenuous efforts were made to suppress them by the teachers of the church, and by legislators, both civil and ecclesiastical. They were denounced as remnants of idolatry, and a practical return to it. Thus Gregory Nazianzen, 370: "For this did the star lead, and the wise men fall down and offer gifts,—that idolatry might be destroyed" (*Orat.* i. tom. i. p. 12, compare with last paragraph). "Branches of idolatry," says Gaudentius of Brescia, A.D. 387, "are witchcrafts (veneficia), precantations, ligatures, phylacteries (vanitates), auguries, lots, the observing of omens, parental obsequies" (*Tract.* iv. *in Pasch. ad Neoph.*). St. Augustine: "It is a superstitious thing whatever hath been ordained of men towards the making and worshipping of idols, whether it pertain to the worship of a creature or any part of a creature as God, or to consultations and certain covenants by means of signs settled and agreed on with demons, such as are the essays of the magic art" (*de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 20, § 30).

The canons and laws which we shall now cite will shew that the church and the state prohibited every kind of magic on the grounds above mentioned. They will at the same time give an opportunity of explaining some details, which would be hardly worthy of a separate notice.

(1.) *Ecclesiastical legislation.*—The first conciliar decree against any branch of magic was that of Ancyra in Galatia, A.D. 315, which condemns to five years' penance "those who profess soothsaying (καταμαντευόμενοι) and follow the customs of the Gentiles, or bring certain men into their houses to discover remedies or perform lustrations" (can. 24). The version of this decree in the old Roman Code expands the first clause thus: "Qui auguria, auspiciaque, sive somnia, vel divinationes quaslibet secundum morem Gentilium observant" (*in App. Opp.* Leonis, p. 18). Here augurium and auspicium may be understood generally of the observation of omens: originally and strictly they were modes of di-

vination from the cry, flight, and manners of feeding of birds. Later on, when the evil had increased, the council of Laodicea, probably about 365, with more details, forbad, under pain of excommunication, "priests and clerks to be magicians or enchanters (ἐπαοιδούς), or mathematici or astrologers, or to make what are called phylacteries, which are bonds for their own souls" (can. 36). The mathematici were astrologers according to the usage of that age; but a distinction appears to be made here, of which no satisfactory account has been given. The fourth council of Carthage, 398: "He who is enthralled to auguries and incantations is to be driven from the assembly of the Church" (can. 89). In 569, Martin, bishop of Braga, a Greek by birth, sent to a council held at Lugo, a collection of canons drawn chiefly from Greek sources. In this, beside the canons of Ancyra and Laodicea we find one (72; Labbe, v. 913), forbidding men to "observe or worship the elements, or the course of the moon or stars, or the vain deceit of omens (signorum), for building a house or planting crops or trees, or contracting marriages" (the reading of Gratian, P. ii. c. 26, qu. v. 3). In the same series (c. 74) rites and incantations are forbidden at the gathering of medicinal herbs. Only the Creed or the Lord's Prayer might be said, or simply, "Let God the creator of all things and their Lord be honoured." Women are told to use no charms in working wool; but only to "invoke God as their helper, who has given them skill in weaving" (75). This may be illustrated from St. Eligius, 640: "Let no woman presume to hang amber beads (sucinos) on her neck, or when weaving or dyeing, or at any work whatever, name Minerva or other ill-omened persons, but desire that the grace of Christ may be present at every work, and to trust with their whole heart in the virtue of His name" (*de Rect. Christ. Conv.* § 5). The Council of Auxerre, 578, forbids, among other practices of the kind, resort to *caragii* (can. 4). This word occurs again in can. 14, Conc. Narbon. A.D. 589. It is used by Eligius (*ib.* § 5 *bis*); by Bede, 701 (*de Remed. Peccat.* 11), and earlier than these, by Caesarius of Arles, 502 (if those sermons are his) who spells the word *caragus* (*Serm.* 65, § 4; 78, §§ 1, 3, 5). It is also found in an Anjou Penitential, printed by Morinus (*de Discipl. Poenit.* App. 586), where for "cararios corioсos" read with Ducange "caragios curiosos." Pirminius, A.D. 750, spells it *Karagius* (*Scarapa.* in Mabill. *Analecta*, 72). The word is derived from "character" in the sense of a talisman or amulet on which mystic characters were written or engraved. The fourth council of Toledo, 633, deposed and condemned to perpetual penance in a monastery any of the clergy from a bishop downwards, who should be found to have consulted magi, aruspices, arioli, augurs, sortilegi, or those who professed the art of magic or practised such things (can. 29). The council in Trullo, A.D. 691, subjects to six years of penance all who "give themselves over to soothsayers or to those who are called centurions (ἑκατόνταρχοι), or any such, with a view to learn from them what they wish to have revealed to them" (can. 61). "Centurion" in the sense of a "leading man" was a title conventionally given, like "wise man" or "wizard," to the professors of such arts. See HECATONTARCHAE. The same punishment was awarded to those who "led about she-bears or other like animals to the delusion and injury of the more simple, and who talked of fortune and fate and genealogy, and used a heap of words of that kind, . . . . and to those who are called cloud-chasers (νεφοδιῶκται), to enchanters, makers of phylacteries, and soothsayers;" whose practices the council declares to be "pernicious and heathen" (Ἑλληνικά). According to Balsamon and Zonaras, it was the custom to give hairs plucked from, and dyes (βάμματα) that had been hung about, bears and other animals as charms against disease and the evil eye. See AMULETS, LIGATURES, PHYLACTERIES. These dyes are probably the same as the succi (herbas et succos[e]), which Caesarius (*Serm.* 66, § 5) forbids Christians to "hang about themselves or their friends," though we are not told that these were supposed to derive virtue from an animal. Balsamon explains that the cloud chasers were those who drew omens from the forms and grouping of the clouds, especially at sunset. He adds that the canon condemns in intention those who wore a child's caul or employed secret things, as *e.g.* the gospels, for ligaturae or practised the sortes Davidicae (see SORTILEGY), or divined with barley. The last method he ascribes to women who used to "spend their time in the churches, and by the holy icons, and declared that they learned the future from them." In Clemens Al. (*Protrept.* ii. 11), we read of "flour-prophets and barley-prophets." Ecclesiastical prohibition occurs in a brief canon (12) of the synod of Rome, A.D. 721. In 789 the canon of Laodicea was inserted by name in Charlemagne's capitulary of that year (c. 18); but in an abstract which heads it the word μάγοι is represented by "coclearii." So *Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 21; v. 69. "Coclearius" is a corruption of "Cauculator," which is from καῦκος, a cup used by diviners (see Gen. xliv. 5), or by makers of philtres. [CALCULATORES, p. 255.] And another chapter (63) of the same capitulary: "We command that none become either cauculatores (see again *Capit.* i. inc. an. c. 40; Baluz. i. 518; *Cap. R. Fr.* i. 62; vi. 374), and enchanters, or storm-raisers (tempestarii), or obligatores (see LIGATURES), and that where there are such, they be reformed or condemned." Storm-raisers are also condemned by a law of 805 (Capit. ii. 25) *de Incantatoribus et Tempestariis*. The word is written "tempestuarius" in a decree of Herard, A.D. 856 (cap. 2). Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, who had been an adviser of Charlemagne, wrote a treatise of some length against this offence. See TEMPESTARIUS. In 813 the Council of Tours, under that prince, directed priests to warn the people that "magic arts and incantations are altogether unavailing to the cure of any human diseases, and to the healing of sick, lame, or dying animals; and that ligatures of bones or herbs applied to any mortal thing are useless" (can. 42).

[e] "Sucinos" would seem a probable amendment. See Eligius in text above. Pirminius joins herbs with amber: "Karachares (Characteras), herbas, succino (succinos) nolite vobis vel vestris appendere" (*Scaraps. u. s.* 69).

(2.) *Imperial legislation.*—The first edict of Constantine that has any bearing on our subject appeared at the end of October 312, nine months before the defeat of Maxentius. It was directed against the aruspices, and as it only mentions the exercise of their art in houses its probable object was to check inquiry by divination into the destinies of the empire and its rulers. The aruspex was to be burnt alive, and his employers banished (*Cod.* ix. 18, l. 3; *de Arusp.*). His next (*de Magia*), in 321, went further, but was far from being thorough. It declared generally the most severe punishment to be due to those who were "found, armed with magic arts, to have made attempts against the health of men, or to have turned chaste minds aside to lust," but it adds that "remedies sought for the bodies of men or helps innocently used in country places," against unseasonable weather were not to be treated as offences (*ib.* 4). Constantine and Julian in 357: "Let no one consult an aruspex or a mathematicus .... No one a hariolus. Let the wicked profession of the augurs and diviners be silenced. Let not the Chaldeans and the magi, and the rest, whom the people call *malefici* for the greatness of their crimes, make even a partial attempt. Let curiosity of divination for ever cease with all" (*ib.* 5). The penalty was death by the sword. Another law not a year later threatened death by fire to those who, "using magic arts, dared to disturb the elements, undermine the life of the innocent, and calling up the dead by wicked practices to kill their enemies" (*ib.* 6). In July 358, the same princes published an edict condemning every kind of divination, avowedly on the ground that it was employed in a spirit hostile to themselves (*ib.* 7). The penalty was death with torture, and no rank was to plead exemption. The crime had been common under heathen emperors, and it is probable that most of the offenders under Constantius were heathen. Long before Tertullian had spoken of those who publicly honoured Caesar, but privately "consulted astrologers and aruspices, and augurs, and magi respecting his life" (*Apol.* 35, where in notes to the translation in the *Library of the Fathers* Dr. Pusey refers to Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 52; xvi. 30, and Spartianus apud Gothofred, *Prol. ad Lib. ad Nat.* p. 11). Firmicus Maternus, in his treatise on astrology written between 335 and 360, cautions his disciples thus: "Take care never to answer one who questions you respecting the state of the republic or the life of the Roman emperor; for it is neither right nor lawful that we should by a wicked curiosity say anything of the state of the republic. . . . But no mathematicus has been able to define anything true respecting the fate of the emperor" (*Matheseos*, ii. 33). The necessity of this caution appears from several stories in Ammianus (*Hist.* xix. 12), and others. In the reign of Valens, for example, A.D. 373, Theodorus was supposed to be indicated as his successor by a tripod of laurel wood duly prepared, which by some means spelt out his name to the fourth letter (θεοδ). The death of Theodorus and his partisans did not appease the emperor, who caused many innocent persons to be murdered because their names began with the same letters, or on grounds equally frivolous (Sozom. *Hist.* vi. 35). Julian himself professed to believe in such arts. He acknowledged that the oracles had failed; but alleged that Zeus, "lest men should be altogether deprived of intercourse with the gods, gave them a means of observation through the sacred arts, from which they might derive sufficient help in their need" (in Cyrill. Al. c. *Jul.* vi. p. 198; ed. Spanh.). In 364 Valentinian condemned "magicos apparatus" in connexion with heathen rites performed by night (*Codex Theodos.* ix. xvi. 7), and in 370 (probably) made the art of the mathematicus, exercised by night or day, punishable by death (*ib.* 8); but in 371 he declared that the aruspex was not guilty of witchcraft. "We do not blame the art of the aruspex, but forbid it to be exercised injuriously" (*ib.* 9). He regarded it as a necessary part of the heathen worship then tolerated; but its secret exercise was still prohibited under the law of Constantine. In 389 Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius decreed that every *maleficus* should be denounced as an "enemy of the public safety;" but chariot-drivers in the public races were forbidden to inform under pain of death (*ib.* 11). They were excepted, because many of them lay under suspicion of using magic to give speed to their own or to injure their rival's horses. See on this among Christian writers, Arnob. *adv. Gent.* i. cir. med.; Jerome, *Vita Hilarion's*, c. 15; St. Chrysost. *Hom.* xii. in Ep. i. ad Cor. (iv. 11, 12); Greg. Naz. *ad Seleuc.* Iamb. iii.; Cassiodorus, *Variar.* iii. 51. It should be mentioned in conclusion that the exception of Constantine in favour of charms against bad weather was repealed by Leo VI. who became emperor in 886 (*Constit.* 65, *de Incantatorum Poena*).

Under some of the following words: AMULET, ASTROLOGERS, DIVINATION, GENETHLIACI, HECATONTARCHAE, LIGATURAE, MALEFICUS, MATHEMATICUS, NECROMANCY, PAGANISM, SURVIVAL OF [p. 1539], PHILTRES, PHYLACTERY, PLANETARIUS, PYTHON, SOMNIARIUS, SORTILEGY, TEMPESTARIUS, may be found some further information on several practices which come under the general head of magic.

On this subject the reader may refer to Bern. Basin, *de Artibus Magicis*, Par. 1483, Francof. 1588; to Symphor. Champerius, *Dial. in Magicarum Artium Destructionem*, Lugd. 1506; to Casp. Peucer, *de Divinationum Generibus, de Oraculis, de Theomanteia, de Magica, de Incantationibus, de Divinationibus Extipicum, de Auguriis et Aruspicina, de Sortibus, de Divinatione ex Somniis*, Francof. 1593; J. J. Boissard, *de Divinatione et Magicis Praestigiis*, Oppenh. about 1605, reprinted 1611, 1613; Martin Delrio, *Disquisitionum Magicarum Libri Sex*, Mogunt. 1617; J. C. Bulenger, *de Tota Ratione Divinationis adv. Genethliacos, de Oraculis et Vatibus, de Sortibus, de Auguriis et Aruspiciis, de Licita et Vetita Magia*, and *adversus Magos*; in *Opusc.* tom. i. Lugd. 1621; J. Wierus, *de Praestigiis Daemonum et Incantationibus ac Veneficiis Libri Sex, Liber Apologeticus et de Pseudo-Monarchia Daemonum*, and *de Lamiis*, Amstel, 1660; Ant. Van Dale, *de Origine ac Progressu Idololatriae et Superstitionum* (p. ii. especially), Amstel. 1696; and L. F. Alfred Maury, *La Magie et l'Astrologie dans l'Antiquite et au Moyen-Age*, Paris, 1860. [W. E. S.]

**MAGIGNUS**, martyr, with Nabor and Faustinus, according to the Bollandists' reading of *Hier. Mart.*, where Migne reads Migignus; commemorated Sept. 26 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vii. 263). [C. H.]

**MAGINUS**, called by others **MAXIMUS**, martyr in Tarragona under Maximinus; commemorated Aug. 25 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. v. 118). [C. H.]

**MAGISTER.** (1) *Magister disciplinae* or *infantum*. A custom grew up in Spain towards the end of the fifth century, that parents should dedicate their children, while yet very young, to the service of the church, and in this case they were educated and brought up in the house of the bishop, by some "discreet and grave" presbyter, who was deputed by the bishop for that duty. He was called *praepositus* or *magister disciplinae*. The second council of Toledo (A.D. 633), held under Amalric, one of the Gothic kings, says in its first *capitulum*, of such young persons, "in domo ecclesiae sub episcopali praesentia a *praeposito* sibi debeant erudiri." Similarly, the fourth council in the same place (A.D. 693), cap. 23 [al. 24], "si qui in clero puberes aut adolescentes existunt, omnes in uno conclavi atrii commorentur, ut in disciplinis ecclesiasticis agant, deputati probatissimo seniore, quem et *magistrum disciplinae* et testem vitae habeant."

Also in monasteries, he who had charge of the children who were commonly educated in them was so called; as in Ordericus Vitalis, lib. iii. p. 462, "ad infantum magisterium promovit." [SCHOOLS.] [S. J. E.]

(2) *Magister infirmarius*, the chief of the brethren in a monastery deputed to visit and attend to the sick. [INFIRMARY, I. 837.]

(3) *Magister major*, a title sometimes given to the chief of the *magistri infantum*. See (1) above.

(4) *Magister novitiorum*, the officer in a monastery to whom the charge of the novices was especially committed.

Cassian (*de Instit. Coenob.* iv. 7) tells us that a candidate for admission to a monastery is not at once to be admitted into the general body of the brethren, but given for a time into the charge of an elder monk, who has his station for that purpose not far from the entrance of the monastery. During this period the novice had no separate cell, and was not allowed to quit the master's cell without his permission (u. s. iv. 10). Similarly the Rule of St. Benedict (c. 58) provides that the novice shall be taken to the cell of the novices, where he is to meditate, eat, and sleep; and that a senior monk shall be assigned to him, who shall give all possible pains to raise his spiritual state. It seems from this that St. Benedict designed to give a separate magister to each novice; but the practice of later times was to have one room and one master for all the novices. Compare (1) above.

Cassian tells us (*Collat.* 20, c. 1) that he himself acted as "magister" to Pinufius, who (though he had fled from another monastery) was treated as a novice. Euphrosyne, in man's dress, was committed to the charge of a senior by the abbat of a monastery to which she had fled (*Life* in Rosweyd's *Vitae Patrum*, c. 8, p. 365); and a man like Joannes Damascenus, already of distinguished piety, was placed by the head of the monastery of St. Sabas under the charge of a senior. (*Life* in Surius, c. 18, v. p. 159, ed. Turin, 1876.) See Alteserrae *Asceticon*, lib. ii. c. 10. [C.]

**MAGISTRATES.** [JURISDICTION; LAW.]

**MAGISTRATUS.** Pelliccia (i. 27, quoted by Augusti, *Handbuch*, i. 170) states that "magistratus nomine primo episcopus, secundo presbyter in usum veniunt;" that is, that the two higher orders, bishop and presbyter, are admitted to the title of *magistri*, while the inferior orders which subserved them were *ministri*. [MINISTER.] This distinction seems to correspond with that elsewhere made between ἱερούμενοι and ὑπηρέται (Cave, *Prim. Christianity*, pt. i. ch. 8.) [C.]

**MAGITA**, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Sept. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAGLORIUS** [ST. MAGLOIRE], bishop of Dol, circ. A.D. 575; commemorated Oct. 24 (Mabill. *Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. i. p. 209). [C. H.]

**MAGNA**, martyr in Africa; commemorated Dec. 3 (*Hieron. Mart.; Bed. Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MAGNERICUS**, archbishop of Treves in the 6th century, confessor; commemorated July 25 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, vi. 168). [C. H.]

**MAGNIFICAT.** [CANTICLE.]

**MAGNILIS**, martyr; commemorated at Capua Aquaria Sept. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAGNILUS** (1) Martyr in Africa; commemorated July 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Aug. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr in Mauritania; commemorated Oct. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr in Macedonia; commemorated Oct. 31 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAGNOBODUS**, commemorated Oct. 16 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. vii. 2, 940). [C. H.]

**MAGNUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated Jan. 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 21).

(2) Martyr at Rome in the Forum Sempronii; commemorated on Feb. 4 (Usuard. *Mart.; Hieron. Mart.;* Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated at Rome on the Via Flaminia Feb. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr at Interamna; commemorated Feb. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.;* Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(5) Martyr at Thessalonica; commemorated April 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Martyr with eight others at Cyzicus; commemorated April 29 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(7) Martyr in Africa; commemorated May 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(8) Martyr; commemorated at Rome on the Via Tiburtina July 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(9) Martyr at Corinth; commemorated July 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(10) Martyr; commemorated at Rome on the Via Portuensis July 29 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(11) One of four subdeacons beheaded at Rome with Xystus; commemorated Aug. 6 (Usuard, *Mart.;* Bed. *Mart.*).

(12) Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Aug. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(13) Otherwise **ANDREAS**, martyr with 2597 companions; commemorated Aug. 19 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*). A bishop and martyr of this name in Italy, and likewise a bishop of Avignon, confessor, were commemorated on this day (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 701, 755).

(14) Martyr; commemorated at Capua Aug. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(15) Martyr; commemorated at Rome "ad Sanctam Felicitatem," Sept. 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). Another of this name was commemorated on the same day, apparently at Ancyra in Galatia (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*).

(16) Martyr; commemorated at Capua Sept. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(17) Abbat of Fuessa; commemorated Sept. 6 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. ii. 735).

(18) Martyr in Sicily; commemorated Sept. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(19) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Sept. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(20) Bishop of Opitergium (Oderzo), afterwards of Heraclea, confessor; commemorated Oct. 6 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iii. 416).

(21) Martyr; commemorated at Caesarea in Cappadocia, Oct. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(22) Martyr; commemorated Nov. 1; and on the same day another at Terracina (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(23) Martyr; commemorated Nov. 8 at Nicomedia (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(24) Martyr; commemorated at Bononia in Gaul (Boulogne), Nov. 27 (*Hier. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAGORIANUS**, of Trent, confessor in the 5th century; commemorated March 15 (Boll. *Acta SS.* March, ii. 403). [C. H.]

**MAGRINUS**, martyr at Nevedunum (Nyon); commemorated Sept. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAGROBIUS**, martyr. [MACROBIUS, July 20.] [C. H.]

**MAIANUS** or **MEVENNUS**, abbat in Brittany, in the 6th century, commemorated June 21 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, iv. 101). [C. H.]

**MAJESTAS**. An ancient rubric given by Martene (*de Rit. Ant.* I. v. 2, Ordo 36) runs as follows: "Hic libri majestatem deosculetur." Here the *majestas* which the priest is to kiss is the representation of the Holy Trinity prefixed to the altar-book or tablet. [C.]

**MAJOLUS**. [MAJULUS.]

**MAJOR** (1) Soldier, martyr at Gaza under Diocletian; commemorated Feb. 15 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 901).

(2) Confessor; commemorated at Rome in the cemetery of Praetextatus May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAJORICA**, martyr; commemorated in Afrodiris Ap. 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*) [C. H.]

**MAJORICUS**, martyr; commemorated at Milan May 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAJOSA**, martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAJULINUS** (1) Martyr at Tarragona, commemorated Jan. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr, at Militana in Armenia; commemorated Ap. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated Nov. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAJULUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Feb. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated at Rome in the cemetery of Praetextatus May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr; commemorated in Africa May 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* May, ii. 625).

(6) Martyr; commemorated at Rome July 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAJURUS**, martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MALACHI** the Prophet; commemorated by the Greeks Jan. 3 (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Cal. Aethiop.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 250; Basil. *Menol.*); by the Latins on Jan. 14 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 931). [C. H.]

**MALARDUS** or **MALEHARDUS**, bishop of Carnot circ. A.D. 660; commemorated Jan. 19 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 235). [C. H.]

**MALCHUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Caesarea in Palestine March 28 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Rome in the cemetery of Praetextatus May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Commemorated at Ephesus with Maximianus and Martianus and four others July 27 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(5) Monk and confessor at Maronia, near Antioch, 4th century; commemorated Oct. 21 (Boll. *Acta* SS. Oct. ix. 59). [C. H.]

**MALEDICTION** (*Maledictio*). Maledictions [compare ANATHEMA] were used on various occasions, as (for instance) in EXCOMMUNICATION [I. 641], and in the DEGRADATION of clerks [I. 542]. An early example of the latter is the curse of Silverius on his rival Vigilius (Binius, *Concilia*, iv. 143): "Habeto ergo cum his qui tibi consentiunt paenae damnationis sententiam, sublatumque tibi nomen et munus ministerii sacerdotalis agnosce, S. Spiritus judicio et apostolica a nobis auctoritate damnatus." Another is that mentioned by Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* v. 19), where, in the case of Praetextatus, bishop of Rouen, king Chilperic demanded that either his tunic [ALB] should be rent, or the 108th [109th A.V.] psalm, which contains the curses on Iscariot (qui maledictiones Scarioticas continet), should be said over his head, or at any rate judgment of perpetual excommunication recorded against him [MARANATHA].

A specimen of a curse denounced against those who took possession of the lands of a monastery is given by Martene (*de Rit. Antiq.* III. iii. Ordo 3): "May their portion and their inheritance be the torments of everlasting fire, with Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who went down quick into hell, with Judas and Pilate, with Annas and Caiaphas, with Simon Magus and Nero; with whom may they be tormented in everlasting torment without end, so as to have no fellowship with Christ or His saints in the rest of heaven, but have fellowship with the devil and his companions, being appointed to the torments of hell, and perish everlastingly. So be it! So be it!" [C.]

**MALEFICUS**, the name popularly given to one supposed able to bewitch a person or his property. "Quos vere Maleficos *vulgus* appellat," says Lactantius (*Div. Instit.* ii. 16), and similarly Constantius (*Leges*, 4, 6 *de Malef.* in *Codex Theod.s.* ix. 16), and St. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, x. 9). The crime was itself called Maleficium, as if pre-eminently a deed of wickedness. A law of Constantius, A.D. 357, after reference to aruspices and others, proceeds to condemn "the Chaldeans and Magi, and the rest whom the common people call Malefici, from the greatness of their misdoing" (l. 4, *u. s.*). They were believed to obtain their power to injure others from evil spirits, either demons properly so called, or the souls of the dead. Thus Lactantius (*u. s.*), speaking of the demons, says that the Malefici, "when they exercise their execrable arts, call them up by their true names" (not by those of the ancient heroes, etc., which they assumed to deceive). These spirits were invoked with bloody sacrifices and other pagan rites. St. Jerome, distinguishing between Malefici and other professors of occult arts, says that the former "use blood and victims, and often touch the bodies of the dead" (*Comm.* in Dan. ii.). They corresponded to the γόηται of the Greeks, who were so called from the peculiar howl in which they intoned their incantations: "Illicitis artibus deditos . . . quos et Maleficos vulgus appellat . . . ad goetiam pertinere dicunt" (August. *u. s.*). Γοητεία, as Zonaras explains, "is the doing aught to the injury of others by means of incantations and invocation of demons" (*Comm.* in St. Bas. *Epist. ad Amphil.* ad can. 65: sim. Balsamon, *ibid.*). See MAGIC. [W. E. S.]

**MALINUS**, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria with 170 others, Ap. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MALLUSTUS**, martyr; commemorated at Cologne with 330 others, Oct. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Called also MALUSIUS (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MAMA**, virgin; commemorated June 2 (*Cal. Arm.*). [C. H.]

**MAMAS (1)** Martyr; commemorated in the Greek church, July 12 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, iii. 303).

**(2)** Martyr; commemorated with Basiliscus in the Greek church, July 30 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, vii. 149).

**(3) MAMES**, or **MAMMÈS**, martyr at Caesarea in Cappadocia under Aurelian; commemorated Aug. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*, Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 423). Florus assigns Aug. 7 to him. The Greek church commemorated him on Sept. 2 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*). Another Mammes is mentioned under Aug. 17, commemorated at Alexandria, by *Hieron. Mart.*) George Codinus states that there was at Constantinople a temple of St. Mamas, built by the sister of empress Mauricius, where she interred the bodies of Mauricius and his children (*de Antiq. Const.* 61). Which St. Mamas (if there were two) he does not say.

**(4)** Commemorated in Greek church Sept. 23 (*Cal. Armen.*).

**MAMELCHTA** or **MAMELTA**, martyr in Persia, probably in the 5th century; commemorated Oct. 17 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 53); assigned to Oct. 5 in Basil. *Menol.* [C. H.]

**MAMERTINUS**, martyr with Marianus, monks at Auxerre, in the 5th century; commemorated April 20 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 759). [C. H.]

**MAMERTUS**, bishop of Vienne and confessor after A.D. 475; commemorated May 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* May, ii. 629). [C. H.]

**MAMERUS**, martyr; commemorated April 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAMERUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa March 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAMILIANUS (1)** or **MAXIMILIANUS**, martyr at Rome; commemorated March 12 (Boll. *Acta SS.* ii. 104).

**(2)** Bishop of Panormus, probably in 5th century; commemorated Sept. 15 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. v. 45). [C. H.]

**MAMMARIA**, martyr; commemorated in Mauritania Dec. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAMMARIUS**, presbyter, martyr, A.D. 254; commemorated June 10 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, ii. 268). [C. H.]

**MAMMARUS (1)** Martyr in Phrygia; commemorated Nov. 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(2)** Martyr in Africa; commemorated Dec. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAMMAS (1)** Martyr; commemorated at Tarragona Jan. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(2)** Female martyr; commemorated July 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, iv. 220). [C. H.]

**MAMMERUS (1)** Martyr; commemorated in Istria June 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(2)** Martyr; commemorated in Africa Nov. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAMMES (1)**, Martyr at Caesarea; commemorated July 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

**(2)** Martyr; commemorated Aug. 17. [MAMAS.] [C. H.]

**MAMMITA** and her companions, martyrs at Alexandria; commemorated Aug. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAMON**, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Aug. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MANAEN, or MANAHEN**, Herod's foster-brother; commemorated at Antioch May 24 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* May, v. 273). [C. H.]

**MANASCHIERT, COUNCIL OF** (*Manaschiertense Concilium*), held at Manaschert in Armenia A.D. 687, according to Mansi, by command of Omar the Saracen leader, under the Armenian patriarch John. Its decrees on doctrine seem framed in opposition to the sixth council, where Monothelism was condemned; while several of its decrees on discipline seem condemned professedly by the 32nd and 56th of the Trullan canons (Mansi, xi. 1099. Comp. CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF (34), p. 444). [E. S. Ff.]

**MANDRA.** A favourite appellation for monastic establishments in the East was *mandra*, *μάνδρα, a fold*, used both alone, ἐν μοναστηρίοις ὑπάρχοντες εἴτουν μάνδραις (Epiphan. *Haeres.* 80), or with distinctive epithets ἁγία, θεία, ἱερά, πνευματικὴ μάνδρα. The sacred precinct, or cloistered atrium in front of the church of St. Simeon Stylites, surrounding the pillar on which he stood, was popularly known as *Mandra*, taking the name of the enclosed plot in the midst of which the column was erected (Evagr. *H. E.* i. 13, 14). [ARCHIMANDRITE.] [E. V.]

**MANDUTIUS**; commemorated Aug. 16 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**MANDYAS** (μανδύας, μανδύη, μανδίον). This name is now given in the Greek church to the outer garment worn by monks, which is also used on some occasions by bishops, who are, as a rule, drawn from the monastic orders. In shape it is, on the whole, similar to a cope, being a long cloak, reaching almost to the feet, and fastened at the throat.

It seems originally to have been borrowed from the Persians, and is defined by Hesychius as εἶδος ἱματίου Περσῶν, πολεμικὸν ἱμάτιον. In the West we find it frequently spoken of as a dress worn by emperors and kings. The earliest instance of the use of the word in its ecclesiastical sense is apparently in Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople (*Hist. Eccles. et Mystica Theoria*; *Patrol. Gr.* xcviii. 396). For later instances reference may be made to Ducange, *Glossarium Graecum*, s.v., and Goar's *Euchologion*, pp. 113, 495. [R. S.]

**MANECHILDIS, or MENEHOUD**, virgin in Gaul; commemorated Oct. 14 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. vi. 526). [C. H.]

**MANETHO**, virgin at Scythopolis, martyr; commemorated Nov. 13 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**MANGER** (*Praesepe*). In the crypt beneath the altar of the Sixtine chapel which forms part of the Liberian basilica (S. Maria Maggiore) at Rome is preserved the sacred *culla*, which forms the object of a solemn ceremony and procession on Christmas Eve. The *culla* is supposed to consist of five boards of the manger in which the infant Saviour was laid at the Nativity [MAGI; NATIVITY]. This manger was visited by Jerome and his disciple Paula (Hieron. *Epist.* 108, *ad Eustochium*, § 10). The boards were brought to Rome from Bethlehem, together with some fragments of rock from the cave which is the traditional scene of the Nativity, when the remains of St. Jerome were translated in the middle of the seventh century by pope Theodore I. [Not A.D. 352, as is maintained by Benedict XIV., *de Canoniz. Sanct.* l. iv. pt. 2.] They are now enclosed in an urn of silver and crystal, with a gilt figure of the Holy Child on the top. (Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlexicon*, xii. 698, s. v. *Krippe*; Murray, *Handbook of Rome*, p. 128, 9th ed.) The modern practice of setting up in churches representations of the manger or cradle is said to have originated with St. Francis of Assisi. [C.]

**MANILIS**, martyr; commemorated May 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MANILIUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa April 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* April, iii. 571). [C. H.]

**MANILUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated in Africa March 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa March 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated in Cappadocia March 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated April 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr; commemorated at Perusia April 29 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Martyr; commemorated in Africa May 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MANIPLE** (*Pallium Linostimum* [?], *Mappula, Manipulus* [to be referred, like the other uses of the word, to the primary notion of *handful*; see Ducange, *s. v.*], *Manipula, Sudarium, Phanon, Fanon* [cf. German *Fahne* and Latin *pannus*, which are doubtlessly allied: see Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, *s. v.*; the English *pennon* also is apparently derived from *pannus*], *Mantile, Manutergium*: ἐγχείριον).

This vestment in its primary form appears to have been merely a handkerchief or napkin held in the hand, but in later times it became an ornamental vestment pendent from the left wrist. It perhaps furnishes us with another illustration of what we have already spoken of in the case of the dalmatic (see the article), of the gradual extension of what was in its origin a peculiar use of the *local* Roman church throughout the whole of the West; an extension at first jealously resisted by the Roman clergy. The Eastern church has nothing answering to the maniple, but apparently the ἐγχείριον spoken of by Germanus, to which we shall refer below, was in its time a real, though accidental, parallel.

Possibly the earliest trace of the original use of the maniple is to be found in the order of Silvester I. (ob. A.D. 335) that deacons should wear dalmatics in church, and that their left hand should be covered with a cloth of linen warp (*pallium linostimum*: see Walafrid Strabo, *de Rebus Eccles.* c. 24; *Patrol.* cxiv. 952; Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *de Vitis Rom. Pont.*, *Patrol.* cxxvii. 1513). Marriott, who is disposed to connect this with the later maniple, suggests (*Vestiarium Christianum*, p. 108 n.) that the

order may have had reference primarily to the handling of the eucharistic vessels. The same order as to the use of this cloth was made by Zosimus (ob. A.D. 418) (Anastasius, *op. cit.* 59; *Patrol.* cxxviii. 174).

Others have argued that this *pallium linostimum* is rather to be associated with the stole (see esp. Macer, *Hierolexicon*, s. v. *Linostima*).

In the time of Gregory the Great, we meet with the *mappula* as a jealously guarded vestment or ornament of the Roman clergy, which had been in use among them for some time. The clergy of the church of Ravenna having ventured to make use of this vestment, the Roman clergy loudly maintained that it was a peculiar right of their own, and protested against the clergy of Ravenna wearing the *mappula* either there or at Rome. Gregory, writing to John, bishop of Ravenna, settled the matter by giving permission to the chief deacons of Ravenna (primis diaconibus vestris) to wear the *mappula* when in attendance on the bishop; permission, however, being absolutely refused (vehementissime prohibemus) for other times and to other persons (*Epist.* lib. iii. 56; vol. iii. 668). Bishop John, in his answer, remarks that in the time of Gregory's predecessors, whenever a bishop of Ravenna had been consecrated at Rome, the attendant priests and deacons had openly used *mappulae* without any fault being found, and that this had been the case when he was himself consecrated bishop.

The above instance has generally been supposed to belong to the early history of the maniple, as by Bona (*de Rebus Liturgicis*, i. 24. 5), Binterim (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. iv. part 1, pp. 203 sqq.). At a later period, however, the latter writer (*op. cit.* vol. vii. part 3, pp. 359 sqq.), followed by Hefele (*Beiträge zu Kirchengeschichte, Archäologie, und Liturgik*, ii. 180), argued that it is here rather to be understood of a kind of moveable canopy (see Durandus, *Rat. Div. Off.* iv. 6. 11, and Ducange, *s.v.*); and it may fairly be admitted that the terms in which both the contest and the concession are described are on the whole more applicable to this latter view. It is interesting to add here, in face of this conflict of theories, that, so far as appears, there is no trace of a *maniple* in the famous mosaic in the church of St. Vitalis at Ravenna, which is assigned to the end of the 6th century. (Figured above, *s. v.* DALMATIC, from Gally Knight's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*, plate x.)

It is not till the 8th or 9th century that we meet with distinct allusions to the maniple as a sacred vestment. Mabillon notices a donation bequeathed to a monastery in the year A.D. 781, in which, with numerous other church ornaments, "quinque manipuli" (the earliest instance we have been able to find of the *name* maniple) are mentioned (*Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, lib. 25, c. 53). Martene again refers (*de Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, iii. 187; ed. Venice, 1783) to an ancient missal in the monastery of St. Denis and assigned by him to about the time of Charlemagne, in which was given a prayer at the putting on of the maniple: "praecinge me, Domine, virtute, et pone immaculatam vitam meam."[a]

We may next cite Rabanus Maurus (*de Cler. Inst.* i. 18; *Patrol.* cvii. 18), who, writing early in the 9th century, speaks of the maniple as the "mappula sive mantile ... quod vulgo phanonem vocant," which is held in the hand at the celebration of mass by the "sacerdotes et ministri altaris." About the same time we find Amalarius (*de Eccl. Off.* ii. 24; *Patrol.* cv. 1099) commenting on the maniple under the name *sudarium*, and entering at length into the symbolism of it. We also find a reference to it in the treatise *de Divinis Officiis*, once referred to Alcuin (c. 39; *Patrol.* ci. 1243). This work is now, however, assigned to the 10th or 11th century. In the homily *de Cura Pastorali*, ascribed to Leo IV. (ob. A.D. 855), the injunction is given that the maniple (*fanon*) is to be among the vestments invariably to be made use of when mass is sung (*Patrol.* cxv. 675), the others specified being amice, alb, stole, and planeta; and we find the same command repeated in the following century by Ratherius, bishop of Verona (*Patrol.* cxxxvi. 559).

To add one more illustration, the order is made in the year A.D. 889 by bishop Riculfus of Soissons, that each church should possess at least "duo cinctoria et totidem mappulas nitidas" (*Statuta*, c. 7; *Patrol.* cxxxi. 17).

In Rabanus Maurus and the other liturgiologists cited above, the maniple is spoken of as carried in the hand, the left being sometimes specially mentioned; but, in course of time, it was worn pendent from the wrist (see *e.g.* Hugo de St. Victore, *Serm.* 14; *Patrol.* clxxvii. 928; Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma Animae*, i. 208; *Patrol.* clxxii. 606).

It ought to be added here that the maniple does not appear to have been *universally* employed as a sacred vestment in the 9th century, for *e.g.* in the illustrations in the Pontifical of Landulfus, which is assigned to that period, none of the priests wear maniples (see Marriott, plates 34–36). Conversely also, it may be remarked, we find, and that at quite a later period, traces of the maniple being worn by lay monks. Thus *e. g.* Lanfranc of Canterbury, speaking with reference to the ordering of subdeacons, says, "in coenobiis monachorum etiam laici albis induuntur et antiqua patrum institutione solent ferre manipulum" (*Epist.* 13; *Patrol.* cl. 520). A council of Poitiers (A.D. 1100) forbids monks, unless they are subdeacons, to assume the maniple (*Concil. Pictav.* can. 5; Labbe, vii. 725).

With the growth of the church's wealth and power in the 9th century, the general character of vestments was considerably modified into a more costly and elaborate form. As a curious example of this in the case of the maniple, we may cite the will of Riculfus, bishop of Helena, (ob. A.D. 915), who in a long list of valuable articles mentions "manipulos sex cum auro, unum sex (*leg.* ex) iis cum tintinnabulis"[b] (*Patrol.* cxxxii. 468). Into the later notices, however, of the maniple it is not our province to enter.

The Eastern church, as we have said, does not

[a] A curious error has been here made by Hefele, who (*op. cit.* p. 181) has inadvertently cited as given by Martene from a "copy of the Ambrosian Liturgy made by command of Charlemagne," a form which is really from a copy of that liturgy printed in 1560 by the command of St. Charles [Borromeo], archbishop of Milan. (Martene, *op. cit.* p. 173.)

[b] Doubtless this is in imitation of the little bells on the robe of the Jewish high priest.

use the maniple, but probably the ἐγχείριον, mentioned by Germanus, is practically a parallel. It is spoken of by him as worn by deacons attached to the girdle, and as symbolising the towel on which our Lord dried His hands after washing His disciples' feet (*Hist. Eccles. et Mystica Theoria; Patrol. Gr.* xcviii. 394). The epimanikion, however (ἐπιμανίκιον, μανίκιον, ὑπομανίκιον), while presenting an apparent similarity to the maniple, is utterly different from it in fact. The word (a barbarous compound of Latin and Greek) denotes a cuff, as being worn upon the *sleeves* of both arms, and is now one of the actual ornaments of bishops (to whom it was long restricted) and priests (and latterly also of deacons, Neale, *l. c.*) in the Greek church (Goar, *Euchologion*, p. 111; Neale, *Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 307).

Finally, we may give a passing remark as to one or two other ecclesiastical uses of some of the Latin names of the maniple. Thus *fanon* is also used for the name of the cloth in which is wrapped up the bread for use in the Eucharist:—so in an *Ordo Romanus* "fanonibus puris oblationes tenent" (Amalarius, *Ecloga de Officio Missae*, c. 19; in Menard's *Greg. Sacr.* 554)—and also for the cloth which enwraps the chalice (*ibid.* c. 20). It is used again for a kind of veil worn on the head of the pope beneath the mitre (*Ordo Romanus*, xiv. 43; *op. cit.* 270; cf. also 281, 357, 537 [even in death, *ib.* 527]; it is also styled simply *mappa*). The word *mappula* is used in the *Regula Monachorum* of Isidore (c. 12, *Patrol.* lxxxiii. 882) for a garment worn over the shoulders by a monk who has not a *pallium*. In the *Regula Fructuosi* (c. 4; *Patrol.* lxxxvii. 1101), *mappula* is used apparently in the sense of a towel or napkin, as a part of the equipment of a monk's cell. See also *Reg. S. Benedicti*, c. 55. [R. S.]

**MANIRRA**, martyr; commemorated Feb. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MANIUS**, bishop of Verona, perhaps in 5th century; commemorated Sept. 3 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 661). [C. H.]

**MANNA** (IN ART). Two examples from Bosio's plates (see Bottari, tav. clxiv. and tab. lvii.) are supposed by Aringhi to represent Moses pointing to four or seven baskets of the manna of the wilderness. Bottari expresses some doubt in both cases, thinking that, at all events in the example which contains seven baskets, the figure must be intended for Our Lord. This may be the case, but the contents of the baskets may still be intended for manna, in reference to St. John vi. 41. Millin (*Voyages dans le Midi de France*, etc. xxxviii. 8, lix. 3), gives two sarcophagi, in which a personage who may pass for Moses stands pointing to three jars or "omers," probably meant for manna, the more so as two figures bearing a bunch of grapes are near them (Num. xiii. 24). Compare LOAVES, II. 1038.

There is besides a newly discovered fresco, of which Martigny gives a woodcut, which clearly represents the gathering of the manna; but, if it be correctly copied, the drapery of the figures has a somewhat mediaeval-Italian appearance. It represents the falling manna, with four figures spreading their garments to catch it. (See woodcut.) It was discovered in 1863 in the catacomb of St. Cyriaca. It occupies the whole side of a crypt, and the manna is represented like snow or hail. Our Lord's mention of the manna, and open appeal to it as the symbol of His body best suited, before His death, to the understanding of His Jewish hearers, may very probably invest these pictures of the bread of the wilderness with eucharistic meaning. They may be supposed to be



Manna. (From Martigny.)

pictorial repetitions of the text "I am that Bread of Life." And this is yet more probable, where, as in Bottari lvii., Moses is represented in the act of striking the rock, as an accompanying sculpture.

As was observed before, it may be our Lord rather than Moses, who is represented with the seven baskets, though it was the miracle of the *Five* Loaves which preceded His discourse at Capernaum, and twelve baskets would therefore be more correct. Nevertheless, His words connect the manna of the Mosaic dispensation both with His miracle, and with the institution of the Holy Communion, and the pictures seem clearly meant for the same purpose. [R. St. J. T.]

**MANNEA**, wife of the tribune Marcellinus, and martyred with him; commemorated Aug. 27 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MANNICA**, martyr; commemorated at Caesarea, in Cappadocia, Nov. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MANSE.** (*Mansis, mansa, mansum, mansus*; also, especially in Italy, *masa, masagium* (whence *messuage*), *masata, massa, massus*, &c. Fr. *mas*, Norm. *mois*. Burgund. *meix*. The most common form is *mansus*.) Strictly, the mansus seems to have been a piece of arable land of twelve acres (jugera, bunnaria), which suggests *mensus* as the original form; but it was not restricted to pieces of that precise extent. When it is not so used, the quantity is mentioned (see Ducange in v.). Mansus dominicatus or indominicatus was the homestead attached to the residence of the lord and occupied by him (Kar. Calv. *Exact. Normannis Constit.* A.D. 877, *Capit. Reg. Fr.* ii. 257, 258. Sim. *Formulae* Marculfi (Lindenbr.), c. 79, *ibid.* 534, etc.). Charlemagne, 813 (*Capit.* ii.), speaks of the "mansum regale" in his forests, *i.e.* the clearing, or *field*, on which the coloni

dwelt (cap. 19). By a like usage, a piece of land by which a church was wholly or partially endowed (= the "glebe") was called the "mansus ecclesiae." A law of Louis the Godly, 816 ("De Mansis uniuscujusque Ecclesiae"), decrees that to every church be allotted one whole mansus free of service, and that the priests settled in them should "do no service on account of the afore-written mansus, except that due to the church" (*Capit. Aquisgr.* 10; also in *Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 85, v. 214). Charlemagne seems to have desired a larger provision, for in legislating for the Saxons, he says, "All of the lesser chapters have agreed that the country people who go to a church give to every church a court (curtem) and two mansi of land" (cap. 15). The Lombardic laws (iii. i. 46), 824 (Ludov. P.), provide that "if a church happen to be built in any place which was wanted, and yet had no endowment," "one mansus consisting of twelve bunnaria of arable land be given there, and two serfs by the freemen who are to hear office in the said church, that there may be priests there, and that divine worship may be held; but that if the people will not do this it be pulled down" (v. Espen, ii. iv. iv. 23). Hincmar of Rheims in 852 asked of each parish priest in his diocese "whether he had a mansus of twelve bunnaria, beside a cemetery and a court (cortem) in which the church and his house stood, or if he had four serfs" (Labbe, *Conc.* viii. 573).

Mansi were given to churches to provide them with lights (*Capit. Reg. Fr.* ii. 5), and an ancient gloss on the canon law says, "Mansus appellatur unde percipitur frumentum et vinum ad Eucharistiam consecrandam" (from *Chron. Wormat.* apud Ludewig. ii. *Reliq. MSS.*—Ducange).

By a law in the Fourth Book of the *Capitularies of the French Kings* (iv. 28), compiled in 827, courts of justice are to be held "neque in ecclesia neque in atrio ejus." When this was republished by Charles the Bald in 853 (tit. x. c. 7), and again in 868 (tit. xxviii. c. 7), he altered it thus, "Ne malla vel placita in exitibus et atriis ecclesiarum et presbyterorum mansionibus . . . tenere praesumant." In 870 (tit. xlv. 12) he worded the prohibition thus, "Mallus neque in ecclesia neque in porticibus aut atrio ecclesiae neque in mansione presbyteri juxta ecclesiam habeatur." We infer progress in the settlement of the clergy, and that near their churches, through the provision of a curtis [see MANSA] on which a house might be built; but it does not appear that "mansio" was used in a conventional and special sense to denote the residence (or "manse") of the priest. It meant a dwelling-house of any kind, and is the original form of the common word *maison*. [W. E. S.]

**MANSIONARII.** [Compare PROSMANARII.] Officers discharging certain duties in connexion with the fabric and services of the church. Ducange (*Gloss.*) makes the word synonymous with "aedituus" and "matricularius," and explains it as deriving its meaning from the fact that a residence ("mansio") near the church was attached to the office. Dionysius Exiguus, in his *Codex Canonum*, gives "Mansionarius" as a rendering of the word προσμανάριοι, who are reckoned by the Council of Chalcedon (c. 2) among the clerical officers who are strictly forbidden to obtain their situations by bribery. (See Bruns, *Canones*, i. 26.) Bingham, however (*Eccl. Ant.* iii. 13, § 1), quotes Justellus, Beveridge, and other authorities to prove that the προσμανάριοι were in reality the stewards or administrators of the property of the church. That the "mansionarii" were clergy is evident from the words of Anastasius the librarian, who in his lives of John 4th and Benedict 2nd expressly reckons them among the clergy to whom legacies were left: "Hic dimisit omni clero . . . . diaconibus et mansionariis solidos mille." Gregory the Great (*Dialog.* III. 25) applies the title "custos ecclesiae" and "mansionarius" indiscriminately to one Abundius. Their special functions appear to have been connected with the lighting and general care of the lamps of the church to which they belonged. Gregory the Great (*Dialog.* i. 5) speaks of a certain Constantius who was "mansionarius," and had charge of the lamps, and in (*Dialog.* iii. 24) the same duties are allotted to one Theodosius, who is called "custos" in the text and "mansionarius" in the heading. See also John the Deacon (*Vita Greg.* III. 58). In the *Ordo Romanus*, i. § 4) the mansionarius of a titular church in Rome is to go forth, with a presbyter, bearing a thurible to meet the pope when he came to celebrate a pontifical mass. Again (§ 32) he carries the taper solemnly kindled on Maundy Thursday. Mabillon (*Comm. Praevius*, p. xxvii) notes that during the first nine centuries in the "patriarchal" churches there were employed "mansionarii seu custodes ecclesiarum ad eas ornandas emundandas alaique praestanda quae necessaria erant." Except the above-mentioned passage in the Council of Chalcedon, there is no trace of the existence of the office in the Eastern church.

2. Hincmar, of Rheims (*Epist. ad Proceres Regni*, c. 21, opp. ed. Paris. II. p. 209) numbers among the officials of the royal household a "mansionarius," whose duty it was to take care that those who were obliged to provide lodgings for the king when on a journey should be properly warned of his approach. [P. O.]

INSCRIPTIONS.—An inscription given by Marini (*Papiri Diplom.* 301) is as follows: LOCUS FAUSTINI QUEM COMPARAVIT A JULIO MANSIONARIO. In this case the mansionarius from whom Faustinus acquired his place of sepulture must have had the same control over the spot which the FOSSOR commonly had. The *mansio* was, in fact, the cemetery, though it does not appear independently that *mansio* is used in the sense of κοιμητήριον. Compare MANSE (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v.). [C.]

**MANSLAUGHTER.** [HOMICIDE.]

**MANSOLACUM, COUNCIL OF** (*Mansolacense Concilium*), said to have been held at Malay-le-roi, near Sens, A.D. 659. "On y fit quelques règlemens sur la discipline," say the authors of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates* (i. 156), in describing it, and refer to Mabillon, *Act. Sanct. Ord. Ben.* saec. iii. pt. ii. 614; in other words, to a charter of privilege granted by the then archbishop of Sens and his suffragans to the monastery of St. Peter at Sens, and intended for the benefit of that convent alone. It is also dated by Mabillon two years earlier. (Mansi, xi. 121.) [E. S. Ff.]

**MANSUETUS** (1) Bishop of Milan; commemorated Feb. 19 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 135).

(2) Martyr; commemorated Feb. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Bishop and confessor at Toul; commemorated Sept. 3 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 615).

(4) Bishop; commemorated in Africa Nov. 28 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr with ten others; commemorated at Alexandria Dec. 30 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MANTIUS,** martyr in Lusitania 5th century; commemorated May 21 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, v. 31). [C. H.]

**MANUAEUS,** bishop of Bayeux, circ. A.D. 480; commemorated May 28 (Florus, ap. Bed. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* May, vi. 767). [C. H.]

**MANUAL LABOUR.** It appears to have been contemplated by the earlier councils that the clergy should, in part at least, maintain themselves by the work of their hands. The *Apostolical Constitutions* (ii. 63) exhort the younger clergy to provide for their own necessities by the work of their own hands, while not neglecting the work of the ministry. Some of us, it is added, are fishermen, some tentmakers, some husbandmen, for no worshipper of God should be idle. The fourth council of Carthage (*Statut. Eccles. Anti ua*, cc. 51, 52) enjoins that all clergy, however learned, should provide themselves with food and clothing by some handicraft (artificiolo) or agricultural labour, yet so as not to neglect their proper duties; and (c. 53) that all clergy who were sufficiently strong in body should be instructed both in some handicraft and in letters. These canons are evidently referred to by the second Council of Tours, A.D. 567 (c. 10), where it is laid down, with somewhat curious reasoning, that there could be no justification for any of the clergy who employed a woman not belonging to the house (extraneam mulierem) for the alleged purpose of making his clothes, since there was a general order that they should procure both food and clothing by their own industry, and as the work of their own hands. Thomassin (*Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* iii. 3; c. 8, §§ 2–5) thinks that these canons were permissive rather than obligatory, and only applied to the inferior clergy, noting the fact that St. Paul is the only one of the apostles who is said to have worked with his own hands. Thus the first council of Orleans, A.D. 511 (c. 5), provides that certain lands and revenues which Clovis had given to the church should be employed in repairing churches in the redemption of captives, and in paying the stipends (alimoniis) of the priests and poor, while the clergy (clerici) or, as another reading is, the clergy of lower degree (junioris officii) (see Bruns, *Canones*, ii. 162) should be compelled to help in the labour of the church (ad adjutorium ecclesiastici operis constringantur), probably on the lands so given.

Among ecclesiastical writers manual labour is evidently considered honourable and meritorious for the clergy, and in some cases habitually resorted to, but never enjoined as a positive obligation. Epiphanius (*Haeres.* 80; nn. 5, 6) says that many clergy, while they might live by the altar, prefer from excess of zeal (abundantiâ quâdam virtutis) to support themselves by the work of their own hands; and (*Haeres.* 70, n. 2) speaks of a certain sect named Audiani, in whose fellowship bishops, presbyters, and all clergy lived by their own toil. The very mention of such a fact seemingly proved that this was out of the common course. Chrysostom (*Hom.* 45, on Acts) speaks of four different grades of excellence set before the clergy, the second of which consists in labouring for their own food, the third is also labouring to assist the poor. Augustine (*de Op. Monach.* c. 29) asserts that the professional labours of the bishops and clergy are sufficiently onerous to exempt them from the obligation of toiling with their hands. Many instances, however, are to be found in which the most zealous attention to spiritual duties was combined with hard and habitual work at a trade or on a farm. Socrates (*H. E.* i. 12) says that Spiridon, bishop of Cyprus, was originally a shepherd, and through his great humility continued to feed his flock even after being made a bishop. Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 28) speaks of one Zeno, bishop of Maiuma, who provided for his own wants, and for the poor of his flock, by weaving linen. Gennadius of Marseilles (*de Scriptor. Eccl.* c. 69) says that Hilary of Arles toiled with his own hands, not only for his own support, but that he might be able to help the poor. From Gregory the Great (*Dialog.* iii. 1) we learn that Paulinus of Nola was an excellent gardener, and (*Dialog.* iii. 12) that one Severus, a priest of great sanctity, was occupied on a certain occasion in pruning his vines. Gregory of Tours, in his Life of Nicetius (c. 8), says that when a bishop he continued to live among his servants, and work on his farm. It would be easy to multiply examples of this kind, they all point the same way; the very fact of their being recorded seems to shew that they must be considered as instances of exceptional excellence, which was held in honour and esteem, but not illustrative of the general practice, or of conduct which was reckoned obligatory upon either bishops or clergy. Hincmar of Rheims indeed, A.D. 845, appears to have endeavoured to make some measure of manual labour compulsory in his diocese, since (*Capit. ad Presbyteros*, c. 9, opp. i. p. 712) he orders all his clergy to go out fasting to work on their farms; but the general sense of the church in this matter appears to be represented by the words of Epiphanius, already quoted, that those who serve the altar have a right to live by the altar. [P. O.]

**MANUEL** (1) Martyr under the Bulgarians at Debeltus, A.D. 812; commemorated Jan. 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.*; Jan. ii. 441).

(2) Martyr with Theodosius; commemorated March 27 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(3) A Persian martyr with two brothers at Constantinople, A.D. 362; commemorated June 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* June, iii. 290; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 261; Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**MANUMISSION.** [SLAVERY.]

**MANUS MORTUA.** [MORTMAIN.]

**MAPHRIAN** ("Fruit-bearing"). In the 6th century Jacobus Zanzalus, bishop of Edessa,

the leading spirit among the Jacobites, finding that the whole of Asia was more than the patriarch of Antioch could possibly superintend, ordained Achudemes as chief bishop of the East beyond Tigris, with the title of *Maphrian*. This dignitary now resides in the convent of Mar Mattai [St. Matthew], near Mosul. (Neale, *Eastern Church*, Introd. 152; Germann, *Kirche der Thomaschristen*, 524.) [C.]

**MAPPA.** Under the Roman empire a *mappa*, or handkerchief, carried in the hand seems to have been regarded as distinctive of high rank. The dropping of his *mappa* by the person who presided was, as is well known, the signal for the commencement of the games of the amphitheatre (Tertullian, *de Spectaculis*, 16). It was among the insignia of the emperors of the East, especially from the time that they became perpetual consuls. An object resembling a *mappa* is sometimes found on Christian tombs, in company with the *clavus* which denotes rank (Bottari, i. 73). In those diptychs in which, on their passing into the service of the church, the consul was transformed by certain modifications into a saint or dignitary of the church, the *mappa* of the imperial official sometimes appears. It is, however, in some cases doubtful whether the supposed *mappa* is not rather a *volumen*, or roll of a book (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v.). [C.]

**MAPPALICUS (1)** Martyr; commemorated Feb. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(2)** Martyr, after A.D. 250; commemorated in Africa Apr. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. ii. 480).

**(3)** Martyr; commemorated at Rome Apr. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAR** (Syriac, ܡܪܝ). A title of dignity among the Syrian Christians, signifying *Lord*, and applied to various ecclesiastical persons. Compare LORD. [C.]

**MARA,** abbat in Syria; commemorated Jan. 25 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 627). [C. H.]

**MARANA,** hermitess with Cyra or Cirrha at Beroea, Berrhoea, or Aleppo, in Syria; commemorated by the Greeks Feb. 28 (Basil. *Menol.*); by the Latins Aug. 3 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. i. 226). [C. H.]

**MARANATHA** (מָרַן אֲתָא, "The Lord cometh;" see DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE, ii. 233), is an expression used (1 Cor. xvi. 22) seemingly to give greater force to a solemn denunciation by a reference to the expected coming of the Lord. In ecclesiastical usage it is sometimes found as part of the formula which designates the most extreme and solemn form of excommunication, that "until the coming of the Lord." In a Spanish canon (iv. *Conc. Tolet.* c. 75, A.D. 633) the expression is plainly interpreted: "qui contra hanc nostram definitionem praesumpserit, anathema maranatha, hoc est, perditio in adventu Domini sit, et cum Juda Iscariote partem habeant et ipsi et socii." Compare xvi. *Conc. Tolet.* c. 10 (A.D. 693), and the *Charta S. Amandi Tungr. Episc.* quoted by Ducange, s. v. Similar forms of anathema are not commonly found in the statutes of Foundations against those who violate them. [MALEDICTION.] In all these cases the effect of the use of the word *Maranatha* seems to be, to exclude the offender from the communion of the church during his whole life, and to reserve him for the judgment of the Lord at His coming (Benedict XIV. *de Synodo Dioec.* x. 1, § 7). Suarez, however (*de Censuris*, Disp. viii. c. 2), holds that such a sentence is in all cases conditional on the continued impenitence of the sinner. [EXCOMMUNICATION, I. 639.]

(Ducange, s. v. *Maranatha*; Bingham, *Antiquities*, XVI. ii. 16; Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlexicon*, xii. 761.) [C.]

**MARANDUS,** martyr; commemorated at Antioch Oct. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARANO, COUNCIL OF** (*Maranense Concilium*), a council, or rather a meeting of ten schismatic bishops at Marano in Istria, A.D. 590, when Severus, bishop of Aquileia, recanted his condemnation of the three chapters. (Mansi, ix. 1019. Comp. ISTRIAN COUNCIL.) [E. S. Ff.]

**MARCA,** martyr; commemorated in Africa Apr. 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARCELLA (1)** Roman widow, ob. A.D. 410; commemorated Jan. 31 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 1106).

**(2)** Martyr; commemorated Feb. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(3)** Martyr; commemorated in Africa May 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(4)** Martyr; commemorated at Rome at the cemetery of Praetextatus, May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(5)** Martyr; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(6)** Martyr; commemorated June 28 at Alexandria (Usuard, *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARCELLIANUS (1)** Bishop, his depositio and translatio commemorated at Auxerre May 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(2)** Commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(3)** Martyr with his brother Marcus; commemorated at Rome on the Via Ardeatina June 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*); their natalis observed on June 18 in the Sacramentary of Gregory, their names being mentioned in the collect for the day (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sacr.* 105).

**(4)** Martyr; commemorated July 18 at Rome on the Via Tiburtina (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(5)** Martyr at Rome with Secundianus and Verianus, in the reign of Decius; commemorated Aug. 9 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARCELLINA (1)** Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Feb. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(2)** Martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(3)** Martyr; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARCELLINUS (1)** Youthful martyr, with his brothers Argeus and Marcellus, at Tomi; commemorated Jan. 2 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet.*

*Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*), but on Jan. 3 in *Hieron. Mart.*

(2) Martyr at Nicomedia; commemorated Feb. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated Mar. 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated Ap. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(5) Bishop and confessor; his depositio commemorated at Rome Ap. 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Pope and martyr; commemorated at Rome Ap. 26 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(7) Martyr; commemorated at Milan May 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(8) Two martyrs of this name commemorated at Milan May 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*); one at Nicomedia on the same day (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(9) Presbyter, with Peter the Exorcist; commemorated at Rome on June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*). His natalis with that of Peter is commemorated on this day in Gregory's Sacramentary, their names being mentioned in the collect (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sacr.* 104). A basilica was said to have been erected in their honour by Constantine on the Via Laircana, and his mother, Helena, was said to have been buried there (Ciampini, *de Sac. Aedif.* 122, 123).

(10) Martyr; commemorated at Rome June 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(11) Martyr; commemorated at Cologne Aug. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*).

(12) Tribune, martyr with Mannea or Mannis his wife; commemorated at Tomi Aug. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(13) Martyr; commemorated at Capua Oct. 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(14) Martyr; commemorated Oct. 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(15) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Nov. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARCELLINUS**, presbyter and confessor at Deventer circ. A.D. 800; commemorated July 14 (*Acta SS.* Jul. iii. 702). [C. H.]

**MARCELLOSA**, martyr; commemorated in Africa May 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*) [C. H.]

**MARCELLUS** (1) Youthful martyr; commemorated with his brothers Argeus and Marcellinus Jan. 2, at Tomi (Usuard. *Mart.*); but *Hieron. Mart.* calls him Narcissus, and assigns Jan. 3 to the three brothers.

(2) Bishop of Rome and confessor; his depositio at Rome in the cemetery of Priscilla, on the Via Salaria, commemorated Jan. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*); the same day given to his natalis by Usuard and Bede. The sacramentary of Gregory celebrates his natalis on this day, and mentions his name in the special collect (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sacr.* 18). His natalis is also observed in the Antiphonary (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sac.* 662). The *Vet. Rom. Mart.* assigns Jan. 17 to him, on which day also *Hieron. Mart.* gives his depositio commemorated at Langres.

(3) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Feb. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Feb. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Feb. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(6) Martyr, commemorated in Africa Ap. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(7) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Ap. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(8) Bishop of Embrun, confessor; commemorated Ap. 20 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(9) Bishop of Rome; depositio commemorated Ap. 26 (Florus, ap. Bed. *Mart.*). Usuard and *Vet. Rom. Mart.* name him Marcellinus.

(10) Martyr; depositio commemorated at Ephesus May 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(11) Martyr; commemorated at Rome June 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(12) Martyr; commemorated at Rome June 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(13) Martyr; commemorated at Lyon June 28. On the same day this or another Marcellus was commemorated at Alexandria (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(14) Martyr, with Anastasius, "apud castrum Argentomacum;" commemorated June 29 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(15) Martyr; commemorated at Milan July 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(16) Martyr; commemorated at Châlons-sur-Saône, Sept. 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Florus, ap. Bed. *Mart.*). *Hieron. Mart.* mentions another of the same name under this day commemorated at Ancyra.

(17) Bishop, martyr; commemorated Oct. 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(18) Martyr; commemorated at Capua Oct. 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Usuard. *Mart.*).

(19) Martyr, with Apuleus, at Rome, under Aurelian; commemorated Oct. 7 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*).

(20) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Oct. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(21) Martyr; commemorated at Acernum in Sicily, Oct. 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(22) Martyr; commemorated at Chalcedonia, Oct. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(23) Centurion, martyr at Tingitana; commemorated Oct. 30 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(24) Martyr; commemorated Nov. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(25) Martyr at Nicomedia; commemorated Nov. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(26) Archimandrite of the monastery of the Acoemetae; commemorated Dec. 29 (Basil. *Menol.*; Simeon Metaph. *Vit. Sanct.* Dec. 29; *Cal. Byzant.*).

(27) Deacon, martyr; suffered Dec. 7; his burial commemorated at Spoletum Dec. 30 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*) In Bed. *Mart. Auct.* his *passio* is on Dec. 30. [C. H.]

**MARCIA.** [MARTIA.]

**MARCIALIS.** [MARTIALIS.]

**MARCIANA.** [MARTIANA.]

**MARCIANE**, queen; commemorated Jan. 26 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**MARCIANUS.** [MARTIANUS.]

**MARCILUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome, on Via Nomentana, May 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARCISUS**, martyr in Africa; commemorated Oct. 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARCOBUS**, martyr in Africa; commemorated Feb. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*) [C. H.]

**MARCOPUS**, martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Feb. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARCULFUS**, abbat of Nantes, circ. A.D. 558; commemorated May 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, i. 70). [C. H.]

**MARCUS** (1), the Evangelist, was very generally commemorated, and his name occurs in the Greek, Latin, and Coptic fasti, but not always on the same day. Sept. 23 is assigned to his natalis at Alexandria in *Hieron. Mart.*, but one MS. omits natalis (*Acta SS.* infra). The *Cal. Byzant.* commemorates Mark, "the apostle," on Jan. 11, and the Bollandists identify him with the evangelist, who is called in the same calendar, under Ap. 25, "evangelist and apostle," and in Basil. *Menol.*, under the same day, "apostle and evangelist." April 25 is the day more usually assigned to him (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 258; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 344). The Sacramentary of Gregory observes his natalis on April 25, mentioning him in the collect for the day (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sacr.* 84). His natalis is also observed in the Antiphonary (ibid. 711). The reason of his not being mentioned in the canon at the prayer *Communicantes* is believed to be, as in the case of St. Luke, that the fact of his martyrdom is uncertain (Krazer, *de Apost. Eccles. Liturg.* 497). There was a church at Constantinople dedicated to him, erected by Theodosius the Great, near the district or ward named Taurus, at which his festival was observed (Georg. Codinus, *de Antiq. Constant.* 61; Boll. *Acta SS.* ut sup.). There was a church at Rome dedicated to St. Mark by pope Marcus, A.D. 337, restored and adorned by Hadrian I. and Gregory IV. (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* t. ii. 119), and there was a chapel in the Basilica Vaticana dedicated to him by Marcus Barbus, patriarch of Aquileia (Ciampini, *de Sac. Aedif.* 68).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Bononia Jan. 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr; commemorated Jan. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Feb. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) ST., "our holy father;" commemorated March 4 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(8) Egyptian monk, circ. A.D. 400; commemorated March 5 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. i. 367).

(9) Martyr with others; commemorated at Nicaea March 13 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*). This day is given in *Menol. Basil.* to the bishop of the Arethusians; see March 29 *infra*.

(10) Martyr with others; commemorated at Surrentum March 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Ado, *Mart.*). The name is Martia in *Vet. Rom. Mart.*

(11) Martyr at Rome with Timotheus in the 2nd century; commemorated Mar. 24 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 477).

(12) The Athenian, hermit in Libya; commemorated Mar. 29 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 779).

(13) Bishop of the Arethusians, martyr in the reign of Julian; commemorated March 29 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 774; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 256). The *Menology* of Basil assigns March 30 to him.

(14) Two of this name were commemorated on April 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(15) Bishop of Atinum in Campania, martyr with two presbyters A.D. 82; commemorated April 28 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 548).

(16) Martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(17) Martyr; commemorated at Byzantium June 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(18) Martyr with Julius, at Dorostorum in Moesia; commemorated June 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* June, ii. 56).

(19) Bishop of Luceria in Apulia, circ. A.D. 328; commemorated June 14 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 800).

(20) Martyr with Marcellinus at Rome on the Via Ardeatina, circ. A.D. 287; commemorated June 18 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iii. 568). Their natalis is observed on this day in the Sacramentary of Gregory, and their names mentioned in the collect (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sacr.* 105).

(21) Martyr with Mocianus; commemorated July 3 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, i. 641).

(22) Confessor; commemorated July 4 (Boll *Acta SS.* July, ii. 22).

(23) Martyr with two companions; commemorated in Parthia Sept. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 367).

(24) Martyr with Alphaeus, Alexander, and others under Diocletian; commemorated Sept. 28 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vii. 600).

(25) Martyr with his brother Marcianus and many others, in Egypt; commemorated Oct. 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ii. 391).

(26) Bishop; depositio commemorated at Rome Oct. 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(27) Bishop of Rome and confessor; his depositio at Rome on Via Appia commemorated Oct. 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*); his natalis on this day (Bed. *Mart.*); *Vet. Rom. Mart.* mentions him without distinguishing the festival. His natalis on this day commemorated in the Sacramentary of Gregory, mentioning his name in the collect (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sac.* 135). See also Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iii. 886.

(28) First gentile bishop of Jerusalem, martyr circ. A.D. 150; commemorated at Adrianople Oct.

22 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 477).

**(29)** One of four "soldiers of Christ" martyred at Rome under the emperor Claudius and buried in the Via Salaria; commemorated Oct. 25 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*).

**(30)** Martyr with Soterichus and Valentina; commemorated Oct. 26 (Basil. *Menol.*).

**(31)** Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Oct. 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(32)** Martyr; commemorated in Africa Nov. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). Another of the same name on same day at Antioch (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(33)** Martyr; commemorated in Spain Nov. 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(34)** Martyr with Stephanus, both belonging to Antioch in Pisidia, under Diocletian, buried in Pisidia; commemorated Nov. 22 (Basil. *Menol.*).

**(35)** ST., bishop, martyr; commemorated Nov. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(36)** Martyr; commemorated in Africa Dec. 5 *Hieron. Mart.*).

**(37)** Martyr; commemorated Dec. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(38)** Martyr: commemorated in Africa Dec. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARCUSIUS (1)** Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(2)** Martyr; commemorated at Tarragona Jan. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARDARIUS,** martyr, with four others under Diocletian; commemorated Dec. 13 (Basil. *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 277). [C. H.]

**MARDIANUS,** martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Oct. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARDONIUS,** martyr with others; commemorated at Neocaesarea in Mauritania Jan. 24 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 590); written Mardunus in *Hieron. Mart.* [C. H.]

**MAREAS,** with Bicor, bishops, martyrs in Persia; commemorated Apr. 22 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARES,** com. Jan. 25 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**MARGARITA** or **MARINA,** virgin, martyr at Antioch in Pisidia; commemorated July 20 (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, v. 24); commemorated at Marina, μεγαλομάρτυρ in the Eastern church, July 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Dan. *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 263; Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**MARGARITA** (Μαργαρίτης, *the Pearl*) is a term for the particle of the bread which is broken off and placed in the cup as a symbol of the union of the Body and Blood of Christ [FRACTION, I. 687]. According to Daniel, however (*Codex Liturg.* iv. 208, 416), it is equally applied to all the particles which are placed in the cup for the purpose of administration to the faithful, according to the Eastern rite, by means of a SPOON. [C.]

**MARIA** [See MARY THE VIRGIN, FESTIVALS OF] **(1)** MARY sister of Lazarus, martyr; commemorated Jan. 19 at Jerusalem (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*); Feb. 8 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 157); June 6 at Constantinople (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 621). [MARTHA (8).]

**(2)** who called herself Marinus, and passed herself for a man; commemorated Feb. 12 (Basil. *Menol.*) and other days. [MARINA (11).]

**(3)** Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Feb. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(4)** Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia March 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(5)** Martyr; commemorated at Nicaea Mar. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(6)** Martyr; commemorated in Africa Mar. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(7)** Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia March 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(8)** Martyr with Aprilis and Servulus; commemorated at Nicomedia Mar. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 619).

**(9)** AEGYPTIACA; commemorated in Palestine April 2 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. i. 67). She is commemorated on April 1 as "Our mother Mary of Egypt" in *Cal. Byzant.*, *Cal. Aethiop.*, Daniel's *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 256. Bede's *Auctaria* gives her natalis on April 9, and her depositio April 8.

**(10)** The wife of Cleopas; commemorated April 9 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. i. 811).

**(11)** Martyr; commemorated at Rome, in the cemetery of Praetextatus, May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(12)** ad Martyres; her natalis on May 13 (Usuard. *Mart.*). Her natalis on this day is kept in the Sacramentary of Gregory, but her name is not in the collect (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sacr.* 88). Her dedication on this day (Bed. *Mart.*), appointed by pope Boniface (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

**(13)** Martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(14)** Two martyrs of this name commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(15)** Martyr; commemorated at Aquileia June 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(16)** The Magdalen; commemorated July 22 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, v. 187). "The Ointment Bearer and equal of the Apostles" (*Cal. Byzant.*). Her house at Jerusalem said to have been turned into a temple, A.D. 34 (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* i. 155).

**(17)** Matron of Jerusalem, the mother of John surnamed Mark; commemorated June 29 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, v. 475).

**(18)** or **MIRIAM,** prophetess, sister of Moses; commemorated July 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, i. 11).

**(19)** Virgin, surnamed Consolatrix, in the 8th century; commemorated Aug. 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. i. 81).

**(20)** PATRICIA, martyr with Julianus and others under Leo Iconomachus; commemorated Aug. 9 (Basil. *Menol.*).

**(21)** Martyr; commemorated at Ravenna Nov 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(22)** Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Nov. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(23)** Martyr; commemorated in Africa Dec. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(24)** Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Dec. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(25) Martyr; commemorated Dec. 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARIAMNA**, supposed sister of Philip the apostle; commemorated Feb. 17 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 4). [C. H.]

**MARIANA** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Oct. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated Nov. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARIANUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Beauvais Jan. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Mar. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Mar. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Commemorated with Mamertinus, both monks of Auxerre, April 20 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 758).

(5) Reader, martyr with Jacobus, deacon; commemorated April 30 at Lambesitana (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(6) Martyr with Fortunatus and others, Africans; commemorated May 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* May, i. 383).

(7) Martyr; commemorated in Africa May 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(8) Martyr; commemorated in Africa May 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(9) Martyr at Rome on the Via Nomentana; commemorated May 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(10) Martyr with Januarius; commemorated in Africa July 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July iii. 188).

(11) Confessor; depositio commemorated in Berry Aug. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 734). His natalis Sept. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Bede's *Auctaria* give the depositio on Sept. 19 and natalis on Aug. 19.

(12) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Oct. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(13) Deacon, martyr with Diodorus, presbyter; commemorated at Rome Dec. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(14) [MAMERTINUS.] [C. H.]

**MARICUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome Feb. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARINA** (1) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Feb. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated April 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. i. 538).

(4) Martyr; commemorated in Africa May 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia June 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Virgin, martyr; commemorated July 17 and 20. [MARGARITA.]

(8) Martyr with Theonius; commemorated at Alexandria June 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* June iii. 573).

(9) Martyr; commemorated at Rome July 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(10) Martyr; commemorated in Africa July 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(11) Passed as a monk under the name of Marinus, perhaps in the 8th century; commemorated July 17 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, iv. 278). She is also called Maria, with other commemoration days. [MARIA (2).]

(12) Commemorated with Febronia Sept. 24 (*Cal. Arm.*). [C. H.]

**MARINIANUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome Dec. 1 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARINUS** (1) Presbyter, martyr with Stephanus, deacon; commemorated at Brixia Jan. 16 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 2).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Tarragona Jan. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Feb. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) The name assumed by a female. [MARINA (11), MARIA (2).]

(5) Soldier, martyr with Asterius, senator; commemorated at Caesarea in Palestine March 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. i. 224).

(6) Martyr; commemorated Mar. 17 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 755).

(7) Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria March 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(8) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Ap. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(9) Presbyter, martyr; commemorated "in Afrodiris" April 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(10) Martyr; commemorated at Constantinople May 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(11) Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria June 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(12) Martyr with Januarius, Nabor, and Felix; commemorated in Africa July 10 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(13) Martyr; commemorated at Dorostorum July 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(14) Presbyter, confessor, perhaps in 7th century; commemorated at Auxerre July 20 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, vii. 869).

(15) Senex, martyr; commemorated at Anazarbus or Anazarba in Cilicia Aug. 8 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 346).

(16) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Aug. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(17) Deacon, confessor, patron of San Marino; commemorated Sept. 4 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. ii. 215).

(18) Hermit and martyr at Maurienne, cir. A.D. 731; commemorated Nov. 24 (Mabillon, *Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. iii. par. 1, p. 482, ed. Venet. 1734).

(19) Senator, martyr under the emperor Macrinus; commemorated Dec. 16 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**MARITIMUS**, martyr; commemorated at Syracuse Dec. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARIUS** (1) Martyr, with his wife Martha, and their sons Audifax and Abacuc, noble Persians, who suffered at Rome, A.D. 270, in the reign

of Claudius; commemorated Jan. 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*); Jan. 19 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 214).

(2) Abbat of Bodanum (Beuvons) in the 6th century; commemorated Jan. 27 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 772).

(3) Martyr; commemorated at Rome March 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia March 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Apr. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Martyr; commemorated at Milan May 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Solitary, of Mauriacum in Auvergne; commemorated June 8 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, ii. 114).

(8) Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria July 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(9) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Nov. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Nov. 7 (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; *Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARK.** [MARCUS.]

**MARK, ST.** See EVANGELISTS, SYMBOLS OF; also ST. LUKE.

St. Mark is represented in human form with the other three evangelists in Borgia, *de Cruce Velitense*, p. 133. Also Bottari, tav. cxxxi., on a sepulchral urn, No. 36 in the museum at Arles; see also Perret, *Catacombes*, vol. ii. pl. lxvi.; and Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* i. tab. lxxii. for the baptistery mosaic at Ravenna, in both which pictures the four evangelists are represented. [R. St. J. T.]

**MARNANUS**, Scottish bishop; commemorated March 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.*; Mar. i. 63). [C. H.]

**MARO (1)** Anchoret near Cyrus in Syria; commemorated Feb. 14 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 766).

(2) Martyr in Italy in the reign of Nerva; commemorated April 15 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 373). [C. H.]

**MAROLUS (1)** Martyr; commemorated in Africa March 27 (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*); in *Hieron. Mart.* Marobus.

(2) Bishop of Milan in 5th century; commemorated April 23 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 173). [C. H.]

**MARPUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Feb. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARRIAGE.** The subject will be dealt with in the present article under the three headings of I. MARRIAGE LAWS; II. MARRIAGE CEREMONIES; III. DIVORCE.

I. MARRIAGE LAWS. The affirmative law of marriage, which has come down from the creation, and is written in the hearts of all mankind, is simply that an unmarried adult man may marry an unmarried adult woman, provided that both parties are in their sound mind, both of them are willing to enter into the contract, and both of them capable of carrying out the primary end for which marriage is instituted. This affirmative law, however, is at once and everywhere limited by a crowd of prohibitive regulations, differing in different countries and at different times, but having as their general object—1, the prevention of incest; 2, the prevention of evils which might accrue (*a*) to the state, (*b*) to religion, (*c*) to the individuals concerned.

The first Jewish converts to Christianity, bound before their conversion by the prohibitions of the Mosaic law, continued to be equally bound by them when they had become Christians, except so far as any of the Mosaic regulations had been abrogated or modified by the authority of Christ and His apostles, or had become necessarily obsolete owing to a change of circumstances. The modifications made by our Lord in the Hebrew law of marriage and divorce, as it existed in his time, were two. He restored the rule of monogamy, and he disallowed of divorce, except upon the single ground of the wife's adultery. Apostolic authority added the regulation that Christians should marry none but Christians. The Mosaic rules that became obsolete were of slight importance, being of particular rather than of general application; such as the laws commanding levirate marriages, prohibiting the marriages of heiresses out of their tribe, and making regulations as to the marriage of the high priest. While these special laws fell into abeyance, the general prohibitions continued to be still binding upon the Jewish convert, together with the prohibition of polygamy, divorce (for any reason except one), and heathen marriage.

When the Gentile convert embraced Christianity he, in like manner, was already bound by the prohibitions which the Roman law had introduced with respect to marriage. After his conversion he was still bound by them, as being the law of the land, and not contrary to his Christian conscience. In addition, he was bound by the Mosaic prohibitions (with the same modifications and additions as the Jewish convert), the Jewish convert being analogously bound by the prohibitions of the Roman law, as being the law of the civilised world.

The first object of both laws, as in almost every other nation, was, as we have said, to prevent incest, which shocks the common instincts of humanity; and for this purpose marriage was prohibited between persons related or connected with each other within certain degrees. These prohibitions, and the enlargements or curtailments of them which were made in the early church, will be discussed under the heading of PROHIBITED DEGREES. Here we shall only treat of those other impediments which were introduced for the good of the state, or of the church, or of the contracting parties.

In the 13th century the schoolmen codified the impediments to marriage which then existed in the church; and their code has been accepted and acted upon by the greater part of Western Christendom down to the present day. It is contained in the five following lines, which are given in the *Theologia Moralis* of Saint Alfonso de' Liguori (lib. vi. § 1008), as embodying the rules which regulate present practice:—

> i. Error, ii. Conditio, iii. Votum, iv. Cognatio, v. Crimen.
> vi. Cultûs Disparitas, vii. Vis, viii. Ordo, ix. Ligamen, x. Honestas.

- xi. Aetas, xii. Affinis, xiii. Si clandestinus, xiv. et Impos.
- xv. Raptave sit mulier nec parti reddita tutae. Haec socianda vetant connubia, facta retractant.

From the 13th century onwards these impediments have more or less been regarded as nullifying marriage. It will be seen that the first, the seventh, the fourteenth, and the fifteenth are contrary to what we have termed the primary law of marriage, which postulates on both sides a knowledge of what is being transacted, willingness, and capacity. The second, which forbids marriage between persons differing in condition, was introduced by the state, and for state purposes. The third, the sixth, and the eighth originate in the supposed good of the church. The fourth and the twelfth have for their object the prevention of incest. The remainder are intended as safeguards to one of the parties concerned. We will pass each of these impediments shortly in review, inasmuch as they existed though they were not formalised in early times.

i. *Error*. This impediment required no canons for its establishment. If the mistake affected the substantials of the marriage, such as a mistake with respect to the person, it *ipso facto* invalidated a marriage, as there could be no marriage where sufficient knowledge was wanting. If it had to do only with the quality or circumstances and accidents of the marriage, it did not invalidate it during the period with which we are dealing, except in the cases which have to be mentioned under the next heading.

ii. *Conditio*. Under this head three questions arise: the marriage of slaves with slaves; the marriage of free men with slaves; the marriage of persons of a higher rank with those that were of a rank lower than themselves. With regard to the marriage of slaves with slaves the first converts found the two laws to which they paid respect in conflict with one another. According to the Roman law, there could be no such thing as the marriage of a slave: he was a thing, not a person, and the utmost he could attain to was *contubernium*, not *connubium*, whereas the Hebrew law recognised in the slave a capacity of contracting marriage.[a] We can trace a struggle between the Roman and the Hebrew principle in the early church, but the genius of Christianity was such as necessarily to cause the more humane principle to triumph. The judgment of the church appears in the Apostolical Constitutions, which command a master to give his consent to the marriage of slaves (lib. viii. c. 32). Slaves therefore might marry, but a condition of their doing so was the express consent of their master. This is repeated in St. Basil's Second Canonical Epistle to Amphilochius (*Op.* tom. iii. p. 296, Paris, 1730), which pronounces that "the contracts made by those who belong to others are of no force" (can. xl.), except when made by the consent of their master. This became the law of the early church. The fourth council of Orleans, A.D. 541, ruled that slaves who put themselves under the protection of the church with a view to getting married, were "to be restored to their parents or masters, as the case might be, and made to promise that they would separate, liberty being granted to the parents and masters to unite them afterwards in marriage if they thought proper" (can. xxiv., Hard. *Concil.* tom. ii. p. 1440). The second council of Châlons, A.D. 813, pronounced that the marriages of slaves belonging to different masters were not to be nullified, if once the masters had consented (can. xxx., *ibid.* tom. iv. p. 1036).

The legality of marriages between freemen and slaves was not so easily allowed, inspiring as they did a repugnance which was never wholly overcome. At the beginning of the third century bishop Callistus, having himself been a slave, attempted to obtain the sanction of the church at Rome for the marriage of free-born women with slaves. But he did not succeed; and we find Hippolytus treating his attempt as matter for a passionate accusation against him (see Döllinger, *Hippolytus and Callistus*, p. 147, Eng. tr. Edinb. 1876). The Apostolical Constitutions, which recognise the propriety of the marriage of slaves with slaves, do not permit the marriage of a freeman with a slave. "If a believer has a slave concubine, let him give her up, and lawfully marry a wife. If he has a freewoman for a concubine, let him take her for his legitimate wife" (*Apostol. Const.* lib. viii. c. 32). This principle is again laid down in still harsher form by pope Leo I. A.D. 443 (*Epist. ad Rusticum Narbonens.* Resp. vi., *Op.* p. 408, Paris, 1675). Some Welsh canons of the 7th century recognise marriage between a man and his female slave, and in case it has taken place forbid him afterwards to sell her; if he attempts to sell her, he is to be condemned, and the slave-wife put under the protection of the priest (*Canones Wallici*, can. lx. in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 137).[b] The 17th of the *Capitula* of Theodore of Canterbury, as given by Harduin (*Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1773), declares that "a man of free birth ought to marry a woman of free birth." The form of the expression "ought to" (debet) implies that at the date of that canon the feeling against slave marriages had grown less strong than it had been, but we cannot be sure what that date is, as the canon is not Theodore's (see Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils of Great Britain*, vol. iii. p. 210).[c] Among the genuine canons of Theodore, A.D. 686, are found two, one of which recognises the validity of marriage between a freeman and a slave, and forbids the husband to dismiss his wife if the consent of both parties had been originally given to the marriage (*Penitential*, lib. ii. cap. xiii. § 5), while the other still sees such a gulf fixed between the freed and the slave that it allows husbands or wives

[a] *Contubernium* was a concubinage, or permanent marriage-relation, between one man and one woman, and recognised by the law as marriage. Even that was forbidden to their slaves by many masters (see Plutarch, *Cato Maj.* c. 21); and when not forbidden it was commonly impossible, as the male slaves in Rome were about five times as many as the female slaves.

[b] The place and date of these canons is somewhat uncertain, and the canon given above is found in only one of the two MSS. from which they are printed.

[c] The only trustworthy copies of Theodore's *Penitential* are those of Wasserschleben, in his *Die Bussordnungen der Abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851), and of Haddan and Stubbs, in their learned and accurate edition of the *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxf. 1871).

who have gained their freedom to dismiss their consorts, if the latter cannot be redeemed from slavery, and to marry freeborn persons instead (*ibid.* § 4, Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils of Great Britain*, vol. iii. p. 202). A third canon rules that if a man has reduced himself to slavery by crime, his wife may at the end of a year marry another man if she has herself been hitherto only once married (*ibid.* cap. xii. § 8, p. 299). The feeling against marriage with slaves (naturally stronger in respect to the marriage of freeborn women with male slaves than of freemen with female slaves) found its most barefaced and reckless expression in some of the Barbarian Codes. By the laws of the Visigoths (lib. iii. tit. ii. c. 2, in Canciani, *Leges Barbarorum*, vol. iv. p. 91) judges were commanded immediately to separate a freewoman from her slave or freedman whom she had married, as guilty of an atrocious and shocking crime, for which she and her paramour were to be burnt; and it was further enacted that if she married the slave of another she and her husband were to receive a hundred stripes, which were to be thrice repeated (c. 3). The Roman law was not so severe as this. It is true that a *senatus consultum* of the year 52 had enacted that if a freewoman formed a permanent marriage relation or *contubernium* (she could not contract a legal marriage) with a slave, without permission from the latter's master, she should herself become the property of the master (Tacit. *Annal.* xii. 53); and a freedman who aspired to marry his *patrona* was liable to be sent to the mines or the public works (Paul. *Sent.* ii. t. 29); and by a law of Constantine a *decurio* who married another man's slave was ordered to be banished, while the woman was to be sent to the mines (*Cod. Theod.* lib. xii. tit. i. leg. 6). But even these penalties do not equal those of the Barbarian Code in severity, and they were more or less such as might be evaded. Nor does there seem to have been any desire to enforce them harshly. So early as the time of Hadrian the children of a freewoman and a slave were allowed to be regarded and treated as free (Gaius, i. 84). When the 6th century is reached, we find Justinian appointing, in case a master gave his slave in marriage to a freeman as being a freewoman, not that the marriage should be regarded as null and void (which would undoubtedly have been the earlier ruling), but that the slave should thereby be constituted free, and the marriage should hold good (*Auth. Collat.* iv. tit. i., *Novell.* xi., *Corp. Juris Civilis*, tom. ii. pt. 2, p. 125). By the Carolingian era the repugnance entertained to these marriages had greatly abated. The councils of Vermerie (can. xiii.) and of Compiègne (can. v.), A.D. 753 and 757, admit and enforce the legality of marriages deliberately entered into between the free and the slave, whether the man or the woman were the slave. But if a man married a slave under the apprehension that she was free, the error was considered to affect the substance of the contract, and the marriage was thereby invalidated, by the legislation both of Justinian (*Novell.* xxii. c. 10, *Corp. Juris*, tom. ii. pars 2, p. 125) and of the Carolingians (*Concil. Vermeriense*, can. vi.; *Concil. Compendiense*, can. v., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iv. pp. 1992, 2005). [CONSENT TO MARRIAGE; CONTRACT OF MARRIAGE.]

The third set of cases to which this Impediment applied was that of marriages between persons of dissimilar rank and position. The Julian and Papian law had forbidden the marriage of senators, their sons and daughters, and the descendants of their sons, with freedwomen, or with women of low degree, and these marriages were declared null and void under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. The slave-born bishop of Rome, Callistus, would seem, from a charge made against him by Hippolytus, to have attempted to run counter to this legislation by giving an ecclesiastical sanction to them. By very slow degrees, it is probable, that public opinion within the Christian body veered round, until it became favourable to them; but the prohibition continued to be maintained on grounds of state policy by the Christian emperors, as well as by their predecessors. Constantine declares that any attempt to treat the issue of such marriages as legitimate subjects the father, if he be a senator or high official, to the penalties of infamy and outlawry (*Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. xxv. leg. 1). Valentinian and Marcian, A.D. 454, following in the steps of Constantine, define the forbidden marriages to be those with a slave or the daughter of a slave, with a freedwoman or the daughter of a freedwoman, with an actress or the daughter of an actress, with a tavern-keeper or the daughter of a tavern-keeper, or with the daughter of a procurer, or of a gladiator, or of a huckster (*Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. v. leg. 7, *Corp. Juris*, tom. ii. p. 425). If a senator or the son of a senator married within these prohibited classes, his children, being regarded *spurii*, followed the position of their mother, and in the eye of the law he was not married at all. Nay, more, by the Papian law, if a man with a freedwoman for his wife was created a senator, his marriage was thereby dissolved. Justinian softened the harshness of this legislation, which became more and more insupportable as the dignity of the senate was more and more lowered (*Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. iv. legg. 23 seq.); and by degrees the impediment came to be regarded as less and less imperative, though a perverted application of it continues to have a baneful operation throughout the greater part of Europe to the present day. See the *Theologia Moralis* of St. Alfonso de' Liguori, iv. 644.

iii. *Votum.* We may distinguish six classes of religious women, bound, in different degrees of strictness, by a vow or understanding which caused an impediment to marriage,—the widows, the πρεσβύτιδες, the virgins, the devotae, the nuns, the deaconesses. The special duties of each of these classes will be found designated in the several articles devoted to them. It is enough here to say that the πρεσβύτιδες probably formed the elder division of the widows (see Hefele's note on the eleventh canon of the Council of Laodicea, *Hist. of Councils*, vol. ii. p. 306, Eng. tr. 1876); that the virgins did not differ essentially from the widows except in respect to the life that they had led before entering the order; that the deaconesses were generally, but not necessarily, selected from the widows or the virgins; that the devota was a woman living in her father's household, or with some respectable woman (Council of Hippo, A.D. 393, can. xxxi.), but given up more or less formally to the service of God; while the nun

made one of a religious community living together under rule. There can be little doubt that the members of each of these classes were from the beginning bound to celibacy by the public opinion of the church, which they would themselves have shared. Morally there is little distinction between such an obligation recognised by the conscience and a formal vow. Nor is it possible to fix the time when the former slid into the latter. At first the obligation was based upon the idea that the unmarried were more free than the married to devote themselves to spiritual works, and also upon a widely spread sentiment that a celibate life was one of superior sanctity (see Justin. *Apol.* i. 29, p. 61, Paris, 1742; Athenag. *Legat.* c. xxxiii. p. 311, Paris, 1742). Before long another idea was attached to the celibate state; that the virgins were the spouses of the church and therefore of Christ. This notion does not appear in the 13th canon of the Council of Elvira, A.D. 304 (*de Virginibus Deo sanctis*), nor in canon xxvii. of the same council, nor in the 19th canon of the Council of Ancyra, A.D. 314, dealing with the same subject; but it is found when we reach the first Council of Valencia, A.D. 374, which condemns those who, after they have been devoted to God, turn to earthly marriages (can. iii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. i. p. 196), and in Optatus, who wrote about the year 370 (*de Schism. Don.* lib. vi. p. 95, ed. Dupin). It is also found, as might be expected, in Tertullian (*de Virg. Vel.* cap. xv.). In the 5th century it was generally accepted (see St. Augustine, *Tract.* ix. in John ii., *Op.* tom. iii. p. 1459, ed. Migne; St. Jerome, *adv. Jovin.* lib. i., *Op.* tom. iv. p. 156; St. Chrysostom, *ad Theod. Laps*, *Op.* tom. i. p. 38, Paris, 1718), and it was symbolised by the acceptance of a veil, *velatio* being used, as we shall see presently, as a synonym of matrimony. Pope Innocent, in his letter to Victricius, distinguishes clearly between the virgins who had taken the veil, and those virgins who, without taking the veil, had promised to embrace the celibate life. The former are in an analogous position to that of married women, and if they marry are to be treated as adulteresses and not admitted to penance. The latter are in the position of betrothed women, and are to do penance "for some time," for breaking their promise to the heavenly spouse (caps. xii., xiii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. i. p. 1002). From the earliest times it is probable that any member of these classes that married was considered to have been guilty of a sin and of a scandal (1 Tim. v. 12), but the marriage was held as valid, as may be seen by St. Cyprian's statement that virgins who could not, or would not, persevere had but to marry (St. Cypr. *Epist. IV. ad Pompon.*, *Op.* p. 3, ed. Fell, Oxon. 1682). As soon, however, as the idea of the spiritual marriage with Christ had taken possession of the mind of the church, the earthly marriage was regarded as no marriage at all. The council of Ancyra, A.D. 314, requires that any devotae who marry should be subjected to penance for a year (can. xix.); the council of Valence, A.D. 374, that they should be suspended from communion, and not be re-admitted to it, *nisi plane satisfecerint Deo* (can. ii.). St. Basil, A.D. 375, says that the old penalty of one year's suspension was too light, and that *now* virgins ought not to be admitted to communion while continuing in marriage (*Epist. Canon.* II. can. xvii.). The first council of Toledo, A.D. 400, rules that such persons are not to be admitted to penance unless they have separated from their husbands (can. xvi.); and that if they are the daughters of a bishop, priest, or deacon, their parents may no longer associate with them (can. xix.). A Roman council under Innocent I., A.D. 402, imposes a penance of many years (can. i.). A synod, called after St. Patrick, A.D. 450 (can. xvii.), and the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (can. xvi.), excommunicate them, though the latter council allows mercy to be shewn to them by the bishop. Pope Gelasius, A.D. 492, orders that any who marry a consecrated virgin shall be excommunicated for life (*Epist.* v. cap. xx., Hard. *Concil.* tom. ii. p. 903). Pope Symmachus, A.D. 498, forbids the marriage, and orders that the parties to it be suspended (*ad Caesar.* Resp. iv. 5, *ibid.* p. 958). The penalty of life-long suspension or excommunication is re-enacted by the council of Mâcon, A.D. 581 (can. xii.), by the so-called fourth council of Carthage in the 6th century (can. civ.), by the fifth council of Paris at the beginning of the 7th century (can. xiii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 553), and by other late councils. Deaconesses who marry are excommunicated by the second council of Orleans, A.D. 533 (can. xvii.), and Justinian enacted that their marriage should cause the forfeiture both of life and goods (*Novell.* vi. 6, *Corp. Juris*, tom. ii. par. 2, p. 37). The same Novella, however, forbids the ordination of a deaconess under fifty years of age; and of course at such an advanced age her temptation to marry was much diminished. In the 4th century we find the age for virgins taking the veil fixed at twenty-five by the council of Milevis (can. xxvi., Hard. *Concil.* tom. i. p. 1222). The council of Agde, A.D. 506, forbids nuns to be veiled before they were forty (can. xix.); and a novella of Leo and Majorian protects the rights of those who had been induced to take vows of virginity before that age (*Novell.* viii., ad calc. *Cod. Theod.* tom. vi. p. 36). [DEVOTA.]

The case was the same with men as with women. There were men who occupied an analogous position to that of the devotae, and the same rules were applied to them as to the devotae. Whoever has declared that he will not take a wife from a resolution of remaining in chastity should continue a celibate, says Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* lib. iii. c. 12). He who has made a promise of virginity and breaks it must undergo a year's penance, says the council of Ancyra, A.D. 314 (can. xix.); must be treated as guilty of fornication, that is, undergo four years' penance, says St. Basil, A.D. 375 (*Epist. Canon.* II., can. xix.); must undergo public penance, says St. Leo, A.D. 443 (*Epist. ad Rustic.* Resp. 14, *Op.* p. 410); must be excommunicated, but may be restored by the bishop's humanity, says the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (can. xvi.), (Hard. *Concil.* tom. ii. p. 607); must be separated from his wife by the judge, who must be excommunicated if he will not do it, says the second council of Tours, A.D. 567 (can. xv., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 360); must undergo the penalty due for fornication, says the council in Trullo, A.D. 692 (can. xliv., *ibid.* p. 680). After the covenant that they have made with God, the marriage of monks is

nothing else than fornication, says John Damascene (*in Sacr. Par.*, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 701, ed. Lequien). An increasing rigour of sentiment is exhibited in the West, until we reach the second Lateran council under Innocent II., A.D. 1139, when, according to Basil Pontius' statement (*de Matr.* vii. 17), which Van Espen declares to be *non sine fundamento*, the monk's and nun's marriage was, for the first time, pronounced absolutely null. The words of the council are:—"To enlarge the law of continence and God-pleasing cleanness of life in ecclesiastical persons and sacred orders, we appoint that bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, regular canons, and monks and professed religious, who have broken their holy purpose and government in order to couple wives to themselves, be separated. For such coupling as this, which is known to be contracted against ecclesiastical rule, we do not count to be marriage. And when they have been separated from one another, they are to do proper penance for such great excesses. And we decree that the same rule is to be observed about nuns (sanctimoniales foeminae) if they have attempted to marry, which God forbid that any should do" (cans. vii. viii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. vii. p. 1209). [CONTRACT OF MARRIAGE.]

iv. *Cognatio.* [PROHIBITED DEGREES.]

v. *Crimen.* The two offences indicated by this heading are the murder of a husband or wife, committed with a view to a second marriage, and adultery accompanied with a promise of future marriage. This impediment no doubt existed at all times, but it is not specifically named in early times, perhaps because, according to the early discipline, murder and adultery disqualified a penitent from marriage *altogether* during the whole time of his or her penance, and, therefore, *à fortiori*, disqualified from a marriage to which the way had been smoothed by such crimes. The council of Friuli, A.D. 791, decreed that no woman put away for adultery was to be again married to *any one* whatever, even after her husband's death (can. x., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iv. p. 860). The council of Vermerie, A.D. 753, declares that "if a man's wife has entered into a conspiracy against his life, and he has killed one of the conspirators in self-defence, he may put her away." Later copies of the acts of the council add that "after the death of his wife he may marry again, and that the wife is to be subjected to penance, and never allowed to remarry" (can. v., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1990). The first council of Tribur, A.D. 895, lays down the general rule prohibiting marriage between a man and a married woman with whom he has committed adultery, on account of a scandal that had lately occurred, a man having persuaded a woman to sin on the promise, confirmed by oath, that he would marry her if her husband died, a thing described as *res execrabilis et catholicis omnibus detestanda* (can. xl., Hard. *Concil.* tom. vi. p. 452).

vi. *Cultûs disparitas.* The marriage of Hebrews with any but Hebrews was forbidden by patriarchal rule and by Levitical law (Gen. xxiv. 3; Ex. xxxiv. 16; Deut. vii. 3; 1 Kings xi. 2; Ez. ix. 2), the object of the prohibition being to preserve both the race and the religion uncontaminated. In Christianity there is no favoured race to be preserved, but the religious ground of the regulation remains untouched. Accordingly St. Paul adapted the existing Jewish law to changed circumstances by ruling that marriage should only be "in the Lord" (1 Cor. vii. 39), that is, that Christians should marry none but Christians. St. Paul's command is regarded as imperative by the early Fathers, as Tertullian (*cont. Marc.* lib. v., *Op.* p. 469); Cyprian (*Testimon.* lib. iii. c. 62, *Op.* p. 323, Paris, 1726); St. Jerome (*Epist.* xci. *ad Ageruchiam, de Monogamia*, *Op.* tom. iv. p. 742, Paris, 1706); St. Ambrose (*de Abrahamo*, lib. i. c. ix., *Op.* tom. i. p. 309, Paris, 1686); St. Augustine, *Epist.* cclv., al. 234, *ad Rusticum*, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 882, Paris, 1679): by councils, as that of Elvira, A.D. 313 (*Conc. Elib.* cans. xv. xvi., Hard. *Concil.* tom. i. p. 252); the first council of Arles, A.D. 314 (*Conc. Arelat.* i. can. xi., *ibid.* p. 265); that of Laodicea, A.D. 372 (*Conc. Laod.* can. x., *ibid.* p. 783); that of Agde, A.D. 506 (*Conc. Agath.* can. lxvii., *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 1005); the second of Orleans, A.D. 533 (*Conc. Aurel.* ii can. xix., *ibid.* p. 1176); the fourth of Toledo, A.D. 633 (*Conc. Tolet.* iv. can. lxiii., *ibid.* tom. iii. p. 59): and by Imperial legislation, which forbids intermarriage with Jews as a capital crime (*Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. 7, leg. 2; lib. xvi. tit. 8, leg. 6). St. Ambrose and the councils of Elvira, Agde, Laodicea, and in Trullo (can. lxxii.), enlarge the prohibition so as to make it apply to heretics as well as to the unbaptized. On the other hand, the Council of Hippo, A.D. 393 (can. xii.) and the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (can. xiv.) seem, by specifying, to confine the prohibition of such marriages to the sons and daughters of bishops, priests, and inferior clergy. The general law was, as might be expected, very frequently set at nought. St. Jerome bursts out with a fiery invective against the women of his day, of whom he says with a rhetorical exaggeration that "the greater part (pleraeque), despising the apostle's command, marry heathens" (*adv. Jovin.* i., *Op.* tom. iv. p. 152). St. Augustine, in his work *de Fide et Operibus* (cap. xix., *Op.* tom. vi. p. 220, ed. Migne), says likewise that in his time marriage with unbelievers had ceased to be regarded as a sin; and he himself holds that it ought not to preclude from admission to baptism. St. Augustine's mother Monica, Clothilda wife of Clovis, Bertha wife of Ethelbert, and Ethelburga wife of Edwin, are conspicuous instances of the rule being transgressed to the advantage of Christianity.

vii. *Vis.* This impediment, like *error*, *ipso facto* invalidates marriage, the essence of which consists of its being a free contract made and declared. Physical violence, or moral violence, carried to such an extent as to interfere with the freedom of action, exercised on either party to the contract, destroys that liberty of the will which is a condition of the contract being valid. Where there was violence there could be no free consent; where no free consent, no contract; where no contract, no marriage. A well-known instance in point is the marriage of Jane of Navarre with the duke of Cleves, which, after the eleven years old maiden had been carried to church by her uncle, the Constable of Montmorency, and compelled to go through the wedding, was broken off on the ground that the bride had not consented.

It was, however, a question whether it was the consent of the woman, or of the woman's

relations, that was necessary. Among the Hebrews the father was regarded as having the right of giving his daughter in marriage (Gen. xxiv. 51). The early Roman law looked upon wife and children as goods, belonging to the husband and father. Consequently there was room for violence to be employed towards one of the contracting parties with a view to force her consent, which the law would not have recognised as violence. The claim of the woman to an independent voice was to a great extent ignored. "The girl," says St. Ambrose of Rebecca, whom he holds up herein as an example, "is not consulted about her espousals, for she awaits the judgment of her parents; inasmuch as a girl's modesty will not allow her to choose a husband" (*de Abrah.* lib. i. cap. ult., *Op.* tom. i. p. 312, Paris, 1686), and he quotes with approbation Euripides' lines:—

> Νυμφευμάτων μὲν τῶν ἐμῶν πατὴρ ἐμὸς
> Μέριμναν ἕξει, κ' οὐκ ἐμὸν κρίνειν τάδε.

The second canonical letter from Basil to Amphilochius (*Op.* tom. iii. p. 296) calls marriages entered into without a father's sanction by the harsh name of fornication (can. xlii.), and rules that even after reconciliation with the parents, three years' penance is to be done by the daughter (can. xxxviii.). The fourth council of Orleans, A.D. 541, says that they should be regarded in the light of captivity or bondage rather than marriage (can. xxii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. ii. p. 1439). An Irish council in the time of St. Patrick, about the year 450, lays it down that the will of the girl is to be inquired of the father, and that the girl is to do what her father chooses, inasmuch as man is the head of the woman (can. xxvii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. i. p. 1796). See also St. Augustine (*Epist.* cclv. al. 233, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 1069, ed. Migne). The imperial laws were also very strict, as those of the heathen emperors had been. Constantius and Constans made clandestine marriages of this nature a capital offence (*Cod. Theod.* lib. ix. tit. xxiv. legg. 1, 2). Even widows under the age of 25 were forbidden by a law of Valentinian and Gratian to marry without their parents' consent (*ibid.* lib. iii. tit. vii. leg. 1); and St. Ambrose desires young widows to leave the choice of their second husbands to their parents (*de Abraham.* lib. i. cap. ult., *Op.* tom. i. p. 312). The third council of Toledo, A.D. 589, enacts that widows are to be allowed free choice of their husbands, and that girls are not to be compelled to accept husbands against the will of their parents or themselves (can. x., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 481). The *Penitential* of Theodore of Canterbury, A.D. 688, ordains that a father may give his daughter in marriage as he will until she is sixteen or seventeen, after which she must not be married without her own consent (lib. ii. cap. xii. § 36).

Nevertheless the independent right of each of the contracting parties to give or withhold his or her consent was not altogether ignored. A law of Diocletian and Maximin declares that none are to be compelled to marry (*Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. iv. leg. 14, *Corp. Juris*, tom. ii. p. 418), and this liberty was testified to in the forms and ceremonies used in the celebration of marriages.

As a protection against violence, it was also enacted that no guardian might marry an orphan to whom he was guardian during her minority (*Cod. Theod.* lib. ix. tit. viii. leg. 1), and that no governor of a province might marry any woman subject to his control during the time of his administration (*ibid.* lib. iii. tit. vi. leg. 1).

viii. *Ordo.* St. Paul desired Timothy and Titus to select for the ministry persons who were "men of one wife" (1 Tim. iii. 2–12; Tit. i. 6). The meaning of the apostle's words is ambiguous. By some they are regarded as enjoining that the persons selected for the ministry should be but once married; by others, that they should not have put away their wives, and have taken others in the lifetime of their first wives; by others, that they should not be men who were unfaithful to their wife (whether a first, or a second, or a third wife) by keeping a concubine, according to a common Roman practice, or other laxity of life; by others, that they should not be polygamists, in accordance with Hebrew customs. The last of these four interpretations is supported by the authority of St. Chrysostom (*Hom. in* 1 Tim. iii. 2, *Op.* tom. xi. p. 599, Paris, 1734); the third, which does not exclude the fourth, is the exposition of Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Catenae Graec. Patr.* in N. T. tom. viii. p. 23, ed. Cramer) and of Theodoret (*Com. in* 1 Tim. iii. 2, *Op.* tom. i. p. 474, Paris, 1642). The authorities and arguments for the second interpretation may be seen at length in Suicer's *Thesaurus*, *s. v.* Διγαμία. The thought underlying St. Chrysostom's interpretation is that, whereas polygamy was allowed by the Jews, and was still practised, as shewn by the example of Herod, and proved by the testimony of Justin (*Dial. cum Tryph.*, *Op.* tom. ii. 442, 460, ed. Otto), it might have been the purpose of the apostle to allow a converted Jew, who was a polygamist, to live as a layman without repudiating his existing wives, but not to allow a man in such a position to be a presbyter, "for the Jews," says St. Chrysostom, "might proceed to second nuptials and have two wives together" (*in* 1 Tim. iii. 2).[d] The exposition of Theodore and Theodoret is in harmony with the words of St. Paul, which literally translated mean "a man of one woman," and need bear no further signification than one who was faithful to the marriage tie, and "kept himself only to his wife so long as they both did live" (Marriage Service). It is also in better harmony with St. Paul's argument ("one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity; for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?"), than that which sees in

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[d] Döllinger's argument to the contrary (*Hippolytus and Callistus*, c. iii.), grounded on the fact that a simultaneous second marriage was contrary to the law of the Roman empire, is of little weight; for the contemptuous tolerance of the Roman magistrate would not have condescended to interfere with a Jew's acting in accordance with his own law (Cf. Acts xviii. 15, xxv. 19): he would have contented himself with ignoring the marriage, and regarding the issue of it as spurious in case any question about it arose. The second marriage would in his eyes have been a *contubernium* such as many of his own fellow-countrymen had entered into. Besides, many Jews would have been converted to Christianity who had married while living in the jurisdiction of the Herods, and it is impossible to believe that the Roman magistrates would have troubled themselves with the internal oeconomy of their households.

the text only a prohibition of a second marriage. Theodoret says that he deliberately adopts the view of those who held "that the holy apostle declares the man who lives contentedly with one wife is worthy of ordination, and that he is not forbidding second marriages, which he has often recommended" (*in* 1 Tim. iii. 2). The general understanding, however, of the words, which was accepted in the early church, was that St. Paul intended to exclude Digamists from the ministry; and his instruction to Timothy, thus understood, became converted into a rule of church discipline. See the Apostolical Canons (can. xvii.); the Apostolical Constitutions (vi. 17); Origen (*Hom.* xvii. *in Luc.*, *Op.* tom. iii. p. 953, Paris, 1740, who says plainly, "Neither bishop, priest, deacon, nor widow must be twice married"); St. Ambrose (*de Off.* i. 50, § 257, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 66, Paris, 1690); St. Augustine (*de Bono Conjug.* c. xviii., *Op.* tom. vi. p. 387, ed. Migne); St. Epiphanius (*Haer.* lix. 4, *Op.* tom. i. p. 496, Paris, 1622); and the councils of Angiers, A.D. 455 (can. xi., Hard. *Concil.* tom. ii. p. 480); Agde, A.D. 506 (can. i. *ibid.* p. 997); Arles, iv. A.D. 524 (can. iii. *ibid.* p. 1070). St. Paul's injunction, thus interpreted, has been continuously the rule of the Oriental church both positively and negatively, except so far as it has been violated on the positive side by the Council in Trullo, A.D. 692, forbidding the marriage of bishops, which St. Paul appears not only to have permitted, but to have recommended, if not enjoined, in order that the bishop's power of ruling might have been tested in a smaller sphere before he was promoted to a large one (*Concil. in Trullo*, can. xlviii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iv. p. 1679).

For some time before the Christian era a change of sentiment as to the relative excellence of the married and single life had been growing up among a section of Jews. The national feeling was strongly in favour of marriage, and a man who was unmarried or without children was looked upon as disgraced (see the legend of Joachim and Anna in the *Protevangelion*). But the spirit of asceticism, cherished by the Essenes, led to an admiration of celibacy, of which no traces are to be found in the Old Testament; so that, instead of a shame, it became an honour to be unmarried and childless. In the early church this spirit, at first exhibiting itself only to be condemned in the Encratites (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 29; St. Aug. *de Haeres.* xxv.), the Apostolici (St. Aug. *de Haeres.* xl.), the Manichees (*ibid.* xlvi.), the Hieracians (*ibid.* xlvii.), the Eustathians (Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 1143; Council of Gangra, cans. i. ix. x. xiv.), struggled with a healthier feeling, till at length it stifled the latter.

Another cause was working in the same direction. The days of chivalry were not yet; and we cannot but notice, even in the greatest of the Christian fathers, a lamentably low estimate of woman, and consequently of the marriage relationship. Even St. Augustine can see no justification for marriage, except in a grave desire deliberately adopted of having children (*Serm.* ix. li., *Op.* tom. v. pp. 88, 345, ed. Migne); and, in accordance with this view, all married intercourse, except for this single purpose, is harshly condemned. If marriage is sought after for the sake of children, it is justifiable; if entered into as a *remedium* to avoid worse evils, it is pardonable; the idea of "the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity," hardly existed, and could hardly yet exist. In the decline of the Roman empire, woman was not a helpmeet for man, and few traces are to be found of those graceful conceptions which Western imagination has grouped round wedded love and home affections. The result was that the gross, coarse, material, carnal side of marriage being alone apprehended, those who sought to lead a spiritual life, that is, above all, the clergy, instead of "adorning and beautifying that holy estate," and lifting it up with themselves into a higher sphere and a purer atmosphere, regarded it rather as a necessary evil to be shunned by those who aimed at a holier life than that of the majority.

Four questions arose:—1. Whether a clergyman might marry after ordination; 2. Whether after ordination he must cease to cohabit with his wife whom he had married before ordination; 3. Whether a man already married might be ordained; 4. Whether a twice married man might be ordained.

On the first question the East and West agreed in returning a negative answer, so far as bishops and presbyters were concerned. In the first half of the 3rd century pope Callistus is charged by Hippolytus with introducing the innovation of allowing clergymen to marry after they were in orders. Döllinger supposes him to have sanctioned no more than the marriage of acolyths, hypodiaconi (the title still borne by subdeacons), and, perhaps, deacons. But this is unlikely, or Hippolytus would not have made it so serious a charge against him. Callistus probably allowed his presbyters and deacons to marry, and the practice continued after his death among his special followers and disciples—his "school," as Hippolytus calls them (*οὗ διαμένει τὸ διδασκαλεῖον φυλάττον τὰ ἔθη καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν*), but it did not prevail against the opposite custom. The Council of Ancyra, A.D. 314, allows deacons only to marry, and that if at the time of their ordination they had given notice of their intention to do so (can. x.). The Apostolical Canons restrict the liberty of marriage after ordination to readers and singers (can. xxv.). Presbyters are ordered by the council of Neocaesarea, A.D. 314, to remain unmarried if they are unmarried at the time of their ordination (can. i.). Bishops, priests, and deacons are ordered to remain unmarried by a Roman council under Innocent I., A.D. 402 (can. iii.). The only authoritative sanction for marriage after ordination is found in a decree of a Nestorian synod held under Barsumas, archbishop of Nisibis, towards the end of the 5th century.

On the second question, whether clergy married at the time of their ordination were to cease cohabitation, there gradually developed itself one of the disciplinary differences which afterwards declared themselves between the East and West. The Eastern church has never forbidden marriage before ordination to its presbyters, and has never laid upon them the burden of abstinence from their wives; and there is no doubt that the Eastern discipline in this respect was the discipline of the whole of the early church.

Thomassin, Natalis Alexander, the Bollandist Stilting, and Zaccaria assert that married asceticism prevailed from the beginning by apostolical precept, but they have no ground for their assertion. Tillemont acknowledges that for the first four or five hundred years it was not required, and De Marca argues that it grew up insensibly as a voluntary practice, and was first made binding by pope Siricius at the end of the 4th century.

The first authority on the question is Clement of Alexandria, who, in contrasting the practice of the church with that of the heretics of his day, speaks plainly of priest, deacon, and layman as "ἀνεπιλήπτως γάμῳ χρώμενος" (*Stromat.* lib. iii. 12, *Op.* p. 352, ed. Potter, Oxf. 1715), by which words he designates cohabitation,* and towards the end of the same book he writes: *Τί πρὸς ταύτας εἰπεῖν ἔχουσι τὰς νομοθεσίας οἱ τὴν σπορὰν καὶ τὴν γένεσιν μυσαττόμενοι; ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον τοῦ οἴκου καλῶς προϊστάμενον νομοθετεῖ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀφηγεῖσθαι· οἶκον δὲ κυριακὸν μιᾶς γυναικὸς συνίστησι συζυγία.* His argument would be futile if he did not look upon the bishop, not only as married, but specifically as begetting children (*Strom.* iii. c. xviii., *Op.* p. 562). The opposite view was taken by Origen, as might be expected from the deed for which he is noted (*Hom.* xxiii. *in Num.*, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 358); by Epiphanius, though he allows that a different practice prevailed (*Haeres.* lix. 4, *Op.* tom. i. p. 496); by St. Jerome (*adv. Jovin.* lib. i. *Op.* tom. iv. p. 175). The Apostolical Canons forbid bishops, presbyters, and deacons to separate from their wives on the pretext of piety on pain of deposition (can. vi.); but about a quarter of a century later was passed by the Spanish council of Elvira (A.D. 305) a canon which is regarded as the earliest injunction on the clergy to cease cohabitation (can. xxxiii.).[f] An attempt was made to force this discipline on the whole church at the council of Nicaea, A.D. 325, but it was frustrated by the firmness of Paphnutius. The spirit that dictated the attempt was not, however, extinguished. It became a fashion with some to hold aloof from the ministrations of a married presbyter in the holy communion, to such an extent that the council of Gangra, held about A.D. 350, had to anathematize those that did so (can. iv.). Pope Siricius's letter to Himerius (Hard. *Concil.* tom. i. p. 849), if genuine (it is so counted), gave expression and sanction to this unwholesome feeling, A.D. 385.[g] A council held at Carthage under Genethlius, in 387 or 390, binds bishops, priests, and Levites to abstain from their wives (can. ii.), and the canon that it passed to this effect was taken into the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Africanae* (Hefele, viii. §§ 106, 121). Socrates, who wrote A.D. 439, names Heliodorus, bishop of Trica, as the person who had introduced into Thessaly the novelty of deposing clergy who lived with their wives, and he speaks of that custom prevailing in his day in Thessalonica, and in Macedonia and Hellas; but he declares it contrary to the otherwise universal custom of the Eastern church, where bishops and priests were left at liberty to act as they pleased in this respect, "for many of them have had children by their lawful wives during the time that they are bishops" (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 22, *Op.* p. 242, Oxon. 1844). The argument drawn from the incontrovertible fact that popes were the sons of clergymen, and that well-known bishops and priests were married, and that sons and daughters of bishops and presbyters are frequently referred to in the canons of councils, is generally eluded by assuming that, though married, the clergy did not cohabit with their wives after ordination; but the historian's statement cannot be thus put aside, confirmed as it is by overwhelming evidence. Gregory Nazianzen, his sister and brother, were probably born while their father was now a bishop: it is certain that they were born after their father was a priest (Carm. *de Vita sua*, l. 502); Cyprian charges Novatus, a priest, with cruelty to his wife, which caused her miscarriage (*Epist.* xlix.); and Synesius, as we know, only accepted his bishopric on the understanding that he was to be in no way separated from his wife. Nevertheless, as time proceeded, the liberty not only of cohabiting with, but of having, wives was extinguished, so far as bishops were concerned, in the East and West alike. Not so with regard to presbyters. In their case the discipline of the two halves of Christendom became more and more divergent. The East never yielded the right of their clergy being fathers of families if married before ordination. The council in Trullo speaks on this point with decision and warmth:—"As we know that the Roman church has ruled that candidates for the diaconate or the presbyterate are to make profession that they will no longer cohabit with their wives, we observing the ancient canon of apostolical perfection and order, declare the marriages of all in holy orders are to be henceforth accounted valid, and we refuse to forbid cohabitation, and will not deprive them of conjugal intercourse at proper times. Therefore, if a man is found fit to be ordained subdeacon, deacon, or presbyter, he is not to be refused on the ground of cohabiting with his wife. Nor at the time of ordination is anyone to be required to profess that he will abstain from intercourse with his lawful wife; lest we thus do dishonour to marriage, which was instituted by God and blessed by His presence, the gospel declaring aloud, 'What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder,' and the apostle teaching, 'Marriage is honourable

* The Latin translation of the passage is as follows: "Jam vero unius quoque uxoris virum utique admittit, seu sit Presbyter, seu Diaconus, seu Laicus, utens matrimonio citra reprehensionem. Servabitur autem per filiorum procreationem." Binterim is driven into saying that "utens" applies only to "laicus," maintaining that otherwise the reading would be "utentes" and "servabuntur" (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, vi. 2-9).

[f] According to its grammatical construction this canon deposes from the ministry all clergy who refuse to live in wedlock with their wives. It is generally supposed that the wording is confused, and that it intends to prohibit what it seems to order. If it were construed grammatically it would be similar in its character to the fourth canon of the council of Gangra, mentioned a few lines lower down in the text.

[g] The canons of a supposed council held at Rome by Siricius, A.D. 386, the ninth of which "advises (suademus) Priests and Levites not to live with their wives," and the fourth and fifth forbid the marriage of a clergyman with a widow, are spurious. They are given by Hefele (viii. § 105).

in all, and the bed undefiled,' and 'Art thou bound to a wife, seek not to be loosed.' . . . If, then, anyone in despite of the apostolical canons, be induced to forbid priests, deacons, and subdeacons to cohabit and hold intercourse with their lawful wives, let him be deposed. And, likewise, if any priest or deacon dismisses his wife on the pretext of piety, let him be excommunicated, and if he be obstinate, let him be deposed" (can. xiii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iv. p. 1666). Meantime the West was growing stiffer and stiffer, Spain still leading the way. The first and the ninth councils of Toledo (canons i. x., Hard. *Concil.* tom. i. p. 990, tom. iii. p. 975) forbid cohabitation with increasing rigour, A.D. 400 and 655. The French councils of Arles II., A.D. 452 (can. xliv., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iv. p. 774), and of Mâcon, A.D. 584 (can. xi.), denounce the punishment of deposition; and Innocent I. in his letters to Victricius and to Exuperius (Hard. *Concil.* tom. i. pp. 1001, 1003), and Leo I. (*Epist. ad Rusticum*, Resp. iii., *Op.* p. 407) speak for Rome in the same sense. Such a discipline so severely enforced could only end in the prohibition of marriage altogether.

The third question, whether the married state and the clerical state were altogether incompatible, could not arise while St Paul's teaching was still ringing in the ears of Christians, for St. Paul had commanded the selection of married men for priests and deacons (1 Tim. iii. 2, 12; Tit. i. 6), the reason of which command was explained by Clement of Alexandria to be that "they have learnt from their own households how to govern the church" (*Strom.* iii. 12); but it necessarily arose, and was necessarily answered in the affirmative, as soon as the cohabitation of the clergy with their wives had been authoritatively forbidden. When public opinion came to require that a married man should abstain from living with his wife, it was only a question of time how soon it would require him to have no wife at all; and to many the latter course would appear less revolting than the former. A one-sided development of the scriptural precepts contained in Matt. xix. 12, and in 1 Cor. vii. 1–7, necessarily led to the high estimate of celibacy for its own sake that is found in some early writers (see Ignatius, *Epist. ad Polycarp.* c. v.; Athenagoras, *Legat.* c. xxxiii.; Justin. *Apol.* x. xv.), and more naturally found its issue in the imposition of celibacy than of married asceticism. The arguments used from the time of Siricius onwards against cohabitation were of equal force against marriage. If it were true that holiness and abstinence from marriage intercourse were synonymous, and if it were true that the clergy were bound to be in a peculiar manner dedicated to holiness, the conclusion necessarily drawn was that the clergy should be unmarried. Siricius was the spiritual father of Damiani and Hildebrand. It is true that there was a long struggle, sometimes based by the opponents of celibacy on low and carnal motives; sometimes fought on the higher principle which brought into prominence those other scriptural injunctions which ought to limit the application commonly made of those precepts on which the idea of celibacy had grounded itself; sometimes, too, appealing to the practice of the earlier church, still perpetuated in the East. But the battle could not be a successful one unless the principles laid down by Siricius were repudiated, and the honour of married life and married intercourse vindicated. In 961 we find that "a great disturbance took place" in South Wales (as elsewhere) "because the priests were enjoined not to marry without the leave of the pope; so that it was considered best to allow matrimony to the priests" (*Brut. y Tywysog.* p. 28, Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils of Great Britain*, i. 286). But in 1059 the West was ripe for the decree of the Roman council under Nicholas II., "Whatever priest, deacon, or subdeacon shall, after the constitution of our predecessor of blessed memory, the most holy pope Leo on clerical chastity, openly marry a concubine (wife), or *not leave one that he has married*, in the name of Almighty God and by the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, we enjoin and utterly forbid to sing mass or read the gospel or epistle," &c. (can. iii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. vi. p. 1052). In the first Lateran Council under Callistus II., A.D. 1123, the word "wife" is introduced, together with that of "concubine." "We utterly forbid priests, deacons, and subdeacons to live with concubines and wives; and any other woman to be in the same house with them, except those whom the Council of Nice allowed on the ground of relationship, namely, mother, sister, aunt, and so on, about whom no suspicion can fairly arise" (can. iii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. vii. p. 1111). The Lateran Council appeals to the authority of the Council of Nice as though forbidding that which it deliberately refused to forbid.

The fourth question, whether a twice-married man might be ordained, was answered in the negative, being contrary to an ecclesiastical rule which, as we have stated above, was founded on a probably mistaken apprehension of the meaning of St. Paul's injunction to Timothy and Titus (1 Tim. iii. 2, 12; Tit. i. 6). Accordingly, although about the year 220 pope Callistus admitted twice or thrice married men to the Episcopate, the Presbyterate, and the Diaconate, such ordinations were forbidden by the Apostolical Canons (can. xvii.) and Constitutions (ii. 2, vi. 17), by St. Basil's canons (can. xii.), and by all the synods that dealt with the subject, except those held among the Nestorians. Here too, however, a difference of the discipline of the East and the West exhibited itself. The East, which, whenever it could be, was more human and less rigorist than the West, refused to count marriages which had taken place before baptism as disqualifications. Provided that a man had been but once married since his baptism he was eligible in the East to the priesthood, notwithstanding any marriage that he might have contracted as a heathen or as a catechumen (see *Council in Trullo*, can. iii.). Not so in the West. St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, popes Siricius and Innocent, the councils of Valence and Agde, agree in pronouncing that no such distinction can be recognised. Two marriages, whether before or after baptism, exclude from the ministry. The only voices raised in the West against this ruling are those of St. Jerome, who, in defending the regularity of bishop Carterius's consecration, declares that the world was full of such ordinations (*Epist.* lxix., *Op.* tom. i. p. 654, Paris, 1846), and of Gennadius of Marseilles (*de Eccles. Dogm.* c. lxxii. p. 38, ed. Elmenhorst). The rule, whether in its Eastern or Western

form, being positive rather than moral, was constantly broken. (In proof of this, see Tertullian, *de Exhortatione Castitatis*, c. vii., *Op.* p. 522, Paris, 1675; and Hippolytus, *Philosoph.* ix. 12, for early times: a series of councils testifies to the same fact at a later period.) Sometimes a local custom to the contrary would arise, which maintained itself in opposition to the general rule. In the 5th century Theodore of Mopsuestia refused to be bound by a rule which, while it professed to pay deference to St. Paul's words, frustrated the purpose of the Apostle. Theodoret, following his lead, declared that he cared nothing for a practice, however general, which was based upon a false interpretation of St. Paul's command; and when the count Irenaeus had been made bishop of Tyre, though twice married, and thereupon an order came from the emperor to depose him as a digamist as well as a Nestorian, Theodoret wrote a letter justifying his consecration on the grounds that his consecrators had but followed the example of those who had gone before them, citing the instance of Alexander of Antioch and Acacius of Beroea, who had ordained Diogenes, though twice married, and that of Praulius of Jerusalem, who had ordained Domninus, bishop of Caesarea, under like circumstances. He asserted, too, that the consecration of the twice married Irenaeus had taken place with the full approval of Proclus of Constantinople, the chief ecclesiastics of Pontus, and the bishops of Palestine (see *Epist.* cx., *Op.* tom. iii. p. 979, Paris, 1642). But this uprising of common sense against harsh rule did not maintain itself. The instances given by Theodoret are exceptions, which only prove the general (though not universal) rule, just as the reiterated canons of councils prove its frequent transgression.

The rule against marrying a widow or a divorced woman was as stringent as that against a second marriage. Special rules of conduct were applicable to the clergyman's wife as well as to the clergyman. The wife of one who was to be ordained must not have been married to a previous husband (see the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions in the places above cited, the fourth council of Carthage, can. lxix., &c.), nor might she marry again after her husband's death. (See the first council of Toledo, held A.D. 400, can. xviii.; the second council of Mâcon, A.D. 585, can. xvi.; and the council of Vermerie, A.D. 752, can. iii.) In the latter respect the widows of kings were in Spain placed in the same condition as the widows of clergymen. The thirteenth council of Toledo, A.D. 683, forbids their remarriage as a facinus execrabile (can. v., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1741), and the third council of Saragossa orders them to retire to a convent (can. v., *Concil. Caesaraugustanum III.*, Hard. *ibid.* p. 1784). [CELIBACY; DIGAMY.]

ix. *Ligamen.* The prohibition of polygamy by our Lord and the Roman law and practice of monogamy (*Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. v. lig. 2) were sufficient to prevent any question being raised of the lawfulness of simultaneous marriages. An existing marriage was an insuperable impediment to contracting a second marriage. Here and there exceptions to the rule are found, not in the earliest times, resting upon the ground of conjugal impotency (for which see below), and of enforced or voluntary desertion. By the civil law a soldier's wife was permitted to marry again after her husband had been absent four years (*Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. xvii. leg. 7). But the Council in Trullo, following St. Basil, determines that the wife must wait till she was certified of her husband's death, however long a time might elapse (can. xciii.). On the other hand, the council of Vermerie, A.D. 752, enacts that if a wife will not accompany her husband who has been compelled to follow his lord into another land, the husband may marry again if he sees no hope of returning home, submitting at the same time to do penance (can. ix., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1991). Theodore of Canterbury, A.D. 688, pronounces that if a wife has been carried away by the enemy so that her husband cannot redeem her, he may marry another woman after one year; if there is a chance of redeeming her, he is to wait five years, and the wife in the analogous position is to do likewise, before remarrying. He adds, that if the first wife returns from captivity her husband is to take her back and dismiss his second wife; and the wife likewise (*Penitential*, lib. ii. cap. xii. §§ 20–22); but a subsequent clause reverses this ruling, and orders that the wife on her return is not to be taken back by her husband, but that she may marry another man, if she has been only once married (*ibid.* § 24). Theodore's *Capitula*, as given by Harduin (*Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1778) fixes seven years for marriage after desertion, and one year in case a wife has been carried captive; but these *Capitula* are not genuine in the form in which they have come down to us. In Egbert's Excerpts, as they are called, it is decided that the man whose wife is carried away may marry again after seven years, and similarly with respect to the wife: in the case of the wife's voluntary desertion, the man may marry again after five or seven years, with the bishop's consent, but must do penance for three years (can. cxxii. cxxiii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1972); but these Excerpts are not Egbert's; they probably belong to the ninth century, perhaps to the tenth. Such concessions as these are, for the most part, not only of a late date but local and exceptional, to meet particular cases as they arose. Theodore of Canterbury himself notes one such concession as uncanonical, though allowed by the Greeks, namely, that two married persons might agree to separate and one of them go into a monastery, the other marry again, unless already twice married (*Penitential*, lib. ii. cap. xii. § 8); but he allows them, in such a case, to separate, or in case of incapacity from sickness (*ibid.* § 12). The rule of Christian life was plain. [BIGAMY.]

x. *Honestas.* Betrothal to a woman is supposed to cause an impediment to marrying her nearest relatives, so that if a man be betrothed to one sister and marries another, his marriage is null and void, and he is still bound to carry out his betrothal-promise to the first sister. Antiquity knows nothing of this, a spurious decree of pope Julius is quoted as the first authority for it. (See Van Espen, *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, pars ii. § i., tit. xiii. 25, p. 589.)

xi. *Aetas.* The age before which a marriage contract was null and void was, in the case of the woman, twelve, of the man fourteen years. (See Selden, *Uxor Ebraica*, lib. ii. c. 3; *Digest.*

lib. xxiii. tit. ii. leg. 4; *Instit.* lib. i. tit. xxii.; Martene, *de Antiquis Eccles. Ritibus*, cap. ix. art. i. ii.)

xii. *Affinis.* [PROHIBITED DEGREES.]

xiii. *Clandestinus.* The publicity of the marriage contract was always regarded as an essential part of it. Different means were taken in different countries for ensuring publicity, but that it should exist was recognised by every civilised state as the foundation of its social system. Among the Jews and Romans a certain number of witnesses was required;[h] Tertullian declares that the church demands publicity (*de Pudicitia*, cap. iv., *Op.* p. 557); and the presence of witnesses is pronounced by a law of Theodosius Jun., quoted below, to be one of the few things which could not be dispensed with in a marriage ceremony. The testimony of the church officer before whom the contract was made naturally came to be accepted as the best testimony that could be had, but it was not until the council of Trent that all marriages were declared null, on the ground of their being clandestine, unless they were celebrated in the presence of the incumbent of the parish in which one of the contracting parties lived. The council of Verneuil orders that all marriages shall be made in public, whatever rank the parties might be (*Conc. Vernens.* can. xv., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1997). The council of Friuli, A.D. 791, gives the same order with a view to the prevention of marriages of consanguinity or affinity (*Conc. Forojuliense*, can. viii., *ib.* tom. iv. p. 859).

xiv. *Impos.* Impotency is an impediment which makes a marriage not void, but voidable after a period of three years. In Christian legislation it was first recognised by Justinian, A.D. 528, as an adequate cause for a divorce (*Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. xvii. leg. 10; *Auth. Collat.* iv. tit. 1, *Novell.* xxii. 6, *Corp. Juris*, tom. ii. pp. 458, 124). See also Photius, *Nomocanon*, tit. xiii. § 4. Theodore's *Penitential* declares it a sufficient cause for a woman to take another husband (lib. ii. cap. xii. § 32), or if arising from sickness, for a separation (*ibid.* § 12). In the eighth century Gregory II., replying to a question of Boniface of Germany, goes so far as to lay it down that in case of impotency on the part of the woman, arising from an attack of illness, "it would be well that her husband should remain as he is, and give himself up to self-restraint; but whereas none but great souls can attain to this, let a man who cannot contain marry rather, but he is not to withdraw alimony from her who is only prevented by infirmity, not excluded by loathsome guilt" (cap. ii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1858). At the end of the same century, Egbert, of York, rules, though with great reluctance, in a similar case, that the one of the two that is in good health may marry again with the permission of the one that is sick, provided that the latter promises perpetual continence and is never allowed to marry during the other's life, under any change of circumstances (*Dialogue of Egbert*, Resp. xiii., Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils of Great Britain*, vol. iii. p. 409). The laws of Howel Dda, A.D. 928, allow a woman to separate from her husband, without losing her dower, on the grounds of impotency, leprosy or bad breath (*Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda*, bk. ii. c. xxix. § 26, Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 247). St. Thomas Aquinas and later moral theologians go further still; they allow that an excessive disgust for a wife justifies a man in regarding himself impotent in respect to her (see Liguori, *Theol. Mor.* vi. 6. 3, 2). These are concessions, which, however they may have been acted on in more than one conspicuous instance, cannot be reconciled with the rules of ordinary morality. In the 6th century the second council of Orleans ruled in a contrary sense (can. xi., Hard. *Concil.* tom. ii. p. 1175). Impotency existing at the time of marriage being incompatible with the primary end of the contract, makes the contract void or voidable without the intervention of any statute or canon law.

xv. *Raptus.* This impediment is sometimes classed under that of *vis.* It means not exactly the same as our word ravishment, but the violent removal of a woman to a place where her actions are no longer free, for the sake of inducing or compelling her to marry. The act of Bothwell in carrying away Mary Stuart, would have been precisely a case of raptus had there been no collusion between them. By some *raptus* is distinguished into the two classes of *raptus seductionis* and *raptus violentiae.* Whether ravishment in the strict sense of the word is an impediment to a future marriage is a question which has been answered in contrary ways. Those who regarded it as a shameful act that a man should gain his object by committing a great crime, decided that it was an insuperable impediment for ever. Those who considered that the injury done to the woman could only be atoned for and nullified by marriage, took the opposite view, and required the ravisher to marry her. The Roman law made it a perpetual impediment. Laws of Constantine and Constantius inflict capital punishment on ravishers (*Cod. Theod.* lib. ix. tit. xxiv. legg. 1, 2); and Justinian, after having pronounced the penalty of death for the crime, continues, "Nor is the ravished woman to be allowed to ask for and obtain her ravisher as her husband: her parents are to marry her to whom they will, except the ravisher, in lawful wedlock, but our serenity will never in any way consent to the act of those who try to wed in our state like enemies. For every one who wishes for a wife, whether free or freed, is to ask her of her parents or other guardians in accordance with the tenor of our laws, that by their consent a legitimate marriage may take place" (*Cod. Justin.* lib. ix. tit. xiii. leg. 1, *Corp. Juris*, tom. ii. p. 832). The law of the Visigoths went so far as to punish ravisher and victim with death if they should presume to marry (lib. iii. tit. iii. legg. 1, 2, Canciani, vol. iv. p. 93). On the other hand the Ostrogothic law required the man to marry and to endow the woman.

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[h] Athanaeus says that one object of the nuptial banquet was to serve as a witness: "Sic enim moribus et legibus scitum est, ut in nuptiis epulum fiat, tum ut nuptiales Deos veneremur, tum ut pro testimonio id sit." (*Deipnosoph.* lib. v. c. 1, *Op.* p. 185, Lugd. 1657.) Another way in which publicity was effected was the insertion of the marriages in the *Acta*, which appeared daily, like modern newspapers, but there were no public marriage registers.

Similarly the Apostolical Canons, after having pronounced excommunication on the ravisher of an unbetrothed virgin, ruled that he may not take another wife, but must keep her, though poor (can. lxviii.). The laws of king Ethelbert, A.D. 597, order that the ravisher is to pay a shilling to the owner of the girl and then buy her of him; but if she were betrothed he is to be fined twenty shillings (Dooms, lxxxii., lxxxiii., Haddan and Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 49). St. Basil says that the marriage is to depend upon the will of the woman's friends (*Epist. Canon.* II. can. xxii). The ravisher, according to the same authority, is to do penance for three years (*ib.* can. xxx). The council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, and the council in Trullo decree that a ravisher is to be deposed if a clergyman, anathematised if a layman (cans. xxvii. xcii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. ii. p. 611; tom. iii. p. 1694). The first council of Orleans, A.D. 511, orders that a ravisher who flies with the woman to a church is to be made a slave with power of redemption (can. ii., *ib.* p. 1009). The third council excommunicates the ravishers of consecrated virgins (can. xvi., *ib.* pp. 14-26). The Roman council under Gregory II. anathematises all ravishers (can. x. xi. *ib.* tom. iii. p. 1866). The Capitula of Herard of Tours forbid the marriage of the parties concerned (cap. cx., *ib.* tom. v. p. 457). The Council of Meaux, A.D. 845, advises it (can. lxv., *ib.* tom. iv. p. 1494).

*Second Marriage.*—Is previous marriage an impediment to a second, third, or fourth marriage? This is a question which was raised in the early church, and discussed with some warmth, and, like the celibacy of the clergy, was answered somewhat differently at different times and in different places. Certainly there is nothing in Holy Scripture to forbid successive marriages (at least so far as the laity are concerned; the question of the second marriage of the clergy has been considered above). St. Paul distinctly states that after the death of one party to the contract the other may marry again, provided that the second husband or wife be a Christian (Rom. vii. 2; 1 Cor. vii. 39); and he desires that under such circumstances young widows should remarry (1 Cor. vii.; 1 Tim. v. 14).

The teaching of the early church was framed on that of St. Paul; but some misconception of the views of early writers has arisen, owing to their designating both marriage after divorce and marriage after death by the same name of second marriage. Thus Clement of Alexandria, in the third book of the *Stromateis*, which is devoted to the subject of marriage, speaks with reprobation of second marriage: but a careful examination of the context leads to the conclusion that he is speaking of a second marriage while the first husband or wife is still alive (c. xii.); for in the same chapter of the same book, he plainly declares second marriage permissible, adding, however, that he who marries a second time falls short of the highest evangelical perfection. Whether the third canon of the council of Neo-Caesarea which condemns "those that have fallen into several marriages," refers to successive or to simultaneous marriages, has been questioned, but it is likely that it is aimed at some form of polygamy or marriage after divorce, not at marriage after death (see Brouwer, *de Jure Connubiorum*, lib. ii. c. xix. § 7, *Op.* p. 569, Delphis, 1714).

Hermae Pastor deals with the question altogether in St. Paul's spirit, and almost adopts his words "Qui nubit, non peccat sed si per se manserit, magnum sibi conquirit honorem apud Dominum" (lib. ii. Mand. 4, *apud Cotelerii Patres Apostolicos*, tom. i. p. 90; Amsterdam, 1724, where see note). The Apostolical Constitutions (c. ii.) permit second marriage, reprove third marriage, and forbid fourth marriage. "For you ought to know this, that once marrying according to the law is righteous, as being according to the will of God; but second marriages after the promise [of widowhood] are wicked, not on account of the marriage itself, but because of the falsehood. Third marriages are indications of incontinency. But such marriages as are beyond the third are manifest fornication and unquestionable uncleanness. For God gave one woman to one man in the creation; for they two shall be one flesh. But to the younger women let a second marriage be allowed after the death of their first husband, lest they fall into the condemnation of the devil and many snares and foolish lusts, which are hurtful to souls, and which bring upon them punishment rather than peace" (lib. iii. c. 2). Origen goes so far as to say that second, third, and fourth marriages exclude from the kingdom of heaven, but he proceeds to explain that by the kingdom of heaven he means that church "which hath neither spot nor wrinkle nor any such thing," that is, the invisible body of perfect Christians. He allows that the twice married are in a state of salvation, but says that they will not receive a crown at their Master's hands (*Hom.* xvii. *in Luc.*, *Op.* tom. iii. p. 953); and elsewhere he says that a woman who marries twice will not forfeit salvation, but will enjoy less beatitude (*Hom.* xix. *in Jerem.*, *ib.* p. 267). Tertullian, vehement monogamist as he was, yet allows that second marriage is only an obstacle to saintliness, not in itself unlawful (*ad Uxor.* lib. i. cap. 7). Fulgentius, in his work on the Faith, declares second and third marriage permissible (*de Fide*, c. xlii., *Op.* p. 484, Ants. 1574). Hilary of Poitiers follows St. Paul in teaching that second marriage is lawful (*Tract. in Psalm.* lxvii.; *Op.* p. 194: Paris, 1693). Cyril of Jerusalem pronounces second marriage a thing to be pardoned (*Catech* iv. 16, *Op.* p. 60, Oxon. 1703). The Oration (falsely) attributed to Amphilochius holds it permissible in case there are no children by the first marriage (*Orat. in Occursum Domini*, *Op.* p. 32, Paris, 1644). Pope Gelasius declares it permissible in laymen, though not allowable in the clergy (*Epist.* v. cap. xxii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. ii. p. 903). Epiphanius (*Haeres.* lix., *Op.* tom. i. p. 497), Theodoret (*Com. in* 1 Cor. xvii. 39), St. Ambrose (*de Viduis*, c. xi., *Op.* tom. ii. p. 203, St. Augustine (*de Bono Vid.* c. vi., *Op.* tom. vi. p. 435), St. Jerome (*Epist.* xxvii. *ad Marcellam*, *Op.* tom. ii. pars 2, p. 64), pronounce in like manner in favour of the legality and against the propriety of a second marriage. This was the general sentiment of the early church. The severer view was banished from within the borders of the church and became a distinctive mark of Montanists and Novatians. See Tertullian, *de Exhortatione Castitatis*, c. vii., and *de Monogamia*, passim. The council of Nicaea (can. viii.) deliberately condemned the Novatian

view by requiring that none should refuse to hold communion with Digamists.

Second marriages were discountenanced by the imposition of a penance, but how soon this practice arose is questioned. Some think that they find it enjoined in the canons of the council of Laodicea, A.D. 360, the first of which rules that "in accordance with the ecclesiastical canon, those who have been married a second time in a free and lawful way, and have not taken their wives in a clandestine manner, are to be allowed communion (*ex venia dari communionem*) after a little time has passed, and they have had a period for prayer and fasting (*orationibus et jejuniis vacaverint*)." The last expression has been not unfrequently understood, and it is understood by Hefele (*Hist. of Councils*, bk. vi.), to refer to an ecclesiastical penance that the married couple had to undergo for their offence in marrying a second time; but it may only mean that a space was to intervene after marriage, which was to be devoted by them to prayer and fasting before they offered themselves at the Lord's table. The "ecclesiastical canon" referred to in the Laodicean canon is not one that restrains second marriages, but, no doubt, the eighth canon of the council of Nicaea, which is in favour of them; and the practice of setting apart a time for prayer and fasting before communicating after marriage, whether regarded as a penitential discipline or not, was looked upon as a proper act of reverence, whether the marriage was the first or the second. (See Herard's *Capitula*, cap. lxxxix., Hard. *Concil.* tom. v. p. 456. Compare also the so-called fourth council of Carthage, can. xiii., Hefele, bk. viii.; and Theodore's *Penitential*, lib. ii. cap. xii. §§ 1, 2.) By the end of the 7th century this period of prayer and fasting was distinctly regarded as a time of penance, but it was a penance imposed upon those who contracted a first marriage, as much as upon those who entered on a second marriage, the only difference being that a longer period was assigned in the latter case than in the former. Theodore of Canterbury orders that in a first marriage the husband and wife are to refrain from church for thirty days, and then to do penance for forty days, and give themselves to prayer, before communicating, while a man who makes a second marriage is to do penance for a year on Wednesdays and Fridays, and to abstain from flesh meat for three Lents. This is a plain instance of penance being required for second marriage, but it is equally plain that the offence for which penance has to be done is rather that of marrying than of marrying a second time (*Penitential*, lib. i. c. xiv. §§ 1, 2). No doubt, however, from very early times a difference was made not only in respect to the honour paid to first and second marriages, but also in the ceremonies with which they were performed. The Council of Neocaesarea, A.D. 314, forbids presbyters to be present at the festivities of a second marriage, and the ceremonies of crowning the bride and bridegroom, and giving the benediction were commonly, though not universally, omitted. Ὁ δίγαμος οὐ στεφανοῦται became a familiar Greek saying. St. Basil speaks of a penalty due to digamy as already a well-known custom in the year 375, The early Roman discipline is probably exhibited to us in the commentary attributed to St. Ambrose, supposed to have been written by Hilary the Deacon. "First marriages are godly, second marriages are permitted. first marriages are solemnly celebrated under the benediction of God, second marriages are *left without honour, even at the time of celebration*, but they are allowed on account of incontinency" (*Com. in* 1 Cor. vii. 40, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 138). See also Durandus, *Rationale Div. Offic.* i. ix. 15, *Op.* p. 28, Venice, 1577; and the office for the marriage of Digamists in Goar's *Euchologium*, p. 401, Paris, 1647. In the East Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, in the year 814, fixes two years as the period for suspension from communion for a second marriage (Hard. *Concil.* tom. iv. p. 1052).

St. Basil's canons forbid third marriages, but did not require the separation of the parties married. Theodore of Canterbury, A.D. 687, imposes a penance of seven years, on Wednesdays and Fridays, with abstinence from flesh meat for three Lents, on trigamists, or any who contract more than three marriages, but pronounces the marriages valid (*Penitential*, lib. i. c. xiv. § 3). Nicephorus of Constantinople, A.D. 814, suspends trigamists for five years (Hard. *Concil.* tom. iv. p. 1052). Herard of Tours, A.D. 858, declares any greater number of wives than two to be unlawful (cap. cxi., *ibid.* tom. v. p. 457). Leo the Wise, emperor of Constantinople, was allowed to marry three wives without public remonstrance, but was suspended from communion by the patriarch Nicholas when he married a fourth. This led to a council being held at Constantinople, A.D. 920, which finally settled the Greek discipline on the subject of third and fourth marriages. It ruled that the penalty for a fourth marriage was to be excommunication and exclusion from the church; for a third marriage, if a man were forty years old, suspension for five years, and admission to communion thereafter only on Easter day. If he were thirty years old, suspension for four years, and admission to communion thereafter only three times a year.

A widow might not marry again till the expiration of the old Romulean ten-month year from the time of her husband's death. By Theodosius this term was extended to twelve months (*Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. viii. leg. 1).

II. MARRIAGE CEREMONIES. The marriage rite was divided into two parts, the betrothal and the nuptials, each of which had its own peculiar ceremonies attached to it. The betrothal was a legal contract, entered into between a man and a woman, binding them to marry within a given time, which time came to be fixed at two years; the nuptials were a further contract, whereby each gave to the other certain rights over himself or herself, and received in turn the gift of certain rights over the other. Betrothal could be omitted without absolutely and in all cases invalidating the marriage, but when formal betrothal had taken place, nuptials could not be declined by either party without incurring both ignominy and punishment. The council of Elvira condemned parents who break their promise given at espousals to excommunication for three years (*Conc. Elib.* can. liv.). If the woman breaks her troth, Theodore of Canterbury's *Penitential* condemns her to restore the money which the man had given for her, and to add to it one-

third; if the man refuses, he is to lose the money that he had paid. A betrothed woman may go into a monastery instead of marrying, but her parents may not give her to another man unless she shews an utter repugnance to the proposed match (lib. ii. c xii. §§ 33, 34).

A. *Betrothal ceremonies.* We are fortunate in having both a definition of betrothal and a description of the ceremonies which accompany it given us by pope Nicholas in his Replies to the Bulgarians, who had asked his counsel, A.D. 860. "Betrothal," he says, "is the promise of future nuptials made by the consent of the contracting parties and of their guardians;" and he explains that the betrothed proceed to their nuptials at some suitable time "after the man has betrothed the woman to himself with *arrhae* by adorning her finger with a ring of fidelity, and the man has handed over a dowry agreed to by both of them in a written form containing his covenant before witnesses invited on both sides." This passage embodies an account of the traditional practice which had existed for centuries previous to the date of Nicholas, for he distinctly states that he is relating to the Bulgarians "the custom which the holy Roman church has received from old" (*Nicol. Respons. ad consulta Bulgarorum*, Resp. iii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. v. p. 354). We see here that there are four things necessary to make betrothal regular: 1, *arrhae*; 2, a ring; 3, a dowry; 4, witnesses.

1. The most essential of these ceremonies was the bestowal of the *arrhae*, or earnest money, supposed by some to have been originally given by the man as the symbolical purchase-money of the maiden, answering to the Jewish rite termed בכסף ("by money"), recalling in a sort both the Roman *co-emptio*, and the barbaric practice of purchasing wives. But it is probable that it was no more than a pledge such as was given in other cases where bargains were struck which could not be immediately carried out. It served to assure the woman that she should hereafter share her husband's worldly goods, of which the coin given at espousals was an earnest, and it was evidence which might be exhibited by the aggrieved party in case of a breach of promise of marriage. Thus we read that Andarchius went to law with the daughter of Ursus, alleging as proof of his espousals with her that he had given her an *arrha.* (See Gregory of Tours' History, lib. iv. c. 41, apud *Hist. Franc. Script.* tom. i. p. 322, Paris, 1636.) That the practice existed among the Western nations before they were Christianized is proved by the ambassadors of Clovis betrothing Clotilda to him by presenting a shilling and a penny, "according to the custom of the Franks." The Espousals service is called by the name of *ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἀῤῥαβῶνος* or *ordo in nuptiarum subarrhatione* in the Greek Euchologion (Goar, p. 380, Paris, 1647). *Subarrhare* came to be equivalent to *espouse.* [ARRHAE.]

2. *The ring* is described by pope Nicholas as making part of the *arrhae.* It was used in pre-Christian times in marriages, and was probably borrowed by the Jews from pagan usage. Among the Jews it occasionally took the place of the piece of money, the payment of which constituted one of the three forms of Jewish marriage. When this was the case, an examination was instituted to see if its value were equal to that of the legally required coin before it was accepted as an equivalent (Selden, *Uxor Ebraica*, ii. 14). Among Christians it was probably adopted, not only as part of the *arrhae*, but as having (if it were the same as the seal ring described by Clement of Alexandria), a symbolical meaning like that of the presentation of a bunch of keys, shewing that the wife had the charge of the household goods. "He gives a gold ring," says St. Clement, "not for ornament, but that she may with it seal up what has to be kept safe, as the care of keeping the house belongs to her" (*Paedagog.* iii. 11, *Op.* p. 287). Other and less material symbolisms easily attached themselves to the ring: it was a type of fidelity, of safely guarded modesty, of union, of protection, of the Holy Spirit's encircling grace. Tertullian testifies to its use, in the words "digito quem sponsus oppignerasset pronubo annulo" (*Apologet.* c. vi., *Op.* p. 7). In later times the ring was blessed by a special service. Some Eastern rituals required the interchange of two rings (Goar, *Euchologium*, p. 385). The latest issued *Rituale*, that of the Old Catholics, contains a form for the blessing either of two rings or of one (*Old Catholic Ritual*, p. 39, Eng. tr. Oxf. 1876).

3. *The dowry* is next mentioned. Among the Greeks and Romans it was the custom that the dowry should be paid or promised at the betrothal by the relatives of the woman (see Plautus, *Trinummus*, act v.); with the Hebrews (as with the Germans—see Tacitus, *de Moribus Germanorum*, c. xviii.) the dowry was paid by the man (Gen. xxxiv. 12; 1 Sam. xviii. 25), but occasionally the father gave a dowry to his daughter (Judges i. xv.). The Hebrew custom prevailed in the early church, and is embodied in the civil as well as in the canon law (*Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. 13; lib. ii. tit. 21). St. Augustine says that a good wife looks upon the *tabulae matrimoniales* as *instrumenta emptionis suae*, whereby her husband has become her lord (*dominus*) and she has been made his handmaid or slave (*ancilla*), as she gladly acknowledges (*Sermo* xxxvii. cap. 6, *Op.* tom. v. p. 225, ed. Migne). The promise of a dowry was generally consigned to writing, which was read before the witnesses to the betrothal, and it became a formal legal document, of the nature of a marriage settlement. The following is an abridged form of nuptial tablets as used by the Jews: "On such a day of such a month in such a year at such a place, such an one, the son of such an one, said to such an one, the daughter of such an one: 'Be thou betrothed to me for wife according to the ordinances of Moses and the Israelites, and I, if it please God, will pay you respect and honour, I will give you food and sustenance, and I will dress you in the way that Jewish husbands do who honour, maintain, and clothe their wives as they ought. I also give to you, as the dowry of your maidenhood, £4, as the law requires, and I pledge myself to give you in addition board and clothing, and I will live with you according to the customs of the whole earth.' Then she gave assent to be his wife. He then declared that he would give such and such a sum as an addition to the original dowry. The goods which the woman brought with her are estimated at such and such a sum. . . We have sealed this tablet or dowry settlement at the time above-mentioned: the whole matter is clear, settled, and deter-

mined" (Selden, *Uxor Ebraica*, ii. 10, *Op.* tom. iv. p. 619). In the Christian *tabulae matrimoniales*, the end for which marriage was instituted was also inserted: "nam id tabulae indicant ubi scribitur, 'Liberorum procreandorum causâ'" says St. Augustine (*Serm.* ix., *Op.* tom. v. p. 88, ed. Migne); and again, "Recitantur tabulae, et recitantur in conspectu omnium attestantium, et recitatur, 'Liberorum procreandorum causâ'" (*Serm.* li., *ibid.* p. 345); see also his *Enarr. in Ps.* lxxxi. (*Op.* tom. iv. p. 1045).

4. *Witnesses* were required to be present, before whom, as we have seen, the marriage settlements were to be read and handed over. They were to be friends of both parties, and their presence was required not only to prevent fraud in the matter of the dowry, but also to give a public character to the transaction, that there might be a proof before the world of the consent of both parties to the contract. One of them acted as best man to the bridegroom (amicus interior, conscius secreti cubicularis, St. Aug. *Serm.* ccxciii., *Op.* tom. v. p. 1332) and one as bridesmaid, and, in case of the mother's death, as temporary guardian to the bride. It would appear probable from a passage in St. Ambrose (*de lapsu Virginis*, c. v., *Op.* tom. ii. p. 310) that the requisite number of witnesses was ten (Cf. Ruth iv. 2, where the number of witnesses called by Boaz is ten).

5. Some minor ceremonies, which were less essential to the rite, have also been handed down. One of these was *a kiss*, which might or might not be given, but which, if given, was considered to bind the betrothed more closely to each other, so that, in case of the man's death, half of his betrothal gifts were delivered to his betrothed; whereas if there had been no kiss, they were all returned to his relations (*Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. 5, leg. 5; *Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. 3, leg. 16).

6. Another ceremony of similar nature was that of *joining hands*, which is mentioned together with that of the kiss by Tertullian: "Corpore et spiritu masculo mixta sunt per osculum et dexteras, per quae primum resignarunt pudorem spiritûs" (*de Virg. Veland.* c. xi., *Op.* p. 179).

7. In the time of Tertullian, *the veil* was assumed by the woman at the betrothal and worn thenceforward, but the custom was not universal (Rebeccam *quidam* adhuc velant), and in later times, like the offering of the ring, was transferred to the nuptials (Tertull. *ibid.*).

8. Siricius in the 4th century speaks, in an epistle which (rightly or wrongly) is regarded as genuine, of a *benediction* of the priest at betrothal, of so solemn a nature as to make it sacrilege in the betrothed woman to marry another man (Siric. *Epist. ad Himer.* § 4, Hard. *Concil.* tom. i. p. 848). The betrothal benediction, however (if it existed), must not be confounded with that which was given at the nuptials.

B. *Nuptial ceremonies.* Pope Nicholas proceeds, in the Reply above quoted, to enumerate the nuptial ceremonies which were in use in his day with the same minuteness with which he described the betrothal ceremonies. He writes: "First of all they are placed in the church with oblations, which they have to make to God by the hands of the priest, and so at last they receive the benediction and the heavenly veil." He adds: "After this, when they have gone out of the church they wear crowns on their heads, a supply of which it is usual to keep always in the church" (*Nic. Respons. ubi supra*).

The first thing that forces itself upon our notice on reading the above passage is that in pope Nicholas' time, and for such previous times as the ceremonies described by him had existed, marriage was regarded as a religious rite; being (1) performed in a church, (2) accompanied by offerings and oblations made to God by the married persons through a priest, (3) followed by the solemn benediction of the church, together with (4) other ceremonies of an ecclesiastical character: and this was the aspect in which marriage was viewed from the times of Tertullian, as is proved by the following passage: "How shall I state the blessedness of a marriage which the church brings about, and the oblation confirms, and the benediction seals, angels attest, and the Father ratifies" (*ad Uxor.* lib. ii. c. 8, p. 171). In these words Tertullian, as is pointed out by Gothofred (*Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. 7, leg. 3, tom. i. p. 280), contrasts the marriage ceremonies of the Christian church, A.D. 200, with the ceremonies used by heathens on the same occasion. Among heathens, marriages were brought about by persons called *conciliatores*. In the case of Christians, the place of the *conciliatores* is taken by the church, that is, by the officers of the church, namely, the bishops, priests, deacons, and widows (see the passage of Tertullian referred to just below), the heathens' offering of *arrhae* is replaced by the oblation of prayers and alms offered through the priest;[1] for the sealing of the marriage settlements is substituted the seal of the church's benediction; the testimony of angels stands in the place of the testimony of human witnesses: and ratification by a heavenly Father takes the place of the expressed consent of parents. Tertullian's rhetorical description does not of course imply that the old ceremonies were abolished, but it does imply that an ecclesiastical character was given to them, and that they were carried out under the control, and by the hands, of ministers of the church. Elsewhere Tertullian states that Christian marriages had to be announced to the church, and were allowed, or disallowed, by bishops, priests, deacons, and widows (*de Pudicitia*, c. iv.; *de Monogam.* c. xi., *Op.* p. 531). One object of this regulation may have been to prevent ignorant members of the flock from transgressing various laws of the state with which they might be unacquainted; but this was not its only purpose; the church, that is, the bishops, priests, deacons, and widows, would thus become the *conciliatores* of a Christian's marriage, according to the idea employed in the previously quoted passage. St. Ignatius, in like manner, says that people who marry ought to be united with the cognizance and approval of the bishop: μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου (St. Ignat. *Epist. ad Polycarp.* c. v.). St. Ambrose says that mar-

[1] It is surprising to find Dr. Döllinger apparently translating *Ecclesia conciliat, confirmat oblatio* by "The marriage was concluded by the bishop, or presbyter uniting the betrothed, and confirmed by offering of the Holy Sacrifice" (*Hippolytus and Callistus*, c. iii. p. 158, Eng. tr.). It is impossible to believe that this is the meaning of *confirmat oblatio* in this passage; nor does *ecclesia conciliat* seem to refer to the actual marriage-service, but rather to the first steps taken in the matter before the church officers.

riage has to be sanctified by benediction (*Epist.* xix., *Op.* tom. ii. p. 844); Gregory Nazianzen writes that at the marriage of "the golden Olympias" there was a number of bishops (ἐπισκόπων ὅμιλος), and that he too, though absent in body, was present in will, taking part in the festivity, and joining the young couple's hands together, and placing them in the hands of God (*Epist.* lvii., *Op.* tom. i. p. 815, col. 1690). The (so-called) fourth council of Carthage (can. xiii.) in the 6th century speaks plainly of priestly benediction being received by the bride and bridegroom (Hard. *Concil.* tom. i. p. 979). Synesius uses the expression, "The holy hand of Theophilus gave me my wife" (*Epist.* 105).

There is no reasonable doubt that the place in which Christians were ordinarily married was a church, so soon as it became safe and customary for them to meet in churches for religious purposes, and that the way in which they were ordinarily married was by a religious ceremony.[k] Nevertheless, it is equally true that marriages could, and, especially in the East, often did, take place in houses (see St. Chrys. *Hom.* xlviii. *in Gen.* c. xxiv.), and that the religious ceremony does not form, and was not regarded as forming, the essence of marriage. The essence of marriage consists in the contract agreed to and publicly made between the contracting parties.[l] Consequently, marriages unaccompanied by the blessing of the church were still considered to be marriages, though they were looked on with disfavour, and, as Tertullian says, ran the risk of being condemned as adultery (*De Pudicitiâ*, c. iv.). Accordingly, a law of Theodosius Junior, A.D. 428, distinguishing between the essentials and non-essentials of marriage, declares that the omission of other rites such as *arrhae*, dowry, and a festive procession, did not invalidate a marriage, provided that (1) the contracting parties were of equal station (see above, under the heading *Conditio*), (2) they broke no specific law by their union, (3) they gave their consent, (4) their friends were present as witnesses. The law recognised no more than the above-named four qualifications for a valid marriage,[m] nor did the church attempt to annul what the law allowed. Probably the feeling with which these marriages were regarded on which the church's blessing was not invoked was much the same in the early church as it is at present with ourselves. The secular marriage was acknowledged to be valid; but the parties contracting such a marriage were supposed to have incurred serious loss by depriving themselves of the church's blessing on their union, and to have acted undutifully and only as irreligious persons would act. This liberty of contracting marriage otherwise than by the benediction of the church continued in the West till the time of Charles the Great, A.D. 800, and in the East till that of Leo the Philosopher, A.D. 900. These two emperors enacted that all marriages were invalid except such as were performed by a priest.

There is no sign or hint of marriage being regarded as a sacrament, in the stricter sense of that word, in early times. It is supposed by some that it began first to be so regarded in the time of St. Augustine, A.D. 430, but this is a mistake arising from the use which St. Augustine makes of the word "sacramentum," which he uses frequently in connexion with marriage, but nowhere in the modern sense of the word sacrament. Calvin states that it was not regarded as a sacrament down to the time of Gregory (*Instit.* lib. iv. cap. 19, § 34, *Op.* tom. ix. p. 396, Amsterdam, 1567), but he does not say that it then began to be so regarded. The period when this took place is so late that it does not fall within the limits of the time assigned to this dictionary. Binterim's attempts to father it upon Tertullian, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, and other early writers, are so manifestly futile as to raise a smile (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, sechster Band, erstes Kapitel, § 2, 3).

The constituent parts of the marriage service, as named by pope Nicholas in the passage quoted above, are 1. The oblations. 2. The benediction. 3. The veiling. 4. The crowning.

1. *The Oblations* consisted mainly of prayers, which, however, were accompanied by a gift of money. The offering of these formed the introductory portion of the ceremony, answering in some sort to the prayers and thanksgivings which in our form for the solemnisation of matrimony precede and accompany the blessing pronounced by the officiating priest upon the contract.

2. *The Benediction* was a form not unknown to the Jews; amongst whom it was given, not necessarily by a priest, but by the eldest friend or relative present. The following is an abridgment of a Jewish formula of benediction:—"Blessed be Thou, O Lord our God, who hast created all things for Thy glory! Blessed be Thou, O Lord our God, the creator of man! The barren shall rejoice and cry for joy as she gathers her children with joyfulness to her bosom. Blessed art Thou who makest Zion to rejoice in her children! Make this couple to rejoice with joy according to the joyousness which thou gavest to the work of Thy hands in the garden of Eden of old! Blessed art Thou who makest the bride and bridegroom to rejoice! Blessed art Thou who hast created for the bridegroom and bride joy and gladness, exultation, singing, cheerfulness, mirth, love, brotherly kindness, peace, and friendship! O Lord our God, may there be heard in the cities of Judaea and in the streets of Jerusalem the voice of mirth and gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and bride, the voice of the bridegroom's and bride's mutual affection out of their cham-

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[k] Van Espen considers it doubtful if marriages were contracted *in a church*, though they were no doubt contracted *in the face of the church* (*De Spons. et Matr.* vi. 4).

[l] Shakspeare, with his usual exactness, makes a priest describe a marriage:—

> "A contract of eternal bond of love,
> Confirmed by mutual joinder of the hands,
> Attested by the holy close of lips,
> Strengthened by interchangement of your rings;
> And all the ceremony of this compact
> *Sealed in my function by my testimony.*"
>
> *Twelfth Night*, v. 1.

The essence of the marriage was the contract: all that was necessary (strictly speaking) on the part of the priest was his testimony to the contract having been fully made and declared.

[m] Apuleius introduces Venus denying that Psyche is Cupid's wife, on the ground that "*Impares* nuptiae, et praeterea in villâ *sine testibus*, et patre *non consentiente* legitimae non possunt videri." (*De Asino aureo*, lib. vi. p. 184.)

ber, and the young men's festive song! Blessed art Thou who makest the bridegroom to rejoice with the bride" (Selden, *Uxor Ebraica* ii. 12, *Op.* tom. iv. p. 625). The particular form of the Christian benediction, which differs from the Jewish by being a blessing on the newly married pair instead of a thanksgiving to God, was at first probably left to the officiating minister, but it would soon have become stereotyped in the rituals of the several churches. The following is a form on which it will be seen that the final benediction in the solemnisation of matrimony in the English church is framed:—"O God, who by Thy mighty power hast made all things of nothing, who, after other things set in order, didst appoint that out of man (created after Thine own image and similitude) woman should take her beginning, teaching that it should be never lawful to put asunder those whom Thou hadst pleased should be created out of one; O God, who hast consecrated the state of matrimony to such an excellent mystery that in it Thou didst typify the Sacrament of Christ and the Church; O God by whom woman is joined to man, and so blessed a union was instituted at the beginning as not to be destroyed even by the judgment of the flood; look mercifully upon this Thy servant now to be joined in wedlock, who seeks to be defended by Thy protection. May there be on her the yoke of love and peace! May she be a faithful and chaste wife in Christ, and may she continue a follower of holy women! May she be loveable to her husband as Rachel, wise as Rebecca, long-lived and faithful as Sarah! May the author of wickedness gain no advantage against her from her acts! May she continue in the faith and commandments, constant to one husband! May she avoid all unlawful deeds. May she strengthen her weakness by the help of discipline! May she be modest, grave, bashful, and instructed in God by learning! May she be fruitful in child-bearing! May she be approved and innocent, and may she attain to the rest of the blessed, and to the heavenly kingdom! And may she see her sons' sons to the third and fourth generation, and may she reach the rest of the blessed and the kingdom of heaven, through," etc. (Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesiae ritib s* I. ix. 5, *Ordo iii. ex MS. Pontificali Monasterii Lyrensis*).

3. The practice of *veiling* is mentioned by Tertullian (*de Veland. Virgin.* c. xi.) and by St. Ambrose (*Epist.* xix. 7, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 844); the former of whom speaks of it as a praiseworthy heathen custom commonly used in the ceremony of betrothal, after which (in Tertullian's days) the *desponsata* wore the veil habitually. The heathen veil, called *flammeum*, was of a yellow colour. The colour adopted by Christians was purple and white, though the name *flammeum* was still sometimes used (St. Ambr. *de Virgin.* c. xv.; *de Inst. Virg.* c. xvii.). It is probable, as St. Ambrose has observed (*de Abrah.* I. ix. 93), that the word nuptials is derived from the word *obnubere*, which means to veil. In the earliest times the veil was part of the married or espoused woman's dress, akin in form and purpose to the Eastern *yashmak*. But after the first few centuries it ceased to be worn by them, and the veiling came to be a symbolical act, making part of the marriage ceremony, and symbolising the woman's forsaking all others and keeping her charms for her husband alone, and also her being submissive to him. "Ideo velantur ut noverint se semper viris suis subditas esse" (Durand., *Rat. Div. Off.* lib. i. c. ix. 9). In the West the word *velatio* came to signify the whole marriage ceremony, and it became customary to lay the veil on both bride and bridegroom at the time of the benediction (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl.* 2, ix.).

4. *The crowning* was also originally a heathen custom (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulide*, l. 905), and was therefore at first disallowed by Christians (see Justin, *Apol.* c. ix.; Tertull. *Apolog.* i. 42), but was soon permitted in the East (see Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagog.* ii. 8, for a discussion on the lawfulness of the use of crowns). The same custom prevailed among the Jews. The crowns were made of gold, silver, olive, myrtle, or flowers; their use in the city of Jerusalem was forbidden during the Roman siege, as being too great a sign of joy for such sad times. This shews that they were regarded as a symbol of rejoicing by the Jews; and as such probably they were adopted by the Christian Church, though they came to be looked upon rather as rewards for victory over passion and tokens of virgin purity, in consequence of which they were not given at second marriages. In the Greek church they came to play a much more important part than in the Latin. In the West as we learn from pope Nicholas's reply to the Bulgarians, they were no more than a festive ornament worn by the married pair on leaving the church. In the East the crowning, which was once only a part of a lady's wedding attire (see St. Amator's Life, *Acta SS.* May, tom. i. 52), became so substantial a part of the nuptials that the whole marriage was called the Crowning, as in the West it was called the Veiling. The crowns were placed on the heads of the bride and bridegroom immediately after the benediction, appropriate prayers being said at the same time. The following is an extract from a form given by Goar:—"After the amen (to the benedictory prayer) the priest takes the crowns and first crowns the bridegroom saying 'The servant of the Lord is crowned, for the sake of the handmaid of the Lord, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' The woman is crowned in the same manner. Then he joins the right hand of the woman with the right hand of the man. Then is sung, 'With glory and honour hast thou crowned them, thou hast placed crowns of precious stones upon their heads.' Then the deacon says, 'Let us pray,' and the priest offers the following prayer: Crown them with Thy grace, unite them in temperance and dignity, bless them with a good old age and with unshaken faith. Grant them length of days; grant to them all things expedient for them, fear of Thee and thought of Thee; give them the fruit of the womb, comfort them with the sight of sons and daughters; let them rejoice in Thee and respect the words of the Apostle, 'Marriage is honourable and the bed undefiled.' Hear us, O Lord our God who wast present at Cana in Galilee and blessed the marriage there by Thy presence, miraculously changing the water into wine. O Lord of all, bless the marriage of this Thy servant and this Thy handmaid as Thou didst bless Abraham and

Sarah: bless them as Isaac and Rebekah: bless them as Jacob and Rachel: crown them as Joseph and Asenath, as Moses and Sipphorah. May Thy eyes be upon them and Thy ears open to hear the voice of this prayer. May this be fulfilled to them that which is spoken by the Prophet, saying, 'Thy wife as the fruitful vine on the walls of thy house, thy children like olive branches round about thy table; behold thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord'" (*Euchologium*, p. 396).

At the end of eight days the crowns were solemnly removed while the following prayers were used: "O Lord our God, who crownest the year with Thy blessing, and hast given these crowns to be placed upon the heads of those united to one another by the law of marriage, rewarding them thus for their continence, because they have come pure and clean to marriage instituted by Thee, do Thou bless their union, now that they lay aside their crowns, keep them inseparably united, that in everything they may give thanks to Thy most holy name, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever, world without end, Amen. Peace be to all. Bend your heads to the Lord. O Lord, we glorify Thee, confirming the contract of Thy servant, and finishing the office of the marriage in Cana of Galilee, and taking off its symbols. Glory to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, world without end, amen" (Goar, *Euchologium*, p. 400).

5. *The marriage-pomp*, another ceremony which, as we see from the law of Theodosius Junior above quoted, was so common as by some to be thought essential to the validity of nuptials, consisted partly of a procession which noisily conducted the bride to the bridegroom's house with torches and lanterns and shouting and songs, and partly of feasting, singing, and dancing in the house. The songs and dances, used both in the procession and at home, having come down by tradition from ancient heathen days, were of an immodest character, like the ἐπιθαλάμια and *Fescennina* of Greece and Rome (see the description given by St. Ambrose of Samson's wedding-feast, *Epist.* xix., *Op.* tom. ii. p. 846), and were therefore vehemently denounced by fathers of the church (see St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* xlviii. and lvi. *in Genes.*; *Hom.* xii. *in* 1 *Cor.*, *Op.* tom. iv. pp. 490, 539, tom. x. p. 105), and by councils (see council of Laodicea, canons liii. liv., Hard. *Concil.* tom i. p. 790); though the festivity itself was not objected to. Gregory Nazianzen has left us a charming letter in which he excuses himself for not having been present at the festivities which accompanied Olympia's wedding on the ground that a gouty old gentleman was out of place among dancers, though in heart he joined with them in their amusements (*Epist.* lvii., *Op.* tom. i. p. 815). The expression "uxorem ducere" is derived from this fetching home of the wife.

6, 7. Two other ceremonies of slighter character have to be named. One was *joining the hands* of bridegroom and bride, to which we have seen Gregory Nazianzen referring (*Epist.* lvii.), as being done by himself, or one like himself, that is, a bishop or minister of the church; the other was *untying the hair* of the bride, which we may gather from Optatus (lib. vi. p. 95, Paris, 1702) was customary both in marriages and in devoting virgins to the service of God. At the same time that her hair was untied it is probable that the keys of the household were delivered to her (St. Ambr. *Epist.* vi. § 3, *ad Syagrium*, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 77).

We can now follow a primitive Christian through the different scenes of his marriage. As soon as, by the intervention of his friends and relations, he had fixed on a woman for his consort who was of marriageable age, and not too nearly akin to himself, nor disqualified for his wife by the enactments of any special law, and had gained her consent, and that of her parents or guardian, he announced his purpose to the officers of his church, and if they pointed out no obstacle arising from ecclesiastical or civil law, a day of betrothal was fixed. On the day appointed the parties met in the house of the future bride's father, in the presence of as many as ten witnesses, the bride being dressed in white (Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* iii. 11); and the man offered his *arrhae*, among which was a ring which he placed upon the third finger of the woman's left hand. These having been accepted, he proceeded to hand over to the father of his betrothed an instrument of dowry or marriage settlement, the delivery of which, after it had been read aloud, was testified by the witnesses present. The betrothal was now complete, but it was generally confirmed by a solemn kiss between the betrothed and a joining of hands. It is probable that an informal prayer for a blessing upon the couple completed the ceremony, and in the earliest times a veil was at this time assumed by the woman. The betrothal over, the man returned to his home, and the woman continued living under her father's roof, both of them bound to the other to fulfil a contract of marriage at some future time within the next forty days, or at furthest the two succeeding years, but holding communication with each other only through the best man and the bridesmaids, or other relatives and friends. At the time of betrothal the nuptial day was generally named, which might be at any season of the year except during Lent (*Conc. Laod.* can. lii.).[n]

When the wedding day had arrived each of the betrothed, accompanied by friends, proceeded to a church, where they were received by the priest for the solemnization of their marriage. The bride was arrayed in the veil, which she had worn since her betrothal, as she walked to church during the first two or three centuries (Tertull. *de Cor. Mil.* c. iv.; *de Veland. Virg.* cxi.), but after that time she received the veil from the priest's hands as part of the marriage ceremonial. The ceremony, or service as we may call it, commenced with prayers offered by the priest in behalf of the bridegroom and the bride, an offering in money being at the same time made by them. After this the free consent of each to the contract made between them was declared. The officiating minister then joined their hands, and (perhaps) placing his hand on their heads,[o] he uttered over them a

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[n] Lent was the only forbidden season. A supposed canon of the council of Lerida, in the 6th century, interdicting the celebration of marriages in Advent, in the three weeks preceding the Feast of John the Baptist, and in the period from Septuagesima to the octave of Easter, is spurious.

[o] Cui enim manum imponit Presbyter? Cui autem benedicet? (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* lib. iii. c. vi., *Op.* p.

form of benediction, conveying to them the blessing of the church upon the union which had been effected by the contract made and declared between them. Immediately after the benediction in the Greek church, at the conclusion of the whole service in the Latin, crowns of gold and silver, if the bride and bridegroom were rich, of leaves or flowers if they were poor, brought from the treasury of the church, were placed upon their heads, and arrayed in these, they returned to the house of the bride's father, from whence, as the evening approached, the wife was carried by her husband to his home in a joyous procession, attended by a concourse of friends uttering acclamations and wishing joy to the newly-married pair. On arriving at his home, the husband led in his wife, and she untied her hair as a symbol of his authority over her, and he delivered over to her a bunch of keys as a symbol of her authority over the household. The evening was spent in festivity, which consisted of feasting, dancing, and singing. At the end of seven days the crowns were restored to the church in a solemn manner.

If, however, there were any who desired that a religious character should not be given to the ceremony, they were permitted to dispense with it; and their marriage was regarded as valid provided only that they made a contract one with another without fraud or compulsion, and declared it before an adequate number of witnesses, and did not otherwise transgress the imperial laws.

III. Divorce. Our Lord's rule laid down in respect to divorce is plain and simple. He disallows it on any other ground than that of fornication or adultery on the part of the woman.[p] This continued to be the rule of Christian conduct down to the time of Constantine. There is a consensus amongst the doctors of the early church that no other cause is adequate for the dissolution of marriage. Thus, Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* lib. ii. c. xxiii., *Op.* p. 506), Tertullian (*adv. Marc.*, lib. iv. c. xxxiv., *Op.* p. 449), and somewhat later, St. Chrysostom (*Hom.* xvii. *in Matt.*, *Op.* tom. vii. p. 227). St. Basil (*Epist. Canon* II., *can.* xxi.), and St. Jerome (*Epist. ad Amand.*, *Op.* tom. iv. p. 162). In the case of the clergy divorce was made imperative on the discovery of the wife's adultery by the councils of Neocaesarea and Elvira (canons viii. and lxv.): laymen were left to their own judgment in the matter; but a canon of Theodore of Canterbury requires anyone who keeps his wife under such circumstances to do penance for two years on two days of the week and fast days, or to abstain from living with her as long as her penance for adultery lasts (*Penitential*, lib. i. cap. xiv. § 4). But, as was to be expected, a difference of opinion grew up as to the force of the word fornication. The Allegorists, according to their manner, insisted on understanding the word spiritually as well as literally, and thus they made it bear the meaning of idolatry, infidelity, and covetousness, as well as carnal fornication. So Hermae Pastor ("Is qui simulacrum facit moechatur," lib. ii. mand. iv., *apud Patres Apostol.*, ed. Coteler, tom. i. p. 89). This view was adopted by St. Augustine (*de Serm. Dom. in Monte*, cap. xvi., *Op.* tom. iii. p. 1251, ed. Migne), but in his Retractations he expressed some doubt as to its correctness: "Quatenus intelligenda atque limitanda sit haec fornicatio, et utrum etiam propter hanc liceat dimittere uxorem, latebrosissima quaestio est" (lib. i. c. xix. 6, *Op.* tom. i. p. 66).

Such differences of opinion as existed between theologians arose from their interpreting the word fornication with greater or less latitude; but there was a substantial agreement among them that no crime, however heinous, could have the effect of dissolving the contract once formed, with the one exception of the wife's fornication. Not so the civil law.[q] Constantine appears to have wished to make a compromise between the lax practice which had come down from heathen times and the strict rule which had hitherto been acknowledged by Christians, though not always acted upon. Accordingly he passed a law, A.D. 331, allowing divorce to a wife if her husband should be a murderer, a poisoner, or a robber of graves; but specifically disallowing it on the ground of his being a drunkard or a gambler, or given to women (muliercularius). By the same law divorce was allowed to the man if his wife were an adulteress, or a poisoner, or a procurer (*Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. xvi. leg. i., tom. i. p. 310). Honorius, A.D. 421, passed a law of a similar character with that of Constantine, which allowed other causes —"morum vitia et mediocres culpae"—as adequate besides the three named by the first Christian Emperor (*Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. xvi. leg. 2, *ibid.* p. 313). Honorius's law did not remain long in force; but it, or Constantine's, was the law of the empire during the time of some of the chief church writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. It was abrogated, together with the law of Constantine, A.D. 439, by Theodosius Junior, who restored the laxity allowed by the civil law before the time of Constantine—"durum est legum veterum moderamen excedere." Ten years later, however, Theodosius found it necessary to draw the reign tighter, and he published a law, A.D. 449, enumerating the causes which were now held to be adequate to justify a divorce. To the three crimes named by Constantine he added those of treason, sacrilege, manstealing, and similar offences (*Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. xvii. leg. 8, *Corp. Juris*, tom. ii. p. 457). And this was followed

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291). It is not certain that it is of the *marriage* benediction that Clement is speaking.

[p] That in Matt. v. 42, Πορνεία is used in the sense of μοιχεία, or rather that the generic term is employed when the specific word might have been used, was not questioned in the early church, nor is there any sufficient cause for questioning it, much as has been written upon it. (See Selden, *Uxor Ebraica*, iii. 23, 27.)

[q] "Quamdiu vivit vir, licet adulter sit, licet sodomita, licet flagitiis omnibus coopertus et ab uxore propter haec scelera derelictus, maritus ejus reputatur, cui alterum virum accipere non licet" (St. Jerome, *Epist. ad Amand.*, *loc. sup. cit.*). "Mulieri non licet virum dimittere licet sit fornicator, nisi forte pro monasterio. Basilius hoc judicavit." (Theodore, *Penitential*, lib ii. 14, xii. § 6.) See also the twelfth council of Toledo, A.D. 681, can. viii., which excommunicates a man for deserting his wife for any other cause than fornication (Hard. *Conc.* tom. iii. p. 1723), and the council of Soissons, A.D. 744, can. ix. (*ib.* p. 1934). The council of Agde, A.D. 506, forbids husbands to dismiss their wives until they have proved their adultery before the bishops of the province, on pain of excommunication, can. xxv. (*ibid.* tom. ii. p. 1001).

by a law of Valentinian III. forbidding dissolution of marriage by the mere consent of the parties concerned. Again reaction followed reaction. First, a law was passed by Anastasius, A.D. 497, making divorce by mutual consent legal (*ibid.* leg. 9). Next, Justinian, A.D. 528, recalled the second law of Theodosius Junior (that of the year A.D. 449), adding, however, to the causes there specified impotency lasting two years (*ibid.* leg. 10), or three years (*Novell.* xxii. 6), a desire for the monastic life (*Novell.* cxvii. 18), and a lengthy captivity (*Novell.* xxii. 7). Justinian's nephew, Justin, restored the liberty of divorce by consent (*Novell.* cxl.), and thus the law continued, as we learn from Photius (*Nomocanon*, tit. xiii. c. iv., *Op.* p. 200, Paris, 1620), to the year 870, and indeed to the year 900, when Leo the Philosopher once more replaced it on the footing in which it was under Justinian, before the alteration made by Justin.

The laws of the Western nations as they became christianised were similar in character to those of the empire. The Visigoths inserted into their code of laws, A.D. 460, the original rule of Christianity, such as it was before it was altered by Constantine (*Leg. Visigoth.* lib. iii. tit. vi. c. ii.), adding, however, that the wronged husband might do anything that he pleased with the adulteress and her paramour (*ibid.* tit. iv. c. iii.). Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths in Italy, republished and confirmed with his authority, A.D. 500, the law of Constantine, allowing three causes of divorce, and three only, to the husband and to the wife. The Burgundians at the same date allowed divorce to the man for the causes specified by Constantine, but not to the woman. Among the Franks and the Alemanni divorce by mutual consent was permitted in the 7th century. At the Carlovingian era the law was generally made stricter, though Charles the Great himself divorced his wife Bertha and married Hildegard, holding himself to be in such matters above the laws. At the beginning of the 10th century Howel the Good, with three bishops, went to Rome "to consult the wise in what manner to improve the laws of Wales," and after the laws were drawn up "went a second time to Rome and obtained the judgment of the wise there, and ascertained those laws to be in accordance with the law of God and the law of countries and cities in the receipt of faith and baptism." Nevertheless the laws on divorce are remarkably lax. A husband and wife may separate before the end of seven years from their marriage-day on the husband's paying her dower to the woman; after seven years, on sharing their goods between them, the husband taking two-thirds of the children; but, "if a man deserts his wife unlawfully and takes another, the rejected wife is to remain in her house until the end of the ninth day; and then if she be suffered to depart entirely from her husband, everything belonging to her is to go in the first place out of the house, and then she is to go last out of the house after all her property: after that, on bringing the other into the house, he is to give a *dilysdawd* (certificate) to the first wife, because no man, by law, is to have two wives. Whoever shall leave his wife and shall repent leaving her, she having been given to another husband, if the first husband overtake her with one foot in the bed and the other out, the first husband, by law, is to have her." (*Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda ar ddull Dyfed*, bk. ii c. xviii. §§ 1, 2, 28, 29, Haddan and Stubbs *Councils of Great Britain*, i. 247.)

As in marriage, so in divorce, St. Paul supplements the teaching of our Lord by stating the law in a case which must have soon arisen among the early Christians. In 1 Cor. vii. 12–16 he lays down the rule that a marriage that has taken place between two heathens is not to be broken off by one of the two becoming a Christian; the marriage still holds good, and the convert to Christianity may not separate from his or her consort on the plea of his infidelity. But if the non-Christian party to the contract chooses to desert the one converted to Christianity, the latter is free from the previously existing conjugal obligations. In this passage St. Paul does not justify divorce, but only a separation, in which the Christian convert is merely to be passive. In the early church the negative character of this permission was recognised;[r] in later times it has become changed into a positive right on the part of the convert, to be exercised at the discretion of the bishop, or rather it is declared a positive duty which must be performed by him, except a dispensation be obtained from the bishop (Liguori, *Theologia Moralis*, v. 957); and the meaning of "infidelity" is extended so as to include "heresy" (*ibid.* iii. 17). The modern Latin law of divorce, which allows four causes of divorce *quoad vinculum* (death, conversion, preference of monastic life, papal dispensation), and six causes of divorce *quoad torum* (adultery, ill-treatment, solicitation to heresy, leprosy, supervenient heresy, mutual consent) (Liguori, *Theologia Moralis*, vi. 957–975)—has only to be mentioned here in order to say that it was unknown to the early church.

*Form of Divorce.*—The Jews had a ceremonial of divorce as well as of marriage. The following are formulas given by Selden (*Uxor Ebraica*, iii. 24, *Op.* tom. iv. p. 797):—

"You may go to what man you will. This is a bill of divorce between me and thee; a letter of quittance, and instrument of dismissal, so you may marry whom you please."

"On such a day, of such a month, of such a year, I, such an one, son of such an one, from such a place, and by whatever other name or surname I, or my parent, or my birthplace, are known by, of my own will and purpose, and without compulsion, dismiss, quit, repudiate thee, such an one, daughter of such an one, from such a place, and by whatever other name or surname thou, or thy parent, or thy birthplace art known by, who up to this time hast been

[r] The author of the commentary that goes under the name of St. Ambrose, appears to have been the first to argue that the believer from whom his unbelieving consort had departed might marry again. If those who were separated from their wives by Ezra, he urged, might marry again, how much more those whose marriages had been dissolved by the infidelity of their consorts (Pseudo-Ambrose in 1 Cor. vii. 15)! Theodore of Canterbury ruled at the end of the 7th century, "If the wife is an unbeliever and a heathen, and cannot be converted, let her be dismissed" (*Penitential*, lib. ii. c. xii. § 18). If a husband and wife have separated while still heathens, and then been converted to Christianity, the same authority rules that the man may do as he pleases as to taking or leaving his wife (*ibid.* § 17).

my wife. And now I dismiss, quit, and repudiate thee that thou be free, and have the power of going away and marrying any other man. And no one on earth is to hinder thee from this day forward for ever. And now, behold, thou art permitted to be the wife of any man. And this is to be thy bill of divorce, the instrument of thy dismissal, and the letter of thy quittance, according to the law of Moses and the Israelites."

The above bills had to be signed by two witnesses and formally delivered to the wife or her proctor.

The Greek and Latin formulas were much shorter: It was only necessary to say, Γύναι πράττε τὰ σά—'Ανὴρ, πράττε τὰ σά: or Τὰ σεαυτῆς πράττε—Τὰ σεαυτοῦ πράττε—and the Greek marriage was broken off. The Roman marriage was a more serious thing than that of any of the Greeks except the Spartans. To break off a marriage effected by *confarreatio* there was a form called *diffarreatio*, and a marriage by *coemptio* was dissolved by a form called *remancipatio*. For a length of time divorces were not heard of among the Romans; but under the empire they became common. Sometimes the nuptial tablets were broken and the key of the house taken from the woman, but the most significant part of the proceedings was the use of the form of the words:—"Tuas res tibi habeto" (Plautus, *Amphitryon*, act iii. sc. 2), or "Tuas res agito." Espousals were broken off by the formula:—"Conditione tuâ non utar." And the *Lex Julia de adulteriis* required the presence of seven witnesses to make a divorce valid. The early Christians followed for the most part the Roman practice; but as the marriage was contracted in the face of the church, so also the divorce might not be effected without the church's cognisance. We have already seen that the council of Agde, A.D. 506, excommunicates the man who presumed to dismiss his wife until he has proved her guilt before the bishop of the province in which he lived (can. xxv., Hard. *Concil.* tom. ii. p. 1001).

*Remarriage after divorce.*—The distinction between separation *a mensâ et thoro* and divorce *a vinculo* (the last of which alone qualifies for remarriage) was not formulated in the early church: and this is perhaps one reason why the imperial laws passed so readily, as by the swing of a pendulum, from severity to laxity, and from laxity to severity. There are fewer canons of councils bearing upon the question of remarriage after divorce than might have been expected. In the *Apostolical Constitutions* (lib. vi. c. 17), and in the so-called fourth council of Carthage, A.D. 398 (can. lxix.), the clergy are forbidden to be married to a divorced woman, which implies that under some circumstances at least a divorced woman might be married. In the *Apostolical Canons*, indeed, there appears a rule forbidding a man who has divorced his wife to marry again, and forbidding marriage to a divorced woman on pain of excommunication (can. xlviii.); but this canon is commonly understood to refer only to men who had illegally put away their wives, or to women who had illegally separated from their husbands. (See Balsamon's exposition, *In Canon. Apostol.* p. 258, Paris, 1620.) At the council of Arles, A.D. 314, it was enacted that young men who had put away their wives for adultery should be advised not to marry again as long as their first wife was living, but no yoke of compulsion was laid upon them (can. x.). The council of Elvira, about the same date, decreed that a woman who had separated from her husband without cause and had married again should be for ever excommunicated; and that a woman who had separated from her husband on the ground of his adultery, and had married again, should not be received to communion until her first husband was dead; and that a woman who had married a man that had separated from his wife *without cause* should be for ever excommunicated (cans. viii. ix. x.). The last of these canons implies that the man who separates from her with sufficient cause might marry again. Tertullian dissuades remarriage in all cases, but in his treatise addressed to his wife he allows that it is lawful after death or divorce (*Ad Uxor.* ii. 1). In his treatise on Monogamy he declares marriage after divorce unlawful (c. xi.) Lactantius holds remarriage permissible in the husband who has dismissed his wife for adultery (*Inst.* vi. 23). Remarriage in the man is by implication permitted by the council of Vannes, A.D. 465 (can. ii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. ii. p. 797). Origen (in opposition to the opinion of some of his contemporaries) and St. Jerome declare it not permissible in the woman (Orig. *Com. in Matt.* xiv. 23, *Op.* tom. iii. p. 347; Hieron. *Epist. ad Amand.*, *Op.* tom. iv. p. 162). Elsewhere St. Jerome pronounces against it in both parties (see *in Matt.* xix. 9, *Op.* tom. iv. p. 87). Athenagoras disallows it altogether (*Legat.* c. xxxiii.). Pope Innocent I. in his letter to Exuperius condemns it in both parties (Hard. *Concil.* tom. i. p. 1005). At the second council of Milevis, A.D. 416, it was forbidden to both parties (can. xvii., *ibid.* p. 1220; and at a council of Carthage of the year 407, from which the prohibition was adopted as the rule of the African church (*Cod. Eccles. Afric.* can. cii.). The prohibition was repeated by a council of Nantes, of uncertain date, supposed by some to have been held in the year 658 (can. xii., Hard. *Concil.* tom. vi. p. 459), by the council of Herudford (Hertford) under archbishop Theodore, A.D. 673,* (cap. x., *ibid.* tom. iii. p. 1017), by the capitulary of Aix, A.D. 789 (cap. xliii., *ibid.* tom. iv. p. 836), and by the council of Friuli, A.D. 791 (can. x., *ibid.* tom. iv. p. 859). The prohibitory rule is enforced by Hermae Pastor (lib. ii. mand. iv. tom. i. p. 87, ed. Coteler), St. Chrysostom (*Hom. in Matt.* xvii. *Op.* tom. vii. p. 227), St. Basil (*Moralia*, *Reg.* lxxiii. 1, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 494, Paris, 1637). St. Augustine speaks with hesitation (*De Fide et Oper.* c. xix., *Op.* tom. vi. p. 221). Epiphanius declares that the Word of God does not condemn a man who marries again after having separated from a wife proved guilty of adultery, fornication, or any such base guilt (*Haer.* lix. 4). Theodore's *Penitential* allows a husband's remarriage if the woman was his first

* The injunction of the Council of Hertford is rather a counsel than a rule of universal obligation: "Let no one leave his wife except, as the holy Gospel teaches, for the cause of fornication. But if anyone has dismissed his wife who has been joined to him in lawful wedlock, let him not marry another, if he would be a Christian, as he ought to be (si Christianus esse recte voluerit), but let him so remain or be reconciled to his wife."

wife, and permits the wife's remarriage, on her repentance, after five years (lib. ii. cap. xii. § 5). Elsewhere he orders that a man who divorces his wife and marries again shall do seven years' severe penance or fifteen years' light penance (lib. i. cap. xiv. § 8). If we are to reconcile these two rulings, we must suppose that in the latter case is meant a man who has divorced his wife for some less offence than fornication. If a wife leaves her husband, and he thereupon remarries, he is to do one year's penance; if she returns to the husband whom she had left, having lived innocently meantime, she is also to do one year's penance; if she does not return, she is to do three years' penance (*ibid.* § 13). If a wife haughtily refuses to be reconciled with her husband, after five years he may marry again with the bishop's leave (lib. ii. cap. xii. § 19).

The civil law permitted remarriage. A law of Honorius enacts that if a woman put away her husband for grave reasons, she might marry after five years; and that a man in like case might marry as soon as he thought proper; if the reasons for the divorce were of a less grave character, the man must wait for two years before taking another wife; if he had no reasons he might not marry again, but the injured woman might remarry after the lapse of a year (*Cod. Theod* lib. iii. tit. xvi. leg. 2). See also the *Codex Justinianus*, lib. v. tit. xvii. legg. 8, 9. The laws of Ethelbert, established in the time of Augustine for England, A.D. 597, enact with great simplicity that an adulterer is "to provide another wife with his own money" for the injured husband, "and bring her to him" (Doom xxxi. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils of Great Britain*, iii. p. 45).

The general conclusion that we arrive at from a review of the documents and authorities of the early church is that while the remarriage of the guilty party was sternly and uncompromisingly condemned, there was no consensus on the question of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the remarriage of the innocent party. After a time an ever-widening divergence exhibited itself on this point, as on others, in the practice and teaching of the eastern and western divisions of the church. Eastern theology at length framed for itself rules shortly expressed in the following canons, found in the synodical decisions of Alexius, who was patriarch of Constantinople in the beginning of the 11th century:—

"1. No clergyman is to be condemned for giving the benediction at the marriage of a divorced woman, when the man's conduct was the cause of the divorce.

"2. Women divorced by men whose conduct has been the cause of the divorce are not to be blamed if they choose to marry again, nor are the priests to be blamed who give them the benediction. So, too, with regard to men.

"3. Whoever marries a woman divorced for adultery is an adulterer, whether he has himself been married before or not, and he must undergo the adulterer's penance.

"4. Any priest who gives the benediction at the second marriage of parties divorced by mutual consent (which is a thing forbidden by the laws) shall be deprived of his office" (see Selden, *Uxor Ebraica*, iii. 32, *Op.* tom. iv. p. 855).

The teaching embodied in these canons and the practice founded upon it has continued to be the teaching and the practice of the Oriental church to the present day. In the East, therefore, the once doubtful question of the legality of the remarriage of the innocent party after divorce has been resolved in the affirmative sense; in the Latin church it has been determined in the negative, except when a papal dispensation has intervened, which, according to modern Roman theology makes all things possible and allowable. In England the law of the land permits the remarriage of both parties when a divorce has been judicially declared; but having regard to the consciences of the clergy of the church, in whose eyes the remarriage of the guilty party would be presumably a wrong act, it does not require that the ceremony of the second nuptials should be performed by them.

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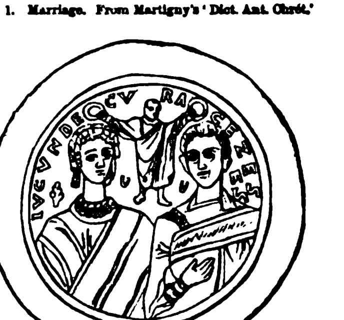
containing the modern teaching of the Roman church on matrimony are published in Migne's *Theologiae Cursus completus* mentioned above.

[F. M.]

**MARRIAGE** (IN ART). The form of treatment, or the amount of notice, which the Christian rite of marriage received from the artists of the primitive church varied with the view taken of the solemn union of man and woman by her authorities. The ascetic principle, which had almost entirely prevailed in the Eastern world, began to influence Italy and Europe almost as powerfully after the sack of Rome by Alaric. It need not be connected in our minds with misanthropy, the desire for power, or any equivocal motive; it was related more closely to terror at the wickedness, distress, and degradation of the present world, with the desire of escape from some of its dangers, and especially, as a consequence of these sufferings, with the hope of the speedy coming of Christ to judgment, and the end of the world. That this had a direct effect on art is proved by the number of mosaic pictures, in particular, which direct the thoughts of the worshipper to the scenery of the Apocalypse, the symbolic or trance-seen manifestations of the coming of the Son of Man; or image forth His glory in Heaven, contrasted in the same picture with His presence as the Lamb of Sacrifice among men on this side of Jordan, and in the wilderness of the world. It might be expected accordingly that



No. 1. Marriage. From Martigny's 'Dict. Ant. Chrét.'



No. 2. Marriage. From Martigny, after Garrucci.

such works of art as either represent or commemorate the marriage of Christian persons would chiefly or entirely be confined to the first four or five centuries, at least in Italy. The monuments or relics connected with marriage seem to be of two kinds; either cups, glasses, signets, or other memorials of the union of the parties, or sepulchral effigies commemorative of the marriage bond as perfected and completed, by their death in wedlock. The earliest of these latter which we possess is the tomb of Probus and Proba, early in the latter half of the 4th century. The fragments of cups and platters have principally been found in catacombs or tombs of early date; and as it seems agreed that the catacombs were never used for fresh burials after the taking of Rome by Alaric, and with less frequency for some time before that event, these relics cannot be later than the 4th century. [See GLASS, CHRISTIAN, note ', p. 734.] That few or none of them are earlier or later than the 4th century (unless certain Greek forms be excepted) seems highly probable.

Taking these memorial glasses first, there are two given by Martigny (*Dict.* p. 388) from Garrucci's *Vetri, &c. trovati nei cimiteri dei primitivi Cristiani*, tav. xxvi. 11, 12, (see woodcut, No. 1), which seem to indicate the ritual of Christian marriage in the earliest times. The parties stand side by side with joined hands; or rather the husband takes the right hand of the wife in his, as if in the act of plighting troth. Martigny refers to Tobit vii. 13 on this point, but that passage describes the action of a father in giving his daughter away to her husband. There is exact resemblance between the action of the two figures, and that of Hercules taking the hand of Minerva, on a heathen glass given in Buonarotti, *Vetri*, tav. xxvii.; Garrucci, tav. xxxv.[t] Above the figures is the monogram of our Lord to indicate wedlock in Him. The crown of marriage sometimes takes the place of the monogram, as in fig. 11, pl. xxvi. (see Tertullian, *de Corona*, xiii. "coronant nuptiae sponsos;" and in other cases the symbolism is completed by a figure of Christ placing the crown on their heads (woodcut, No. 2). Inscriptions are frequent on these glasses, arranged round the figures (see *ibid.*) giving their names, with "Vivatis in Deo," or some other words of blessing.

A rolled paper or volume is sometimes placed near the bride, and is thought to refer to the dower. See Garrucci, tav. xxvii. 1; Tertullian, *ad Uxor.* ii. 3, "tabulae nuptiales." The bride stands on her husband's right invariably. She is not veiled, and is richly dressed and ornamented, perhaps in remembrance of Ps. xlv. 10, 14, 15. As to the veil, see MARRIAGE, p. 1106, and VEIL. He further mentions an interesting relic figured in P. Mozzoni's *Tavole Cronologiche della storia della Chiesa*, Venice, 1856–63, saec. iv. p. 47. It is a small chest belonging to a lady's wardrobe, with heathen figures carved on it, accompanied nevertheless by the upright monogram, combined thus, A☧ω with the A and ω, and the motto SECVNDE ET PROJECTA VIVATIS IN CHR. It may have been a wedding present. A gold medal at sec. v., p. 55 (a volume of this work is assigned to each century).

[t] At p. 208 in the same book an engraved stone is figured, which belonged to the abbé Andreini, and represents a married pair, with the inscription V F FX (Utere Felix).

is said to have been struck at the marriage of Marcianus and Pulcheria. They are represented with nimbi, the figure of the Lord above with the cruciform nimbus, and the legend FELICITER NUBTIIS surrounds the device.

II. As memorials of the family, a number of gilded glass vessels and devices are in existence, which appear to represent deceased heads of families; often with their children (Buonarotti, tav. xxiii. xxvi. &c.; Garrucci, xxx.) or crowned by the Lord (xxix. 1). These were probably used at agapae, and indicate a connexion or relation between the Christian and the ethnic funeral feast. Engraved stones and rings are common; one from P. Lupi (*Severae Martyris Epitaph.* p. 64. 1) represents two fishes embracing an anchor, which may or may not symbolise a Christian pair.

But our chief examples are found on sarcophagi. That of Probus and Proba has been mentioned, and will be found in Bottari, tav. xvi. (Aringhi, vol. i. p. 283). It represents the wedded pair with an aspect of deep distress, as in the act of parting.

The sarcophagus of Valeria Latobia (p. 291) has two figures bearing the same aspect; at least, if Bosio's draughtsmen are to be trusted, Valeria is taking her husband's hand by the wrist (reversing the ordinary action) as if bidding him farewell. They are separated by an object, which may be taken for three large rolls of paper or parchment bound together, and the husband carries the usual volumen also. Aringhi thinks they represent the scriptures. Martigny thinks the smaller roll is the consular mappa.

The dolphins on the tomb of Valeria are probably symbolic of affection, and the turtle-doves or other birds in the spandrels of the small arches on that of Probus and Proba may have the same meaning. See St. Ambrose (*de Abraham*, ii. c. 8, 53), with reference to Luke ii. 22 sqq. "duos pullos columbarum quod in columba spiritalis gratia sit, in turture incorruptae generationis natura, vel immaculata corporis castimonia."

Martigny mentions a marble sarcophagus, carved apparently on the same principle of composition as the last-mentioned, of dividing the front by pillars into arched recesses, where the spaces are filled by figures of the different ages of a soldier, and of his courtship and marriage. It was discovered at Arles in 1844. (See *Bulletin de l'Institut de Corresp. Archéol.* an 1844, p. 12 sqq.) It is in good classical style, and might be taken for a heathen monument, if the miracle of the loaves were not sculptured on the sides. This may be a Christian addition made to an antique sarcophagus, and doves and fruits are also found on the ornamental carvings.

For children and domestic scenes on the glass and gold cups, see Garrucci, *Vetri*, tav. xxix. 45, xxxii. 11, 2, 3, xxxi. 4. Lesson learning is going on in xxix. 4; and in xxxii. 1 a mother offers her breast to her child. [R. St. J. T.]

**MARS**, martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica April 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARSUS**, presbyter and confessor at Auxerre; commemorated Oct. 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ii. 387). [C. H.]

**MARTA**, martyr; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARTERUS**, martyr; commemorated in the East Jan. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARTHA** (1) Martyr, her passio commemorated at Rome in the cemetery of Calistus on the Via Appia Jan. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(2) Wife of Marius; commemorated Jan. 20. [MARIUS (1).]

(3) Virgin, martyr; commemorated at Astorga in Spain Feb. 23 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 362).

(4) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Feb. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Widow, mother of Simeon Stylites junior; commemorated May 5 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, v. 403); July 5 (Basil. *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 262).

(6) Or MATHANA, mother of Simeon Stylites senior; commemorated Sept. 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 203).

(7) Martyr with Saula, virgins, at the city of Colonia; commemorated Oct. 20 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(8) Sister of Lazarus. Her translatio is given, with that of Lazarus, on Dec. 17 by Usuard and *Vet. Rom. Mart.*, with no mention of Mary. She is mentioned without either her brother or her sister in *Cal. Aethiop.* under Sept. 28. [LAZARUS (1); MARIA (1).] [C. H.]

**MARTHERUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome June 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARTIA** or **MARCIA** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Jan. 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr, with several others; commemorated March 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. i. 226); Marcia (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria April 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated, not said where, April 14; another commemorated on same day at the cemetery of Praetextatus on the Via Appia at Rome (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Ap. 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Ap. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Martyr; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(8) Martyr with Cyria and Valeria, all natives of Caesarea in Palestine; commemorated June 6 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(9) Martyr; commemorated at Caesarea June 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(10) Martyr; commemorated in Africa June 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(11) Martyr in Africa with Aemilius and Felix; commemorated June 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iii. 568).

(12) Martyr with Rufinus; commemorated at Syracuse June 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*). Marcia (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(13) Martyr, with others at Rome; commemorated July 2 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(14) Martyr; commemorated at Cordova Oct. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(15) Martyr; commemorated in Campania Nov. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(16) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Dec. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARTIALIS** (1) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 130).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Jan. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated at Valentia in Spain Jan. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Feb. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Feb. 16; another commemorated in Africa, and a third at a place unknown, the same day (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Martyr; commemorated Feb. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Bed. *Auct.* gives the depositio of a bishop Martialis on this day.

(8) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia March 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(9) Martyr; commemorated April 16 at Saragossa (Usuard. *Mart.*); in Pontus (*Hieron. Mart.*); at Rome (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 405).

(10) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia April 29 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(11) Martyr; commemorated in Africa May 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(12) Two martyrs of this name; commemorated in Africa May 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(13) Martyr; commemorated at Tomi May 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*); in Africa (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(14) Martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(15) Martyr; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(16) Bishop of Spoleto; commemorated June 3 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 395).

(17) Martyr; commemorated at Rome June 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(18) Bishop; his depositio commemorated at Limoges June 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. v. 535).

(19) One of seven brothers, martyrs; commemorated at Rome July 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*).

(20) Martyr; commemorated at Syrmia July 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Marcialis (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(21) Or MARCIALIS, one of the Martyres Scillitani; commemorated July 17 (*Mart.* Bedae).

(22) Martyr, with others in Portus Romanus; commemorated Aug. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 573).

(23) Martyr; commemorated at Aquileia Aug. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Florus in Bed. *Mart.*).

(24) Martyr; commemorated Sept. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(25) Martyr; commemorated Sept. 28 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vii. 603).

(26) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Oct. 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Marcialis (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(27) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Oct. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(28) Martyr; commemorated at Acernum in Sicily Oct. 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(29) Martyr, with Januarius and Faustus; commemorated at Cordova Oct. 13 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(30) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Oct. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(31) (MARCIALIS) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Oct. 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(32) Martyr; commemorated in Spain Nov. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(33) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Nov. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(34) Two martyrs of this name; commemorated Nov. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(35) Martyr; commemorated Nov. 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARTIANA** (1) Virgin, martyr; commemorated in Mauritania Caesariensis Jan. 9 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Ado, *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 569); the name is Macra in *Vet. Rom. Mart.*

(2) Virgin, martyr under Diocletian in Mauritania Caesariensis; commemorated Jan. 9 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. iii. 568).

(3) Martyr, with Nicanor and Apollonius; commemorated in Egypt April 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated in Africa April 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Virgin, martyr; commemorated at the city Amecia Aug. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Marciana (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). See also MARCIANE. [C. H.]

**MARTIANUS** (1) One of several "praeclarissimi" martyrs; commemorated in Africa Jan. 4 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Presbyter oeconomus of the great church of Constantinople; commemorated Jan. 10 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 250; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 611).

(3) Commemorated Jan. 18 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(4) Bishop in Sicily; commemorated with Philagrius and Pancratius Feb. 9 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(5) Martyr at Rome on the Via Flaminia; commemorated Feb. 14; one of the same name commemorated in Tuscany on this day (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Martyr; commemorated March 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Bishop and martyr at Dertona in Liguria cir. A.D. 120; commemorated March 6 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. i. 421).

(8) Martyr; commemorated at Carthage Mar. 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). Bed. *Auct.* gives also for this day Marcianus at Alexandria.

(9) Bishop; commemorated at Heraclea Mar. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(10) Two martyrs of this name; commemorated at Caesarea in Spain Ap. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(11) Martyr; commemorated in Pontus, another elsewhere April 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 405).

(12) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch April 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(13) Martyr; commemorated in Africa April 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(14) Martyr; commemorated in Egypt April 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(15) Martyr; commemorated at Perusia April 29, and one of the same name at Alexandria (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(16) Martyr; commemorated at Constantinople May 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(17) Martyr; commemorated at Rome in the cemetery of Praetextatus May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(18) Martyr; commemorated in Egypt May 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(19) Bishop of Ravenna, cir. A.D. 127; commemorated May 22 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, v. 127).

(20) Martyr; commemorated at Rome on the Via Nomentana May 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(21) Two martyrs of this name commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(22) Martyr; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(23) Martyr with Nicander and others, natives of Egypt; commemorated June 5 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* June, i. 419). Two martyrs of the same name, soldiers, are given in Basil. *Menol.* under June 7.

(24) Martyr with Jucundus; commemorated in Egypt June 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 55).

(25) Bishop of Beneventum in the 6th century; commemorated June 14 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 958).

(26) Bishop of Pampeluna cir. A.D. 700; commemorated June 30 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. v. 586).

(27) Martyr, native of Iconium; commemorated July 10 (Basil. *Menol.*); at Tomi (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, iii. 32).

(28) Martyr; commemorated July 11 in Mauritania, and one of the same name at Syrmia (*Hieron. Mart.*). Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iii. 185, gives a Marcianus for this day at Iconium.

(29) Bishop of Fricenti; commemorated July 14 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iii. 654).

(30) Martyr; commemorated at Ephesus July 27, with Maximianus and Malchus (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(31) Martyr with his brother Marcus. [MARCUS.]

(32) Martyr with Satirianus and their two brothers; commemorated in Africa Oct. 16 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(33) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Oct. 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(34) Martyr; commemorated at Caesarea in Spain Nov. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(35) Martyr; commemorated in Tuscany Nov. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(36) Martyr; commemorated Nov. 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Marcianus (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(37) and **MARTYRIUS**, notaries, martyrs under Constantius; commemorated Oct. 25 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**MARTINA**, virgin, martyr, under the emperor Alexander; commemorated at Rome Jan. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 11). [C. H.]

**MARTINIANUS** (1) Archbishop of Milan; commemorated Jan. 2 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 89).

(2) Hermit in Palestine, cir. A.D. 400; commemorated Feb. 13 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 253; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 667).

(3) Martyr; commemorated at Rome on Via Aurelia, May 31 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Auct. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr with Processus; commemorated at Rome July 2, in the cemetery of Damasus (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*). Their natalis commemorated on this day in Gregory's Sacramentary, and their names mentioned in the collect (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sacr.* 114).

(5) Bishop of Comum, cir. A.D. 628; commemorated Sept. 3 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 668).

(6) Martyr with Saturianus and others, A.D. 458; commemorated in Africa Oct. 16 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. vii. 2, p. 833).

(7) One of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus; commemorated Oct. 23 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**MARTINUS** (1) Canon regular, presbyter at Leon, died A.D. 721; commemorated Feb. 11 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 568).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Mar. 5. (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) DUMIENSIS, archbishop of Braga, died A.D. 580; commemorated Mar. 20 (Mabill. *Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. i. p. 244, ed. Venet. 1733; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 86).

(4) Bishop of the Arethusians; commemorated March 28 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(5) Presbyter and confessor; depositio commemorated at Auxerre April 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Bishop (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). A bishop and confessor of this name at Everdunum, in *Hieron. Mart.*, on the same day.

(6) Depositio commemorated at Sanctonicum May 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*); bishop (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(7) Two martyrs of this name commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(8) Martyr; commemorated June 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(9) Bishop of Tongres, cir. A.D. 276; commemorated June 21 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, iv. 69).

(10) Bishop of Vienne, 2nd century; commemorated July 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, i. 14).

(11) Bishop of Tours, confessor; his consecration, translation, and the dedication of his basilica, commemorated July 4. (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*); transl. and consecr. (Usuard. *Mart.*). His natalis Nov. 11 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*). Depositio Nov. 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). Gregory's Sacramentary mentions Martinus in the prayer *Communicantes* between Hilarius and Augustinus (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sacr.* 3).

(12) Of Brive, martyr; commemorated at Limoges Aug. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 412).

(13) Martyr; commemorated Sept. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(14) Pope; dedication of his basilica in the

monastery of Corbeia commemorated Sept. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*); he was commemorated Sept. 15 (Basil. *Menol.*); Apr. 13 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Apr. 14 (Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 257); his natalis Nov. 10 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*); Nov. 12 (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

**(15)** Abbat of Vertavum in Armorica, ob. cir. A.D. 600; commemorated Oct. 24 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. x. 802).

**(16)** Called also Martius, hermit and abbat in Campania; commemorated Oct. 24 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. x. 824).

**(17)** "Our Father," bishop of Francia; commemorated Nov. 12 (Basil. *Menol.*).

**(18)** Martyr; commemorated in Africa Dec. 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

**(19)** Abbat; commemorated at Sanctonas Dec. 7 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARTIONILLA**, commemorated January 9 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARTIUS** or **MARCIUS** **(1)** Martyr; commemorated Feb. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(2)** Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Mar. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(3)** Abbat in Auvergne, 5th century; commemorated Apr. 13 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 132). [C. H.]

**MARTUS** **(1)** Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Mar. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(2)** Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Mar. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(3)** Martyr; commemorated Apr. 12 (*Hieron Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARTYR.** The Greek word *μάρτυς* signifies one who has such immediate knowledge of past events as is derived from actual participation in them, and does not keep this knowledge to himself, but makes deposition of it freely as a freeman, and makes it his *μαρτυρία* or evidence, the knowledge being such as to constitute a *μαρτύριον*, or testimony, as affecting a question not only of facts but of merits.

I. i. The history of the Christian modification of the term is as follows: (*a*) The office of public, oral, ocular testimony was insufficiently discharged till the testimony was recorded, as the sentence against Christ had been passed, in a court of law. The word is used specially for such official testimony, of Stephen (Acts xxii. 20), of Paul at Rome (Acts xxiii. 11, 1 Tim. ii. 6), of James (Heges. *ap.* Eus. ii. 23), of Peter and Paul (Clem. Rom. 5), of John (Polycrates *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. 24).

(*b*) The idea of martyrdom at first was not of maltreatment, but of a perilous dignity. The witnesses won their title of honour by courage without suffering. The title was co-ordinate with bishop and teacher (Polycr. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. 24), and prophet (Eus. *H. E.* v. xviii. 7). The typical instances are the grandsons of Jude, who were accused before Domitian and released unscathed, and took the lead ever after in the churches as martyrs (Hegesipp. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iii. 20, 32).

(*c*) The martyrs would have been mere confessors, not witnesses, but that they "endured as seeing Him who is invisible." Thus they not only "confessed," but "witnessed the good confession." The confessors were "the companions of the martyrs" (*Bullettini*, 1864, p. 25). "Confession," says Clement of Alexandria, "is possible for all; the grace of testifying by speech is only given to some" (*Strom.* iv. 9). Steadfastness under torture was the testimony to which the advocates of Christianity appealed. It was needful that the honours and authority of martyrdom should not be won too easily. Hence, not merely peril, but actual suffering became indispensable to constitute martyrdom. Those, for instance, who had been condemned to the quarries were honoured as martyrs (*Philosophumena*, ix. 12; Tert. *de Pudicit.* 22).

(*d*) Bloodshedding (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 4), instead of speech, became the mode of the testimony. "The custom of the brotherhood," says Origen (in Joann. ii. 28, t. iv. p. 88, cf. Cypr. *Epp.* x. 2, xxviii. 1, xxxvi. 2), "calls those alone properly martyrs who have testified to the mystery of godliness by the shedding of their own blood." This public testimony, expressed not in words, but in blood, was far more than testimony; it was martyrdom.

(*e*) Many Christian Virginias and Lucretias committed suicide to escape the brutal lusts of their persecutors. They are extolled as martyrs by Eusebius and Chrysostom (Eus. *H. E.* viii. 12, 14; Chrys. *T.* 1, *Hom.* 40). Augustine pronounces the practice unlawful, unless instigated by a special revelation (*De Civitate Dei*, I. xvi.–xxv. 30–39).

(*f*) Martyrs were made by popular riots and lynch law, without any judicial proceedings (Eus. *H. E.* vi. 41).

(*g*) It was once a complaint "Martyrio meo privor, dum morte praevenior" (Cypr. *de Mortalitate*, p. 167, ed. Oxon.), and this applied even to deaths in prison before the case was heard. There seem to have been cases of suicide in gaol to avoid torture (Tertullian, *de Jejunio*, c. 12). But the names of those who died in prison were recorded in A.D. 177 (Eus. *H. E.* v. 4), and in Africa, in A.D. 202 (*Acta Perpetuae*, c. 14), and they are expressly reckoned as martyrs by Cyprian (*Ep.* 12 (37)).

(*h*) Flight from persecution, though reprobated by Tertullian (*de Fugâ*), was enjoined by Christ (Matt. x. 23), and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (v. 3, cf. viii. 45) recommend the fugitives as deserving the same care as the martyrs in gaol. Those who perished in the hardships of their flight were recognised by Cyprian as martyrs, whose martyrdom was witnessed by Christ (*Ep.* lviii. (lvi.), c. 4).

(*i*) The death of the Innocents murdered by Herod was regarded as an active martyrdom, "testimonium Christi sanguine litavere" (Tert. *in Valentin.* c. 2), "martyria fecerunt" (Cypr. *Ep.* viii. 6). The recognition of it as such was closely connected with the sanction of infant baptism (Cypr. *Ep.* lxiv. (lix.)).

(*k*) Athanasius recognises as martyrs those who fell at the hands of the Arians. (Ath. *ad Mon.* p. 277.)

(*l*) In A.D. 368 some Christians, put to death for calling an officer of Valentinian's to justice, were celebrated as martyrs. The testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus (xxvii. 7) to this fact is most explicit and circumstantial, though absurdly derided by Gibbon. So Augustine (in *Psalm.* 140, c. 26) calls John Baptist a martyr to truth and justice.

(*m*) Augustine says one becomes a martyr on a sick bed by refusing to be cured by magic (*Serm.* 286, c. 28; cf. *Serm.* 318).

(*n*) Augustine says again, You will go hence a martyr if you have overcome all the temptations of the devil (*Serm.* 4, c. 4).

(*o*) Readiness for martyrdom is regarded as itself martyrdom (Chrys. ii. 601, ed. Migne).

ii. We have traced the change of the meaning of the word from witness to martyr. As a title of honour among the Christians, the term was adopted into Latin along with Christianity. In the languages of Oriental Christendom it is represented by some native equivalent that has undergone a like change of meaning. The testimony of innocence and endurance was transfigured into the "peace, and grace, and glory" of martyrdom. What this meant and was, may be seen in the acts of the martyrs of Vienne and Lyons (Eus. *H.E.* V. i.), and of Perpetua. Martyrdom could not be perfect while the martyr still lived in the flesh. This was dimly apprehended by Ignatius, and was clearly grasped by the Lyonnese confessors. (Eus. *H. E.* V. ii.) To their brethren they seemed martyrs many times over; they themselves declined the title. "They are already martyrs whom Christ the Veritable Martyr has taken to Himself: we are confessors mean and lowly." The line was not immediately and universally drawn where they drew it. They themselves, though declining the title, exercised the prerogatives of martyrs. In Cyprian's time the lapsed went round to the martyrs everywhere, and corrupted the confessors too (Cypr. *Epp.* 20), and therefore Cyprian wrote to the martyrs and confessors (*Epp.* 10, 15). A martyr as distinct from a confessor was one who had shed his blood, and could grant absolution. But in Rome the title was by that time limited to the dead. (Cypr. *Epp.* 28, 37.) Cyprian usually conforms to Roman usage (cf. *Epp.* 22, 27, 66), though at the close of his days he wrote to the martyrs in the mines (*Ep.* 76). "What martyr," asks Tertullian, "is a denizen of the world, a suppliant for a shilling, at the mercy of the usurer or the physician?" (Tert. *de Pudic.* c. 22.)

The first great interruption of the peace of the church in the 3rd century seems to have fixed the title to the departed, namely, Maximin's persecution in Rome, those of Decius and Valerian in Africa.

By the beginning of the 4th century the limitation of the term martyr to the defunct seems to have been quite established, though it is just possible to doubt whether in writing "A whole choir of martyrs greets you at once," St. Lucian (A.D. 312) means to convey a salutation from his fellow prisoners, or the tidings of an auto da fé. He adds that Anthimus has been consummated in the course of martyrdom (Routh, *Relliquiae*, iv. p. 5). Death, the consummation of martyrdom, was already regarded as the consummation of the martyr. After the triumph of the church under Constantine, "living martyr" became an oxymoron. Yet Gregory Nazianzen in the oration (no. xx) in which he so uses the phrase, speaks of Basil being gathered as "a martyr to the martyrs," though it was only his whole life that was his martyrdom.

Before the close of the 4th century the Pagan Latin historian Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 17) says: "Those who when subjected to compulsion to make them deviate from religion have endured torture and persevered to a glorious death with faith unbroken, now are called martyrs." Elsewhere he explains the term to signify "divinitati acceptos" (Amm. Marc. xxvii. 7).

iii. *Limitations of the title.*

(1) Heretics were excluded. Martyrs were at first of any sect that suffered for the name of Christ. The early Gnostics declined martyrdom (*Revelatim* ii. 14, 15; Tertullian, *Scorpiace*, i.; Epiphanius, *Hist. Haer.* xxiv. 4; Clem. *Strom.* iv. 4), saying that the martyrs died for Simon of Cyrene. But the Marcionites (Eus. *Mart. Pal.* 10) and the Montanists courted it. Apollinaris of Hierapolis tells that in his time Catholic martyrs refused communion with Montanists to the last (Eus. *H. E.* v. 16). Compare *Const. Apost.* v. 9.

(2) Schismatics were excluded. Cyprian (*de Unitate*, c. 14) says, He cannot be a martyr who is not in the church. So the Roman confessors (Cypr. *Ep.* 36). Augustine says, Outside the church you will be punished everlastingly though you have been burnt alive for the name of Christ (*Ep.* 173 (204), c. 6).

(3) Self-sought martyrdom was not allowed as such. Such a would-be martyr lapsed at the time of Polycarp's martyrdom (*Mart. Polyc.* c. 4). Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of self-surrender as heretical, and founded on disbelief in the Creator (*Strom.* iv. 4). There were instances in which it was justified (Tertullian, *ad Scapulam*, 5; *Acta Theodoti*, Ruinart), and some such martyrs, *e.g.* Euplius and Eulalia, were most celebrated. Eusebius approved the practice (*Mart. Pal.* 3; *H. E.* vii. 12). But Mensurius of Carthage (Aug. *Brevicul. collat. diei* III. xiii. 25) and Peter of Alexandria (*Canon* ix.; Routh, iv. 32) forbade it.

(4) Iconoclasm (without imperial fiat) was disapproved by the teachers of the church. The 60th canon of Illiberis states, If any break idols and be slain on the spot, as it is not written in the gospel, nor found to have been done under the apostles, he is not to be received into the number of the martyrs. The 41st canon even allows the faithful to have idols in their houses if they fear that their slaves would offer violence in case of their removal.

(5) Individual scruples were refused recognition. Resistance to the obligations of military service, (which was the ground of the martyrdom of Maximilian in Mauritania in A.D. 296: see his *Acts* in Ruinart,) is made a bar to communion by the third canon of the 1st council of Arles.

(6) "Martyrem non facit poena sed causa." The conception that suffering is martyrdom is implied in the practice of the Donatists of offering themselves to armed wayfarers, and demanding with terrible threats the stroke of martyrdom (Aug. *Ep.* 185 (50); *T.* ii. coll. 7, 8). But this was disapproved by others of their number (Aug. *Ep.* 204 (61); *T.* ii. col. 940).

iv. Those who were arrested and not yet heard in court were called *martyrs designate* (Tertullian *ad Martyres*). Those of whose firmness their brethren were not quite confident are named by Tertullian *uncertain martyrs* (Tert. *de Jejunio*, c. 12).

v. The later Greeks adopt a classification of martyrs into various classes.

*Hieromartyrs* are the martyrs of the clergy.

*Hosiomartyrs* are martyred monks.

*Megalomartyrs* are the martyrs of the soldiery.

*Parthenomartyrs* are virgin martyrs.

*Anargyri*, the title of the twin physicians Cosmas and Damian, is extended to Sergius and Bacchus, and to John and Cyrus, two similar pairs.

We find the term megalomartyr in Theophylact Simocatta (v. 14). Some trace of such classification appears in Polycrates ap. Eus. *H. E.* v. 24.

II. *Laws under which the Christians suffered.*—(1) *General.* In ancient civilisation idolatry was almost inseparable from daily life. Education (Tertullian, *de Idololatriâ*, c. 10), commerce (*ib.* c. 11), public amusements (*ib.* c. 13), marriages, funerals, social intercourse (c. 16), domestic service (c. 17), state affairs (c. 18), military duty (c. 19), all involved idolatry. The Jews, indeed, had dealings with the Gentiles everywhere and kept clear of idolatry. Hence, while the only intolerance shewn to other religions was an occasional attempt to keep the worship of Isis outside the walls of Rome (Dio, liv. 6, Val. Max. I. iii.), Judaism was detested, and all the charges rebutted by Tertullian from the Christians, secret enormities (Tert. *Apol.* 7–9), impious atheism (*ib.* 10–28), disaffection to the empire (*ib.* 29–35), enmity to mankind (*ib.* 36–41), laziness (*ib.* 42–46), priestcraft (*ib.* 46–49), are brought also as calumnies against the Jews (Tac. *Hist.* V. 4, 5; Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 96 ff.). Besides disbelief in the gods led easily to sacrilege (Acts xix. 37; Rom. ii. 32), a charge not brought against the Christians. (Tert. *Apol.* 41.) Yet the Jews were tolerated, were protected in the observance of their code, exempted from civil action on the Sabbath, excused from adoring the image of the emperor, and even permitted to make proselytes. Enactments in their favour are collected by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* XVI. vi.).

Stringent as were the Roman laws against treason, a crime into which words as well as acts might be interpreted—especially any disrespect to the emperor's images—and which rendered all ranks alike liable to torture (Paul. *Sent.* v. xxix.; Sueton. *Octav.* 27; Amm. Marcell. xxix. 12; Arnob. iv. 24; *Digest.* XLVIII. iv.), the only acts of the Christians which could be construed as treasonable were such as were freely permitted to the Jews. The example of Joseph might encourage either Christian or Jew to swear by the life of Caesar. (Tert. *Apol.* 32.) They could plead that to call him a god before his death would be ill-omened (*ib.* 34).

Again, meetings for worship might be construed as treasonable (see *Digest.* XLVII. xxii. 2, XLVIII. iv. 1), and were at any rate strictly illegal, even in fulfilment of a vow, and even for veterans, unless express imperial or senatorial sanction for them were producible (Sueton. *Julius*, 42; *Octav.* 32; *Digest*, III. iv.; XLVII. xi. 3, xxii.), and the old laws against even private worship of gods unrecognised by the state (Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 8) were not quite extinct (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 32); but Jewish worship, public or private, had sanction.

The formation of guilds and clubs was strictly forbidden by Trajan (Plin. *Ep.* x. 42. 43, 97). Afterwards it was more and more frequently permitted to the lower classes for one special purpose, the burial of the dead. These guilds had a common chest like little commonwealths, and an agent, called an actor or syndic, who appeared for them in any legal disputes (*Dig.* III. iv. 1). All the functions of the church were permitted to them, as the church is described by Tertullian. "Approved elders preside. Everyone brings a little sum on a certain day in the month, or when he pleases, and only if he pleases, and only if he can. From this stock payments are made, not for feasts, but for support and burial of the poor and of destitute orphans and bedridden old people and shipwrecked sailors and convicts in the mines or islands or jails" (Tert. *Apol.* 39). This was only illegal because senatorial sanction was requisite in each case.

*Witchcraft* was a capital crime by Jewish law. Roman procedure varied, for people of that sort were always being forbidden and always being retained (Tac. *Hist.* i. 22). "Burn him alive" is the outcry of the rabble in Lucian's *Asinus*, c. 54, but the law given by Paulus (*Sent.* V. xxiii. 17) decreeing this death for the wizards and crucifixion or the beasts for their accomplices may be later. Death or banishment is the penalty that we find historically in the 1st century (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 32, xii. 52; Dio, lvii. 15; Juv. *Sat.* vi. 660 ff.). Supposed possession of magical powers was enough to make a humble individual formidable and culpable for treason.

Any departure from the ordinary reverence for the gods might easily be linked with an attempt to turn the gods into slaves. Two main branches of supernatural art, astrology and exorcism, were largely in Jewish hands, and Moses was reputed to have been a mighty wizard.

Any new superstition was looked upon as a school of magic—"Magi estis quia novum nescio quod genus superstitionis inducitis" (*Acta Achatii*, § 7, Ruinart). Otherwise works of beneficence would rather lead the rabble to regard the wonder-worker as a god than as a wizard. Busy slander might produce a revolution of feeling, but to all supernatural pretensions, magisterial scepticism had a ready answer, the doom of death.

(2) *Special.* Thus far we have reviewed the first part only of the laws against the Christians, namely the previously existing legal principles that could be turned against them by "unjust disputations of the juris-consults." These charges of impiety, foreign superstitions, treason, unlawful assemblage, magic, appear to M. Le Blant sufficient to explain all the persecutions. But Lactantius (*Instit. Div.* v. 11) tells us that Ulpian also collected in the first book of his last work, *De Officio Proconsulis*, another set of laws, which the very nature of the case and the whole tenor of the acts of the martyrs and of the writings of the apologists prove to have existed, the "sacrilegious constitutions" and "nefarious rescripts" of the emperors directly censuring it.

It was indeed necessary in order to bring the principles which are specified above into play against the Christians, that there should be authoritative definitions, distinguishing Christianity from the lawful religion of Judaism, and

refusing it sanction for its rites or concessions to its scruples. It was needful that the various suspicions of guilt, which could not be urged against the same act under different laws, without transgressing a principle of jurisprudence (*Digest*, XLVIII. ii. 14), should all be brought under one head, and summed up into a single crime.

(*a*) If we inquire when Christianity was first made criminal, the answer of antiquity is unanimous. In A.D. 64, his mistress, Poppaea, being a Jewish proselyte (Jos. *Ant. Jud.* xxviii. 11; cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 45, xv. 6), Nero had made Rome a very Sodom, when a fiery doom fell. The flames spared the Jewish quarter across the Tiber, so, as culprits were wanted in order to remove the suspicion from Nero himself, the conflagration was charged on members of the new sect, who confessed and betrayed the names of others. Then a decree of the emperor, probably also of the obsequious and not reluctant senate, made the profession of Christianity a crime, supposed to imply enmity to the human race, and sentenced to be visited with death, by beasts, crosses, flames, or novel horrors invented on purpose.* Their deaths were turned to sport, and Nero gave his own gardens for the show (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44; Sulpicius, *Hist.* ii. 41; Tert. *Apol.* 5). We have no hint of any opportunity of pardon on recantation, for those once arrested. The persecution was extended to the provinces (cf. 1 Pet. iv. 12-19), and even a *civis Romanus ingenuus* like Paul was beheaded (Tertullian, *Scorpiace*, 15).

The Neronian persecution has only left us two certain names of martyrs, Peter and Paul, of each of whom their disciple, Clement, says emphatically, ἐμαρτύρησεν (c. 5), while of the other victims murdered by Nero he only says that they suffered unhallowed outrages (c. 6). "Guilty as the Christians were," says Tacitus (l. c.), "pity for them arose." Yet on Nero's death, when all his other constitutions were cancelled, we are told that this decree against the Christians alone remained ("permansit erasis omnibus hoc solum institutum Neronianum," Tertull. *ad Nationes*, i. 7). So we learn from Dio that Vespasian in A.D. 70, after Jerusalem was taken, wrote to Rome, "wiping out the disgrace of those who had been condemned for what were called impieties by Nero and those who had ruled after him, alike of the living and of the dead, and putting an end to accusations on such charges" (Dio Cassius, lxvi. 9). The senatus-consultum against the Christians remained apparently unrepealed, only suspended by this imperial despatch (cf. Eus. *H. E.* v. 21).

(*b*) In the reign of Domitian, if we may trust the Colbertine Acts of Ignatius (c. 1), there were many persecutions. The grandsons of Jude, sent as prisoners to Domitian by Invocatus, as chiefs of the house of David, were dismissed contemptuously as harmless peasants, and Domitian stopped this persecution (Hegesipp. *in* Eus. *H. E.* iii. 20, 32).

In A.D. 95, in the exaction of tribute from the Jews, profession of faith was made imperative for every one, and the Christians were accused of atheism. Some were put to death, others were stript of their property. Among the chief sufferers were Clemens and Domitilla, cousins to the emperor, and parents of his heirs. Clemens, though consul of the year, was beheaded: Domitilla was only banished to the isle Pandataria. Glabrio, who had been consul with Trajan in A.D. 91, and had been compelled to fight with a lion in the very year of his consulate, was now put to death, on the same charges as the rest, and also on the ground of his easy victory over the lion. Compare Suetonius *Domitian*, c. 12: "deferebantur qui vel improfessi judaice viverent," Dio Cassius, lxvii. 14, Bruttius *in* Eus. *H. E.* iii. 18, and Hieronym. *Ep.* 96 [27] and Eus. *Chron. Olymp.* 218. Domitilla has given her name to a Roman cemetery, where De Rossi has found inscriptions identifying the site as her property, and a shrine adorned with first century Christian paintings, and especially with a vine branch (κλῆμα) in allusion to the name of Clemens. (*Bullettini*, 1865, pp. 33 ff., 91 ff.) In A.D. 96 Nerva proclaimed general toleration (Dio Cassius, lxviii. 1), and closed the second oecumenical persecution, and the last till the days of Decius (Melito *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26; Tert. *Apol.* c. 5; Lactant. *de Mortibus*, c. 3).

(*c*) Trajan is universally recognised as a persecutor. The chronology of his reign is somewhat hard to determine. According to the Colbertine Acts of Ignatius, the triumph over the Dacians was followed by a persecution of the Christians, Christianity being regarded by the soldierly Trajan as insubordination. Trajan's first triumph over the Dacians was in A.D. 102. It seems to have been somewhat later in his reign that Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, suffered (Hegesippus, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iii. 32, cf. Zahn, *Patres Apostolici*, ii. 307).

In A.D. 112, according to Mommsen, Trajan wrote his famous rescript to Pliny (Plin. *Ep.* x. 97, 98), making Christianity still a capital crime, but forbidding search for the offenders, or anonymous accusations, and decreeing pardon for any who recanted. Under this law it was possible for bold Christians to present apologies for the faith without being themselves arraigned. The apologies of Aristides and Quadratus presented to Hadrian in A.D. 125 (cf. Clinton *ad ann.*) were immediately followed by the rescript of that emperor to Fundanus, insisting that definite illegal acts must be alleged against the Christians by responsible accusers (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 9; Melito *ap.* Eus. iv. 26; Justin, *Apol.* I. *ad fin.*; Aube, pp. 264, 275).

Nothing certain is known about the persecution of the Christians by Hadrian. The martyr acts

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* The construction of the passage in Tacitus is obscure, but becomes clearer if we suppose him to be transcribing with a change of tense the actual terms of the senatus-consultum, which in that case seems to have been artfully worded, so as to stretch phrases descriptive of the old punishment of parricide, to be sewn up in a hide with a dog and thrown into the river, and of simple crucifixion, so as to make them include the novel sports of dressing men up as beasts, and setting dogs at them, or setting dogs at them as they hung on their crosses. "Pereuntibus addita ludibria: ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirent aut crucibus affixi; aut flammandi, atque ubi defecerit dies in usum nocturni luminis urantur." The *tunica molesta*, or plaguy shirt, seems to owe its origin to the charge of arson. The victim's throat was not fast, lest he should inhale the smoke and suffocate himself. The threat of this penalty was afterwards used to compel a gladiator to play the part of Mucius (Martial, *Epig.* x. 25).

assigned to his reign do not inspire confidence. The first historian who reckons him as a persecutor is Sulpicius Severus, and he connects his persecution with the foundation of Aelia Capitolina on the site of Jerusalem. This seems probable enough, for we must remember that till then the Hebrew church survived, that the foundation of Aelia was an insolent rearing of the abomination of desolation on the sacred sites, that at the same time circumcision was forbidden, and that these events synchronized with the deification of the vile Antinous (Clinton, A.D. 130–132). Barcochbas, the leader of the Jewish revolt, practised all manner of cruelties upon the Christians (Justin. *Apol.* I. 31), and the mother church of Jerusalem ceased to be, and was succeeded by a Gentile congregation at Aelia (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 6). The only martyr of this reign of whom we have certain knowledge, is the bishop of Rome, Telesphorus, whose execution may be assigned to A.D. 136 or 137.

There is some uncertainty as to the identity and date of Arrius Antoninus, an urgent persecutor in Asia, who, when all the Christians of the town presented themselves before him in a band, ordered some to be led off to execution, and said to the rest, "Wretches, if you want to die, there are precipices, and you have halters." (Tertull. *ad Scap.* c. 5.)

The chief danger of the Christians, however, was from popular outcries, and the most prominent members of the church bore the brunt of the assault, and quenched the fury of their adversaries by their death (cf. Origen *in Joann.* vi. 36; t. iv. p. 133). A notable instance is Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who was burnt on Saturday the 23rd of February, A.D. 155 (Waddington, *Vie du Rhéteur Aristide, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, 1867, t. xxvi. pp. 203 ff., 232 ff.). The sufferings of the martyrs were the occasion and the staple of the apologies. Thus the apology of Justin complained of the martyrdom of Ptolemy by Urbicius, *i.e.* between A.D. 156 and 160. This seems to have elicited the extant rescript of Pius (cos. iv. trib. pot. pp. xxi. *i.e.* A.D. 158—given as of Marcus in A.D. 161, by Eusebius,[b] *H. E.* iv. 13), addressed to the council of Asia, demanding proof, not merely of Christianity but of treason, and in default of such proof, threatening the accuser with condign punishment. The genuineness of this rescript has been doubted, because of its frank recognition of the piety of the Christians, and of their superiority to the sycophants who accused them. This seems to us quite in keeping with the character of Pius.

(*d*) Marcus, the noblest of the emperors, appears as a persecutor. His sincere piety in troublous times probably decreed universal religious observances with which the Christians could not comply. Both the acts of Justin (A.D. 166), the earliest that appear really to be taken down by a notary at the time, and the apology of Melito (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26), written upon occasion of the martyrdom of Sagaris of Laodicea, A.D. 167 (Aubé, p. 362), speak of edicts ordaining that all who were caught should be compelled to sacrifice. If there were no reversal of the decision of Trajan, and no hunt after the Christians were decreed, there were at any rate plenty of "concussions." The Christians were driven to build their splendid tombs underground, as in the case of Januarius (*Bullettini*, 1865, p. 97). The emperor's justice replied to the apologies of Melito and of Apollinaris (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 27, v. 5) by a law which condemned the accuser of Christians to death whether his charge were substantiated or not (Tert. *Apol.* 5). This was subsequent to the deliverance of the army by an unexpected fall of rain in A.D. 174. The rescript of the emperor ascribing this to the prayers of a Christian legion is an undoubted forgery, and is not that to which Tertullian alludes (*l. c.*, cf. *ad Scap.* 4). It is however possible that Marcus may have commended the piety of the Legio Fulminata, and that Apollinaris may have pointed out that in that legion the Christians were numerous.

But though convinced that the Christians were not atheists, and stern in repressing the attacks made upon them by private sycophants, Marcus was not ubiquitous and was not unprejudiced. Christian martyrs appeared to him to die in a spirit of irrational emulation, τραγῳδῶς κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν (*Med.* xi. 3), and hence he was disposed to regard Christianity as a frightful fanaticism. His hatred of priestcraft made him decree that whoever scared men's minds with superstition should be banished to an island (*Dig.* XLVIII. xix. 30.) Meanwhile he was himself somewhat priestridden by his philosophers; the senators were for the most part utterly opposed to the new religion, and not likely to be impartial judges, and popular uproar did not always present itself as the voice of a rabble, but sometimes, as at Vienne and Lyons in A.D. 177, as the act of a municipality. The governor, on that occasion, found Christian prisoners awaiting him accused by the whole town of Lyons, and himself proceeded to commit an advocate who appeared for them and avowed his Christianity, to torture the heathen domestics of the Christians and to extract supposed evidence of cannibal banquets and incestuous orgies, to permit the murder by the rabble before the tribunal of bishop Pothinus, who was supposed to be the Christ worshipped by the Christians, and finally to consult the emperor about those who were Roman citizens without permitting them to go and plead their own cause before him. Marcus wrote back that those who recanted should be released; those who persisted should be drummed off, *i.e.* cudgelled to death. A similar decree appears in the acts of Caecilia, which are referred by De Rossi to this date. It seems to have called forth the apology of Athenagoras. The Gallic governor assumed a certain liberty in interpreting it. He gave up to the beasts all who were not Roman citizens, and one who was. Other tortures were applied to them in the amphitheatre for the amusement of the people, *e.g.* a chair of red-hot iron, in which the prisoner was fastened. This is noteworthy as indicating the effect of persecution of the Christians in whetting an appetite for horrors, —Tertullian (*ad Martyres*, 5) tells of some who volunteered to run a course in a flaming shirt,— and also in undermining the old fabric of chartered liberties, and reducing the world under the tyranny of the emperor and his emissaries. The

[b] The rescript is given at the close of the so-called first apology of Justin. We agree with Papebroche in regarding the two apologies as one, though not in the date.

rescript of Marcus is important as definitely sanctioning the employment of torture to induce recantation. Those who persisted in confession were liable to torture, and it came to be used not only to elicit confessions of imaginary guilt, but to compel denial of the faith (Tert. *Apol.* 2). The fact is that those who proclaimed, I am a Christian and among us no evil is done, not only failed to supply evidence against the Christians, they bore irrefragable evidence in their favour (cf. Eus. *H. E.* v. 1–4).

Christianity was left by Marcus in a most anomalous position. It was a capital crime either to be a Christian, or to accuse another of being so. Thus the accuser of the senator Apollonius, in the reign of Commodus, was put to death by having his legs broken, but Apollonius himself, after pleading his cause before the senate, was beheaded (Eus. *H. E.* v. 21). The proceedings of the governors varied. One suggested an answer that would enable him to acquit, another bound the culprits over to satisfy their townsfolk, a third let them off with a little torture, a fourth beheaded them, a fifth burnt them alive (Tertull. *ad Scap.* 4). There were convicts in the mines in Sardinia on the ground of their faith, whose release was obtained of Commodus by his Christian concubine, Marcia. A list of them was furnished her by bishop Victor, and the name of Callistus was omitted, because he had been guilty of breach of the peace in disturbing the Jews in their synagogue (*Philosophumena*, ix. 12). There were believers in high station in the palace (Iren. *c. Haer.* iv. 30).

(*e*) The power of the senate, so hostile to Christianity, was overthrown along with the dynasty of Trajan (Gibbon, ch. v.). No Christians followed the standards of the usurpers Albinus, Niger, and Cassian (Tert. *ad Scap.* 2), but Severus, the military despot, who proved victorious, had many Christian favourites whom he sheltered, and his son was reared on Christian milk (*ib.* 4).

Yet Severus was compelled (A.D. 202) to forbid conversions to Christianity (Spartian, *Severus*, c. 17), and the persecution which ensued, the first that made martyrs in Africa (Tertullian, *ad Scap.* 3), was so fierce that the Christians thought the end of the world must be drawing nigh.

In another way, however, this emperor enabled the church to acquire a sort of legal recognition. Severus made the permission of funeral guilds to those of slender means, provided they met only once a month, universal through Rome, Italy, and the provinces (*Dig.* XLVII. xxiii. 1), and committed charges of illegal association to the jurisdiction of the city praefect (*ib.* I. xii. 1 or 14). The church saw her opportunity. The archdeacon Callistus (A.D. 198) was set over the new cemetery on the Appian Way. A sum of hush money, distributed in presents at the Saturnalia, prevented awkward questions about the religion of the new funeral society, though it was indeed no secret, and the clergy were booked, by the police, among the taverns, gambling houses, brothels, and thieveries. But the recognition in any way of the clergy by the state increased their power and responsibility, and made the independent ambiguous position of the martyrs apart from the clergy above the laity, disturbing discipline by indulgences, a thing less and less tenable. Meanwhile, as wardens of the cemeteries pursuing their other offices of charity under cover of attending to the tombs, the clergy, instead of little meetings from house to house, could organize grand celebrations in subterranean halls before the monuments of the heroes of the faith; and to conform their phraseology and ritual as much as possible to heathen models was an obvious precaution. The danger that lurked in such conformity remained wholly unsuspected (*Philosophumena*, ix. 12; Tertullian, *de Fuga*, 12, 13; *Bullettini*, 1866, pp. 8–11, 19–22).

(*f*) The extension of the Roman franchise by Caracalla to all the free subjects of the empire made the torture of Christians thenceforward the torture of free Romans. We do not read of direct sanction of Christianity or repeal of the laws against it, till the days of Alexander Severus. "Christianos esse passus est." He proposed to erect a temple, and gave the preference to the guild of the Christians over the guild of the cooks, when they disputed about a piece of land. His successor, Maximin (A.D. 235–237), aimed a persecution at the clergy only (Eus. *H. E.* vi. 28), which seems not to have been oecumenical only because his rule was not everywhere firmly established. It affected Egypt and Asia (Firmilian *ap.* Cypr. *Ep.* 75, c. 10), and above all Rome. Pontianus and Hippolytus were transported to Sardinia, and there died (*Cat. Liberianus*); Anteros, after six weeks' episcopate, was put to death, it is said, for his diligence in collecting and treasuring up the acts of the martyrs (*Cat. Felicianus*). Protoctetus and Ambrose of Caesarea were exhorted to martyrdom by Origen. It is a question whether the martyrs mentioned by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 4, 5) ought not to be referred to this persecution rather than to that of Severus, for Isidore of Pelusium expressly mentions Maximin as the persecutor of Potamiaena (Pallad. *Hist. Lausiac.* c. 3). The one part to which the persecution seems not to have extended is Africa (Dodwell, *Diss. Cypr.* xi. 48–50).

This outbreak was followed by a period of imperial favour. The emperor Philip is said to have been himself a Christian.

Decius (A.D. 250) instituted the third oecumenical persecution, by what laws we know not, but he seems to have given the reins to a great popular onslaught, which at Alexandria had begun a year before without waiting for imperial encouragement, but which was let loose universally by Decius.

The persecution of Decius appears to have summed up in itself the characteristics of all previous persecutions: direct and universal like those of Nero and Domitian, it was conservative and disciplinary in aim like that of Trajan, it employed torture for the direct purpose of forcing recantation like those of Marcus and Severus, and it broke through a period of peace and was directed principally against the clergy like that of Maximin. The *Acta Sincera* belonging to it are those of Pionius, Achatius, Maximus, Petrus Lampsacenus, Lucianus. The story that Decius was so impressed by the answers of Achatius of Pisidia, which were reported to him, that he recalled the edict of persecution, is somewhat confirmed by the cessation of perse-

cution before the close of his reign. Cyprian returned, and a new pope was elected in the early part of 251 (Lipsius, *Chron. Rom. Bisch.* p. 18).

Persecution was renewed under Gallus, occasioned by the plague (A.D. 252, 253).

In A.D. 254 commences a formal registration of the bishops in the state archives. Valerian seems to have hoped thus to keep control over the church without the necessity of making martyrs. In 257 he had the bishops interrogated and banished (*Vita Cypriani*, c. 11). Reports of the interrogatories were published (Cypr. *Ep.* 77; Dionys. Alex. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vii. 11), and seem to have earned the bishops the title of martyrs. At least Dionysius of Alexandria is commemorated as such, though he survived the persecution and died in peace. But in A.D. 258, Valerian wrote that all the clergy should be executed offhand, nobles and knights degraded and stript of their property, and only put to death if they still persisted, ladies should be banished, officers of the household led off in convict gangs to penal labour (Cypr. *Ep.* 82).

Gallienus (A.D. 260) stopt the persecution and gave legal sanction to the church body, and reinstated it in possession of its corporate property (Eus. *H. E.* vii. 13).

Aurelian had intended (Eus. *H. E.* vi. 30), or even decreed (Lact. *de Mortibus*, 6) a persecution, but the execution of the design was frustrated by his death (A.D. 275). The peace of the church endured till the opening of the 4th century.

Like his great master in statesmanship, Aurelian, Diocletian also appeared as a protector of the church so long as he was occupied with rebels or foreign foes. But in his 17th year (A.D. 300) before his final triumphs, when he was anxiously awaiting news from the East, he expelled all Christians from the army (Eus. *Chron. H. E.* VIII. iv.;[c] Lact. *de Mort.* 10). In A.D. 303 he was induced by Galerius reluctantly to re-enact the edicts of Valerian, with some exceptions and additions. His decree was placarded at Nicomedia on February 23. No blood was to be shed, but (*a*) the churches were to be razed, (*b*) the sacred books were to be burnt, (*c*) the Christians were to be disfranchised and outlawed, (*d*) *liberti* and *addicti* (*οἱ ἐν οἰκετίαις*) persisting in Christianity were to be reduced to slavery (Eus. *H. E.* viii. 2; Lact. *de Mort.* 13). Two conflagrations in the palace caused the torture and execution of the Christian domestics, and a second decree incarcerating the entire clergy (Lact. *de Mort.* 14, 15; Eus. *H. E.* VIII. vi. 9). The celebration of the Vicennalia at the close of the same year, which was the occasion of the release of all other prisoners, was signalised by the employment of torture to force the Christians to sacrifice (Eus. *Ib.* 11). The results of these edicts are graphically portrayed in the Acts of Theodotus: "All the chiefs of the brethren were kept fast in prison; their houses were ransacked; the unbelievers plundered whatever came in their way; freeborn virgins were shamelessly violated; there was no place of safety even for those who fled; they could not long endure their hunger, so that many gave themselves up to be taken." Altars were placed in the law courts that none might plead a cause without first sacrificing (*de Mortibus*, 15). A whole Christian town with its inhabitants was burnt in Phrygia (Eus. *H. E.* VIII. xi.). New tortures were invented. The victims were stretched on a rack (equuleus) or hung up with stones fastened to their feet, then beaten in that posture with cudgels, rods, or scourges; then torn with iron hooks (ungulae, pectines); then rubbed with salt and vinegar; then burnt bit by bit from the soles of their feet upwards with torches or hot-iron plates, water being meanwhile thrown in their faces to keep life in them (Eus. *H. E.* VIII. vi.; cf. Lact. *de Mort.* 21), or dragged along the rough ground to restore consciousness (Eus. *H. E.* VIII. x.). Those who were remanded to jail were put in the stocks with their feet far asunder, and high up so that they had to lie on their backs. All these things were done before the persecution had properly commenced.

Throughout the west, in Italy, Africa, Spain, and even in Gaul and Britain, except as far as Herculius was checked by his subordinate Constantius, possession of Christian books, attendance on Christian meetings, and concealment of Christian fugitives, were already reckoned capital crimes. Such interpretation was put on the bloodless decrees of Diocletian by his colleague (Mason, *Persecution of Diocletian*, pp. 48, 1152, 154 ff. 172 ff.). In the East it was still illegal to kill, but not to mutilate a Christian (Eus. *Mart. Pal.* ii. 1). To understand the horror of the persecution it must be borne in mind that it was similar to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a sudden subversion of legal security, a sudden disruption of peaceable society, nay, a sudden withdrawal of imperial favour.

In 304 the persecution raged most fiercely, for Herculius was still supreme in the west, and Diocletian was not in a condition to control Galerius in the east. At the beginning of the year a new edict extended the obligation of sacrifice to all the people of every town, and sanctioned the arrest of the consecrated virgins of the church and their consignment to the brothels (Eus. *Mart. Pal.* 3; *Acta Irene*, c. 5; cf. *Acta Theodorae*, c. 1). Even this did not satisfy the enemies of the church. In April a senatus-consultum (cf. Martene, *Thes.* iii. 1649) and a rescript of Herculius decreed the seizure of Chrisians "wherever found," and recognised that the penalty might be death (Mason, p. 212 ff.).

On the 1st of May, 305, Diocletian and Maximianus Herculius abdicated. Constantius, who had retained the confessors and dismissed the apostates among the officers of his own household (Eus. *Vit. Const.* I. xvi.), did not, of course, urge the persecution further in the west, but the church was not reinstated in her legal rights, and the western Caesar was a nominee of Galerius. In the east under Galerius and Maximin the persecution raged with redoubled fury, and a law was promulgated condemning the Christians to die by slow fire (*De Mortibus*, 21). The mode of punishment varied from province to province. In Cappadocia their legs were broken; in Mesopotamia they were suffocated by hanging their head downwards over a

[c] There is no reason whatever for doubting the identity of the events described by Eusebius and Lactantius.

smoky fire; in Pontus they had their nails torn off, and other tortures too horrible to relate; at Alexandria their ears, noses, and hands were cut off; in the Thebais they were fastened to two boughs brought together by force and then let go, and so torn asunder. Meanwhile the pitying soldiery would force them to sacrifice, or drag them off by their feet and set them among the apostates, and stop their mouths if they tried to say anything (Eus. *H. E.* VIII. iii. ix. xii.).

On the death of Constantius, July 25, 306, Constantine was proclaimed in Britain, and his first act was to repeal the prohibition of Christianity (Lact. *de Mort.* 24). In October, Maxentius, son of Herculius, usurped the purple in Rome. Severus, who was sent against him, was defeated and put to death. Herculius resumed the purple along with his son, and they allied themselves with Constantine. Toleration was doubtless a condition of alliance, and a new bishop of Rome was elected; but to grant the church her right of imposing penance on apostates must have been intolerable to Herculius. Brawls ensued, the old emperor was forced to flee, and the same fate of exile was imposed on two successive popes, Eusebius and Marcellus. In the 6th year the Christians had their feet maimed and their eyes put out instead of being put to death (Eus. *Mart. Pal.* viii.). In the autumn there was a new edict enjoining sacrifice on man, woman, and child (*ib.* ix.). In April, 311, the dying Galerius with Constantine and Licinius, put out an edict of toleration (Eus. *H. E.* VIII. xvii.; Lact. *de Mort.* 34). This was suppressed by Maximin, who only wrote to his governors, bidding them desist from persecution (Eus. *H. E.* ix. i.). On the death of Galerius he made himself master of all Asia. He then induced the inhabitants of the towns to present petitions to him entreating him to continue the work (Eus. *H. E.* IX. ii. iv.; Lact. *de Mort.* 36), and decreeing for their own part expulsion of the Christians. Christian Armenia flew to arms (Eus. *H. E.* ix. viii. 2). Plague and famine gave the Christians new opportunity for charity (*ib.*).

In Rome the property of the church was restored, in accordance with the edict of Galerius, by Maxentius to Melchiades in July, 311 (Aug. *ad Don. post coll.* i. xiii.; t. ix. p. 662; cf. *Cat. Liberianus*). There are legends of martyrdoms at Rome in presence of Diocletian about the close of the reign of Maxentius, *e.g.* the four crowned saints and Sebastian, and we know that Maxentius and Maximin were secret allies, and Diocletian was accused of favouring them (Victor. *Epit.* xxxix. 8). Whether Maxentius had turned persecutor or not, the victory of Constantine was none the less a triumph for the Christians. Before the close of 312 he met Licinius at Milan and put forth the famous edict of toleration (Eus. *H. E.* IX. ix. 9, X. v.; Lact. *de Mort.* 45, 48; Mason, *Persecution of Diocletian*, p. 333). This was at once communicated to Maximin and stopt his designs of persecution, though (as before) he substituted a rescript of his own (Eus. *H. E.* IX. ix. 11). But before the close of the winter he declared war, vowing, if victorious, to exterminate the Christians. The army of Licinius called on God most high and holy. Maximin fled (Lact. 46, 47), and decreed toleration and died (Eus. *H. E.* IX. x. 6 ff.).

The universal toleration promised by the edict of Milan was, however, impossible. The church as a corporate body possessed property, and the question necessarily arose who were the true members of the corporation. In this question the state could not but interfere, and claim a right of regulating the conditions of membership in the interests of public morality.

III. *Roman Procedure.*—There was a regular form for accusers to give in. "L. Titius professus est se Maeviam lege Julia de adulteriis ream deferre, quod dicit eam cum C. Seio in civitate illa domo illius mense illo coss illis adulterium commisisse" (*Digest*, ii. 3). The proconsul decided whether to commit the culprits to prison or to a soldier, or to admit them to bail, or to leave them at large (*ib.* iii. 1). Those who had confessed their guilt were put in chains till sentence was passed (*ib.* iii. 5). The police courts often sent up prisoners with a brief of the evidence against them: the higher courts were forbidden to condemn without fresh hearing (*ib.* iii. 6). Jailors were often bribed to leave the prisoners unchained, or to afford them means of committing suicide (*ib.* iii. 7), but jailors who let their prisoners escape through culpable negligence were liable to be punished with death (*ib.* iii. 12). To kill, scourge, or torture a Roman citizen, or to detain him from proceeding to Rome to plead his cause there, was to be guilty of assault on the public peace (*ib.* vi. 8, 9). Nobody might be condemned in his absence without a hearing (*ib.* xvii. 1). A prisoner might not be stript of his possessions till he were condemned (*ib.* xx. 2). There was great liberty of appeal, even for slaves, who might appeal on their own behalf, if their master or a commissioner of his did not appeal for them (*ib.* XLIX. i. 15). On behalf of freemen anyone might appeal who was shocked at the cruelty of the sentence (*ib.* 6). The appeal was drawn up in writing, stating who appealed, and against whom, and from what sentence (*ib.* 1), but in court a man might simply say, I appeal (*ib.* 2). The proceedings in court were taken down by official shorthand writers, and carefully preserved (Amm. Marc. xxii. 3; *Cod. Theod.* II. xxiv. 3, Lydus *de Magister.* ii. 20).

IV. *Treatment of sufferers by their brethren.*—Christians in prison and in danger of death, (martyres designati, Tert. *ad Martyres*) were naturally objects of great solicitude. The most graphic picture of the treatment that an imprisoned Christian, so called "martyr," in the 2nd century would receive from his brethren, is given by Lucian in his *Life of Peregrinus*, c. 12. After relating how that rogue turned Christian in Palestine, he proceeds: "Then at last he was arrested on this charge and put into prison: Proteus was caught. Not he! that very circumstance gained him no small stock of credit to stand him in good stead during the next stage of his life in his favourite game of making a sensation. In short, when he was put in prison the Christians took it to heart, and left no stone unturned to have him out again. Then, when that proved impossible, all other kind offices were done him, not half-heartedly, but in business-like fashion and in good earnest, and right from early morning you might see at the gaol-door old women waiting about, certain widows, and little children that were orphans. But their official personages

even slept inside the gaol along with him, bribing the gaolers. Then dinners of various viands were carried in, and their sacred treatises were read, and the worthy Peregrinus (for he still went by that name) was called by these people a new Socrates. Nay, there are certain cities even in the province of Asia, from which some of the Christians came, deputed by their community, to help the man and support him in court and comfort him. They display incredible alacrity, when anything of this kind happens of public concern. And as an instance in point, much wealth accrued to Peregrinus from them then, by reason of his incarceration, and he made no small revenue out of it. . . He was released by the man who was then governor of Syria. . . He went forth a second time on his wanderings, with the Christians for a bank to draw upon for travelling expenses. As their soldier and servant he revelled in all abundance. And for some time he battened so: then he committed some transgression against their law also, was seen, I fancy, eating of their forbidden meats, and they came to him no more."

This hostile account is fully confirmed by Christian evidence. The jailors came to count on gains when they had Christian prisoners (*Acta Pionii*, c. 12); and when the officials forbade the access of visitors for fear of attempts at a rescue by magical arts (*Acta Perpetuae*, c. 16), the prisoners seem sometimes to have been in danger of starving (*Acta Montani*, c. 9). Directions were given by Cyprian that the confessor Celerinus, though but a reader, should have the salary of a presbyter (Cypr. *Ep.* 39). The *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 23) forbid confessors to arrogate to themselves episcopal functions; and the 25th canon of Illiberis, which enjoins that if any bring letters of commendation as confessors, these shall be taken away and simple letters of communion given them, because all under the vaunt of that name everywhere make game of the simple (*concutiunt* simplices, the word used for violent threats, from the military). Compare also Apollonius (Eus. *H. E.* v. 19), who speaks of Montanist martyrs exacting coin from orphans and widows. And though Callistus had obtained recognition as a martyr, contrary to the wishes of Victor, that bishop thought it necessary to pension him (*Philosophumena*, ix. 12).

V. *Prerogatives of Martyrs before Death.*—The honours which martyrs received from their brethren in this life were far more than the material emoluments. "Martyrs," in the old sense, signed as martyrs to the decrees of councils (Eus. v. xix.). The bloodshedding of martyrdom was a sacrament, a baptism that replaced or renewed the baptism of water (Tert. *de Bapt.* c. 16); one of the seven ways of obtaining remission (Orig. *in Lev. Hom.* ii. 2, t. ii. p. 190); the wanderer's last refuge (Tert. *Scorp.* 6), in which not only soils were washed off, but stains bleached white (*ib.* 12), in which angels were the baptizers (Cypr. *ad Fortun. pref.* 4). Baptism was a time for prayer (Tert *de Bapt.* 20, Perpetua 2), and so was martyrdom. It did not suffice for a martyr to have purged his own sins (Tert. *de Pudic.* 22): they began to be in such dignity that they might ask what they would (Perpetua, 3, 7): "martyrs gave grace to those that were not martyrs," and received the penitent apostates into communion (Eus. *H. E.* v. i. 40, ii. 7, 8): they had a right to be heard in claiming absolution for their brethren, as they did actually atone for their brethren's faults; they wearied out by their patience the fury of the adversaries and broke down the power of evil (Orig. t. iv. p. 133; Eus. *H. E.* VII. xli. 16): moreover, their peace was so divine, that to be at peace with them could not but be to be at peace with God (cf. Cypr. *Ep.* xxiii.). Hence martyrs excelled confessors by their power of receiving back the lapsed (Cypr. *Epp.* 20 [17], 10 [8]). Soon as a martyr was thrown into jail, seekers of grace gathered round (Tert. *de Pudic.* 22). "What martyr," asks Cyprian, "is greater than God or more merciful than the divine bounty, that he should fancy that we are to be kept by his own aid?" Cypr. *de Lap. sir.* c. 20. [LIBELLI]

VI. *Modes of Death.*—The sixth title of the xlviiith book of the *Digest* treats of punishments. These were very various. Burning alive was supposed the most frightful death, and was reserved for deserters or slaves who murdered their masters. Crucifixion came next, the lot of brigands. Those condemned to be thrown to beasts lost their franchise and freedom forthwith, and might be kept to be tortured for further evidence before their sentence took effect (*ib.* 29). But praefects were forbidden to throw criminals to the beasts just to please a popular outcry (*ib.* 31). Criminals might of course die under torture, but were not to be put to death by torture, unless the above ways be so reckoned. Roman citizens were simply beheaded with the sword. Men might be condemned, not to be thrown to the beasts, but to fight with them. Then there was slavery in the mines with heavier or lighter chains; the lime-works and sulphur works were considered the worst, and the mines furnished occupation to women as well as to the miners. Then there was transportation to an island, which involved loss of citizenship, though not of freedom (*ib.* xxii. 6, 15). Then there were various modes of flogging, a cudgelling was thought more honourable than a scourging: there was labour in public works, banishment to an island, perpetual or temporary banishment. In almost every case the punishment varied according to the station of the offender. This is exemplified in the chief instance that we have of a persecution of the Jews. The crimes of some would-be Jewish missionaries in A.D. 19 brought the whole community into trouble. Four thousand of the humbler sort were shipped off to Sardinia to be employed against the brigands—"if they died, small loss"—the rest were to recant by a given day or leave Italy (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85; Jos. *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 5).

VII. *Treatment of the Bodies of the Dead.*—The bodies of criminals, and even the ashes of such as had been burnt alive, except sometimes in cases of treason, were given up for burial to any who might ask for them (*Digest*, XLVII. xxiv.). At first such leave was only granted to private individuals; for funeral guilds were not yet allowed, and most of the early cemeteries bear the name of some wealthy owner. But the graves were recognised as possessing a religious sanctity. "Religiosum locum," says Marcianus, "unusquisque sua voluntate facit, dum mortuum infert

in locum suum" (*Digest*, I. viii. 6; cf. Gaius, *Instit.* ii. 6). In 303, at the beginning of the persecution, Diocletian found it necessary to have the bodies of the martyrs dug up and thrown into the sea (Eus. *H. E.* viii. 6). Thenceforth he refused them burial. Instances of the measures taken to rob the Christians of the relics will be found in the acts of Claudius and Asterius, of Victor of Marseilles, Theodotus of Ancyra, Vincent of Valencia, Irenaeus of Sirmium, &c. &c. They were generally thrown into the sea in sacks. At Caesarea, on one occasion, they lay guarded, and the dogs threw them all about the city (Eus. *Mart. Pal.* 9). The more grievous the wrong done to the holy bodies, the greater the eagerness to requite them with due honour. There is a legend of a Roman lady sending her paramour to the east, where persecution was still raging, to bring her some relics (Ado, *June* 5). Antony strongly protested against the Egyptian practice of keeping the mummies of the martyrs in private houses, whereas "even the body of the Lord was buried out of sight" (Athanas. *Vita Antonii*, ii. p. 502). The same practice is forbidden in one of the Arabic constitutions which claim to be of the council of Nice (Labbe, *Conc.* ii. 350).

VIII. ***Sepulture of Martyrs.***—The subject of Christian sepulture in general is treated under BURIAL, CATACOMBS, OBSEQUIES.

Of differences in the manner of sepulture of martyrs, which should enable future investigators to distinguish them after they had been forgotten, we have very little evidence. The title was sometimes inscribed on the tomb, either at the time of the interment or not long after (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* ii. 60, 61). In the lives of the popes, by Anastasius, Eutychian is said to have decreed that martyrs should not be buried without a purple dalmatic. Their blood was collected and buried with them (Prudentius, *Peristeph.* xi. 141–144), but the separate vessels supposed to contain blood are now recognised as receptacles for the wine of the agapae, or else forgeries.

Leibnitz tested a red sediment on a fragment of ancient Christian glass with sal-ammoniac, and finding the solvent successful, concluded that the sediment must be blood (Boldetti, p. 187). Palm branches, once supposed to distinguish martyrs, are common in the Christian epitaphs of the 4th century (*ib.* p. 271). These were the signs by which the Romanists used to pretend to distinguish the bodies of martyrs. Mabillon, under the pseudonym of Eusebius Romanus, entered a powerful protest (*De Cultu Sanctorum ignotorum*, Paris, 1698). Compare Martigny (*Dict. des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, SANG DES MARTYRS).

It was very usual to inter the relics of the martyrs under the altar. [ALTAR, CONSECRATION.] There seems to be an allusion to this custom in Rev. vi. 9. The monuments were at first above ground. The monument of James the Just was to be seen in the days of Hegesippus (Eus. *H. E.* II. xxiii.), and the trophies of Peter and Paul were shewn at the Vatican and on the Ostian way (Gaius *ap.* Eus. II. xxv.). So long, of course, as the cemeteries were in Christian possession, the tombs of the martyrs would not be forgotten. It was only the confiscation of the cemeteries by Diocletian that caused uncertainties.

There was of course a peculiar sacredness attaching to the bodies of the martyrs. They bore visible stamps of celestial joy triumphing over earthly malice. When tortured into a mass of sores, the application of fresh cautery some days after healed them. They came forth from their dungeons with shining faces, and seemed to emit a heavenly fragrance (Eus. *H. E.* v. i. 19, 30). The martyrs themselves sometimes discouraged the desire for relics (*Ign. ad Rom.* 4; Pontius, *Vit. Cypr.* 16); but sometimes gave them (*Acta Perpetuae*, 21). The relics were regarded as more precious than gold (*Mart. Polyc.* 18), and the taunts of the Jews that the Christians would leave Jesus and worship Polycarp (*ib.* 17) but increased their devotion. The heathen attempted to make the resurrection of the martyrs impossible (Eus. *H. E.* v. i. 54–58) by forbidding the interment. Martyrs often suffered away from their own churches, *e.g.* Ignatius, and the possession of the bodies of martyrs gave lustre to the churches and seemed a guarantee of the purity of their doctrine (Polycr. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiv. 2–4). Hence translations were necessary. These could not be effected except by stealth or by imperial permission. It was probably by imperial permission that pope Fabian (*Cat. Liberianus*) translated the bodies of Pontianus and Hippolytus from Sardinia to Rome. [RELICS.]

*A statue* of Hippolytus was set up outside his church.

*A graffito* praying for the peace of Pontianus was found in the papal crypt, and is referred by De Rossi to the times of Fabian. It was cut across when the crypt was altered by Damasus (*Rom. Sott.* ii. 80, cf. 381–396).

IX. *Cultus.*—Cultus, with rites of private direction, of the spirits of the departed, was not a new religion, though it was continually swelling the roll of divinities. But the graves were under the general supervision of the pontifical college, and might not be repaired without their permission (*Digest*, XI. vii. viii.; *Bullettini*, p. 89).

A pagan's will directing the construction of a memorial chamber [CELLA MEMORIAE] with an *exedra* or summer-house, marble and bronze statues of himself seated, a *lectica* and stone benches with drapery, cushions, and vestments, and an altar to contain his bones, an orchard to be attached, and the property to be inalienable from the tomb, two freedmen to be wardens on yearly pay, and all the freedmen to club together to keep up a yearly feast at the place, and to elect club masters yearly who should sacrifice monthly through the summer at the tomb, is given by De Rossi in the *Bullettini*, 1863, p. 95. A monument has also been discovered, probably of a Jew, in which sepulture is granted to the freedmen themselves and their descendants, provided they "belong to my religion" (*ib.* 1862, p. 80). The celebration of the eucharist and of agapes at the tombs was only illegal, because the dead had died as traitors.

Heathen[d] cultus of the departed in general

[d] Neither was it quite heathenish, and out of harmony with the spirit of Judaism. The Jews built the sepulchres of the prophets, pleaded the merits of the patriarchs, thronged their sepulchres with lights and incense.

was based upon the notion that their souls were hovering about their bodies, and stood in need of the good offices of the living to their bodies. Christian belief is that the departed need the salvation of survivors, that they without us should not be made perfect (Heb. xi. 40). Undutiful neglect of their corpses was thus injurious to the dead, as it was perilous to the living (Cypr. *Ep.* 8). Their souls were not supposed to hover about their bodies, but their memory was the strongest incentive to that devotion on the part of survivors which they really needed. Hence their tombs from the first (cf. Heb. xiii. Rev. vi. *Martyria Ignatii et Polycarpi*) were places for the celebration of the Eucharist.

When the competition between heathen and Christian worship had once begun, the heathenish notions of honouring the dead by wakes and with waxlights began to gain currency among the Christians. In the canons of Illiberis, in or just after the time of the persecution of Diocletian, it is ordained that "waxlights should not be burnt by day in the cemetery," and the reason given for this prohibition is as superstitious as the practice prohibited, "for the spirits of the saints are not to be disquieted" (*Can. Elib.* 34; Routh, *Rel. Sacrae*, iv. 265). [LIGHTS.]

At the same council (can. 35) women were forbidden to keep vigil in the cemeteries, because under the pretext of prayer they commit sin. [VIGILS.]

When Constantine restored the property of the church, the re-erection of memorial edifices and celebration of festival anniversaries was commenced under prosperous auspices. If every city had a patron deity, almost every city had a native guardian saint. In the west, Prudentius enumerates the martyrs in whom diverse cities gloried. Carthage had Cyprian; Cordova, Acisclus and Zoellus and another trio; Tarragona, Fructuosus and his deacons; Gironda, Felix; Calahorra, Chelidonius; Barcelona, Cucufas; Narbonne, Paul; Arles, Genesius; Conplutum, Justus and Pastor; Merida, Eulalia; Tangier, Cassian; Fez, the Massylitans; Valencia, Vincent; Saragossa boasted Encratis and a group of eighteen (Prud. *Peristeph.* iv). Rome seemed to be crowded with martyrs: they were buried there in heaps, and the number only, not the names, inscribed upon the tomb: in one sepulchre lay sixty (*ib.* xi).

So throughout the 4th century, the rival cults contended for that which is the first necessary of a ritual system of hero-worship, the honour of being the national religion. Paganism had the prestige of antiquity; martyr-worship was recommended by imperial favour, by its innate superiority, and by the independent vital force of the church of Christ.

The deities of the heathen were by this time generally recognised among the heathen themselves as merely deified men, and it was easy to demonstrate from the heathen myths that they were bad men. The vices of the gods and heroes were the commonplace of ancient philosophers, and Christian preachers. A race of true heroes had sprung up. To bow before the horrible leavings of butchery was mortifying to human pride, and the 20th canon of the council of Gangra, A.D. 324, was passed against those who disdained the worship at the shrines of the martyrs. But if ridiculous and disgusting in outward form, and moving the disgust of aristocratic scholars like Eunapius (*Vita Aedesi*, 78, 81), the new worship could yet justify itself by appeal to Plato and to Hesiod (Eus. *Praep. Evang.* xiii. 22), as the old hero-worship in a better spirit.

Private appropriation of the martyrs being forbidden, the privilege of worshipping in the public cemeteries became the more precious. The great question between the various parties of Christians in the 4th century was which of them had the right of community of creed and communion in worship with the ancient champions of the common faith. Each great city had its own cemeteries; for those of Alexandria and Jerusalem see De Rossi, *Bullettini*, 1865, pp. 57 ff. and 84. From this heritage of ancient memories the Catholic body was, during great part of the 4th century, unjustly excluded, and so they were grasped with the more tenacity when they were regained. Meanwhile the prohibitions of heathen worship by Constantius (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. A.D. 341–356), and the galvanic resuscitation of it by Julian (Amm. Marcell. xxv. 4), and the renewed abandonment of the temples at his death (Soc. iii. 24) and interdiction of bloody sacrifice by Valens and Valentinian (Liban. *Orat. de Templis*, ii. 163) sent multitudes into the church with fresh appetites for ritual and devotional exercises.

The most striking instance of the support gained by the cause of Christian verity and independence from its ominous alliance with the popular fetishism, and from the supposed testimony of devils whom Christ would have gagged at once, is that afforded by the "invention" of the bodies of Protasius and Gervasius at Milan, in A.D. 386, by Ambrose. From the place where they were found, the church of SS. Nabor and Felix, De Rossi argues very probably that they were really martyrs, for it was an ancient Christian cemetery (*Bullettini*, 1864, p. 29). But they had been quite forgotten, and a dream led Ambrose to the excavations which disclosed two almost gigantic skeletons with a prodigious quantity of fresh, liquid blood. As the bishop, who was steadily resisting the claim of the Arian empress for a single church in which to worship, bore the relics through the city to his new basilica, demoniacs were seized with convulsions, and the demons owned the power of the martyrs and the error of Arianism, and left their victims. The relics cured a well-known citizen who had been many years blind. Undeniable facts will not convince sceptics, and the Arians derided the miracles, but the Catholics regarded them as a gracious interposition of Providence on their behalf (Ambros. *Ep.* xxii.; Augustine, *Conf.* ix. 7; *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8).

The year after the occurrence of these miracles the Arian empress was a fugitive and a suppliant at the court of the first Catholic Christian emperor, the great Theodosius, who finally suppressed Paganism, and who acknowledged by his submission to penance the power of the church to grant or withhold to the sovereign of the world the bread of his life, but who prepared himself for the contest with the last champion of Paganism, the usurper Eugenius (Ambr. *Ep.* 57) by going round all the places of prayer with the priests and the people, lying prostrate in

sackcloth before the tombs of martyrs and apostles, and begging help from the intercession of the saints (Ruffinus, *Hist. Eccl.* xi. 33).

X. *Intercession of Martyrs.*—While martyrdoms were frequent they were regarded as a kind of perpetual embassy from the church on earth to her Lord. They were requested to bear their friends in mind when they entered into the presence of Christ (Eus. *Mart. Pal.* 7). Fructuosus, A.D. 258, answered such a request by saying, I must needs bear in mind the whole church spread from east to west (*Acta Fructuosi*, c. 5). Origen says, Of the martyrs John writes that their souls assist at the altar: he who assists at the altar performs the function of a priest: it is the office of a priest to plead for the sins of the people; I fear lest since we have no more martyrs it be with us as with the Jews who have no temple. Our sins remain in us (Orig. *in Num.* x. 2, t. ii. p. 302). The belief derived from the words of Christ (Luke xxiii. 47, Rev. ii. 7), that the souls of the martyrs and theirs alone passed up into the presence of the Lord in Paradise, was confirmed by the dreams of the martyrs themselves (*Acta Perpetuae*, 4, 11, 12; Tertull. *de Anima*, c. 55). Moreover the crown which Paul mentioned as laid up for him against the last day (1 Tim. iv. 8) was supposed to be already given them (*Mart. Polycarp.* 19; Eus. *H. E.* v. 2, § 37; *Acta Fructuosi ad fin.*), and they were regarded as the future assessors of Christ in judgment (Cypr. *Epp.* vi. 2, xv. 3, xxxi. 3, *de Lapsis*, 17).

To these general beliefs Origen (l. c.) added a peculiar doctrine of his own, which he supported by Paul's phrase "to be spent" (2 Cor. xii. 15; 2 Tim. iv. 6), that Christ's sons joined with him in taking the sins of the saints. In his *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, c. 50, he suggests that perhaps some will be bought by the precious blood of the martyrs. In the same writing (c. 38) he suggested that after death the father would love his children more skilfully, and pray for them more continuously (t. i. p. 299). So he averred that the souls of martyrs not only interceded with the Lord, but themselves administered forgiveness to those who prayed (*ib.* c. 30, p. 293). He had been taught that those who had gone before contended in prayer for those who were following after, and licked up their adversaries as an ox licks up the grass (*in Jesu Nave*, xvi. 5). He gives as a mystery not to be written down the doctrine that the souls of good and bad men become good and evil angels (*in Rom.* ii. 4, t. iv. p. 479), and he seems to speak of martyrdom as necessary for attaining eternal life, though good works might lead to glory, honour, and peace (*ib.* c. 7, p. 483).

These beliefs naturally found expression in the forms of Christian worship. Thus as regards the martyrs, in the prayer for the whole church, it was not said "we beseech thee for them," but "we offer on their behalf"—an important difference (*Const. Ap.* viii. 12), and in the bidding prayer the faithful were not bidden to pray for them, but remember them (*ib.* c. 13). Prayers for them there were in the sense of pious wishes, but not in the sense of earnest entreaties, such as were made for others of the dead (Perpetua, c. 7). The Nestorians indeed whose liturgies seem in other respects to give the prayer in a more ancient form, requested that the sins of the martyrs might be forgiven them. "O Lord our God, receive from us by Thy grace this sacrifice of thanksgiving, the reasonable fruit of our lips, that the memory of the just men of old, the holy prophets, blessed Apostles, martyrs, &c., and all sons of Holy Church may be before Thee, that of Thy grace thou wouldst give them pardon of all sins that they have done in this world in a mortal body and in a mutable soul, as there is no man who sinneth not" (Renaudot, *Lit. orient.* coll. t. ii. p. 620). Epiphanius appeals to such prayers as a proof of the wide distance that the church acknowledged between the holiest saint and the Lord (Epiph. *c. Haer.* 75, § 7). But Augustine says we do not pray for martyrs, for they have fulfilled the love than which no man hath greater. We ask them to pray for us (Aug. *in Joann.* tract. lxxxiv. t. iii. coll. 847). And again, it is a wrong to pray for a martyr (Aug. *Serm.* 159, v. 867).

*Invocation* of the martyrs was fostered by Christian orators, whose theology was influenced by the teaching of Origen, but whose rhetorical training had been received in schools of pagan panegyric. Their sermons vividly depict, and enable us to enumerate, the superstitions which they encouraged.

Basil, in his *Oration on Barlaam*, speaks of the martyrs as fishers of men after their death, drawing myriads as in a drag-net to their tombs, p. 139. *On Mamas*, he cuts short the praise of the martyr to proceed to the lessons he meant to enforce, but not to disappoint the expectations of his audience, who had come to hear an encomium, he says, "Remember the martyr (1) all who have enjoyed a sight of him in dreams, (2) all who have lighted on this place and have had him for a helper in your prayers, (3) all whom he has helped at work, when invoked by name, (4) all whom he has brought home from wayfaring, (5) all whom he has raised up from sickness, all to whom he has restored children already dead, all whose life he has prolonged. Bring all the facts together; work him up an encomium by common contribution. Distribute to each other, let each one impart his knowledge to the ignorant," p. 185. So Nazianzen in his sermon *On Cyprian*, in which by the way he goes wofully astray respecting that father's personal identity, bids them supply the tale of his good offices for themselves, as their own offering in his honour, (6) his knowledge of the future, (7) his overthrow of demons—"Cyprian's dust, with faith, can do all things, so they know who have tried it" (Greg. Naz i. 449).

Gregory Nyssen, Basil's brother, preaching in honour of Theodore, after describing the church, the carved wood, the polished stone, the painted walls, the mosaic pavement, the cherished and treasured sweepings, bids them beseech the saint as a satellite (δορύφορον) of God, as one that accepts their gifts just when He chooses. "He has gone away the fair and blissful road to God, leaving us the monument of his contest as a teaching-hall, gathering congregations, instructing a church, driving away demons, bringing down graceful angels, seeking for us from God the things profitable for us, having made this place a medicine-hall for various ailments, a haven for those tost with afflictions, a storehouse

of abundance for the poor, a beacon of refuge for wayfarers, a ceaseless festival of such as keep holy days. The throng never ceases, coming and going like ants. He it is who in these late years has stilled the tempest raised by the savage Scythians, opposing to their inroad no common weapons, but the cross of Christ, which is almighty." The saint is invoked and asked to have his heavenly duties of song. "We dread calamities and look for dangers; the grievous Scythians threaten war and are not far off: fight thou for us as a soldier; as a martyr employ in aid of thy fellow-servants, thy own freedom of speech. Thou hast passed away from this life, but still knowest the passions and wants of men. Pray for peace. To thee we ascribe the benefit of our preservation hitherto, and to thee we pray for future safety. Or if need be of more numerous entreaty, gather the choir of thy brother martyrs; remind Peter; wake Paul." (Greg. Nyss. iii. 578 ff.) Ephraim Syrus entreats the mother of the forty martyrs to intercede for him with them (Eph. Syr. II. 355, 391).

Basil, in his sermon on these forty martyrs, cries, "You often labour to find one to pray for you, here are forty. Where two or three are met in the Lord's name, God is there, but where there are forty, who can doubt His presence? These are they who guard our country like a line of forts. They do not shut themselves up in one place, but they are sojourners already in many spots, and adorn many homes, and the strange thing is, that they are not divided asunder on their visits to their entertainers, but are mingled up one with another, and make choral progress unitedly. Divide them into a hundred, and they do not exceed their proper number; bring them together in one and they are forty still, like fire" (Basil, ii. 155).

So in the next century Theodoret. "Their noble souls roam round the heavens dancing with the unembodied choirs. But as for their bodies, it is not a single tomb apiece that covers them, but cities and villages share them, and call them saviours of souls and healers of bodies, and honour them as patrons and guardians. The least little relic has the same power as the undivided martyr, and all this does not persuade you to hymn their God, but you laugh and mock."

Basil, the Gregories, and Ephraim, did much else besides lauding the martyrs. But in the west the title of Prudentius to fame lies mainly in the "passionate splendours" of the verse in which he hymns them, and the solitary devotion of the poet is more contagious than the fervour of the orators. "I shall be purged by the radiance of thy propitious face, if thou fill my heart: nothing is unchaste, that thou, pious Agnes, deigned to visit and to touch with thy footstep of blessing (*Peristeph.* xiv. 130–153). Be present now and receive the beseeching voices of thy suppliants, thou efficacious orator for our guilt before the Father's throne. By that prison we pray thee, the increase of thy honour; by the chains, the flames, the prongs, by the stocks in the gaol; by the litter of broken sherds, whence thy glory sprang and grew; by that iron bed, which we men of after days kiss trembling, thy bed of fire; have pity on our prayers, that Christ may be appeased and bend a prosperous ear and not impute to us all our offences. If duly we venerate with voice and heart thy solemn day, if we lie low as a pavement beneath the joy of thine approaching footsteps, glide in hither awhile, bringing down with thee the favour of Christ, that our burdened senses may feel the relief of thine indulgence" (*ib.* v. 545–568). So when they tried to approach Christ through the martyrs instead of seeking the martyrs in Christ, the martyrs began to usurp Christ's place.

The existence of a notion that it was a wrong to a martyr to leave him uncelebrated, as though he had looked for honour from posterity rather than from the Lord, is abundantly evidenced not only in the poems of Prudentius, but in the labours of the factious and pompous prelate Damasus (A.D. 366–384), who was a mainstay of the true faith, a stickler for the supremacy of the Roman see, and a great champion of virginity, but who is recommended to posterity mainly by his devotion to the shrines of the martyrs. He endeavoured to clothe the naked ugliness of the new rag-and-bone worship, not only with the clamour of rhetoric and poetry, but with the adornments of decorative art. [CATACOMBS.]

It remained for the leaders of the church to correct or justify the heathenised character of Christian worship. In one respect, in the west at least, they set about correcting it. The Christians were accused by the heathens and Manichees of turning the ancient sacrificial feasts into agapae. In the east these were forbidden in the churches by the 28th canon of the council of Laodicea, and so were celebrated at the outdoor shrines (Chrys. *Hom.* xlvii.). So Chrysostom urges his hearers. "If you want recreation, go to the parks, to the river side, and the lakes; consider the flower-beds; listen to the song of the cicalas; haunt the shrines of the martyrs, where there is health for the body and good for the soul, and no damage nor repentance after the pleasure" (*in Matth. Hom.* 37, t. vii. 477). So Theodoret boasted that instead of the Pandia and Dionysia there were public banquets in honour of Peter and Paul, and Thomas and Sergius, and Marcellus and Leontius, and Panteleemon, and Antoninus and Maurice, and the other martyrs, and instead of the old foul deeds and words they were sober feasts without drunkenness and revel and laughter, but divine hymns and sacred discourses and tearful prayer (Theod. *Graec. affect. Cur.* viii. *ad fin.*). But in the west Ambrose forbade these agapae at Milan (Aug. *Conf.* vi. 2), Augustine moved Aurelius to abolish them at Carthage (Aug. *ad Aurel. Ep.* 22), then himself abrogated them at Hippo (ad Alyp. *Ep.* 29, A.D. 395), and finally procured their prohibition by the 3rd council of Carthage, in A.D. 397 (can. 30). In Africa the feast was called, not *agape*, but *laetitia*. There were dances all night in honour of Cyprian (Aug. *Serm.* 311, t. v. col. 1415). Some brought food to the altars of the martyrs to be blessed and sanctified, and then took it to eat elsewhere or to give away (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, viii. 27, t. vii. 255). At these feasts wine was sold in the churches. Paulinus of Nola was unable to get the custom done away, and tried to improve it by the introduction of sacred pictures (Paulin. *Nat. Felicis*, ix.).

Augustine rarely says anything to increase the popular devotion to the martyrs. In one sermon he exclaims, "In what Christian's mouth does not the name of the martyrs make a daily habitation. Would that it dwelt so in our hearts that we might imitate their passions, and not persecute them with our drinking cups" (*in Ep. Joann.* i. 2, t. iii. 1979). Again he says, "The martyrs hate your drinking bouts, but if they are worshipped they hate that much more. Who says, I offer to thee, Peter. Christ chose rather to be, than to claim, a sacrifice" (*Serm.* 273, t. v. 1250). Again he complains that the martyrs are more honoured than the Apostles (*Serm.* 298. t. v. 1365). But he observes that to rejoice at the virtues of our betters is no small part of imitation (*Serm.* 280, *ib.* 1283), and once he suggests, "If we are not quite worthy to receive let us ask through His friends (*Serm.* 332, *ib.* 1462).

In the 8th chapter of 22nd book *de Civitate Dei* Augustine enumerates the ascertained miracles of the martyrs, and in the 9th chapter he points out the difference between these and the admitted miracles of the pagan heroes. The demons worked wonders in pride to prove themselves gods; the martyrs, or God for them, for the growth of faith in the one God. Their memorials are not temples. *They are commemorated, not invoked.* There is no priest of the martyr. The sacrifice is the body of Christ, which the martyrs are.

Against Faustus the Manichee, who urges that the theoretical monotheism and practical polytheism of the Christians were alike borrowed from paganism, so that they were not a new creed but a mere set of schismatics—"desciscentes a gentibus monarchiae opinionem primum vobiscum divulsistis, ut omnia credatis ex Deo, sacrificia vero eorum vertistis in agapes, idola in martyros, quos votis similibus colitis; defunctorum umbras vino placatis et dapibus"—Augustine answers that the martyrs are celebrated to excite our imitation that we may be associated with their merits and helped by their prayers, and that by the admonition of the places themselves a greater affection may arise to warm our love both to those whom we can imitate and to Him by whose help we are able. So we worship the martyrs with that worship of love and resort to this society with which holy men of God are worshipped in this life, but the more devoutly as the more securely. But with the worship of *latria* we worship only one God. But, he says, what we teach is one thing, what we have to put up with is another (Aug. *c. Faust.* xx. 4, 21. t. viii. 370, 384).

Theodoret says boldly that the Lord has raised the martyrs to the place of the heathen gods (Theod. *Graec. aff. Cur.* viii. *ad fin.*).

XI. *Burial near the Martyrs.*—Ambrose himself laid his bones beside Protasius and Gervasius (Ambr. *Opp.* ii. 1110). Damasus would fain have been buried in the crypt of Xystus, but that he feared to vex the ashes of the pious. "Our ancestors," says Maximus of Turin, "have provided that we should associate our bodies with the bones of the saints. While Christ shines on them, the gloom of our darkness is dispelled" (Max. Taur. *Hom.* lxxxi.). But this was a privilege that many desired and few obtained, as we read in an inscription, A.D. 301, given by De Rossi (*Inscriptiones Christianae*, i. 142). Augustine's work (*De Cura Mortuorum*) was written in answer to a question put to him by Paulinus, bishop of Nola, whether burial in such proximity to the saints were of benefit to the deceased. He answers that some are so good and others so bad that whatever is done for them after death is superfluous or useless, but many whose merits are only middling may be benefited by the actions of survivors; that sepulture in itself does no good to the soul, but that care for it is laudable, and the grave reminds people to pray for the deceased. The martyrs themselves did not care how they were buried. Men have visions of the dead, as they have visions of the living, but the souls of the dead are not concerned with what is done here, yet the dead may know what is passing on earth, for the martyrs *do* help their suppliants. The martyrs are perpetually praying, and God hears their prayers, and gives the suppliants who seek their intercession what He himself perceives that they want. The sacrifices of the altar, of prayers, and of alms are the only way of benefiting the departed (Aug. vi. 591 ff.). The epitaph of Sabinus the archdeacon, who was content to lie under the threshold of the church of St. Lawrence, is given by De Rossi (*Bullettini*, 1869, p. 33). See also Le Blant, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, t. i. pp. 396, 471, t. ii. p. 219.

XII. *Vindication of martyrs.*—The many false claims to martyrdom made a kind of canonization necessary. This was called vindication.

Before Diocletian's persecution one Lucilla at Carthage was said to taste (*i.e.* kiss) the mouth of some martyr, if martyr it were, before the spiritual meat and drink, and when rebuked by Caecilian, then deacon, for preferring the mouth of a dead man, and if a martyr, not however as yet vindicated, to the cup of salvation, she went off in anger (Optatus, i. 16).

The clergy were the wardens of the cemeteries, and kept the register of martyrdoms as they occurred, and we have also seen the rules laid down for the qualifications of martyrdom. Doubts seem only to have arisen in Africa where there were numerous false claims of the Donatists, and in Gaul which had been so free from persecution, and so unsettled by barbarian invasions, that it had many unauthorised shrines. The 2nd canon of the Council of Carthage in the times of pope Julius decrees, "Martyrum dignitatem nemo profanus infamet, neque ad passiva corpora, quae sepulturae tantum propter misericordiam ecclesiasticam commendari mandatum est, redigat, ut aut insania praecipitatos aut alia peccati ratione disjunctos martyrum nomine appellet. At si quis ad injuriam martyrum claritati eorum adjungat infamiam, placet eos si laici sint ad poenitentiam redigi, si autem sint clerici post commonitionem et post cognitionem honore privari" (Labbe, *Conc.* ii. 714). And the 14th canon of the 5th council of Carthage, in the time of Augustine, decreed that no monument of the martyrs should be accepted except where a body or relics or the origin of a martyr's habitation was faithfully handed down by tradition (*ibid.* 1217). In Gaul, St. Martin was troubled at the reverence paid to a tomb of which no certain account could be given, and he had a vision of the occupant as a black criminal. So he dissuaded the people from continuing their

devotion to it (Sulpicius, *Vita Martini*, 11). The Council of Aix in A.D. 787 decreed that the altars which are set up everywhere through the fields and ways as monuments of martyrs, in which no body or relics of martyrs are proved to be buried, be removed by the bishops of the places if possible. "If popular tumults do not suffer this, yet let the people be admonished not to frequent those places." Then the African canon is repeated, scenes of passions being allowed as well as birthplaces or homes, and they proceed to condemn trust in dreams. "The altars which are set up by inane revelations are altogether to be reprobated" (Labbe, *Conc.* vii. 979). Arian martyrs, such as George, acquired such celebrity in the East that it was impossible to exclude them from Rome, but their acts were forbidden to be read by a council under Gelasius, A.D. 494 (Labbe, *Conc.* iv. 1263). [E. B. B.]

**MARTYRARIUS**, or *Custos Ecclesiae*, a keeper of a MARTYRIUM, or church of a martyr. The 13th canon of the second council of Orleans mentions them as a well-known class: "Abbates, martyrarii, reclusi, vel presbyteri apostolia dare non praesumant." These relics were often preserved in little shrines or chapels (*sacella*), divided from the main building, a practice familiar to classic times, and of which there are notices in Cicero and other heathen writers; and in the larger churches, at all events at Rome, a separate guardian or *martyrarius* was permanently attached to each of these, who came to be called *capellanus*, *i.e.* chaplain, and was usually a priest. The *Liber Pontificalis* states of Pope Silvester, "Hic constituit ut qui desideraret in ecclesiâ militare aut proficere, ut esset prius ostiarius, deinde lector et posteà exorcista per tempora quae episcopus constituerit, deinde acolythus annis quinque, subdiaconus annis quinque, custos martyrum annis quinque," etc. The authority of this work, however, is not high for the early popes. Similarly, Zozimus, bishop of Syracuse, is said to have been in his earlier life "custos pretiosi loculi S. Virginis Luciae," apparently a shrine, and afterwards "ostiarius et templi custos." [S. J. E.]

**MARTYRDOM, REPRESENTATIONS OF.** The earliest representations of martyrdom with which the writer is acquainted occur in the Menologium of the Vatican library, which D'Agincourt places in the 9th or 10th century. See *L'Art dans les Monuments*, pl. xxxi. xxxii. xxxiii. The entire absence of any such pictures or carvings from the catacombs, or earliest Christian works of the days of persecution, has often been the subject of comment. Daniel between the lions unharmed, and the three children scatheless in the furnace, are the only tokens of the persecutions of the first two centuries.

The introduction of martyrdoms of saints not mentioned in Holy Scriptures probably synchronises with that of the Last Judgment, with its hell, in the 11th century. For the subject of the Holy Innocents, see INNOCENTS, p. 841. The writer knows of no representation of the latter earlier than the Chartres evangeliary, said by Rohault de Fleury (*Évangile*, i. 282, and plate) to be of the 9th century, but probably still later. Nor can he call to mind any representation, within our range, of the martyrdom of St. Stephen. [See CRUCIFIX, p. 511 ff.] [R. St. J. T.]

**MARTYRIA**, martyr; commemorated at Tomi June 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARTYRIUM** (μαρτύριον). Originally the spot where a martyr endured martyrdom, and where his remains were buried. When chapels and churches came to be built over these consecrated places, they assumed the same name, and were known as "martyries." A martyry is defined by Isidore as "locus martyrum, graeca derivatione, eo quod in memoriam martyris sit constructum, vel quod sepulchra sanctorum ibi sint" (Isid. *Etymol.* lib. xv. c. 9). The term gradually gained a more extended application, "postea omnis Ecclesia titulo cujusvis sancti vocata est martyrium" (Suicer, *sub voce*),—partly justified by the fact that no church could be consecrated without containing the relics of a martyr. Thus we find the terms μαρτύριον or ἐκκλησία used without any distinction, and often applied to the same building. Thus the church built by Constantine on Calvary is called by Athanasius τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον (*Apol.* ii. tom. i. p. 801), and by Sozomen τὸ μέγα μαρτύριον (*H. E.* ii. 26), and Jerome says "cujus industria Hierosolymae martyrium exstructum est" (Hieron. *Chron.* 7; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 40; Theophanes, ann. 32 Const.). The same name is given to the church of St. Thomas at Edessa (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 18), and to those of St. John and of the Apostles at Constantinople (Pallad. pp. 63, 159), and to the basilica of St. Peter at Rome (Athanas. *Epist. ad Solitar.* tom. i. p. 834), and to the church at Constantinople where the relics of the 40 martyrs were discovered (Soz. *H. E* ix. 2). The church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon, which was the place of meeting of the oecumenical council, called ἐκκλησία in the exordium of *Acta* i. and ii., is styled μαρτύριον in *Acta* iii. (Labbe, iv. 371). The Council of the Oak was also held in a "martyry" where the body of Dioscorus of Hermopolis, one of "the Tall Brethren," was subsequently interred (Socr. *H. E.* vi. 17), and it was in "the martyry" of Basiliscus, in the vicinity of Comana, that Chrysostom died (Pallad. 99). Though they are often regarded as synonymous, that μαρτύριον was not identical with ἐκκλησία appears from the complaint of the Eastern bishops at the council of Ephesus to the emperors that Cyril and the Western prelates had closed against them "both churches and martyries," τὰς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὰ ἅγια μαρτύρια (Theodoret, *Epist.* 152, 153). The Theodosian code expressly sanctions the erection and adornment of martyr-chapels, "quod martyrium vocandum sit," over the graves of saints (Cod. Theod. *de Sepulchris violatis*, tit. xvii. lex vii. vol. iii. p. 152). [E. V.]

**MARTYRIUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated May 29 (Usuard. *Mart.*), at Rome (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr with Marcianus, notaries; commemorated Oct. 25 (Basil. *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 272). [C. H.]

**MARTYROLOGY** (*Martyrologium*, μαρτυρολόγιον). This word denotes a list of martyrs, especially one arranged according to the succession of their anniversaries. In the East such a list was more commonly called a menology.

[MENOLOGY.] A *martyrography* meant a tale of martyrdom (*v.* Ducange, *in voce*).

In the earliest adducible example of the celebration of the anniversary of a martyr's death, the commemoration of Polycarp, who died Feb. 23, A.D. 155 (*Mart. Polyc.* c. 21; cf. Zahn, *in loco*), we may note a few points bearing on the history of martyrologies. (1) the celebration was local at the *martyrium* (*ib.* c. 18); (2) yet the anniversary was made known to a neighbouring church and all churches (*ib. Salut.*); (3) only the most notable of the martyrs was commemorated by name, and the others who suffered about the same time were joined with him and merely numbered; (4) the martyr was burnt on a public showday, which happened to coincide with a high sabbath of the Jews, the 7th Saturday before Easter: so the birthday of Geta (March 7) became to the Christians the birthday of Perpetua, and continually heathen festivals must have been hallowed by Christian martyrdoms, as butchering martyrs was a holiday sport; (5) on a subsequent coincidence of the same Jewish and heathen anniversaries in A.D. 250 the martyr Pionius was arrested; in like manner it must often have happened that a martyr's anniversary was honoured by another martyrdom. This was the case, for example, with Cornelius and Cyprian, Sept. 14 (cf. De Rossi, i. 275); with Fabian and Sebastian (*Kal. Philocali*, Jan. 20); with Fructuosus and Agnes, Jan. 21 (Aug. *Serm.* 273; *Op.* Migne, v. 1250). We note this, because a statement in the article on CALENDAR is liable to some misconception.

Martyrologies appear to have been originally indices to the martyr acts preserved in the archives of each church, arranged for convenience by the calendar, according to the anniversaries on which such acts would be read in public. Tertullian speaks as though the Christians had their own calendar (Habes tuos census, tuos fastos: nihil tibi cum gaudio saeculi, *De Coronâ*, c. 13). In Cyprian's time it was the practice "to celebrate the passions and days of the martyrs," who had suffered before the Decian persecution, "with anniversary commemoration" (Cypr. *Ep.* 39 or 34). Of Anteros, who was pope for a month and ten days (Nov. 24, A.D. 235, to Jan. 3, A.D. 236) in the persecution of Maximin, we are told that "he diligently sought out the acts of the martyrs from the notaries and laid them up in the church, for which thing he was made a martyr by the prefect (Pupienus) Maximus" (*v.* De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* ii. 181). The anniversaries on which the acts would be read included not only those of the death, but those of the solemn entombment of the martyrs, as in the case of Pontianus and Hippolytus, buried on Aug. 13 by Pope Fabian (*ib.* 78). Fabian is said, in the lives of the popes, to have appointed seven subdeacons and seven notaries to collect the acts of the martyrs in their entirety. Cyprian directs his presbyters and deacons to note the days on which the martyrs depart this life, and adds that Tertullus, a brother who ministered to and buried the martyrs, had written and did write to signify to him the days on which the brethren died in the prison (Cypr. *Ep.* 12 or 37).

Martyrologies are of various kinds—

I. *Lists contained in popular almanacs of such annirersaries as were observed as important festivals.*—Of this kind is the earliest extant martyrology, that contained in the Almanac for the city of Rome, transcribed by the calligrapher Furius Dionysius Philocalus, A.D. 354, sometimes called after Liberius, who was then pope, sometimes after Bucherius, who discovered and published it in his commentary on Victorinus (Aegidius Bucherius, *de Doctrinâ Temporum*, Antwerp, 1634, pp. 236–288). It has been recently edited by Mommsen (*Ueber den Chronographen vom Jahre* 354, *Abhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft*, b. ii. Leipzig, 1850). The calendar contained in this almanac is the earliest that can be called Christian, inasmuch as it contains the dominical, as well as the nundinal, letters and a cycle for determining Easter, but it marks only heathen festivals. Then follow (2) the birthdays of the Caesars; (3) the series of consuls to A.D. 354 from the *Fasti Capitolini;* (4) a table of the days on which Easter would fall from A.D. 312 to A.D. 412; (5) the praefects of the city from A.D. 254 to A.D. 354; (6) *Depositio Episcoporum*, the list of the funeral days of the popes for the same century; (7) *Depositio Martyrum;* (8) the chronological catalogue of the popes down to Liberius; (9) a chronicle down to A.D. 334 [CHRONICON HOROSII, *Dict. Christ. Biog.*]; (10) a brief Roman history to Licinius; (11) the regions of Rome.

The list of episcopal funerals begins at precisely the same epoch as the lists of city praefects, A.D. 254, and was arranged, not chronologically, but in order of the calendar, in A.D. 336, the subsequent entries being appended at the close, not inserted in their places according to the calendar. It is manifest that the collection of documents belongs really to the reign of Constantine and was merely continued up to date in A.D. 354; and also that when the almanac was put together the epoch at which both the lists commence was not at the distance of an exact century.

De Rossi (*Rom. Sott.* ii. iii.–x.) infers that the two lists are probably drawn from the same source, the archives not of the church but of the state. Compare Tert. *de Fuga in Persec.* c. 13; Eus. *H. E.* vii. 13 and 30; *Acta apud Zenophilum, App. in* Augustin. v. 794: Cypr. *Ep.* 55 (52); from which passages it appears that the civil power took cognisance of the succession of the clergy.

Marcellus is not included among the popes in this list of anniversaries, and Xystus is to be found not among the popes but among the martyrs. The *Depositio Martyrum* also includes Fabianus, Jan. 20; Pontianus, Aug. 13; Calistus, Oct. 14; all of them martyr popes between A.D. 200 and A.D. 250, and De Rossi believes the entry *Cornelii in Calisti*, on Sept. 14, to have been accidentally omitted by the copyist. But it does not contain Telesphorus (Iren. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. 6). We may probably conclude that all the popes mentioned in the *Depositio Episcoporum* died in peace, but we must not suppose that no earlier popes were martyred.

In both catalogues the cemetery is in each case specified. They are catalogues, not of deaths, but of entombments. In three instances in the second catalogue where consular years are added, the commemorations are of translations effected in those years (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* ii. 214–215). The same catalogue includes two feasts that are

not entombments at all, the Nativity, Dec. 25, and the Chair of Peter, Feb. 22, and one feast of African martyrs, Perpetua and Felicitas, March 5, in which cases no cemetery is named, but in the case of the only other non-Roman martyr, Cyprian, the note is added, "*Romae celebratur in Calisti.*" The second catalogue does not seem to include any martyrs earlier than the 3rd century, and is certainly not a complete list of Roman martyrs from that time forward. It is only the *Feriale*, *Heortologium*, or list of chief feasts of the Roman church. To pretend with Dodwell that it gives all the Latin martyrs, not only of Italy but of other provinces, is extravagantly absurd.

These two catalogues, which together form the earliest martyrology, are reprinted from Bucherius (p. 267), by Ruinart (*Acta Sincera*, p. 692, Paris, 1689), and from Mommsen (p. 631) by De Smedt (*Introductio Generalis*, p. 512). The *Calendar* of Philocalus is printed by Migne (Patr. xiii. 621) side by side with another that affords an interesting comparison, rather for the elimination of the heathen than for the introduction of a Christian element, namely, the calendar of Polemeus Silvius (A.D. 448). This latter, though it contains seven of the chief Christian holidays (LAVRENTIVS), is in no sense a martyrology. A Roman calendar of much later date (Migne, cxxxviii. 1189) will afford further interesting comparison.

II. *Lists of anniversaries honoured by the church with special services.*—That there were such, and that they differed in each different locality, we know from Sozomen (*H. E.* v. 3), who tells us that Constantia and Gaza, though only a couple of miles apart and for civil purposes forming one city, had each its own feast days of its own martyrs and commemorations of its own bishops. We can hardly say that we have any such extant that date from before the 6th century. It is almost certain that the ecclesiastical martyrology of the Roman church in the time of Liberius was fuller than the lists preserved in the work of Philocalus. These lists, however, prove one important point. While the civil year began on Jan. 1, the ecclesiastical year at Rome began a week earlier, on Christmas Day.

The fragment of an Ostrogothic calendar, discovered by Mai, and referred by him to the close of the 4th century, contains only local saints (for bishop Dorotheus, Nov. 6, and the emperor Constantine, Nov. 3, were specially Gothic saints) and apostles, Philip, Nov. 15; Andrew, Nov. 30. [CALENDAR.]

Information regarding the anniversaries of the church is chiefly to be drawn from the sacramentaries or from the sermons of the fathers. Basil only preaches in honour of Cappadocian, Chrysostom at Antioch of Antiochene saints. But Augustine at Hippo celebrated not only local or even African martyrs, but the Spanish bishop Fructuosus and the Roman virgin Agnes (Jan. 21), the Spanish deacon Vincent (Jan. 22), Protasius and Gervasius of Milan (June 19), the Roman Lawrence (Aug. 10), the Maccabees (Aug. 1), Stephen (Dec. 26), the Nativity of the Baptist and his Decollation, perhaps the conversion of Paul (*Opera*, v. 1247 ff.).

The sacramentaries of Leo (A.D. 440–461) and Gelasius (A.D. 492–496) are genuine and authentic monuments of their respective epochs, which the Gregorian sacramentary is not. (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* i. 126.) The sacramentaries, however, are only significant in their additions to the calendar; their omissions only shew that the authors did not compose or find special prayers for the omitted feasts that seemed worth preserving. The sacramentary of Leo in the nine months extant, retains seven and omits eleven of the anniversaries of Philocalus, adds six anniversaries of Roman martyrs at Rome, one of a Roman away from Rome, one or two of non-Roman martyrs, and four of Scriptural personages (John Baptist, Andrew, John, and the Innocents). (For the sacramentaries Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus* may be consulted.)*

The calendar of Polemeus illustrates the same tendency to greater universality that was beginning to affect martyrologies. While retaining only two Roman anniversaries from the twenty-two of Philocalus, he adds a new foreign martyr (Vincent) and four celebrations of Scriptural facts (Epiphany, Passion, with the mission of the Apostles (Mar. 25), Stephen, the Maccabees).

The Carthaginian calendar or martyrology given in Migne (*Patrol. Lat.* xiii. 1219) is probably later than A.D. 505.

### III. *General Martyrologies.*

A. *The Syriac Martyrology.*—"The names of our lords the martyrs and victors, with their days on which they won crowns."

This is the title and description of an ancient Syrian martyrology discovered by Dr. W. Wright in the "well-known Nitrian MS. Add. 12,150," written A.D. 412, "extending from fol. 251 vers. to fol. 254 rect.," and published by him in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, vol. viii., N.S.; London, 1866, pp. 45–56, with an English version, pp. 423–432.

It avowedly computes the months after the Greek, *i.e.* our present reckoning, but gives them Syriac names, [MONTH.] The latter Kânûn, Shebât, Adâr, Nisân, Izâr, Hazirân, Tâmûz, Ab, Ilûl, the former Teshri, the latter Teshri, the former Kânûn. This last, which is equivalent to December, begins the year. The martyrology opens, not with the Nativity, but with the apostles Stephen, Dec. 26, and John and James, Dec. 27, at Jerusalem, and Paul and Peter at Rome, Dec. 28. Thenceforward, with only two exceptions (Perpetua, March 7, and Exitus (*i.e.* Xystus), bishop of Rome, Aug. 1), the martyrs belong to the eastern provinces of the empire. Thirty anniversaries are assigned to Nicomedia, twenty-one to Antioch, sixteen to Alexandria, six to Caesarea in Cappadocia, five to Ancyra, others to another Alexandria, to Amasea, Aphrodisia, Axiopolis, Bononia in Rhaetia, Byzantium, Caesarea in Palestine, Chalcedon, Corinth, Edessa, Eumenea, Hadrianople, Helenopolis, Heraclea in Thrace, Hierapolis, Laodicea, Lystra, Melitene, Nicopolis, Nisibis, Pergamus, Perinthus, Salonae, Sirmium, Thessalonica, Tomi; also to Bithynia Galatia and Isauria; while twenty-four are named without specification of place. With Peter of Alexandria, Nov. 24, "Here end the martyrs of the West." Then follow "The names of our lords the martyrs who were slain in the East:" "Abi,

* The *Capitulare* published by Fronte and by Martene (*Thesaurus*) was composed at the end of the 7th century, before 682, and retouched between A.D. 714 and 742. (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* 128.)

the first, Dall, the second;" others, "of the number of the ancients;" others, "ancient martyrs;" next, "the bishops slain in the East;" by their sees, not their days; "then the priests," "the deacons," &c.

B. *The Hieronymian Martyrology.*

"The names of nearly all martyrs collected in one volume, with the passions marked for each day, without indicating how each one suffered, but only the name, place, and day of the passion, so that every day many of divers lands and provinces are known to have been crowned." This is the description given by Gregory the Great (*Epist.* viii. 39) of a volume that they possessed at Rome, and believed the church of Alexandria to possess likewise; "and daily," he adds, "in veneration of them we perform solemn rites of masses." This martyrology appears to have differed from the preceding in giving at least one martyr for each day, and being not only half but quite oecumenical. Two ancient extant martyrologies satisfy these conditions; the lesser Roman, and the Hieronymian; but the claim of the former to be that here intended is now universally disallowed.

The extant allusions to the Hieronymian martyrology are as follows. Walafrid Strabo, abbat of Reichenau (A.D. 842), tells us that the litanies of the saints are believed to have been taken into use after Jerome, following Eusebius, wrote a martyrology (*de Rebus Eccl.* c. 28; *Patr. Lat.* cxiv. 962). Aengus the Culdee professes to have used in his FEILIRE "the great parts of Ambrose, the works of Hilary in full, all that was written by Jerome, the martyrology of Eusebius." Bede (*Retract. in Act.* Ap. c. i.; *Patr. Lat.* xcii. 997) speaks of a book of martyrology taking its title from Jerome, and prefaced in his name (*Hieronymi nomine ac praefatione attitulatur*), though Jerome is said to have been only the translator, and Eusebius the real author. Cassiodorus, in the earlier half of the 6th century, says, "Vitas Patrum, confessiones fidelium, passiones martyrum legite constanter, quas inter alia in epistola S. Hieronymi ad Chromatium et Heliodorum destinata procul dubio reperitis qui per totum orbem terrarum floruere" (*de Inst. Div. Lect.* c. 32; *Patr. Lat.* lxx. 1147). The preface in Jerome's name, mentioned by Bede and cited by Walafrid, is in the form of a reply from Jerome to a request of Chromatius and Heliodorus. And the passage of Gregory cited above is in reply to a request from Eulogius of Alexandria for Eusebius's collection of martyr acts, which could not be found.

Bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus inform their holy lord, brother Jerome, that they were present at the council of Milan (A.D. 390) when Theodosius, the most Christian prince, praised Gregory, bishop of Cordova, for being wont every day as he opened the mass, at morning if not fasting, at evening if he were, to mention the names of very many martyrs of whom it was the natal day. The council agreed to send a letter to Jerome to ask him to make inquiry for the most famous feasts (or *feriale*) from the archives of Eusebius of Caesarea, and thence address to them a list of the feasts of the martyrs. Jerome replies that we read (legitur) that when Constantine came to Caesarea (probably in A.D. 335), and told Eusebius to ask any boon that would profit his church, the bishop answered that the church was enriched by her own resources, but that he personally could not rid himself of the desire that, whatever had been done anywhere in the Roman state regarding the saints of God, the judges and their successors throughout the Roman world might be directed to search through the public records with diligent scrutiny and discover what martyr had won the palm in each province or city, under what judge, on what day, and by what suffering, and to transmit the facts taken from the authentic archives to himself by royal order. Hence he rewrote his church history, and declared the passions of nearly all the martyrs of all the Roman provinces. "Since on single days," Jerome proceeds, "the names of more than 800 or 900 martyrs of divers provinces and cities are named, so that no day can be found with fewer than 500, except Jan. 1, I have briefly and succinctly concerned myself with those alone who are in chief honour among their own people." These numbers, of course, must be divided by ten, an easy change. "At the opening of the book we have written the feasts of all the apostles, that various days may not seem to divide those whom one dignity sublimes in heavenly glory."

Baronius (*praef. ad martyrologium*, cc. 5–7) brought sundry objections against the authenticity of these letters, which have been completely refuted by Fiorentini (*Vetust. Mart.* pp. 57–59). His conclusions are accepted, but the decision of Baronius has not been set aside, even by Fiorentini himself.

Two points may be regarded as quite certain: 1. Eusebius had not received this grant from Constantine when he wrote his church history as at present extant, still less when he made the collection of pieces concerning ancient martyrs, to which he there refers. An index to that collection would be a kind of martyrology, and it is possible that we have traces of such in the Syriac martyrology of Wright, where fourteen times western martyrs are said to be "of the number of the ancients," an addition that seems in no case to be applied to those who suffered in the persecution of Diocletian, just as it distinguishes the old martyrs of Persia from those who were put to death under Sapor. The same title is applied in the Hieronymian martyrology to Hippolytus of Antioch. The martyrs that we know to have been included in Eusebius's compilation are Polycarp, Pionius, Carpus, Pothinus and his fellows, Apollonius. The whole work seems to be included by Jerome along with the martyrs of Palestine as "some little works upon the martyrs" (Hieron. *de Viris Illustribus;* Eus. *H. E.* iv. 15; v. 4, 21).

2. When we have removed from the extant copies of the Hieronymian martyrology all the clear and valuable notices of facts long posterior to Jerome with which they are enriched, the residue is not such as can by any possibility be attributed either to him or to his master, at least in any form in which it can at present be found in any MS. or deduced from comparison of all. The restoration needed is not merely the reparation of a damaged text; it is rather the recovery and redintegration of a perished book or books. The work is agreed to be not so much a single martyrology as a cento of martyrologies patched up of many ancient calendars, fitted

together well or ill. The same martyrs and groups of martyrs often recur two or three times the same days, often for four or five days running. Places become people; and people are turned into places. Yet, however the martyrology has been swollen by impertinent accretions and inane repetitions, the more copious the text is the better. When it has been subjected to a reverse process of constriction and ignorant elimination, the confusion becomes hopeless.

The Martyrology consists chiefly of names of places in the locative case and of persons in the genitive, ranged under the several days from Christmas to Christmas, though a few further details are introduced.

The unabridged MSS. are (A), a MS. made at Corbie under one Nevelone in the 12th century, and printed, with arbitrary transpositions and silent conjectural supplementations, by D'Achery in his *Spicilegium* (ii. 1 folio; iv. 617, 4to ed.), and reprinted by Migne (*Hieron.* ix. 447). This MS. is now in the Paris library (Cod. Lat. 12, 410). (B) Nevelone's autograph copy, in the same library (Fond. Corbie 5), discovered by De Rossi. (C) A 9th-century MS. found at Lucca by Fiorentini, copied from one made at Fontenelle under Wando, and not interpolated since Wando's death in A.D. 757. (D) Codex Blumnanus. Another copy of the same Fontenelle MS. made at Weisenburg in A.D. 770, and subsequently interpolated with insertions belonging to that town. (E) A MS. that belonged to the church of Sens, now in the Queen of Sweden's collection in the Vatican (Cod. 567). These five, though of very different date, are of nearly equal value. (F) Codex Antwerpiensis, or Epternacensis, a MS. in Anglo-Saxon letters, of the 8th century, made by one of the monks of St. Willibrord, the apostle of Friesland, in Epternach monastery, found by Rossweyd at Treves, now in the Paris library (Cod. Lat. 10,837). A page of facsimile is given in the *Acta SS.* for April (t. ii. p. ix.).

Of the above (C) is edited with a collation of (A) and (F) day by day, of (E) in fragments, and of (D) entire at the close, by Fiorentini (*Vetustius Ecclesiae Occidentalis Martyrologium*, Lucae, 1667).

The Epternach MS., though the earliest, is by common consent pronounced the least authentic. It represents a British form of the Martyrology, and seems to bear a close relation to the Martyrology of Donegal—partly published by Todd and Reeves (Dublin, 1856), but buried for the most part in St. Isidore's, Rome—in which the topographical notes are omitted.

(G) De Rossi has discovered in Berne library (Cod. 289) a 9th-century copy belonging to the church of Metz, which retains the topographical notices in larger characters, dividing the martyrs of each day into distinct local groups.

All these MSS. have in common sundry arbitrary interpolations and corrections relating to early saints, which De Rossi traces to the misunderstanding of a 7th-century list of papal interments. He considers therefore that the extant MSS. did not diverge from their common stock till it had been subject to interpolation in the 7th century.

They all contain a number of notices relating to Gaul. These are partly shared in common between them; partly peculiar to the several groups. Those which are common to them all do not extend beyond the end of the 6th century, and refer especially to Auxerre. Moreover they all open each month with the notice, "Litanias indicendas," and the proclamation of litanies on the calends, whatever connexion it may have with Jerome, was certainly an ordinance of Aunarius, or Aunacharius, bishop of Auxerre, circ. A.D. 600 (*Acta SS.* t. vii. Sept. p. 109).

Another principle is applied by De Rossi to confirm the conclusion to which these facts point. The ordination of a bishop was ordinarily only commemorated in his lifetime. The only ordinations of bishops noted in these martyrologies, besides that of the great St. Martin, are those of Aunarius (July 31), and of his contemporary Nicetas of Lyons (Jan. 19). The death of Aunarius is not noted; in some copies he is styled Dominus.

Hence De Rossi concludes that, in the time of Aunarius, "out of two or more tattered copies" of an earlier work that passed under the name of Jerome, "a clerk of Auxerre, ignorant of topography and history, put together the chaotic medley" from which our present copies are derived. (De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* ii. pp. x–xxi. xxv, 33–48.) Instead of keeping the texts of the fragments before him distinct, as parallel reproductions of the same, he has transcribed nearly the whole of each and run them into one. He seems also to have tried to piece two fragments together like a child's puzzle, and sometimes to have pieced them wrong.

The text, however, so ill restored by the monk of Auxerre, who, it may be observed, is supposed contemporary with Gregory the Great, was itself of the nature of a cento, according to the judgment of modern critics. The same principle that enabled De Rossi to refer the bungling recension to the time of Aunarius induces him to assign certain of the documents used in the compilation to the popedoms of Boniface I. (A.D. 418–422) and Miltiades (A.D. 311–314). On the 29th of December the martyrology has "Bonifacii episcopi de ordinatione," and this is certainly the right anniversary of the ordination of Boniface I. but not of his death, which is left uncelebrated. The burial of Miltiades is properly noted on Jan. 10; but again, and this time without mention of a cemetery, on July 2, the day of his ordination. (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* i. 112–114). These documents, he concludes, were far too rare and precious to have fallen into the hands of an obscure Gallican monk. The Martyrology also contains numerous accurate notes of the fresh festivals instituted in Rome in the 5th century, especially by pope Sixtus III., and there is evidence that the Auxerre compiler had before him two copies, both enriched with these insertions (*ib.* ii. 36).

We may observe that the popedom of Boniface coincides with the last days of Jerome, within a decade of Wright's Syrian MS., and within thirty years of the council of Milan, and again, that the popedom of Miltiades coincides with the restoration of the church under Constantine, and the first compilation of the calendar of Philocalus.

Now all the notices in the calendar of Philocalus are contained, and sometimes in an earlier form, in the Hieronymian Martyrology. The same is true of almost all the notices in Wright's Syrian Martyrology, except some commemora-

tions of bishops of Antioch. The Hieronymian Martyrology contains moreover all, or almost all, the martyrs of Palestine, whose acts are recorded and dated by Eusebius, whereas only Pamphilus, and perhaps a few others, are inserted in the Syriac Martyrology. It contains also Antiochene festivals celebrated by Chrysostom that the Syriac omits. Of African martyrs it contains nearly all the names that are to be found in the extant Carthaginian Calendar, and a great multitude more. Often it supplies us with the proper names of martyrs whom that calendar groups together under some local designation.

Critics have agreed in considering the Hieronymian Martyrology as a cento compiled from many church calendars. The only great family of church calendars, according to De Buck, with which it has little or no connexion is the Constantinopolitan (*Acta SS.* Oct. xii. 185). Yet even here light may often be shed on its obscure notices by comparison of the Menology of Basil. The Syriac Martyrology is pronounced by the same scholar to be the key to the hitherto insoluble enigmas of the Hieronymian text (*ib.*). We might say that the lesser work was a sample of the greater. The consideration of this valuable document, which was undiscovered when De Rossi wrote, leads us to ask whether the traditional account of the origin of the Hieronymian Martyrology be not worthy of more attention than it has received of late.

There is abundant evidence of the existence of a tendency, at the close of the 4th century, towards closer intercommunion and greater uniformity between different churches. Formation of liturgies, translation of relics, performance of pilgrimages, all were leading up to the demand for a Martyrology that should be more than local. The influences were already at work that culminated in the dedication of the Pantheon. The two great families of Western liturgies beside the Roman, are said to owe their origin to Jerome's earlier contemporaries, Ambrose and Hilary: a third, the Mozarabic, owes something to Prudentius. The impulse towards the compilation of the Martyrology is said to have been Spanish. Jerome himself assisted Damasus in ordering the shrines of Rome; but while the shrines of the martyrs were most important there, the reading of their acts was more customary in the East. The materials that Aengus the Culdee professes to have used are similar to those assumed by the critics for the Hieronymian cento, with one exception: he had before him not only Ambrosian and Gallican liturgies, Damasian topographies, *De Viris Illustribus*, and the like, but the Martyrology of Eusebius.

The task of collecting and combining various church calendars from all parts of the world would be so arduous that it is difficult to understand how the tradition of the enterprise should have perished while the results remain. The tradition that is preserved is, as we have seen, quite different, and at least affords some explanation of the combination of Roman and Eastern features in the structure of the work. But however the compilation was effected, the epoch to which it should be assigned can hardly be later than the time of Jerome. The impulses towards unification received rude checks from the barbarian invasions, and were dispelled anew by the rise of the Nestorian controversy. If, however, we assign the Martyrology to the date towards which we are driven by historical considerations on either hand, it is difficult to discover any one more likely to have performed the work in the manner of which ample traces survive than the author to whom the tradition has assigned it, and for whom a claim has been put in, whether by a forger or by himself.

Whatever view may be ultimately adopted of the origin of the Hieronymian Martyrology, its connexion with ancient Christian life may be summarized as follows.

In its present form it is one of the two or three principal sources of all modern Western church calendars. There may have been, and probably was, some unintelligent commemoration, day by day, of the names marked in it at the celebration of the mass in certain Gallican, English, Irish, Flemish, and German monasteries, even in some Italian churches. But it is the corruption of a book that was similarly in liturgical use in Rome itself in the time of Gregory the Great. Corrupt as it is, it is one of the principal authorities to light us to the discovery of early festivals in various parts of the world. If a fresh and ancient martyrology be discovered, the first with which it should be compared is the Hieronymian, and the comparison is almost sure to be fruitful of interesting results. It contains many notices of ancient martyrdoms which would otherwise have been wholly lost to us. But, moreover, it is the extant representative of a work that resulted from an important movement in the church of the 4th century, and which forms the historic link between the heortologies of the ancient churches and the mediaeval monastic calendars.

It is much to be regretted that the compiler of the Martyrology thought only of honouring the martyrs and of profiting from their intercession, and did not attempt to edify the church by more copious extracts from their authentic and accessible acts.

C. *The lesser Roman Martyrology* was found at Ravenna by Ado, archbishop of Vienne, about A.D. 850, thought by him to be pretty old, reported to him to have been sent by a pope to an archbishop of Aquileia, transcribed by him and prefixed to his own Martyrology, as he tells us in the preface, omitted as superfluous by copyists, sought in vain by scholars, at last found at Cologne and edited by Rosweyd and claimed as the Martyrology mentioned by Gregory the Great, thrown into the shade by the discovery of the Hieronymian, supposed by Fiorentini a mere later epitome of Ado, maintained to be genuine but later than the Hieronymian by Sollier, proved genuine beyond doubt by De Rossi's discovery of another copy of Ado in the library of St. Gall (vol. 454) where this Martyrology follows the preface with the title, *Incipit Martyrologium Romanum.* This Martyrology is prefixed to Ado in Migne, t. cxxiii.

The whole tissue of this Martyrology, according to De Rossi, is that of a private historical essay, not of a public traditional calendar. The days assigned to the festivals in the old calendars are often exchanged for new dates, founded on histories that were in credit when the compilation was made, and most of the chief characters of Scripture have their set days, of which there is no trace in the ancient *Fasti* of any church

whatsoever. The author has used Rufinus's version of Eusebius, and worked up the acts of the martyrs. The changes he has introduced in noting the festivals often coincide with the changes introduced into the pontifical book in the 8th century. The work seems to have been compiled in Rome, and notes some festivals there instituted at the end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century. This does not prove it to have been publicly taken into use at the time. It is almost contemporary with Bede and with the last recension of Jerome. Its method of composition is similar to that claimed for Jerome, except that the Acts on which it is based are mostly religious fictions. See De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* i. 125; ii. xxvii–xxxi, or De Smedt, *Int. Generalis*, pp. 134–137.

IV. *Martyrologies that add some details of the martyrdoms.*—The difference between the Hieronymian Martyrologies and the series headed by Bede may be thus expressed: the one are replete with fossil fragments of genuine antiquity, from which the skilled archaeologist can reconstruct and reclothe skeletons of ancient facts; the other present us with such miniature outlines of martyrs as were had in veneration by the church of the age of Charlemagne.

Bede, at the end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century, was contemporary with the last recension of the Hieronymian Maryrology. He was acquainted probably with that form of it; but his work is chiefly drawn from the pontifical books and the Acts of the martyrs. It is the outcome of the same dissatisfaction with the chaos of the current books, as was felt by his anonymous contemporary who framed the *Romanum parvum;* but he struck more at the root of the evil. Instead of recasting the calendar to bring it into conformity with the supposed knowledge of the times, he has been content to confess ignorance. He was content to leave many days vacant rather than adorn them with a string of names without meaning. Describing his own work in the catalogue of his writings at the close of his Church History, he claims to have given all those martyrs of whom anything was known in the world in which he lived. Thus he heads the long series of martyrologies in which short histories were added to their names. People soon made up their minds that they knew something about some more. Bede's work was enlarged again and again. We only possess it in the enlarged edition.

These three Martyrologies, the Hieronymian, the Roman, Bede's, are the three original sources of almost all Western martyrologies and calendars. We must just distinguish the chief martyrologies of the 9th century, because it is only through Ado and Usuard that the lesser Roman work has become known.

Florus, subdeacon of Lyons, A.D. 830, first enlarged the work of Bede. The Bollandists, Henschen and Papebroch, published in the first volume of the *Acta SS.* for March a not very trustworthy, nor indeed feasible, attempt to purge the original Martyrology from the subsequent additions; but they remain indistinguishable, and we cannot even be sure that we have the work as it was left by Florus. This edition, *Martyrologium Bedae in 8 antiquis MSS. acceptum cum Auctario Flori ex 3 codd. collatione distincto*, is reprinted by Migne, *Patr.* xciv. 799.

Rabanus, archbishop of Maintz, further enlarged the Martyrology of Florus, and worked it up with the Hieronymian. His work is printed by Migne, *Patr.* cx. 1121.

Ado, archbishop of Vienne, was acquainted with Bede's work as enlarged by Florus, but not with Rabanus. His work was undertaken as an expansion of that of Florus, but was really modelled on the lesser Roman, and became rather a collection of brief lives of the saints than a martyrology. It answers more nearly to the menologies of the Greeks, except that it is not put forth authoritatively for ecclesiastical reading, but merely as a private manual. Yet the influence of his work through Usuard transformed ecclesiastical usage and recast the calendar.

Usuard, a monk of Paris, about A.D. 875, has faithfully epitomised Ado's work, which (according to Sollier) was known to him as 'The Commentary of Florus.' He does not seem to have been acquainted with the work of Rabanus. "Jerome," he says, "has studied brevity too much, Bede has left many days untouched." He endeavours to supply their deficiencies, and also to reconcile the discrepancies of various commemorations. He was the first really to popularise the works of Ado and the anonymous Roman, but his own book has assumed almost as many forms as those of Bede or Jerome, and has become the source of most existing Western calendars. The interpolations and variations are fully treated in the edition by Sollier, which forms the 6th volume for June of the *Acta Sanctorum*, and is reprinted in Migne, *P. L.* cxxiii.

Notker was a monk of St. Gall, who died in A.D. 912. He combined Ado and Rabanus. His work will be found in Migne, cxxxi. 1026.

Thus Bede was enlarged by Florus and Rabanus, from the first enlargement and the lesser Roman grew Ado's work, from the second and Ado's work grew Notker's, but Usuard's that grew out of Ado's alone became the most celebrated.

V. *Metrical Martyrologies.*—As the enlarged martyrologies that we have just been considering seem to be an imitation of the Greek menologies, so metrical martyrologies may have taken their rise from the Greek practice of reciting daily in the service iambic distichs, sometimes of much beauty, describing the triumph of each of the martyrs celebrated, followed, in the case of the chief of them alone, by an hexameter line fixing the day of the passion. A collection of such hexameter lines, which are always sad doggerel, would form a metrical martyrology. One such has been extracted from the *Menaea* by Godofredus Siberus (*Ecclesiae Graecae Martyrologium Metricum*, Leipzig, 1727), who has added the half rhythmical menology of Christopher of Mitylene.

The little poem ascribed to Bede (*Patrol. Lat.* xciv. 603) is hardly worth calling a martyrology, but seems to be genuine (De Smedt, p. 138; Binterim, v. i. 58). Wandalbert, a monk of the diocese of Treves, at the age of thirty-five, in or about A.D. 842, wrote a martyrology in hexameters, independent of Bede and the lesser Roman. It contains many things not to be found elsewhere, which he claims to have taken from authentic old books by the help of Florus of Lyons who possessed them, but critics are suspicious (*Patrol.* cxxi. 575).

The FEILIRE of Aengus the Culdee may be called a metrical martyrology. We have here only to add to the article on that head, that it exists in three vellum MSS., two in the Bodleian and one in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. There is a recent paper copy in the library of the university of Cambridge, and another of the 17th century made from an independent authority in the Burgundian library at Brussels. It differs from the Tamlaght or Tallaght Martyrology of the same Aengus and Macbruain, published by the Rev. M. Kelly, D.D. (Dublin, 1857), which has been generally supposed the earlier work, in giving only a selection of Irish martyrs and including many valuable notices concerning those of various lands (Forbes, *Scottish Calendars*, pp. xiv–xvii).

*Literature.*—Our article is mainly drawn from De' Rossi (*Roma Sotterranea*, t. i. pp. 111–118, 122–128; t. ii. pp. iii–xxxii). The preface by Baronius to the Roman Martyrology, the dissertations and notes of Sollier (*Usuardinum Martyrologium, apud Acta SS. Bolland.* Jun. t. vi. in Migne, *Patrol.* cxxiii.), and of Fiorentini (*Vetustius Occidentalis Ecclesiae Martyrologium*, Lucae, 1667) are to be consulted. De Smedt (*Introductio generalis ad Historiam ecclesiasticam critice tractandam*, pp. 127–140, 193–197, Louvain, 1876) translates De' Rossi on the lesser Roman martyrology (p. 130 ff.), reprints Matagne on the actual Roman martyrology (p. 141 ff.), and the pontifical and martyrology of Philocalus in his appendix. He had intended to give a list of all extant calendars and martyrologies, but found the task too arduous. De Smedt states that four Jacobite calendars are edited by the Assemanis, *Bibliothecae Vaticanae MSS.* t. ii. codd. 37, 39, 68, and three orthodox Syrian calendars (*ibid.* pp. 18, 114, 151), one of which is taken from Minisculco's *Jerusalem Evangelistarium* (Verona, 1861). Two more of the orthodox Syrian are given by Mai (*Scriptores Veteres*, t. ii. pt. ii. pp. 46, 169). Four Coptic calendars are published, two by Mai (*ibid.* pp. 14, 93), and two by Selden (*de Synedriis*). The second of Selden's is re-edited by Ludolf, and collated with a far more valuable Ethiopic calendar of about the 12th century (*Commentarius ad Historiam Aethiopicam*, pp. 389–436). No ancient and authentic Armenian calendars are known. De Buck has written a treatise, *Des Calendriers Orientaux*, in De Backer, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, t. iii. p. 383.

For Western Martyrologies we may refer to Binterim (*Denkwürdigkeiten der Kirche*, Mainz, 1829, t. v. pt. i. pp. 42–73). A number of monastic martyrologies and calendars are given by Martene (*Collectio Amplissima*, t. vi.), and by Migne — namely, a Gallican calendar, *Patrol.* lxxi. 607; one by Protadius of Besançon, A.D. 615, lxxx. 411; an English calendar, xciv. 1147; a calendar of Modena, cvi. 821; of Mantua, cxxxviii. 1257; of Brescia, 1285; two of Vallombrosa, 1279; of Lucca, 1291; one ascribed to Bede, 1293; of Fleury, 1185; of Stavelo, near Liège, 1194; of Werthen, near Cologne, 1203; of Auxerre, 1209.

An ancient Hispano-Gothic calendar is given by Migne at the end of the Mozarabic liturgy (*Patrol.* t. lxxxv.).

The Gothic calendar will be found in Mai (*Vet. Script. Coll.* v. i. 66), a mural martyrology, from the church of St. Silvester at Rome (*ib.* p. 56), another marble tablet with a complete calendar of the 9th century discovered at Naples (*ib.* p. 58), and the martyrology of Philocalus (*ib.* p. 54). The Naples marble has been discussed in three volumes 4to by Mazzochi and in twelve volumes 4to by Sabbatini. It is the most authentic example of an early Greek calendar.

The article on "Martyrologie" in the *Dictionnaire des Persécutions* in Migne's Theological Encyclopedia is merely a translation of Ruinart's answer to Dodwell's *Dissertatio Cyprianica de Paucitate Martyrum.* [E. B. B.]

**MARTYRUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Tarsus July 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Dec. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARUBUS**, martyr; natalis in Africa Feb. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARULLUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome in the cemetery of Praetextatus, May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARUS**, bishop of Treves; commemorated Jan. 26 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 730). [C. H.]

**MARUS**, martyr; commemorated April 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARUSIUS**, martyr; commemorated Oct. 4 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ii. 412). [C. H.]

**MARUSUS**, martyr; commemorated at Apollonia Jan. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MARUTHAS**, bishop in Mesopotamia; commemorated Feb. 16 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**MARY.** [MARIA.]

**MARY THE VIRGIN, FESTIVALS OF.** In the Eastern Orthodox Church there are three classes of Festivals, the Great Festivals, the Middle Festivals, the Little Festivals. Among the Great Festivals are reckoned:—1. The Hypapante, Feb. 2nd; 2. The Annunciation, March 25th; 3. The Sleep of the Theotokos, Aug. 15th; 4. The Nativity of the Theotokos, Sept. 8th; 5. The Presentation of the Theotokos, Nov. 21st. Among the Middle Festivals is reckoned, in the Russian Church, the Protection of the Theotokos, Oct. 1st; and in the calendar of Constantinople there are the Depositing of the honourable Vestment of the Theotokos in Blachernae, July 2nd; the Depositing of the honourable Girdle of the Theotokos, Aug. 31; the Conception of Anne the Mother of the Theotokos, Dec. 9th; the Synaxis of the Theotokos and of Joseph her spouse, Dec. 26th. In the Russian calendar there are also fourteen commemorations of miraculous icons of the Theotokos.

In the Armenian calendar there occur:—1. The Purification, Feb. 14th; 2. The Assumption, on the Sunday following Aug. 15th; 3. The Invention of the Girdle, about Aug. 31st; 4. The Nativity, Sept. 8th; 5. The Presentation, Nov. 21st; 6. The Conception, Dec. 9th.

In the Ethiopic calendar there is a monthly festival of St. Mary, as there is of our Lord's nativity, of St. Michael, and of the three patriarchs; and the following specific festivals:—1. The Death of St. Mary, Jan. 16th; 2. The Purification, Feb. 2nd; 3. The Conception of Christ, March 25th; 4. The Nativity, April 26th; 5. The Purification of Anna, July 14th; 6. The

Burial of St. Mary, Aug. 8th; 7. The Assumption, Aug. 9th; 8. The Nativity, Sept. 7th; 9. The Presentation, Nov. 29th; 10. The Conception, Dec. 12th

In the Roman calendar there are some festivals of St. Mary which are observed universally throughout Roman Christendom, some that are observed only locally; but these local festivals have for their sanction the full authority of the Roman see, and the offices to be used on them are published in the Breviary. The festivals of universal obligation are:—1. The Purification, Feb. 2nd; 2. The Annunciation, March 25th; 3. The Festival of the Seven Sorrows, on the Friday preceding Good Friday; 4. The Visitation, July 2nd; 5. The Feast of St. Mary of Mount Carmel, July 16th; 6. The Feast of the Dedication of St. Mary at Snows, Aug. 5th; 7. The Assumption, Aug. 15th; 8. The Nativity, Sept. 8th; 9. The Feast of the Most Holy Name of Mary, Sept. 15th; 10. The Festival of the Seven Sorrows (a second time), the third Sunday in September; 11. The Festival of Blessed Mary de Mercede, Sept. 24th; 12. The Feast of the Most Holy Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the first Sunday in October; 13. The Presentation, Nov. 21st; 14. The Conception, Dec. 8th. Every Saturday in the year and the whole of the month of May are also dedicated to her honour. The local, but yet authorised, festivals relating to her are:—1. The Espousals of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Jan. 23rd; 2. The Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Aid of Christians, May 24th; 3. The Most Pure Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the next Sunday but one after the Assumption, that is, about the end of August; 4. The Maternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the second Sunday in October; 5. The Purity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the third Sunday in October; 6. The Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the fourth Sunday in October or a Sunday in November; 7. The Translation of the Holy House of Loretto, Dec. 10th; 8. The Expectation of the Blessed Virgin Mary's delivery of a child, Dec. 18th. The Feast of the Dedication of St. Mary at Martyrs, May 13th, has been allowed to drop from the calendar.

The Anglican calendar contains two classes of festivals. Among the red-letter or first-class festivals are reckoned:—1. The Purification, Feb. 2nd; 2. The Annunciation, March 25th. Among the black-letter or second-class festivals occur:—1. The Visitation, July 2nd; 2. The Nativity, Sept. 28th; 3. The Conception, Dec. 8th.

It will be seen from the above that the Festivals of the Purification, the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Conception, are common to the existing calendars of all churches that have calendars; that the Greek and Latin churches agree in celebrating the Assumption and the Presentation; that the Byzantine and Armenian churches agree in observing the Festival of the Girdle; that the Byzantine church stands alone in observing the Festival of the Vestment; the Russian in observing the Festival of the Protection (a different commemoration from that of the Latin church which bears a similar name), and the feasts of some icons; the Ethiopic in observing the days of St. Mary's death and burial as distinct from the Assumption, besides a monthly-recurring festival in her honour; the Roman church in observing the Seven Sorrows (twice), St. Mary of Mount Carmel, St. Mary at Snows, the Most Holy Name, the Protection, Blessed Mary de Mercede, the Rosary, the Espousals, the Help of Christians, the Most Pure Heart, the Maternity, the Purity, the Holy House of Loretto, the Expected Delivery, besides all Saturdays and, of late, the whole of the month of May.

We notice these festivals in the chronological order in which they were instituted.

1. THE PURIFICATION (Ὑπαπαντή, Ὑπαντή, *Occursus*, *Obviatio*, *Praesentatio*, *Festum SS. Simeonis et Annae*, *Purificatio*, *Candelaria*, *Candlemas*). As first instituted, this was not a Festival of St. Mary, but of our Lord; and so it has always remained in the Eastern church. Its original name, still retained in the East, was Ὑπαπαντή, sometimes written Ὑπαντή, rendered into Latin by "Occursus" or "Obviatio," meaning the "meeting" of our Lord with Simeon and Anna in the Temple (Luke ii. 27–38). In the West it came to be called the Feast of the Purification, and, except in the Ambrosian church, to be regarded as one of the Festivals of St. Mary, because this meeting took place on the occasion of the Purification of St. Mary.

*Its institution.*—It is not altogether certain whether it was instituted by Justin, emperor of Constantinople, in the year of our Lord 526, or by his son Justinian, in the year 541 or 542. Cedrenus, an historian of the 11th century, assigns its institution to Justin (*Historiarum Compendium*, p. 366, Paris, 1647); the other Byzantine historians, to Justinian (see Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. xvii. c. 28; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 188, Paris, 1655; *Historia Miscellanea*, lib. xvi. apud Muratorium, tom. i. p. 108, Milan, 1723). It happens that the latter historians have made use of expressions which need not force us to conclude that the festival had no existence before the time of Justinian, but only that it was made by him of oecumenical observance, or of obligation in Constantinople, or of obligation on the 2nd of February.[a] Accordingly, Dr. Neale (*Holy Eastern Church*, Introd. vol. ii. p. 771, Lond. 1850) supposes it was only transferred by Justinian to Feb. 2nd from Feb. 14th, the day on which it is observed by the Armenians. But it is probable that Nicephorus and Theophanes meant to state that it was Justinian who originally instituted the festival. Sigebertus (*Chronicon*, in ann. 542, apud Bibl. Patr., De la Bigne, tom. vii. p. 1388, Paris, 1589), Calvisius (*Opus Chronologicum*, in ann. 541, Frankfort, 1650), Baronius (*Martyrologium*, Feb. 2, Rome, 1586), Basnage (*Annales*, tom. iii. p. 752, Rotterdam, 1706), Fleury (*Hist. Eccles.* liv. xxxiii. 7, Paris, 1732), and the great majority of authorities consider Justinian to be its author; and there is little doubt that they are right, though the idea of establishing it may have sprung up in the last year of the reign of his

[a] Nicephorus's words are: Τάττει δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ὑπαπαντὴν ἀρτὶ πρώτως τῆς γῆς ἑορτάζεσθαι (lib. xvi. c. 28). Those of Theophanes are: καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ ἡ Ὑπαπαντὴ τοῦ Κυρίου ἔλαβεν ἀρχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου μηνός (*Chronogr.* p. 188). Cedrenus says of the last year of Justin's reign: ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἐτυπώθη ἑορτάζειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Ὑπαπαντῆς, τῆς μέχρι τότε μὴ ἑορταζομένης (*Hist. Compend.* p. 366).

predecessor, and some steps may have been taken towards realising it, which were for the time abortive. The Centuriators of Magdeburg assign its institution to pope Vigilius, Justinian's contemporary (*Cent.* vi. col. 673, Basle, 1562). Baronius conjectures that "a way was opened towards its celebration in the West," and that possibly it was instituted there by pope Gelasius about thirty years before Justinian, on the abrogation of the Lupercalia; but his conjecture rests on no ground of evidence. The *Oratio de Symeone et Annâ, seu, In Festum Occursûs et Purificationis B. Mariae*, attributed to Methodius, bishop of Tyre, A.D. 290, which, if genuine, would imply that the festival was of a very early date, was probably written by a Methodius of Constantinople in the 9th century. Similar orations attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, A.D. 350, and to Amphilochius, A.D. 370, and to Gregory Nyssen, A.D. 370, are spurious. So are a *Sermo in Occursum Domini*, attributed to St. Athanasius, A.D. 325, and a *Sermo de Purificatione B. Mariae*, attributed to St. Ambrose, A.D. 374, and many more sermons alleged to have been delivered on the day by different early writers. Baronius "does not hesitate to declare that no Greek or Latin father before Justinian has left a sermon on the day of the Occursus" (*Martyr.* Feb. 2).

*Its date in the calendar.*—The 2nd day of February is necessarily the date of the festival, because that is the fortieth day after Jan. 25th, which since the time of St. Chrysostom, that is, a century and a half before the date of Justinian, had become accepted as the day of the Nativity of Christ in the East as well as in the West. It would consequently have been the day on which St. Mary, having borne a man-child, would have made the offering appointed by the law (Lev. xii. 4) for her (or their) (Luke ii. 22) purification. The Armenian church observes the festival on Feb. 14th, because it counts Jan. 6th to be the day of the Nativity, as the whole of the East once counted it.

The *occasion* of its institution is supposed to be the occurrence of earthquakes, plague, and famine, mentioned by the Byzantine historians as having taken place in Asia Minor and Constantinople in the reigns of Justin and Justinian.

It has been suggested that the *purpose* of its founders was to supply the place of the Amburbalia, Lupercalia, the Feast of Ceres, and other Roman festivities which had been abolished, and the loss of which was felt by the populace (Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, lib. vii. c. 7, Venice, 1577; Belethus, *Explicatio Divin. Offic.* c. 81, ad calcem Durandi, Venice, 1577; Baronius, *Martyrol.* Feb. 2; Benedictus Papa XIV., *de Festis*, apud Migne, *Theol. Curs. Compl.* tom. xxvi. p. 144, Paris, 1842). It is, however, more probable that the primary object with which it was instituted was simply to commemorate an event in the life of our Lord which was believed to call for a special commemoration. After its establishment there was no unwillingness to regard it as a hallowed substitute for an unholy orgy, a Christian Purification Festival in place of a Pagan Lustration Feast, held as before in the early part of the month of February. (See Rabanus Maurus, *de Institut. Clericorum*, lib. ii. c. 33, apud Magn. Bibl. Patrum, tom. x. p. 602.)

Similarly the ceremony of consecrating and distributing candles, and marching in procession with them in the hands (whence the names Candelaria, Candlemas) probably arose from "a desire to put Christians in remembrance of Christ, the spiritual light, of whom Symeon did prophesy, as is read in the church that day" (L'Estrange, *Alliance of Divine Offices*, c. v. Oxf. 1846); in other words, to illustrate the 32nd verse of Luke ii. "a light to lighten the Gentiles." But after a time the idea was readily welcomed that it had been introduced with the view of assimilating the Christian festival to the heathen feast; so readily, indeed, that pope Benedict XIV. regards any other as almost heretical. Baronius attributes the introduction of the procession to Sta. Maria Maggiore to Sergius I., who lived in the 7th century, but he believes that the use of the candles originated before that time, as they are mentioned by Eligius (Hom. ii., *Op.* apud Migne, *Patrol.* tom. lxxxvii. p. 597), who lived A.D. 665. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres at the beginning of the 11th century, explains the symbolism which by that time it was believed might be found in the virgin wax of which the candles were made (*Sermo*, apud Magn. Bibl. Patrum, tom. iii. p. 502). The fifth council of Milan, A.D. 1579, enlarges on the manifold use and benefits of the candles (Hard. *Concil.* tom. x. p. 971). The procession came to be regarded as representing the walk of St. Mary and Joseph to the Temple on the day of the Purification.

2. The Annunciation (Εὐαγγελισμός, *Annunciatio*).

*Its institution.*—There is no historical account of the institution of this festival, as there is of the Purification. It is found existing in the 7th century, but the occasion of its establishment is not known. An attempt was made to claim a very high antiquity for it by appealing to three Addresses, delivered on the festival, which were assigned by Vossius to Gregory Thaumaturgus, and may yet be found bound up with the latter's genuine writings in some editions of his works (*Sermones III. in Annunc. S. M. Virginis* apud Op. Greg. Thaum. p. 9, Paris, 1622). Their spuriousness is undoubted (see Bellarmine, *de Script. Eccles.*, *Op.* tom. vii. p. 39, Col. Agrip. 1617; Tyler, *Worship of the Virgin*, Appendix A, Lond. 1851). The same is to be said of an Address attributed to Athanasius, called *Sermo in Annunciationem Sanctae Dominae Nostrae Deiparae*, and printed with St. Athanasius' works (*Op.* tom. ii. p. 393, ed. Bened. Paris, 1698), which was not written till after the Monothelite controversy (see Baronius, apud *Opp. S. Athanasii*, p. 391; Cave, *Historia Literaria*, s. v. Athanasius). And the same must be said of many more sermons alleged to have been delivered on the occasion of the festival by fathers and early writers. The sermons attributed to Peter Chrysologus, A.D. 440 (apud Migne, *Patrolog.* tom. lii. p. 575, Paris, 1845), may possibly have been composed by archbishop Felix, one of his successors in the see of Ravenna, A.D. 708, or more probably by his namesake, Peter Damiani, in the 11th century (see Tillemont, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, tom. xv. note vi. p. 866, Paris, 1711). Two homilies *In Annunciationem Beatae Mariae*, attributed to Anastasius of Sinai, A.D. 560, would appear to be the production of one Anastasius Abbas, who lived in the 8th century. The first trustworthy evidence of the existence of

the festival is found in the first chapter of the Acts of the tenth council of Toledo, which was held A.D. 656. The council declares that, whereas the Feast of the Holy Virgin was kept at different times in different places in Spain, and could not be kept in Lent without transgressing traditional rule, it should be observed on the octave before Christmas day. The rule to which reference is here made is the 51st canon of the council of Laodicea, held in the 4th century, which forbids the observance of the Nativities of Martyrs (a phrase which at that time was equivalent to Holy days) in Lent.[b] The second reference to the festival is found in the acts of the council in Trullo, held A.D. 692, which permitted the observance of this holy day in Lent, while it continued the Laodicean prohibition of all others.[c] The date of the institution of the festival may therefore be fixed as being at the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century. The council of Metz makes no mention of it among the festivals ordered by it to be observed in the year of our Lord 813 (can. xxxvi.); nor does it appear in company with the Purification in the list of festivals given in the Capitularies of Charles the Great or Ludvig (*Capit. ab Ansegiso collecta*, lib. i. § 158; ii. § 33).

*The date in the calendar* is March 25th, as being nine months before the nativity of Christ. St. Augustine speaks of March 25th as being the day on which it was believed that the conception of our Lord took place, inasmuch as Dec. 25th was regarded as the day of his birth (*De Trin.* lib. iv. c. v., *Op.* tom. viii. p. 894, ed. Migne). The Armenian church, which observes Jan. 6th as the Nativity as well as the Epiphany of Christ, has not the Festival of the Annunciation in its calendar.

Like the Feast of the Purification, this festival was instituted in honour of our Lord, and in commemoration of his conception; but it probably passed more readily and quickly than the sister festival from the list of the Dominican to that of the Marian Festivals, as the original idea is not preserved in its title (as it is in the Hypapante), except in the Ethiopian calendar, where it is not called the Annunciation but the Conception of Christ.

The *purpose*, therefore, of the festival is to commemorate (1) the announcement made by the angel Gabriel to St. Mary that she should conceive and bring forth the promised Messiah, and (2) the conception of our Lord which followed that announcement (Luke i. 26–38). The place where this announcement was made was the house in Nazareth in which St. Mary lived. The legend of Loretto has transferred this house to Italy; the exact spot where it took place is nevertheless pointed out both by Greeks and Latins, a different spot by each, as still existing in Palestine.

3. THE ASSUMPTION (Κοίμησις, Μετάστασις, *Dormitio, Pausatio, Transitus, Depositio, Migratio, Assumptio*).

*Its institution.*—This festival was instituted, according to the statement of Nicephorus Callistus (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. xvii. c. 28), by the emperor Maurice, who lived at the close of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century. In the time of Charles the Great, two centuries later, its observance was not yet universal in the West (*Capit. ab Ansegiso collecta*, lib. i. § 158, apud Migne, *Patrolog.* tom. xcvii. p. 533, Paris, 1851).[d] But it appears to have been received after deliberation by Charles, and it is recognised by his son Ludvig in the year 818 or 819 (*ibid.* lib. ii. c. 35, p. 547). An octave was added to the festival by pope Leo IV., A.D. 847.

*Its date in the calendar* is August 15th.

The *purpose* of the festival is to commemorate the assumption of St. Mary into heaven in body and soul. The origin of the belief that she was so assumed, and the steps by which it grew are as follows:—

In the 3rd or 4th century there was composed a book, embodying the Gnostic and Collyridian traditions as to the death of St. Mary, called *De Transitu Virginis Mariae Liber*. The book exists still, and may be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima* (tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 212). The legend contained in it relates how St. Mary, after her Son's death, went and lived at Bethlehem for twenty-one years, after which time an angel appeared to her, and told her that her soul should be taken from her body. So she was wafted on a cloud to Jerusalem, and the apostles, who had been miraculously gathered together, carried her to Gethsemane, and there her soul was taken up into Paradise by Gabriel. Then the apostles bore her body to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and laid it in a new tomb; and suddenly by the side of the tomb appeared her son Christ, who raised up her body lest it should see corruption, and reuniting it with her soul, which Michael brought back from Paradise, had her conveyed by angels to heaven.

It will be seen that the *Liber de Transitu Mariae* contains already the whole of the story of the Assumption. But down to the end of the 5th century this story was regarded by the church as a Gnostic or Collyridian fable, and the *Liber de Transitu* was condemned as heretical by the *Decretum de Libris Canonicis Ecclesiasticis et Apocryphis*, attributed to pope Gelasius, A.D. 494. How then did it pass across the borders and establish itself within the church, so as to have a festival appointed to commemorate it? In the following manner:—

In the sixth century a great change passed over the sentiments and the theology of the church in reference to the θεοτόκος—an unintended but very noticeable result of the Nestorian controversies, which in maintaining the true doctrine of the Incarnation incidentally gave a strong impulse to what became the Worship of St. Mary. In consequence of this change of sentiment, during the 6th and 7th centuries (or later), (1) the *Liber de Transitu*, though classed by Gelasius with the known productions

[b] The words of the canon are: Οὐ δεῖ ἐν τῇ τεσσερακοστῇ μαρτύρων γενέθλιον ἐπιτελεῖν (Hard. *Concil.* tom i. p. 790, Paris, 1715).

[c] The words are: Παρεκτὸς σαββάτου καὶ κυριακῆς καὶ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρας (Hard. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1681).

[d] Charles the Great's *Capitulare*, after recounting the festivals, says: "De Assumptione Sanctae Mariae interrogandum relinquimus." The treatise *De Assumptione B. V. Virginis*, attributed to St. Augustine and bound up with his works (tom. vi. p. 1142, ed. Migne) has been thought to have been a reply by one of Charles's bishops to his inquiry on the subject, as it begins, "Ad interrogata de Virginis et Matris Domini resolutione temporali et assumptione perenni quid intelligam responsurus."

of heretics came to be attributed by one ("otiosus quispiam," says Baronius) to Melito, an orthodox bishop of Sardis, in the 2nd century, and by another to St. John the Apostle; (2) a letter suggesting the possibility of the Assumption was written and attributed to St. Jerome (*ad Paulam et Eustochium de Assumptione B. Virginis*, *Op.* tom. v. p. 82, Paris, 1706); (3) a treatise to prove it not impossible was composed and attributed to St. Augustine (*Op.* tom. vi. p. 1142, ed. Migne); (4) two sermons supporting the belief were written and attributed to St. Athanasius (*Op.* tom. ii. pp. 393, 416, ed. Ben. Paris, 1698); (5) an insertion was made in Eusebius's Chronicle that "in the year 48 Mary the Virgin was taken up into heaven, as some wrote that they had had it revealed to them." Thus the authority of the names of St. John, of Melito, of Athanasius, of Eusebius, of Augustine, of Jerome, was obtained for the belief by a series of forgeries readily accepted because in accordance with the sentiment of the day, and the Gnostic legend was attributed to orthodox writers who did not entertain it. But this was not all, for there is the clearest evidence (1) that no one within the church taught it for six centuries, and (2) that those who did first teach it within the church borrowed it directly from the book condemned by pope Gelasius as heretical. For the *first* person within the church who held and taught it was Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (if a homily attributed to John Damascene containing a quotation from "the Euthymiac history" (*Op.* tom. ii. p. 880, Venice, 1748) be for the moment considered genuine), who (according to this statement) on Marcian and Pulcheria's sending to him for information as to St. Mary's sepulchre, replied to them by narrating a shortened version of the *De Transitu* legend as "a most ancient and true tradition." The *second* person within the church who taught it (or the *first*, if the homily attributed to John Damascene relating the above tale of Juvenal be spurious, as it almost certainly is) was Gregory of Tours, A.D. 590, who in his *De Gloriâ Martyrum* (lib. i. c. 4) writes as follows: "When Blessed Mary had finished the course of this life, and was now called away from the world, all the apostles were gathered together at her house from all parts of the world; and when they heard that she was to be taken away they watched with her, and behold! the Lord Jesus came with his angels, and taking her soul, gave it to Michael the Archangel, and went away. In the morning the apostles took up her body with the bed, and placed it in a monument, and watched it, waiting for the coming of the Lord. And behold! a second time the Lord appeared, and commanded her to be taken up and carried in a cloud to Paradise, where now, having resumed her soul, she enjoys the never-ending blessings of eternity, rejoicing with her elect." The Abbé Migne points out in a note that "what Gregory here relates of the death of the Blessed Virgin and its attendant circumstances he undoubtedly drew (*procul dubio hausit*) from the Pseudo-Melito's *Liber de Transitu B. Mariae*, which is classed among apocryphal books by pope Gelasius." He adds that this account, with the circumstances related by Gregory, were soon after introduced into the Gallican Liturgy. It is very seldom that we are able to trace a tale from its birth onwards so clearly and unmistakably as this. It is demonstrable that the Gnostic legend passed into the church through Gregory or Juvenal, and so became an accepted tradition within it. The next writers on the subject are Andrew of Crete, who is supposed to have lived about A.D. 635; Hildephonsus of Toledo, A.D. 657; and John of Damascus, who lived about A.D. 730, if writings attributed to any of them are genuine, which is quite doubtful. Pope Benedict XIV. says naively that "the most ancient Fathers of the Primitive Church are silent as to the bodily assumption of the Blessed Virgin, but the fathers of the middle and latest ages, both Greeks and Latins, relate it in the distinctest terms" (*De Fest. Assumpt.* apud Migne, *Theol. Curs. Compl.* tom. xxvi. p. 144, Paris, 1842). It was under the shadow of the names of Gregory of Tours and of these "fathers of the middle and latest ages, Greek and Latin," that the *De Transitu* legend became accepted as a catholic tradition (see Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Aug. 15).

The history, therefore, of the belief which this festival was instituted to commemorate is as follows:—It was first taught in the 3rd or 4th century as part of the Gnostic legend of St. Mary's death, and it was regarded by the church as a Gnostic and Collyridian fable down to the end of the 5th century. It was brought into the church in the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries, partly by a series of successful forgeries, partly by the adoption of the Gnostic legend on the part of accredited teachers, writers, and liturgists. And a festival in commemoration of the event, thus come to be believed, was instituted in the East at the beginning of the 7th, in the West at the beginning of the 9th century.

4. THE NATIVITY (Γενέθλιον τῆς θεοτόκου, *Nativitas*).

*Its institution.*—This festival is said to have been established by pope Sergius I., in the year 695, on the representation of a monk (*religiosus quidam*) that he had for several years following heard the angels singing on the night of Sept. 8, and that it had been revealed to him that the reason for which they sang was that St. Mary had been born on that night. The pope, says Durandus, established the festival in order that we and the angels might commemorate the event at the same time (*Divin. Offic.* lib. vii. c. 28). Belethus confirms Durandus' statement (*Explic. Divin. Offic.* c. 149). Baronius has thrown out a suggestion, as he has done with regard to the date of the "Ave Maria," that it *might have been* instituted soon after the Council of Ephesus, "because from that time the worship of the most Blessed Virgin grew and increased more and more every day throughout the world;" he does not however presume to say that it *was* established then, but, on the contrary, acknowledges that "it was unknown in the Gallican church in the time of Charles the Great and Ludvig the Pious" (*Martyrol.* in Sept. 8); as indeed may be seen by its absence from their lists of the festivals (*Capit. ab Ansegiso collecta*, lib. i. § 153; ii. § 33). In a calendar of Milan, supposed by Muratori (tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 1021, Milan, 1723) to be of the date A.D. 1000, the Nativity is noted as being specially observed at Foligno, as though it were not yet general even in Italy. A sermon attributed to St. Augustine, and quoted by the

Breviary as delivered on the Feast of the Nativity of St. Mary, is, of course, spurious (*Serm.* cxciv. alias *De Sanctis*, xviii. tom. v. p. 2104, ed. Migne).

The *purpose* of the festival is to commemorate the birth of St. Mary as it is recounted in the apocryphal gospels, the Protevangelion, and the Gospel of the Birth of Mary. Nothing whatever is known of St. Mary's birth. We do not know the names of her parents, or anything at all about her early life. When we have stated that she was of the tribe of Judah and descended from David, that she had a sister named, like herself, Mary, and that she was connected by marriage with Elizabeth, we have said all that can be known with respect to her previous to her betrothal to Joseph. But as early as the 2nd or 3rd century there were composed and disseminated among the Gnostics, the Protevangelion, and the Gospel of the Birth of Mary, which are an application and adaptation of the history of our Lord's birth and childhood to St. Mary. The legend, as contained in these apocryphal gospels, narrates that Joachim and Anna, of the race of David, lived piously together as husband and wife for twenty years at Nazareth; that at the end of this time Joachim was roughly rebuked by the high priest, and Anna bitterly jeered at by her maid, because they had no child; that Joachim went into the wilderness and fasted for forty days, and Anna went into her garden and prayed that she might have a child as Sarai had; and two angels appeared to Anna, and promised her a child; and Joachim returned, and the child was born, and her name was called Mary (Giles, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 33, 47, Lond. 1847). These legends of St. Mary's birth were repudiated by the early church, and regarded by it as belonging to a body external and hostile to itself. Like the legends of her death, they crept into the church in the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries. Pope Benedict XIV. allows that "there is nothing about her nativity in Holy Scripture, and all that is said about it is drawn from turbid fountains," which he explains to mean the Protevangelion and the other legends (*De Fest. Nativ. B. Virginis*, apud Migne, *Theol. Curs. Complet.* p. 611).

5. The Presentation (Τὰ εἰσόδια τῆς θεοτόκου. *Praesentatio Beatae Mariae Virginis*).

*Its institution.*—The Festival of the Presentation of St. Mary at the Temple is supposed by some to have been established at Constantinople about A.D. 730. There is certain evidence of its existence there in A.D. 1150. But it did not pass into the West till A.D. 1375. (See Launoius, *Regii Navarrae Gymnasii Parisiensis Historia*, pt. i. c. 10, p. 77, Paris, 1677.) It was withdrawn from the Roman calendar by Pius V., but restored by Sixtus V. on the prayer of Turrianus.

Its *purpose* is to commemorate the presentation of St. Mary as narrated in the Gnostic legend which is embodied in the Protevangelion and the Gospel of the Birth of Mary. The legend states that when St. Mary was three years old her parents brought her to the Temple to dedicate her to the Lord; and that she walked up the fifteen steps leading into the Temple by herself, and the high priest placed her on the third step of the altar; and she danced with her feet; and all the house of Israel loved her. She is said to have remained at the Temple till she was twelve or fourteen years old, food being brought to her by the angels. This legend, like that of her nativity and her assumption, crept into the church during the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries.

6. The Depositing of the Honourable Vestment of the Theotokos in Blachernae (Κατάθεσις ἐσθῆτος τιμίας τῆς θεοτόκου).

This festival claims to have been *instituted* at the date of the events commemorated by it, in the 5th century, but it would appear to have been first observed in the 9th century. Its *date in the calendar* of the Byzantine church is July 2nd. Its *purpose* is to commemorate the laying up or depositing in the church of Blachernae in Constantinople of (1) the grave-clothes of St. Mary (τὰ ἐντάφια), supposed to have been sent (according to Nicephorus Callistus' statement) by Juvenal of Jerusalem from Palestine to Marcian and Pulcheria, and (2) her vestment (τιμία ἐσθής) said to have been stolen from Galilee by Calvius and Candidus in the time of Leo Magnus, successor to Marcian (*Menaeon* for July 2, Constantinople, 1843).

7. The Discovery and Depositing of the Honourable Girdle of the Theotokos (Κατάθεσις τῆς τιμίας ζώνης τῆς θεοτόκου).

This festival, like the last, claims to have been *instituted* at the date of the event commemorated by it, but there is no evidence of its observance before the 9th century. Its *date in the calendars* of the Byzantine and Armenian churches is August 31. Its *purpose* is to commemorate (1) the discovery of the supposed girdle of St. Mary in the time (according to the *Menaeon*) of Arcadius, (2) its translation to Constantinople in the time of Justinian, and (3) a miraculous cure supposed to have been wrought by it on Zoe the wife of Leo the Philosopher, A.D. 886. (Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. xiv. 2; xv. 14, 24. Du Fresne, *Notae in Annae Comnenae Alexiadem*, p. 329, ad calcem Joannis Cinnami Historiae, Paris, 1670; *Menaeon* for August, p. 189, Constantinople, 1843.)

8. The Synaxis of the Theotokos and of Joseph her Spouse.—This festival was probably instituted, at Constantinople, at about the same *date* as the two previously named festivals, though, like them, it claims a much earlier date, appeal being made to a spurious sermon of Epiphanius, supposed to have been delivered on the day. The *date in the calendar* and the *purpose* of its institution are closely connected. It is observed on Dec. 26, as being a continuation of the Christmas festival, the mind being turned on the first day to the Son, and on the second day to the mother. The word 'Synaxis,' derived from συνάγειν, means in the first place an assembly of worshippers, and thence (in the present connexion) a commemoration festival held by those so assembled.

9. The Protection of the Most Holy Mother of God.—This festival was *instituted* at the beginning of the 10th century. The day in the calendar of the Russian church on which it is observed is Oct. 1. Its purpose is to commemorate a vision which St. Andrew, surnamed "the Foolish," or "the Idiot," said that he had in the church of Blachernae, Constantinople, in which he supposed himself to have seen St. Mary, with prophets, apostles, and angels, pray-

ing for the world and spreading her ὠμοφόρος (ecclesiastical vestment) over Christians. The Russian church accounts for the festival not being found in the Byzantine calendar by the great troubles which in the 10th century were encompassing and pervading Constantinople. (Russian calendar, Oct. 1.)

10. THE CONCEPTION (Σύλληψις τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης. *Conceptio Beatae Mariae Virginis*).

*Its institution.*—Legend relates that this festival was instituted A.D. 1067 by abbat Helsinus, who had been sent by William I. of England to Denmark, and being caught in a storm on his return, and addressing prayers for help to St. Mary had a vision of a grave ecclesiastic upon the waves, who promised him safety on condition of his establishing the Festival of the Conception of St. Mary on Dec. 8. This legend is assigned to St. Anselm as its author in the *Legenda Aurea*, and the synod of London held under archbishop Mepeham, A.D. 1328, appears to have believed it to rest on his authority (*Const.* 2). It may be found in Migne's *Patrologia* (tom. clix. p. 325), relegated to the appendix of St. Anselm's works. Another form of the same legend puts St. Anselm himself in the place of Helsinus as the hero of the story, and represents the scene to have occurred as he was returning from England to Bec (Petr. de Natalibus, *Catal. Sanct.* lib. i. c. xiii.). Passing from legend to history we find that the festival originated in the 12th century. It was at once condemned by St. Bernard as (1) novel, (2) heterodox, (3) unauthorised (see *Epist.* clxxiv., *Op.* tom. i. p. 169, ed. Ben. Paris, 1690). This was in the year A.D. 1140. St. Bernard's contemporary Potho also condemned it as (1) novel, (2) absurd (*De Statu domus Dei*, lib. iii. apud Magn. Bibl. Patr. tom. ix. p. 587, Paris, 1644), and in the following century Durandus (*De Divin. Offic.*, lib. vii. c. 7) and Belethus (*Exp. Divin. Offic.* c. 146) repudiated it as heterodox. "Some," says Belethus, "have kept the Feast of the Conception, and perhaps even still keep it, but it is not authorised or approved; nay, it ought rather to be prohibited, for she was conceived in sin." In the 14th century it was made obligatory in England by the following constitution of Simon Mepeham, archbishop of Canterbury, which was accepted by a Provincial synod held in London in the year 1328. "That the memory of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord, may be oftener and more solemnly celebrated, in proportion to the greater favour which she among all the saints hath found with God, who ordained her conception to be the predestinated temporal origin of His only begotten Son and the salvation of all men; that by this means the remote dawnings of our salvation, which raise spiritual joys in pious minds, might increase the devotion and salvation of all; following the steps of our venerable predecessor Anselm, who after other more ancient solemnities of hers thought fit to add that of her conception, we ordain and firmly command that the Feast of the Conception aforesaid be solemnly celebrated for the future in all the churches of the province" (*Const.* ii., Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. iii. p. 499, Lond. 1865).

The *purpose* of the festival was originally, as Bellarmine acknowledges, and the above quoted constitution of archbishop Mepeham plainly states, not to celebrate an immaculate or even a holy conception, but simply to commemorate the fact of the conception of St. Mary, the mother of Christ, in imitation of the Festival of the Annunciation, which commemorates the conception of her Son. But, as St. Bernard clearly saw, its tendency from the beginning was to induce a belief in the supernatural character of the conception of St. Mary, and so to lead on to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. For this reason he sharply reproved the canons of Lyons for having admitted it. "It has been vouchsafed," he writes, "to a very few of the sons of men to be born holy, but to none to be conceived holily; that the prerogative of a holy conception might be kept for One only who should sanctify all and make a cleansing of sins, being himself the only One who comes without sin. It is the Lord Jesus Christ alone that was conceived by the Holy Ghost, for He alone was holy before His conception. Excepting Him, the humble and true confession of one who says, 'I was shapen in iniquity and in sin did my mother conceive me,' applies to every one else of Adam's children. Then what can be the meaning of a festival of her conception? How can a conception be said to be holy which is not of the Holy Spirit, not to say, which is of sin? or how can it be regarded as a matter for festivity when it is not holy? The glorious woman will be ready enough to go without an honour which seems either to honour sin or to attribute a holiness which did not exist" (*Epist.* clxxiv.). The dogma which St. Bernard opposed was that of a holy conception of St. Mary. The idea of her immaculate conception had not arisen in his time. This was first proposed as a possibility by J. Duns Scotus at the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century, and six centuries later, on Dec. 8, 1854, it was pronounced a dogma necessary for all adherents of the papacy to believe if they desire salvation.

The original purpose of the festival was simply to commemorate the first beginning of the life of her who was the mother of our Lord, but since A.D. 1854 the immaculateness of her conception, that is, her exemption from original sin, has been regarded the chief subject commemorated by it. The steps by which the belief grew which culminated in the dogma now supposed to be commemorated by the festival are briefly as follows:—From apostolic times to the end of the 5th century it was taught and believed that St. Mary was born in original sin, that she was liable to actual sin, and that she fell into sins of infirmity. We may take as witnesses for the 2nd century, Tertullian (*de Carn. Christi*, vii. 315, and *Adv. Marcian.* iv. 19, *Op.* p. 433, Paris, 1695); for the 3rd century, Origen (*Hom. in Luc.* xvii., *Op.* tom. iii. p. 952, Paris, 1733); for the 4th century, St. Basil (*Ep.* 260, *Op.* tom. iii. p. 400, Paris, 1721) and St. Hilary (in *Ps.* cxix., *Op.* p. 262, Paris, 1693); for the 5th century, St. Chrysostom (*Op.* tom. vii. p. 467, Paris, 1718) and St. Cyril of Alexandria (*Op.* tom. iv. p. 1064; tom. vi. p. 391, Paris, 1638). From the 6th to the 12th century it was taught and believed that St. Mary was born in original sin, but was saved from falling into actual sin. In the 13th century it was taught and believed that she was conceived in sin, and so subjected to original sin,

but, like John the Baptist, sanctified before her birth. From the 14th to the 18th century teaching and belief in the Latin church wavered between a maculate and an immaculate conception according as the Dominicans or Franciscans were most powerful at Rome. In the 19th century it was formally declared by pope Pius IX. that St. Mary, having been conceived immaculately, was absolutely exempt from original and from actual sin. This belief of the Latin church is regarded by the Greek church (see *Conference between the Abp. of Syros and the Bp. of Winchester*, Lond. 1871), and by the Anglican church (see Bp. Wilberforce, *Rome, her new Dogma and our Duties*, Oxf. 1855), not only as untrue in fact, but as heretical in its tendencies.

*The day in the calendar* fixed for this festival is Dec. 8, as being nine months before Sept. 8, which was regarded in the 12th century as the Nativity of St. Mary. The Eastern churches observe it on Dec. 9.

11. ST. MARY AT SNOWS (*Festum Dedicationis S. Mariae ad Nives*).

*Its institution.*—This festival was instituted as a local anniversary, and observed in the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore as early, it would seem, as the 12th century. Its observance was extended throughout Rome in the 14th century, and made obligatory on all Roman Christendom by Pius V. in the 16th century.

Its *purpose* is to celebrate the legendary foundation of the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome. The legend says that in the 4th century one John and his wife, having no children, were anxious to devote their substance to St. Mary, but did not know how to do so acceptably to her, until they each had a dream telling them that they would find snow on the ground marking out the spot whereon they were to build a cathedral. They went to Liberius, the pope of Rome, and found that he had had the same dream; and behold, the snow was lying (on the 5th of August) on the Esquiline in the shape of a cathedral. So they built Sta. Maria Maggiore. The Breviary (Aug. 5) contains the legend. It probably arose from an attempt to explain the name *ad Nives*, which may itself be the corruption of some lost word—possibly of *ad Liv.* or *ad Liviae*—as the church was built *juxta macellum Liviae*; or of *Liber.*, as it was known by the title *Liberiana*; or of *in Esq.*, as it was built on the Esquiline Hill. The story rests on the authority of manuscripts belonging to the cathedral body, which might easily have become difficult to decipher in the lapse of centuries, and of Peter de Natalibus, a collector of worthless legends, who lived in the 15th century. The miracle is first mentioned by Nicholas IV. in the year A.D. 1287, that is, 927 years after it was said to have taken place. Gregory XI., A.D. 1371, and Pius II., A.D. 1453, have given the sanction of their authority to it. The original legend stated that the earth opened of its own accord for the foundations, on Liberius beginning to dig them. But this part of the miracle was expunged from the Breviary by Pius V., while he left the part relating to the snow. *The date in the calendar* is Aug. 5.

There was a sister festival, called ST. MARY AT MARTYRS, held on May 13, to commemorate the dedication of the Pantheon, or Rotunda, to St. Mary and the Holy Martyrs, by Boniface IV. at the beginning of the 7th century. This festival has been allowed to become obsolete, perhaps because there was not so powerful a body as the chapter of Sta. Maria Maggiore whose interest it was to maintain it.

12. THE VISITATION (*Visitatio Beatae Mariae Virginis*).

*Its institution.*—This festival was instituted by Urban VI. during the schism in the papacy and promulgated by a constitution of his successor Boniface IX., A.D. 1389 (*Bulla Bonifacii* ix. apud Bollandi *Acta Sanctorum*, July 2) About half a century later, A.D. 1441, it was again established by the council of Basle, no reference being made to its previous institution, because Boniface's authority was not acknowledged by all the members of the council. The whole of session 43 is occupied with the matter (*Conc. Basil.* apud Harduin, *Concil.* tom. viii. p. 1292).

The *purpose* of the festival is to commemorate the visit paid by St. Mary to Elizabeth before the birth of John the Baptist at Juttah or, it may be, Hebron. Joachim Hildebrand says, that "it was instituted at the council of Basle to supplicate Mary to trample down the Turks, the enemies of the Christians, as she trod upon the mountains of Judaea on her way to her cousin" (*De Priscae et Primitivae Ecclesiae sacris publicis templis ac diebus festis*, Helmstadt, 1652). As it is a scriptural fact commemorated by it, the festival is retained in the Anglican calendar in spite of its late date. *The date in the calendar* is July 2.

13. THE ESPOUSALS (*Desponsatio Beatae Virginis Mariae cum S. Josepho*).

*Its institution and purpose.*—A canon of the cathedral of Chartres, in the 14th century, charged the chapter in his will to institute a commemoration of St. Joseph, with the view of pleasing Mary. Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, proposed to the chapter to carry out this object by using an *Officium Desponsationis Beatae Virginis cum S. Josepho* composed by himself. In the 16th century Paul III. desired an office to be prepared for the day, and he gave his approbation to it after it had been drawn up. The observance of the festival was extended by Benedict XIII., A.D. 1725. It is of obligation in Spain, Italy, England, and in all congregations of the Jesuits. The ring used at the espousals is said by Benedict XIV. to be still preserved at Perugia (*In Fest. Desponsationis* apud Migne, *Theol. Curs. Compl.* tom. xxvi. p. 531, Paris, 1842). *The date in the calendar* is Jan. 23.

14. THE NAME OF MARY (*Festum SS. Nominis Beatae Mariae*).

This festival was *instituted* in Spain at the beginning of the 16th century. It was removed from the calendar by Pius V., and restored by Sixtus V., on the prayer of cardinal Deza. It was made of universal obligation by Innocent XI., A.D. 1685, in gratitude for the defeat of the Turks before Vienna. Its *purpose* is to encourage putting confidence in the name of Mary. Its *date in the calendar* is the Sunday following the Feast of the Nativity, that is, about Sept. 15.

15. THE SEVEN SORROWS (*Festum Septem Dolorum Beatae Mariae Virginis*).

This festival is conjectured by Benedict XIV.

to have been *instituted* by Theodoric, bishop of Cologne, at a provincial synod, A.D. 1413, to make up for the insults offered by Hussites to sacred images of our Lord and St. Mary. He has no grounds for his conjecture. George Haller, dean of the Benedictine monastery of Kiebach in Bavaria, assured Bruschius that he instituted it in the district committed to his pastoral charge in the year of our Lord 1545. (See Bruschius, *Chron. Monasteriorum Germaniae*, p. 658, Sulzbaci, 1682.) It was made of universal obligation throughout Roman Christendom by a decree of Benedict XIII., A.D. 1727.

The *purpose* of the festival is to commemorate St. Mary in her character of *Mater Dolorosa.*

This is the only festival in the Roman calendar which is observed twice in the course of the year. The second commemoration is of very late institution. Its *dates* are the Friday preceding Good Friday, and the third Sunday in September.

16. THE ROSARY (*Festum SS. Rosarii Beatae Mariae Virginis*).

This festival was first *instituted* on the occasion of the defeat of the Turks at Lepanto, Oct. 7, 1571. As a memorial of this event Pius V. ordered that a commemoration of St. Mary of Victory should be held every year. Gregory XIII. changed the title to that of the Rosary of St. Mary, because the companies of the most Holy Rosary had been walking in procession and saying the Rosary or Psalter of St. Mary on the day of battle. Clement X. made its observance obligatory throughout Spain, A.D. 1575. Innocent XII. was requested by the emperor Leopold to make it of universal obligation, but he died before the emperor's desire could be complied with. It was made of universal obligation by Clement XI., on the occasion of the defeat of the Turks by Prince Eugene, A.D. 1716.

*Its date in the calendar* is the first Sunday in October.

Its *purpose* is to recommend the devotion of the Rosary or Psalter of the Virgin, which consists of the recitation of 150 *Ave Marias* together with 15 *Pater Nosters.* This devotion is supposed, but without sufficient evidence, to have been instituted by St. Dominic, A.D. 1210, who is stated by St. Alfonso de' Liguori to have proved its efficacy in the following manner: "When St. Dominic was preaching at Carcassone, in France, an Albigensian heretic, who for having publicly ridiculed the devotion of the Rosary was possessed by devils, was brought to him. The saint obliged the evil spirits to declare whether the things which he said about the most Holy Rosary were true. Howling, they replied: 'Listen, Christians; all that this enemy of ours has said of Mary and of the most Holy Rosary is true.' They moreover added that they had no power over the servants of Mary, and that many by invoking her name at death were saved contrary to their deserts. They concluded, saying, 'We are forced to declare that no one is lost who perseveres in devotion to Mary and in that of the most Holy Rosary; for Mary obtains for those who are sinners true repentance before they die.' St. Dominic then made the people recite the Rosary; and, O prodigy! at every Hail Mary, evil spirits left the body of the possessed man under the form of red-hot coals, so that when the Rosary was finished, he was entirely freed" (*Glories of Mary*, Lond. 1852). [HAIL MARY.]

17. BLESSED MARY OF MOUNT CARMEL (*B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo*).

This festival was *instituted* or approved for the Carmelites by Sixtus V., A.D. 1587; and it was made of universal obligation in Roman Christendom by Benedict XIII. at the beginning of the 18th century.

Its *purpose* is to commemorate an alleged appearance of St. Mary to Simon Stock, an Englishman, the general of the Carmelites, A.D. 1251. St. Alfonso de' Liguori, the latest Doctor of the Roman church, states that St. Mary gave the general a scapular for the use of the Carmelites, saying:—"Receive, my beloved son, the scapular of thy order, a badge of my confraternity, a privilege granted to thee and to all Carmelites: whoever dies clothed with it shall not suffer eternal flames" (*Glories of Mary*, p. 485, Lond. 1852). Fifty years afterwards "she appeared to pope John XXII. and ordered him to make known to all that on the Saturday after their death she would deliver from purgatory all who wore the Carmelite scapular. This, as Father Crasset relates, was proclaimed by the same pontiff in a bull which was afterwards confirmed by Alexander V., Clement VII., Pius V., Gregory XIII., and Paul V." (*ibid.* p. 196).

The *date in the calendar* is July 16.

18. THE EXPECTED DELIVERY OF ST. MARY (*Expectatio Partûs Beatae Mariae Virginis*).

This festival grew up in Spain at the end of the 16th century. Its observance was extended to Venetia, A.D. 1695, and to other parts of Italy, by Benedict XIII., A.D. 1725.

Its *purpose* is indicated by its name.

*Its date in the calendar* is December 18.

19. THE TRANSLATION OF THE HOUSE OF LORETTO (*Translatio clarae domus Lauretanae*).

This festival was *instituted* and approved for the province of Picenum, A.D. 1669. Its observance was extended by Benedict XIII., A.D. 1719, and 1729 to Italy and the Spanish dominions.

Its *purpose* is to commemorate the alleged fact that the house in which St. Mary lived in Nazareth, in which the Annunciation took place, was carried through the air, A.D. 1294, first to Dalmatia, and then to three different sites in Italy. This legend is still vouched for by historians such as Rohrbacher (*Hist. Univ. de l'Eglise Catholique*, vol. xix. p. 321, Paris, 1851). All that can be said for or against it is compressed into an article by the Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes in the *Christian Remembrancer* (April, 1854, Lond.).

*Its date in the calendar* is December 10.

20. THE PROTECTION OF ST. MARY (*Patrocinium Beatae Mariae Virginis*).

This festival, which has nothing to do with the Russian festival of similar name, was *instituted* A.D. 1679, and confirmed by Benedict XIII. at the beginning of the 18th century.

Its *purpose* is to encourage prayer to St. Mary and confidence in her protection.

*Its date in the calendar.*—It is appointed to be observed in Spain on a Sunday in November, in England on the fourth Sunday in October.

21. BLESSED MARY DE MERCEDE (*Beatae Mariae de Mercede*).

This festival was instituted in the 17th century, first for the order de Mercede, then for Spain, and then for France. Its observance was extended to all Roman Christendom by Innocent XII.

Its *purpose* is to commemorate an alleged appearance of St. Mary, which is said to have caused the institution of the order de Mercede. The members of the order, besides taking the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, bound themselves to redeem captives by delivering themselves into slavery.

*The date in the calendar* is Sept. 24.

The remaining festivals, the HELP OF CHRISTIANS, the MOST PURE HEART, the MATERNITY, the PURITY, have special masses, sanctioned by popes, and appointed to be said in England and in the Jesuit congregations, but they have hardly yet become recognised festivals.

The Saturday began to be appropriated to St. Mary's honour by an appointment of Urban II., A.D. 1096. This was made of universal obligation by Pius V., A.D. 1568.

It will be seen from the above that the two festivals of the Purification and the Annunciation were instituted as early as the 6th century, and that they were originally festivals of our Lord rather than of St. Mary. The Assumption, the Nativity, and the Presentation, which illustrate the early Gnostic legends of St. Mary's birth and death, belong to the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century. The Vestment, the Girdle, and the Synaxis belong to the 9th century; the (Russian) Protection to the 10th; the Conception and the Dedication of St. Mary at Snows to the 12th; the Visitation, the Espousals, and the Name of Mary to the 14th; the Seven Sorrows, the Rosary, Mount Carmel, the Delivery, to the 16th; the House of Loretto, the (Latin) Protection, the de Mercede, to the 17th; the Aid of Christians, the Most Pure Heart, the Maturity, the Purity, and the Immaculate Conception, to the 18th and the 19th centuries.

Books that may be consulted, in addition to those named under the different headings, are:—Ado, *Martyrologium*, apud Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. cxxiii. Paris, 1852; Usuardus, *Martyrologium*, ibid.; Beda, *Martyrologia*, ibid. tom. xciv. Paris, 1852; Florentinius, *Vetustius Occidentalis Ecclesiae Martyrologium*, Lucca, 1668; Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Venice, 1577; Belethus, *Explicatio Divinorum Officiorum*, Venice, 1577; Baronius, *Martyrologium Romanum*, Rome, 1586; Hospinianus, *Festa Christianorum*, Tiguri, 1612; Benedictus Papa XIV., *De Festis* apud Migne, *Theologiae Curs. Compl.* tom. xxvi. Paris, 1842; Zaccaria, *Dissertazioni varie Italiane*, Romae, 1780; Neale, *Holy Eastern Church, General Introduction*, Lond. 1850; Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, bk. xx. c. viii. Lond. 1726; Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers Siècles*, Bruxelles, 1706; Tyler, *Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, Lond. 1851; Migne, *Summa Aurea de Laudibus Virginis*, Paris, 1862; Trombelli, *de Cultu publico ab ecclesiâ B. Mariae exhibito*, Paris, 1862; Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. Mary the Virgin, Lond. 1863. [F. M.]

**MARY, ST., THE VIRGIN** (IN ART). The history of the Virgin Mary in Art corresponds to that of our Blessed Lord in the complete absence, in the early ages of the church, of any representations of her person having the smallest claim to authenticity. The words of St. Augustine (*de Trinitate*, lib. viii. c. 5) are express on this point: "Neque novimus faciem Virginis Mariae;" while what he says of the different ideas formed by different persons of her lineaments, all probably widely at variance with the truth, indicates not only the absence of any recognised type of portrait, but also that pictures of her were of extreme rarity, if indeed they existed at all.

When found the Virgin Mary appears in all the earliest representations as a member of an historical group depicting a scriptural subject, such as the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, and Christ among the Doctors. By far the most frequent is the Adoration of the Magi, which recurs in countless examples of all the various forms of Christian art—carved on sarcophagi, sculptured on ivories, or depicted in the mosaics of the basilicas, and the frescoes of the catacombs, thus evidencing the hold that subject had gained on the mind of t e early Christian church. [MAGI, ADORATION OF THE.] The Nativity without the Magi is of very rare occurrence, being only found on minor works of art, such as coins, gems, ivories, or sarcophagi [NATIVITY]. The Annunciation also appears very seldom. It is represented in one of the compartments of the vast mosaic composition that clothes the western face of the arch of Triumph in S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (c. A.D. 433). In this the Virgin, richly robed, but without a nimbus, is seated in a chair, behind which two nimbed angels stand; the archangel Gabriel stands in front, while the Holy Dove hovers above in the air, together with a second Gabriel. This mosaic also includes two other subjects, in addition to the Adoration of the Magi (see woodcut ANGELS, Vol. I. p. 84), in which the Virgin appears, viz., the Presentation in the Temple, and Christ among the Doctors. In all these subjects the Virgin has her head uncovered, is without the nimbus, and is very richly clad in a gold robe, and is decorated with earrings, necklace, and head jewels. (See Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* vol. i. p. 207, tav. li.; D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. xvi. no. 4, S. Kens. Museum, no. 7445.) The Annunciation is also found on the north wall of the apse of the Cathedral of Parenzo, in Istria, with the Visitation opposite to it. The Virgin is here seated, with her head encircled by a nimbus, at the door of a small gabled cottage, and the angel stands before her. A later example is seen in the mosaics of St. Nereus and St. Achilleus at Rome, A.D. 796. The catacomb of St. Priscilla contains a fresco, which may very probably be identified with this same subject. In this, the drawing of which is excellent (see woodcut No. 1), we have a young man fully clothed, without wings or any of the later angelic attributes, with extended right hand, addressing a seated female, who with downcast eyes and uplifted left hand seems to be receiving the speaker's message with devout submission. The earlier illustrators of the catacombs were far from expressing the certainty now exhibited as to the subject of this picture. Bosio says that it is impossible to determine what story it represents. Bottari (p. 141) expresses his opinion

with hesitation, that this may be intended for the Annunciation, which is considered probable by Mr. Wharton Marriott (*Test. of Catacombs*, p. 24), and is positively affirmed by Garrucci. (See Bosio, 541; Bottari, tav. 176; Garrucci, tav. 75, no. 1; Parker's Photogr. no. 541.) In the same catacomb there is another fresco, the



No. 1. Annunciation. From the Cemetery of St. Priscilla. Bottari, tav. 176.

subject of which, though its reference to the Virgin is unquestionable, it is very difficult to determine; nor is its date accurately fixed. It forms "a very small portion of a piece of decorative work which," according to Mr. Wharton Marriott (*u. s.* p. 26), "with the single exception of this group, might have been found in the tomb of the Nasos, or any other purely pagan building." The beauty of the composition, and the dignity and grace of the figures, together with the freedom of their action, so unlike the poverty and stiffness which characterise the later frescoes, point to an early date. De' Rossi assigns it to the reign of Trajan or Hadrian, or at the latest to the time of the Antonines, *i.e.* the close of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century, while Mr. J. H. Parker, with less probability, brings it down as late as A.D. 523



No. 2. Virgin and Child and male figure. From the Cemetery of St. Priscilla. Northcote, 'Roma Sott.' pl. 10.

The fresco in question (see woodcut No. 2) consists of a seated figure of the Virgin, veiled, clothed in a tunic with a pallium over, unnimbed, clasping her Infant, also destitute of the nimbus, to her naked bosom. Before her stands a young man, with a pallium over his naked body, holding a roll in his left hand, and with the index finger of his outstretched right hand pointing towards the Virgin, and a star (discovered by De' Rossi) in the sky above. This is very reasonably interpreted by Mr. Wharton Marriott (*u. s.*) of the Holy Family, the conventional representation of Joseph as an old man, with which we are so familiar, being of later date. De' Rossi however, less probably, identifies the young man with one of the prophets of the old covenant, perhaps Isaiah, pointing to the Star of Bethlehem and to the Virgin and the Infant Saviour as the great subject of prophetic testimony. (De' Rossi, *Imagines Selectae Virginis Deiparae;* Garrucci, *Arti cristiane primitive*, tav. 81; Northcote, *Roma Sott.* p. 258, pl. x. fig. 1.) The Visitation given by Bosio (p. 579), from the catacomb of pope Julius, or St. Valentinus on the Flaminian Way, is evidently of late date (Aringhi, i. 181; Munter, *Sinnbilder*, ii. p. 26). We may also mention a group of three figures given by Bosio (p. 279), and Bottari (tab. 82), from an arcosolium in the cemetery of Callistus, which is not unreasonably identified by Garrucci (Macarius, *Hagioglypta*, p. 242), De' Rossi, and Martigny (*Dict. des Ant. chrét.* p. 266) with the Holy Family. It presents a bearded man clothed in a tunic and pallium in the centre, a veiled female to the left, and a child of about eight years old, with his hands extended in prayer, to the right. It should, however, be mentioned that the earlier school of antiquaries, Bosio, Bottari, and Aringhi, considered that these figures were representations of the persons buried in the tomb below. De' Rossi gives an analogous picture from a mutilated fresco in the cemetery of Priscilla (*Imag. Select. Virg. Deiparae*, tab. iv.), and refers to a sarcophagus in the museum at Arles (No. 26), where a child is conducted by the hand by a male figure towards a female, which he considers represents the same sacred group. Martigny (*Famille Sainte*).

Symbolical representations of the Blessed Virgin are of the greatest rarity in Early Christian art. Among the innumerable paintings which decorate the walls and ceilings of the cubicula of the catacombs, the subjects of nearly all of which can be at once identified without the slightest question, there are very few which are even claimed as representations of the Virgin. De' Rossi, who has devoted a special treatise to this subject, has done his best to demonstrate the early date and the frequent occurrence of pictures of the Virgin Mary, either alone or with her Divine Son, as an object of religious reverence (*Imagines Selectae Virginis Deiparae*); but the evidence he produces is both so meagre and so questionable as rather to prove the extreme rarity of such representations, before the rise of the Nestorian heresy had elevated the Θεοτόκος into the outward and visible expression of the orthodox faith.

The symbolical pictures of the Virgin, as distinguished from the historical, may be divided into two classes, (*a*) those in which she appears with her Divine Son, and (*b*) those in which she is represented alone, standing as an "orante," with arms outstretched and hands upraised in attitude of prayer. The most famous of the pictures of the first class is the fresco on the plafond

of an arcosolium in the cemetery of St. Agnes on the Via Nomentana (woodcut No. 3). It is thoroughly Byzantine in character, its stiff religious symmetry contrasting most strongly with the freedom and grace of those just described, from



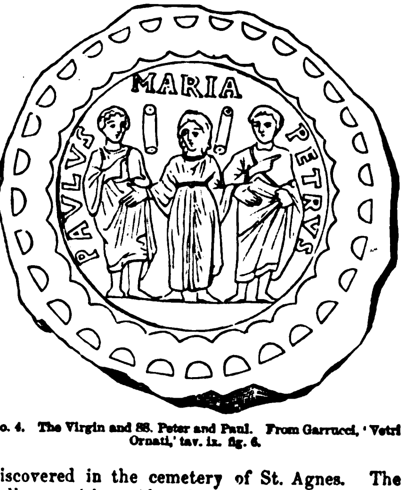
No. 3. Virgin and Child. Fresco from St. Agnes.

the cemetery of St. Priscilla. It can hardly be placed earlier than the first years of the 5th century, though De' Rossi assigns it to the time of Constantine. It represents quarter-length figures of a mother and child, the latter standing in front, clothed in a blue tunic up to the neck. The mother stands behind, vested in a green tunic, and a pallium falling over her arms, with her head covered with a veil and circlet of beads round her neck, and extends her arms in the attitude of prayer. Neither have the nimbus. The sacred monogram ☧ on either side is turned towards the group. This picture is generally recognised as that of the Virgin Mary and the infant Christ, but the identification cannot be considered beyond question. Bottari, following Bosio, considered it merely a memorial of the persons buried in the sepulchral recess. This idea is strengthened by the frequent occurrence of portraits in the same position in other arcosolia which are unquestionably of that character (cf. Bosio, pp. 473, 499). Its identification with the Virgin and her Divine Son is asserted by Garrucci (*Arti cristiane primitive*, vol. ii. tav. 66, no. 1), by Marchi (p. 157), (who has some excellent remarks on the infinite distance between the Mother and the Son, indicated by the fact that she alone is represented as in the act of prayer), and De' Rossi (*Imag. Select.* pl. vi.), and is accepted by the judicious Munter (*Sinnbilder*, tom. ii. p. 128) and Wharton Marriott (*u. s.* pp. 28, 29). (See Bosio, p. 471; Bottari, cliii.) There is also a seated female figure with unveiled head giving suck to a naked infant, given by Bosio (p. 549), and Bottari (tav. 180), from the cemetery of St. Priscilla, which may be reasonably identified with the Virgin and Holy Child. It deserves remark that this group occupies a subordinate position in the right-hand corner of the lunette, a tall and stately matron, as an orante, identified by Bosio with Priscilla herself, being the central object. But the whole subject of this lunette is obscure. Among the few undoubted pictures of the Virgin, furnished by the catacombs, there are two of late date given by Perret. In both she is accompanied by her Son. Neither can be placed earlier than the 9th century. That from the baptistery of Valerian under the church of St. Urban alla Caffarella, a rude and ignorant work, represents the Virgin in a blue veil over a red tunic, holding Christ on her knees in the act of benediction. MP ΘV is inscribed above the group (Perret, vol. i. pl. 83). In the other, known as the "Madonna della Stella," from a catacomb on the Appian Way, near Albano, Christ is placed between his Mother to his right, and St. Smaragdus to his left. Her hands are outspread in prayer, and MITER THEV is written above her (Perret, *ib.* pl. 84; Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. v. no. 23). A fresco of the Virgin and Child, discovered by Mr. Parker in the corridor, or sentinel's path, in the Wall of Aurelian, near the Appian Gate (now the Porta di San Sebastiano), is perhaps one of the earliest examples of the Virgin and Child extant. From the style of the painting, which is Byzantine of the 6th century, it may probably be regarded as the work of some Greek artist for the religious benefit of the troops of Belisarius during the siege by Vitiges, A.D. 538, when the fortifications of the city were generally repaired. It is executed on a piece of lath and plaster stretching across the corridor, through which the guards would pass. The painting possesses "a kind of solemn grace, characteristic of the best Byzantine art." The Virgin is represented standing, holding her Son on her right arm. She is veiled, and both have the nimbus. (Cf. Mr. Tyrwhitt's remarks in Mr. Parker's *Church and Altar Decorations and Mosaics*, p. 157; Parker's Photographs, no. 1208.)

The second class of representations, viz. those in which the Virgin appears alone, without her Divine Son, while it supplies a very large number of possible examples, furnishes very few that can be certainly identified with the Mother of our Lord. No object is of more frequent occurrence in every form of early Christian art, on sarcophagi and monumental slabs, on gilded glasses, in mosaics, and especially in the catacomb frescoes, than the so-called "oranti," *i. e.* standing figures, with the arms extended in what was of old the ordinary attitude of prayer. These figures are of both sexes, but the females largely predominate, and are represented either alone, which is the more usual practice, or supported by a male figure on either hand. These "oranti" were generally unhesitatingly regarded by Bosio, Aringhi, Boldetti, and the earlier investigators, as memorial pictures of the individuals interred below. Others consider the female "oranti" to be symbolical representations of the Church. This view is stated by Martigny (*Eglise*, p. 226, § 2) as well as by Garrucci (*Vetri*, tav. xxxix. n. 3) and is far from improbable. One or two are considered by Bosio to be pictures of the Virgin, though it is difficult to see on what principle he distinguishes them from the others. De' Rossi, on the other hand, and his translators, Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow, have adopted the opposite rule of interpretation, and have thus enlarged the list of supposed catacomb-frescoes of the Virgin to an almost indefinite extent, and certainly far beyond what the facts admit. Dr. Northcote allows that the female oranti may possibly in some instances have "denoted some martyr or person of distinction buried in the principal tomb of the cubiculum where the painting is found" (*R. S.* p. 255). But in forgetfulness of the fact that male oranti and children are often found in precisely the same positions and with the same surroundings, and that the names of the individuals are not unfrequently given, he speaks

of this as only a "conjecture" which "may possibly be sometimes correct," but which he "feels certain is inadmissible in the great majority of cases" (*u. s.*). The combination of the figure of a female orante in the same system of decoration with that of the Good Shepherd, which is deemed by Dr. Northcote as evidence that the former was intended for that of the Virgin, may be rather regarded as a conventional rule of ornamentation, on which nothing can be safely built. The example selected by Dr. Northcote as one of his illustrations (*Roma Sotterranea*, pl. viii.) in which a female orante is placed side by side with the Good Shepherd, so as to form one picture, was previously identified by Bosio (p. 387) with the Virgin. There is, however, nothing whatsoever to distinguish this female figure from the countless similar examples given in his work, while the erroneousness of the identification here is proved by the occurrence of a scourge loaded with lead or iron (plumbata) painted by the side of the orante, indicating her unmistakeably as a Christian martyr. This attribute of martyrdom has been unfortunately omitted by Dr. Northcote's draughtsman in his plate, and thus the meaning of the drawing has been unintentionally misrepresented. The dove which we find as an adjunct to some oranti—*e. g.* one from St. Agnes (Bosio, p. 461)—might be supposed to indicate the Virgin did we not find it in precisely the same combination on the closing slab of ordinary *loculi*, with the name of the person represented annexed, *e. g.* Bosio, p. 508, "Constantius Deciae conjugi quae vixit mecum annos xxxiii." Neither are the supporting male figures to the right and left of the orante—usually, and with great probability, identified with St. Peter and St. Paul, whose names are often, especially on the gilded glasses, inscribed above them—altogether infallible marks. One from the catacomb of St. Cyriaca, on the Via Tiburtina, presenting a group of two bearded men with extended arms supporting those of a matron, though almost identical with others referred unquestioningly to the Virgin, did not receive this interpretation from Bosio, who simply describes it as "qualche sagra vergine o matrona" (some holy virgin or matron) (p. 405). We have other analogous examples in Bosio (p. 381), where the supporting figures are young men, running up to a matron, and (p. 389). In fine the result of a careful investigation of the supposed representations of the Virgin as an orante is that so far from "the majority of instances," as stated by Dr. Northcote, bearing an unquestionable reference to the Mother of our Lord, the number where there is no room for doubt as to the subject is exceedingly small.[a]

There is no department of early Christian art in which the representations of the Blessed Virgin are more abundant and more unquestionable than the gilded glasses from the catacombs, which it is hardly possible to place later than the first quarter of the 5th century. [GLASS.] But even here the difficulty of accurately distinguishing the ordinary orante from the Blessed Virgin is candidly acknowledged by De' Rossi (*Imagines Selectae*). While desiring to make the number as large as possible he confesses that it is never possible to assert that the Virgin is the person represented, except when the name "Maria" occurs, or when she is accompanied by St. Peter and St. Paul. Even this last test is not deemed a true one by Garrucci, who remarks (*Vetri Ornati*, pp. 26, 27) that other perfectly similar examples of a female figure bearing a different name, Peregrina, Agnes, etc., standing between two apostles (particularly a sarcophagus at Saragossa, where "Floria" is the central name) suggest the doubt whether when "Maria" occurs it necessarily indicates the Blessed Virgin. This doubt seems hardly well grounded. The frequency with which the name Agnes occurs on these gilded glasses—Garrucci gives no fewer than fourteen (*u. s.* tav. xxi. xxii.)—points to the conclusion that it was not any ordinary female bearing that name, but the holy maiden St. Agnes, who was intended. The same argument holds good with still greater cogency for the name Maria, although the entire absence of any conventional attributes forbids absolute certainty on the point. We give two examples from Garrucci (tav. ix. fig. 6, 7) of these gilded glasses. On both we have the Virgin, depicted as an orante supported by the two chief apostles. No. 4 was




No. 4. The Virgin and SS. Peter and Paul. From Garrucci, 'Vetri Ornati,' tav. ix. fig. 6.

discovered in the cemetery of St. Agnes. The rolls on either side of the Virgin's head are symbols of the Holy Scriptures. In No. 5, from the Borgian Museum at the Propaganda, it will be observed that the relative positions of St. Peter and St. Paul are reversed. Another gilded glass (Garrucci, tav. ix. fig. 10; Perret, iv. pl. xx.; Aringhi, ii. p. 689) in the Vatican Library, gives a female figure with the name "Maria" above her head, standing alone between two trees with birds resting on pillars by her side. Another (Garrucci, *ib.* fig. 11) gives the name "Mara" above the female figure. It is doubtful whether this is a mistake for "Maria"

[a] That the orantes may be often regarded as memorial representations of persons interred in the cemetery where they appear is proved by instances in which a name is inscribed over the figure the same name being found in the epitaph below. *E. g.*, *Grata* (Perret, vol. iii. pl. 7); *Juliana* on a sarcophagus (*ib.* v. pl. 40). Garrucci has some wise cautions against regarding all orantes as pictures of the Virgin (Macarius. *Hagioglypt.* p. 170 note). On the subject of orantes in general, see Munter (*Sinnbilder*, ii. p. 114 ff.); Grimouard de Saint-Laurent (*Art chrétien*, vi. p. 328, note F).

or is a distinct name. "Mara" is found in epitaphs given by Boldetti, 482, 547. Some of the glasses present St. Agnes and the Blessed Virgin standing side by side as examples of holy virginity. These glasses supply one example of the




No. 5. The Virgin and SS. Peter and Paul. From Garrucci, 'Vetri Ornati,' tav. ix. fig. 7.

seated Virgin with the infant Christ on her knees. The Holy Child extends His right hand in benediction, and is attended by a deacon holding a fan. (See the woodcut under FLABELLUM, No. 5; Vol. I. p. 676.)

To pass from glasses to monumental slabs. A very curious example, which can hardly be placed later than the 4th century, is found in the crypt of St. Mary Magdalene at St. Maximin in Provence (Martigny, art. *Vierge*, p. 660; Macarius, *Hagioglypta*, 36; Le Blant, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, ii. 277; Faillon, *Monumens inédits sur l'Apostolat de St. M. Magd.* i. p. 775). Here the Virgin is represented alone, unnimbed, in the attitude of prayer, with long hair flowing down upon her breast. The inscription, rudely incised on the slab, runs thus, "Maria Virgo Minester de Tempulo Gerosale." There is an evident reference here to the legend recorded in the apocryphal gospels of the Virgin having spent her early years in holy ministrations in the Temple. (*Protevang. Jacobi*, § 7, 8; *Evang. Pseudo-Matth.* § 4-6; *Evang. Nativ. Mariae*, § 6, 7.)

The earliest instance of a single figure of the Virgin in mosaic is that in the vault of the tribune of the chapel of St. Venantius at St. John Lateran. This is the work of Byzantine artists under the Greek popes John IV. and Theodore, 640-649. The upper portion of the mosaic gives a medallion bust of Christ supported by two angels, immediately below stands the Virgin with her arms outstretched and the palms expanded, as the central figure, with six of the apostles on either side of her. Both she and they have the same nimbus with Christ and the angels. She is dressed in a dark blue tunic and white veil, with a small cross on her bosom. (Ciampini, ii. p. 107, tab. xxxi.; D'Agincourt, *Peintures*, xvii. 1.) Similar but rather later mosaic pictures of the Virgin as an orante exist above the altar of the archiepiscopal chapel at Ravenna, saved from the wreck of the former cathedral, and in the Capella Ricca, in the church of St. Mark, Florence, brought from the old church of St Peter, at Rome, dated A.D. 703. There is also at Ravenna, in the church of Sta. Maria in Porto, a bas-relief of the Virgin as an orante (woodcut No. 6), of Greek workmanship, probably of the 6th or 7th century.



No. 6. Greek Bas-relief at Sta. Maria-in-Porto, Ravenna (6th century). Jameson's 'Legends of the Madonna.'

Her features are very regular and beautiful, quite of the Greek type. Crosses are embroidered on the wrists, shoulders, and knees of her tunic, and on the borders of the mantle. Her head is veiled and surrounded by a nimbus. The contracted forms of Μήτηρ Θεοῦ are inscribed above on either side.

The condemnation of the Nestorian heresy by the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, gave a powerful impulse to the production of pictures of "the Mother of God," which was never subsequently lost. From this period the Virgin and Infant Christ became the symbol of the orthodox faith, which was represented in every possible way, in paintings and mosaics, in sculpture, and even on garments, personal ornaments, and furniture. There was no attempt to produce a portrait, but simply to portray the ideal Θεοτόκος as a theological symbol. The type adopted was probably not a new one. It has been observed by Mrs. Jameson (*Legends of the Madonna*) that St. Cyril of Alexandria, who played so important a part in this controversy, and had so much to do in fixing the dogma, must in his episcopal city have become familiar with the Egyptian group of Isis nursing the infant Horus, which may have suggested the analogous Christian subject, even as at an earlier date the Good Shepherd was derived from a classical type. It is just after the council of Ephesus that we meet with the first professedly authentic portrait of the Virgin—an interesting instance of the new demand creating a supply. This is the famous *Hodegetria* (Ὁδηγήτρια), which was for so many centuries regarded with the deepest reverence by the Greeks, as an imperial palladium, and borne in a superb car or litter to the battle-field when the emperor led the army in person. It had been originally sent from Jerusalem in 438 by the young empress Eudocia as a present to her sister-in-law Pulcheria, and was placed by the latter in the church of the Hodegi, Ὁδηγοί, erected by her. (Niceph. Callist. xiv. 2, xv. 14.) The picture was on panel, ἐπὶ σανίδι, and was asserted to have been painted from the life by St. Luke. This

picture held the first rank among the so-called portraits of the Virgin, and was repeatedly copied as an authentic portrait. The true type is given by D'Agincourt (*Peinture*, pl. 87), by Garrucci (*Arti cristiane primitive*, tav. 107, fig. 3, 4), and by Grimouard de Saint-Laurent (*Art chrétien*, vol. iii. pl. iv. no. 1). It is characterised by the true Byzantine rigidity and flatness. The Virgin is standing, and holds our Lord seated on her left arm, carrying a roll in His left hand and blessing with His right. His nimbus is cruciform; hers a plain circle. The figures are superscribed ΜΡ ΘΥ ΗΟΔΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ: ΙC ΧC. A very diffuse account of this sacred treasure, the veneration paid to it, and its variously reported fortunes, is given by Ducange (*Constantinopolis Christiana*, lib. iv. c. 24, p. 88).[b] Another almost equally celebrated portrait of the Virgin belonging to the same epoch is that known as *Blachernitissa*, from its being preserved in the church built by Pulcheria in the suburb of Constantinople, known as *Blachernae*. The type, according to Garrucci (*u. s.* vol. iii. p. 13 ff.), is given on coins of Constantine XII., Monomachus (Sabatier, xlix. 12), and Leo IV. (*ib.* xlv. 11). She appears with extended arms as an orante. A third famous early Byzantine Virgin is the Θεοτόκος τῆς Πηγῆς, *Vergine della Fonte* (Garrucci, *u. s.* No. 2), so called from the miraculous spring Leo the Thracian caused to be included within the church erected by him outside the walls of Constantinople, in honour of the Mother of God, in which it was treasured. (Niceph. Callist. xv. 26; Ducange, *Const. Christ.* lib. iv. p. 183.) In this she is also represented as an orante, but the Holy Babe is in her lap. The type, according to Garrucci, is given by Garampi (*de Numm. Arg. Benedict III.* p. 50), and Oderici (*Dissert. Acad. Corton.* vol. ix. p. 282).

All these pictures and the coins of the Eastern empire exhibit the same hieratic type which established itself in Byzantine art. "This type," writes Dean Milman (*Hist. of Christianity*, iii. p. 394), "gradually degenerates with the darkness of the age and the decline of art. The countenance sweetly smiling on the child becomes sad and severe. The head is bowed with a gloomy and almost sinister expression, and the countenance gradually darkens till it assumes a black colour. At length even the sentiment of maternal affection is effaced, both the mother and child become stiff and lifeless, the child is swathed in stiff bands, and has an expression of pain rather than of gentleness, or placid infancy."

According to De' Rossi (*Imag. Selectae*, p. 14) there was no fixed rule for the representation of the Virgin on the coins of the Byzantine emperors, on some of which she is represented with the Holy Babe, sometimes alone, as an orante. On a coin of Leo VI. Philosophus, A.D. 886–911, she stands veiled and draped, with outstretched arms. Her head is noble in character, and is not nimbed. On a coin of Romanus II., A.D. 959–963, she is nimbed and crowns the emperor, an office she is represented as performing almost constantly on the imperial coins of the two next centuries. The earliest coin on which the Virgin and Child appear together is one of John Zimisces, A.D. 969–976. She holds against her bosom a circular nimbus, within which is the bust of the Infant Christ.[c] [MONEY.]

A very characteristic Byzantine picture, placed by Garrucci (*u. s.* iii. 15, tav. 107) in the first half of the 5th century, is preserved in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome. It presents the usual type. The Virgin stands *en face*, veiled, with the customary cross on the veil. She holds the Infant on her left arm. He has the usual book in His left hand, and blesses with His right. Both have a simple nimbus. For a plate of this celebrated picture see Grimouard de Saint-Laurent (*Art chrétien*, vol. iii. frontispiece, and Perret, vol. i. frontispiece. See also Milochau, *La Vierge de St. Luc à Sainte-Marie-Majeure*, Paris, 1862). In the early picture preserved at the church of Ara Coeli, Rome, the child is absent. The Virgin raises her right hand in benediction.

From the obliteration or destruction of Christian mosaics by the picture-hating Mussulmans, mosaic representations of the Virgin are of the extremest rarity in the East. We can, however, refer to one in St. Sophia, of which we give a cut (No. 7) from Salzenberg's great work (*Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel*), taken during the temporary removal of the whitewash from the interior of the mosque. According to a very usual Byzantine type (cf. the fresco from St. Agnes, No. 3) the Holy Child




No. 7. The Virgin and Child. Salzenberg's 'Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel.'

is represented standing in front of His mother, not seated on her lap. The Virgin's face is youthful and characterised by calm beauty. She

[b] It is not certain whether there were one or two of these sacred pictures of the Virgin ascribed to St. Luke preserved at Constantinople. Garrucci distinguishes the *Virgo Hodegetria* from the *Virgo Nicopoeia*, regarding the latter, which he asserts was reverenced from the time of Justinian, as the national palladium captured by the Venetians in A.D. 1204, and according to him still preserved at St. Mark's. Ducange (p. 89) refers to the difficulty without pretending to settle it. If, he says, it is true that the Hodegetria was preserved at Constantinople till the final fall of the city in 1453 it is evident that the picture taken by Dandolo must have been a different one; unless indeed, it may be added, by a pious fraud a copy was substituted for the original to satisfy the demands of devotees. A further uncertainty arises as to the place where the holy picture, whichever it was, that was captured, was deposited. A letter of Baldwin shews that it was promised by him to the monks of Citeaux. "If," writes Gibbon (ch. lx.), "the banner of the Virgin shewn at Venice as a trophy and relic is genuine, the pious doge must have cheated the monks of Citeaux." (Cf. Grimouard de Saint-Laurent, *Art chrétien*, vi. 377.)

[c] Salatier, vol. ii. pl. xlvii. fig. 18. This type appears engraved on a seal of the priors of the convents of Mount Athos dedicated to the Virgin. It is given by Grimouard de Saint-Laurent, *Art chrétien*, vol. ii. p. 18 from Didron

is supported by St. Paul and St. John the Baptist on either hand. This beautiful mosaic may be safely ascribed to the original erection of the church by Justinian in the 6th century. The cupola of the church of St. Sophia, at Salonica (Thessalonica), ascribed by M. Texier to the same date as its namesake at Constantinople, *i.e.* the middle of the 6th century, contains a mosaic of the Ascension, the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles being ranged round the base of the hemisphere. She alone is nimbed, and wears the conventional veil and purple dress.[d] In the semidome of the apse she is also represented, holding the infant Saviour (Texier, *Églises byzantines*, pp. 142–144, pl. xl.). A medallion portrait of the Virgin in a blue veil and robe, with her hands outstretched in prayer to the enthroned figure of Christ, which occurs over the royal door in the narthex of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, belongs to the time of Constantine Pogonatus, 668–685. This mosaic is very inferior to the former both in design and execution.

The earliest mosaic picture of the Virgin in the West is, as we have said, that in the chapel of St. Venantius at the Lateran, which may be placed about A.D. 642. She is entirely absent from the early mosaics of St. Maria Maggiore (c. A.D. 433), except in the historical scenes of the Annunciation, Presentation in the Temple, Adoration of the Magi and Christ among the Doctors, as well as from those which decorated the basilica of St. Paul's-without-the-Walls before its destruction by fire; she is not anywhere represented in the mosaics of the 5th century at Ravenna, except as a member of the Magi group; nor does she appear in those of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, c. A.D. 530, or St. Lawrence, c. A.D. 578, in Rome. Indeed the absence of representations of the Virgin in the earlier Roman churches is remarkable. The earliest example in which we find her occupying the position of chief dignity, formerly reserved for our Blessed Lord, in the centre of the conch of the apse, and exchanging her primitive attitude of prayer and adoration for that of a throned queen, is the mosaic of the apse of the cathedral of Parenzo in Istria, the work of bishop Euphrasius, A.D. 535–543. She is throned and nimbed, and supported by angels, holding her Son in her lap, rather as a diminutive man than as an infant (Neale, *Notes on Dalmatia*, frontispiece, pp. 79, 80; Eitelberger, *Kunstdenkmale des österreichischen Kaiserstaates*, Heft 4, 5; Lohde, *Der Dom von Parenzo*). The church of St. Maria de Navicella, or in Domnica, built by Paschal I., c. A.D. 820, is the first in Rome, in which this new type is found. The vault of the apse is here occupied by a colossal figure of the Virgin in a blue robe sprinkled with crosses, seated on a golden and jewelled throne, surrounded by a throng of angels and archangels in attitudes of adoring praise. Christ is seated on His Mother's lap in a golden robe, as at Parenzo, rather as a dwarfed man than as an infant, and blesses with His right hand. The builder, pope Paschal, distinguished by the square nimbus as being alive at the time of the execution of the work, kneeling, humbly holds the Virgin's right foot to kiss it. The whole composition is coarse and tasteless, without shadow, or any attempt at grouping, but the general effect is imposing. (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. p. 140 sq., pl. xliv.; D'Agincourt, *Peintures*, pl. xvii. fig. 15; Vitet, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. p. 255.) In the mosaics of the church of St. Cecilia, the work of the same pope, we see another significant advance in the cultus of the Virgin. The face of the Arch of Triumph is here richly decorated with mosaics, recalling the design of several of the earlier works. Below are ranged the four-and-twenty elders in their white robes, offering their crowns in adoration. Above, ten crowned virgins between palm-trees advance with their offerings; an angel stands on either side of the central compartment. But that compartment is not occupied, as in earlier times, by Christ, or by the Holy Lamb, but by a crowned and throned figure of the Virgin bearing the Child Jesus on her knees. (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. p. 153, cxxvii. tab. 50; D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. xvii. no. 14; Wharton Marriott, *Testimony of the Catacombs*, p. 49.) We have a similar representation of the Virgin crowned and enthroned as Queen of Heaven in the vault of the apse of St. Francesca Romana (originally St. Maria Antiqua), rebuilt by pope Leo IV., and decorated with mosaics by pope Nicholas I., A.D. 858–868 (Ciampini, ii. p. 162, c. xxviii. tab. 53), and in the cathedral of Capua, constructed by bishop Ugo at the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century, of which we give a woodcut (Ciampini, ii. p. 165, c. xxix. tab. liv.). It took



No. 8. The Virgin enthroned. (Mosaic at Capua. 8th century.) From Jameson's 'Legends of the Madonna.'

three centuries more to reach the climax we see in the mosaics of the church of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, where we find the Virgin seated

[d] A similar representation of the Virgin, in the scene of the Ascension, occurs in the famous MS. of the Syriac Gospels (A.D. 586), which is one of the treasures of the Medicean Library at Florence. Below the ascending figure of our Lord appear the Apostles (by an historical error represented as twelve) with the Virgin in the midst, standing with her hands extended in the attitude of prayer and adoration. An angel on either side of her is addressing the Apostles. The Virgin and the angels are the only persons with the nimbus in this lower group, the apostles being destitute of it. (Wharton Marriott, *Testimony of the Catacombs*, p. 44; Assemanni. *Biblioth. Medic.* p. 1742. See woodcut, art. ANGELS, Vol. I. p. 85.)

on the same throne with her Son, and on His right side. He lays His right hand on His Mother's shoulder, and in His left is a book inscribed with the words "Veni electa Mea, et ponam in te thronum Meum." But the date of this is far beyond our limits, A.D. 1130–1143, and with this our notices of the pictorial representations of the Blessed Virgin Mary must conclude.

*Authorities.*—Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea;* Boldetti, *Osservazioni sopra i cimeteri;* Bottari, *Sculture e Pitture Sagre;* Marchi, *Monumenti delle arti Cristiane primitive;* De' Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea — Imagines selectae Virginis Deiparae;* Perret, *Les Catacombes de Rome;* Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma Sotterranea;* Garrucci, *Vetri Ornati — Arti Cristiane primitive;* Macarius, *Hagioglypta*, ed. Garrucci; Munter, *Sinnbilder;* Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments;* Raoul-Rochette, *Catacombes — Discours sur l'Origine et le Caractère des Types de l'Art du Christianisme;* Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta;* Salzenberg, *Alt-Christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel;* Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiana;* Sabatier, *Monnaies Byzantines;* Martigny, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, Grimouard de Saint-Laurent, *Art chrétien;* Peignot, *Recherches sur la Personne de Jésus-Christ et sur celle de Marie;* Bombelli, *Raccolta degli imagini della Beata Vergine;* Hemans, *Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy;* Vitet, *Histoire de l'Art;* Milman, *History of Christianity;* Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna;* Wharton Marriott, *Testimony of the Catacombs;* St. John Tyrwhitt, *Art Teaching of the Primitive Church.* [E. V.]

**MASS.** [MISSA.]

**MASSA CANDIDA.** In the persecutions under Valerius it is said that 300 Christians in the district of Carthage who refused to sacrifice to the emperor were compelled to leap into a burning lime-kiln, where they were suffocated. This body of Christians was called *Massa Candida*, the White, or Bright, Mass (Prudentius, *Peristeph.* v. 87; Sidonius, *Epit.* vi. i.). Augustine (*Sermo* 311 [al. 115]) calls it the White Mass *of Utica*, because (according to Baronius) these martyrs were specially commemorated at that place, and (*Sermo* 306 [al. 112], c. 2) refers the epithet "candida" to the brightness of the cause for which the martyrs suffered. Compare *Enarr. in Ps.* 49, c. 9; *Ps.* 144, c. 16. The Carthaginian calendar places their commemoration in August, and most later martyrologies Aug. 24. The *Mart. Rom. Vet.* has on that day simply "Massae Candidae Carthagini." Usuard and Ado give the number as 300, and the latter adds some particulars. The Hieronymian Martyrology has this festival on Aug. 18. [C.]

**MASSEDUS**, two martyrs of this name commemorated Feb. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MASSILA**, martyr; commemorated at Milan May 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MASSILIA**, martyr; commemorated in Africa March 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MASTILLA**, martyr; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MASUTUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome in the cemetery of Praetextatus, May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MATERNA**, martyr; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MATERNIANUS**, bishop of Rheims in the 4th century; commemorated Apr. 30 (Boll. *Acta SS.* iii. 759). [C. H.]

**MATERNUS**, bishop of Milan, 4th century; commemorated July 18 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, iv. 364). [C. H.]

**MATERUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Oct. 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Dec. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MATHANA.** [MARTHA, (6).]

**MATHEMATICUS**, an astrologer. The name was assumed and popularly conceded from the first century downwards, as masters of legerdemain are now sometimes called "professors." It is employed by Juvenal (vi. 562; xiv. 248, Nota mathematicis genesis tua), by Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 22), both about 100, and by their contemporary Suetonius (*Tiber.* 14). The last named uses "mathematica" of the art itself: "Circa deos et religiones negligentior, quippe addictus mathematicae" (*ibid.* 69). Similarly Sextus Empiricus, about 220: "De astrologia aut mathematica" (*Adv. Mathem.* 21). Aulus Gellius, probably about 160, after explaining the true meaning of the word, viz. one devoted to the study of the arts and sciences, proceeds to say, "But the vulgar call those mathematici whom they ought to call by a name of nation Chaldeans" (*Noct. Att.* i. 9). Elsewhere he speaks of those who "call themselves Chaldeans and genethliaci [see ASTROLOGERS; GENETHLIACI], and profess themselves able to declare the future from the motion of the stars" (xiv. 1). But though Gellius and several others say expressly that the name was given to astrologers by the vulgar, it is evident from others that they affected it themselves. Thus Sextus Empiricus (*u. s.*): "Genealogia, which the Chaldeans decorating with magnificent names call themselves mathematici and astrologers." Firmicus (about 360), who wrote on judicial astrology under the name of Mathesis (comp. Tertullian, *de Idol.* 91; Prudentius, *c. Symmachum*, ii. p. 296, ed. 1596; etc.), claims the title for his fraternity. See *Mathes.* i. praef. and c. 2.

Among Christian writers, St. Augustine speaks of those "who were called genethliaci, because of their observation of days of birth, but are now commonly (vulgo) called mathematici" (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 21, § 32). "The ancients," he says, with Gellius, "did not call those men mathematici who are now so termed" (*De Divers. Quaest.* xlv. 2). Yet he used the word freely in the later sense, probably because it was better understood than astrologi, etc. See *De Gen. ad Litt.* ii. 17, § 36; *De Civ. Dei*, v. 1, etc.). This popular use of the term is also insisted on by St. Jerome: "Among the Chaldeans I think that they are called γενεθλιαλόγοι, whom the vulgar call mathematici" (*Comment.* in Dan. ii. 2). Again: "*The Astrologers of the sky* (*Sept.* Isai. xlvii. 13), who are commonly called Mathematici, and believe the affairs of men to be controlled

by the course and falling of the stars" (*Comm.* in Isai. *u. s.* lib. xiii.). Quite in accordance with these authorities, Ammianus, probably a heathen, about 380, says of Heliodorus, whom he had described (*Hist.* xxix 1) as "fatorum per genituras interpretem," that he was "mathematicus ut memorat vulgus" (*ibid.* 2).

The council of Laodicea, however, about 365, appears to distinguish between astrologi and mathematici, when it forbids persons in orders to be "magi or enchanters, or mathematici or astrologers" (can. 36). Balsamon explains here that "the mathematici are those who think that the heavenly bodies have dominion over the universe, and that all our affairs are regulated by their motion;" while "astrologers are persons who with the aid of demons divine by the stars and believe them" (*Comm.* in can.). Of the four μαθήματα, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, Astronomy, he therefore thought the last only to be forbidden; but Zonaras (*Comm.* in can.) was of opinion that the canon only forbids excessive addiction to any of them. From their comments we may infer that the bad conventional sense of the word was better known to the Latins than to the Greeks.

Mathematici are condemned by name without explanation in laws of Constantius of the years 357, 358 (*Codex Theodos.* ix. 16; *de Malef.* 4, 6), of Valens, 370 (*ibid.* 8), and of Honorius, 409 (*ibid.* 12). The last consigned them to perpetual banishment, unless they burned their books before the bishop and made a profession of Christianity. Comp. Ammianus (*Hist.* xxix. 1, 2), who relates the burning of numberless books under Valens, 371, on the pretence that they were "illiciti," and of whole libraries burnt by their owners in the panic caused by the persecution.

From the opinion that astrologers were in league with demons there arose at a later period the belief that the "mathematici," identified with them, practised the black art in every form. Thus, in a very ancient penitential preserved at Fleury: "If any one has been a mathematicus, *i. e.* has invoked a demon, and taken away the minds of men or driven them mad, let him suffer penance five years," etc. (c. 33; Martene, *de Rit. Eccl. Ant.* i. vi. vii. 5); in another: "If any one be a mathematicus, *i. e.* has taken away the mind of a person through invocation of demons, let him," etc. (*Poenitentiale Rom.* in Morin, *de Poenit.* App. 566. See also Cigheri, *Eccl. Dogm.*, x. 223, 7.) [W. E. S.]

**MATINS** (*Matutina oratio, solemnitas; Matutinum officium*; *Matutinae Laudes*), the office anciently said at dawn of day, before sunrise; the nocturnal office being so arranged that the lauds, which formed part of it, should be said at this time. There is an interesting indication of the nature of this office in Gregory of Tours' account of the death of St. Gall: "At ille psalmo quinquagesimo et benedictione decantata et alleluiatico cum capitello expleto consummavit officium totum temporis matutini." That is, he said, the 50th (51st A.V.) Psalm, the *Benedicite* (often known as *Benedictio*), the 148th with the two following (alleluiatic) Psalms, and the *Capitulum*. See further under HOURS OF PRAYER, p. 794; OFFICE, THE DIVINE. [C.]

**MATISCONENSIA CONCILIA.** [MÂCON, COUNCILS OF.]

**MATRICIA**, wife of presbyter Macedonius; commemorated at Nicomedia March 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MATRICULA.** A catalogue or index. In ecclesiastical writers the word means:

1. The roll of the clergy belonging to any church. The fourth council of Carthage (*Cod. Eccl. Afric.* c. 86) speaks of the roll (matricula et archivus) of the African church, containing the dates of the ordinations of the bishops, by which their precedence was determined, copies of which were to be kept by the primate and in the metropolis. The Council of Agde, A.D. 506 (c. 2), orders that contumacious clergy on repentance shall have their names replaced on the "matricula," and so be restored to their grades and offices. The fourth council of Orleans, A.D. 541 (c. 13), claims certain privileges as belonging to all the clergy whose names are inserted in the "matricula."

2. The poor who received stipends from the revenues of the church. The widows who received allowances were sometimes called "matriculae." Gregory the Great (*Ep.* ii. 45) speaks of a widow "de matriculis" who had been severely beaten for some fault. [MATRICULARII.] Hence *Matricula* came to mean the fund from which the stipends were paid; as when it is said that vows must be paid either directly to the poor or to the Matricula (*Conc. Autissiod.* Auxerre, c. 3).

3. The house in which the poor were lodged, often built at the door of the church, and with revenues attached to it. St. Remigius of Rheims in his will (Flodoard, *Hist. Rem.* i. 18) leaves certain funds for the maintenance of twelve poor persons, living in the "matricula" and waiting at the church doors for their allowance ("ante fores expectantes stipem"); and, in another part of the same will, mentions the guest-houses and "all the matriculae." Ducange (*Gloss.*), quoting from a tabulary of the church of Autun, speaks of a "matricula" built at the door of the church of St. Nazarius. Gregory of Tours (*de Mirac.* ii. 37) speaks of feeding the poor belonging to the "matricula" of a certain church, and (*Hist. Franc.* c. 11) of the poor belonging to a matricula close in front of a church. Adrevaldus (*de Mirac. S. Benedicti*, i. 20) speaks of a matricula as among the property of the church of Orleans. King Dagobert I. is said to have founded a matricula and xenodochium for the poor of either sex, especially for those who, having been thought worthy to be restored to health by the grace of the saints, wished to remain there in the service of the church (*Gesta Dagoberti*, c. 29; Migne, *Patrol.* tom. xcvi. 1395).

4. For *Matricula* in another sense see MOTHER CHURCH.

**MATRICULARII.** The poor who were borne on the matricula or roll of the church. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* vii. 29) speaks of the matricularii and other poor. Aldhelm (*de Laud. Virgin.* c. 51) relates that certain women gave their necklaces and other ornaments to the maimed and the matricularii. Hincmar of Rheims (*Capitul. de Reb. Mag.* c. 17) enjoins that matricularii should be fittingly selected, not swineherds

nor herdsmen, but from among the sick and poor; and, according to Flodoard (*Hist. Rem.* vii. 26), complained that the matricularii had been driven away from the matricula which he had founded, and the house itself sold for the price of an ass. Again (*Capit. dat. in Synod. Rem.* c. 2), he forbade presbyters to exact any kind of service at harvest or any other time from the matricularii in return for their place in the matricula, and orders that they should receive as their stipend the allotted portion of the tithes which believers paid as fine or weregeld for their crimes. In the *Gesta Dagoberti* (c. 34) a mediety of certain revenues is left to the matricularii and those who served the church, and (c. 42) certain sums of money are left to the matricularii belonging to the church of the Blessed Martyrs. Isidorus Mercator, in his note on the eleventh canon of the Council of Laodicea (Bruns, *Canones*, i. 74) says that the women whom the Greeks called presbyterae were among the Latins called matriculariae, as maintained by the church. Certain definite rules appear in later years to have been made for their direction, probably differing in different churches. Chrodegang (*Regula Metensis*, last chapter) says that in the church of Metz the matricularii were made to come to church twice a month in the early morning, and remain there till the bell sounded for the third hour, when the bishop, if at leisure, was to come to them, and cause them to read edifying books. If the bishop did not attend, then the presbyter who was "custos" of the church of St. Stephen was to teach them, and to hear their confessions twice a year. On these conditions they were to receive a certain allowance of food. Those who refused to comply with these regulations were ejected from the matricula. Each matricula was to have a primicerius, whose duty was to exercise a general supervision over the inhabitants, and to whom, or to the archdeacon, was entrusted the distribution of the food. In later years distinct duties appear to have been allotted to them. *A History of the Church of Autun* (in Labbe's *Nova Bibliotheca MS. Librorum*, vol. i. p. 487), says that it was the duty of the sacrist to provide one matricularius in holy orders, and others who should be able to ring the bells and perform other duties connected with the church. The bishop was also to institute three matricularii, one of whom was to be in holy orders and serve the altar of the Holy Cross in the church. To that office was assigned as a stipend half the revenues of that altar for ever and a hundred pieces of gold. The two others were to be laymen, and had also certain revenues allotted to them. See Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* i. 2, c. 33, §§ 14, 15. [P. O.]

**MATRIMONY.** [MARRIAGE.]

**MATRINAE.** [SPONSORS.]

**MATRIX ECCLESIA.** [MOTHER CHURCH.]

**MATRONA** (1) Ancilla, martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica March 15 (Usuard *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 396). Mar. 27 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 256); Mar. 28 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Milan May 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated at Rome in the cemetery of Praetextatus, May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) One of eight virgins martyred with Theodotus; commemorated May 18 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(5) Two martyrs of the name commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Two martyrs of the name commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Martyr; commemorated in Asia Sept. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(8) Solitary, sought to pass for a monk; commemorated Nov. 8 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(9) Commemorated with Theoctiste of Lesbos, Nov. 9 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(10) Martyr; commemorated in Asia Nov. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(11) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Nov. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(12) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Dec. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(13) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Dec. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MATRONDA,** martyr; commemorated at Antioch Nov. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MATRONEUM.** The place reserved for women in ancient basilicas. The word occurs frequently in the Lives of the Popes in the *Liber Pontificalis*, in descriptions of the buildings erected by various popes. See GALLERIES, p. 706. [C.]

**MATRONICA,** martyr; commemorated at Constantinople May 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MATTHAEUS** (1) [MATTHEW, ST.]

(2) Martyr with Gusmaeus at Grabedona, by Lake Larius, perhaps under Maximian; commemorated Sept. 11 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 774). [C. H.]

**MATTHEW, ST., LEGEND AND FESTIVAL OF.** Of the history and labours of St. Matthew, as of so many of the apostles, but little is known beyond the brief notices of him in the New Testament. The question as to his identity with Levi falls within the province of the *Bible Dictionary*, and we shall therefore not dwell on it here; and for the history and special characteristics of his gospel, and for the question as to its original language, reference may be made to the article in that Dictionary.

We may here, however, allude briefly to some points of tradition respecting him. As regards the scene of his labours, Eusebius tells us that he first preached to his Hebrew fellow-countrymen and then went to other nations (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 24). Eusebius merely gives the locality generally as ἐφ' ἑτέρους. The region, however, is by Socrates (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 19) styled Ethiopia, whatever that term may be supposed to mean. Some light may be thrown upon it by noticing that the Ethiopia of St. Matthias was in western Asia, in the neighbourhood of Colchis, with which agree generally the notices of martyrologies mentioned below, which place the apostle's death in Persia (cf. also Ambrose, *Enarr. in Psal.* xlv. 10; *Patrol.* xiv. 1198). The *Mart. Hieronymi* gives in its prologue, "in Ethiopia, civitate Thartium," and on September 21, "in Persida (*sic*), civitate Tarrium." Paulinus of Nola speaks

of Parthia as the scene of St. Matthew's labours (*Poema* xix. 81, where see Muratori's note; *Patrol.* lxi. 514), and Venantius Fortunatus (*Poemata*, lib. viii. 6; *Patrol.* lxxxviii. 270) specifies the name of the town, "Matthaeum eximium Naddaver alta virum." This place is mentioned by the Pseudo-Abdias (*Vita S. Matth.*) as in Ethiopia, probably used in a very vague way. On the other hand, Isidore (*de ortu et obitu Patrum*, c. 76; *Patrol.* lxxxiii. 153) says that St. Matthew, after preaching in Judaea, went into Macedonia, and at last died "in montibus Parthorum."

It cannot be definitely said whether St. Matthew suffered a martyr's death. Clement of Alexandria, quoting Heracleon the Gnostic, seems to acquiesce in the statement that he died a natural death (*Strom.* vi. 9). Later writers generally take the other view, in accordance with the natural tendency to amplify. Not to allude at present to the martyrologies, we find Nicephorus (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 41) describing the work, sufferings, and death of St. Matthew in Myrmene, the city of the Anthropophagi. We meet with this also in the Apocryphal Acts, to which we shall again refer. One other tradition about St. Matthew may be mentioned here, which we are told by Clement of Alexandria (*Paedag.* ii. 1), that the apostle abstained altogether from flesh, and lived on berries, fruits, and herbs.

We need not do more than allude in the most passing way to the story of the translation of the body of St. Matthew to Brittany (where it was conveyed from Ethiopia in the 9th century!), and thence, at the expense of a startling anachronism, to Lucania by the emperor Valentinian. In or about the year A.D. 954, it was removed to Salernum (Leo Ostiensis, in *Acta Sanctorum*, *infra*), where May 6 is observed as the commemoration of the translation. Strangely enough, a second finding at Salernum is recorded in the time of Gregory VII. about A.D. 1080.

When a festival of St. Matthew first arose, distinct from the collective festival of all the apostles, it is impossible to say definitely, but it is certainly late. It is absent from many forms of Western liturgies, which we shall mention below, and it would appear that there are scarcely any sermons or homilies found for this day, even in writers of the 9th and 10th centuries, among the few being one by Nicetas Paphlago (Combefis, *Auctarium*, p. 401). The day specially associated with St. Matthew in the Western church is September 21. This festival, however, is wanting in the Leonine, Gelasian, and Gallican liturgies, and in the *Orationale Gothicum*. It is found in the Gregorian Sacramentary in the edition of Menard (col. 130), but is obelised as doubtful in that of Pamelius, and omitted in that of Muratori. Menard's edition also gives a mass for the vigil, but it cannot be doubted that both masses are a later addition. Menard himself remarks (*not. in loc.*) that both masses, especially that for the vigil, are wanting in some of the best MSS. On the other hand, the festival is recognised in the Ambrosian Liturgy, as we now have it (Pamelius, *Liturg. Latt.* i. 423), and in the Mozarabic Liturgy and Breviary (*Patrol.* lxxxv. 861, lxxxvi. 1205). We also find it in the Latin martyrologies generally, as in the *Mart. Hieronymi*, *Romanum*, Bede, Ado, Usuard, and Notker. The notice in the metrical martyrology of Bede is, "Undecimas capit at Matthaeus doctor amoenus" (*Patrol.* xciv. 605); that of Wandalbert (*Patrol.* cxxi. 611):—

> "Deseruit Christo mundi qui lucra vocante
> Undecimum Matthaeus evangelico ore sacravit."

Besides, however, the commemoration on September 21, the *Mart. Hieronymi*, as edited by D'Achery (*Spicilegium*, vol. iv. pp. 617 sqq.), gives the name of St. Matthew several times. Thus we have on May 1, "Nat. Matthaei et Jacobi;" on May 6, "In Persida, nat. S. Matthaei apostoli et evangelistae;" on May 21,[a] "S. Matthaei apostoli;" on September 21 (*supra*); and on October 7, "Nat. S. Matthaei evangelistae." What these multiplied commemorations mean, it is very hard to say; possibly they point to the conclusion that we have here a collection of various partial and local commemorations. It may be noted here that the Cdd. Hagenoyensis and Vaticanus, cited by Soller among the various *auctaria* to Usuard's Martyrology, associate May 6 with the traditional translation of the apostle's body to Salernum (*Patrol.* cxxiv. 29). With this statement, however, though found in Baronius's *Mart. Rom.*, we need not concern ourselves, for the alleged date of this translation is, as we have seen, very late.

The calendars of the Greek and Russian Churches commemorate St. Matthew on November 16 (Neale, *Eastern Church*; Int. p. 784). The notice for this day in the Greek metrical calendar prefixed by Papebroch to the *Acta Sanctorum* for May (vol. i. p. liii.) is, ἀκάματον Ματθαῖον πῦρ δεκάτῃ κτάνεν ἕκτῃ. The Ethiopic and Egyptian calendars published by Ludolf put the festival of St. Matthew on October 9 (*Comm. ad Hist. Aeth.* p. 394). The same is also the case in the Egyptian calendars published by Selden (*de Synedriis veterum Ebraeorum*, pp. 212, 222, ed. Amsterdam, 1679), one of which also gives another commemoration on August 30 (*ib.* p. 210). Ludolf's Egyptian calendar has also a commemoration of St. Matthew on November 16 (p. 394); and in the list of commemorations of saints in the Armenian Church this last day is associated with St. Matthew (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii. 1. 648).

As regards the pseudonymous literature attributed to St. Matthew, we may mention (1) the apocryphal Latin gospel of Matthew, on the birth of the Virgin and the infancy of the Saviour, edited in part by Thilo, and fully by Tischendorf (*Evangelia Apocrypha*, pp. xxv, 50). A majority of the MSS. of this gospel prefix two letters, according to which it is a translation by Jerome from the Hebrew. It is on the authority of this preface that the gospel is referred to St. Matthew. It is impossible to say whether we are to connect this with the reference made by Innocent I. (*Epist.* vi. *ad Exuperium Tolosanum*, c. 7; *Patrol.* xx. 502) to sundry apocryphal writings professing to be due to some of the apostles, among them perhaps being Matthew. The reading, however, varies between Matthew and Matthias,[b] the latter being apparently to be preferred. (2) The acts of Andrew and Matthew [Greek] in the city of

[a] This only occurs in some MSS.; the Cdd. Corbeiensis, Epternacensis (*Acta Sanctorum*, September, vol. vi. p. 191).

[b] This statement as to the various reading is given on the authority of Tischendorf (*op. cit.* p. xxvi.).

the Anthropophagi, first published separately by Thilo and since by Tischendorf (*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, pp. xlvii, 132). Here, as in the previous case, it is very doubtful whether we are to read Matthew or Matthias. Tischendorf, following his oldest Greek MS., gives Matthias; but the other Greek MSS. and the Latin give Matthew; so also do the Syriac acts, published by Dr. Wright [MATTHIAS]. (3) We have also another book of the acts and martyrdom of St. Matthew, first published by Tischendorf (*op. cit.* pp. lx, 167); the passage we have already cited from Nicephorus gives an account closely resembling that of these acts. (4) There is extant a Syro-Jacobite liturgy, bearing the name of Matthew, a Latin translation of which is given by Fabricius (*Codex Pseudepigr. N. T.* iii. 211 sqq.) and Renaudot (*Liturg. Orient. Collectio*, ii. 346, ed. 1847). By a curious carelessness, some have spoken of this liturgy as associated with the name of the apostle, the professed name of the author being really "Matthew the Shepherd," and the date of its composition being probably the end of the 11th century (Neale, *op. cit.* p. 330).[c] (5) Lastly, with the name of Matthew is associated the regulation for the ecclesiastical order of readers, given in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (viii. 22). [R. S.]

[c] Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* iii. 1, 637) mentions a MS. of this Liturgy in the Vatican, at the end of which it is styled the "Liturgy of Matthew the Shepherd, who is called Hermas, one of the Seventy."

**MATTHIAS, ST., LEGEND AND FESTIVAL OF.** Of this apostle the New Testament tells us nothing beyond the fact of his election to fill the place of the traitor Judas, and that previously he had been a follower of our Lord throughout the whole of his ministry. Nor is there any great amount of trustworthy tradition concerning him. It is indeed asserted that he was one of the seventy disciples, and this is by no means improbable. (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 12; Sophronius, in the *Appendix* to Jerome *de Viris Illust.* [vol. ii. 958, ed. Vallarsi]; Epiphanius, i. 20; Dorotheus, *Synopsis* [in *Magn. Bibl. Patr.* iii. 148, ed. 1618]; Rabanus Maurus, *infra.*)

According to Isidore (*de Vita et Obitu Patrum*, c. 79; *Patrol.* lxxxiii. 153), Judaea was the scene of St. Matthias's labours. The same statement also is generally found in the Latin martyrologies (see *e.g.* those of Bede [*Patrol.* xciv. 848], Rabanus Maurus [*ib.* cx. 1133], Usuard [*ib.* cxxiii. 791], and Notker [*ib.* cxxxi. 1048]). The general tenour of the language of the above would seem to imply that the apostle died a natural death.

Other witnesses, again, speak of St. Matthias as labouring in Ethiopia (Sophronius, *l. c.*; Dorotheus, *l. c.*; Nicephorus, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 40; see also the *Martyrology* of Sirletus in Canisius, *Thesaurus*, iii. 456). We must assume, however, that we have here an exceptional use of the word Ethiopia, for the locality is further defined (see *e. g.* Sophronius, *l. c.*, Dorotheus, *l. c.*) as being by the mouth of the Apsarus (which flows into the Euxine), and the haven of Hyssus, which would identify the country with Cappadocia. Here he died and was buried (ἕως τῆς σήμερον, Sophronius), the more minute statement being given by Dorotheus that he died in Sebastopolis, and was buried there near the temple of the sun. It may be noted here that the Ethiopia is differently named by the above writers; Sophronius speaks of ἡ δευτέρα Αἰθιοπία, Nicephorus of ἡ πρώτη Αἰθ., and the Menaea of ἡ ἔξω Αἰθ.

It is uncertain when a festival of St. Matthias first came to be celebrated. It does not occur in the Gelasian Sacramentary, or in the *Comes Hieronymi*, but is found in some forms of the Gregorian Sacramentary (col. 29, ed. Menard), under the heading *Natalis S. Matthiae Apostoli*, and is doubtlessly to be viewed as one of the later additions to this sacramentary.[a] The Hispano-Gothic calendar does not give the festival, but we find it in the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary. The day associated with St. Matthias in the Western church is February 24, and his festival on that day is recognised in most Western martyrologies and calendars (see *e.g.* in addition to those specified above, the *Mart. Hieronymi* [*Patrol.* xxx. 445], the *Mart. Rom. Vet.*, and the St. Gall MS. of the *Mart. Gellonense* [D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, xiii. 422]). Henschenius, however (*Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. iii. 436), mentions an ancient MS. *Mart. Hieronymi*, which omits the festival altogether.

In consequence of February 24 having been chosen as the day for the festival, it followed that in leap-years it would fall on February 25.[b] The reason of this is, that a day was intercalated in such years, so that the "vi. Kal. Mart." came twice over, whence the name *bissextile*. Thus in a leap-year, the *real* "vi. Kal. Mart." would be February 25, the preceding day being viewed as the supernumerary one.[c]

It may be noted that in one MS. of the *Mart. Hieronymi* (the *Cod. Lucensis*), May 21 is marked "alibi Matthiae apostoli." As all other MSS., however, read Matthaei, this must be viewed as evidently a mistake (*Patrol.* cxxiii. 791).

In the calendar of the Greek Church, the festival of St. Matthias falls on August 9.[d] The notice for this day in the Greek metrical *Ephemerides*, prefixed by Papebroch to the *Acta Sanctorum* for May (vol. i. p. xxxix.), is ἤρθη ἀμφ' ἐνάτῃ ξύλῳ ἰύθεος Ματθίας. The epistle and gospel in the Greek Church are Acts i. 12–17, 21–26, and Luke x. 16–21. The Ethiopic calen-

[a] Some writers have appealed to the calendar of Athelstan's Psalter as proving that the festival of St. Matthias existed in England by A.D. 703. It has been shewn, however, by Heurtley (*Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 74 sqq.) that this calendar is, in all probability, to be referred to the period A.D. 901–1008.

[b] A curious instance is mentioned by Southey (*The Doctor*, c. 90), in which the emperor Maximilian failed in an enterprise against Bruges through forgetfulness of this fact. Southey himself, however, would seem not to have been aware of the true explanation.

[c] In the English Prayer Books of 1549, 1552, 1559, it is ruled that on Feb. 25, which in leap-years counts as two days, the same Psalms and Lessons shall serve for the two days. The Calendar of 1561, followed by the Prayer-Book of 1604, reverts to the old plan, and so the Psalms and Lessons of the 23rd are read again the following day, except this latter be Sunday. In 1662, the intercalated day was taken as the 29th, according to the present plan.

[d] In the *Menology* of Cardinal Sirletus, already referred to, the name of St. Matthias occurs at the end of the entry for Aug. 8, which is doubtless due to a mere error of the transcriber, who should have put it at the head of the following day.

dar published by Ludolf (*Comm. ad Hist. Aet*. p. 410) fixes the festival on March 4 [Magabit 8].

A certain amount of pseudonymous literature is associated with the name of this apostle. An apocryphal gospel under the name of Matthias is mentioned by Origen (*Hom.* i. *in Luc.* vol. v. 87, ed. Lommatzsch) and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 25); and in the acts of a council held at Rome in the episcopate of Gelasius (A.D. 494), we find "Evangelium (*al.* Evangelia) nomine Matthiae apocryphum" (*Patrol.* lix. 162, 175). This may, perhaps, be the same as the παραδόσεις of St. Matthias referred to several times by Clement of Alexandria. From him it would appear that the work was written in the interests of some Gnostic sect, for he speaks of the followers of Valentinus, Marcion, and Basilides, boasting that they quoted the opinion of Matthias (*Strom.* vii. 17). Clement several times quotes this book (*Strom.* ii. 9, iii. 4, vii. 13).[e] Besides this, there are apocryphal acts of Andrew and Matthias, published by Thilo in a separate form, and also by Tischendorf (*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, pp. xlvii, 132). Thilo refers the origin to Leucius, and speaks of the book as used specially by the Gnostics and Manichaeans. It should be added, however, that it seems very doubtful whether we should read the name Matthias or Matthew. Tischendorf, following the oldest Greek MS., gives Matthias, but the other Greek MSS. and the Latin give Matthew. So also do the Syriac acts recently published by Dr. Wright. We may add here that Innocent I. (*Epist. ad Exuperium Tolosanum*; Labbe, ii. 1256) condemns sundry writings ascribed to Matthias and other apostles, but referred by him to Leucius. Besides these, we have *Acts* of St. Matthias extant in Latin, professing to be translated from the Hebrew by a monk of Treves, it would seem in the 12th century (*Acta Sanct. supra*, p. 447). Finally, the name of St. Matthias[f] is connected in the *Apostolic Constitutions* with the regulations as to the blessing of oil and wine, and firstfruits and tithes (*Apost. Const.* viii. 28 sqq.). [R. S.]

**MATTHIAS**, bishop of Jerusalem, and confessor; commemorated Jan. 30 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 1025). [C. H.]

**MATULUS**, martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia March 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MATURINUS**, confessor, in Gatinois; commemorated Nov. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MATURUS**, martyr; commemorated at Lyon June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MATUTINA**, martyr; commemorated in Africa March 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MATUTINUS (1)** Martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica April 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(2)** One of the eighteen martyrs of Saragossa; commemorated Apr. 16 (Usuard. *Mart.*); at Valencia in Spain Jan. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

[e] This passage is not distinctly referred to the παραδόσεις, but it is probably to be connected therewith.

[f] Some MSS. here read Matthew, but this is an obvious error, since the name of this latter apostle has already been given.

**MAUNDY THURSDAY** (*Dies Mandati*), the Thursday in Holy Week, the day of the institution of the Last Supper and of our Lord's betrayal, so called with reference to the antiphon "Mandatum novum do vobis, ut diligatis invicem" (Joh. xiii. 34) appropriated to it. The name, which is not a very early one, probably contains also an allusion to the other command of our Lord in the same chapter (Joh. xiii. 14–16), as well as to the τοῦτο ποιεῖτε of Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24. The collect at the giving of the Kiss of Peace in the Gothic missal (Muratori, *Liturg. Roman. Vetus*, ii. 578) speaks of "commands" in the plural "inter praecipua mandatorum tuorum Patribus nostris Apostolis reliquisti." In later times "Mandatum" by itself stood for the "Footwashing," which had been instituted on this day, and even for the apartment in a monastery appropriated to it (Ducange, *sub voc.*). Other names for this day are ἡ μεγάλη πέμπτη, ἡ ἁγία πέντας, *feria quinta paschae*; also, as the day of the institution of the Eucharist, *Coena Domini, dies coenae Domini, feria quinta in coena Dominica, dies natalis Eucharistiae, natalis calicis, dies panis, lucis, mysteriorum*: also, with reference to the other ceremonials belonging to the day, *dies competentium, dies indulgentiae, dies pedilavii*. The more recent title, *dies viridium*, to which the German name *Gründonnerstag* corresponds, is of uncertain origin. The references to a supposed introit (Ps. xxii. 2), and to our Lord's words (Luke xxiii. 31), are purely conjectural (Herzog, *Real-Encycl.* xviii. 223; Augusti, *Christ. Archäol.* i. 549).

The ceremonials specially belonging to Maundy Thursday which call for notice are those relating to the candidates for Baptism, the Reconciliation of Penitents, the Consecration of the Chrism, and the Administration of the Eucharist.

(*i*) *Catechumens.*—In some churches the *redditio symboli* took place this day; *i.e.* the catechumens were required to repeat the creed which had been given them by the bishop and presbyters to learn by heart (*traditio symboli*). We find this ceremony fixed for Maundy Thursday in the canons of Laodicea (can. 46; Labbe, i. 1504), and in the "capitula" of Martin, bishop of Braga (cap. 49; *ib.* v. 911), and in the canons of the Quinisext or Trullan council (can. 78; *ib.* vi. 1175). The more usual time for this repetition was Easter-even (Martene, *de Rit. Ant. Eccl.* i. 116, lib. i. c. i. art. 13, § 2). The *pedilavium* or washing of the feet of the catechumens, of which some traces appear in the ritual of the early church, was in some cases performed on this day, the washing of the head, *capitilavium*, having taken place on Palm Sunday. There is a reference to this ceremony in two letters of Augustine to Januarius (*Epist.* cxviii. cxix. c. 18); but in the former he speaks of the custom of the catechumens bathing the whole body and not only of washing the feet on this day, and that merely for purposes of cleanliness "quia baptizandorum corpora per observationem quadragesimae sordidata cum offensione sensus ad fontem tractarentur, nisi aliquo die lavarentur. Istum autem diem potius ad hoc electum quo coena Domini anniversarie celebratur," and adds that this liberty being granted to the catechumens, many others claimed it also, and bathed with them on this day—a luxury forbidden during Lent. In the second letter he makes parti-

cular mention of washing the feet of the catechumens on the day when our Lord gave this lesson of humility "quo ipsa commendatio religiosius inhaereret," but adds that lest it should appear to be in any way essential to the sacrament many churches had never admitted the custom at all; others had discontinued it, while some had postponed it till a later day. Although this custom was never received by the church of Rome (Ambros. *de Sacram.* iii. 1), it prevailed for a time widely among other churches, as those of Gaul, Milan, and Spain, but it soon fell out of favour, and was expressly prohibited by the canons of the council of Elvira, A.D. 306 (can. 48; Labbe, i. 976), which prohibition passed into the "Corpus Juris canonici" (c. civ. causa i. q. 1, lib. i. c. i. art. 13, § 1; Bingham, bk. xii. c. iv. § 10; Herzog, vol. iv. p. 630; Martene, tom. i. pp. 116, 141). BAPTISM, vol. i. p. 164.

(*b*) *Reconciliation of Penitents.*—At a very early time Maundy Thursday was appointed as the day for the public absolution of penitents The letter of Innocent I. to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium (c. 7) (if indeed it is rightly given to him and is not to be assigned to a later period) states that the custom of the Church of Rome was to grant absolution either of venial or mortal sins only, "quinta feria ante Pascha," unless the penitent was attacked by severe sickness (Labbe, ii. 1247). St. Ambrose, writing to his sister Marcellina, names this day as the usual one for the relaxation of penance, "erat dies quo Dominus sese pro nobis tradidit, quo in ecclesia poenitentialia relaxantur" (*Epist.* 33 *ad Marcellin.* cf. *Hexaemeron*, lib. v. c. 25), and St. Jerome speaks of Fabiola as standing in public penance on this day, "quis hoc crederet . . . ut tota urbe spectante Romana ante diem paschae staret in ordine poenitentium?" (Hieron. *Epist.* 30, *Epitaph. Fabiol.*). The same custom is evidenced by the various homilies, "ad reconciliandos poenitentes," delivered "in Coena Domini," referred to by Martene (*Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. cap. vi. art. 5, § 10, tom. ii. p. 31; tom. i. p. 284). A letter of Gilbert "Lunicensis Episcopus," contained in Ussher's *Epistolae Hibernicae* (*Ep.* 30, p. 86), states the custom of the Irish church to be that venial sins were absolved "in capite jejunii," mortal sins "in Coena Domini." The penitents first assembled outside the church doors, where they heard a sermon from the bishop; they were then admitted into the church and heard the "missa pro reconciliatione poenitentium," absolution being granted them before the offertory. In the "Ordo agentibus publicam poenitentiam," assigned in the Sacramentary of Gelasius to this day, the deacon pleads the cause of the penitents, which, after certain collects, is followed by the "ordo ad reconciliandum poenitentem," and the "oratio post reconciliationem" when the penitent has communicated (Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 548–551).

(*c*) *Consecration of Chrism.*—The sacred oil being needed in large quantities for the anointing of the newly-baptized at Easter, it naturally became the custom to consecrate it shortly before that festival. Gradually the consecration was limited to one day, and by the 5th century it had become the rule that the whole of the chrism that was required for the use of the year should be consecrated on Maundy Thursday. In the *Comes Hieronymi* we find under this day "Chrisma conficitur," and in the sacramentary of Gregory (Pamel. ii. 251) is the rubric "in ipso die item conficitur chrisma," followed by the proper collects and exorcism, and the "benedictio chrismatis principalis." The Gelasian Sacramentary supplies a "missa chrismalis" for Maundy Thursday, containing the "benedictio olei," and the "olei exorcizati confectio," corresponding very closely with those in the Gregorian rite (Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 554 sq.). A similar form appears in the *Missa Ambrosiana* given by Pamelius (*Liturgicon*, i. 340). The fullest directions for the ritual relating to the consecration of the Chrisma on Maundy Thursday are to be found in the *Ordo Romanus* i. (Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii. 991 sq.). [CHRISM.]

(*d*) *Eucharist.*—Maundy Thursday was the only day in the year when, throughout the whole Christian world, the Eucharist was celebrated in the evening and partaken of after a meal, and that, as far as we know, only in the African church. The 29th canon of the third council of Carthage, A.D. 397, specially excepts this day from the rule that the sacrament of the altar should be celebrated fasting, "ut sacramenta altaris nonnisi a jejunis hominibus celebrentur excepto uno die anniversario quo coena Domini celebratur" (Labbe, ii. 1171). St. Augustine also, while insisting on fasting communion generally, mentions that some, to make the commemoration more striking, were accustomed to offer and receive the Body of the Lord after meat on the day when the Lord Himself gave His supper. We learn from him also that in some places there was on this day a double celebration, "in the morning for the sake of those who dine, and in the evening for the sake of those who fast" (Augustine, *Epist.* cxviii. *ad Januar.* c. 7). The practice of an evening celebration on this day was regarded with increasing disfavour, and was distinctly prohibited by the Quinisext or Trullan Council (can. 29), A.D. 692, with express reference to the above-mentioned canon of the council of Carthage (Labbe, vi. 1155). At the ordinary celebration on Maundy Thursday a portion of the consecrated bread was reserved for the communions on Good Friday and Easter Eve, *Missa Praesanctificatorum.* "Pontifex servat de Sancta usque in crastinum" (*Ordo Romanus*, i. Muratori, ii. 993).

(*e*) *Other Observances.*—The bells of the churches were silent from midnight on Wednesday till matins on Easter Day (*Ordo Roman.* i. *u.s.*). The altars were stripped after vespers (*ibid.*). There was no chanting, and the salutation "*Dominus vobiscum*," etc., was intermitted, as well as the *Kyrie Eleison*, and *Et ne nos inducas*, etc., after matins (Muratori. *u. s.* i. 548, ii. 992). At 3 P.M. a light was struck outside the church, and a candle lighted from it, which was borne on a reed in procession through the congregation to the sacristy, where a lamp was kindled and kept burning till the Saturday morning, when the Paschal taper was lighted from it (*Ordo Roman. u. s.*; cf. Zacaria, *Epist.* xii. *ad Bonifacium*, Labbe, vi. 1525). There are canons of several councils forbidding the Jews to appear in public, or to mix with Christians from this day till Easter Monday: *e. g.* the third council of Orleans, A.D. 538 (can. 30, Labbe, v. 303), and the first council of Mâcon, A.D. 581 (can. 14, *ibid.* 969). (Hospinianus, *de Festis*, pp. 48, 49.) [E. V.]

**MAURA** (1) Commemorated with Britta, virgins, at Tours Jan. 15 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 1018).

(2) Martyr with her husband Timotheus a reader, A.D. 280; commemorated May 3 (Basil. *Menol.; Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**MAURELIUS** (1) Bishop of Imola, cir. A.D. 532, martyr; commemorated May 6 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, ii. 106).

(2) Bishop, martyr in the 7th century, patron of Ferrara; commemorated May 7 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, ii. 154).

(3) Presbyter in the diocese of Troyes, 6th century; commemorated May 21 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, v. 43). [C. H.]

**MAURELLA**, martyr; commemorated May 21 in Africa (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAURELLUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome in the cemetery of Praetextatus, May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAURENTIUS**, martyr with others, under Diocletian, at Fossombrone in Italy; commemorated Aug. 31 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 665). [C. H.]

**MAURICILIUS**, archbishop of Milan, cir. A.D. 670; commemorated March 31 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 910). [C. H.]

**MAURICIUS, MAURITIUS, MAURICE** (1) One of the forty-five martyrs of Nicopolis under the emperor Licinius; commemorated July 10 (Basil. *Menol.*); at Alexandria (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Commemorated with John Palaeolauritas July 26 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(3) One of the Thebaean martyrs; commemorated at Agaunum (St. Maurice) Sept. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart*; Bed. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 308). His natalis is in the Antiphonarium, but on what day is not stated, and he is named in the Liber Responsalis (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sacr.* 710, 810).

(4) Martyr with Photinus his son and others; commemorated Feb. 21 at Apamaea. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 239.)

(5) Martyr with Georgius and Tiberius at Pignerol, under Diocletian; commemorated Apr. 24 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 266). [C. H.]

**MAURILIUS**, bishop and confessor; his depositio commemorated at Angers Sept. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 62); MAURILIO (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAURILUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa April 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAURINA**, martyr; commemorated at Tomi May 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAURINIANUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Feb. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAURINUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated May 26 at Tuscia (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Abbat, martyr at Cologne; commemorated June 10 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, ii 279). [C. H.]

**MAURITANUS**, martyr; commemorated in Mauritania Oct. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAURONTUS** (1) Abbat of Broylus (Bruel) in Belgium, A.D. 701; commemorated May 5 (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* May, ii. 53).

(2) Bishop and confessor, of Marseilles, perhaps A.D. 786; commemorated Oct. 21 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 362). [C. H.]

**MAURUS** (1) Abbat of Glannafolium, A.D. 584 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 1039), in the territory of Angers (Usuard. *Mart.*); commemorated Jan. 15.

(2) or **MORTUUS-NATUS**, hermit in Belgium in the 7th century; commemorated Jan. 15 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 1080).

(3) Bishop of Cesena in Italy; commemorated Jan. 20 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 333).

(4) Martyr with Papias, soldiers; commemorated at Rome on the Via Nomentana Jan. 29 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr; commemorated in Campania Mar. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(6) Martyr; commemorated Apr. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Apr. 27; another elsewhere on the same day (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(8) Libycus, Roman martyr under Numerian, buried at Gallipolis; commemorated May 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, i. 40).

(9) Martyr; commemorated at Rome June 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(10) Presbyter and his son Felix, in the 6th century; commemorated at Spoletum June 16 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, iii. 112).

(11) Bishop, martyr with Pantaleemon and Sergius at Biseglia; commemorated July 27 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, vi. 352).

(12) Martyr, with Bonus, Faustus, and seven others; commemorated on the Via Latina Aug. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(13) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Aug. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(14) Martyr with fifty others at Rheims in the 3rd century; commemorated Aug. 22 (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 515).

(15) Confessor, with Salvinus and Arator at Verdun; commemorated Sept. 4 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. ii. 221).

(16) Bishop and confessor at Placentia about A.D. 430; commemorated Sept. 13 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 79)

(17) Martyr in the province of Histria; commemorated Nov. 21 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(18) Martyr at Rome under prefect Celerinus; commemorated Nov. 22 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(19) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Nov. 29 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(20) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Nov. 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(21) Martyr with his brother Jason and their parents, Claudius the tribune and Hilaria, at Rome; commemorated Dec. 3 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(22) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Dec. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAUSIMAS**, priest in Syria; commemorated Jan. 23 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 489). [C. H.]

**MAVILUS**, martyr, cir. A.D. 203, at Adrumetum; commemorated Jan. 4 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 164). [C. H.]

**MAVORUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAVRONTUS**, abbat of old St. Florence in the 7th century; commemorated Jan. 8 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 505). [C. H.]

**MAXELLENDIS**, virgin and martyr, cir. A.D. 660; commemorated Nov. 13 (Surius, *de Prob. Sanct. Vit.* Col. Ag. 1618, Nov. p. 317). [C. H.]

**MAXENTIA**, widow of Trent, cir. A.D. 400; commemorated Apr. 30 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 772). [C. H.]

**MAXENTIUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Feb. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Presbyter and confessor in Poitou; commemorated June 26 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* June, v. 169). [C. H.]

**MAXENTUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Rome May 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Milan May 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAXIANUS**, martyr with Julianus and the presbyter Lucianus at Beauvais; commemorated Jan. 8 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAXIMA** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Feb. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Feb. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Wife of the presbyter Montanus, martyrs; commemorated at Sirmium March 26 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*). The husband is called Munatus in *Hieron. Mart.*

(4) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Mar. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria April 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch Apr. 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Martyr; commemorated Apr. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(8) Martyr; commemorated at Constantinople May 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(9) Two of the name commemorated at Rome, in the cemetery of Praetextatus, May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(10) Virgin; commemorated at Friuli May 16 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* May, iii. 579).

(11) Martyr, commemorated at Alexandria May 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(12) Martyr; commemorated at Rome on Via Aurelia, May 31 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(13) Martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(14) Martyr; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(15) Martyr; commemorated at Antioch July 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(16) Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria July 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(17) Martyr; commemorated at Laodicea July 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(18) Martyr, with Donatilla and Secunda, at Lucernaria in Africa under Gallienus; commemorated July 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, vii. 146).

(19) Martyr; commemorated Aug. 1 with Donatula, Secundula, and others at the 30th mile from Rome (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(20) Martyr at Rome under Diocletian; commemorated Sept. 2 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 357).

(21) Martyr with her sister Julia at Olisepona in Lusitania; commemorated Oct. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(22) Virgin, martyred in Africa with Martianus and Satirianus; commemorated Oct. 16 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(23) Martyr; commemorated in Mauritania Dec. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAXIMIANUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated Jan. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 80).

(2) Bishop of Ravenna; commemorated Feb. 22 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 294).

(3) Patriarch of Constantinople; commemorated April 21 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. ii. 847).

(4) Bishop of Syracuse, A.D. 594; commemorated June 9 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, ii. 241).

(5) One of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus; commemorated July 27 (Usuard. *Mart.*); Oct. 23 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(6) Martyr with Bonosus; commemorated Aug. 21 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(7) Bishop and confessor at Bagaia in Africa in the 5th century; commemorated Oct. 3 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ii. 160). [C. H.]

**MAXIMILIANUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Aug. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Bishop and Martyr at Cilli, cir. A.D. 308; commemorated Oct. 12 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. vi. 52). [C. H.]

**MAXIMINUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated May 14 in Africa, the same or another in Asia (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Syria May 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Bishop and confessor at Treves; commemorated May 29 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* May, vii. 19).

(4) Bishop of Tongres, cir. A.D. 300; commemorated June 20 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, iv. 7).

(5) Commemorated in the territory of Orleans, Dec. 15 (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

**MAXIMUS** (1) Abbat and Martyr in Gaul cir. A.D. 625; commemorated Jan. 2 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 91).

(2) I. and II., bishops of Pavia; commemorated Jan. 8 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 471).

(3) Bishop of Taormina in Sicily, in the first century; commemorated Jan. 12 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 720).

(4) Confessor; commemorated Jan. 21 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 251).

(5) Propraetor, martyr with Fausta and Evilasius; commemorated on Feb. 6 (Basil. *Menol.*)

**(6)** Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Feb. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(7)** Two martyrs commemorated in Africa and one elsewhere, Feb. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 864).

**(8)** Martyr with Claudius and his wife at Ostia; commemorated Feb. 18 (Usuard. *Mart. Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

**(9)** Martyr with Theodotus; commemorated Feb. 19 (Basil. *Menol.*); apparently the same as **(46)**.

**(10)** Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia March 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(11)** Martyr; commemorated in Mauritania April 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(12)** Martyr with Quintilianus and Dada under Diocletian; commemorated April 13 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 127).

**(13)** Martyr with Tiburtius and Valerianus; commemorated April 14 at the cemetery of Praetextatus, on the Via Appia (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*). His natalis on this day in Gregory's Sacramentary, and his name in the collect (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sacr.* 83).

**(14)** Martyr, with Optatus and others; commemorated April 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 212).

**(15)** Soldier and martyr, one of the Thebaean legion, cir. A.D. 297; commemorated April 14 at Milan (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 212).

**(16)** Martyr with Olympiades, noblemen, at Cordula in Persia, under Decius; commemorated April 15 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart*).

**(17)** Martyr; commemorated at the cemetery of Calixtus on the Via Appia April 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct*).

**(18)** Martyr; commemorated in Africa Ap. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

**(19)** Martyr; commemorated in Egypt Apr. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

**(20)** Martyr, with Dadas and Quintilianus, at Dorosterum; commemorated April 28 (Basil. *Menol.*).

**(21)** Martyr in Asia, circ. A.D. 250; commemorated April 30 (Florus, ap. Bed. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 732); May 14 by the Greeks (Basil. *Menol.*); by others on April 21 under the name of Marcellinus, and on April 25 as Marcellus. For another Maximus commemorated on April 30 by the Greeks, see Boll. *ut sup.* p. 733.

**(22)** Bishop of Jerusalem, confessor, after A.D. 355; commemorated May 5 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, ii. 7).

**(23)** Martyr; commemorated at Milan May 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(24)** Two martyrs; commemorated in Africa May 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*); another at Nicomedia the same day (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

**(25)** Presbyter; commemorated at Constantinople May 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(26)** Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria May 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(27)** Martyr; commemorated at Rome on the Via Nomentana, May 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(28)** Bishop of Verona, 4th century; commemorated May 29 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, vii. 36).

**(29)** Martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(30)** Or MAXIMINUS, bishop of Aquae-Sextiae in 1st, 4th, or 6th century; commemorated June 8 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, ii. 53).

**(31)** Presbyter; commemorated at Alexandria June 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* June, ii. 170).

**(32)** Martyr; bishop of Naples, before A.D. 360; commemorated June 12 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, ii. 517).

**(33)** Bishop of Turin after A.D. 460; commemorated June 25 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, v. 50).

**(34)** Martyr at Alexandria with Leontius and others; commemorated July 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, iii. 53).

**(35)** Martyr; commemorated at Syrmia July 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(36)** Martyr; commemorated at Antioch July 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(37)** Martyr; commemorated in Asia July 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(38)** Martyr; commemorated at Dorostorum July 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(39)** Martyr, with Sabinus and others; commemorated at Damascus July 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*).

**(40)** Martyr; commemorated with Cyriacus and others at Corinth July 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(41)** Bishop and confessor at Patavium, 2nd century; commemorated Aug. 2 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. i. 109).

**(42)** Confessor, "our holy father;" translatio Aug. 13 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 266).

**(43)** Youthful martyr in Africa under Hunneric; commemorated Aug. 17 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

**(44)** Abbat and confessor; commemorated Aug. 20 at Chinon (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 55).

**(45)** Martyr, with Gaianus and others; commemorated at Ancyra Aug. 31 and Sept. 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(46)** Martyr with Theodotus and Asclepiodotes in Thrace; commemorated Sept. 15 (Basil. *Menol.* Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. v. 31). See **(9)**.

**(47)** Martyr; commemorated at Nuceria Sept. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(48)** Martyr with Juventinus; commemorated Oct. 9 (Basil. *Menol.*).

**(49)** Martyr at Cordova; commemorated Oct. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(50)** Levita, martyr under Decius; commemorated Oct. 19 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 417); Oct. 20 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

**(51)** Martyr with 120 other soldiers; commemorated at Rome Oct. 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(52)** Bishop of Mentz in the 4th century; commemorated Nov. 18 (Surius, *de Prob. SS. Hist.* t. iv. p. 401, Colon. 1618).

**(53)** Presbyter and martyr, under Maximian; commemorated at Rome on the Via Appia Nov. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*); Maximinus (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(54) Presbyter; commemorated in Spain Nov. 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(55) Martyr; commemorated at Aussig in Bohemia Nov. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(56) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Nov. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(57) Two martyrs; commemorated at Rome, Nov. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(58) Martyr with Chrysogonus and Eleutherius; commemorated at Aquileia Nov. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(59) Regiensis, bishop, confessor; commemorated Nov. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*).

(60) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Dec. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(61) Presbyter and confessor; commemorated at Orleans Dec. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

(62) Bishop; commemorated at Alexandria Dec. 27 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MAYENCE, COUNCIL OF** (*Moguntinum Concilium*), A.D. 753, at which Lullus was substituted for St. Boniface, who was going back to Friesland, in the see of Mayence. [E. S. Ff.]

**MEALS** (IN ART). The arrangements of a Christian table do not seem to have been very different from the current habits of the time, except in greater care for moderation, sobriety, and gravity of conversation. The guests sat at table; so at least they are represented in all the representations of agapae, or other meals, which are found in the catacombs. The classic example of an apparently secular or ordinary meal is the well-known fresco from the catacomb of SS. Marcellinus and Peter (Bottari, tav. cxxvii.), given in Martigny, p. 579. Raoul Rochette (*Discours sur l'Origine et le Caractère des Types imitatifs qui constituent l'Art du Christianisme*) selects this, with two others, as representative examples. They are found in Bottari, tav. cviii. and cxxvii., and at vol. iii. p. 218; and Rochette has no doubt of their relation to pictures in Herculaneum and Pompeii. Nor can this be wondered at, if we consider the at times inconvenient and awkward connexion between the Christian love-feast and the heathen funeral banquet. It is acknowledged on all hands that the former reminded untaught or recent converts too strongly of the ancient hearth-worship, and of past banquets to the lares of their families. It is a sign, not yet fully appreciated, of the great vitality of the faith, that it was able to withdraw the population of Italy (even so far as it did) from Etrurian or Greco-Etrurian habits of sepulchral worship, and teach them to commemorate the death of One only. See Fergusson's *History of Architecture* (bk. iv. c. i. p. 281, and c. ii. p. 293, ed. 1874) and Coulange's *La Cité Antique* (Introd. and chapters i. ii.). On this subject the student should compare Bottari (tavv. cviii. cxxvii.) with the *Pitture d'Ercolano* (i. tav. xiv.); *R. Museo Borbonico* (t. i. tav. xxiii). The chief difference is that in the Christian picture, of which the Gentile one is a type (Bott. tav. cviii.), a round bowl is substituted for the horn or rhyton (drunk from at the small end). It seems quite clear, that except for inferior painting, and the decent dress of persons represented, Christian pictures of the same subject greatly resemble these. In the S. Marcellinus' example (known also as that of the Via Labicana, and of the catacomb Inter duas Lauros), men and women sit at meat together. The provisions and wine appear to have been handed by servants, and are not placed on the table; and the requests of two of the guests are strangely painted above their heads, "Irene da cal(i)da(m)" "Agape, misce mi." (Compare *Juv. Sat.* v. 63.) The names, as Rochette observes, are probably significant. The semicircular table was called *sigma* from the C form of that letter. The sigma may have been considered an improvement on the ordinary triclinium. Within a semicircle there is a smaller three-legged table with a large amphora. There are two or three knives, a large goblet, two little loaves, apparently, and a small animal, resembling a squirrel, is being carved. Athenaeus (iv.) describes a table of this kind, and Varro (iv. 25) calls it sibilla; others mensa escaria. A young man, apparently the carver or structor dapis, stands by in a long tunic with purple stripes. The two seated female figures at the ends of the semicircle are directing him, and may be the servants named by the guests; they would act as carptores, or praegustatrices. (Seneca, *Epist.* xlvii.) See woodcut.

[R. St. J. T.]




**MECEONUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Ap. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Meconus (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MEDACUS**, martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Sept. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MEDANUS** or **MELDANUS**, Irish bishop at Peronne about the end of the 6th cent.; commemorated Feb. 7 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 66).

[C. H.]

**MEDARDUS**, bishop and confessor; depositio commemorated at Soissons June 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Boll. *Acta SS.* June, ii. 72; his festival (Bed. *Mart.*); his natalis (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

**MEDATULUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa July 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MEDERICUS**, presbyter and abbat at Paris, cir. A.D. 700; commemorated Aug. 29 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 518). [C. H.]

**MEDIATORS** (PRIESTS). The Greek writers, when they speak of Christian priests, frequently call them *μεσῖται*, i.e. mediators between God and man. St. John Baptist is styled *mediator* by Gregory of Nazianzum, Ὁ *παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας μεσίτης*, as coming between the Old and New Testaments (*Orat.* xxxiv. p. 633). Others repeat the same idea.

The author of the *Apostolical Constitutions* applies this title to the priesthood (lib. ii. c. 25),

as does also Origen, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and others of the Greek fathers. But by this they seem to have intended, not that the priest was properly a mediator independently and by his own inherent authority, but merely and by a figure of speech as an *internuncius* or medium of communication. In this sense St. Basil (*de Spiritu Sancto*, c. 14) and Theodoret, commenting on Gal. iii. 19, 20 (where the word μεσίτης is repeatedly employed), teach that Moses was a mediator between God and the people of Israel. The true mediator is, of course, the Lord Jesus. The article μεσίτης in Suicer's *Thesaurus* may be consulted with great advantage. He has collected a large mass of quotations from the Greek fathers, shewing that they constantly and uniformly applied the term μεσίτης, in all its varieties of meaning, to Jesus Christ.

The Latin fathers avoid the use of *mediator* in this sense (as applied to the priesthood). St. Cyprian uses it "discurrant ad judices, blandiantur mediatoribus" (*de Cardinal. Operib. Christi Prolog.*—the authorship is uncertain), but *not* of priests. St. Augustine strongly protests against it in his treatise against Parmenian, a Donatist bishop, who had said that the bishop was a mediator between God and the people, "Si Johannes diceret . . . mediatorem me habetis apud Patrem, et ego exoro pro peccatis vestris (sicut Parmenianus quodam loco posuit episcopum mediatorem inter populum et Deum) quis eum ferret bonorum atque fidelium Christianorum" (*contra Parmen.* lib. ii. c. 8). [S. J. E.]

**MEDICUS** (St. Mie), confessor at Huisseau, believed to have lived in the 8th or 9th cent.; commemorated May 23 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, vii. 842). [C. H.]

**MEDIOLANUM.** [Milan.]

**MEDION**, martyr; commemorated in Africa May 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MEDRANUS**, with his brother Odranus, confessors in Ireland; commemorated July 7 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, ii. 477). [C. H.]

**MEDULA** or **MEDULLA** and her companions; commemorated Jan. 25 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 616). [C. H.]

**MEFOMUS**, martyr; commemorated June 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MEGETIA**, martyr. [Migetia.]

**MEGGINUS**, martyr; commemorated in Mauritania Dec. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MEGINUS**, martyr; commemorated at Perusia Ap. 29 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MEL**, Irish bishop in the 5th cent.; commemorated Feb. 6 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 778). [C. H.]

**MELANIA ROMANA**, "Our Mother;" commemorated Dec. 31 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 278). [C. H.]

**MELANIUS** (1) bishop and confessor; commemorated at Rennes Jan. 6 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 327).

(2) Bishop of Troyes in the 4th cent.; commemorated Ap. 22 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 29). [C. H.]

**MELANTUS**, martyr; commemorated at Dijon Nov. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MELANUS**, martyr in Africa; commemorated Dec. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MELANUS**, martyr in Africa; commemorated Dec. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MELAS** or **MELANES**, bishop of Rhinocolura, confessor in the 5th cent.; commemorated Jan. 16 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 15). [C. H.]

**MELASIPPUS** (1) martyr; commemorated at Langres Jan. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

(2) Martyr with his wife Casina and son Antonius; commemorated Nov. 7 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**MELCHIOR**, Magian king; commemorated Jan. 6 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 323). [Epiphany.] [C. H.]

**MELCHUS**, Irish bishop, of 5th century; commemorated Feb. 6 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 778). [C. H.]

**MELCIADES** (1) bishop and confessor; depositio commemorated at Rome in the cemetery of Calistus on the Via Appia Jan. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Melchiades (Bed. *Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Aug. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MELDANUS.** [Medanus.]

**MELDEGASUS**, martyr; commemorated at Terracina Nov. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MELETIUS** (1) Bishop of Antioch, "Our father," A.D. 381; commemorated Feb. 12 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 253; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 585; Aug. 23 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(2) Dux, martyr with 1250 companions; commemorated May 24 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(3) Commemorated with Isacius, bishops of Cyprus, Sept. 21 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(4) Bishop and confessor; commemorated in Pontus Dec. 4 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MELEUS**, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria July 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MELISIUS**, bishop and martyr; commemorated Ap. 22 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MELISUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Nov. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Nov. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MELITENE, COUNCIL OF** (*Melitenense Concilium*), one of the synods at which Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, was condemned, and held, consequently, before A.D. 359, by when he had ceased to be possessed of that see. (Mansi, iii. 291.) Melitine lay on the frontiers of Armenia Minor and Cappadocia. [E. S. Ff.]

**MELITINA**, of Marcianopolis, martyr under Antoninus; commemorated Sept. 15 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. v. 29). [C. H.]

**MELITO**, bishop in the 1st or 2nd century; commemorated Ap. 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. i. 10). [C. H.]

MELITUS, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria July 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

MELLITUS, bishop in Britain; depositio Ap. 24 (Bed. *Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 280). [C. H.]

MELORUS or MELIOR, martyr in Britain, cir. A.D. 411; commemorated Jan. 3 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 136). [C. H.]

MELOSA, martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

MELOSUS, martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

MELOTES (μηλωτὴ from μῆλον, a sheep). The μηλωταὶ of Heb. xi. 37 are probably indications of distress rather than of asceticism; but when monasticism arose, a sheepskin garment, hanging down on one side, came to be the usual dress of monks in Egypt and elsewhere. Thus Eucherius says: "Melote, in Regum libro, pellis simplex qua monachi Aegyptii etiam nunc utuntur, ex uno latere dependens." This word also denotes an upper garment of goatskin; thus Cassian says (*Instit.* i. 8) that the outer garb of monks is a goatskin, which is called *melotes*; and Aelfric, "Hircinus vel fractus roccus;" or, indeed, of any kind of skin (Macri *Hierolex.*). Gregorius Monachus makes the *melotes* to have been a hood or cowl of sheepskin. (Ducange, *Glossary.*) [S. J. E.]

MELTIADES, pope; depositio commemorated at Rome July 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

MELVIUS, martyr; commemorated in Africa June 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

MEMFIDIUS, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Sept. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

MEMMA, martyr; commemorated in Mauritania Oct. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

MEMMERUS, martyr; commemorated in Africa Ap. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

MEMMIA, martyr; commemorated at Rome on the Via Salaria, Aug. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

MEMMIUS (1) Martyr; commemorated Feb. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Carthage May 31 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria June 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Bishop and confessor, in the 3rd century; commemorated at Châlons-sur-Marne Aug. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 4). [C. H.]

MEMNON THAUMATURGUS, "Our father;" commemorated Ap. 28 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 578). [C. H.]

MEMORIA, martyr; commemorated at Milan May 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

MEMORIUS, martyr, with his companions; commemorated at Troyes Sept. 7 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 68). [C. H.]

MENAEA (τὰ μηναῖα). These are office books of the Greek church which contain the variable parts of the offices for fixed festivals. Thus they contain, together with other less prominent matter, the *Stichera* and other similar hymns, the *Lections*, and the other variable parts of vespers; the *Canons*, with all that depends on them, of Lauds, the *Synaxaria*, or Lections from the Lives of the Saints, the rubrical directions from the *Typicum*; and on a few great festivals, such as the Epiphany, the Antiphons of the Liturgy, and the order of the three lesser hours (the 3rd, 6th, and 9th), called on these days αἱ μεγάλαι ὧραι. The Menaea are usually bound in twelve volumes, each containing the Menaeum for a month, and they correspond approximately to the *Proprium Sanctorum* of a Western breviary. The word is met with both in the singular and the plural, with the same signification. The office books however use the singular to denote the compilation for a single month, and the plural (τὰ μηναῖα) to denote the entire series of those for the several months.' [H. J. H.]

MENALIPPUS, martyr; commemorated in Asia Feb. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

MENANDER (1) Martyr with Acacius and Polyaenus; commemorated May 19 (Basil. *Menol.*)

(2) or MINANDER, martyr with others; commemorated at Philadelphia in Arabia Aug. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*). Another on the same day at the 30th mile from Rome (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

MENAS (1) Commemorated Jan. 24 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Martyr with David and John, three monks; commemorated by the Greeks Ap. 12 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 821).

(3) or MENNAS, archbishop of Constantinople, "Our father;" commemorated Aug 24 (Basil. *Menol.*); Aug. 25 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. v. 164).

(4) or MENNAS, an Egyptian martyr, spoken of as "Magnus" and "Gloriosus;" suffered at Cotyaeum in Phrygia under Diocletian and Maximian, with Victor, Vincentius, and Stephanides; commemorated Nov. 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Basil. *Menol.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Cal. Armen.*; Bed. *Mart.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 274); suffered in Scythia, transl. to Constantinople (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*). His natalis, on Nov. 11, commemorated in Gregory's Sacramentary, and his name mentioned in the Collect (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sacr.* 140). His commemoration was on Nov. 10 according to Surius (*De Probat. Sanct. Hist.* t. iv. p. 241, ed. Colon. 1618). A church at Constantinople was dedicated to him (Codinus, *de Signis CP.* 18 b).

(5) A solitary in Samnium, A.D. 583; commemorated Nov. 11 (Greg. Mag. *Dial.* l. iii. c. 26; Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B.* Saec. i. p. 255, Venet. 1733).

(6) or MENNAS, martyr with Hermogenes and Eugraphus, under Maximian; commemorated Dec. 10 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 276); Dec. 3 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C. H.]

MENDICANCY. The frequent almsgiving inculcated upon Christians not unnaturally led the idle and the worthless to depend upon charity rather than upon their own labour. That

the poor should congregate round the doors of the churches to solicit alms was regarded as a laudable custom from early times. Several passages in Chrysostom contain strong exhortations to the people to bestow money in charity before entering church. As the Christian in his day had water standing before the door that the worshippers might first wash their hands, so their forefathers placed the poor there that the power of charity might purify the soul (Chrys. *Hom.* xxvi. *de Verb. Apost.*; *Hom.* i. *in* 2 *Tim.*; *Hom.* iii. *de Poenit.*). With such indiscriminate almsgiving it was impossible that charity should not be abused. Ambrose found it necessary to admonish (*de Offic.* iv. 16) the bishops and priests, who had the treasures of the church to dispense, to be careful that they are not wasted upon importunate beggars. Many come to ask for alms out of mere idleness; they are well able to take care of themselves, and if they are indulged they will soon exhaust the provision of the poor and helpless. Moreover, they are not content with a little, they dress themselves as gentlemen, and pretend to be of good birth, and on this ground obtain a greater share. Care and moderation must, therefore, be exercised in the distribution, that those who are really in want may not be sent away empty, and that designing beggars may not make a spoil of the maintenance of the poor. Idleness has never been regarded in quite the same light in the south and east of Europe as among the more industrious nations of the north; and among the northern tribes after their conversion the conditions of life were such that habitual mendicancy must have been rare. Hence disciplinary canons against begging are not found in the Councils or Penitentials. There are, however, certain forms of the evil corrected in the Theodosian code. A law of Valentinian II. (*Cod. Theod.* XIV., xviii. 1, *de mendicantibus non invalidis*) directed the cases of all able-bodied beggars who fled from their masters to Rome in order to live on charity to be investigated, and those who were found able to work were either to be returned to their original masters or become the possession of the informer who discovered them. This law was re-enacted by Justinian (*Cod. Justin.* II. xxv. 1.

With regard to the clergy themselves the church was careful that they did not abuse the liberality of the people and sink into a life of idleness supported by charity. The term *βακάντιβοι*, or *vacantivi*, applied (Synesius, *Ep.* 67) to clergy who deserted their posts and wandered from place to place, was a stigma affixed to idleness. And it was probably with a view to check clerical mendicancy, as well as for the sake of ecclesiastical regularity, that the council of Agde, A.D. 506, decreed (c. 52) that clergy moving about from one diocese to another without commendatory letters were denied communion. The council of Epaon, A.D. 517 (c. 6), has a similar decree against clerical vagrants. And the same rule is laid down in the Spanish council of Valencia, A.D. 524 (c. 5). The tendency to idleness, inseparable from the monastic life, found no support from the early church writers. Cassian (*de Coen. Instit.* x. 23) quotes a saying of the Egyptian fathers, that a working monk was tempted with one devil—an idle one with a legion. Of Anthony the celebrated ascetic of the Thebaid, it is related (*Vita*, c. 4) that he laboured with his own hands, and gave away all he could spare. The Coenobites, or ascetics, living in communities, and of whom there were not less than 50,000 in Egypt in the 4th century, supported themselves by their own industry (Cassian, *de Coen. Instit.* x. 22). They employed themselves in agriculture, and in making baskets, ropes and sandals, their produce being sent down the Nile for sale in Alexandria, and what was not required for their own maintenance was given to the poor. In general it may be said that industrial occupation was the rule among the monks in the East (see Robertson, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 6; *Monasticism*). Augustine wrote a special treatise (*De Opere Monachorum*) directed against monks being exempted from labour. In some instances, however, manual labour was regarded with less favour. Martin, who introduced monasticism into Gaul, discouraged labour in the monasteries which he established about Poitiers and Tours. The younger brethren were allowed to transcribe books, but this was the only manual work permitted (Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, 10). In the great monastic system established in the West by Benedict in the first half of the 6th century manual labour was one of the distinguishing rules of the order. Seven hours daily was the time allotted to work (*Regula*, c. 48). The manner in which the injunction to work has been carried out by the Benedictines, both in the service of civilization and literature, is a matter of history. In the great monastery of Bangor, disciples from which contributed so much to the evangelization of the north-west of Europe, Bede states (*Hist.* ii. 2) that the monks supported themselves by the labour of their own hands. The exaltation of poverty into a virtue and the rise of the mendicant friars lie outside our period. [G. M.]

**MENEDINA**, martyr; commemorated in Etruria May 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MENELAMPUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated in Egypt Jan. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Pontus Jan. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated at Carthage Jan. 19 (*Hieron Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated at Smyrna Feb. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr; commemorated at Tarsus Mar. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Martyr; commemorated in Africa July 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MENELANTUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Feb. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MENELAUS**, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria July 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*); another at Tarsus on the same day (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MENELEUS**, abbat and confessor in Auvergne; commemorated July 22 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, v. 302). [C. H.]

**MENESBRE, COUNCIL OF** (*Menesbrense concilium*). When all the bishops of Brittany met at a mountain of that name, near St. Pol de Léon, to excommunicate Comorre, count of Léon, A.D. 590, or thereabouts. (Mansi, x. 461.) [E. S. Ff.]

**MENESIDEUS**, martyr: commemorated at Alexandria July 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MENEUS**, presbyter, martyr; commemorated July 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MENGENES**, martyr; commemorated at Ephesus May 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* May, iii. 572). [C. H.]

**MENIGNUS FULLO**, martyr in the Hellespont; commemorated Mar. 16 (Basil. *Menol.*); Mar. 15 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 390). [C. H.]

**MENNA** or **MANNA**, virgin in Lorraine, 4th century; commemorated Oct. 3 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ii. 150). [C. H.]

**MENNAS.** [MENAS.]

**MENNO**, martyr; commemorated at Valencia in Spain Jan. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MENODORA**, virgin and martyr, with her sisters Metrodora and Nymphodora; commemorated Sept. 10 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 268; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 489). [C. H.]

**MENOLOGIUM** (*μηνολόγιον*). This book corresponds with the *Martyrology* of the Roman church, and, like it, contains the lives and acts of the saints and martyrs. The practice of reading publicly the acts of the saints dates from very early times, and was confirmed by the 47th canon of the 3rd council of Carthage (A.D. 397), which after directing that nothing be read in the churches, "sub nomine divinarum scripturarum," except the canonical scriptures, adds, "Liceat etiam legi passiones martyrum cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur."

Among early ecclesiastical biographers may be mentioned Eusebius (†A.D. 338), who made one of the earliest collections of the acts of the saints, also Palladius Bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia (cir. A.D. 401), a friend of St. Chrysostom, who wrote lives of Saints and the Hermits of the Desert, the reading of which in the church was prescribed during Lent.

Many changes were made in the Menology, and great variations naturally exist in different copies. The emperor Basil the Macedonian (A.D. 867–886) caused one to be compiled: and Constantine Porphyrogenitus (A.D. 911) directed Simeon Metaphrastes,* the *Logothete* or *Chancellor* of the empire, to compile the lives of the saints and acts of the martyrs, arranged in order according to the months of the year. Selections from the menologium, under the name of Synaxaria (*συναξάρια*) are inserted in the Menaea, and read in the course of the office after the sixth ode of the canon for the day. In modern usage the term menologium is often confounded with, and used for menaeum. Thus Goar (*not.* 29 *in Laud. Off.*), "Volumen singulorum mensium officia complectens *μηναῖον* est, et vulgo *Menologium* dicunt," and (*not.* 33) he uses Synaxarion in the sense of Menologium, "Sanctorum vitas volumen brevibus verbis complectens, *συναξάριον* est: et Martyrologio correspondet, fitque in Laudibus ex eo lectio, etc. . . ." Correctly, *μηνολόγιον* is the entire book, an *συναξάριον* the extract from it. [H. J. H.]

* Card. Bellarmine charges this author with giving too much play to his imagination.

**MENSA MYSTICA, ETC.** [ALTAR.]

**MENSURUA DIVISIO.** [DIVISIO MENSURUA.]

**MENTIUS**, martyr with Eusebius and others; commemorated May 30 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**MEONIS**, martyr; commemorated at Langres Jan. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MEORTIUS** (MERTIUS), martyr under Diocletian; commemorated Jan. 12 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 724). [C. H.]

**MERCIA, COUNCIL OF** (*Synodus Merciana*), A.D. 705, or thereabouts; at which St. Adhelm, then a presbyter only, was enjoined to write against the errors of the British communion, especially that of celebrating Easter, which he did with so much effect, that many were gained over to orthodoxy by reading his work (Mansi, xii. 167). [E. S. Ff.]

**MERCURIA**, martyr with Ammonaria at Alexandria; commemorated Dec. 12 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MERCURIUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Mar. 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Salona Aug. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr under Decius; commemorated Nov. 25 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Bgzant.*; Surius, *de Probat. Sanct. Hist.* t. iv. p. 524, ed. Colon. 1618). [C. H.]

**MERIADOCUS**, bishop of Vannes in the 7th century; commemorated June 7 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, ii. 36). [C. H.]

**MERIDA, COUNCIL OF** (*Emeritense concilium*), held A.D. 666, at Merida in Estremadura. Twelve bishops, including Proficius bishop of that see, their metropolitan, subscribed to its twenty-three canons or chapters. In the first of these the creed of Constantinople, with the "Filioque" clause, is rehearsed, and followed by heavy denunciations against all who recede from, or will not assent to it. By the second, the invitatory, or "Venite" (sonus), is directed to be sung at vespers in the place assigned to it in other churches. By the third, the sacrifice is directed to be offered daily for the king and his army when engaged in war. By the ninth, fees are forbidden to be taken either for giving the chrism or for administering baptism. By the tenth, every bishop of the province is directed to have an archpresbyter, an archdeacon, and a chief-clerk (primiclerum) in his cathedral church. By the sixteenth, the third part of the revenues of parish churches, anciently due to the bishop, is to be spent on repairs (Mansi, xi. 75 sq.). [E. S. Ff.]

**MERIUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Oct. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MEROBIUS**, martyr with Felix and others; commemorated in the East Dec. 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*); with Felix and others, but different from the preceding, at Laodicea Dec. 4 (*Hieron. Mart.* Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MEROBUS**, martyr; commemorated at Tomi Sept. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MEROLA**, martyr; commemorated at Antioch Nov. 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MERONA**, martyr, commemorated at Tomi July 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MEROVAEUS**, monk of Bobbio, cir. A.D. 626; commemorated Oct. 22 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 614). [C. H.]

**MERTIUS.** [MEORTIUS.]

**MESHACH.** [MISHAEL.]

**MESIPPUS**, martyr with his brothers Peusippus or Speusippus and Elasippus or Eleusippus; commemorated Jan. 16 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**MESNE PROFITS.** [VACANCY.]

**MESROP**, commemorated Oct. 12 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C. H.]

**MESSALLINA**, virgin martyr, under Decius, at Fuligno; commemorated Jan. 23 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 453). [C. H.]

**MESSENGER.** Polycarp is desired in the Ignatian epistle to him (c. 7) to choose some one who may be worthy to bear the name of θεόδρομος, to carry to Syria the tidings of his (Polycarp's) love of Christ. The word θεοπρεσβύτης is used in a precisely similar sense in the Ignatian epistle to the Smyrnaeans (c. 11); and similarly Polycarp (*ad Philipp.* 13) speaks of sending one to be an ambassador (πρεσβεύσοντα). These emissaries were probably in most cases deacons of the church. Baronius (*Ann.* A.D. 58, c. 108) wrongly supposes these θεόδρομοι to be CURSORES (p. 521) for the summoning of assemblies. (Bingham's *Antiq.* VIII. viii. 15.) [C.]

**MESSOR** (1) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Picenum Ap. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**METATOR.** An officer sent before the sovereign when on a journey to take care that proper preparations were made for his reception. [See METATUS.] Cyprian (*Ep.* 81, al. 6, § 4) applies the word to Rogatian, the first martyr sent to prison in the Decian persecution, who, he says, went before the rest as a harbinger (metator) to prepare their place in the dungeon. See also Optatus, *de Schism. Donat.* iii. 4, § 61. [P. O.]

**METATORIUM** (μετατάριον, μιτατώριον, μεσατώριον) one of the subordinate buildings of an oriental church, usually regarded as identical with the *diaconicum* [DIACONICUM]. Thus, in the Euchologia we read of the patriarch going down "into the metatorium or diaconicum," and passing from it to the altar from the right-hand side. Cedrenus records that when the emperor Leo the Philosopher was forbidden by the patriarch Nicolas to enter the church, on account of his having contracted a fourth marriage, he performed his devotions in the metatorium, on the right side of the altar (Cedren. *Histor.* p. 483, ed. Par. p. 602). The metatorium erected by Justinian at the church of St. Sophia, was used by him and his successors as a place of retirement and repose, in which the emperors also sometimes partook of a meal (cf. Theodor. Lect. *Eclog.* ii. p. 165, and the other references to Byzantine historians given by Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, lib. iii. No. 84). Goar is of opinion that the metatorium was also used by the ministers of the church for rest and refreshment, and that they there partook of a slight repast. He regards the word, as does Suicer (*sub voc.*) as a corruption of μινσατώριον, derived from μίνσος, *ferculum*, or from *mensa*, "a table." But Ducange is probably right in regarding it as a Graecized form of the low-Latin "metatum" frequent in Gregory of Tours, Gregory the Great, and contemporaneous writers, in the sense of "a dwelling." The Greek form μιτάτον, or μετάτον, is of not unfrequent occurrence: *e. g.* νομίζοντες καὶ ἐν τῷ μιτάτῳ αὐτοῦ ἐν ᾧ πάλαι κατέμεινεν εὑρίσκεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐξητήσαμεν (*Concil. Constantinop. sub Menna*, act. ii. Labbe, v. 57;) ἐπεζήτησε μίτατον (aliter κελλίον) μεῖζον ὁ Χριστιανὸς (Athanas. *de Imag. Beryt.*). Augusti, with far less probability, considers it another form of "mutatorium," in the sense of "a vestry," *camera paramenti*, where the ministers of the church changed their habits (Augusti, *Handbuch der Christ. Archäol.* i. 390; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeit*, vol. iv. i. p. 140). [E. V.]

**METATUS.** The duty of providing food and lodging for the sovereign and his retinue when on a journey, or for the judges and others travelling on public business. Under the Roman law the clergy were exempted from this obligation *Cod. Theodos.* xvi. tit. 2, leg. 8). According to Gothofred (*Com. in Cod. Theodos.* vii. tit. 8; *de Onere Metatus*) this exemption was given to the clergy, to senators, to Jewish synagogues, and all places of worship. The capitularies of the Frank kings, on the other hand, appear to lay the burden chiefly on the clergy. One reason of this undoubtedly was to be found in the frequent bestowal of fiefs upon the church, to be held by this and other feudal tenures. Thomassin (*Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* iii. 1, c. 48, § 3) says that under the Roman law the obligation was considered to be a badge of servitude, but among the Franks such exercise of hospitality was esteemed an honour and a token of the alliance between church and state.

Bishops especially appear to have been expected to receive the sovereign. Thomassin (*ib.* iii. 1, c. 39, §§ 1, 2) gives instances of farms bestowed by Charles the Great on bishops who had received him with such hospitality as was in their power, and of punishments inflicted by him on certain bishops and abbats who had neglected to receive some ambassadors from Persia on their way to his court. This custom appears to have brought with it certain inconveniences. A curious canon of the Council of Meaux, A.D. 845 (c. 26), reminds the reigning monarch, Charles the Bald, that women were strictly forbidden to enter the houses of any of the clergy, and that especially the dwelling of bishops should be free from their presence, and implores them not to compel bishops to turn their palaces into lodging houses for women during a royal progress. The right was also claimed for those who were travelling on public business. A capitulary of Louis the Pious (ii. tit. 16, ed. Baluz) sets forth that certain places had been appointed by himself

and his father for the special exercise of hospitality, and ordains that officers should be appointed to these places to see that this duty was carefully discharged. Special mention is made of the reception of embassies, and those who neglect to provide with fitting entertainment and provision for the way (paravereda) are threatened with deprivation of any offices that they may hold. The second council of Rheims, A.D. 813 (c. 42), entreats the emperor to enforce by statute that no one should dare to deny lodging (mansionem) to those travelling on his service, or on any duty enforced on them by law (quibus incumbit necessitas).

It appears that this right was often abused. Sometimes by the sovereign using it more than was equitable. Thus Hincmar of Rheims, in his Instruction to Louis the Stammerer (*Opp.* ii. p. 182), exhorts him not to harass the church by continual progresses ("circadas") and other exactions which were not customary in the time of his predecessors. Sometimes by bishops making it a pretext for illegal claims upon the presbyters of their dioceses. A form of instruction delivered by the metropolitan to the French bishops on their institution (Sirmond, *Gall. Conc.* ii. p. 660), especially forbids them to demand rights of lodging from their presbyters for their friends or attendants, or to extort under the name of free gifts ("accipiat, id est rapiat") any supplies of horses or carriages on pretence of making provision for the sovereign or his embassies. Sometimes this was claimed by those who had no title to it, or from persons who were exempt. An edict of Charles the Great (Sirmond, *Gall. Conc.* ii. 242) prohibits a practice which had sprung up among the officers of the empire, of demanding lodging and conveyance ("mansionaticos et paravereda"), not only from free men, but from monasteries, convents, guest-houses, and other ecclesiastical corporations. Exemptions appear to have often been given to monasteries. An edict of Charles the Bald, quoted by Thomassin (*Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* iii. 1, c. 39, § 12), forbids his judges to claim any rights of lodging or provision for the way from certain monasteries. Flodoard (*Hist. Rem.* ii. 11) says that Rigobert, archbishop of Rheims, asserted that all church property in his diocese was free from the rights of entertainment claimed by the judges on the ground of exemptions granted by the Frank kings. This exemption was sometimes extended to the rights of the bishops themselves. A charter given by pope Marinus, A.D. 885, to the monastery of Solognac (Sirmond, *Conc. Gall.* iii. 521) provides that no bishop or count should claim from the monks any right of lodging or provision for the way, but that they should be left free to exercise the duty of hospitality to all Christians at their own will. For the duties expected from monastic institutions in the way of receiving travellers, as distinct from the law of 'metatus,' see HOSPITALITY; HOSPITIUM. [P. O.]

**METELLUS**, martyr, with Mardonius and others, at Neocaesarea; commemorated Jan. 24 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**METENSE CONCILIUM.** [METZ.]

**METHODIUS (1)** Patriarch of Constantinople, "Our holy father;" commemorated June 14 (Basil. *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 261).

**(2)** Bishop of Patara, martyr under Diocletian; commemorated June 20 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* June, iv. 5).

**(3)** Bishop of Olympus in Lycia and afterwards of Tyre, martyr at Chalcis; commemorated Sept. 18 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. v. 768). [C. H.]

**METRAS** or **METRANUS**, martyr at Alexandria; commemorated Jan. 31 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 1079). [C. H.]

**METROBIUS**, martyr; commemorated in Phrygia Oct. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*) [C. H.]

**METRODORA (1)** Virgin martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Aug. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(2)** Martyr with her sisters Menodora and Nymphodora; commemorated Sept. 10 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 268). [C. H.]

**METRODORUS**, presbyter, martyr at Nicomedia; commemorated Mar. 12 (Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*); METRODUS (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**METRONA**, virgin; commemorated at Perusia Ap. 29 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**METROPHANES**, patriarch of Constantinople, "Our holy father," cir. A.D. 325; commemorated June 4 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 260; Boll. *Acta SS.* June, i. 384). The *Cal. Armen.* mentions Metrophanes and Alexander, patriarchs, under Nov. 7. [C. H.]

**METROPOLITAN** (Μητροπολίτης, *Metropolitanus*). Bishop Beveridge (*Cod. Can.* lib. ii. c. 5) considers that metropolitans are either of apostolical institution, or that at least the Apostles founded the church on such a system as to put matters inevitably in train for the erection of metropolitan sees, and must therefore be supposed to have contemplated the result to which their acts naturally, if not necessarily, led. In support of this view stress is laid on the fact that the apostles in going into any province of the empire chose out the civil metropolis of that province in which to fix their head-quarters, and to found a church. Thus, for example, Antioch was the metropolis of Syria, Corinth of Achaia, Ephesus of Asia, Thessalonica of Macedonia; and when from thence, as from a centre, other churches had been formed, they are collectively spoken of, and grouped together, in reference to the Roman province, and therefore to its metropolis. Thus we hear in the New Testament of the churches of Judea, the churches of Macedonia, the churches of Asia. An inference, therefore, is drawn that a certain ecclesiastical connexion between the church of the chief city and the churches throughout the province, which had derived their origin from it, was to be expected, and was intended. And this, it is urged, is precisely what is found to prevail at an early period. It is further contended that Titus and Timothy in fact acted as metropolitans in Crete and Ephesus, for which Chrysostom is cited (*Hom.* i. *in Tit.*), who says, εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν δόκιμος, οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον ὁλόκληρον ἐπέτρεψεν . . . οὐκ ἂν τοσούτων ἐπι-

*σκόπων κρίσιν ἐπέτρεψεν.* (Comp. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 4, lib. v. c. 23, lib. iv. c. 23, which passages however, it may perhaps be said, do not seem necessarily to mean more than that the whole was one bishopric.) Barrow, however, while admitting as a fact that the chief cities were usually selected as the first seats of churches, yet considers that "all ecclesiastical presidencies and subordinations, or dependencies of some bishops on others in administration of spiritual affairs, were introduced merely by human ordinance, and established by law or custom, upon prudential accounts, according to the exigency of things." "At first," he says, "every bishop, as a prince in his own church, did act freely according to his will and discretion, with the advice of his ecclesiastical senate, and with the consent of his people (the which he did use to consult), without being controllable by any other, or accountable to any, further than his obligation to uphold the verity of Christian profession, and to maintain fraternal communion in charity and peace with neighbouring churches did require." But "because little, disjointed, and incoherent bodies were like dust, apt to be dissipated by every wind of external assault or intestine faction: and peaceable union could hardly be retained without some ligature of discipline: and churches could not mutually support and defend each other without some method of intercourse and rule of confederacy engaging them: therefore, for many good purposes (for upholding and advancing the common interests of Christianity, for protection and support of each church from inbred disorders and dissensions, for preserving the integrity of the faith, for securing the concord of divers churches, for providing fit pastors to each church, and correcting such as were scandalously bad or unfaithful) it was soon found needful that divers churches should be combined and linked together in some regular form of discipline; that if any church did want a bishop, the neighbour bishops might step in to approve and ordain a fit one: that if any bishop did notoriously swerve from the Christian rule, the others might interpose to correct or void him: that if any error or schism did peep up in any church, the joint concurrence of divers bishops might avail to stop its progress, and to quench it, by convenient means of instruction, reprehension, and censure; that if any church were oppressed by persecution, by indigency, by faction, the others might be engaged to afford effectual succour and relief; for such ends it was needful that bishops in certain precincts should convene, with intent to deliberate and resolve about the best expedients to compass them, and that the manner of such proceeding (to avoid uncertain distraction, confusion, arbitrariness, dissatisfaction, and mutinous opposition) should be settled in an ordinary course, according to rules known and allowed by all."

He then goes on to shew that as in each political province, there was a metropolis or head city, to which great resort was had for the dispensation of justice and other important affairs, and which usually possessed a Christian church which excelled the rest in opulency and in ability to promote the common interest; and as also in all meetings some one person must preside, this duty would naturally devolve in meetings of bishops upon the prelate of the metropolis, "as being at home in his own seat of presidence and receiving the rest under his wing," as well as on account of his "surpassing the rest in all advantages answerable to the secular advantages of his city." Accordingly the metropolitan bishop became the president of the episcopal meetings, which soon developed into provincial synods. "Thus," he concludes, "I conceive the metropolitan governance was introduced, by human considerations of public necessity or utility.[a] There are, indeed, some who think it was instituted by the apostles, but their arguments do not seem convincing; and such a constitution doth not (as I take it) well suit to the state of their times and the course they took in founding churches" (*Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy*, Suppos. v.).

Dr. Cave, quoted by Bingham, and apparently Bingham himself, appear to take substantially the same view as Barrow.

Thomassin lays stress on the fact that the principal towns being first evangelized by the apostles, Christianity would radiate thence, and daughter-churches spring up around the original church in the mother city, owing it a filial obedience as sprung from it.[b]

Such obedience, however, if taken in a strict sense, though well established in later days, was at first of somewhat gradual growth. Soon after the middle of the 2nd century, synods were rendered peculiarly necessary by the diversities of opinion which then sprang up. And, as Barrow states, these would naturally be held in the chief city and under the presidency of its bishop.[c]

The more frequently such synods were held, the better defined would the dignity of the metropolitan become, especially as it would be his duty to convene them. When they came to be convened at regular intervals, it would assume an established character as an integral part of a permanent institution.

Nor is it difficult to suppose that in the intervals between synods the president would probably be referred to, when the decrees needed either explanation or enforcement. What at first was only the influence due to his superior position would thus by degrees become acknowledged as an actual authority. Other occasions on which

[a] Accordingly we find that the civil metropolis was also the ecclesiastical metropolis, even when it might have been expected to be otherwise. Thus Caesarea, not Jerusalem, was the seat of the metropolitan in Palestine. Compare canons 12 and 17 of Chalcedon.

[b] "Ex quibus colligitur, si civiles metropoles in metropoles etiam ecclesiasticas evasere, id eo maxime factum esse, quod metropoleon ecclesiae ceteras quoque pepererint fundarintque provinciae ecclesias; eo prorsus modo, quo urbis cujusque cathedralis, ceteris vicinorum oppidorum ecclesiis ortum dedit, atque adeo maternam in eas dominationem jure est consecuta" (Part. i. l. 1, c. 3).

[c] Such at least was the general, though not at first perhaps the invariable rule. For Eusebius (*H. E.* 5. c. 23) speaks of a synod of the bishops of Pontus at which the senior bishop appears to have presided. In Africa the rule as to metropolitans was peculiar. With the exception of Carthage, which seems to have been the standing metropolis for the province of Africa properly so called, the senior bishop for the time being of the province was metropolitan, whatever his see. Such was the custom in Numidia and Mauretania. It is to be observed, however, that Carthage seems to have had a kind of primacy over them. See Gieseler, 1st period, § 66.

the Christian inhabitants of a Roman province might unite together, such as a solemn thanksgiving for the cessation of persecution, would conduce to the same result. The bishop of the chief city, at which such assemblies would probably take place, would direct the solemnities, and perhaps conduct them. (See Bickell, *Gesch. des Kirchenrechts*, part 2, p. 176, who refers to Ignat. *ad Philad.* c. 10, *ad Smyrn.* c. 11, *ad Polyc.* c. 7).

Again, the custom that when a bishop died, the neighbouring bishops should assemble for the consecration of his successor, would afford another case of solemn action in which some one must take the lead. And it would naturally devolve on the metropolitan who had taken such lead to certify the churches in other parts of the world as to the validity of the election and consecration, and as to the person whom they were to regard and deal with as the true and regular bishop, in case any other claimants appeared. This would easily pass into a right to ratify what was done in the matter, and to authorize the consecration, so that without such authorization it would not be regular.[d]

It wil now be proper to give some authorities in order to afford the means of judging how far the above sketch is warranted by the facts of the case.[e]

On the one hand, as to the stress laid in early times on the inherent equality of all bishops, we have the statement of Cyprian:—"Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit, quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentiâ libertatis et potestatis suae arbitrium proprium, tanquam judicari ab alio non possit, cum nec ipse possit alterum judicare. Sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi; qui unus et solus habet potestatem et praeferendi nos in ecclesiae suae gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi" (*Allocutio in Conc. Carthag.* A.D. 256). And again:—"Manente concordiae vinculo et perseverante catholicae ecclesiae individuo sacramento, actum suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus." *Ep.* 55, *ad Antonianum* (*Ep.* 52, ed. Pam.). So, again, he speaks of it as a rule, "ut singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus" (*Ep.* 55, *ad Cornelium*).

It may indeed be said that Cyprian was himself in some sense a metropolitan, but Bickell remarks that passages like these shew that his office was rather that of presiding and taking the lead than such as implied any actual subordination of the other bishops to him (*Gesch. des Kirchenrechts*, part 2. 181).

On the other hand we read in the apostolic canons (can. 33), *τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδὲν πράττειν περιττὸν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης*, which seems to indicate something more than mere precedence.

Whether or not this can be relied on as a more ancient authority than those we are about to cite will of course depend on the date and origin assigned to this collection of canons. [See APOSTOLIC CANONS.] Beveridge argues for their antiquity because the term metropolitan is not used. This title, it is admitted on all hands, did not come into recognised use until the 4th century. Bickell and others, however, consider that the stress thus laid on metropolitan authority (no matter by what title) proves of itself that the apostolic canons belong to the 4th century. One thing at all events, is clear, namely, that the council of Nice speaks of the existence of metropolitans as no new thing at that period. In fact, it treats the still more extensive authority of the bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome as established by ancient custom.[f]

The Nicene decrees also recognise it as perfectly clear (*καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκεῖνο*), that no one is to be made a bishop without the metropolitan (*χωρὶς γνώμης μητροπολίτου*), and if otherwise, he is not to be held rightly a bishop (can. vi.; see also can. iv.).

The council of Antioch (can. ix.) has explicit decrees as to the precedency of the bishop of the metropolis, and as to the necessity for his presence when questions of a general nature are discussed, but with a strong reservation as to the powers of each bishop in matters affecting merely his own diocese.[g]

The same council also insists that no one be made a bishop without a synod and the presence of the metropolitan of the province (can. xix.), and the council of Laodicea repeats the injunction (can. xii.).[h]

[d] Such right, however, did not necessarily amount to an arbitrary negative. If there was a diversity of opinion in the synod the metropolitan was directed by the council of Arles to side with the majority, and there are other councils to the same effect. [BISHOP.]

[e] These authorities are principally found in the East and in North Africa. In the West the development of metropolitan authority was apparently of later date. But indications of it in Gaul, in connexion with the council of Arles, and in Spain at the council of Elvira (can. 58) are given by Bickell (part 2, pp. 185, 186).

[f] *τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν, ὁμοίως δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις* (can. 6). Even at this time, however metropolitans were not universal in the West (Bickell, 2, 187).

[g] *τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας· διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας. Ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν, μηδέν τε πράττειν περιττὸν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπισκόπους ἄνευ αὐτοῦ· κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον κρατήσαντα τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα ἢ ταῦτα μόνα ὅσα τῇ ἑκάστου ἐπιβάλλει παροικίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν χώραις. Ἕκαστον γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας διοικεῖν τε κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλουσαν εὐλάβειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν· ὡς καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἕκαστα διαλαμβάνειν. περαιτέρω δὲ μηδὲν πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν δίχα τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ αὐτὸν ἄνευ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν γνώμης* (*Concil. Antioch.* can. ix.).

[h] The words of the Antiochene canon are: *ἐπίσκοπον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι δίχα συνόδου καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς ἐπαρχίας.* These words are deemed by Barrow to interpret the ambiguous phrase, *χωρὶς γνώμης*, in the Nicene canon, and to shew that "it doth not import a negative voice in him, but that the transaction should not pass in his absence, or without his knowledge, advice, and suffrage." (Barrow *On Pope's Supremacy*, Supposition vi.) Eventually, however, no doubt the

The right of personally deciding appeals was not vested in metropolitans till a late period.

The council of Sardica may be thought to have a trace of it, but the decrees of this council on the subject of appeals are perhaps open to question.[i]

The council of Nice directed that synods should be held twice a year in each province, in order that when clergymen or laymen had been excommunicated by their own bishops the propriety of the sentence might be examined and confirmed, or mitigated. (See canon v.)

The council of Chalcedon (can. ix.) defined the course to be that when one clergyman complained against another, they should first go before their own bishop, or before judges selected by both parties with his sanction. But if a clergyman brought a complaint against a bishop, it was to be determined in the provincial synod.[k]

In like manner the council of Antioch (can. vi.) allowed a party excommunicated by his own bishop to appeal to the next ensuing synod.

In these synods the metropolitan would no doubt preside, and exercise great influence, but there is no proof as yet of his judging alone in matters of importance.

An intermediate stage seems observable in the laws of Justinian (*Cod.* i. tit. 4, leg. 29), in which an appeal is given to the metropolitan, with a further appeal from him to a synod, and a final appeal from the synod to the patriarch.[l]

The troubled state of affairs socially and politically, as well as ecclesiastically, which ensued during the breaking up of the Roman Empire, and the growth of the various European monarchies from its ruins, rendered it difficult to bring together distant bishops, and consequently synods were rarely held or fell into disuse.[m] This would largely contribute to independent action on the part of the metropolitans.

Speaking in relation to the state of things in Gaul about the 6th and 7th centuries, Guizot says: "The civil metropolis was generally more wealthy, more populous than the other towns of the province; its bishop had more influence; people met around him on all important occasions; his residence became the chief place of the provincial council; he convoked it, and was the president of it; he was moreover charged with the confirmation and consecration of the newly-elected bishops of the province; with receiving accusations brought against bishops, and the appeals from their decisions, and with carrying them, after having made a first examination, to the provincial council, which alone had the right of judging them. The archbishops unceasingly attempted to usurp the right and make a personal power of it. They often succeeded; but, in truth, as to all important circumstances, it was to the provincial council that it appertained; the archbishops were only charged with superintending the execution of it." (*Hist. of Civilisation in France*, vol. ii. p. 46, Eng. trans.)

In Spain, in the 6th century, the council of Toledo (can. 20) says, "let the priests, whether parochial or diocesan, who shall be tormented by the bishop, carry their complaints to the metropolitan, and let the metropolitan delay not to repress such excesses." This seems to imply a direct personal power, but it may be observed that this canon refers to unseemly exactions on the part of individual bishops rather than to their judicial sentences.

From this time onward the authority and position of metropolitans in the West were subject to many fluctuations, and varied much in different countries. Some of the popes, who were jealous of all intermediate authority between themselves and the diocesan bishops, shewed a disposition to weaken the metropolitans. And the bishops themselves, with a somewhat short-sighted policy, preferred to have their superior at a distance in Italy instead of in their own country and province. Moreover as the superiority of the metropolitans was in a great degree dependent on the pre-eminence of the city in which their see was fixed and on its ancient character as a metropolis, the changes which took place in the relative importance of towns at periods of invasion and social change materially affected the position of the prelates.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in many places the metropolitan authority should decline, or that in the 8th century Pepin should have to consult pope Zachary as to the course to be adopted for procuring respect for metropoli-

power of confirmation came into the hands of the metropolitan personally. "Quoniam inter episcopos ordinatores, primus et praeses esset metropolitanus: neque semper omnibus comprovincialibus episcopis commodum esset, ad singulas episcoporum ordinationes convenire, sensim ex quodam ut minus tacito ecclesiae consensu ad metropolitanum, integrum pene devolutum est jus electiones discutiendi, easque vel ut canonicas probandi, vel ut minus canonicas reprobandi." (Van Espen, part i. tit. xiv. c. i.) For the profession of obedience made to metropolitans by the bishops of their province, see BISHOP, 1, 6.

[i] ὁ ἐκβαλλόμενος ἐχέτω ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς μητροπόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας καταφυγεῖν. εἰ δὲ ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἄπεστιν, ἐπὶ τὸν πλησιόχωρον κατατρέχειν, καὶ ἀξιοῦν, ἵνα μετὰ ἀκριβείας αὐτοῦ ἐξετάζηται τὸ πρᾶγμα (c. 14, t. 2). Thomassin (part i. lib. i. c. 40) insists on the view that as metropolitans ordained the bishops of their province, they had a paternal authority over them. "Rata illa erat juris antiqui regula, ut qui habet ordinandi, habeat et judicandi potestatem."

[k] If he had a dispute with the metropolitan, it was to be heard before the exarch or by the patriarch. (Cann. ix. and xvii.).

[l] Θεσπίζομεν μηδένα τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων κληρικῶν, εἴτε παρά τινος συγκληρικοῦ, εἴτε παρὰ τῶν καλουμένων λαϊκῶν τινὸς, εὐθὺς καὶ ἐκ πρώτης ἐν αἰτιάσει γένεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς μακαριωτάτοις πατριάρχαις διοικήσεως ἑκάστης· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς θεσμοὺς παρὰ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπῳ καθ' ἣν ὁ κληρικὸς διάγει· εἰ δὲ ὑπόπτως ἔχει πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, παρὰ τῷ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο πράττειν· εἰ δὲ (ὡς εἰκὸς) οὔτε τὰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον αὐτῷ ἀρέσκοι, τηνικαῦτα πρὸς τὴν εὐαγῆ σύνοδον τὴν τῆς χώρας ἄγειν αὐτὸν δικαζόμενον. τριῶν ἅμα τῷ μητροπολίτῃ συνιόντων θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων τῶν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῆς χειροτονίας πρωτευόντων καὶ τὴν δικὴν ἐν τάξει τῆς ὅλης συνόδου ἐξεταζόντων· καὶ εἰ μὲν στερχθείη τὰ κεκριμένα, πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάχθαι· εἰ δὲ οἰηθείη βεβλάφθαι, τηνικαῦτα ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν μακαριώτατον πατριαρχὴν τῆς διοικήσεως ἐκείνης, καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ κρινομένοις πάντως ἐμμένειν, ὡς ἂν εἰ ἔτυχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτὸς εἰρημένος δικαστής. Κατὰ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπισκόπων ἀποφάσεων οὐκ εἶναι χώραν ἐκκλήτῳ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν νενομοθέτηται.

[m] In the course of the 6th century there were held in Gaul fifty-four councils of every description: in the 7th century only twenty, in the first half of the 8th century only seven, and five of these were held in Belgium or on the banks of the Rhine. (Guizot, *Hist. of Civilisation in France*, vol. ii. p. 49, Eng. trans.)

tans at the hands of the bishops and parochial clergy.

In France, indeed, a vigorous effort was made to restore the institution to something like vigour, and the legislation of Pepin and Charlemagne might have had this effect.[n] But a fatal blow was at hand. The appearance of the forged decretals in the middle of the 9th century tended to elevate the papal power at the expense of that of the metropolitans, to an extent from which the latter never completely recovered, except in countries like England, where patriotic feeling and royal authority alike resented direct papal interference, and supported the national prelacy.[o] The later history of the subject lies beyond the chronological limit of the present work.

It only remains to say a few words on certain details.

*As to appointment.*—When the position and dignity of metropolitans became established, it would appear that the canonical rule was that they should be elected by all the bishops of the province, with the consent of the clergy and laity.[p] Obviously, however, the appointment of these superior prelates would be open to the same disturbing influences which affected the choice of ordinary bishops, only in a still greater degree, on account of their greater importance. (Comp. BISHOP I. i. *a.*)

When chosen, the metropolitan was confirmed, and consecrated in the East by the exarch or patriarch (see Thomassin, part ii. lib. 2, cap. 8 and cap. 19). In the West he was consecrated by the other bishops of the province (August. *Brevic. Collat.* 3 die, c. 16, and see Beveridge, *Pandect. Can.* vol. 2, Annot. p. 55). When Rome came to assert a patriarchal right over the whole West, the pope put forward a claim to sanction the appointment of metropolitans by sending them the pallium [PALLIUM]. As early as the 6th century, the pope appears to have sent a pallium to the bishop of Arles as perpetual vicar of the holy see in Gaul. And Gregory I. did the like to certain other metropolitans as well, but it was not then decided that they were bound to wait for this before exercising their functions. It was not until the synod of Frankfort in 742 that Boniface, as legate of pope Zachary, obtained a decision that all metropolitans should request the pallium from the pope and obey his lawful commands.[q] This was construed by the popes to mean a promise of obedience before receiving the pall. And this again was turned into a direct oath of fealty by subsequent popes.

Finally, it may be right to mention the class of honorary metropolitans. These had title and precedence, but not power. Thus Chalcedon and Nicaea each enjoyed the title of a metropolis, and their bishops had metropolitan rank, but Nicomedia remained the real metropolis (see council of Chalcedon, act 6 and 13, and compare Thomassin, part i. lib. i. cap. 39).

This article may not unfitly be concluded with two short summaries of the powers and duties of metropolitans by writers of learning.

Bishop Beveridge, in his Annotations on the Canons of the Council of Nice, enumerates their functions thus:

1. Penes metropolitanum est omnes episcoporum ordinationes et electiones in provinciâ suâ celebratas confirmare; adeo ut sine ejus consensu et confirmatione irrita sit episcopi cujusvis ordinatio.

2. Omnes provinciae suae episcopos ad synodum sub se habendum quotannis convocare.

3. In mores ac opiniones episcoporum sibi subjectorum inspicere, et immorigeros ac gravioribus criminibus convictos admonere, reprehendere, et aliorum episcoporum communione arcere.

4. Causas inter episcopos litigantes audire et determinare et omnia ecclesiastica negotia, quae majoris sunt momenti, in universâ suâ provinciâ administrare, adeo ut nihil magni momenti ab episcopis eo inconsulto fiat. Neque etiam trans mare peregrinare potest episcopus sine dimissoriâ aut formatâ metropolitani sui.[r]

(*Pandect. Can.* vol. ii. Annot. p. 59.)

The other summary is that of Thomassin (*Vetus et Nova Eccles. Disc.* pt. i. lib. i. c. 40).

Si lubet jam brevi gyro paucisque verbis concludere jura metropolitanorum hic perpensa; adverte nihil officere, vel metropolitanorum potestati exarcharum amplitudinem, vel episcoporum dignitati metropolitanorum authoritatem. Causae omnes aliquanti saltem ponderis in commune a metropolitano et episcopis provinciae pertractandae erant: praesertim in concilio provinciae: quod ille convocabat, qui praeerat. Concilio universali intererant ex officio metropolitani omnes. Episcoporum proceres, magistri, judices, audiebant. In subditis subditorum sibi episcoporum jurisdictionem depromebant, vel cum ad ipsos erat provocatum, vel cum provinciam obambulabant. Sedes metropolitani instar habebat, et imaginem praeferebat sedis apostolicae. Observandorum canonum praefecti erant, et vindices; impune violatorum in ipsos culpa, in ipsos poena recidebat. Dabant literas formatas. Eorum assensione et dedicabantur ac dotabantur ecclesiae, et earum bona distrahebantur, ubi ex re erat: potestas ordinandorum episcoporum, paternam eis in illos conciliabat authoritatem; et hinc fluebant reliqua in eosdem egregiae potestatis jura.

[n] See the capitulary of Pepin in 755 (Baluze, vol. i. pp 169, 170), and those of Charlemagne in 779 (*ib.* 195) and 789 (*ib.* 216). His Frankfort capit. 794 says, "Si non obedierit aliqua persona episcopo suo de abbatibus, presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus, monachis, et ceteris clericis, vel etiam aliis, in ejus parochia, veniant ad metropolitanum suum, et ille dijudicet causam cum suffraganeis suis. Comites quoque nostri veniant ad judicium episcoporum. Et si aliquid est quod episcopus metropolitanus non possit corrigere vel pacificare, tunc tandem venient accusatores cum accusato cum literis metropolitanis, ut sciamus veritatem rei" (Baluze, i. 254).

[o] See Gieseler, 3rd period, div. 2, § 25.

Thomassin seeks to defend the papacy from the charge of desiring to weaken the metropolitan power (part i. lib. 1, c. 48).

[p] Thus Leo (*Ep.* 88): "Metropolitano defuncto, cum in locum ejus alius fuerit subrogandus, provinciales episcopi ad civitatem metropolitanam convenire debebunt, ut omnium clericorum atque omnium civium voluntate discussa ex presbyteris ejusdem ecclesiae, vel ex diaconis optimus eligatur."

[q] See Van Espen, part i. tit. xix. cap. 8; Hallam, *Middle Ages*, chap. vii. part i.; Gieseler, 3rd period, § 25.

[r] This last head refers to the letters of commendation which in Africa (see canon 28 of the third council of Carthage) and other places (see Gregory the Great, *Epist.* viii. 8) were granted by the metropolitan to bishops going beyond sea.

*Authorities.*—Beveridge, *Cod. Canonum Ecclesiae Universae;* and *Pandect. Canonum.* Barrow, *Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy.* Bingham, *Antiq. of Christian Church.* Gieseler, *Textbook of Eccles. History.* Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae Disciplina.* Bickell, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts.* Van Espen, *Jus Eccles. Universum.* [B. S.]

**METROPOLUS (1)** Bishop; commemorated Aug. 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Bishop and confessor, perhaps in 4th century; commemorated at Treves Oct. 8 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iv. 210). [C. H.]

**METTANUS**, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Jan. 31 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**METUANA**, martyr; commemorated at Rome June 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**METURUS (1)** Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Ap. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated "in Afrodiris" [? Aphrodisiis] Ap. 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**METZ, COUNCILS OF** (*Metensia Concilia*). Three such are recorded:

(1) A.D. 550, or thereabout, on the death of St. Gall, bishop of Clermont, when Cautinus, his archdeacon, was consecrated in his stead. (Mansi, ix. 151.)

(2) A.D. 590, when Aegidius, metropolitan of Rheims, was deposed for high treason, and two nuns who had been excommunicated, one of them a daughter of king Chilperic, had their sentence remitted. (Mansi, x. 459–62.) [E. S. Ff.]

(3) A.D. 755, or thereabouts, but all the canons assigned to it are embodied in a capitulary, dated Metz, of king Pepin. (Mansi, xii. 571, and *ib.* App. 125.) [E. S. Ff.]

**MICA (1)** Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.;* others read MUCIUS (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 80).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Pontus Jan. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated in Pontus Ap. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated in Africa June 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MICAH**, the prophet; commemorated with Habakkuk Jan. 15 (Usuard. *Mart.; Vet. Rom. Mart.;* Bed. *Mart. Auct.*); Ap. 21, without mention of Habakkuk (Basil. *Menol.*); Aug. 14 (*Cal. Byzant.;* Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 266; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 147); Aug. 15 (*Cal. Aethiop.*). [C. H.]

**MICHAEL (1)** Bishop of Synada, confessor, sat in the 7th council, "our holy father;" commemorated May 23 (Basil. *Menol.; Cal. Byzant.;* Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 260).

(2) Abbat, and martyr with 36 monks near Sebastopolis in Armenia; commemorated Oct. 1 (Basil. *Menol.;* Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. i. 307).

(3) **ARAGAWI**, monk and confessor in Aethiopia; commemorated Oct. 11 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. v. 606); "the old" (*Cal. Aethiop.*). [C. H.]

**MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL, AND ALL ANGELS, FESTIVAL OF.** It is not our province here to enter into the general question of angelolatry. It may be well, however, to call attention to the fact that in the early Christian church a certain tendency to angel-worship manifested itself: thus, for example, it forms one of the points in the heresy which affected the Colossian church, against which St. Paul distinctly protests (Col. ii. 18; cf. also i. 16). The Essenic character of this heresy, whether or not there be historical connexion with the Essenes of Palestine, must not be lost sight of, inasmuch as angelology formed an important part of the esoteric creed of the latter, and, indeed, entered largely into the speculations of the Jews generally (Josephus, *B. J.*, ii. 8. 7; cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians, in loc.*, where a number of illustrations are given of this point, in connection with Jews, Judaizing Christians and Gnostics. Those from the curious Ophite work, the *Pistis Sophia*, into which angelology enters very largely, may be especially noted). It is interesting to observe that long afterwards, in the 4th century, we find a council of Laodicea (c. A.D. 363) in the immediate neighbourhood, that is, of Colossae, holding it necessary to forbid the angel-worship then prevalent in the country (can. 35; Labbe, i. 1503). The canon is strongly worded, bidding men not to forsake the church of God, and invoke angels and hold commemorations (ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν καὶ συνάξεις ποιεῖν), because those who follow this secret idolatry are accursed, as having forsaken the Lord Jesus Christ. In the next century we find Theodoret (*in Col.*, *l.c.*) referring to this prohibition as necessitated by the spread of this worship through Phrygia and Pisidia, and he adds that oratories (εὐκτήρια) of St. Michael were still existing in the neighbouring districts.[a] On another point of connexion between St. Michael and this region we shall subsequently dwell at length, his alleged appearance at Chonae, a town in the immediate neighbourhood of Colossae. It may be added here that the above-cited canon of the Laodicene council was, with the rest of its decrees, repeated centuries after by a synod of Aix-la-Chapelle (A.D. 789), but with the reservation, "nec nominentur, *nisi illorum quos habemus in auctoritate. Hi sunt Michael, Gabriel, Raphael*" (*Capit. Aquisgran.* can. 16; Labbe, vii. 973).

Besides such conciliar decrees, strong expressions of opinion are continually met with among the fathers. It is perhaps hardly fair to cite Epiphanius as including the *Angelici* among his different classes of heretics, because though he mentions as a possible derivation the view that they were worshippers of angels, he confesses that he is really ignorant on the point[b] (*Haer.* 60 [*al.* 40]; vol. i. 505, ed. Petavius). Augustine, however, says plainly enough, "we honour [the angels] through love, not through slavish fear, nor do we build to them temples; for they wish not so to be honoured by us, because they know that we ourselves, when we are worthy, are temples of God Most High" (*de Vera Relig.* 110; vol. i. 1266, ed. Gaume). Again, in his *Confessions* (x. 42, vol. i. 327), he says, "Whom could I find who should reconcile me to Thee? Should I have recourse (ambiandum mihi fuit) to

[a] See the curious inscription from the theatre at Miletus, quoted by Dr. Lightfoot (p. 68 n.).

[b] Reference may also be made to Augustine (*de Haeres.* c. 59; vol. viii. 67, ed. Gaume).

angels?" In his *De Civitate Dei* (see lib. x. cc. 19, 25; vol. vii. 410, 418) we find important passages on this subject, which shew very clearly the strong views of the great father on this question, wherein he opposes strongly all idea of worship or sacrifice offered to angels.[c]

Thus, taking the church as a whole (though, as might have been expected, the remark is much more true for the West than the East), we find that festivals of angels enter but slightly into the calendar, thus forming a striking contrast with the ever-increasing list of Saints Days. Naturally, therefore, there is an almost total absence of recognition on the part of the church of the practice before us. The second Nicene Council (A.D. 787) ordains a *τιμητικὴ προσκύνησις* of the figures of angels, as well as those of the Lord, the Virgin and holy men (Labbe, vii. 556), and we have also a commemoration of angels in some litanies (see *e. g.* Ménard, *Greg. Sacr.* 497; where there is special mention of Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael), but with these exceptions the tenor of church teaching is unvarying enough.[d]

Again, though we can now see in the festival of Michaelmas a recognition of the great truth of the joint service of angels and men as subjects of a common Lord, yet it has been justly pointed out that the festivals of angels, now mainly represented, so far as the Western church is concerned, by the festival of St. Michael and All Angels on Sept. 29, were not based on any such dogmatic idea, but were simply commemorations of [supposed] historic events, namely, manifestations of the archangel at some special time and place, or the dedication of a church in his honour.

We shall confine ourselves for the present to the Western church, and speak (1) of the manifestation *in Monte Gargano*. This has been variously referred to the episcopate of Gelasius, *i.e.* 492–6 A.D. (so *e.g.* in Anast. Biblioth., Gelasius [74] "Hujus temporibus inventa ecclesia sancti angeli in Monte Gargano"), to the period from A.D. 520–530 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. 29, p. 57), to the episcopate of Felix IV. in A.D. 536, or even later. The day specially associated with this manifestation is May 8, and the legend is very briefly this. A bull having strayed from the herd, was found fixed in the entrance to a cave, and when it was shot at, the arrow returned and struck the archer. A panic thus arose, and the bishop of Sipontum, in whose diocese Mount Garganus was situated, enjoined, on being consulted, that three days should be given to fasting and prayer. At the end of that time it was vouchsafed to the bishop to see the archangel in a vision by night, who told him that the place was under his special care, thus indicating his wish that worship should there be offered to God in memory of St. Michael and All Angels. As to the germ of this legend, of which we have given a *résumé* from the *Acta*, it has been suggested that it is to be connected with the fact of a war between the people of Sipontum and of Naples, in order to aid in securing the victory to the former. It has also been maintained, and apparently on good grounds, that the shrine of St. Michael was the successor of some local heathen shrine. The belief of the archangel's appearance soon became widely current, and the modern town of Monte St. Angelo, near Manfredonia, owes its name thereto.

Most martyrologies do not contain this commemoration of May 8. We may cite a Corbey martyrology, not much later than A.D. 826, where the day is given as "inventio sancti Michaelis archangeli in Monte Gargano" (D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, x. 134). On the question of the connexion between this manifestation and the commemoration of September 29 we shall speak more fully below.

(2) The archangel is said to have appeared in Monte Tumba, in Normandy (apparently the Mont St. Michel, near Avranches), about the year A.D. 710,[e] to Autbert, bishop of the district of Abrincatae, bidding him build a church in his honour on a place known as Tumba on account of its height, and also as *periculum maris*. The church was said to have been dedicated on October 16 (a Benedictine monastery being afterwards added), on which day it is mentioned in some of the additions to Usuard (*Patrol.*, cxxiv. 582); and the festival of the dedication appears to have acquired considerable celebrity even beyond the bounds of France, for we find a council of Oxford (A.D. 1222) ordering that sundry feasts "a rectoribus ecclesiarum et capellanis in obsequio Divino et laude devotissime celebrentur," among which is the *dedicatio sancti Michaelis in Monte Tumba* (can. 8; Labbe, xi. 275). On the whole of this part of the subject, reference may be especially made to Mabillon (*Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, vol. ii. p. 19), and also the *Acta Sanctorum* (Sept. 29, p. 74, where the *Acta* of this manifestation are given).

(3) We pass on now to consider, in the third place, the commemoration of September 29, the festival of Michaelmas *par excellence*. It does not appear at all certain what was the *original* special idea of the commemoration of this day. A large number of ancient martyrologies and calendars associate it with the manifestation on Mount Garganus, as being the anniversary of the dedication of the church there. In others again we find mention of the dedication of some church to St. Michael at Rome, so that on this latter view we should thus have a parallel to such cases as *e.g.* Christmas and the Ember seasons, where institutions of the *local* Roman church spread throughout the whole Western church, and indeed in the former of our two illustrations almost through the universal church. It is not at all easy to reconcile the conflicting details, which we shall proceed to state at length. We shall first cite from the martyrologies. The *Mart. Hieronymi* gives, according to the *Cod. Epternacensis*, "dedicatio basilicae S. Michaelis" (*Acta Sanctorum*, *ib.* p. 4), but in the *Cod. Corbeiensis* "dedicatio basilicae archangeli Michaelis, in monte qui dicitur Garganus" (D'Achery, iv.

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[c] Cf. further Augustine (*Coll. cum Maximino*, vol. viii. 1016), "Nonne si templum alicui sancto angelo excellentissimo . . . . faceremus, anathemaremur a veritate Christi et ab ecclesia Dei." Also *Contra Faustum*, xx. 21, vol. viii. 545.

[d] It cannot be considered a real exception to this statement that the Coptic *Euchologion* contains some direct prayers to angels. (See Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient. Collectio*, p. 277, ed. 1847.)

[e] This is Mabillon's date; Stilting (*Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. 29, p. 75 a) gives the date as A.D. 850–950.

675). The *Mart. Gellonense* shews a similar variation of MSS., the shorter forms being apparently those of the oldest (*ib.* xiii. 413, 426, 430). Bede, according to the text of the Bollandist edition, has merely "dedicatio ecclesiae sancti angeli Michaelis" (*Patrol.* xciv. 1057), but in some forms of this last the entry runs, "Romae, via Salaria miliario septimo, dedicatio basilicae sancti archangeli Michaelis, vel in monte. . . ." In the *Mart. Lucense*, as here, the Roman commemoration comes first, but there is no mention of the special locality; this is given in a vague way in a *Mart. Corbeiense* (Leslie, *not. ad Liturg. Mozarab.*, *in loc.*), "Romae, miliario sexto (septimo?) . . . ." The martyrologies of Rabanus Maurus (*Patrol.* cx. 1171), Ado (*ib.* cxxiii. 368) and Usuard (*ib.* cxxiv. 518) make distinct mention of Mount Garganus. The metrical martyrology of Bede, "Michaelis ternas [*sc. Kal. Oct.*] templi dedicatio sacrat" (*ib.* xciv. 605) is quite general, and also that of Wandalbert (*ib.* cxxi. 612).

"Aetherea virtute potens, princepsque supernae
Militiae Michael terno sibi templa sacravit."

The *Romanum Parvum* combines two notices, "In Monte Gargano, venerabilis memoria archangeli Michaelis. Et Romae, dedicatio ecclesiae ejusdem archangeli, a B. Bonifacio papa constructae in circo, qui locus *inter nubes* dicitur" (*ib.* cxxiii. 170).

We next refer to the three Roman sacramentaries. The Leonine (under the date Sept. 30) gives no less than five masses, each with a special preface, with the heading *Natale basilicae an eli in Salaria* [f] (*sc. via*). Four of these masses are specially associated with the name of St. Michael, and the remaining one with angels and archangels generally (vol. ii. 99, ed. Ballerini). The Gelasian Sacramentary merely gives *Orationes in sancti archangeli Michaelis* (*Patrol.* lxxiv. 1177), but in the Gregorian is *dedicatio basilicae sancti Michaelis* (col. 134, ed. Menard).

On a survey of the foregoing evidence, we are inclined to consider the most satisfactory explanation to be that there was a Roman commemoration *originally* distinct from any connexion with the commemoration of the manifestation on Mount Garganus, and probably of earlier date than the alleged appearance there. This original Roman festival might fairly be associated with the church in the Via Salaria, which, however, got thrown into the shade by the increasing fame of the commemoration on Mount Garganus. [g] Subsequently Boniface erected a church to St. Michael in Rome, to the locality of which we shall again refer. The presence of this church in the city, and the distance of that on the Via Salaria, may have caused the latter to be less frequented, so that the more recent church became the favourite in martyrologies. [h]

In considering the above view, it will be well to bear in mind (1) that the mention of the Via Salaria occurs in the oldest sacramentary; (2) that this locality cannot at all be reconciled with the notices of the church built by Boniface; (3) that in some of the martyrologies we have cited the Roman commemoration comes first, whereas we are told that Boniface built his church soon after (*non multo post*) the manifestation on Mount Garganus; (4) that a church of St. Michael was existing in Rome prior to the episcopate of any Boniface except Boniface I. (ob. A.D. 422), who lived long before the alleged date of the manifestation on Mount Garganus. This we know on the authority of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (80), who tells us that Symmachus (ob. A.D. 514) enlarged and improved the church of St. Michael, so that the church, and presumably also the festival, were existing before his time.

On these grounds we hold it to be at any rate fairly probable that the *local* Roman festival is earlier than the Apulian. To the inquiry, however, how far such a festival is traceable back, it must be admitted that there is a scarcity of evidence. Baronius (*Mart. Rom.*, May 8, *not.*), who argues for the great antiquity of the Roman festival, cites in evidence the Christian poet Drepanius Florus; but he is certainly wrong in supposing him to be the Drepanius mentioned by Sidonius Apollinaris, and the poet in question is to be referred to about A.D. 848 (Cave, *Chartoph. Eccl.*, p. 160). Nor need we attach much weight to his remark that in a MS. volume of sermons in the Vatican library, bearing the names of Augustine and others, is one of Gregory the Great for the festival of St. Michael. Still the evidence of the Leonine Sacramentary is indicative of a decidedly early date, and we probably shall not err in assuming the existence of the festival in the 5th century.

We must next refer to the church of St. Michael built by Boniface. This, it will be remembered, was spoken of in the *Mart. Romanum parvum* as being *in circo*, in a place known as *inter nubes*; and the martyrology of Ado in like manner speaks of it as *in summitate circi*. What this locality is, is very doubtful. Baronius (*l. c.*) identifies it with the *Moles Hadriana*, and connects it with an appearance of the archangel in that place to Gregory the Great, on the occasion of the cessation of a pestilence. The Boniface he considers to be either the Third (ob. A.D. 606) or Fourth (ob. A.D. 615), rejecting the claims of Boniface II. (ob. A.D. 532), on grounds, however, which depend for their validity on the acceptance of his theory as to the locality. It may be remarked that this place is now and has been for centuries known as Castello di St. Angelo. Stilting again (*Acta San torum*, p. 71), following Donatus, considers that the place hinted at is the head of the Circus Flaminius, and that the church is that which still exists in the Forum Piscarium. [i] If this locality be accepted, the reason against Boniface II. falls to

[f] It may be remark d that twice in these masses are allusions to "*loca* sacrata (dicata)" to God in honour of St. Michael, implying, according to some, the existence of several churches.

[g] It is suggested (Leslie, *not. ad Liturg. Mozarab.*, *in loc.*) that Sept. 30 was really the anniversary of the dedication of the church in the Via Salaria, which was shifted to Sept. 29 to accord with that of the dedication of the church on Mount Garganus. In view, however, of the close proximity of the days, this seems rather far-fetched.

[h] There is an allusion to the church in Via Salaria as still existing in the 9th century, in a list by an anonymous writer of the holy places about Rome, cited by Eckhart (*de rebus Franciae Orientalis*, vol. i. p. 831).

[i] Another famous church of St. Michael in Rome may be mentioned here, that built near the Vatican by Leo IV. (ob. A.D. 855) in honour of the victory over the Moslems.

the ground, and the *non multo post* of the martyrologies is certainly more applicable to him.

In the foregoing remarks we have dwelt on the *local* Roman festival, whether or not borrowed from the Apulian commemoration: and doubtless some considerable time elapsed before the observance became a general one in the Western church. Still, by the beginning of the 9th century, it had obviously become one of the chief festivals of the church, for the council of Mentz (A.D. 813), in ordaining what festivals are to be observed, specifies Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, the festivals of St. Peter and St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, the Assumption, the "*dedicatio S. Michaelis*," and the festivals of St. Remigius, St. Martin and St. Andrew (can. 36, Labbe, vii. 1250: see also *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ii. 36; vol. i. 748, ed. Baluzius). It must be added, however, that the notice of the council of Mentz appears to be the first.[k] There is no mention of the festival in the *Regula* of Chrodegang, bishop of Metz. Before leaving this part of our subject, we may call attention to the special prominence given to the feast of St. Michael in the ecclesiastical laws of Ethelred II., king of England (A.D. 978–1016). The date of the festival is not mentioned, but there can be no doubt that it is September 29. It is ordered that the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before the festival shall be kept as a fast, and that men shall walk barefoot to church and make their confessions. On these days all slaves are to be free from work. A neglect of the fast is to be punished in a slave by stripes, in a free man by a fine (30 pence if he is poor, 120 shillings if a thane), which is to be given to the poor (*Patrol.* cli. 1167).

On turning to the Eastern church, we meet with a variety of commemorations, assignable to various causes.

(1.) Most widely observed of all is the festival of November 8. This the Greek church dedicates to St. Michael, St. Gabriel, and All Angels (ἡ σύναξις τῶν παμμεγίστων ταξιαρχῶν Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριὴλ καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἀσωμάτων δυναμέων). The notice for the day in the Greek metrical *Ephemerides*, prefixed by Papebroch to the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* for May (p. lii.), is ὀγδοάτην οὐρανίοιο κυδαίνει τάγματος Ἄρχων. The same is the case with the Russian church: reference may be made to the figure in the curious pictorial calendar (*ibid.* p. lv.). In the Armenian calendar, as given by Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* iii. 1. 653), the day is dedicated to Michael and Gabriel. We find it also as one of the numerous feasts of the Ethiopic church, of which we shall again speak (Ludolf, *Hist. Aeth.* p. 398); and in the Coptic calendar (*ibid.*, also Selden, *de syned. vet. Ebraeorum*, pp. 226 sqq., ed. Amsterdam, 1679) we find the day dedicated to St. Michael, with a second and third festival on the two following days. This special prominence given in the Coptic church is interesting in connexion with the incident we shall now mention. The original reason which led to the establishment of this festival is unknown, but a curious story is told in the annals of Said-Ebn-Batrik or Eutychius,[1] patriarch of Alexandria (ob. A.D. 940). This is to the effect that the patriarch Alexander (ob. A.D. 326) found on his accession a large temple existing in Alexandria, which had been built by Cleopatra in honour of Saturn. In this was a large idol of brass, named Michael, to which sacrifices were offered, and a great annual festival observed. The bishop finding that open opposition to this idolatry failed, suggested to his people that they should change the festival into one to the archangel Michael, and offer the sacrifice to him, so that he might intercede for them to God. The advice was taken, the idol broken up and made into a cross, and the temple became the church of St. Michael, whence "the Copts in Egypt and Alexandria still keep the feast on that day to the angel Michael, and sacrifice numerous victims" (*Annales*, vol. i. p. 435, ed. Pocock; Oxford, 1658: see also Selden, p. 202). It is sufficient to remark on this story, found in a writing often of a most foolish character, that there is no evidence of the existence of any idol named Michael [not improbably there may have been in some earlier document some confusion with Moloch, who in many respects may be viewed as equivalent to Saturn, and whose name hardly differs from Michael, save by a slight metathesis], and such a breaking up of an idol was not a likely event to have happened in Alexandria so late as the time of Constantine.

(2.) We shall next mention the manifestation said to have happened at Chonae, close to Colossae. The legend is to the effect that there being a great danger of inundation from the river Lycus, by which a church dedicated to St. Michael might have been submerged, the archangel opportunely appeared to the bishop Archippus, and opened a chasm in the earth, which carried off the water. Dr. Lightfoot remarks that thus "the worship of angels is curiously connected with the physical features of the country" (p. 71 n.), which is described by Strabo (xii. 8. 16) as πολύτρητον καὶ εὔσειστον. This event is commemorated on September 6 in the Greek [in some printed editions of the Menaea on September 7; *Acta Sanctorum, in loc.* § 185], Russian and Ethiopic churches (Ludolf, p. 390). The heading for the day in the Menaea is ἡ ἀνάμνησις τοῦ παραδόξου θαύματος ἐν Κολασσαῖς τῆς Φρυγίας παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ, and the verse in the poetical Greek *Ephemerides*, which we have already once cited, is Ῥοῦν Μιχαὴλ ποταμῶν χώνευσε νόων ἄγος ἕκτῃ (p. xliii.). Reference may also be made to the quaint figure in the pictorial Moscow Calendar (p. xlv.). Of this legend, *Acta* are extant both in Greek and Latin. It may be remarked here that there was a very famous church to St. Michael at Chonae, called by Nicetas Choniata, a native of the place, τὸν ἀρχαγγελικὸν ναὸν....μεγέθει μέγιστον καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστον (p. 230, ed. Bekker).

(3.) The *Menology* of cardinal Sirletus (Canisius, *Thesaurus*, III. i. 438) also connects June 8

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[k] The sermon on the festival of St. Michael, once attributed to Bede, is certainly spurious (*Patrol.* xciv. 502). In connexion with Mentz it may be mentioned that St. Boniface is said to have built a monastery to St. Michael at Ordorf, in consequence of a vision of the archangel. This building of the monastery, however, is mentioned in a life of St. Boniface, written after the middle of the 11th century (*Patrol.* lxxxix. 645), and there is no mention of a festival of St. Michael in the list of festivals given in the statutes of St. Boniface (*ib.* 824).

[1] *Eutychius* is merely the Greek equivalent of the Arabic *Said*.

with St. Michael, and it seems possible, on the authority of a MS. Synaxarion, to associate this with the dedication of the church of St. Michael in Sosthenium, near Constantinople; though, from the almost total absence of allusions to such a festival, it must be viewed as at any rate of not more than a local celebration. Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 3), in describing the building of Constantinople by Constantine, and referring to the numerous churches with which it was adorned, mentions as especially famous one situated in a place formerly known as the Hestiae, but afterwards as Μιχαήλιον, so called from the belief that the archangel had manifested himself, and from the miracles supposed to have been wrought by his means. It may be noted here that Nicephorus Callistus (*Hist. Eccles.* vii. 50) mentions two churches built by Constantine, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλῳ, καὶ ὁ Σωσθένιον ὁ χῶρος κλῆσιν ἠνμοίρησεν. It is not quite clear here whether he is referring to two distinct localities (so Valesius, note to Sozomen, *in loc.*), or means that the title Sosthenium had been given to the Anaplus. On this point it may be noted that the heading to the chapter in Sozomen, to whomsoever it may be due, speaks of the Sosthenium as though it were the same as the Hestiae or Anaplus, and that Cedrenus (p. 498) refers to the church, τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου ἐν τῷ Ἀναπλῷ καὶ Σωσθενίῳ. Theophanes merely speaks of the place as the Anaplus (p. 34, ed. Classen). Nicephorus certainly only describes one locality, namely, on the Thracian side of the Bosporus, and thirty-five stadia of direct distance from Constantinople, in the direction of the Euxine.

This will be the most convenient place for referring to the other churches dedicated to St. Michael in or near Constantinople. The emperor Justinian, we are told by Procopius, levelled to the ground two churches of St. Michael, one in the Anaplus, and the other on the Asiatic side, which had become very dilapidated, and rebuilt them again in a very costly manner at his own expense (*de aedificiis Justiniani*, i. 8). From the following chapter we find that the same emperor built on the Asiatic side of the straits another church to St. Michael. Besides all these, Ducange (*Constantinopolis Christiana*, lib. iv. pp. 97, 186) mentions no fewer than fifteen other churches dedicated to St. Michael in or near Constantinople, besides a church τῶν ἐννέα ταγμάτων (*i. e.* of the nine orders of angels). Procopius also tells us (ii. 10) of a very large church of St. Michael built by Justinian at Antioch.

(4.) In the Coptic church we find June 6 and the two following days kept as first, second, and third feast of St. Michael (Selden, p. 240; also Ludolf, p. 418). It may be observed that in the Ethiopic calendar, while the first of these three days forms one of the monthly festivals of St. Michael, the second and third days do not enter into the feast, but on the second is a commemoration of St. Gabriel.

(5.) Besides all the above, the Ethiopic church commemorates St. Michael on the twelfth day of each month, that is of their own calendar, answering in different months to a day varying from the ninth to the fifth of our own (Ludolf, *in loc.*).

(6.) Thus far the name of Michael, either alone or in connexion with the angels generally, has entered into the titles of the different festivals. We may add further that there are commemorations in the Ethiopic church of *Seraphim and Cherubim* on November 9 and June 27 (Ludolf, pp. 398, 420), and on November 4 of "equi cherubini" (*ibid.* 397, where see note), and on November 30 of Seraphim (*ibid.* 399) in both the Ethiopic and Coptic calendars.[m]

In connexion with this part of our subject, we may call attention in passing to the doctrine of guardian angels, a doctrine anciently believed in by the Jews, fully ratified by our Lord, and always held more or less definitely by the church.[n] A festival of the "Guardian Angel" seems often to have been held, particularly in Spain, on various days, especially March 1. At quite a late date, it was definitely fixed in the Roman church for October 2, by Paul V. (ob. A.D. 1621) and Clement X. (ob. A.D. 1676).

In conclusion, one or two further remarks in connexion with the observance of festivals of St. Michael, that have not fitted into our main subject, may here be added.

No office for a festival of St. Michael is found in Pamelius's Ambrosian or Mabillon's Gallican Liturgy; but in the *Sacramentarium Bobianum* is a mass *in honore Sancti Michaelis*. The collect for the day in the Gregorian Sacramentary has passed through the Sarum missal, with but slight modification, into our own prayer-book. The epistle in the *Comes*, as edited by Pamelius (*Liturgg. Lat.* ii. 47) is Rev. i. 1–5, which, though also that of the Sarum missal, has not been retained in the prayer-book. The gospel in the *Comes* and missal is the same as our own, Matt. xviii. 1–10. In the Mozarabic missal, the *prophetia*, epistle, and gospel are Rev. xii. 7–17 [this is read for the epistle in the *Sacramentarium Bobianum*, of which vv. 7–12 form the epistle in our own church], 2 Thess. i. 3–12, Matt. xxv. 31–46. The gospel in the *Sacr. Bobianum* is Matt. xvii. 1–17 (*Patrol.* lxxxv. 875, where see Leslie's note).

Several orders of knighthood claim the archangel as their patron saint, *e.g.* the French order founded by Louis XI. in 1469. The order of the Wing [*del Ala*], *i.e.* of St. Michael, said to have been founded by Alphonso, king of Portugal (ob. A.D. 1185), in memory of a victory over the Moslems, appears, however, a very doubtful affair altogether.

*Literature.*—For the matter of the foregoing article, I have to express considerable obligation to Augusti (*Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archäologie*, iii. 281 sqq.), Binterim (*Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, v. i. 465 sqq.), and Stilting (*Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. 29). Reference may also be made to Stengelius, C., *de Michaelis archangeli principatu, apparitionibus, templis, cultu et miraculis* (Aug. Vind., 1629); Maius, J. B., *de Festo Michaelis*, Kilon., 1698;

[m] It may be noted that in the Calendar as given by Selden (p. 226), these days are noted respectively, as of the "four angelic living creatures," and of the "twenty-four elders," probably with reference to Rev. iv. 4.

[n] The following beautiful prayer in connexion with the Guardian Angel deserves to be cited, from the Alexandrian Liturgy of St. Basil:—ἄγγελον εἰρηνικὸν τῇ ἑκάστῃ ἡμῶν ζωῇ παρακατάστησον, φρουροῦντα, διατηροῦντα, διαφυλάσσοντα, φωτίζοντα, ὁδηγοῦντα ἡμᾶς εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν (Renaudot, p. 81).

Haeberlin, F. D., *Selecta quaedam de S. Michaelis archangeli festis et cultu*, etc., Helmstad, 1758.' [R. S.]

**MICHOMERE**, of Tonnerre, cir. A.D. 411; commemorated Ap. 30 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 775). [C. H.]

**MICIO**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Ap. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MIGDONUS**, martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Mar. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MIGETIA**, martyr; commemorated at Constantinople June 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*); MEGETIA (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, ii. 1050). [C. H.]

**MIGIGNUS.** [MAGIGNUS.]

**MIGINUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated Ap. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Ap. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated at Heraclea Dec. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated Dec. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MIGONE**, martyr; commemorated Ap. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MILAN, COUNCILS OF** (*Mediolanensia Concilia*). The two first councils of Milan were held within a year of each other, with the council of Sardica between them, and have been called the first and second under pope Julius.

(1) A.D. 346, at which the semi-Arian profession of the year before, called the Macrostyche, was rejected (Mansi, ii. 1369).

(2) A.D. 347, at which Photinus, metropolitan of Sirmium, was condemned, and Valens and Ursacius received into communion on abjuring Arianism (Mansi, iii. 159–62).

(3) A.D. 355, at which the emperor Constantius was present, and the condemnation of St. Athanasius was once more decreed, all who would not agree to it being exiled. Marcellus and Photinus were condemned in the same breath. It is said to have been attended by upwards of 300 bishops, but as only thirty seem to have subscribed to what was decreed against St. Athanasius, the majority must either have remained passive or withdrawn. Foremost among those thirty were Valens and Ursacius, who had renounced Arianism at the previous council. The synodical letter addressed to Eusebius of Vercelli, who, therefore, could not have been present, though he had been invited to it, was, in all probability, their composition. (Mansi, iii. 233–50.)

(4) A.D. 380, at which the charges brought against a virgin named Indicia were pronounced false, and her accusers condemned. (Mansi, iii. 517. Comp. St. Ambr. *Ep.* 5 and 6, ed. Ben.)

(5) A.D. 390, when Jovinian and his followers, who had been condemned at Rome for heresy by pope Siricius, had a similar sentence passed upon them by St. Ambrose and his suffragans. The subscriptions to their letter, indeed, hardly bear out its heading. (Mansi, iii. 689 and 663–7.)

(6) A.D. 451, attended by Eusebius, bishop of Milan, and eighteen suffragans, their deputies having returned from the East; when the letter of St. Leo to Flavian, which had been sent thither by them, was read, and having been found consonant to scripture and antiquity—above all to what had been written on the Incarnation by St. Ambrose—was approved. (Mansi, vi. 527 and 141.)

(7) A.D. 679, at which a letter was addressed to the emperor Constantine Pogonatus by Mansuetus, bishop of Milan and his suffragans, in anticipation of the sixth council; and accompanied by a dogmatic profession of high interest, in connexion with the creed then in use. (Mansi, xi. 203–7.) [E. S. Ff.]

**MILBURGA**, virgin, in England; commemorated Feb. 23 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 388). [C. H.]

**MILDGITHA** or **MILDWIDA**, virgin in England; commemorated Jan. 17 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 176). [C. H.]

**MILDREDA**, abbess in England; commemorated July 13 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, iii. 512). [C. H.]

**MILES**, bishop, martyr with his disciples Eboras and Seboas, all Persians; commemorated Nov. 13 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**MILETIUS**, patriarch of Antioch; commemorated Nov. 11 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C. H.]

**MILETUS**, bishop of Treves, cir. A.D. 470; commemorated Sept. 19 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 27). [C. H.]

**MILEVIS, COUNCILS OF** (*Milevitana Concilia*). For what passed at the first council of Milevis, see canons 86–90 of the African code, with the preface to them. (Mansi, iii. 783, and see also 1139.)

The second, formerly confused with the first, was held A.D. 416: for its eight first canons condemning Pelagianism, also see 109–16 of the African code. Of the remaining nineteen, the 23rd is not found in that code at all; while the 20th suggests that the first half of canon 106 in the code has been interpolated. The rest are to be found up and down the code, disconnectedly, not always forming whole canons. (Mansi, iv. 325–49, and see AFRICAN COUNCILS.) [E. S. Ff.]

**MILIANUS**, martyr; commemorated at Lyons June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MILIGUTUS**, martyr; commemorated in Egypt Feb. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MILIO**, martyr; commemorated at Nicopolis in Armenia July 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, iii. 34). [C. H.]

**MILISA**, martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Mar. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MILITANI, THE**, or **MILITANA** according to another reading, martyrs, or martyr; commemorated at Ancyra July 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MILITARES**, martyr in Armenia; commemorated July 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MILITARY SERVICE.** *Militia* in later usage appears to include the performance of any public service, either civil or military

(see Ducange, *Gloss.*). So Augustine (*Serm.* 82, § 3, *de Diversis*, vol. v. p. 1905; Migne, *Patrol.*) says that Holy Scripture in speaking of soldiers does not mean those only who are occupied in active warfare (armatâ militiâ), but that every one uses the weapons of his own special warfare, and thus is enrolled as a soldier in his own grade (quisque militiae suae cingulo utitur, dignitatis suae miles describitur). In Latin writers the word has a triple meaning: the Militia Palatinalis belonging to the officers of the palace; Castrensis to military service in the camp; and Cohortalis to civil service in the provinces. (See Vales, *Not. in Soz. H. E.* v. 4; Bingham, *Eccl. Ant.* iv. 4, § 1.)

It also applied to those who held lands, possessions, or titles by tenure of feudal service. Thus, *e.g.*, the Laws of the Lombards (lib. iii. tit. 8, c. 4) provide that no "miles" of a bishop, abbat, or abbess shall lose his fief (beneficium) without being convicted of a crime. In Anglo-Saxon chronicles the title "miles" is commonly used to describe those who were attached in any capacity to the household of a prince. For examples see Ducange (*Gloss.*). So Avitus of Vienne, *Ep.* 83. Sigismund, king of Burgundy, speaks of the title of patrician conferred upon him by the emperor Anastasius as "militiae titulos," and Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* iv. c. 42) speaks of the patriciate which a certain Mummulus obtained from king Guntram as a "militia." Sometimes it appears to be used simply for any rewards given in return for service. Thus Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* viii. 39) speaks of the widow of a certain Badegilsus, bishop of Le Mans, claiming some property which was alleged to have been given to the see, as the hire given personally to her husband (haec est militia viri mei); and (*id.* x. c. 19) speaking of the treasures left by a certain bishop Egidius, says that those of them which were the produce (militia) of evil doing were carried into the king's treasury.

Thus in ecclesiastical writers the word is often found expressing any kind of service either civil or military. The Apostolic Canons (c. 82) provide that any of the clergy wishing to retain any public employment (στρατείᾳ σχολάζων), so as to serve both the emperor and the church, were to be deposed, on the ground of the command, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." (See Beverege, *Not.* in loco, and Bingham, *Eccl. Ant.* vi. 4, § 9.) Sozomen (*H. E.* iv. 24) narrates that a council of Constantinople, A. D. 360, deposed one Neonas, bishop of Seleucia, because he had admitted to holy orders certain men who were bound to civic offices, πολιτευόμενοι (see Vales, *Not.* in loco). A capitulary of Constantine (*Cod. Leg. Offic. de Episc. et Cler.*) speaks of the curiae to which certain men belonged as "officia quibus militant." It is often also especially applied to ecclesiastical service. In the *Ordo Romanus*, c. 1, the members of the procession that precedes the pontiff to the church are ordered to walk in the order of their respective offices (partibus prout militavit). Gregory the Great (*Ep.* iii. 11) speaks of the servants of the church as "militia clericatûs." St. Remigius (Sirmond, *Conc. Ant. Gall.* i. 205) speaks of the lectors' service as "militia lectorum."

In the more limited meaning of warfare it must be considered—

I. As regards the laity. The profession of arms in the earlier days of the church appears to have been considered with some distrust, as scarcely compatible with the Christian character, since it necessitated the shedding of blood and taking part in capital punishments. None of the councils, however, venture to prohibit it. The first council of Nice indeed (c. 12) orders that those who had made profession of the faith and cast away the military belt, and then returned to the service and given money to be restored to their rank, should be for three years among the hearers and then for ten years among the prostrators. But this canon appears to have referred to some particular case, very probably to that of soldiers who had quitted the army rather than commit idolatry, and then, repenting of what they had done, regained their position on condition of offering sacrifice. (See Bingham, *Eccl. Antiq.* xi. c. 5, § 10.) The first council of Arles, A.D. 314 (c. 3, Bruns, *Canones*, ii. p. 107) appears to recognise the fact that the profession of Christianity should not be made an excuse for evading the duties of citizenship, by excommunicating those who throw down their arms in time of peace. Another reading is "in time of war." The Apostolic Constitutions (viii. c. 32) provide that a soldier who applies for baptism should promise to obey the injunctions given to soldiers by John the Baptist, to do injury to no man, to accuse no man falsely, and to be content with their hire. If he gave that promise he was to be admitted, if he refused to do so, to be rejected.

Ecclesiastical writers treat the subject very much in accordance with their own personal temperament, the ground taken by those who deny that a Christian can continue to be a soldier being always that some of the duties required by a military profession are incompatible with the laws, or at least with the spirit, of Christianity. Tertullian, as might be expected, is most outspoken and uncompromising. In answering the question whether a soldier in uniform can be admitted to the church, he asks in return whether there can be a soldier who is not obliged to take part in bloodshed and capital punishments, and again inquires how a Christian can possibly fight without the sword which his Lord has taken from him (*de Idol.* c. 19). Again (*de Coron. Milit.* c. 11), in answering the question whether warfare in any way is a lawful occupation for a Christian, he contrasts the ordinary duties of a soldier with the position of a believer. How, he asks, can a son of peace make war, or he whose duty it is to cast out idols guard an idol's temple? How can one who is forbidden to burn incense submit to have his own corpse burned by military rule? The case is different, he adds, when those who were actually soldiers were converted, as the soldiers who came to John the Baptist and the believing centurion. In such cases a believer ought either to desert at once, which, he asserts, is a common practice, or to be resolute not to be compelled to perform duties which are forbidden by the laws of his Christian faith. Faith, he adds, knows not the meaning of the word compulsion. But in other places he admits that his opinion had not been generally acted on by Christians. "We fill your camps," he says (*Apologet.* c. 37), "we man your fleets, and serve in your armies" (*id.* c. 42.) The well-known

legend of the Thundering Legion proves also that Christians were in considerable numbers in the army of the emperor Aurelius (Euseb. *E. H.* v. 5). Origen (*contra Cels.* viii. §§ 73, 74), in answering the question of Celsus why Christians do not bear arms and bring help to the emperor, admits the fact that they were unwilling to take up arms and slay men, but alleges that as priests they were ever warring with their prayers for the emperor, and thus serving him with better weapons than they would have used in the army. Lactantius (*Institutiones*, vi. c. 20) considers any occupation that implies shedding of blood is unfit for a Christian.

The same ground is taken by Paulinus of Nola (*Epist. ad Milet.*, *Ep.* 25; Migne, *Patrol.*).

Another class of writers take a milder view, and speak with more hesitating utterance. Basil (*Epist. ad Amphiloch.*, *Class* 2, *Ep.* 188, § 13; Migne, *Patrol.*), while admitting that bloodshed in lawful war is innocent, says that those who commit it contract a certain impurity, and should abstain from communion for three years. The Greeks used this canon as an argument against the emperor Phocas, when he insisted that the soldiers who fell in battle on his side should be inserted in the book of martyrs (see note, Migne, *Patrol. in loco*).

It is not clear whether Leo the Great (*Epist. ad Rustic.* c. 12) is speaking specially of military service or of secular business in general when he forbids penitents to return to the warfare of the world (militiam secularem), on the ground of the apostolic injunction, "no man that warreth entangleth himself in the affairs of this life;" and because no man is free from the snares of the devil who involves himself in worldly warfare (militia mundana), adding (c. 14) though the occupation may be lawful in itself.

A very different view is taken by Augustine. He says (*Ep.* Class iii. 189, c. 4; Migne, *Patrol.*) that it is wrong to suppose that no soldier can serve God while engaged in actual warfare, giving as examples David and Cornelius, the soldiers who came to John the Baptist, and the centurion who came to our Lord. Again (*De Diversis Quaest.* i. 4) he owns there are many bad soldiers, but adds they are those who do not conform to military discipline, just as many Christians become bad when they disobey the commands of their master Christ, and (*Serm.* 302, c. 16, Migne, *Patrol.*) it is not their evil occupation but their evil hearts (non militia sed malitia) which makes soldiers evil men; and in another place asserts that he is not guilty of homicide who slays men in lawful battle, "Deo auctore" (*De Civit. Dei*, i. cc. 21–26).

In later years all doubt on the subject quite disappeared, and war began to be considered even meritorious when undertaken against unbelievers, or on behalf of the interests of the church. Pope Stephen II. (*Ep.* 144, Sirmond, *Conc. Ant. Gall.* ii. 10) encouraged the Gauls to take up arms in defence of the church, adding that he felt quite sure that St. Peter would be lenient to the sins of those who fell in the service of his church. Rabanus Maurus (*de Eccl. Discip.* ii. 5) asserts that those who engage in a just war are innocent, since they are only obeying the lawful commands of their sovereign. Hincmar of Rheims (*Epist. ad Car. Calv.* cc. 9, 10) says that those who declare war and those who fight as soldiers in a just cause are blameless, and (c. 11) that a soldier who shed blood in lawful warfare is innocent, the responsibility resting with the king. Neither was any difficulty made about sending the soldiers from church fiefs when land was held by ecclesiastical persons under feudal tenure. Hincmar of Rheims, in his Epistle to Hadrian (*Opp.* ed. Paris, 1645, ii. 608), urges very sensibly that if the church holds lands under the laws of the king, they must render to the king the duties belonging to them; and (*Ep.* 46) says to send forces to the army of the king is simply to render to Caesar what is due to Caesar. The second council of Vern (A.D. 844, c. 8) provides that when bishops were prevented by illness from bringing their forces themselves, they should send them under proper leaders. It is needless to multiply proofs of this, as will be seen in the following section; the great difficulty was to prevent the clergy from themselves leading their troops and engaging in actual warfare.

II. As relates to the clergy. These were always strictly forbidden to bear arms. The first council of Toledo, A.D. 398 (c. 8), forbids anyone who after baptism has put on the military belt to be raised to the office of a deacon. The council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (c. 7), anathematizes all who, having been once enrolled among the clergy, return either to warfare or to secular employment. The first council of Tours, A.D. 460 (c. 5), excommunicates all clergy who shall engage in warfare. The council of Lerida, A.D. 523 (c. 1), speaking of the case of clergy who might be in a besieged city, provides that all who minister at the altar should positively abstain from shedding human blood; those who had done so, even in the case of an enemy, should be removed for two years not only from their office, but from communion. The two years were to be spent in fasting, prayers, and almsgiving. At the end of two years they might be restored, but never promoted to higher stations. The penance might be protracted at the will of the bishop, if not performed to his satisfaction. The first council of Mâcon, A.D. 581 (c. 5), provides that any clergy wearing arms shall be kept for thirty days on bread and water. The fourth council of Toledo, A.D. 633 (c. 19), forbids that any employed in secular warfare or pursuit (militia) should be ordained; and c. 44 provides that clergy who have willingly borne arms in any revolt shall lose their rank, and be sent for discipline to a monastery. The council of Lestines, A.D. 743 (c. 2), forbids any of the clergy to wear arms or to accompany armies, except one or two bishops with their chaplains in attendance on the prince, and one presbyter attached to each division of the army. The first council of Soissons, A.D. 744 (c. 3), forbids abbats to bear arms, even those who by their feudal tenure were obliged to send soldiers from their lands. The council of Meaux, A.D. 845 (c. 37), provides that clergy who wore arms should lose their offices.

Leo I. (*Epist.* 3, §§ 4, 5) orders that if any baptized person has engaged in warfare, he shall not be admitted into holy orders, giving as a reason that soldiers are obliged to execute the commands of their superior officer, however unlawful they may be. It may also be noted that the canon of Basil just given, forbidding any who have shed blood to be admitted to communion

for three years, would effectually prevent the clergy from bearing arms.

That the clerical office was held to imply incapacity for bearing arms is also implied in the law of Honorius (*Cod. Theod.* vii. lib. 20; *De Veteran.* leg. 12), which forbids anyone to enter the clerical office in order to excuse himself from serving in the army on plea of being an ecclesiastical person. [See PRINCES, CONSENT OF.]

In practice, however, it is evident that these injunctions were occasionally transgressed upon many pleas. It appears to have been not uncommon for monks and clergy to accompany an army to the field for the purpose of helping it with their prayers. Bede (*H. E.* ii. 2) speaks of the slaughter at Westchester of a great number of monks of Bangor who had assembled to help the army of the Britons by their prayers, and whom he calls an army (militia); and (i. 20, p. 57) of Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, who took command, on an emergency, of the army of the Britons, and defeated the Picts and Scots by the weapons of prayer and praise. The transition from such weapons to those of a more secular kind was easy. Theodoret (*H. E.* ii. 30) speaks of James, bishop of Nisibis, acting as general (στρατηγός) of the forces of the city during the siege by Sapor, and using his engineering skill in directing the working of the machines upon the walls; but it is added that he himself took no personal share in the defence, but remained all the time within the church in prayer: the enemy were finally discomfited without bloodshed by a plague of gnats and flies which arrived in answer to his prayer. Other clergy do not appear to have been so careful to observe the nice distinction between advice and action, especially in cases where the interests of the church were concerned. Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 15) speaks of one Marcellus, a bishop of Apamea, who led a band of soldiers and gladiators against the pagans, and was slain in the affray. It is added, proving that his conduct was considered meritorious, that the council of the province prohibited his relatives from attempting to avenge his death, on the ground that they should rather give thanks that he was accounted worthy to die in such a cause. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* iv. 43) speaks of two prelates, Salonius and Sagittarius, who wore armour and slew many men with their own hands in battle. Boniface of Mayence (*Ep. ad Zach.*) asked the pope's advice about certain bishops who fought armed and shed blood with their own hands; the answer was, that such should be deposed. Paul Warnefrid (*Hist. Longobard.* v. 40) applauds the bravery of one Zeno, a deacon of Ticene, who went into battle clad in the robes of Cunibert, king of the Lombards, and was killed in his place.

In later days, when the church began to hold lands under the feudal system, it seems that in some cases the bishops were expected to come in person to the army of their sovereign. Charles the Bald (Sirmond, *Conc. Ant. Gall.* iv. pp. 143–145) brings a charge against a bishop named Vuenilo that he had not helped him in his advance against the enemy either in his own person or with the forces that it was his duty to bring. Hincmar of Rheims (*Ep.* 26), writing to pope Nicholas, speaks of himself and his fellow bishops as going with the king against the Bretons and Normans, according to the custom of the kingdom. See also Flodoard (*Vita Hincmar.* iii. 18). The second council of Vern, A.D. 844 (c. 8), when providing that bishops who are weak of body shall send their forces under command of one of the king's officers, indicates that it was the usual custom for bishops to lead their forces in their own persons.

But efforts were continually made to keep the clergy as far as possible from actually mingling in war. A capitulary of Charles the Great (*Capit.* iii. c. 141; Migne, *Patrol.* xcvii. 814) provides that no priest shall accompany the army, except two or at most three bishops elected by the others, for the purpose of prayer and benediction, and with them chosen priests of good learning, and with the permission of their own bishops, who should celebrate divine service, attend to the sick, and especially take care that no one died without receiving the holy sacrament. They were not to bear arms, nor to go into battle, nor shed blood, but to employ themselves in their proper duties. Those ecclesiastics who held fiefs which obliged them to provide soldiers, were to send their men well armed, and they themselves to remain at home and pray for the army. Hincmar of Rheims, whatever his own practice may have been, gives very good advice upon the subject. In his epistle to the bishops (*Opp.* ii. 159, cc. 4, 5) he says that the soldiers due from the possessions of the church were to be sent under their appointed leaders to the help of the prince, but that the bishops themselves were to give advice and use all their efforts to arrest the effusion of blood. The council of Meaux, A.D. 845 (c. 37), provides that clergy are not to carry arms on pain of losing their grade; also (c. 47), that bishops should send their forces under the command of some of the church vassals (ex subditis et ecclesiasticis ministris), chosen with the consent of the archbishop. A curious provision follows: that such leaders should not indulge in any idle hope of succeeding to the bishopric, unless in accordance with the provision made by Gregory the Great, for which see PRINCES, CONSENT OF.

But the literature of the period abounds in indications that many bishops and abbats preferred the excitement of the camp to the seclusion of the cloister or the monotony of pastoral duty. [P. O.]

**MILITO**, martyr; commemorated at Rome July 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MILK or MILKPAIL** (IN ART). Milkpails are represented in the Callixtine catacomb, 6th cubiculum of St. Callixtus (Aringhi, vol. i. p. 557). In these two paintings the Lord seems to be shepherd and lamb, or priest and sacrifice. The lamb in any case is bearing the mulctra, with the pastoral staff. It may be supposed that the vessel which often accompanies the Good Shepherd is of the same kind. (See Buonarroti, vi. 2.)

On some sarcophagi (see Bottari, pl. xx.; Aringhi, vol. i. p. 291; Maffei, *Verona Illustr.* iii. p. 54) shepherds are represented in the act of milking their flocks. On the whole it seems more likely (see Ezekiel xxv. 4; Heb. v. 12, 13; 1 Cor. iii. 2; 1 Peter ii. 2) that the mulctra refers to the preaching of the Gospel, than to the Eucharist.

The milkpail is sometimes taken as a symbol of spring (Bottari, iii. 62); and Martigny quotes a couplet to this effect from the *Calendarium Bucherianum* [CALENDAR, p. 256].

"Tempus ver, hoedus petulans et garrula hirundo
indicat, et sinus lactis et herba virens,"

where the poet's disregard for the quantity of the word sinus may be condoned, on account of his evident good will. [R. St. J. T.]

**MILK AND HONEY.** A mixture of milk and honey was in ancient times commonly administered to infants immediately after baptism (Tertullian, *de Cor. Milit.* c. 3; c. *Marcion.* i. 14), as typical of the heavenly Jerusalem, where milk and honey descend in showers (Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* I. vi. § 45, p. 125, Potter. [See BAPTISM, § 66, p. 164.]

Milk and honey were also on certain occasions offered on the altar. See HONEY AND MILK, p. 783; LITURGY, p. 1021, § 16. [C.]

**MIMMUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Oct. 31 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MINA**, martyr; commemorated at Milan July 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MINACUS**, martyr at Ravenna; commemorated Nov. 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MINANDER**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Feb. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MINANDUS**, martyr; commemorated at Albua Mar. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MINDINA**, martyr; commemorated May 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MINEPTUS**, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Mar. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MINERIUS**, martyr; commemorated at Nyon May 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MINERMUS**, martyr; commemorated in Isauria May 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MINERUS**, martyr; commemorated at Corthosa May 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MINERVINUS**, martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Mar. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MINERVIUS** or **MINERVUS**, martyr with Eleazar in the 8th century; commemorated at Lyon Aug. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 561). [C. H.]

**MINERVUS**, martyr at Autun Aug. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MINGINUS**, martyr; commemorated at Constantinople June 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* June, ii. 1050). [C. H.]

**MINIAS**, soldier, and martyr at Florence under Decius; commemorated Oct. 25 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Surius, *de Prob. Sanct. Hist.* t. iv. p. 383, Colon. 1618). [C. H.]

**MINIATURE** (*Miniatura*). This term is derived from *minium*, or red lead, the pigment universally made use of in the earliest days of ornamental writing, in order to decorate the capital letters, titles, and margins of various MSS. Hence also *Rubric*, as the Service-books, which employed the attention of the most skilful copyists, were generally most freely ornamented; and red, or minium, is always preferred, where any single colour is used to relieve black and white MS.

It will be convenient to separate throughout the subject of ornamental writing [LITURGICAL BOOKS] from that of miniatures proper. These illustrate the text, but they are not part of the writing, or dependent on it. They may illustrate the facts narrated, and be pictures of architecture, ceremonial, costume, or action; or may be actual portraits. Frequently they involve spirited or grotesque representations of birds, beasts, fishes, insects, and reptiles, done in a naturalistic way, and purely for the sake of the drawing. In this case, they are called "illuminations" in the 12th century, when naturalistic skill was prevailing over grotesque fancy. About the end of that century, says Dom Guéranger (*Institutions Liturgiques*, vol. iii. p. 368), "begins the reign of illuminators." They took the subjects of their richly decorative borders from the vegetable kingdom, and imitated leaves, flowers, and fruits, with wonderful exactness, and often proceeded to insects or precious stones, in search of brilliant and sparkling objects of imitation.

The earlier miniatures which come within our period are of a very different character. The separation between ornamental writing and illustrative miniature is at once wide and narrow. A miniature is of course always a part of the ornament of a page of MS.; but it may not be artistically connected with the written text. As Professor Westwood observes, "the earliest MSS. with miniatures (and they are among the oldest which have survived to our times) simply contain small square drawings let into the text, without any ornamental adjuncts." He mentions three of these invaluable relics, preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna, namely, a Roman Calendar, described by Schwartz (*de Ornamentis Librorum*, ed. 1756, p. 38), as "egregium vetustatis monumentum atque pulcherrimum Bibl. Vindobon. cimelium." It contains allegorical figures of the months, eight in number, each about eight inches high, finely draped and exquisitely drawn; and they are supposed to have been executed as early as the reign of Constantine II.[a] Also the famous purple Greek Codex Geneseos, with forty-



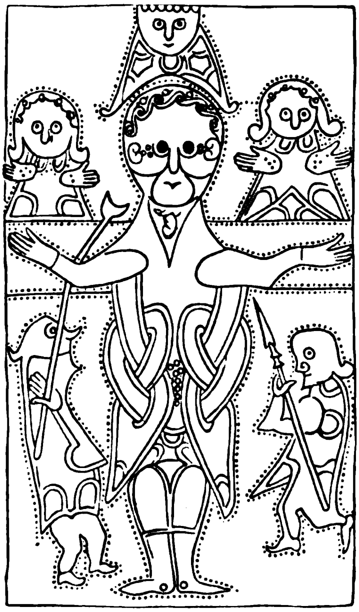
The Expulsion from Paradise. Greek Genesis. MS. in the Imp. Library, Vienna. 4th or 5th cent.—(D'Agincourt, v. xix.)

eight miniatures, and the Dioscorides (D'Agin-

[a] Having since examined this calendar, I am inclined to regard it as a comparatively modern copy of a classical original.—J. O. Westwood.

court, *Peinture*, pl. xxvi.), written for the empress Juliana Anicia at the beginning of the 6th century, and ornamented with her portrait and many miniatures, and drawings of plants. These are described by Lambecius (*Bibliotheca Vindobonensis*, Vienna, 1665). D'Agincourt gives copies of the illustrations of the Vatican Virgil which Westwood says may go back to the time of Constantine; and these, too, are in simple rectangular form, and though both beautiful and illustrative, are not *decorative*. The last word will be confined throughout this article to miniatures which are connected with the writing of a page and form part of its whole effect. It would seem that in almost all the early codices the text was everything to the scribe, and all the ornament belonged to it, as to a sacred thing. Hence the great attention paid to gold and silver writing, and the constant habit of enclosing miniatures in capital letters, where they were brought into unity with the rest of the page as a pictorial composition.

It is curious, further to distinguish decoration from illustration and graphic ornament from miniature, that they have by no means flourished and decayed altogether in the same place or at the same time. From the 6th to the 9th centuries is certainly a time of general collapse, except in the Irish, Hebridean, and Northumbrian monasteries; and few illuminated MSS. can be pointed out as certainly executed during that period, or until Charlemagne's revival of art



Crucifixion, from Irish Psalter, St. John's College, Oxford.

in the 9th. But in our own country, in the 7th and 8th centuries, while miniature painting had fallen so low as to be simply distressing to the modern observer, extraordinary skill was manifested in ornamented writing. "It is impossible," says Professor Westwood, "to imagine anything more childish than the miniatures contained in the splendid Hibernian and Anglo-Saxon MSS. of this period. Neither can miniature be said to have materially improved between the 8th and 11th centuries, the drawing of the human figure being rude, the extremities singularly and awkwardly attenuated, and the draperies fluttering in all directions." (See the illustrations in *Palaeogr. Sacra* from the Irish psalter preserved in St. John's College, Cambridge, and Ruskin, *The Two Paths*, Lect. I.)

In the present article we have only to deal, strictly speaking, with the subject of ornamental writing as to the capital letters (heads of capitula or chapters), which may not only be rubricated or ornamented letters, but contain pictures illustrative of the text. But it is difficult to observe this distinction in Anglo-Saxon, Irish, and, indeed, in Visigothic MSS. The grotesques of the latter often mould the letters themselves into conventional forms of birds, flowers, and animals, often of great graphic vigour; and the extraordinary curves and interlacings of the two former are full of serpentine and lace tine forms. The Irish MSS are different. The delicacy and decision of their working is incredible (see *Palaeographia Sacra*, Gospels of Moeiel Brith MacDurnan, and Book of Kells), but the miniatures display a kind of fatuity and morbid indifference to accuracy, beauty, and all else, which is a curious anomaly, and suggests a somewhat unhealthy asceticism. It is doubtless true that their delicacy and precision of execution were unrivalled by continental artists of their time, or indeed of any other period. There can be no doubt, also, that missionaries from the Celtic parts of Britain, as St. Gall and Columban, carried their arts and religion to various parts of the continent, and we may assert with Professor Westwood, that many of the splendid capital letters of the Carolingian period were executed in imitation of our earlier codices;



Initial S. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, from Westwood's Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS. Pl. 52, Fig 7.

though he admits that the best Franco-Gallic MSS. drew much of their elegant foliage ornament from remembrances of classic art.

But those who study such MSS. as the Irish psalter above-mentioned, and some English specimens, will think there is considerable ground for the somewhat ill-tempered observations of the Benedictine *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, ii. 122: "Les ornemens des liturgies Anglo-Saxonnes semblent n'être le fruit que d'imaginations atroces et mélancoliques. Jamais d'idées riantes, tout se ressent de la dureté du climat. Lorsque la génie ne manque pas absolument, un fond de rudesse et de barbarie caractérise d'autant mieux les MSS. et les lettres historiées qu'on a plus affecté d'embellir." It is possible, however, that these lacertine and ophidian forms may have vague reference to Eastern symbolisms of the serpent, and be one more link of connexion between the British and Oriental churches. The finest known instances of animal-initial letters are perhaps the evangelic symbols of the four gospels in the evangeliary of Louis-le-Débonnaire. (See Count Bastard, *Peintures des Manuscrits*, vol. ii. and GROTESQUE, p. 750.)

II. Illustrative miniatures date from a very early period. They are found in Egyptian papyri. Pliny says (*Hist. Nat.* xxv. c. 2) that certain physicians painted, in their works, the plants they had described, as in the Anician Dioscorides; and in xxxv. c. 2 he says that Cicero gave Varro great credit for introducing portraits of more than 700 illustrious persons into his works. Seneca (*de Tranquill. Anim.* ix.) speaks of books as illustrated (cum imaginibus). Martial says (*Epigr.* 186):

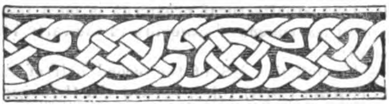
> "Quam brevis immensum cepit membrana Maronem
> Ipsius vultum prima tabella gerit."

Fabricius (*Bibl. Lat. cur. Ernesti*, i. p. 125) gives the title of a book by Varro on miniature painting, called *Hebdomadum, sive de imaginibus libri.*

The earliest MSS. with miniatures (some of the oldest remaining to our times) contain, as has been said, only small square or rectangular drawings let into the text. Those of the Viennese MSS. and the Vatican Virgil have been mentioned; Professor Westwood also names an Iliad in the Ambrosian Library at Milan with miniatures (not yet published, though announced), and the Syriac evangeliary of Rabula at Florence (6th century) is another example. In our own country the gospels of St. Augustine survive, and are referred to the 6th century (*Pal. Sacra*); also the Golden Greek canons (*Brit. Mus. MSS. Add.* No. 5111). Though writing still flourished in the 8th century in Ireland and Northumbria, pictorial power seems to have fallen very low, or to have been possessed only by Visigoths, or by the Lombards, whose early efforts chiefly took the direction of sculpture. The Carolingian Revival or "renaissance" was certainly influenced by Byzantine art, and a reference to D'Agincourt (*Peinture*, early examples) will shew that the Greek workmen had not lost heart and skill like those of Western Europe, and that Greece was to teach the world once more. Greek miniature-art, at all events, never fell so low in the dark ages as that of the Western Empire, always retaining a hold on classic art. Two MSS. of the 9th and 10th centuries are mentioned by Professor Westwood as containing beautiful allegorical figures, personifying Night, with robes powdered with stars and an inverted torch, and the Angels of Fire and Cloud, with the march of Israel through the Wilderness.

The beautiful work of Count Bastard contains every necessary gradation of examples of the progress made in the first eight centuries, from simple writing in red letters, with dotted borders or strokes, to highly ornamented letters—then to letters formed by grotesques of natural objects—finally to completed pictures of persons or things. Books on purple or azure vellum sometimes, though rarely, contain miniatures, as do the 11th century purple Psalter in the Bodleian Library, that in the library of the convent of the Remonstrants at Prague, and the splendid chrysograph of St. Médard of Soissons in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Bastard, vol. ii.). This contains, as Guéranger says, various "gracieux et étonnants edifices." The *Menology* of Basil is a storehouse of examples of Byzantine architecture, resembling the buildings found in some of the earliest Italian paintings. Much information on this subject will be found, in the most agreeable form, in the earlier chapters in Curzon's *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant.*

The MS. of Rabula is described by Westwood and Guéranger, and the former gives a beautiful illustration in colour (*Pal. Sacra*) of the miracle of Bethesda. The whole of the Rabula miniatures are given by Assemani, in his catalogue of the Laurentian Library. Under articles ASCENSION, CRUCIFIX, DEMONIACS, and JUDAS, in this Dictionary, will be found woodcut outlines of some of these.



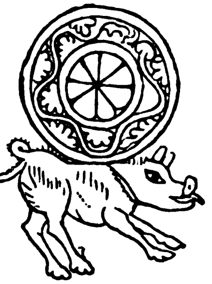
Interlaced work, Gospels of Durrow, 7th century.

Count Bastard's book illustrates the principal French MSS. now in existence, as Professor Westwood's *Palaeographia* and *Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS.* are our chief authority for northern caligraphy and miniature. The French archaeologist virtually gives us access to all the riches of the Bibliothèque Nationale. He begins with a splendid purple page in gold and silver writing from the 6th-century psalter of St. Germain des Prés. The interlaced ornament which prevails over all northern work for centuries after has already begun in a treatise of St. Ambrose (7th century, uncial with capitals). It is by no means confined to northern art, however, as a decided example of it is given in *Pal. Sacra*, No. 8 in the Arabic gospels; and the Greeks themselves had a braided ornament. For its use on Byzantine capitals see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. pp. 136, 137. Professor Ruskin considers it as decidedly of Arab origin, arising from the necessity for delicately pierced screens and slabs of perforated stone to allow free passage for air, but afford perfect concealment. The Arabs made these perforations in the shape of stars, and connected them by carving the intermediate spaces in the slabs of stone, in the semblance of interwoven fillets, which alternately sank beneath and rose above each other as they met. But its great popularity is founded on the natural taste for intricate ingenuity of line and pattern, which certainly prevails in Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.

very remarkably, and, as has been said, attains a rather morbid pitch in the latter. The constant use of wicker and interlaced hurdles in northern life would give this turn to Irish and Anglo-Saxon ornament in particular. But a very pleasing proof of its independent origin in Ireland was lately given by Mr. French, of Bolton. A cross had been ordered to be made, from drawings, in wicker and other plaited work, by some Irish craftsman of great skill, who at last produced one in all respects answering the instructions sent him, except that he had been obliged to insert a circle round the intersection of the limbs as a foundation for the other work. This shews the origin of the peculiar Irish cross with perfect certainty, and the adoption of patterns from wicker-work is obvious. Professor Westwood's authority may be quoted for this anecdote.

The earliest ornament which indicates observation of nature on the part of the caligraphist is in a MS. of extracts from St. Augustine of Hippo (second half of 7th century—the property in the 8th century of Ulric Obrecht, of Strasburg). Birds and flowers are used here, daffodils being carefully observed and drawn, and here the extraordinary Frank fancies of grotesque birds, fishes, and faces seem to begin (Bastard, vol. i.). Beasts and human figures are later, appearing in Carolingian work. The colours are red, green, and brown, with purple and yellow; and interlaced work prevails. Red initials seem to have been used from the earliest date, as they appear in a 5th-century MS. of Prudentius. The first architectural ornament is on a fragment of the canons of Eusebius, of the early 7th century.

A Merovingian MS. of the second half of the 7th century (Bast. vol. i. *Recueil des Chroniques de St. Jérôme*, d'Idace de Lamégo, Coll. des Jésuites) possesses special interest from the spirited work of some true scribe-draughtsman. Its capital letters are drawn brilliantly and exactly with the pen and without colour (lettres blanches ou à jour), and point to the real origin and principles of caligraphic miniature very admirably. And in some of the best Carolingian MSS. the pen breaks out vigorously in all manner of grotesques. The most amusing triumph of penmanship ever attained, we apprehend to be in an initial portrait of a monk-physician. [See woodcut in GROTESQUE.] No offensive or outrageous allusion or idea seems to occur in any of these records, as might be expected, though in the sacramentary of the abbey of Gellone, 8th or 9th century, there is a crucifixion, with angels, where much blood is used, and the drawing is grim and inferior. It soon recovers, however, in the Visigothic MSS., where many human and angelic figures are represented, and which may perhaps be distinguished from the earliest work by the number of beasts of chase represented in them, boars and hares in particular. One of the former is annexed. The northern taste for distortion here begins to appear in the human figures. One example of an Italian-Lombard MS. is conspicuous for the absence of interlaced work, and for a tendency to geometrical arrangement; which is a marked feature in the French-Lombard examples also. They are more numerous than the Italian, but still dwell on interlacings. The great MS. of St. Médard of Soissons [LITURGICAL BOOKS], written for Charlemagne (Bastard, vol. ii.), contains not only various birds executed with naturalistic accuracy, but grand whole-page miniatures. The use of gold and scarlet in the



No. 2. From the Sacramentary of the Abbaye de Gellone.

Charlemagne MSS. is very brilliant, and new "initiales fleuronnées," with evidence of fresh study from nature, occur in Drogo's Sacramentary.

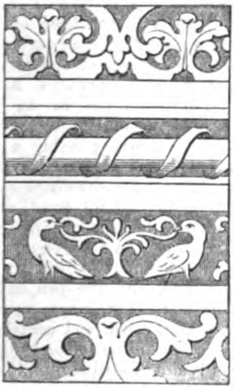
The importance of ancient miniature, as representing architecture, costume, and ceremonial, cannot be overrated, and the picture in Count Vivien's evangeliary of the presentation of the work to Charlemagne is most instructive; but actual portraits are not wanting in some MSS. The emperor Lothaire is represented in his evangeliary with Emma his wife; also Henry III. and the empress Agnes. A MS. is said to be now in the Escurial which contains portraits of Conrad the Salic and Gisela; and the Countess Matilda is depicted in her gospels in the Vatican. The existing Graeco-Latin MSS. before Jerome and the Vulgate do not contain any paintings, and we must pass on to northern art, especially for Irish and Anglo-Saxon miniatures. Professor Westwood's two works contain, or give references for, the whole subject of early caligraphy and drawing. His earlier work puts forth an able, and apparently quite valid, plea for the antiquity of MSS. such as the Gospels of Moeil Brith MacDurnan and the Book of Kells, with that of St. Columba. They seem to date from the earlier Irish or Gaelic missions to the English of Northumbria. But the facsimiles of Irish and Anglo-Saxon miniatures and ornaments constitute an introduction to the history of fine art in Britain, from the Roman occupation to the Norman conquest, and throw a light on the monastic culture of that period. The chief characteristic of the earliest fine Irish or English is the greatly increased size and importance of the capitals and first lines of the text, with their pattern-ornament, which sometimes occupies whole pages, but is often enriched with miniature. They are certainly enough to prove, as Westwood observes, that from the 6th to the end of the 8th century, when art was practically extinct on the continent, a style of work, totally distinct from any other in the world, had been originated, cultivated, and brought to a marvellous state of perfection. Though British, Irish, and Anglo-Saxon pilgrims to Rome and Ravenna doubtless derived various inspirations of sacred art from the study of the great mosaics and of the remaining MSS. in churches or convents; they were taught the faith first at home,

and returned home afterwards to execute highly original works of art—the Irish, as it would seem, with less feeling for natural form than the English; but both with a certain natural vigour



The Expulsion from Paradise. Bible of St. Paul's, 9th century, from D'Agincourt, v. 41.

and innate force of character. Their subjects, as Adam and Eve, Abraham, Moses, and the typical events of the Old Testament, with the miracles of mercy and some events of the Passion of the Lord, are those of Rome and Byzantium; in short, they repeat the universal picture-teaching of the early church, up to the 6th century. But their treatment is their own. Dots, lines, zigzags, interlacings, the serpentine ornament, and, far above all, the trackless in-

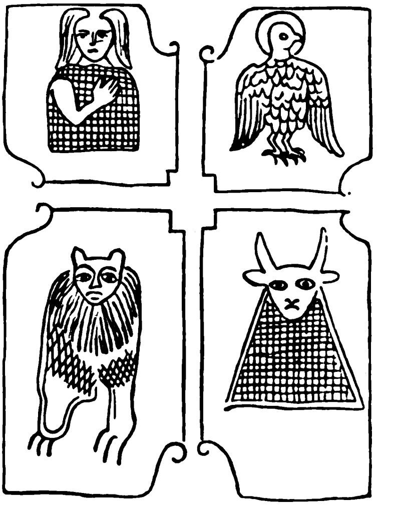


Borders. From the Bible of St. Paul's, D'Agincourt v. 41.

tricacy of spiral patterns, entirely distinguish this school from all others.[a] The differences between Irish and English MSS. are certainly slight, so that Baeda's assertion that the early church of Britain differed in no respect from the Irish may include their fine art with other matters.

What is here said applies to works of earlier date than the 10th century, when a national style of more gorgeous character arose, in emulation of Charlemagne's great MSS., and when classical ornament (such as that of Count Vivien's Bible, or that of St. Paul without the Walls, D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. xlv.) had begun to affect the insular artists.

Single figures predominate in the early Northern codices. In Westwood's folio illustrations (1868) will be found a St. Matthew from the Golden Gospels of Stockholm (6th or 9th century), and a David from the 7th-century psalter of St. Augustine; the symbolic evangelists from the Gospels of Durrow, Trinity College, Dublin,



From Book of Durrow. Westwood's *Palaeographia Sacra*.

(irresistibly rude and quaint in figure, framed in delicate spirals); the Temptation of our Lord from the Book of Kells, 7th century, with three other splendid illustrations; with pages from the Gospels of Lindisfarne or St. Cuthbert, and two pictures of David, as warrior and psalmist, from the Commentaries on the Psalms by Cassiodorus, "Manu Baedae," in the cathedral library at Durham. He also gives pictures of evangelists from the Gospels of MacDurnan (Archiep. Library, Lambeth), about 850, and the 8th or 9th century Gospels of St. Chad. Those from the Gospels of St. Petersburg and St. Gall are marked by Irish character, and the second childhood of the school appears in the Irish Psalter at St. John's College, Cambridge.[b] see *suprà*, woodcut of Crucifixion. The great Bible of Alcuin, and the psalter of king Athelstan (end of 9th century), are certainly far in advance of any of these as regards progress, and further promise, in representative art. The Irish school was simply devotional, and its working was limited by technical tradition. The artist spent his life in peaceful elaboration

[a] The Book of Durrow, or Gospels of St. Columba, is almost to a certainty written by the saint's own hand, whatever doubt may be felt as to the exact date of the book of Kells. Westwood quotes this from the late Dr. Petrie, and also gives from him the usual request of the scribe for the prayers of the reader, at the end of the Book of Durrow: "Rogo beatitudinem tuam, sancte presbyter Patrici, ut quicunque hunc libellum manu tenuerit, meminerit Columbae scriptoris, qui hoc scripsi ipsemet evangelium per xii. dierum spatium, gratiâ Domini nostri." Below is written, in a contemporary hand, "Ora pro me, frater mi: Dominus tecum sit." All four gospels are contained in the MS.

[b] See also the Gospels of MacRegol (Westwood, pl. xvi.), preserved in the Bodleian Library, where St. John's eagle is in tartan chequers. The Book of Kells contains various pictures of events in the life of our Saviour in Irish style, and also some well-drawn animals, as dogs on p. 403, hares, rats, cats, mice, cocks and hens; but the style could never last, still less contend with the splendour and the naturalistic style of the Carolingian MSS.

of spirals; but he forgot, or was unable, under the painful trials of the time, to learn fresh truths from Greek or Roman sources. Still worse, he seems never by any accident to have looked with hope or pleasure, or in search of fresh subject, on external nature and its beauties. Consequently, he preferred single images of evangelists, constantly ruder and more fantastic as his cloistered life grew fainter and more morbid in its fancies. But in the Nativity, Ascension, and Glorification of our Saviour, and the zodiacal signs of Athelstan's psalter, we have the beginning of early mediaeval art in England, with all its life and eagerly-crowded figures, and yet also with its strong stamp of Classicism or Byzantinism. It seems in this most singular and beautiful picture as if a later hand, more purely Gothic, had executed the two lower subjects of the Ascension and Glorification, while the others retain a shade of classical grace in composition. The Ascension




From Psalter of Athelstan. Westwood's *Pal. Sacra.*

greatly resembles that of the great Syriac MS. of Rabula; so much so, as in the mind of the writer to connect the Eastern and English schools of art, and form an important link between the ancient English church and the East.

The Augustinian or Gregorian-Augustinian MSS., one of which is in all probability now preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 286, the other in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, claim priority in time to the English, though probably not to many Irish MSS. Four miniatures, besides a large whole-page figure of St. Luke, are given from them in *Palaeographia Sacra.*[e] Their ornament is purely Romano-Byzantine. They are of the highest interest, as perhaps the oldest known specimens of this kind of Roman pictorial art in this country or elsewhere, and probably a few years anterior to the MS. of Rabula. With the exception of a leaf of St. John's Gospel in Greek, with miniatures of the apostles, now preserved at Vienna with the illuminated Greek Pentateuch of the 4th century, these are held to be the oldest existing specimens of written or painted Roman-Christian iconography. The Entry into Jerusalem, the Raising of Lazarus, the Capture of our Lord, and the Bearing of the Cross, are four out of the twelve subjects of the Cambridge MS. Three of these correspond to those so frequently repeated in the catacomb paintings, and on various sarcophagi. The initials are plain red, and the writing a fine uncial.

A remarkable characteristic, to a colourist, of the Book of Kells and some parts of the Gospel of Moeil Brith MacDurnan, is the beautiful use made of different tones and appositions of blue and green. The writer can compare it with nothing he has seen, so well as with the azures, purples, and blue-greens of many of the mosaics of Ravenna, which, with those of Rome, may doubtless have suggested much to northern pilgrims possessed of a style and special powers of their own.

Many curious questions as to the distinguishing characteristics of Classical, Anglo-Saxon, Carolingian, and even Eastern miniatures, have been lately raised by the celebrated Psalter of Utrecht. The date of its extraordinary illustrations seems very doubtful, whatever may be said of the apparently more ancient text. There are insuperable objections to Herr Kist's view that they go back to the time of Valentinian; indeed they appear to the writer more likely to be the work of a travelled and highly educated penman of English, perhaps Northumbrian-English birth, employed in an early Carolingian scriptorium He may have been a pupil of Alcuin's, was possibly a palmer from the Holy Land, and certainly a "Romeo" or pilgrim to Rome. The drawings seem to be all by one hasty but skilful hand, directed by a mind of infinite facility of idea, and graphic power of realising the idea once formed. The illustrations are of two kinds; caligraphy, strictly speaking, and the pen and ink miniatures. The MS. is a large vellum 4to. in admirable preservation, and contains the whole of the Psalms, according to the Vulgate, with the Apocryphal Psalm 'Pusillus eram,' the Pater Noster, Canticles, Credo, and the Athanasian Creed. All are written throughout in triple columns, in Roman rustic capitals, very like those of the Vatican Virgil as to size (*Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.* iii. p. 56, pl. 35, fig. iii. 2). The elegance of the letters resembles the Paris Prudentius (*ibid.* fig. viii.). The headings and initials are red uncials, and the first line is also uncial, and larger than the rest of the text. By the writing, in fact, the MS., says Professor Westwood, ought to be assigned to the 6th or 7th century; but for the remarkable initial B; of which this is certainly to be said, that those who are acquainted with Count Bastard's Carolingian facsimiles, and Professor Westwood's Saxon reproductions, will probably see that the letter unites the rich use of gold and scarlet of the one with the unmistakable knot-work and ophidian form of the other.

Each psalm has its pen and ink drawing, illustrating its subject with the inventive vigour of the best Gothic age, and not altogether devoid of Scandinavian vehemence of treatment. These works are 165 in number. Had they been executed with any degree of right deliberation, in

[e] Photographs of the entire pages containing these miniatures have been published by the Palaeographical Society.

the colours of any century from the 4th to the 13th, the MS. would have been by far the most valuable in existence. It is not that they are unskilful, but the artist seems always to have been distracted by the effort to catch fleeting fancies, to secure one in any form before another chased it away. In several instances the spaces allowed him by the scribe have not been sufficient. They are left across the whole page, cutting the triple columns of text; but the illustrations sometimes entrench upon it, as in the 147th and 148th Psalms, given in Professor Westwood's facsimile. (*Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.* pl. xxix. and text pp. 15, 16.) The present writer, however, is not disposed to infer from this that these drawings are copied from some earlier MS. They are too original, too inventive, and too unconventional; and, to his apprehension, bear the stamp of a single mind as decidedly as the drawings of Rabula, the Syrian, in the great MS. of the Laurentian Library at Florence.

This MS. was compared, in the first instance, with two others which strongly resemble it. All three must have been copied from some earlier and unknown original; or else, the other two from the Utrecht Psalter. These two are the Harleian Psalter and the Psalter of Eadwine; and they possess the admitted characteristics of Anglo-Saxon work, which are by no means diminished by the presence of ideas drawn from classical sources, and represented according to classical models. For there was so much copying of Graeco-Roman, or classical work, in the scriptoria, that it would seem that late subjects in the pictures prove their recent origin more forcibly than ancient subjects prove their antiquity. The frontispiece and the first page contain difficulties which are repeated throughout the MS. In the first there is a Sun and Moon, the first apparently a human figure seated within an orb, the other a crescent only. David sits below in a round classical temple, with convex vault and a fleur-de-lys finial. An angel dictates to him, in drapery with edges frittered away in the true Anglo-Saxon flutter (see plates xxxii., xlii., xlvi. *Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*). Opposite him is the representative of the Evil King, or Tyrant, under a regular pediment, on a massive chair, with round arches carved at back, and holding a decidedly northern double-edged sword. He has a toga, with fibula; the capitals of the columns above him and David alike, are convex Byzantine, like some in the Stones of Venice, evidently variations of the composite order. There is a well-sketched river-god below, a tree not unlike those in the Paradise of the Vienna Codex Geneseos, and a Hell, into which the Tyrant's guards seem to be hooked and driven. The presence of about 18 hells in the first half of the MS. is certainly much against its pictures being of early date.

The Utrecht Psalter should be compared with the two pages given in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, from the 11th century Anglo-Saxon Calendar (from Cottonian, Julius A 6), and with the 9th or 10th century Prudentius. The likeness of the drawing, especially in the drapery, and the Saxon tightness of legs in so many of the figures, is very striking. Again, in our woodcut from the psalter of Athelstan will be observed the oval or clypeate glory, on its way of transition from the Roman Imago Clipeata to the Vesica of the early Renaissance. This occurs very frequently in the Utrecht Psalter, and will be found in Westwood, plate xxix., but it is rather transitional than classical. Other features indicating lateness of date are the Saxon javelins, some with apparent banderols; the absence of anything like a labarum or cross-vexillum; the long northern trumpets; the organ at Ps. cl. fol. 163; the extraordinary number of devils, often with tridents, *passim;* and particularly the great monster-mouth of hell, which is certainly late in Christian art, though it may possibly be derived, as an idea, from the roaring mouth in Plato's Phaedrus.

Some of the classical features have been noticed, but besides them there will be found an Atlas, fol. xlvii. v; the Three Fates, fol. 84 r, very well drawn; a zodiac, sun and moon, Ps. 65; a warrior in a Phrygian helmet, fol. xiii. 5; the very classical representations of water, fol. lxxxviii. v. (with griffins); the sun and moon; the double pipes, in fol. xvii. v.; and the chariot of God with four horses, seen in front view, Ps. lxxii. A Crucifixion occurs at fol. 67. (See ORGAN; RESURRECTION; SATAN; SERPENT.)

The palaeographical controversy places its date between the 6th and 9th century, and extends far beyond our limits; but it may be permitted to the author of this article, as a landscapist fairly well acquainted with the scenery of Egypt and Syria, to express his inability to see anything in the least resembling it in the Utrecht Psalter. He cannot find anything like a palm, which no Alexandrian could have omitted; nor like an olive, which is the forest-tree (so to speak) of Syria.

The literature of the Utrecht Psalter is very extensive, but the principal works relating to the MS. itself are as follows: Her Kists, *Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis van Nederland*, vol. iv. (Leyden, 1833); the Baron van Westreenen's *Investigations*, also in the *Archief;* Professor Westwood's account in *Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.* p. 14; Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, *The Athanasian Creed in Connexion with the Utrecht Psalter*, being a Report to the Right Hon. Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, on a MS. in the University of Utrecht, completed Dec. 1872; the Report addressed to the Trustees of the British Museum on the *Age of the MS.* by E. A. Bond, E. M. Thompson, Rev. H. O. Coxe, Rev. S. S. Lewis, Sir M. Digby Wyatt, Prof. Westwood, F. H. Dickinson, and Prof. Swainson; with a preface by A. P. Stanley, D.D. Dean of Westminster, 1874; Sir Duffus Hardy's reply, *Further Report on the Utrecht Psalter*, also in 1874; and, finally, the excellent *History, Art, and Palaeography of the Utrecht Psalter*, by Walter De Gray Birch, F.R.S.L.

[R. St. J. T.]

**MINISEUS**, martyr with Tisicus; commemorated at Laodicea July 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, v. 389).

[C. H.]

**MINISTER.** 1. A name frequently given to inferior clergy, in contradistinction to the order or orders above them. Thus Lactantius speaks of "presbyteri et ministri," using the latter word to designate all ranks of clergy below the presbyterate. In the title of the

18th canon of Eliberis the words "sacerdotes et ministri" are used as equivalent to "presbyteres et diacones" in the body of the canon. In the title of can. 33, on the other hand, "ministri" are all the clergy below the rank of bishop. In I. Tours, c. 1, "sacerdotes et ministri ecclesiae" are the whole body of the clergy of the church; where we are probably to understand by "sacerdotes," priests, "ministri" including the other orders. Compare ORDERS, HOLY.

2. Bishops frequently use the term "minister ecclesiae," in subscriptions, as "Ego N. Carnotensis ecclesiae minister," or "Ego M. . . Sanctae Meldensis ecclesiae humilis minister."

3. "Minister altaris" is sometimes used as equivalent to "priest."

4. Archdeacons and archpresbyters are sometimes spoken of as "ministri episcoporum." [C.]

**MINISTERIALIS or MINISTRALIS.** (1) *Ministerialis Calix* is the chalice used for administering the consecrated wine to the faithful, which was often distinct from that used by the priest in the act of consecration.

(2) *Ministerialis liber* is an office-book, especially an altar-book.

(3) Pope Hilary is said (*Liber Pontificalis* in Vit. Hil.) to have appointed in Rome "ministrales qui circuirent constitutas stationes;" that is, clergy who should perform the sacred offices in the several churches of Rome where STATIONS were held. [C.]

**MINISTERIUM.** The vessels and other articles used in the ministry of the altar are called collectively "ministeria sacra." Thus Pope Sixtus (according to the *Liber Pontificalis*) "constituit ut ministeria sacra non tangerentur nisi a ministris sacratis." Pope Urban I., according to Walafrid Strabo (*de Reb. Eccl.* c. 24), "omnia ministeria sacra fecit argentea."

The word is also used for the Credence-table, on which the vessels were set before they were placed on the altar. (Ducange, *s. v.*) [C.]

**MINISTRA.** When Pliny in his well-known letter (*Epist.* x. 97) speaks of two female servants or attendants, called *ministrae*, whom he thought it necessary to put to torture, we see that even in those days the word designated an office-bearer in the church; nor is there any reason to doubt that it is used as equivalent to the Greek διάκονος (Rom. xvi. 1). See DEACONESS. [C.]

**MINISTRALIS.** [MINISTERIALIS.]

**MINISTRY.** [ORDERS, HOLY.]

**MIRACLE-WORKING.** We find a great number of allusions in early times to this pretension, generally made by the founders of new sects. Simon Magus (Acts xiii. 9) was apparently the first of this class of persons to come into collision with the gospel. Another instance is recorded in xix. 13–16, in connexion with the so-called exorcists in Ephesus. The Clementine Recognitions (lib. ii. n. 9), a work of the third century, introduces him as describing himself thus: "I am able to disappear from those who would apprehend me, and, again, I can appear when I please; when I am minded to fly, I can pass through mountains and stones, as through the mire; when I cast myself headlong from a precipice, I am carried as if I were sailing to the earth without harm; when I am bound I can loose myself, and bind them that bound me: when I am close shut up in prison, I can cause the doors to open of their own accord; I can give life to statues and make them appear as living men," etc., etc. Tertullian remarks that Simon Magus, for these juggling tricks and pretended miracles, was anathematized by the apostles and excommunicated; and that such was the invariable rule with regard to this class of men—"et alter Magus qui cum Sergio Paulo, quoniam iisdem adversabatur apostolis, luminum amissione multatus est. Hoc et astrologi retulissent, credo, si quis in apostolos incidisset. Attamen cum Magia punitur, cujus est species astrologia, utique et species in genere damnatur. Post Evangelium nusquam invenias aut sophistas, aut Chaldaeos, aut incantatores, aut conjectores aut Magos, nisi plane punitos" (*De Idololatriâ*, cap. ix.). The whole treatise is very interesting, and full of information upon this subject. It was written long before the author's lapse into Montanism, and it is singular that the Montanists were among the worst offenders in this pretence to supernatural powers. Eusebius (*Eccles. Hist.* lib. v. cap. 16) quotes the authority of Apollinaris for his description of their pretended miracles, and relates that they were expelled from communion as being actuated by demons. It was the habit in the early church to refer all this class of impostures, even when recognised clearly as frauds, to diabolical influence. Thus Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia, writes to Cyprian (*Ep.* lxxv.), mentioning the case of a woman who counterfeited ecstasies and pretended to prophesy, performed many marvels—"mirabilia quaedam portentosa perficiens"—and boasted that she would cause an earthquake. This woman, he proceeds to say, after having deceived a presbyter, named Rusticus, a deacon, and many lay people, was subjected to exorcism, and so shewn to be a cheat, instead of a person sacredly inspired—"ille exorcista inspiratus Dei gratiâ fortiter restitit, et esse illum nequissimum spiritum, qui prius sanctus putabatur ostendit"—apparently regarding the woman as merely a passive agent; and yet, in the very next sentence, he speaks of her deceiving by "praestigias et fallacias daemonis," and of her assuming to minister the sacraments, and such like. The view taken by the church of such persons was, in fact, not invariably the same. Cases in which the free will of the sufferer was apparently overborne by malign influences from without (*obsession*), were classed as Δαιμονιζόμενοι (*energumens*), *i.e.* possessed, and placed under the care of exorcists. They were regarded as objects of pity, and incurred no censure from the church, being permitted to receive the holy communion as soon as their recovery was made manifest by a time of probation among the *audientes*. But where it was considered evident that the will of the person in question was in league and co-operative with the evil spiritual influence, *i.e.* in cases of the claim to working of miracles, found in conjunction with dissoluteness of life, or with heretical teaching, these were treated as involving the most grievous criminality, and punished with the greatest

severity. Thus the canons of St. Basil appoint the same punishment for one who confesses himself guilty of sorcery (*γοητεία*) as for a murderer, *i.e.* twenty years' penitence. *Τὸν γοητείαν ἐξαγορεύοντα τοῦ φονέως χρόνον ἐξομολογεῖσθαι* (can. 65). St. Augustine, in his treatise on Heresies, adduces various instances similar to that mentioned above (*De Haeres.* capp. 23, 26).

We find traces of this practice in more than one passage of the New Testament. Thus, in 2 Tim. iii. 13, *πονηροὶ δὲ ἄνθρωποι καὶ γόητες προκόψουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον, πλανῶντες καὶ πλανώμενοι*; where we see the connexion pointed out above (1) between forbidden arts and moral depravity, and (2) between the same arts and false teaching. Also, 2 Thess. ii. 9, where exactly the same view is taken, *κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασι ψεύδους*—in which passage it seems probable that the apostle was speaking of a future whose distinctive forces and tendencies were visible and powerful even in his own time. Theodoret, commenting upon this passage, says: *Οὐκ ἀληθῆ θαύματα ποιοῦσι οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ψήφων τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντες*; and, similarly, St. Athanasius, *Οἱ λεγόμενοι ψηφάδες καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸς ὁ ἀντίχριστος ἐρχόμενος, ἐν φαντασίᾳ πλανᾷ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (*Quaest.* 124. *ad Antioch.*). The great number of laws against the professors of this art are an indication of the favour which it met with among the masses of the Roman population. They may be consulted in *Cod. Just.* lib. ix. tit. 18, *De Maleficis*; and Anianus remarks upon a law of Theodosius under this title, "malefici vel incantatores vel immissores tempestatum;" and the *Speculum Saxonicum*, lib. ii. art. 13, par. 6, classes the pursuit of magic with apostasy and poisoning: "Si quis Christianus—apostataverit, vel venenum alicui ministraverit, aut incantaverit," etc. (quoted by Ducange). See further under MAGIC, WONDERS.

[S. J. E.]

**MIRERENDINUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome Aug. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MIRIAM.** [MARIA, (18).]

**MISAEL.** [MISHAEL.]

**MISERERE.** (1) The 51st [Vulg. 50th] Psalm, from its first word in the Vulgate translation. This psalm, as an expression of the deepest humiliation and contrition, is used especially in times of sadness; in the communion of the sick and the burial of the dead both in East and West, and also in the office for penitents and in the office for the dying in the East.

(2) By *Miserere* we also understand a service for times of humiliation, in which the chanting of the 51st Psalm forms a prominent part. Suitable music for this office has been written by various composers, but the most famous is that of Gregorio Allegri († 1640), which is sung yearly at Rome in the Sistine chapel on the Wednesday and Friday in Holy Week. [C.]

**MISETHEUS**, martyr; commemorated at Nicaea Mar. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MISHAEL** (MESHACH), with his brothers Hananiah and Azariah; commemorated Ap. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*); Dec. 16 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*); Dec. 17 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Litury.* iv. 277). [C. H.]

**MISIA**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Mar. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MISILIANUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MISINUS**, martyr; commemorated in Spain Nov. 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MISSA**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Dec. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MISSA**, whence the English "mass," in ecclesiastical usage originally meant the dismissal of the congregation. In later Latin this word was equivalent to missio, as remissa to remissio. Compare ascensa = ascensio, accessa = accessio, collecta = collectio, confessa = confessio, and many others. There appears to have been a custom of dismissing assemblies, whether civil or religious, by proclaiming the words, "Missa est." Thus Avitus archbishop of Vienne, A.D. 490: "In churches, and palaces, and judgment-halls the dismissal (missa) is proclaimed to take place, when the people are dismissed from attendance" (*Epist.* i.; Migne, lix. 189). Two references in Ducange shew that the word was borrowed by the Greeks for the same use, at least in secular places of assembly. Thus Luitprand (*de Reb. per Europ. Gestis*, v. 9) says that at Constantinople it was the "custom for the palace to be open to all soon after the early morning, but after the third hour of the day to forbid entrance to every one until the ninth, all being sent out by a signal given, which is *mis.*" In the *Chronicon Paschale Alex.* it is said that Justinian, in 532, when the sedition of the factions broke out, "gave missae (*ἔδωκε μίσσας*) to those belonging to the palace, and said to the senators, 'Depart every one to guard his own house"' (p. 624, ed. Niebuhr).

II. *Missa Catechumenorum.* The word missa was used in the church in reference to the dismissal of the catechumens. Thus, by the Council of Carthage, 398: "That the bishop forbid no one to enter the church and hear the word of God, be he Gentile, or heretic, or Jew, until the dismissal (missam) of the catechumens" (can. 84). St. Augustine, about the same time: "Take notice, after the sermon the dismissal (missa) of the catechumens takes place: the faithful will remain" (*Serm.* 49, c. 8). Cassian, A.D. 424, speaks of one who was overheard while alone to preach a sermon, and then to "give out the dismissal of the catechumens (celebrare catechumenis missam), as the deacon does" (*Coenob. Instit.* xi. 15). The council of Valentia, 524: "That the gospels..... be read before the mass (missam) of the catechumens" (can. 1). The Council of Lerida in the same year decreed that persons living in incest should be allowed to remain in church only to the mass (missam) of the catechumens" (can. 4). The formula of dismissal in the Latin church was in their case, "If there be any catechumen here, let him go out" (Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 336, ed. 2). There is no reason for thinking that they were anywhere warned out by the words which from the 8th century at least (*Ordo Rom.* i. 21,

24; ii. 15; *Mus. Ital.* ii.) have been used at the dismissal of the communicants, viz. "Ite, missa est." In the Mozarabic rite, on the Wednesdays in Lent, the priest or deacon addressed the penitents after their last prayer—"Stand in your places for the dismissal (ad missam)" (*Miss. Mozar.*, Leslie, 99). So long as there were catechumens these words were doubtless intended for them also, each class was to remain in its proper place until the notice to go was given.

Isidore of Seville, who used the Mozarabic liturgy, writing in 636, says, "The missa is in the time of the sacrifice, when the catechumens are sent out; the Levite crying, 'If any catechumen has been left, let him go out;' and thence the missa, because they may not be present at the sacraments of the altar" (*Orig.* vi. 19). The explanation appears to be that, the more ignorant, hearing of the missa, imagined that it meant, not the dismissal of the non-communicating classes, but the service from which they were excluded. The popular usage, thus founded upon error, though essentially improper, seems to have been early, if slowly, followed by the clergy. The first instance occurs in a letter in which St. Ambrose describes an event then quite recent, which occurred on Palm Sunday, 385: "After the reading [of the eucharistic lessons] and the sermon, the catechumens being dismissed," an interruption occurred, after an account of which he adds, "nevertheless, I continued in my duty, I began to perform mass (missam facere). While I am offering I am made aware," &c. (*Epist.* 20, § 4). The next is in the 3rd canon of the council of Carthage, A.D. 390, which forbids presbyters to reconcile penitents "in publica missa." Leo, in 445, expressed himself against the "custom of a single mass" in small churches on festivals, at which more desired to be present "than the church would hold at once" (*Epist.* xi. 2). Caesarius of Arles, A.D. 502, used the word freely, but in the plural, from which we should gather that the usage was still unsettled:—"If you observe carefully, you will see that the missae do not take place when the divine lessons are recited in church, but when the gifts are offered, and the body and blood of the Lord are consecrated" (*Serm.* 80, § 2. Comp. 81, § 1). Cassiodorus, 514, in Italy: "The celebration of holy masses" (*Expos.* Ps. 25, v. 7); and again, "Missarum ordo completus est" (Ps. 33, concl.), where he means the order of the eucharistic office. The plural is used by Gregory of Tours, 575, as "expletis missis" (*De Mir. S. Mart.* ii. 47), "dictis missis" (*De Glor. Mart.* 34), etc., and by others. The idiom may have arisen from a rubric in the Gregorian Sacramentary, in an early copy of which the order for Good Friday ends thus—"Then let him (the priest) communicate, and all the clergy; and let the dismissals take place (fiant missae)" (Pamel. *Rit. SS. PP. L.* ii. 257). Gregory I. himself, 590, commonly uses the phrase solemnia missarum (*Epist.* iv. 44, vi. 17, vii. 29). The variety of usage continued to the end of our period. *E.g.* in the 7th century the Council of Toledo, A.D. 646, uses both missas (can. 2) and missam (3); that of Autun, 670, has "a missa suspendere" (can. 11); that of Braga, 675, solemnia missarum (can. 4); that of Toledo, 694, missa pro requie (can. 5). In the 8th, the *Ordo Romanus*, about 730, has missarum solemnia (§ 19, *Mus. Ital.*, Mabill. tom. ii.), missa (24, 25, 26, 28, 30), and missae (22, 25, 26, 28, 46). The Council of Aix, 789, uses missa (can. 6), that of Frankfort, 794, solemnia missarum (can. 50). In the 1st capitulary of Theodulf of Orleans, 797, we have missa (cc. 5, 6) and solemnia missarum (cc. 4, 11, 46). The second council of Châlons (sur-Saône), 813, uses solemnitates (can. 39) and solemnia (60) missarum.

III. That part of the service at which communicants alone were present has been long distinguished from the Missa Catechumenorum by the name of Missa Fidelium. It was not so called, however, within the first nine centuries. In the following passage from Florus of Lyons, A.D. 837, the phrase means the dismissal of the communicants: "Tunc enim (sc. post evangelii lectionem) clamante diacono, iidem catechumeni mittebantur; id est, dimittebantur foras. Missa ergo catechumenorum fiebat ante actionem sacramentorum: *Missa fidelium* fit post confectionem et participationem" (*Expos. missae*, § 92 in fine). The service from which the catechumens were excluded was also very frequently called missa sacramentorum; but we are unable to find examples earlier than the 11th century (see Sala in Bona, *Rer. Lit.* ii., viii. 1).

IV. The breaking up of a congregation of monks after their offices was also called missa. Thus Cassian says that among the monks of the east one who came late to prayer had to "wait, standing before the door, for the missa of the whole assembly" (*Instit.* iii. 7). So again, ii. 7, "Celeritatem missae;" iii. 5, "Missa canonica;" 8, "Vigiliarum missae." Similarly, St. Benedict, when settling the number of psalms to be said at each office, as, *e.g.* at matins: "But after the three psalms are finished, let one lesson be read, a verse and kyrie eleison; et missae fiant" (cap. 17). The reader will observe the plural, as in the Gregorian Sacramentary.

V. In the liturgy of Gothic Spain (*Missale Mozar.*, Leslie, 8, 11, *et passim*) missa is the name of an address to the communicants (= the Gallican Preface), corresponding in position to our exhortation, "Dearly beloved in the Lord." The origin of this usage is clear. The departure of the non-communicating classes is now followed by an anthem (sacrificium = the Roman "offertory"), and that by the word missa, which now appears as a heading prefixed to the address. Before the introduction of the anthem (*Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 342, ed. 2) the word would follow immediately the proclamation, "State locis vestris ad *Missam*," and would simply indicate that the "missa" or dismissal of the penitents and catechumens then took place. When those classes of worshippers ceased to exist, it was naturally supposed that the word was the name of the formulary that followed it. The address now called missa is by St. Isidore of Seville, A.D. 610, called "Oratio admonitionis erga populum" (*De Div. Off.* i. 15), from which we should infer that missa retained its original meaning in the Spanish liturgy in his time. A Gallican preface in the sacramentary found at Bobio (which for convenience we shall call the Besançon Sacramentary, as it appears to have belonged to that province) is inscribed, "Missa Dominicalis" (*Mus. Ital.* i. 373); but as no other instance occurs in the Gallican liturgies this may be a clerical error.

VI. Portions of the daily offices were also called missae, probably because at the end of each a monk, might, on sufficient cause, obtain leave to withdraw. (1.) Thus, in the Rule of Isidore, compiled in 620: "In the daily offices of vigils the three canonical psalms are first to be said, then three missae of psalms, a fourth of canticles, a fifth of the matin offices. But on Sundays and feasts of martyrs let their several missae be added, on account of the solemnity" (Reg. 7; Holsten. ii. 208). The missae psalmorum here are psalms sung in addition to the "canonical" numbers. In another Spanish Rule, that of Fructuosus, the founder of the great monastery at Alcalá (Complutum), the psalms are called missae absolutely: "In the courses for the nights of Saturday and Sunday . . . let the vigils be celebrated with six missae each, with six responsories, that the solemnity of the Lord's resurrection may be more honoured by the greater amount of psalmody in the offices" (cap. 3; Holst. ii. 234). (2.) The above usage, seemingly peculiar to Spain, has been confounded with that of France, where the missae of an office clearly meant the lessons. Thus, in the rule of Caesarius of Arles, A.D. 502: "Every Sunday observe six missae. For the first missae let (the history of) the resurrection be always read. . . . . When the missae are finished, say the matin (psalms) in monotone, *Exaltabo Te*," etc. (cap. 21; *ibid.* 92). Sim. in the rule of Aurelian, also of Arles, 550: "On Christmas day observe six missae from the prophet Isaiah. . . . . So on the Epiphany . . . . observe six missae from the prophet Daniel . . . . . Every Lord's day after nocturns, when the first missa, *i.e.* the resurrection, is being read, let no one presume to sit, but all stand" (*Ordo Regulae suffix.* u.s. p. 112). Again: "On the feasts of martyrs, let three or four missae be observed. Read the first missa from the gospel, the rest from the passions of the martyrs" (*Ordo Regulae Virg. suff.* Holst. ii. 72; Sim. c. 38).

VII. The daily offices were themselves called missae, as by the council of Agde in 506: "At the end of the morning and evening missae (*i.e.* of matins and vespers, as Dupin and others understand it), after the hymns, let little chapters from the Psalms be said" (can. 30). Hence much later the phrase "missal office" is used for "matins:" "The church in which both the evening and morning or missal office, is performed" (*De Gest. Aldrici*, xx.; Baluz. *Miscell.* ed. Mansi, i. 90).

VIII. During the latter part of the first liturgical period, at least, the prayers to be inserted in the liturgy as proper to a given day or object were collected under the common title of Orationes, or Orationes et Preces. Many instances survive both in the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries. For the former, see *Lit. Rom. Vet.* Muratori, i. 493, 7; 504, 5, 8, etc.; and for the latter, *ibid.* ii. 54, 65, 7, etc. Four such groups of prayers in the missal of the Franks are headed respectively, "Orationes et Prec. pro Regibus," "Orat. et Preces in Natali S. Helarii," "Orat. et Prec. unius Martyris," and "Orat. et Preces communes cotidianae cum Canone" (*Lit. Gall.* 316–322). At a later period these sets of proper prayers were collectively called missae. The word is not used thus in the Leonian Sacramentary, nor in all the copies of the Gregorian. In the former, each group is headed by the name of the day only, or where there are more than one for the same day by the words, "Item alia." In one of the earliest of the Gregorian, that published by Pamelius, Missa does not occur in this sense. Sometimes we have "ad missam" after the name of the day (*Rituale, SS. PP.* ii. 250, 312, etc.). It is common, however, as a title in the other copies, as Missa pro Regibus (Murat. *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* ii. 187), Missa Votiva (*ibid.* 193, etc.), Missa pro Peste animalium, Missa in Contentione (*Codex Vatic.* opp St. Greg. v. 215, 6), etc.; and in the only extant copy of the Gelasian, made in the 8th century, as Missa in Monasterio (Murat. i. 719), Missa contra Judices male agentes (*ibid.* 732), etc. The usage probably came from France; for the word is employed in this sense in the Gothico-Gallican missal (*e.g.* Missa in Sancto Die Epiphaniae, *Lit. Gall.* 208, Missa in Symboli Traditione, 235; and sim. *passim*), the Frankish (but only in "Item alia Missa," the equivalent of "Orat. et Prec." *ibid.* 323–5), and the Vetus Gallicanum (*e. g.* Missa de Adventu Domini nostri Jesu Christi, *ibid.* 333, etc.) of Thomasius and Mabillon, not one of which is later than the 8th century, and in the Besançon Sacramentary (*e. g.* Missa in Natale Domini, *Mus. Ital.* i. 290; Missa in Epyphania, 296, etc.), which was written in the 7th. The word is not once employed in this manner in the liturgy of Milan (Pamel. tom. i.), but we find it in Spain in the later parts of the Mozarabic Missal (Leslie, 428, 434, etc.), and most probably in the 13th canon of the fourth council of Toledo, A.D. 633, when, defending hymns of human composition, it says, "Componuntur ergo hymni, sicut componuntur Missae, sive preces, vel orationes," etc. As there was still a dismissal of penitents, and probably of catechumens, in Spain in the 7th century, we cannot think that the word had yet acquired that other special meaning peculiar to Spain mentioned above in § v. When Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* vi. 46) says that Chilperic, who died in 584, attempted certain "opuscula vel hymnos, sive Missas," the word is understood in the above sense.

The composition of these collective *Missae* varies greatly in the several liturgies.

(1.) *The Roman Missa.* This has (*a*) the *Oratio*, which answers to our collect for the day; (*b*) the (Oratio) super Oblata, or Secreta. This was for the acceptance of the oblations; but when they came to consist of the elements only, their intended use often so coloured this prayer as to make it inappropriate before their consecration. See *Notitia Eucharistica*, 412, 2nd ed. It was called Secreta, "because said secretly" (Amalarius, *de Off. Eccl.* iii. 20). (*c*) The proper *Preface.*—This began with a constant formulary, Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare (whence the English, "It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty"). See *Lit. Rom. Vet.* Murat. i. 293, 5, 6, etc. (*Sacram. Leon.*); 494, 5, 6, etc. (*Sacr. Gel.*); ii. 8, 9, 10, etc. (*Sacr. Greg.*). Proper Prefaces were very numerous in the early sacramentaries. At the end of one MS. printed by Muratori (*u. s.* ii. 273) there is a collection of 72 (*Codex Vatic.*, while in another we may count no less than 220 (*Cod. Ottobon. ibid.* 291). By the 11th century these were reduced to 11 (*Not. Euch.* 538). (*d*)

One division of the Roman canon begins thus, "Communicantes et memoriam venerantes in primis gloriosae semper Virginis Mariae," etc. Variations of this proper for certain seasons occur in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, but not in the Leonian. In the Gelasian they are generally headed "Infra Actionem" (Murat. *u. s.* i. 496, 553, 5, 572, etc.), but once "Infra Canonem" (*ibid.* 559). The following example is the formula for Maundy Thursday in that sacramentary: "Communicantes, et diem sacratissimum celebrantes; quo traditus est Dominus noster Jesus Christus. Sed *et memoriam*," etc. (Murat. i. 553). Other forms are provided for Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, Whitsunday. (*e*) A prayer which forms part of the canon begins thus, "Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae," etc. This also is varied in the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries for seasons and occasions, as for Maundy Thursday (i. 553, ii. 55), Easter (i. 572, ii. 67), Whitsuntide (i. 601, ii. 90), for the dedication of a church (i. 613), or font (618), etc. It is also headed "Infra Actionem" (i. 553, 572, etc.). In the Gelasian Missae pro Scrutinio this prayer becomes a petition for the Competentes, and is followed by the recital of their names and another act of intercession for them, viz., "Hos, Domine, fonte baptismatis innovandos Spiritus Tui munere ad sacramentorum tuorum plenitudinem poscimus praeparari. Per." (Murat. *u. s.* i. 522). In an earlier part of the canon ("Infra Canonem") a prayer for the sponsors is also interpolated, viz. after the words "Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum" (*ibid.*). A special "Hanc igitur oblationem" was almost an essential part of masses for the dead (Gelas. *u. s.* i. 752–762; Greg. ii. 218–222), and was inserted in many votive masses (Gelas. i. 703, 719, 720, 4, 6, etc.; Greg. ii. 188, 193, 5, 200). (*f*) The (Oratio) *ad Complendum, post Communionem*, or *ad Communionem* (see the Sacramentaries in *Lit. Lat. Vetus*, Murat. *passim*). This was properly a thanksgiving after the reception, such as we find in every liturgy, and probably came from the earliest period. "When that great sacrament has been partaken of," says St. Augustine, "a thanksgiving concludes all" (*Epist.* 149, § 16). (*g*) *Ad Populum* (*Sacram. Gelas.* Murat. *u. s.* i. 495, 6, 8, etc.), or *Super Populum* (*Sacram. Greg. ibid.* ii. 23, 8, 9, etc.), is the heading of a final benediction found only in some missae, especially in those for Lent. The Leonian Sacramentary has no headings, but several such benedictions may be distinguished in it; *e. g.*, *Protector* (Murat. *u. s.* i. 297), *Non praejudicet* (*ibid.* 298), *Tuere* (*ibid.*), etc. The following is one example: "Super populum Tuam, Domine, quaesumus, benedictio copiosa descendat; indulgentia veniat; consolatio tribuatur: fides sancta succrescat: redemptio sempiterna firmetur. Per" (*Sacr. Leon.* Murat. i. 482). In the Romanizing parts of the *Missale Francorum* this collect is headed "Ad Plebem" (*Lit. Gall.* Mabill. 323, 5).

(2.) *The Milanese Missa.* (*a*) The collect for the day under the name of (Oratio) *Super Populum* (Pamel. *Liturgicon*, i. 293, *et passim*). This was originally said before the Gloria in Excelsis (*ibid.*), which, followed by the *Kyrie*, preceded the Prophecy and other lessons. It is now said after the Kyrie (Martene, *de Ant. Rit. Eccl.* i. iv. xii. 3). (*b*) The (Oratio) *Super Sindonem*. The sindon is the "fair white linen cloth" of the English rubric. It was spread over the altar after the gospel, and this prayer was said over it. The following example is for the eve of the Epiphany: "Adesto, Domine, supplicationibus nostris, et populo Tuo, quem Tibi ex omnibus gentibus elegisti, veritatis Tuae lumen ostende. Per Dominum" (*ibid.* 314). (*c*) The (Oratio) *Super Oblata*. This has the same intention as the Roman *Secreta*. Before the creed was brought into the liturgy, it always followed the offertory anthem (offerenda), and this is obviously its right place; but now on Sundays and other feasts the creed intervenes, and very awkwardly. See Pamel. *u. s.* Martene, *u. s.* (*d*) The *Preface* corresponds closely to that of the Roman Sacramentaries. One is provided for every holyday. (*e*) In the Missa pro Baptizatis on Easter Eve a prayer is inserted "Infra Actionem," *i. e.* in the canon, in which the celebration is expressly declared to be on their behalf: "Hoc paschale sacrificium Tibi offerimus pro his quos ex aquâ et Spiritu sancto regenerare dignatus es" (353). In the Missa for Maundy Thursday (339) there is a variation of the *Communicantes* bearing on the institution of the sacrament, and a prayer to be inserted "Post Orationem Sacerdotis pro seipso," *i. e.* after the "Nobis quoque minimis et peccatoribus." These, if we mistake not, are the only proper additions infra canonem admitted by this liturgy. (*f*) Another interpolation peculiar to the Missa for Maundy Thursday is the Oratio post Confractorium. This also refers to the institution. It begins thus: "Ipsius praeceptum est, Domine, quod agimus, in cujus nunc Te praesentiâ postulamus." (*g*) The (Oratio) *Post Communionem* corresponds to the Roman formulary, called Ad Complendum in the Gregorian, but more frequently Post Communionem in the Gelasian Sacramentary.

(3.) *The Gallican Missa.* (*a*) In the Gallican church the song of Zacharias was chanted after the *Kyrie* at the beginning of the service except in Lent (St. Germanus, *Expos. Brev.* in Martene, *de Rit. Eccl. Ant.* i. iv. iv. 1). It was called "the Prophecy" (Germ. *ibid.*), and was followed by a prayer, *Collectio* (*Miss. Goth.* in *Liturg. Gall.* Mabill. 190, 251, etc.) or *Oratio* (*Sacram. Gallic.* in *Mus. Ital.* i. 285) *post Prophetiam*, which was generally based on it, or contained at least some allusion to it. Three of those extant (*Miss. Franc. Lit. Gall.* 322, 4, 5) do not exhibit the connexion with the canticle, being borrowed from the Roman sacramentaries. The first two are the originals of our Collects for the 6th and 11th Sundays after Trinity. One example occurs in the Reichenau Fragment (Neale and Forbes, *Gall. Lit.* 6; see also 28). (*b*) The Eucharistic litany of the West went conventionally by the name of *preces* (*Not. Euch.* 301). From Germanus (*u. s.*) we learn that in the Gallican church the preces were said after the lessons and homily. In several Missae we have a *Collectio post Precem* (after the Collectio post Prophetiam), which can only be referred to the litany, and the general character of these collects corresponds to that position. In the Besançon sacramentary they are headed "*Oratio* post Precem." (*Mus. It.* i. 282), ex.: "O Lord God, who art both justly angry with Thy people and merciful to forgive them, incline Thine ear

to our supplications that we who confess Thee with our entire affections may obtain not Thy judgment but Thy pardon" (*ibid.*). (*c*) The *Praefatio Missae.* This is, properly, a short address to the communicants on the sacred event commemorated in the Missa. It was delivered when the catechumens had left. Examples of such addresses are found in the Missale Gothicum (*Lit. Gall.* 190, 3, 6, 204, etc.), Gallicanum Vetus (329), and the Besançon Sacramentary (*Mus. Ital.* i. 290, 4, 5, 6, etc.), and the Reichenau Fragment (*u. s.* 20), but in very many instances they have been changed into or superseded by direct prayers (*Goth. u. s.* 198, 225, etc.; *Gall. Vet.* 333, 4, etc.; *Sacr. Gall. Mus. It.* 284, 9, etc.; *Miss. Richen. u. s.* 21). (*d*) The Preface was followed by a collect which had reference to the same subject. In the Missale Gothicum (*u. s.* 191, 4, 7, etc.) this is generally headed *Collectio sequitur.* In the Missal of the Franks the Praefatio (itself become a collect) and its collectio appear together under the common heading of *Ante Nomina* (*Lit. Gall.* 322, 4, 5), which indicates that they are said before the offertory and the recital of the *names* of those for whom prayer was made. These collects are Gregorian (among them are ours for the 1st, 4th, 7th, and 10th Sundays after Trinity), a fact which, with many others, suggests the influence under which the older Gallican forms were given up. (*e*) After the recital of the names the prayer *Collectio post Nomina* was said. This properly had two objects. It was a prayer for the acceptance of the gifts (so far corresponding to the Roman Super Oblata), and an act of intercession for both living and dead. *E. g.* "Suscipe . . . sacrificium laudis oblatum . . . Nomina quorum sunt recitatione complexa scribi jubeas in aeternitate" (*Goth. u. s.* 191); "Auditis nominibus offerentium, fratres dilectissimi, Christum Dominum deprecemur, . . . ut haec sacrificia sic viventibus proficiant ad emendationem ut defunctis opitulentur ad requiem" (*ibid.* 201). A collect of this character is also found under the same title in the Missae of the *Missale Gall. Vetus, u. s.* 329, 333, 4, etc.), and of the Reichenau Fragment (Neale and Forbes, *u. s.* 2, 5, 9, etc.). In the Besançon sacramentary, which admits the Roman canon, the name is retained, but the Gallican collect is supplanted by a Roman (*Mus. It.* i. 279, 284, 6, 7, etc.). In the Frankish Missal both name and thing are gone, and the Roman "Super Oblata" appears under its proper title (*Lit. Gall.* 310, 7, 8, 9, etc.). (*f*) The *Collectio ad Pacem* came next, a prayer said when the kiss of peace was given. It is properly a prayer for charity and peace, and collects to this effect appear under the name in *M. Goth.* (*u. s.* 188, 191, 4, 7, etc.), in *M. Gall. Vet.* (*ibid.* 330, 3, 4, 365), and in *Miss. Richen.* (*u. s.* 6, 10, 22, 29). In the *M. Franc.* the name is suppressed and Roman collects, with no reference in them to charity or peace, are substituted (*Lit. Gall.* 317, 8, 320, etc.). The true Gallican collect has almost equally disappeared from the Romanizing Besançon sacramentary, but the name has been left (*Mus. It.* i. 279, 284, 9, etc.). One true example from the last-named book will serve as a specimen of all: "Cause, O good Jesu, Thy peace to glide into our hearts, in which is the fulness of love. Grant, O Lord, that we may ever preserve in spiritual affection that peace, which we now express with the mouth" (286). (*g*) The peace and its prayer were followed by the *Sursum Corda*, leading up to the *Contestatio* or *Immolatio;* for these were the names given to that which in the English and Roman books is called the Preface. It began with the words, "Vere dignum et justum est," or "Vere aequum et justum est" (*Lit. Gall.* 191, 197), and probably received the former name from the assent which the priest gives in them to the witness of the people, "Dignum et justum est." It probably acquired the name of *Immolatio* (which may be considered equivalent to the ἀναφορά (St. Mark's *Lit.* Renaud. 1, 144) or προσκομιδή (St. Basil Alex. 64; St. Greg. A. 99) of the Greek liturgies in rubrics immediately preceding or following the same formulary), from its forming an introduction to the more sacrificial part of the service. Contestatio Missae, Immolatio Missae, Contestatio, and Immolatio, are used indiscriminately in the *Missale Gothicum* (*Lit. Gall.* Imm. 188, 191, 7, 9, etc.; Cont. 194, 209, 212, etc.), and in the *Miss. Gall. Vet.* (Cont. *ibid.* 330, 3, 357, 365, etc.; Imm. 334, 368, 9, 370, etc.). Contestatio only appears in the *Miss. Franc.* (*ibid.* 321, 4), the Besançon Sacramentary (*Mus. It.* i. 279, 284, 6, 8, etc.), and in the Reichenau fragment (which is peculiar in omitting Verè) (*u. s.* 10, 18, 23, 6, 7, 9). Almost every Missa had its proper Contestatio. When the Roman canon was used in the Gallican church, the proper collects of the Gallican Missae ended with the Contestation, which was immediately followed by the *Te igitur.* Hence there are no Gallican collects after the Contestatio, in the Besançon Sacramentary (*Mus. It.* i. 279), or the Frankish Missal (*Lit. Gall.* 326), because in them the Roman canon was used in every mass. In the Gothic (300), and apparently in the *Gallicanum Vetus*, it was used in some only. Hence in both these, while many end with the Contestatio, many do not. The Reichenau Missal appears to have been purely Gallican. (*h*) The Contestation invariably ended with the *Sanctus*, and this was followed in the strictly Gallican mass by the *Collectio post Sanctus*, which was founded on it, and was in fact often a contestatio (so to speak) to that doxology: *e. g.* "Vere sanctus, vere benedictus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus," etc. (*Lit. Gall.* 189; comp. 195, 202, etc.). The Collectio post Sanctus is the variable Gallican prayer of consecration; for it always concludes with the account of the institution introduced by the mention of the name of Christ, *e. g.* "Who came to seek and to save that which was lost. For He the day before" (202); "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who the day before He suffered" (210); "By the same our Lord, who the day before He deigned to suffer for the salvation of us and of all" (335). The narrative is never written out at length. (*i*) The words of institution were followed by a variable prayer called the *Collectio post Mysterium* (*M. Goth. u. s.* 189, 195, 210, etc.), or *post Secreta* (*M. Goth.* 192, 202, 222, etc.; *Gall. Vet.* 331, 335; *M. Richen. u. s.* 15). This collect was (at first, we may presume, always) an invocation such as we find in the Greek and Eastern liturgies, or at least an implicit invocation, *i. e.* a prayer for the sanctification of the gifts by the Holy Ghost: *Ex.* "Ut immittere digneris Spiritum Tuum Sanctum

super haec solemnia" (*M. Goth.* 228); "Descendat inaestimabilis gloriae Tuae Spiritus, . . . ut fiat oblatio nostra hostia spiritalis" (*Gall. Vet.* 335); "Rogamus uti hoc sacrificium tua benedictione benedicas et Sancti Spiritus rore perfundas" (*M. Richen.* 15). The Spirit is not mentioned in many in which the effect of the prayer is the same: *e.g.* "Ut operante virtute panem mutatum in carne, poculum versum in sanguine, illum sumamus," etc. (*M. Goth.* 300); "Descendat, Domine, plenitudo majestatis, Divinitatis, pietatis, virtutis, benedictionis et gloriae tuae super hunc panem et super hunc calicem" (*M. Richen.* 11). (*k*) In the Gallican rite the fraction took place before the Lord's Prayer, which, as in other liturgies, came between the consecration and communion (Germanus, *Expos.* Martene, i. iv. xii. i.). The Gothico-Gallican Missal, and that only, gives a *Collectio ad Panis Fractionem* for the mass on Easter Eve. It evidently has some special history now unknown; for in it the oblation is offered "for the safety of the kings and their army and all standing around" (*Lit. Gall.* 251). (*l*) The Lord's Prayer was introduced by a form which is always headed in the missals, *Collectio ante Orationem Dominicam.* The following is a brief example: "Not presuming on our merit, O holy Father, but in obedience to the command of our Lord Thy Son Jesus Christ, we presume to say" (*M. Goth.* 192). Another ends thus, "Suppliant to Thee we cry and say, Our Father" (*M. Gall. Vet.* 346). Many are addresses in which the people are exhorted to say the Lord's Prayer, *e.g.* "Let us beseech the Almighty eternal Lord, that . . . He permit us to say with confidence the prayer which our Lord hath taught us, Our Father" (*M. Goth.* 202). (*m*) The Lord's Prayer was followed by a prayer with the title *Collectio post Orationem Dominicam*, which also varied in the several Missae. It corresponds to the constant Roman embolis, and like that is founded on the last petition of the Lord's Prayer, even beginning as that does, generally (not always; see *M. Goth.* 223, 230, 7; *M. Gall. Vet.* 346, 9) with "Libera nos." (*n*) The *Benedictio Populi* followed, which also varied with the season. By the 44th canon of Agde, A.D. 506, only bishops were permitted to pronounce this. The intention of the decree was, according to Germanus, about 50 years later, to "guard the honour of the *pontifex*" (*Expos.* in Mart. *u. s.*). These Benedictions are very uncertain in their formation. In the Gothico-Gallican Missal they generally consist of five distinct parts (*Lit. Gall.* 189, 196, etc.), but some are divided into three (198, 219, etc.), four (223, 228), six (192, 208), or nine (210). In the *M. Gallicanum Vetus* (*ibid.* 333. 349, 365, etc.), and the *M. Richen.* (*Gall. Liturgies*, 2, 20) they are a continuous prayer. Zachary of Rome, A.D. 741, says that the Gallican Benedictions "multis vitiis variantur," and that the bishops were actuated by "vainglory" in making them, "sibi ipsis damnationem adhibentes" (*Ep.* 12; Labbe, vi. 1526). As no such episcopal benediction can be traced to Rome, some French writers have supposed that Zachary condemned the practice altogether; but the strength of his language would in that case imply a spirit of intolerance which we are unwilling to ascribe to him. It seems more probable that he referred to the length and ambitious character of the benedictions in use. From Caesarius of Arles, A.D. 502, we learn that in France the people were in the habit of leaving church after the gospel, if they did not wish to communicate. (*Hom.* 80, inter *Serm.* August. *App.* 286; see also 281, 282). The council of Agde, in 506 (can. 47), the first of Orleans in 511 (can. 26), and the third of Orleans, 538 (can. 29), forbade them to go away before the benediction. An unvarying short blessing was always pronounced here by the priest, if the bishop was not present (German. *u. s.*). (*o*) After the communion the priest said the *Collectio post Eucharistiam* (*M. Goth. u. s.* 196, 211, 230; *Gall. Vet.* 331), or *post Communionem* (*M. Goth.* 190, 3, 8, etc.; *M. Gall. Vet.* 333, 5, 366, 7, etc.). This collect is often a brief exhortation to thankfulness, perseverance, or prayer (as *M. Goth.* 190, 193, 203, etc.; *Gall. Vet.* 331, 347 (where it is called Praefatio p. Euch.), 350). (*p*) The last proper collect is the *Consummatio Missae*, which name occurs *Miss. Goth.* 196, 230, 293, 4, 6, 7, 300). More frequently it is headed by the words, "Collectio sequitur" (*M. Goth.* 190, 3, 8, 214; *Gall. V.* 334, 350, 365, 6, 7, 8, 372), or "Item Collectio" (*M. Goth.* 298), or "Collectio" simply *M. Gall. V.* 331, 347, 371). Ex.: "That which we have taken with our mouths, O Lord, let us receive in our minds, and may an eternal remedy be made to us out of a temporal gift" (*M. Goth.* 190).

It appears probable from Gregory of Tours that in France the missae for one or more great festivals at least were copied out of the sacramentaries, and used in that convenient form under the conventional name of "Libellus." For he says of a bishop that on a certain occasion, "ablato sibi nequiter *libello*, per quam sacrosancta solemnia agere consueverat, ita paratus a tempore cunctum festivitatis opus explicuit" (*Hist. Fr.* ii. 22). An aged abbat asked to celebrate, said, "Oculi mei caligine obteguntur, nec possum *libellum* adspicere; presbytero igitur haec alteri legenda mandate" (*Vit. PP.* xvi. 2). As the canon was part of the missa and always very short, everything required by the priest for a given occasion, or even for a longer season, might be brought within the compass of a *libellus.*

(4.) *The Mozarabic Missa.*—St. Isidore of Seville, A.D. 610, enumerates seven forms "in the order of the mass or of the prayers by which the sacrifices offered to God are consecrated" (*De Eccl. Off.* 15). His account of them is copied, and therefore confirmed by Etherius and Beatus, A.D. 783 (*De Adopt. Christi*, i.; *Biblioth. V. PP.* viii. 354; Colon. 1618), and is found to agree with the Hispano-Gothic sacramentary known as the Mozarabic Missal. We have to observe, however, that Isidore is speaking only of the Missa Fidelium, and that he combines prayers which we have to consider separately. (*a*) There is a variable prayer called the *Oratio*, founded on the Gloria in Excelsis and said after it, coming therefore before the prophecy. It often begins with praise and ends with prayer, as, *e.g.* that for Christmas: "Hodie nobis thesaurus natus est . . . . Praesta nobis, Domine, per gloriam nativitatis tuae a malis propriis liberari" (*Miss. Moz.* Leslie, *u. s.* 37; comp. 20, 32, etc.). (*b*) Referring, as we said, to the prayers in the Missa Fidelium only, Isidore says,

"The first of them is the prayer (oratio) of admonition addressed to the people that they may be stirred up to hearty prayer to God" (*u. s.*). This is the address called *Missa*, mentioned above in § V. It corresponds to the Gallican Praefatio; see before (3) (*c*). (*c*) "The second is of invocation to God, that He will mercifully receive the prayers of the faithful and their oblation" (Isid. *u. s.*). This prayer appears in the Missae under the title of *Oratio* (Leslie, 9, 225). *Alia Oratio* (3, 17, 19, etc.), or simply *Alia* (11, 14, 21, etc); the second being by far the more frequent. The reference in "alia" is to the Missa. (*d*) "The third is poured for the offerers or the faithful departed, that through the said sacrifice they may obtain pardon" (Isid.). This prayer corresponds to the Gallican Post Nomina and has that title (Leslie, *passim*). It quite satisfies the account of Isidore. *E.g.* one begins thus: "Nominibus sanctorum martyrum, offerentiumque fidelium, atque eorum qui ab hoc saeculo transierunt a ministris jam sacri ordinis recensitis" (27). As these are in effect prayers super oblata, it is peculiar that many of them are addressed to Christ; see pp. 4, 9, 11, etc. (*e*) "A fourth is introduced after these with reference to the kiss of peace, that all being mutually reconciled by charity may be associated together as worthy of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ" (Isid.). This prayer, like the corresponding Gallican, is headed "Ad Pacem." It is often addressed to the Son (Leslie, 9, 11, 15, etc.). (*f*) "The illation in the consecration of the oblation is introduced in the fifth place, in which the terrestrial creation and all the powers of heaven are called forth to the praise of God, and Hosanna in the highest is sung" (Isid.). This answers, as the reader will see, to the English preface and the Gallican immolatio. It begins always "Dignum et justum est" (Leslie, *passim*). In the Mozarabic Missal the title, Inlatio is never wanting or varied. (*g*) It is followed by the *Post Sanctus*, which is, as in the Gallican, a contestation to the Sanctus. It generally begins "Vere Sanctus," very often including some reference to the Hosanna, which is sung by the choir after the Sanctus; but sometimes it takes up the Hosanna at first hand, as "Osanna in excelsis. Quantâ nobis, Omnipotens Pater, hoc sacrificium reverentiâ metuendum . . . caelestium voces admonent potestatum" (66); "Vere benedictus" (120). (*h*) It rarely opens without a catchword from either; but see examples, pp. 20, 153; where, however, the prayers are still founded on the Sanctus. This prayer is not mentioned by Isidore, probably because he regarded it as a variable part of the prayer of consecration (Adesto, adesto, Jesu bone, etc.), with which the priest proceeded immediately. It is quite possible, however, that it may have been borrowed from the Goths of Gaul, after the time of Isidore. (*i*) The canon ends with the account of the institution. This does not begin with "Pridie" like the Gallican, but thus, "Dominus noster Jesus Christus in qua nocte," etc. (Leslie, 5). Yet the invariable title of the prayer which follows it (the Post Mysterium or Post Secreta of Gaul) is *Post Pridie* (Oratio). This fact suggests that originally the canon of Gothic Spain was the same as that of Gaul. The Post Pridie is, in its typical specimens, a prayer for the sanctification of the gifts by the Spirit, and it is incredible that any liturgy, derived as this was immediately from the East, should have been without a prayer deemed essential to the consecration in all the Eastern churches. In the second place this prayer is clearly described by Isidore, though without the name *Post Pridie*, which was probably attached to it after his time: "Porro sexta exhinc succedit confirmatio sacramenti, ut oblatio quae Deo offertur sanctificata per Spiritum Sanctum corporis et sanguinis confirmetur" (*ib.*). (*k*) The next variable prayer is the *Ad Orationem Dominicam*, sometimes of considerable length. It leads up to the Lord's Prayer thus, "cum . . . . proclamaverimus e terris, Pater" (6); "nos docuit orare semper et docere, Pater," etc. (10). It is not noticed by Isidore, whose seventh prayer is the Lord's Prayer itself; but here again he may be silent, because he thought that in mentioning the prayer, he implied the preamble, which in his day, we may add, was probably much shorter than the existing forms. (*l*) The Mozarabic embolis "Liberati a malo, etc." does not vary. It is followed by the "conjunction" of the consecrated elements. (*m*) After this a *Benediction* is given, which varies with the season. In all but two instances the Hispano-Gothic benediction is divided into three parts, at the end of each of which the people respond *Amen*. After the third response the priest says "Per misericordiam ipsius Dei nostri: qui est benedictus et vivit," etc. This is occasionally varied, but on no principle (see *Notitia Eucharistica*, 699, 2nd ed.). The blessing for the Epiphany is in five parts, apparently that it may take in all the subjects of commemoration on that day (Leslie, 63). The other exception (440) is in four. The mass (Commune plurium Virginum) is late, and the irregularity seems to arise simply from the division of one of the original members which was unusually long. We hear of the benediction in Spain from the council of Toledo, A.D. 633 (can. 18): "Some priests communicate immediately after saying the Lord's Prayer, and afterwards give the blessing in populo (*sic*, and so Isidore, *u. s.* c. 17); which we forbid for the future; but after the Lord's Prayer and the conjunction of the bread and cup let the benediction in populum (*sic*) follow." (*n*) A variable *Post Communionem Oratio* (Leslie, 7, 35, 40, 44, etc.) followed the reception, which is often, like the Gallican Collectio, an exhortation (*ib.* 63, 83, 89, etc.). This oratio, if used in the days of St. Isidore, would not be in his "Ordo Missae;" for the mass was supposed to be over before the communion; but it may be of later introduction, for he does not mention it in his account of the later part of the service.

For the variable antiphons in the several liturgies, see ANTIPHON, COMMUNIO, GRADUAL, INTROIT.

IX. In the Gallican liturgies the prayers proper to a saint's day are often called the "missa" of that saint. Thus in the Besançon Sacramentary we have Missa Sancti Stefani, Missa S. Martini Episcopi, etc. (*Mus. Ital.* i. 292, 349, etc.); in the Gothico-Gallican, Missa S. Johannis Apostoli et Evangelistae, Missa Sancti Leudegarii martyris, etc. (*Lib. Gall.* 262, 283, etc.), and in the Gallicanum vetus, Missa S.

Germani Episcopi (*ib.* 329). From this use of the word flowed another, the festival itself on which those prayers were said being often called by the name of Missa. Thus in the Regulae Canonicorum of Chrodegang, written in 757, cap. 34, we have Missa S. Remedii (= Remigii) Missa S. Martini (Migne, 89). A *Decreta e Precum* of 779 directs that the services which it orders take place, Missa S. Johannis (*Cap. Reg. Franc.* i. 20; sim. in *Capit.* iii. ann. 806, Car. M. 449). In the third capitulary of Charlemagne in 803, a general gathering of the vassals of the empire is ordered to take place "on the eighth before the calends of July, *i.e.* on the mass of St. John the Baptist" (*ib.* 394). Sim. in a law of Pepin, A.D. 793 (*ib.* 543). St. Martin's principal feast (Nov. 11) was formerly called St. Martin in the winter, or in yeme. One example to our purpose occurs in the reign of Charlemagne, viz. in his Capitulary *de Villis*, A.D. 800, in which it is ordered that all foals belonging to the king shall be brought to the palace "on the mass of St. Martin in the winter" (Missa S. Martini hiemali, c. 15, *ib.* 334). This use of missa, which became very common after the 9th century, has bequeathed to us such combinations as Christmas, Martinmas, Candlemas (missa luminum), etc.

X. In this section we propose to give the various kinds of missae (in the sense considered in § viii.) that were in use before the 9th century, and to explain the terms describing them.

(1.) *Missa Cardinalis.* This phrase, which is understood to mean "high mass," occurs in the *Miracula* S. Bertini, ii. 7; *Acta Bened.* saec. iii. (the 8th century), i. 132: "Die Dominico horâ quâ cardinalis missae conventus publice agebantur."

(2.) *Missa Chrismalis.* The proper prayers used on Maundy Thursday at the mass at which the chrism is consecrated are so called in the Gelasian Sacramentary (Murat. i. 554), in the ancient Rheims use of the Gregorian, the extant copy of which was written in the time of Charlemagne (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* IV. xxii. § 3 *in fine*, Missa Chrismale (*sic*)), and in the Anjou pontifical a little later (*ibid.* § 8, n. 4).

(3.) *Missa Communis* = publica (as "common prayer" with us) in *Epist.* Braulionis Caesaraug. A.D. 627 (*Vita S. Aemiliani* praefixa): "Ut missa reciaretur communis injunxi" (*Acta Bened.* saec. i. P. iii. 206).

*Missa Communis* also meant a mass said for several persons in common. Thus in one under that title the priest prays "for those for whom he has made up his mind to pray" living or dead, and "for all the faithful, whose names the book of blessed predestination contains written" (*Mon. Liturg. Alem.*, Gerbert, i. 270).

(4.) *Missa Decensita.* By a charter dated in the year 760 a grant of land was made to the church at Brioude, "ut omni tempore missae ibidem decensitae esse debeant" (App. *Acta Vet.* n. 14; *Cap. Reg. Fr.* ii. 1393); *i.e.* as it is understood, shall be duly and properly performed.

(5.) *Missa pro Defunctis.* See OBSEQUIES.

(6.) *Missa Dominicalis.* This is the title of missae to be used on Sunday (Dies Dominicus) in the Gallican Sacramentaries. See the missae 75–80 in Missale Goth. (*Lit. Gall.* 292–299), the 36th in Gallicanum Vetus (*ibid.* 375) and eight missae in the Besançon (*Mus. Ital.* i. 365–383).

(7.) *Missa de Exceptato* is the title of a missa standing before that for Christmas Eve in the Milanese Missal (Pamel. *u. s.* i. 445). We are probably to understand with Pamelius, that it is for *exceptional* use; viz. when seven Sundays occur in Advent, which in the province of Milan begins on the first Sunday after Martinmas. Mabillon, however (*Lit. Gall.* 99), reads, Missa de Expectato, and suggests a comparison with the "Praeparatio ad Vesperam Natalis Domini" in the *Miss. Gall. Vet.* (*ibid.* 336); but the reading in all the editions, including Mabillon's own, is not Praeparatio but Praefatio, and the formulary which follows the above heading is a "preface" in the Gallican sense; *i.e.* an address to the people. See Thomasius, *Liber Sacram.* ii. 441; Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii. 706; Forbes, *Gall. Lit.* 158.

(8.) *Missa pro Gratiarum actione.* There is no proper missa in the old sacramentaries that is, or could be, so described; but the holy Eucharist was celebrated as an act of special thanksgiving at an early period. Thus in a work of the 5th century we read that when a woman had been healed at the ordinary celebration "an oblation of thanksgiving was again made for her" (*De Prom. et Praed. Dei; Dim. Temp.* 4; inter opp. Prosperi). A rubric in the present Roman Missal orders that "for thanksgiving be said the mass of the most holy Trinity, or of the Holy Ghost, or of the blessed Mary" certain proper prayers (Oratio, Secreta, Postcommunio) "being added under the same ending." The Missa de Trinitate descends from an early period, being found in the Codex San-Blasianus of the Gregorian Sacramentary which is of the 9th century (Gerbert, *Mon. Lit. Alem.* i. 260). The Missa de Spiritu Sancto is only an adaptation of the Gregorian missa for Whitsunday (Murat. *u. s.* ii. 90). We cannot connect them with acts of thanksgiving within our period; but that a special celebration on recovery of health was then common may be inferred from a Narbonne pontifical, the MS. of which is not much later. In this it is said that the patient "restored to health by the mercy of God ought by no means to omit causing a missa pro gratiarum actione to be celebrated" (Martene, *u. s.* i. vii. iv. 13).

(9.) *Missa Jejunii* is the title of four Lenten missae (22–25) in the Missale Gothico Gallicanum (*Liturg. Gall.* 231, etc.), and of four in the Sacramentary of Besançon (*Mus. Ital.* i. 304). See after. *Missa Quadragesimalis.*

(10.) *Missa Judicii*, the mass said at an ordeal. The expression forms the title of the proper prayers used at a trial by cold water, as appointed by Dunstan of Canterbury (Baluz, *Cap. Reg. Franc.* ii. 647). The missa consists of a proper antiphon, collect, three lessons (Lev. xix. 10–14; Eph. iv. 23–28; St. Mark x. 17–21), gradual, offertory, secreta, preface, benedictio ad judicium, antiphona post communionem, and post-communio. The words of delivery common (with variations) to this and later forms of the kind (see Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iii. vii. 3, 5, 8, 9. 17) are, "The Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be unto you for probation this day." Gerbert (*Disquis.* vi. iii. 3) gives in full the missa of an "Ordo ad faciendum judicium, cum volueris homines judicio probare, vel aquae frigidae vel ferventis, aut igniti ferri, vel vome-

rum, aut panis et casei, vel mensurae." Several orders, some with missae, may be seen in Martene, *u. s.*

A kindred practice among priests was that of celebrating the Eucharist in attestation of their own innocence. Thus Gregory of Tours relates that in order to clear himself of a charge of having slandered the queen, "dictis missis in tribus altaribus se de his verbis exueret sacramento" (*Hist. Franc.* v. 50). This was probably common; for in 868 it was enforced by the Council of Worms, which ordered that bishops and presbyters accused of homicide, adultery, theft, and witchcraft should "celebrate a mass for each charge and say the secret publicly and communicate" (can. 10). So late as 1077 we find Gregory VII. using this method to purge himself from simony (*Life* by Bowden, iii. 12). Nor was it confined to the clergy. The year after the Council of Worms, Lothaire the king of Lorraine received the mass from the hands of Hadrian in attestation of his freedom from the crime of adultery (Fleury, *Hist. du Christ.* li. 23).

(11.) *Missa Legitima* is a mass celebrated with all due requisites. "We must own that to be a missa legitima at which are present a priest, one to respond, one who offers, and one who communicates, as the very composition of the prayers clearly shews" (Walafrid, *de Reb. Eccl.* 22). Compare the use of the phrase "communio legitima." Penitents supposed to be dying might be communicated without the previous laying on of hands by the bishop; but if they recovered after that, they were to "stand in the order of penitents, that when they had shown the necessary fruits of repentance, they might receive 'legitimam communionem' with the reconciliatory imposition of hands" (can. 3, Conc. Araus. A.D. 441; inserted much later in *Cap. Reg. Franc.* i. 138; compare Isaaci Lingon. *Canones*, i. 6).

(12.) *Missa Matutina.* The 4th canon of the Council of Vaison, held in 529, runs thus: "Ut in omnibus missis, sive matutinis, sive quadrigesimalibus . . . . semper *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus* dicatur," etc. The ground of the distinction is that in Lent the celebration took place in the afternoon, whereas generally it was at the third hour (*Notitia Euch.* 31–36). The third Council of Orleans, A.D. 538, forbids men to attend armed "sacrificia matutina missarum sive vespertina" (can. 29). "Evening" masses include those of Wednesday and Friday which, except between Easter and Whitsuntide, were also in the afternoon. The Gothico-Gallican (*Lit. Gall.* 254) and Old Gallican (*ibid.* 372) missals have a missa matutinalis per totum Pascha pro parvulis qui renati sunt (mature dicenda, *Miss. Gall. Vet.*). At a later period the ordinary daily mass said in many monasteries after Prime in summer and after Terce in winter, was called missa matutinalis; as in the *Consuetudines S. Victoris* 68, in Martene, *u. s.* iii. 283; *Constit. S. Dionys. Rem. ibid.* 297, 301. This earlier mass was called missa minor in contrast to the missa major or conventualis, which was celebrated with greater ritual solemnity. See Martene, *de Antiq. Monach. Rit.* ii. 5.

(13.) *Missa Nautica* or Navalis, a Missa Sicca celebrated at sea; but see below (No. 29).

(14.) *Missa Omnimoda* is the title of a votive Missa in the Sacramentary of Besançon, which the priest offers for himself (as expressed in the praefatio) for sinners by name (as in the collectio), for persons living and departed whose names are presented (in the post nomina), for the sick, naming them, and generally for "all stricken with fear, afflicted by want, harassed by trouble, brought down by diseases, consigned to punishment, bound by debts, in captivity, and journeying" (in the ad pacem), these several petitions being summed up in the contestation (*Mus. Ital.* i. 359). A similar missa with much in common occurs in the Mozarabic Missal under the title Missa Votiva Omnimoda (Leslie, 441). Missa Omnimoda is again the name of a late mass of general intercession in the St. Gall codex of the Gregorian Sacramentary, probably written soon after the death of Charlemagne (Gerbert, *Mon. Lit. Alem.* i. 268).

(15.) *Missa Omnium Offerentium* is a name given to the invariable portions of the liturgy of Gothic Spain. The lesser missal which contains it is called Liber Omnium Offerentium. The name is appropriate because a considerable part of the service to which it is applied is assigned to the choir, the representative of the people; so that all the worshippers have their share in it. Whether the title was adopted for this reason is, however, not certain. In any case it may have been suggested by the occurrence of the words at the oblation of the chalice: "*Omnium Offerentium* eorum pro quibus tibi offertur, peccata indulge" (*Miss. Mozar.* 223). The same words occur together in a Collectio post nomina of Gothic France (*Miss. Goth.* in *Lit. Gall.* 237); but neither there does the context give them any conventional significance. In early times the people were said to offer even in the commemoration of the sacrifice of the cross after the consecration. Thus Florus of Lyons, explaining the *Unde et memores*, etc., of the canon, says, "Memores igitur Dominicae passionis, resurrectionis et ascensionis, tam sacerdotes quam plebs fidelis offerunt praeclarae . . . majestati Dei non de suo, sed de ejus donis ac datis," etc. (*De Expos. Missae*, 64). This is implied by a synod held by St. Patrick and other bishops, which order that a bishop in the diocese of another shall "on the Lord's day offer only by partaking," *i. e.* as a layman (can. 30; Migne, 53, col. 826).

(16.) *Missa Paschalis.* The missae provided in the Gothico-Gallican Missal for four days in Easter week, viz. from Tuesday to Friday inclusively (*Lit. Gall.* 254–6), and those to be used from Monday to Friday of the same week in the Old Gallican (*ibid.* 367–371) are so called. There are also two *Missae Paschales* in the sacramentary of Besançon (*Mus. Ital.* i. 330, 2).

(17.) *Missa Peculiaris.* A mass said on any private account, as *e. g.* for the repose of the dead, was so called in the 8th century. Theodulf of Orleans, A.D. 797, orders that "Missae Peculiares performed by priests on Sundays be not so publicly performed as to draw the people from the public celebrations of masses, which take place canonically on the third hour" (Capit. c. 45; Labbe, *Conc.* vii. 1147).

(18.) *Missa Pontificalis*, a mass celebrated by a bishop. We are not aware that the phrase occurs within our range of time. The *Ordo Romanus I.*, supposed to have been compiled about 730,

which gives directions for an episcopal mass, is inscribed in its earliest extant copy, which is of the 10th century, Ordo Ecclesiastici Ministerii Romanae Ecclesiae. A later copy has Incipit Ordo Ecclesiasticus Romanae ecclesiae, qualiter Missa Pontificalis celebretur (*Mus. Ital.* ii. 2, 3).

(19.) *Missa Praesanctificatorum.* See PRESANCTIFIED, MASS OF THE.

(20.) *Missa Privata* is used in two senses. It either means (1) "A mass celebrated in private and on a special account without singing, and but one clerk ministering, whether it be in a church or private oratory" (Merati in Gavanti, p. i. in *Rubr. Gen. Obs. Praelim.* § 46), in which case it is distinguished from a solemn mass; or (2) "A mass in which the priest alone communicates" (*ibid.*), in which case it is opposed to a public mass. A daily mass celebrated out of devotion in the earlier ages would come under the former head. An example (in Cassius bishop of Narni) is mentioned by Gregory I. (*Dial.* iv. 56). In neither sense does the phrase appear to have been in use during our period. See *Missa Solitaria.*

(21.) *Missa Publica* is a celebration at which all may be present and communicate. The expression is frequent in the epistles of Gregory I. Thus he "forbids that Public Masses should on any account be celebrated" in a (certain) monastery by the bishop of the diocese, that the retirement of the monks might not be invaded by the concourse of people from without (iv. 43), and severely condemns another bishop for having placed his throne in a monastic church and celebrated "Public Masses" there (v. 46). He orders an oratory to be "solemnly consecrated without Public Masses" (vii. 72), and speaks in reprobation of a bishop who had "built an oratory in the diocese of another . . . and did not fear to celebrate Public Masses there" (xi. 21). Another example from a law of Charlemagne in 803 will suffice. Among other restrictions laid on the chorepiscopi he forbade them to "give the benediction to the people in Publica Missa" (*Cap. Reg. Fr.* i. 382).

(22.) *Missa Quadragesimalis,* a missa to be used in Lent. See above, *Missa Matutina,* and *Missa Jejunii.* A lenten missa in the Besançon Sacramentary bears the title Missa Quadragesimalis (*Mus. Ital.* i. 302). One of those in the Gothico-Gallican Missal is headed Missa in Quadragesima (*Lit. Gall.* p. 234). In the last-named missal there are in all only six proper missae provided for Lent. The Gallicanum Vetus is defective from Christmas to the great scrutinium and exhibits none (*ibid.* 338). There are but five in the Besançon rite. On the other hand the Gelasian and Gregorian give a missa for every day in the season, and the Mozarabic one for every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. The Roman missae for the week-days in Lent are supposed to have been chiefly borrowed from those of Milan (Pamel. *Rituale,* i. 328). The latter is peculiar in having none for the Fridays (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iv. xviii. 21; Gerbert, *Mon. Lit. Al.* i. 42).

(23.) *Missa Quotidiana* appears to be a missa that may be used on any day that has no proper prayers provided for it. There is an example (Missa Cottidiana) in the Besançon Sacramentary (*Mus. It.* i. 382). Compare Legendis Cottidianis (379), Lectiones Cottidianas (338, 381), Lectiones Cottidianae (382, 3), which are the headings to lessons for similar use. Again, we have Lectio libri Danihel Prophetae in Cottidiana (sc. Missa) legenda (278). Two missae in the same book have the incoherent title of Missa Cottidiana Dominicalis (380, 3), *i.e.* a missa that may be used on any Sunday that has not its proper missa. In the Gregorian Sacramentary is Missa Quotidiana pro Rege, *i. e.* that might be said whenever the priest chose (Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii. 188). See further under *Missa Romensis.*

(24.) *Missa Revocata.* See *Missam revocare* in § XI. No. (9).

(25.) *Missa Romensis, i. e.* borrowed from the Roman books. The old Gallican canon was very short, being nothing more than the recital of the institution, which was added to the variable Collectio post Sanctus. The first words of it (Ipse enim pridie quam, etc.) are frequently so added in the Gothico-Gallican Missal (*Lit. Gall.* 189, 192, 5, etc.). The Besançon Sacramentary, however, had adopted the long Roman canon, which it put after the contestatio (see PREFACE), omitting the post Sanctus. It occurs thus in the first missa in the book, and that missa bears the title, Missa Romensis Cottidiana (*Mus. It.* 279). As the missa retains most of its Gallican forms under their usual names (post nomina, ad pacem, etc.), the word "Romensis" must refer to the canon almost entirely, and therefore "Cottidiana" here indicates the daily use of that. The last missa in the Gothico-Gallican Missal has the similar heading, Missa Cottidiana Romensis (*Lit. Gall.* 300); but after the first collect the MS. fails us. That collect, however, being identical with one in the Besançon missa helps the conclusion that the Roman canon followed in that book also, and that the Goths in Gaul, though retaining throughout their liturgy their own mode of consecration, yet permitted an optional use of the Roman.

(26.) *Missa de Sanctis.* At a very early period it became the custom to observe the anniversary of a martyr's death. On such occasions the Eucharist was celebrated, partly as an act of intercession for the soul of the deceased, and partly as a thankful commemoration of the triumph of truth and grace in his death. Soon the rite was observed in the case of other eminent Christians, and ere long, the original ground of it becoming obscured, the celebration was supposed to be in honour of the person (in honorem ipsorum,—in ejus honore; Greg. Tur. *Mirac.* i. 47, 75). The story of Polycarp (A.D. 147) gives us the earliest example of such commemoration: "We deposited his remains where it was fitting, where gathered together as opportunity serves with joy and gladness the Lord will grant unto us to celebrate the natal day of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have fought the good fight (for twelve suffered with him), and for the training and preparation of those who will be called to it" (Eccl. Smyrn. *Epist.* 18). Tertullian, A.D. 192: "We make oblations for the departed on one day in the year, for birthday gifts" (*De Cor.* 3). Cyprian in 250 orders his clergy to inform him of the days on which any were put to death, "that he might be able to celebrate their commemorations among the Memorials of the Martyrs . . . that oblations and sacrifices in commemoration of them might be celebrated" where he was (*Epist.* 12 *ad Presbyt.*).

Again: "As ye remember, we never fail to offer sacrifices for them as often as we celebrate the passions and days of the martyrs by an annual commemoration" (*Ep.* 39 *ad Presbyt.*). Sixty-two sermons ascribed with confidence to St. Augustine, who died in 430, were preached on martyrs' days (*Class.* iii. ed. Ben.). In the course of time proper Missae were written for these occasions, such as are now known under the name of Missae de Sanctis.

The titles of such missae in the ancient sacramentaries are variously constructed. In the Missale Gothicum we have, *e.g.* Missa in Natale Agnes (*sic*) Virginis et Martyris (*Lit. Gall.* 215), Missa S. Saturnini, Episcopi et Martyris (*ibid.* 219), Missa de pluris Martyris (*sic*) (287), etc.; in the Besançon Sacramentary, Missa Sancti Stefani (*Mus. It.* 3, i. 292), Missa in Sanctorum Infantum (293), Missa de uno Confessore (347), etc. In the Milanese Missal all run thus, In Festo S. Thomae (Pamel. i. 444), etc.; in that of Gothic Spain thus, In Natale SS. Innocentium (Leslie, 48), or In Sancti Stephani Levite et Martyris (41), or In Festo Sancti Luciani Presbyteri et Martyris (289). The Roman sacramentaries use commonly the word Natale, as Natale Sancti Andreae Apostoli (*Sacr. Leon.* Murat. i. 464), In Natali Sancti Johannis Evangelistae (474), In Natal. Innocent. (*Gelas. ibid.* 499), but In Nativitate Sanctae Euphimiae (643). The Gregorian has Natale Sanctae Priscae (ii. 19), and so generally; but (of a preface), Item alia Specialis in Festivitate S. Cypriani (335).

Some of the Missae de Sanctis retained their original intercessory character for a long time. In the Leonian Sacramentary there is one headed "Sancti Silvestri," in which are prayers both for him (dec. A.D. 336) and Simplicius (dec. 483); for the former in separate prayers, that "he may rejoice for ever in the society of the saints" of God, and that "endless beatitude may glorify him" (Murat. i. 454); for the latter, that "his soul being freed from all things which from the nature of man it hath brought on it, may have its portion in the lot of holy pastors" (*ibid.*). This Missa is not found in the Gelasian or Gregorian books. Another instance is the Gregorian Super Oblata in the missae of St. Leo and St. Gregory: "Vouchsafe to us, O Lord, that the (*Greg.* this) oblation by the immolation of which Thou hast granted that the sins of the whole world should be forgiven may profit the soul of Thy servant Leo (Gregory)" (*ibid.* ii. 25, 101). An archbishop of Lyons observing that the last clause had been altered into, "may profit us through the intercession of the blessed Leo (Gregory)," wrote to Innocent III., A.D. 1198, for an explanation. The pope justified the change by quoting as Scripture a sentiment of St. Augustine (*Serm.* 159, c. 1, and *Tract.* 84 in S. Johan. xv.): "Since the authority of Sacred Writ says that 'he who prays for a martyr wrongs a martyr,' the same should by parity of reason be thought of the other saints" (*Decr. Const.* iii. 130). The earlier and the mediaeval grounds are combined in a passage of Gregory of Tours, who tells us that persons stricken with ague who "devoutly celebrated masses in honour of St. Sigismund and offered the oblation to God for his repose" were immediately healed (*Mirac.* i. 75).

(27.) *Missa pro Scrutinio.* Those masses were so called which were said on the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th Sundays in Lent on behalf of the catechumens preparing for baptism on Easter Eve. "Scrutinium," says Amalarius, "proprium syntagma habet et propriam missam" (*De Eccles. Off.* i. 8). Four Missae pro scrutiniis electorum are assigned, one to each of the Sundays abovenamed, in the Gelasian Sacramentary (Murat. i. 521, 5, 9, 533). The Gallican church had only one such Missa, which was said on Palm Sunday, until Charlemagne ordered the observance of the Roman system of scrutinia (*Capit. Reg. Franc.* v. 372). It is called Missa in Symboli Traditione (*Mus. It.* i. 314; *Lit. Gall.* 235, 346). At Milan the creed was delivered to the competentes on the day before Palm Sunday (Sabbato in Traditione Symboli) and a similar mass said (Pamel. i. 336).

(28.) *Missa Secunda.* Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*Vit. Pont. R.* 69) states that Deusdedit of Rome, 614, "instituted a Second Mass *in clero*;" *i.e.* among monks (see CLERUS and above *Missa Matutina*). A second public celebration had long been the custom when a church open to all could not contain at one time all who desired to communicate. Leo, A.D. 440, says that this was the practice at Rome, and begs the pope of Alexandria to sanction it in his patriarchate, "that their observance might in all things accord" (*Ep.* 11 *ad Diosc.* 2).

(29.) *Missa Sicca.* Dry Masses are not heard of before the 13th century. We refer to them here because, owing to an oversight in regard to the pontifical of Prudentius of Troye, they have been put by some four hundred years earlier. See *Notitia Eucharistica*, 816 n. ed. 2.

(30.) *Missa Singularis.* A special Mass on behalf of one person. The phrase occurs in the life of Wilfrid of York by Heddius, A.D. 720: "Omni die pro eo Missam Singularem celebrare" (cap. 62 in Gale, *Script.* xv.; i. 78). In the Mozarabic Missal (Leslie, 446) is a Missa Votiva Singularis, in every prayer of which the name of the person (everywhere supposed to be one) is to be inserted.

(31.) *Missa Solitaria.* We do not find the expression in use before the Middle Ages, but by the beginning of the 9th century priests had certainly begun to celebrate without attendants. This is forbidden by the council of Mentz, 813: "No presbyter, as it seems to us, can sing masses alone rightly, for how will he say, The Lord be with you. . . when there is no one with him?" (can. 43). The council of Paris, 829: "A reprehensible practice and worthy of meet correction has, partly through neglect, partly through avarice, crept in in most places; viz. that some of the presbyters celebrate the solemn rites of masses without ministers" (i. can. 48). Comp. *Cap. Reg. Fr.* v. 159; Add. ii. 9; Herard, cap. i. 9.

(32.) *Missa Specialis*, a private mass in the more ancient sense, *i.e.* for a special object. Thus in the Gregorian Sacramentary, a missa to be used when a priest says a mass for the forgiveness of his own sins is entitled Missa Specialis Sacerdotis (Murat. ii. 190; compare two with the same heading among those ascribed to Grimoldus, Pamel. ii. 428). "Special," of a preface, mentioned above in (26), means that it commemorates St. Cyprian alone, and not Cornelius also, as another does, their feasts falling on the same day. The expression occurs also in an epistle of Charlemagne to Fastrada. "Et sacerdos unusquisque

Missam Specialem fecisset, nisi infirmitas impedisset" (*Ep. de Vict. Avar.* in *Hist. Franc. Script.* 187, or *Capit. Reg. Fr.* i. 257). He is speaking of the litanies and other services prescribed for a public fast.

(33.) *Missa in Symboli traditione.* See *Missa pro Scrutinio.*

(34.) *Missa de Tempore; i.e.* adapted to some sacred day or season of the Christian year. Such masses are in all the ancient missals, though the phrase is late. The Gregorian, Milanese, and Mozarabic provide missae for every Sunday in the year, as well as for the great days of Christmas, Epiphany, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, Easter, etc. In some cases also for the feriae connected with them. The Gallican rites having been suppressed by Pepin and Charlemagne towards the close of the 8th century (Lebrun, *Dissert.* iv. art. i.) are less methodised and full, but they are framed on the same principle.

(35.) *Missa Vespertina.* See above under *Missa Matutina.*

(36.) *Missa Votiva.* By this is now meant any mass not of the day, even though prescribed, as, *e.g.* the masses of the Blessed Virgin on the first two Saturdays in Advent (Merati in Gavanti, P. i. *Rubr. Gen.* Obs. Prael. 66). Originally, however, it meant a celebration at which some special blessing, temporal or spiritual, was sought, whether for the celebrant or others. This is the character of two Missae Votivae (omnimoda, singularis) already cited from the Mozarabic Missal (see (14) and (30)). Other examples, though not so inscribed, occur in the same book; as Missa de Itinerantibus, de Tribulationibus, pro alio Sacerdote fratre suo vivo, de uno Infirmo, pro Infirmis (pp. 447–454). The Besançon Missal has four headed "Missa Votiva" for blessings on a single person to be named in the office (*Mus. Ital.* 360–2); and two others, one of which, pro Vivis et Defunctis (363), speaks of brothers, sisters, and benefactors. In the other, entitled Missa in domo cujuslibet (364), the names of the family are to be introduced. There are no missae of the kind in the other Gallican missals with the exception of one entitled Orationes et Prec. pro Regibus in that of the Franks (*Lit. Gall.* 316). If we except some masses for the dead, there are no Missae Votivae in the Ambrosian Liturgy, nor does the phrase appear in it. The collections under the names of Grimoldus (Pamel. ii. 388) and Alcuin (*ibid.* 517) contain votive missae, but they are not so described. This is the case also with the Leonian (Murat. i. 434, etc.) and Gelasian (*ibid.* 725, etc.) Sacramentaries. In the ancient copy of the Gregorian printed by Pamelius (tom. ii.) we find neither the name nor thing; but both in those printed by Muratori (ii. 193, etc.), Gerbert (*Mon. Vet. Lit. Alem.* 279 etc.), the editors of the works of Gregory published in 1615 (tom. v. 221, etc.) and others.

We find an early instance of a votive celebration of the Eucharist in St. Augustine. His presbyters were requested to send one of their number to pray in a haunted house. "One went, offered there the sacrifice of Christ's body, praying to His power for the cessation of that trouble. Through the mercy of God it forthwith ceased" (*De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8, 6).

XI. The Eucharist had acquired the name of missa a long time before any one phrase (such as missam celebrare, audire) was generally accepted to denote the celebration of the sacrament or lay attendance at it. The following list is thought to contain all in use within our limit of time.

(1.) *Missam agere, peragere.* The Gelasian Sacramentary: "Si fuerit oblata, agendae sunt missae, et communicet" (Murat. i. 596). Sim. in two edicts of Hunneric the Vandal, A.D. 484: "In ecclesiis vestris missas agere" (*Hist. Persec. Vand.* Vict. Vit. ii. 2), "Reperti sunt contra interdictum missas in sortibus Vandalorum egisse" (*ibid.* in c. xiii.). We find also missam peragere; *e.g. Ordo Rom. I.*, after prescribing the consecration of the oil for the sick before the end of the canon, adds, "et deinceps peragitur missa ordine suo" (c. 30; *Mus. It.* ii. 20).

(2.) *Missam audire.* We have not noticed this, afterwards common, phrase in the writers of the first eight centuries. It occurs, however, early in the 9th; viz. in the 19th canon of the council of Châlons-sur-Saône, 813: "Let families give their tithes in the place in which their children are baptized, and where they hear masses through the whole course of the year." The council of Paris, 829: "Satius igitur est illis missam non audire, quam eam ubi non licet nec oportet audire" (i. 47). It is instructive to observe that when Gratian, A.D. 1131, professes to give the 47th canon of Agde (A.D. 506), for "Missas a saecularibus totas teneri....praecipimus," he substitutes "Missas... saecularibus totas audire ....praecipimus" (*De Consecr.* i. 64).

(3.) *Missam cantare, decantare.* Bede says of Ceolfrid that from the day he left his monastery to go to Rome to the day of his death "quotidie missâ cantatâ salutaris hostiae Deo munus offeret" (*Hist. Abbat. Wirem.* § 16, sim. § 13). In 803 a petition was presented by the people to Charlemagne, praying that when the king and his lay subjects went against the enemy the bishops might stay at home and attend to their proper duties, among which are mentioned "Missas cantare et letanias atque eleemosynas facere" (*Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 405; sim. 470, 5, 730, etc.). The council of Mentz, 813: "Nullus presbyter, ut nobis videtur, solus missam cantare valet recte" (can. 43). We must suppose that originally the use of the word cantare implied that the mass was sung or chanted. That this meaning was lost sight of in the 9th century is evident from the language of Amalarius and others respecting the canon: "In eo videlicet quod ista oratio specialiter ad sacerdotem pertinet....*secreto* eam decantat" (Amal. *Egloga*, 21). Remigius of Auxerre: "Consuetudo venit in Ecclesiâ, ut *tacite* ista obsecratio atque consecratio cantetur" (in the chapter *De Celebr. Miss.* of Pseudo-Alcuin, Hittorp. 284).

(4.) *Missam celebrare.* This is in very common use from the 6th century downwards, and sometimes even of the laity; as of the sick seeking to be healed, "Si...missas devote celebrant" (Greg. Tur. *Mirac.* i. 75); even of a woman, "Celebrans quotidie missarum solemnia" (*De Glor. Confess.* 65). The Capitulary of Aix, 789: "Auditum est aliquos presbyteros missam celebrare, et non communicare" (c. 6, Labbe, vii. 970). Theodulf of Orleans, A.D. 797: "Missam sacerdote celebrante" (Capit. i. 6, *ibid.* 1138), "Sacerdos missam solus nequidquam celebret" (*ibid.* c. 7). See *Capit. Reg*

*Franc.* i. 409, 417, 956, 1208. "Missarum mysteria, solemnia, celebrare" are also frequent, as Greg. Tur. *Mirac.* i. 90, 87.

(5.) *Missam consecrare.* Gregory of Tours: "Ejus clerici concinant qui consecrat missas" (*Vitae Patr.* 5).

(6.) *Missam dicere.* Dictis missis (*Hist. Franc.* ix. 20; *Mirac.* i. 34, 90). The council of Mâcon 581: "Ut archiepiscopus sine pallio missas dicere non praesumat" (can. 6).

(7.) *Missam facere.* St. Ambrose: "Missam facere coepi" (*Epist.* xx. 4); the council of Toledo, 646: "Missas facere" (can. 2), "faciendi missam" (3); Ordo Rom. I.: "Quando (presbyter) in statione facit missas" (c. 22; Mus. Ital. ii. 17); Charlemagne in 303: "Ipsi pro nobis et cuncto exercitu nostro missas, letanias, oblationes, eleemosynas faciant" (*Capit. Reg. Fr.* i. 405; sim. in *Epist. ad Fastradam, ibid.* 257).

(8.) *Missam peragere.* See *Missam agere.*

(9.) *Missam recitare.* "Ut missa recitaretur communis injunxi dilecto filio meo" (Braulio, A.D. 627, in *Ep.* Vitae S. Aemiliani praef. *Acta Bened.* saec. i. iii. 206).

(10.) *Missam revocare* meant to celebrate a mass, but the ground of the usage is obscure and doubtful. Mabillon thinks that there is in the expression an allusion per antiphrasim to the original sense of missa, "the people having been dismissed before are again called back to the sacrifice" (*Lit. Gall.* 57). But from what have they been dismissed? It is used when no previous service is implied as by Gregory of Tours, who says of a queen of the Franks that, after passing a night watching, she in the morning "missas expetiit revocari"* (*Mirac. S. Mart.* i. 12). He relates also of his own mother, that, being warned by a vision that an epidemic would attack her house, she heard a voice at the same time saying, "Vade et vigila totam noctem in honore (S. Benigni) et revoca missas" (*Mirac.* i. 51). Similarly Venantius Fortunatus: "Vigiliis in honore Sancti celebratis, ac missâ revocatâ, de praesenti curata est" (*Vita S. Germani*, 60; Migne, 88, col. 472); and again of queen Radegund: "Missâ revocatâ....sacrum componit altare" (*Vita*, 14; u. s. col. 503). It will be observed that in all these cases a special mass performed at request is implied, for which without doubt the person mentioned supplied the materials directly or indirectly. In the first instance it is said that the queen "offered many gifts." The original notion is, therefore, probably, to supply or furnish a mass; for "revocare" often = "reddere." Thus, "Eulogias revocans Domino rerum" (*Vita Frontonii* in Rosweyd, 240); and (completely to our purpose) St. Aridius in his will directs that several persons benefited by it, "singulis mensibus eulogias vicissim ad missas nostras revocent" (ad calc. Opp. S. Greg. Tur. 1312). "Missam revocare" means, therefore, we conceive, to cause a mass to be celebrated, supplying the means. The same Aridius, ordering matins and a mass to be *maintained* by his monks for ever, expresses himself thus: "Ut....maturius matutina et missa sanctorum domnorum a monachis ibidem revocetur" (*ibid.* 1314).

(11.) *Missam spectare.* The Council of Orleans, 538: "Sacrificia matutina missarum sive vespertina ne quis cum armis pertinentibus ad bellorum usum spectet" (can. 29). Gregory of Tours: "Rex ecclesiam ad spectanda missarum solemnia petit" (*Hist. Franc.* viii. 7); "Ad basilicam...properavit, quasi spectatura missas" (*ibid.* ix. 9; see also x. 8, and *S. Mart. Mir.* iii. 19). This phrase was so familiar to Gregory that he falls into the use of it even when speaking of a blind man: "Cum reliquo populo missarum solemnia spectaret" (*S. Mart. Mir.* ii. 13).

(12.) *Missam tenere.* This idiom is clearly distinguished from missam facere by the council of Agde, A.D. 506: "Si qui in festivitatibus... in oratoriis, nisi jubente aut permittente episcopo, missas facere, aut tenere, voluerint, a communione pellantur" (can. 21). Here *missam tenere* is evidently said of the lay attendant. In canon 47 this is expressed: "Missas Die Dominico a saecularibus totas teneri speciali ordinatione praecipimus." So Gregory of Tours of a layman: "Procedens nobiscum ad ecclesiam missarum solemnia tenuit" (*Hist. Franc.* vi. 40). But the second council of Bracara, 560 or 563, appears to use it of priest and people both: "Si quis quintâ feriâ paschali, quae est Coena Domini, horâ legitimâ, post nonam jejunus in ecclesia missas non tenet....anathema sit" (can. 16). In the Rule of St. Benedict it is also used of the celebrant, as when providing for the reception of a priest into his monastery he says, "Concedatur ei....post abbatem stare et benedicere, aut missas tenere, si tamen jusserit ei abbas" (c. 60; Holst. ii. 55).

(13.) *Missam tractare.* "Non licet presbytero aut diacono, aut subdiacono post acceptum cibum vel poculum missas tractare" (Conc. Autiss. A.D. 578, can. 19). Ducange finds the expression in an edict of Hunneric already cited in (1): "Missas agere, vel tractare"; but this is a mistake. The context ("quibus voluerint linguis populo tractare") shews that "tractare" must be taken by itself, and that it means, as in other authors, to expound the Scriptures.

[W. E. S.]

**MISSAL** (*Liber Missalis, Missalis, Missale*). I. The later missal contains the lessons and antiphons, as well as the canon, proper prayers or collects and prefaces, to be used at the celebration of the Eucharist throughout the year. Originally, however, the book so called did not contain either the lessons or antiphons. This is evident from the fact that the lectionary and antiphonary are often spoken of as books distinct from the missal, and that we have independent examples of both remaining. [See ANTIPHONARIUM; LECTIONARIUM.] Egbert of York, A.D. 732, who is, we think, the earliest writer who speaks of a Liber Sacramentorum under the name of missal, says, "Our master the blessed Gregory in his antiphonary and missal book (Missali libro)" (*De Instit. Cathol.* xvi. 1). We have that "missal book" (the Gregorian Sacramentary), and find in it neither antiphons nor lessons. Again: "Not our antiphonaries only bear witness, but those very copies which we have seen with their missals at the thresholds

* This alone would disprove an earlier conjecture of Mabillon, that "missam revocare" means to celebrate a recurring festival (see above, No. IX.). When he offered this (in note to Fortunatus, *Vita Germani*, c. 60) he thought that the phrase was "peculiar to Fortunatus." The suggestion is reprinted by Migne, without comment, though withdrawn by Mabillon in *Lit. Gall.* 57.

of the apostles Peter and Paul" (*ibid.* 2). He ordered that all who desired to be ordained priests should previously provide themselves with "a psalter, lectionary, antiphonary, missal (missale), baptismal office, martyrology....and computus with cycle" (*Can. de Remediis Peccatorum*, i.). Charlemagne in 789: "If there be occasion to write out a gospel (*i.e.* a book of the gospels) or psalter and missal, let men of full age write them" (*Capit.* i. 70; in *Capit. Leg. Franc.* i. 68; vi. 371). Alcuin in 796: "Missas quoque reliquas de nostro tuli missali ad quotidiana et ecclesiasticae consuetudinis officia" (*Ep.* 46, *ad Monach. Vedast.* i. 59, ed. 1777); "Misi chartulam missalem vobis" (*Ep.* 192, *ad Mon. Fuld.* 256). Ludovicus Pius, 816: Bishops are to "take care that the presbyters have a missal and lectionary or other books necessary for them well corrected" (*Capit.* 28; sim., *Cap. R. Fr.* i. 103; vi. 229). A copier of books, writing about 826 to an old friend who had become archbishop of Mentz, says, "Send me some good parchment for writing out one lectionary and one Gregorian missal" (Iatto Otkero, inter *Epist. Bonifacianas*, 138; ed. Wurdtw.). Amalarius, 827: "The authors of the lectionary and antiphonary, and of the missal of which we believe the blessed Pope Gregory to be the author" (*De Eccl. Off.* iv. 30); "It is found written in the ancient books of missals and antiphonaries" (*ibid.* iii. 40). There were in 831 in the monastic library of St. Riquier at Centule several books known as missals: "Tres missales Gregoriani, missalis Gregorianus et Gelasianus modernis temporibus ab Albino (Alcuino) ordinatus....missales Gelasiani xix." (*Chron. Centul.* iii. in Dach. *Spicil.* ii. 311; Par. 1723). The Gelasian Sacramentary (and, we may add, the Leonian) resembled the Gregorian in consisting of prayers and prefaces only. Had Alcuin inserted the lessons and antiphons, a circumstance so unusual would certainly have been noticed. They were probably distinct books for a century at least after his time. Thus Walter of Orleans, A.D. 867, orders his clergy to "have the church books, to wit the missal, gospel (evangelium = evangeliarium, as in the law of Charlemagne), lectionary (= epistolarium), psalter, antiphonary, martyrology and homiliary, by which to instruct himself and others" (*Capitula*, 7). An episcopal charge of that period says, "Let your missals, graduals, lectionaries and antiphonaries be complete and perfect" (*App.* ad Reginonis *Discipl. Eccl.* 505; ed. Baluz.).

II. We do not read of Missalia Plenaria (or Plenaria) before the 9th century, but they are then spoken of in such a manner as to shew that they were neither new nor of recent introduction. A will is extant, written about the year 840, which bequeaths "a plenary missal with the gospels and epistles" (*Testam. Heccardi* in Perard, *Pièces servant à l'Histoire de Bourgogne*, 26). We gather from this that a plenary missal of those days did not contain the eucharistic lessons. Leo IV., A.D. 847, in some instructions to his clergy: "Let every church have a plenary missal and lectionary and antiphonary" (*De Curâ Past.*; Labbe, *Conc.* viii. 36; sim. Ratherius of Verona, *ibid.* ix. 1271; and again *Admonitio Synodalis*, *App.* ad Regin. *u. s.* 503). The question was asked at visitations whether all the clergy were possessed of those several books, "Missalem plenarium, lectionarium, antiphonarium" (*Inquisitio* 10, apud Regin. *u. s.* 7). The missale plenarium of a later age contained the lessons and antiphons as well as the collects and prefaces (Merati in Gavanti; *Observ. Praelim.* i. 4); but it is clear from the foregoing testimonies, though the fact has escaped Ducange, Bocquillot, and others, that they were not included in the volume to which that name was originally given. Gerbert appears to be right in thinking that at first the plenary missal was a sacramentary which gave the missae for every day, and not those for Sundays and other chief festivals, or for other special use, alone (*Disquis.* ii. i. 29, p. 108; ii. 1, p. 116). There was a missal of the latter kind written in the 8th century in the library of St. Gall, and later examples are extant (*ibid.* 108). The missal which Alcuin mentions in his epistle to the monks of St. Vedast cited above was apparently one of this sort. It may well be doubted whether plenary missals in the other and later sense existed within our period. Gerbert (116) says that he never saw a MS. of that description belonging to the 9th century. No Roman missal of that age contains even the epistles and gospels. In France, however, the lessons without the antiphons had occasionally been incorporated with the missae long before; for we find them in the Besançon Sacramentary, which is assigned to the 7th century (Mabill. *Mus. Ital.* i. 275), though not in the other Gallican missals, which date from the eighth (*Liturg. Gallic.* Mabill. 175), or in the Frankish which Mabillon ascribes to the seventh (*ibid.* 178). A very ancient Tabularium or Polyptychon preserved at Rheims, the exact date of which, however, is not given, also points to France as the country in which the amalgamation began; for it mentions as one book, "a missal of Gregory with the gospels and lessons (= epistles)" (in *Notis* Baluz. *Capit. Reg. Fr.* ii. 1155).

Other information respecting missals will be given under SACRAMENTARY.

The works named after LITURGY supply information on this subject; but the reader is especially referred to Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. i. cc. 1, 2, 13–16, ed. Sala, Aug. Taurin. 1747; to Merati, *Observationes ad Gavanti Comment. in Rubr.* tom. i. P. i. Obs. Praelim. 33-104, Aug. Vind. 1740 (who gives several kinds of missae, as above under X., not within our period); Mabillon *de Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. i. cc. 4–6, Par. 1729; and Le Brun, *Explication de la Messe*, Dissert. ii.–v. in tome 3, Par. 1777.

[W. E. S.]

**MISSI DOMINICI.** The word *missus* is frequently found in Capitularies, designating a messenger, ambassador, or deputy. Commissioners named by the king, with a kind of vice-regal power within certain limits, were called *missi regis*. Of these there were in the Carolingian period two classes: (1) the ordinary *missi dominici* or *dominicales*, *regales*, *fiscales*, *palatini principales*, often called *missi* simply; and (2) extraordinary *missi* (legati or nuncii) appointed for special emergencies. It is with the first that we are here concerned.

Pepin (*Capit. Aquitan.* A.D. 768, c. 12, Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* iv. 14) ratifies the decisions

of "missi nostri" whether in relation to church or state; but the more complete development of the system belongs to the age of Charles the Great. Probably with a view of diminishing the excessive power of the dukes, who exercised both judicial and administrative functions in their territories, he transferred to *missi dominici* the charge of taking account of any complaints that might be made against bishops, abbats, or counts, or other holders of similar offices (*Capit.* an. 779, c. 21; *Capit. Papiense*, an. 789–790, c. 10; *Capit. Generale*, an. 789, c. 11; in Pertz, iii. 38, 71, 69). After Charles became Roman emperor, he named secular and spiritual persons together on these commissions. In a capitulary of Aachen (*Cap. Aquisgran.* an. 802, Pertz iii. 91 f), he declares that he has chosen from his nobles as well archbishops as bishops, abbats and religious laymen, and given them charge over the whole of his kingdom; he grants to all his subjects to live according to right law by their means; and he requires the commissioners to note any points in which the law appeared defective, and report them to him, that he may amend them. For the purposes of this supervision, the empire was divided into circuits (missatica, legationes), coinciding generally with the province of a metropolitan, unless where the great extent of the province rendered a subdivision necessary; thus Mentz is said to have contained four circuits and Rheims two. In general two commissioners, an archbishop, bishop or abbat, and a count, were named for each circuit (Pertz, iii. 97, 98), but occasionally three or four. The *missi* received written instructions, and the emperor frequently gave them oral directions also (Pertz, iii. 121). As they were the immediate instruments of the central power, no part of the administration lay entirely beyond their sphere. They were (1) to enforce the due execution of the laws, both in church and state (*Capit.* an. 802, cc. 25, 26; cf. *cap. missorum* an. 806, c. 2, &c. Pertz, iii. 137, 164). (2) Suits not decided by the counts or their deputies they might themselves judge, for which purpose they were to hold assizes four times a year, in January, April, July, and October (*Capit. Aquisgran.* an. 812, c. 8; Pertz, iii. 174). (3) They were especially to look to the due maintenance of the arrangements for levying troops (*Brev. Capit.* an. 803, Pertz, iii. 119). (4) They were to have the oversight of public lands, whether belonging to the state or to the church. Registers or "terriers" of all landed estates were consequently required by them. Not only were the benefices of bishops, abbats, abbesses, and counts or vassals of the king to be described, but also those belonging to the fisc (*Capit. Aquisgr.* an. 812, c. 7; Pertz, iii. 174).

To facilitate the carrying out of their several duties, the missi held provincial courts, to which were summoned the higher dignitaries of the clergy, the counts and other officials, the king's vassals, &c. Those who did not appear were reported to the general court of the king (*Cap. misso data* an. 803, c. 5; Pertz, iii. 122).

The *missi* were to report to the king the results of their mission, both orally and in writing (*Cap. ad leg. miss.* an. 817, c. 13; Pertz, iii. 217). Cases of special difficulty were referred to the decision of the king himself (*Capit.* an. 803; Pertz, iii. 121). The decisions of the *missi* in any case required the king's confirmation (*Capit.* an. 812, c. 10; Pertz, iii. 174, &c.), so that in practice an appeal lay from the *missi* to the king.

These *missi dominici* continued in full activity until the dissolution of the Frank-Carolingian empire. As the central power declined, the functions of the *missi* were partly absorbed by the dukes in their several dominions, partly supplanted by new offices. In several dioceses the bishops acquired the rights once enjoyed by them (see *e.g. Conventus Ticinensis*, an. 876, c. 12, in Pertz, iii. 531). (Jacobson in Herzog's *Real-Encyklop.* ix. 549 ff.; Gengler, *Germanische Rechtsdenkmäler*, Glossary, s. v. *Missus.*) [C.]

**MISSIONS.** 1. Though Christian Missions had their origin in the example and command of our Lord Himself (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20), yet, as has been often noticed, the church can tell but little of her earliest teachers. Three only of the Saviour's immediate followers hold any immediate place in the apostolic records. We are told, indeed, of the labours of St. Andrew in Scythia (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 1), of St. Thomas in India, of St. Matthew in Aethiopia (Fabricii *Lux Evang.* pp. 92–115), but the very scantiness of these notices proves how little that is reliable has come down to us respecting the work of the founders of the earliest churches.

2. Moreover, this comparative silence extends to the records of the succeeding centuries. We know that the church gradually extended her conquests through Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Southern Gaul and Northern Africa (Justin, *Dial.* c. 117; Tertull. *Apol.* 37; *Adv. Jud.* 7), the very centre of the old world and of its heathen culture, but there is little information to be found which bears upon the exact processes adopted in securing these triumphs.

3. Prayers, indeed, for the conversion of the heathen were early recognised as proper to Christian devotion, and are to be found in the liturgies alike of Eastern and Western churches [HEATHEN, p. 761], but we look in vain for any traces of actual organisations for this end.

4. In the first instance, as we might expect, the diffusion of Christianity proceeded from the evangelising labours of individual bishops and clergy. It was naturally regarded as part of their duty to win over to the faith the heathen that dwelt around them. Thus ULPHILAS, A.D. 325, the "Apostle of the Goths," devoted himself, heart and soul, to the conversion of his countrymen, and of the populous colony of shepherds and herdmen, which he had formed on the slope of Mt. Haemus. (See *The Life of Ulphilas*, by bishop Auxentius, published by Waitz, of Kiel, 1840.) Thus, also, Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, A.D. 370, made his cathedral church the centre of a wide mission field, and St. Chrysostom founded, at Constantinople, A.D. 404, an institution, in which Goths might be trained and qualified to preach the gospel to their own people (Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 30); nor even during the years of his exile amongst the ridges of Mt. Taurus, did he forget those toiling in far distant mission-fields. In several extant epistles we find him advising the dispatch of missionaries to various places, consoling some under persecution, animating others by the

example of the great apostle St. Paul, and soliciting funds for supporting mission stations. (St. Chrysost. *Opp.* iv. pp. 729, 747, 748, 750, 799; *Le Quien*, p. 1099, § 14.)

5. But missionary zeal is "essentially the child of faith," and has depended, in all ages, on the varying spirituality of the several branches of the church. The great evangelising efforts of the early church were mainly those of the West. The Thebaid, it is true, sent forth its hosts of monastic missionaries, who penetrated the country districts of the East, which still remained sunk in idolatry, even when Christianity had been acknowledged and protected by the state, and sowed the seeds of knowledge in the region of Phoenicia, on the one side, and beyond the Euphrates on the other. But even before the famous churches of the East had become the prey of the anti-Christian armies of Mahomet, lethargy and inaction, as regards Christian missions, crept over them, and the work either ended altogether or notoriously declined. "One by one, that glorious centre of light, knowledge, and life, which the Anthonys, the Hilarions, the Basils, the Chrysostoms had animated with their celestial light, were extinguished, and disappeared from the pages of history. Eastern monachism could neither renovate the society which surrounded it, nor take possession of the pagan nations, which snatched away, every day, some new fragment of the empire." (Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, i. 376, 377; Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 34; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ii. 163.)

6. And even when we pass to the West, we must not expect speedy or immediate results. Herself scarcely recovering from the shock of change, the church found herself confronted with strange nations, of strange speech, and still stranger modes of life, who poured forth to fill the abyss of servitude and corruption, in which the empire had disappeared. They overran Gaul, Italy, Spain, Illyria, all the provinces in their turn. Chaos seemed to have come back to earth, and the agitations of society needed to be allayed, before mission work could be organized, or even effectually commenced.

7. But even now efforts were not wanting to deal with the inveterate paganism of the old world and the torrent of the northern invaders. From the islet of Lerins, off the roadstead of Toulon, where, in A.D. 410, a Roman patrician, Honoratus (S. Hilarii *Vita S. Honorati*, ap. Bolland, t. ii. Januar.), found a monastic home, went forth an influence, which created numerous missionary centres in Southern and Western Gaul, and sent bishops to Arles, Avignon, Lyons, Troyes, Metz, Nice, and many other places, who proved themselves at once the lights of their own dioceses, and the leading missionaries of their day amongst the outlying masses of heathendom.

8. When Clovis, in A.D. 493, became the single sovereign of the West who adhered to the confession of Nicaea, it might have been expected that the work of the numerous emissaries from Lerins would have been supplemented by the newly kindled ardour of the Frankish church.[a] And for a time orthodoxy advanced side by side with Frankish conquests. But the wars and dissensions of the successors of Clovis were not favourable to the development of Christian missions. Avitus of Vienne; Caesarius of Arles, and Faustus of Riez, proved what might be done by energy and self-devotion. But the rapid accession of wealth more and more tempted the Frankish bishops and abbats to live as mere laymen, and so the clergy degenerated, and the light of the Frankish church grew dim. Not only were the masses of heathendom lying outside her territory neglected, but within it she saw her own members tainted with the old leaven of heathenism, and relapsing in some instances into the old idolatries. (Perry's *Franks*, p. 488.)

9. A new influence was, therefore, needed if the heathen tribes of Europe were to be evangelised, and He who had said, "Behold, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 20), did not fail His church. He called the men who were to do the work, from two sister isles, high up in the northern seas, which had almost been forgotten amidst the desolating wars of the Continent. It was in the secluded Celtic churches of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands that the beacon was kindled, which, in the words of Alcuin, "caused the light of truth to shine to many parts of the earth."

10. Three well-marked stages distinguish the missionary history of the fifth and three following centuries:—

(*a*) A.D. 430–650.—While continental Europe was still agitated by the inroads of swarming tribes of barbarians, Ireland, unvisited by strange invaders, drew from its conversion by ST. PATRICK an energy which was simply marvellous. A burst of popular enthusiasm welcomed his preaching, and Celtic Christianity flung itself, with a zeal that seemed to take the world by storm, into battle with the mass of heathenism which was rolling in upon the Christian world. COLUMBA, the founder of Iona, and the Apostle of the Albanian Scots and Northern Picts; Aidan, the Apostle of the Northumbrian Saxons; COLUMBANUS, the Apostle of the Burgundians of the Vosges; Callich, or GALLUS, the Apostle of North-Eastern Switzerland and Alemannia; KILIAN, the Apostle and Martyr of Thuringia; VIRGILIUS, the Apostle of Carinthia, are but a few out of many,[b] who were raised up to pour back with interest upon the Continent the gifts of civilisation and the Gospel. "Armies of Scots" crowded to the shores of Europe. From the Orkneys to the Thames, from the sources of the Rhine to the shores of the Channel, from the Seine to the Scheldt, the missionary work of the "Scot" extended, nor did it hesitate to brave the dangers of stormy and icy seas, in bearing the message of the Gospel to the Faroe Isles, and even to far distant Iceland.

(*b*) A.D. 596–690.—Again, when the conquest of Britain by the pagan English had "thrust a

[a] On the conversion of the Burgundians see Socrates, *E. H.* vii. 30; Ozanam. *Civilisation chez les Francs*, p. 51. For the labours of Severinus in Bavaria and Austria, see *Vita S. Severini*, *Acta SS. Bolland.* Jan. 8.

[b] Thus Fridolin (*Acta SS.* March 6) laboured in Suabia and Alsace; Magnoald (*Acta SS.* April 26) founded a monastery at Fingen; Trudpert penetrated as far as the Black Forest, where he was murdered. See A. W. Haddan's *Scots on the Continent*, *Remains*, p. 265.

wedge of heathendom" into the heart of the great Christian communion of the West, and the British church failed to evangelise her pagan invaders, GREGORY the Great sent AUGUSTINE to the "men of Kent." Thus, in the very year that Columba breathed his last, the Roman missionaries landed, and slowly but surely won their way. Any ground they lost was more than recovered by the missionaries from Iona, who planted churches in the wilds of Suffolk (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 19), and on the coast of Essex, converted Mercia (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 21), and made Lindisfarne to Northumbria (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 13) what Luxeuil was to Switzerland. The disciples of Columba and the disciples of Benedict met in the land of the fair-haired Saxon boys, whom Gregory encountered in the forum of Rome (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 1), and between them not only won it over to the faith, but prepared its sons to transmit the light they had received to the heathen tribes of still pagan Germany.

(c) A.D. 620–755.—For, thirdly, when the Teuton of the Continent was crying from his native forests, like the Macedonian of old, "Come over and help us" (Acts xii. 9), eminent Anglo-Saxon missionaries flocked forth to rival the zeal of the followers of Columbanus in seeking the conversion of their kinsmen according to the flesh. Ground was first broken by the enterprising WILFRITH, who in his flight from his English diocese, in A.D. 678, was flung by a storm on the coast of Friesland, where he was hospitably received by the native chief, Aldgis, and appears to have reaped a harvest of conversions. (Bede, v. 19; *Vita S. Wilfridi Episcopi*, in *Acta SS. Bened.* saec. iii.) His work was taken up about twelve years afterwards by WILLEBRORD,[c] a native of Northumbria, who, having been a student in one of the Irish monastic schools under Ecgberht, agreed, at his suggestion, to select eleven companions, and made the neighbourhood of Wilteburg, Utrecht, the chief scene of his labours (*Vita S. Willibrordi*, in *Acta SS. Bened.* saec. iii.; *Annales Xantenses* in Pertz, ii. 220; Bede, *H. E.* v. 10). His mission attracted many English helpers from their native land. Two brothers, named HEWALD, attempted to preach the word to the "old" or continental Saxons (Bede, *H. E.* v. 10), and sealed their devotion with their blood; SWITHBERT, having been ordained a missionary bishop by Wilfrith (*Acta SS. Bened.* iii. 586), laboured amongst the Boructuarians, whose territory lay between the Ems and the Yssel; Adelbert,[d] a prince of the royal race of Northumbria, selected the north of Holland as the scene of his toils; Werenfrid made Elste his headquarters; Plechelm, also, Otger and Wiro, came forth to labour amongst the natives of Gueldres (Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. 334); while Wursing,[e] a native of Friesland, and other pupils of Willebrord, enlarged materially the sphere of his operations. But the vast Teutonic pagan world had as yet been but partially assailed. The task of encountering German idolatry in its strongholds was reserved for a man of Devonshire, the well-known Winfrith, or as he was afterwards called BONIFACE (Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* ii. 334 sq.; cf. *Bonifacius, der Apostel der Deutschen*, Seilleurs, Mainz, 1845). He came forth first to help Willebrord at Utrecht, then to labour in Thuringia and Upper Hessia, then to do for Germany what Theodore had done for England, consolidate the work of earlier missionaries, and impart to the churches new stability and life. From England he attracted numerous and enthusiastic helpers. His kinsmen Wunibald and Willibald (*Acta SS. Bened.* III. ii. 176), their sister Walpurga, with thirty companions, and many others, crossed the sea, and shared the work in Germany, where, even before Boniface fell a martyr on the shores of the Zuyder Zee, the church had advanced beyond its first missionary stage. Monastic seminaries, as Amöneburg and Ordruf, Fritzlar and Fulda had risen amidst the Teutonic forests. The sees of Salzburg and Friesingen, of Regensburg and Passau, testified to his care of the church of Bavaria; the see of Erfurt told of labours in Thuringia, that of Buraburg in Hesse, that of Würzburg in Franconia; while his metropolitan see at Mainz had jurisdiction over Worms and Spires, Tongres, Cologne, and Utrecht. (Willibald, *Vita S. Bonifacii*, § 22; comp. *Vita S. Columbae*, Reeves, *Adamnan*, pp. 245, 299; *Vita S. Willibrordi*, *Acta SS. Bened.* saec. iii. p. 354; Bede, v. 10.)

11. Two classes of missionaries were thus engaged in the conversion of Europe. The one laid the foundations, the other raised the superstructure. The first were mostly hermits and ascetics, the second disciples of Benedict, gifted with greater power of practical organisation, and a deeper knowledge of human nature.

(a) *The Celtic pioneers.*—Strange, indeed, to heathen Suevians and Alemannians must have appeared the Irish and Caledonian missionaries. Travelling generally in companies[f]—their outfit a short pastoral staff (Cambuta Jonae, *Vita S. Columbani*; Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 324), a wallet containing food, a leathern bottle for water or milk (*Vita S. Columbae*, ii. 38), a case for the service books,[g] they took ship and landed either at one of the ports along the mouths of the Loire, or one of the harbours of Flanders. Thus, after paying their devotions at the shrine of St. Martin of Tours, or St. Hilary of Poitiers, they would hurry on to the nearest frontier of heathendom from the Vosges mountains along the Rhine to the lake of Constance, or in the Jura. Before long the scene under the oaks of Derry or in sea-girt Hy was reproduced in the heart of Europe.[h] At Annegraz and Luxeuil, the huts were of willow, switches, and brushwood; the

[c] "In natione Anglorum, qui in Hibernia diutius exulaverat pro Christo, eratque et doctissimus in Scripturis et longae vitae perfectione eximius." (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 4; *Chronicon Hyense*, Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 383.)

[d] He also was a Northumbrian (Bede, v. 11).

[e] See the account of him in the *Vita S. Liudgeri*, c. 1–4, in Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* ii. 405, 406. Willibrord was also assisted by Wulfram, bishop of Sens. (*Vita S. Wulframni*, *Acta SS. Bened.* saec. iii. i. 342.)

[f] Generally of twelve, after the example of the apostles.

[g] Reeves, *Adamnan*, ii. 8. In the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vii. p. 303, it is stated that "the Irish anchorets were in the habit of painting their eyelids. Stigmata, signa, pictura in corpore, quales Scoti pingunt in palpebris." (Hattener, *Denkmäler*, i. 227, 237; see also a curious paper on the *Chronicon Jocelini de Brakelonda*, printed by the Camden Society, 1840.)

[h] On the similarity of the oratoria erected abroad by the Irish ecclesiastics to those in their native country, see

little chapel, with the round tower or steeple by its side;[i] the refectory, the kitchen, the byre for the cattle, the barn for the grain, and other buildings. Here these "soldiers of Christ,"[j] as they loved to style themselves, settled down, and lived and prayed and studied and tilled the waste. Men of learning, devotion, and singular missionary zeal, they soon impressed the hearts of wild heathen tribes. Hundreds flocked to listen to their religious instruction. Hundreds more, encouraged by their example, took to clearing and tilling the land. Luxeuil became the missionary capital of Gaul, and sent out its colonies into Burgundy, Rauracia, Neustria, Brie, Champagne, Ponthieu; reproduced the Scottish Brechin and Abernethy at St. Gall and Bobbio, and forced the careless Frankish churchmen for very shame to rouse themselves to the duties of missionary work.

(*b*) *The English missionaries.*—Thus these Celtic pioneers laid the foundations. Exactingly ascetic, they awed the heathen by their indomitable spirit of self-sacrifice, and the sternness of their rule of life. The singular success of their missions in Northumbria and Mercia, Essex and Suffolk, was even more completely realised on the continent; Luxeuil began with thatched hovels, poverty, and hunger; it ended by becoming the University of Burgundy and France. But the work, great as it was, lacked the element of permanence, and it became clear that if Europe was to be carried through the dissolution of the old society, and missionary operations consolidated and united, the rigours of the rule of Columbanus must be softened, and a milder and more practical system must be inaugurated, before the Teuton of the German forests could be effectually evangelised. The crisis was a momentous one, but it had already produced a Benedict. With his marvellous genius for organisation, he arose to inaugurate a new missionary era, and to give to missionaries a more definite unity of plan. [BENEDICTINE RULE AND ORDER.] And now, just when they were most wanted, his disciples, the sons of the new-planted English churches, came forth to their Teutonic kinsmen. Teutons themselves, they were fitted, like no others, to be the apostles of Teutons. The monastic missionary became the coloniser.[k] The labours of WILFRID and WILLIBRORD, in Frisia, were quickly supplemented and absorbed by the work of the great Apostle of Germany. What BONIFACE did at Fulda is a type of what the English Benedictines did everywhere. With practised eye they sought out the proper site for their monastic home; saw that it occupied a central position with reference to the tribes, amongst whom they proposed to labour, that it possessed a fertile soil, and was near some friendly water-course. (Comp. the foundation of the monastery of Fulda, so graphically described in the *Vita S. Sturmi*, Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* ii.) These points secured, the word was given, the trees were felled, the forest was cleared, the monastic buildings rose. The voice of prayer and praise awoke unwonted echoes in the forest glades. The brethren were never idle; while some educated the young, whom they had often redeemed from death or torture, others copied manuscripts, illuminated the missal, or transcribed a gospel. Others, again, cultivated the soil, guided the plough, planted the apple-tree or the vine, arranged the beehives, erected the water-mill, opened the mine, and thus, with wonderful practical aptitude for the work, presented to the eyes of men the kingdom of Christ, as that of One who had redeemed the bodies no less than the souls of His creatures.[l] No wonder that the efforts of St. Boniface and of his enthusiastic followers attracted the hearts of the heathen tribes. "The experience of all ages," it has been remarked, "teaches us that Christianity has only made a firm and living progress, where from the first it has brought with it the seeds of all human culture, although they have only been developed by degrees" (Neander, *Light in Dark Places*, p. 417).

12. Thus the prominence of the monastic orders in the missionary work of this period is clearly marked. Monasticism founded the Celtic churches in Ireland and Scotland; fled with the British churches to the fastnesses of Wales and Cumberland, from the Saxon invaders; returned with Augustine to the coast of Kent; with Aidan peopled the Farne Islands; with Columbanus penetrated the forests of Switzerland; with Boniface civilised Thuringia and Frisia; with Sturmi cleared the forests of Buchonia, and made Fulda an outpost of civilisation for the Teuton tribes, with its dom-church and schools, library and farmsteads, the influences of which were felt for years and years afterwards. But however the seeds of the gospel may have been sown in any place, whether by the influence of a Christian queen, or the faithfulness of Christian captives, uniformly, in conformity with apostolic practice, the management of the infant churches was entrusted to a local episcopate. Sometimes a bishop headed, from the first, the body of voluntary adventurers. More often, as soon as any considerable success had been achieved, one of the energetic pioneers was advanced to the episcopal rank, and in this capacity superintended the staff of clergy accompanying him,[m] and as soon as possible ordained a native ministry from amongst the newly converted tribes, and established a cathedral, or corresponding ecclesiastical foundation. (Comp. the consecration of Swithbert by Wilfrid for the mission in Friesland, Bede, *H. E.* v. 11.) Such a provision had recommendations of a most practical charac-

Petrie's *Round Towers*, pp. 347, 418; also Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. p. 100.

[i] Which served as a place of refuge in times of need. On the Irish monasteries in Germany see Dr. Wattenbach, *Die Kongregation der Schotten-Klöster in Deutschland*, translated in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, July and August, 1859.

[j] Each professed his willingness to enter the world only as an *athleta Christi* in the propagation of the gospel (Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 341).

[k] See Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton*, pp. 209–244; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ii. 306.

[l] See the Excursus de Cultu Soli Germanici per Benedictinos, Mabillon, *Acta SS. Bened.* iii.; Prof. Palgrave's *Normandy and England*, ii. 262.

[m] Even in the Columbian monasteries there were always bishops connected with the society, subject to the abbat's jurisdiction, who were assigned their stations, or called in to ordain, being looked upon as essential to *the propagation* of the church. (Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 341; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 4–10.)

ter. Already, before the inroad of the new races, the bishops had become not only a kind of privy council to the emperor, but were regarded in well nigh every town as the natural chiefs. They governed the people in the interior of the city; they alone stood bravely by their flocks when the barbarous host appeared before the defenceless walls; they alone, while the civil magistrate and military leaders often sought refuge in flight, were found able and willing to mediate between their people and the heathen conqueror. It is no wonder, then, that on the conversion of any district, the native king or chieftain was glad to have near him one who could assume the functions of the pagan high priest, and was bound by the duties of his office to stand between the noble and the serf, and defend the helpless and distressed, and intercede for the criminal. [BISHOP.] Nor were the bishops' diocesan synods unimportant agents in developing missionary work. We find them from time to time not only settling ecclesiastical questions, but grappling with grave moral and social evils. We find them forbidding the sacrifice of men and animals in honour of the heathen gods; the exposure of weak or deformed infants; the worshipping of groves and fountains; the practice of idolatry and witchcraft (*Vita S. Bonifacii*, c. 8; *Conc. Turon.* c. 22; *Conc. Germ.* c. v.). We find them inculcating a due regard for the sacredness of human life, striving to abolish slavery, to elevate the peasant classes, and to secure regular forms of law (Greg. *Ep.* ii. 10, vi. 12; Bede, *H. E.* iv. 13; Thorpe, *Anglo-Saxon Institutes*, ii. 314).

13. It is true that the converts, in whose interest these enactments were made, were too often admitted into the church by national and seemingly indiscriminate baptisms. Still it is to be borne in mind that the missionaries of the period had unusual difficulties against which to contend. Not only was society generally relaxed, not only were the recipients of the rite bound by peculiar ties to their native chiefs, but they were in a position very different from the converts of the apostolic age. No preparatory dispensation had made monotheism natural to them, or taught them, "line upon line," those elementary truths, which appear to us so easy to apprehend, because we have lived in an atmosphere permeated with their influence. They were not "proselytes of the gate," but infants in knowledge and civilisation, and they were admitted to "infant baptism" by teachers often themselves imperfectly educated, but who were "faithful in the few things" they did know, and were so made, in time, "rulers over many things."

14. We have, however, traces of a system of missionary instruction which is well-deserving of attention. From first to last it was preeminently *objective*. It dealt mainly and simply with the great facts of Christianity, with the incarnation of the Saviour, His life, His death, His resurrection, His ascension, His future coming, and then it proceeded to treat of the good works which ought to flow from a vital reception of these truths. Thus—

(*a*) To the Celtic worshippers of the powers of nature, and especially of the Sun, the Apostle of Ireland proclaimed the existence of one God, the Creator of all things, and then went on to dwell upon the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, who is *the true Sun*, who was in the beginning before all, unbegotten, and from whom all things take their beginning, both visible and invisible. (S. Patricii *Confessio*; O'Connor, *Script. Hibern.* i. pp. cviii., cxvii.; comp. also what is known as St. Patrick's *Hymn*, Todd, pp. 426–428.)

(*b*) Similarly, Augustine, in Kent, directed the attention of the royal worshippers of Woden and Thor to the picture of the Saviour on the cross (Bede, *H. E.* i. 25; *Vita S. Augustini*, ii. 16), and then, according to subsequent tradition (recorded by Alfric and expanded by Jocelin, Migne, *Patrologia*, saec. vii. 61), went on to tell him of such events in His wondrous life as were likely to make an impression on his mind; how for us men, and for our salvation, He became incarnate; how at His birth a star appeared in the East; how He walked upon the sea and calmed the storm; how at His death the sun withdrew his shining; how He rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and will come again to judge the quick and the dead.[n]

(*c*) The arguments of Oswiu, king of Northumbria, in his exhortation to Sigeberct, king of Essex, are mainly directed to the strain of the old Hebrew prophets against the absurdities of idolatry, and the folly of a system which taught the worship of deities that might be broken, absent, or trodden under foot. From the adoration of such gods he bids his royal brother turn to the true God, the Creator of all things, who is invisible, omnipotent, eternal, who will judge the world in righteousness, and reward the good with everlasting life.[o]

(*d*) The correspondence of Daniel, bishop of Winchester, with his friend and fellow-countryman, the martyr Boniface, is very remarkable. While deprecating any violent and useless declamation against the native superstitions, he suggests to the great missionary that he should put such questions as would tend to suggest the contradictions of heathenism, especially in reference to the genealogy of the gods, the temporal disadvantages which pagan superstitions entailed upon those who held them, and so lead on his hearers gently to Christian truth. (See Migne, *Patrologia*, saec. viii. p. 707.)

(*e*) The fifteen sermons of the great Apostle of Germany shew that he required of his converts something far more real than a merely superficial form of Christianity. The subject of the first is the "right Faith," in which he expounds the doctrine of the Trinity, the relation of baptism to the remission of sins, the resurrection of the dead, the future judgment, and the necessity of repentance. The second, preached on

[n] With this sermon of Augustine compare (i.) a sermon of St. Eloy, *Vita S. Eligii*, ii. c. 15; Surius, *Acta SS.* Nov. 30. (ii.) A sermon of Gallus, Canisius, *Antiq. Lect.* i. 784; Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* ii. 14, *Vita S. Galli*. (iii.) The first, ninth, and tenth of the 'Instructions' of Columbanus, Migne, *Patrologia*, saec. vii.

[o] Bede, *H. E.* iii. 22. Though, during the mission of Paulinus in Northumbria, Coifi, the chief priest, regards the new faith as merely worthy of a trial, like the systems of heathenism, and a question of temporal advantage, yet it is counterbalanced by the parable of the thane on the briefness and uncertainty of life, which strikes a deeper chord and betrays a yearning for the gospel of a life beyond the grave. (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 13.)

Christmas Day, is concerned with the creation of man, his fall, the promise of a Saviour, His advent, and the story of Bethlehem. The fourth treats of the "Beatitudes;" the fifth, of "Faith and the Works of Love;" the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, of "Deadly Sins and the Chief Commandments of God;" the tenth and eleventh treat more fully of Man's Fall, of the Redemption wrought by Christ, His Sufferings, Death, Resurrection, and Future Coming. (*Ib.* saec. viii. 813.)

(*f*) Further information on the same point is supplied in the correspondence of Alcuin with the emperor Charlemagne.[p] In teaching those of ripe years, he says that order should be strictly maintained, which the blessed St. Augustine (*de Catechizandis Rudibus*) has laid down in his treatise on this subject. (1.) A man ought first to be instructed in the immortality of the soul, in the future life and its retribution of good and evil. (2.) He ought, secondly, to be taught for what crimes and sins he will be condemned to suffer hereafter, and for what good works he will enjoy eternal glory. (3.) He ought most diligently to be instructed in the doctrine of the Trinity, in the advent of the Saviour, His life, passion, resurrection, ascension, and future coming to judge the world. Strengthened and thoroughly instructed in this faith, let him be baptized, and afterwards let the precepts of the gospel be further unfolded by public preaching, till he attain to the measure of the stature of a perfect man, and become a worthy habitation of the Holy Ghost.[q]

15. Of vernacular translations, indeed, of the Scriptures and Liturgy, except in the Eastern church, we find, naturally, little trace in the missionary annals of this period.[r] Ulphilas, indeed, composed an alphabet for his Gothic converts, and translated for them the Scriptures into their own language, but it does not seem to have occurred to the missionaries of the West that this was one of the most important requisites for following up oral instruction.[s] All languages besides Latin and Greek they deemed barbarous, and shrank from giving them a place in the sacred services of the church. It is with misgiving that we think of Augustine at the court of Ethelbert, addressing his hearers through "the frigid medium of an interpreter." It is easier to imagine how Boniface and his disciples,[t] coming forth from the first Teutonic church, which remained Teuton, found access, through their own tongue, to the hearts of the tribes of Germany. Still, even in the English church, the mother-tongue was never entirely banished from the services. The Synod of Cloveshoo (A.D. 747) enacted that the priest should learn to translate and explain in the native language the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the sacred words used at the celebration of the mass, and, in the office of baptism, while individual prelates insisted on the need of clergy able to instruct their people in the elements of Christian knowledge. (Spelman, *Concilia*, p. 248; Johnson, *English Canons*, i. 247; comp. Bede, *Ep. ad Ecgberctum*, § 3; and Charlemagne, *Capitul.* § 14; i. 505.) A short form of abjuration of idolatry and declaration of Christian faith in the vernacular language is preserved among the works of Boniface (Migne, *Patrologia*, saec. viii. 810), and the work of Ulphilas for the Goths was followed up in some measure by Aldhelm's version of the Psalter (Wright, *Biog. Brit. Lit.* i. 222), and Bede's version at least of the Gospel of St. John, while Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase was an earnest of the new grandeur, depth, and fervour which the German race was to give to the religion of the East. (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 24; Caedmon's *Paraphrase*, ed. Thorpe, p. 47.)

16. One point more remains to be noticed. It is impossible to pass in review the missionary history of the church from the sub-apostolic age to that of Charlemagne, without being struck with *the slow and gradual steps* by which each important triumph of the faith was won. The conversion of Europe, for instance, is sometimes spoken of as though it was an event of speedy accomplishment. It requires an effort to realise the fact that the close of the eighth century, to which our review has brought us, did not see even the half of Europe won over, even in the most nominal form, to the Cross of Christ. The whole of the great Scandinavian peninsula, all Bulgaria, Bohemia, Moravia, Russia, Poland, Pomerania, Prussia, and Lithuania remained to be evangelised. In most of the countries no missionary had ever set foot, or if he had, was obliged to retire at once before the furious opposition of heathen tribes. Even at the close of the fourth century, after Christianity had enjoyed, during more than sixty years, the sunshine of imperial favour, the Christians at Antioch, a city which had well-nigh greater spiritual advantages than any other, constituted only about half of the population (Chrysostom, *Op.* tom. ii. 567; vii. 810), and more than fifty years after the conversion of Constantine, the cultivated and influential classes of old Latin Rome still remained heathen,[u] while the word "peasant," synony-

[p] Comp. Ep. xxxvii. Ad Dominum Regem, de subjectione Hunnorum, et qualiter docendi sint in fide, et quis ordo sit servandus.

[q] This doubtless in his school at York Alcuin himself taught Alubert and Liudger, when they returned from their labours in the Frisian mission field. (*Vita S. Liudgeri*, Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* ii. 407.)

[r] The Eastern church acted as if by intuition from the beginning, on the principle that the language of every nation, not one peculiar to the clergy, is the proper vehicle for public worship and religious life. (Stanley, *Lectures on the Eastern Church*, p. 309.)

[s] Gibbon, iv. 33; Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 175; Davidson, *Biblical Criticism*, p. 676. This same feeling led, also, in the East to the Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopic versions of the Scriptures.

[t] The course of instruction preparatory to missionary work which Sturmi underwent is worthy of notice: "Psalmis tenaci memoriae traditis, lectionibusque quam plurimis perenni commemoratione functis, sacram coepit Christi per Scripturam spirituali intelligere sensu, quatuor Evangeliorum Christi mysteria studiosissime curavit addiscere. Novum quoque ac Vetus Testamentum, in quantum sufficiebat, lectionis assiduitate in cordis sui thesaurum recondere curavit." (*Vitis S. Sturmi Abbatis*, Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* ii. 366.)

[u] In the 5th century Leo, bishop of Rome, deplores the deep corruption even of Christian society, and adjures his flock not to fall back into heathenism. The old heathen cultus, particularly that of the sun (*Sol invictus*) had formally entered itself into the Christian worship of God. Many Christians, before entering the basilica of St. Peter, were wont to mount the platform in order to make their obeisance to the rising luminary. (Merivale, *Conversion of the Northern Nations*, p. 179.)

mous with "unbeliever," tells its own tale. Slow, however, as was the actual rate of progress (Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ii. 225), there never was a period during these centuries when the flood was not really rising, though the unobservant eye might not detect it. Periods of marvellous acceleration are followed by periods of no less singular retardation, and in the darkest times there were ever some streaks of light, and the leaven destined to quicken the mass of society was never wholly inert or ineffectual. Who, in the fifth century, would have believed that in the wild destroyers and supplanters of the ancient civilisation of Rome were the fathers of a nobler and grander world than any that history had yet known? This wonderful transition is now a thing of the past. It is an accomplished fact. But it was a transition which, as we have seen, was slowly and gradually brought about. Shall we be surprised if, in this matter of slow development, the history of Christian missions should repeat itself? [G. F. M.]

**MISSIS**, martyr; commemorated in Cyprus Feb. 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MISSORIUM.** Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* vi. 2) tells us that Chilperic shewed him "missorium magnum quod ex auro gemmisque fabricaverat in quinquaginta librarum pondere." Flodoard also (*Hist. Remen.* ii. 5) speaks of a silver-gilt missorium given to the church of St. Remi at Reims. A missorium is defined by Macro (*Hierolex.* s. v.) to be "vas seu theca;" by Ducange (*Gloss.* s. v.) to be "lanx seu discus." The weight of 50 pounds seems excessive for a plate or paten, and suits better the notion of a shrine or reliquary. Dom Bouquet (on Gregory, *l. c.*) says that some take missorium to be an "abacus cum omni suppellectile." [C.]

**MISSURIANUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. 2. 769). [C. H.]

**MISTRIANUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MITISORUS**, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Sept. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MITRE** (*κίδαρις*; *Mitra*, *Tiara*, *Infula*). The allusions to a head-dress of any description worn by Christian ministers as part of their official dress, which we meet with during our period of 800 years, or indeed before A.D. 1000, are decidedly rare; and as a rule must be considered of very doubtful character. These we shall presently discuss at length, but we shall speak briefly first of the head-dresses worn by Jewish priests and high-priests, since some would maintain that there is a distinct continuity between the Jewish and Christian churches in the matter of vestments.

The cap worn by ordinary Jewish priests is called מִגְבָּעָה (Exod. xxviii. 40, xxix. 9, xxxix. 28; Lev. viii. 13), for which the LXX gives *κίδαρις*,[a] a word which we shall have to consider subsequently in its Christian connection. It was made of fine linen folded together several times and fitting closely to the head (Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 7. 3, where see Havercamp's note)[b]. Josephus speaks of it as *πῖλος ἄκωνος*, and compares it to a *στεφάνη*; but the exact shape is not certainly known, whether it be a high conical cap, rounded off at the top (so Bock, *Liturg. Gewänd.* vol. i. p. 346 and plate ii. [which is reproduced in Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, plate viii.], following Braunius, *de habitu sacerdotum Hebraeorum*, p. 518, who, however, does not speak very definitely: also Hefele, *Beiträge*, vol. ii. p. 225), or, as Marriott (p. 234), more like a skull cap, fitting to the shape of the head, "like a sphere divided in twain."

The cap of the high priest is styled מִצְנֶפֶת (Exod. xxviii. 4, 37, 39; xxix. 6; xxxix. 28, 31; Lev. viii. 9; xvi. 4), for which the LXX gives *μίτρα* or sometimes *κίδαρις*. The meaning of the root verb is to wind, the cap being doubtless akin to what we should call a turban. This, like the cap of the high-priest, was made of fine linen, but differed from it (to say nothing of a difference in general shape), in that on the front of it was a plate of gold (צִיץ; in the LXX *πέταλον*; in the Vulgate *lamina*) attached to a band of blue lace, whereby it was fastened to the mitre. On this plate was engraved *Holiness to the Lord*. The description of Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7. 7; see also *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 7) refers to a triple crown worn over the linen cap, doubtless a later addition to the original form, and probably implying a quasi-royalty on the part of the wearer.

We now pass to the Christian church. Here the two most commonly found terms for the ecclesiastical head-dress are *mitra* and *infula*, though, as we have already implied, early satisfactory instances of their use are hardly forthcoming. The general history and usage of the two words is curiously unlike. The Greek word *μίτρα* is connected with *μίτος* a thread, and has the two meanings of a girdle and a head-dress. Confining ourselves to the latter sense, we find the *mitra* as a cap worn by women. Thus Isidore of Seville (*Etymol.* xix. 31, 4) says of it "est pileum Phrygium caput protegens, quale est ornamentum capitis devotarum. Sed pileum virorum est, mitrae vero feminarum."[c] It was worn also by Asiatics without distinction of sex, and seems, as we may infer from Isidore, to have been specially characteristic of the Phrygians (see *e.g.* Virg. *Aen.* ix. 616).[d] We have already referred to the use of *μίτρα* in the LXX, and in the Vulgate we find *mitra* as one of the renderings of מִצְנֶפֶת (*e.g.* Exod. xxix. 9), the

[a] In one passage (Exod. xxxix. 28 [xxxvi. 36, LXX]) it would seem at first sight that *μίτρα* was their rendering, but it seems to us that in the expression *τὰς κιδάρεις* . . . *καὶ τὴν μίτραν* it is more probable that the order of the two words has merely been interchanged, for it will be noticed that the first is plural and the second singular, instead of *vice versâ*.

[b] Josephus speaks of it as *μασναεφθής*. This is of course the Hebrew מִצְנֶפֶת, which is the term for the mitre of the high-priest. Probably by the time of Josephus the word was used in a wider sense, and so we find it in Rabbinic Hebrew.

[c] A *mitra*, in addition to a veil, was placed on the head of a virgin when she was consecrated to a "religious" life (Martene, *de Rit. Eccl.* II. iv. 13).

[d] This cap will be remembered by its revival during the first French revolution.

other words put for it being *cidaris* and *tiara*.

Totally different in its origin from the *mitra*, the cap of women and effeminate men, is the *infula*, the fillet which decked the head of heathen priests and sacrificial victims. It is thus defined by Servius, "fascia, in modum diadematis a quo vittae in utraque parte dependent, quae plerumque lata est, plerumque tortilis de albo et cocco" (in Virgil. *Aen.* x. 538; see also Isidore, *Etym.* xix. 30, 4, where the above definition is cited). We several times find Virgil speaking of the sacrificing priest as wearing the *infula* (*e.g. Aen.* ii. 430, x. 538). Again, the victims about to be sacrificed, whether beasts or men, were decked with the *infula* (Virg. *Georg.* iii. 487; Lucretius i. 87; Suet. *Calig.* 27). In the last cited passage, the case is that of a gladiator, who, having been guilty of cowardice, was "verbenatus et infulatus" prior to execution.

We shall now proceed to consider, *seriatim*, the cases adduced of the use of some kind of head-dress as part of the *official* dress of the Christian ministry in primitive times. The earliest instance is one which can perhaps hardly be strictly called a head-dress, but is sufficiently near to justify its presence here, and concerns no less a person than the apostle St. John. The passage in question occurs in a letter sent by Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, to Victor, bishop of Rome (A.D. 192–202), on the subject of the Eastern controversy (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* v. 24; also cited in part, iii. 31: cf. also Jerome, *de Viris illustribus*, c. 45), in which he cites the names of different Asiatic bishops and martyrs who are claimed as having held to the Asiatic practice. Amid this enumeration we read, "Yea moreover John too, he who lay on the Lord's breast, who became a priest wearing the golden plate (ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς), and a witness and a teacher—he sleepeth in Ephesus." Before expressing any opinion as to the meaning of this passage, we shall cite a somewhat parallel instance from a later writer, Epiphanius. The reference has here been to Christ, as heir of the throne of David, which is a throne not only of royalty but also of priesthood. The Saviour thus stands at the head of a line of high-priests; James, the Lord's brother, being, as it were, successor, in virtue of his apparent relationship, and thus becoming bishop of Jerusalem and president of the church. "Moreover also we find that he exercised the priestly office after the manner of the old priesthood; wherefore also it was permitted to him once in the year to enter into the Holy of Holies, as the law commanded the high-priests, according to the Scripture. For so many before our time have related concerning him, as Eusebius[e], and Clement and others. Further, it was permissible for him to wear the Golden Plate[f] upon his head (ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πέταλον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξῆν αὐτῷ φέρειν), as the above-mentioned trustworthy writers have testified." (*Haer.* xxix. 4; vol. i. 119, ed. Petavius.)

The word πέταλον, it will be remembered, is that employed by the LXX to designate the צִיץ worn on the high-priest's forehead, and there can be no doubt, therefore, when we consider that the LXX would be the ordinary Bible of Polycrates and Epiphanius[g], that the meaning intended to be conveyed is either that these apostles actually wore on their foreheads a gold plate, in direct imitation of that of the Jewish high-priest[h], or that the language is distinctly and wholly metaphorical, meaning that each of these two apostles occupied in his turn the same position to the Christian church that the Aaronic high-priest had to the Jewish church. The question, it is evident, must mainly turn upon the words of Polycrates, whose position, both in date and locality, would make him an important witness as to St. John. Here, though it is impossible to feel positive and maintain that St. John certainly wore no such ornament, we feel that it is far more likely that the language is to be viewed as allegorical—(1) because of the allegorical character of the passage generally [cf. *e.g.* μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται, etc.], on which see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 345 n. (ed. 4); and (2) because the perfect participle seems very strange, if it were merely meant to indicate that St. John was in the habit of wearing the πέταλον. If that participle points rather to "a *state* or *condition* resulting from a past act," then the statement becomes simple enough if we assume that Polycrates aims at bringing out the fact of "*the supreme apostolic authority of St. John*, whose office in the Christian church was to bear rule in spiritual things over the spiritual Israel, even as the high-priest of old over Israel after the flesh" (Marriott, p. 39 n.). One thing, at any rate, is plain enough: if St. John and St. James, or either of them, did wear this ornament, it was an ornament special to themselves, and ceased with them, affecting in no sense the further use of the church.

The next instance we shall cite is from the oration delivered by Eusebius[i] on the consecration of the great church at Tyre (*Hist. Eccles.* x. 4). This highly rhetorical discourse begins with an address to Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, and his assembled clergy, as "friends of God and priests (ἱερεῖς), who are clad in the holy robe that reacheth to the feet, and with the heavenly crown (στέφανον) of glory, and with the unction of inspiration (τὸ χρῖσμα τὸ ἔνθεον) and with the priestly vesture of the Holy Ghost." Here

[e] This allusion is perhaps to be referred, considering the mention of the πέταλον that follows, to the above-cited letter of Polycrates. The passage of St. Clement, however, does not appear to be extant.

[f] Binterim (*Denkw.* i. 2. 352) cites from the proceedings of the eighth general council (fourth of Constantinople, A.D. 869), from a letter of Theodosius, patriarch of Jerusalem, to Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, in which the writer says that he sends as a present the long robe and superhumeral and *mitre* (*mitra* in Anastasius's Latin), adding that his predecessors had been successively decked with this sacred garb (Labbe, viii. 987). In any case, however, a late 9th-century tradition such as this need not detain us.

[g] It may be noted that in translating the extract from Polycrates, Jerome renders πέταλον by *lamina*, the word he had used in the Vulgate for the gold plate of the high-priest.

[h] Hefele (p. 225) remarks that though we are to take the πέταλον of St. John in its technical sense, neither Polycrates nor Eusebius asserts it to have been of gold. This, however, seems needless quibbling; if the word is supposed to be used technically the rest will follow.

[i] There can be no reasonable doubt that by the τις παρελθὼν Eusebius simply means himself. Hefele (*Beiträge*, p. 226) strangely makes Paulinus the speaker.

the rhetorical character of the whole discourse suggests that the above words are by no means improbably used in quite a figurative sense, and have reference to the spiritual characteristics of the new covenant, in contradistinction to the externals of the old. Hefele too, who argues strongly for the early use of the mitre, is not disposed to claim this passage in support of his view, but is evidently inclined to explain the *στέφανος* of the tonsure, which often goes by that name. At any rate, it is clear that no very certain conclusions can be built upon this example. Our next passage is in some respects similar. It occurs in one of the discourses of St. Gregory of Nazianzum (ob. A.D. 389), where he addresses his father, then bishop of Nazianzum, who sought to associate his son with him in the duties of his office. In the course of this he remarks, "therefore thou anointest the chief priest, and clothest him with the robe reaching to the feet, and settest the priest's cap [τὸν κίδαριν; one of the LXX words, it will be remembered, for the priestly and high-priestly head-dresses] about his head, and bringest him to the altar of the spiritual burnt-offering, and sacrificest the calf of consecration, and dost consecrate his hands with the Spirit, and dost bring him into the Holy of Holies." (*Orat.* x. 4; *Patrol. Gr.* xxxv. 829.) This citation may *perhaps* be assumed as evidence for the use of some kind of clerical head-dress in St. Gregory's time, but of what kind, or under what conditions worn, or whether the whole passage is to be viewed as allegorical, must remain doubtful. Much certainly in the passage is highly figurative, as the allusion to the calf, and to the Holy of Holies; which, so far as it goes, would be distinctly in favour of the latter view.

Some writers cite as evidence for the early use of some kind of mitre, a passage from Ammianus Marcellinus (xxix. 5), where he describes the outbreak of an African chief, named Firmus (A.D. 372). Against him was sent Theodosius, afterwards emperor, by whom the rising was completely crushed, and Firmus compelled to sue for peace. The historian, a heathen, speaks of the sending of "Christiani ritus antistites, oraturos pacem." Two days after, Firmus restored "Icosium oppidum . . . . militaria signa et *coronam sacerdotalem* cum caeteris quae interceperat." When Hefele (p. 227) can remark on this that thereby "is plainly meant the *Infula* of that bishop whom the heathen Africans had shortly before slain in the regions of Leptis and Ona" (*op. cit.* xxviii. 6), it may most decidedly be objected—(1) that the connecting of the two events, and indeed the assumption that the person slain (Rusticianus sacerdotalis) was a Christian, or that, if a Christian, he would have a "crown" at all, is a distinct begging of the whole question; and (2) that it is far more reasonable to understand by the *corona sacerdotalis* (the phrase used, it will be remembered, by a heathen) the *golden* crown, which abundant illustrations shew to have been worn by heathen priests. (See *e.g.* Tertullian, *de Spectaculis*, c. 23; *de Idololatria*, c. 18 [where see Oehler's note]; *de Corona Militis*, c. 10. We may also appeal to a canon of the council of Elvira, which is sufficiently curious to be given at length: "Sacerdotes qui tantum coronam portant, nec sacrificant, nec de suis sumptibus aliquid ad id praestant, placuit post biennium accipere communionem." *Concil. Illib.* can. 55; Labbe, i. 976.)

Equally inconclusive, in our opinion, is the series of passages quoted by Hefele and others, in which the *infula* is mentioned in connexion with Christian vestments. In classical usage, the word *infula* was not confined to the more special meaning we have already dwelt on, but drifted into the meaning of ornaments and insignia of magistrates, or even into that of a magistracy itself. [See examples quoted from the imperial codes and elsewhere, in Forcellini *s.v.*] In later ecclesiastical Latin again, we find the word distinctly used for a chasuble (see *e.g.* Hugo de S. Victore *Spec. Eccl.* 6, *Patrol.* clxxvii. 353; see also Ducange *s.v.*), apparently as being the official vestment *par excellence*. We should thus be prepared to argue that, in the absence of evidence pointing the other way, the natural explanation to give to these earlier allusions to a Christian *infula* is that the word betokens, in a half poetic sense, the official dress, and indeed hardly more than the quasi-official position of ordained persons. The allusions cited are the following. The Christian poet Prudentius, when dwelling on the names of famous martyrs connected with the city of Saragossa, says (*Peristeph.* iv. 77 sqq.)—

> "Inde, Vincenti, tua palma nata est,
> Clerus hic tantum peperit triumphum,
> Hic *sacerdotum domus infulata*
> Valeriorum,"

where the concluding reference is to Valerius, bishop of Saragossa. The whole poem, however, is written in a highly-wrought strain of metaphor, and is a palpable imitation of classical imagery. This is quite sufficient to shew that no special stress can be laid here on the word *infulata*.

About a century later Gelasius (ob. A.D. 496) speaks of certain characteristics in a person rendering him "clericalibus[k] infulis [where the plural is noticeable] reprobabilem" (*Epist.* ix. *ad episcopos Lucaniae*, § 9; *Patrol.* lix. 51). Again in a biography [Hodoeporicon] of Willibald, a disciple of St. Boniface, written by a contemporary nun of Heidenheim, it is remarked on the consecration of Willibald as a bishop, that "sacerdotalis infulae ditatus erat honore" (c. 11; in Canisius, *Thesaurus* ii. 116). In a biography of Burckhard of Würzburg, another disciple of St. Boniface [probably written two hundred years after the time of St. Boniface, but before

[k] Hefele dwells on the adjective *clericalibus*, as implying a head-dress distinct from that worn by laymen, and cites Ducange (*Glossarium*, s. v. *infula*) who quotes the order of a synod which prohibits clerics from wearing an infula "de seta sive serico more laicali." Again, an ancient statute ordains that, except in case of necessity, clerics are not to wear "vestes saeculares," or "infulam seu pileum de die in capite," and, in case of disobedience, beneficed clergy are to be fined a year's income. On this it may be remarked that (1) the date of the above mentioned synod is given by Ducange as A.D. 1311, and the statutes are of the date A.D. 1289 (Martene, *Anecd.* iv. 671), and therefore are not relevant to the present matter; (2) the prohibition in the former citation evidently refers to the material of the infula; and (3) to allow that at a given time clerics wore head-dresses of a different shape from laymen, is quite a different thing from allowing that the head-dress formed a part of the official dress or entered in any sense into official ministrations.

A.D. 984; Rettberg, *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands* ii. 314], Burckhard is spoken of as "pontificali infula dignus" (see *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. vol. vi. 574), and the then pope is said to be "summi pontificatus infulae non incongruus." On all the above instances it may be remarked that while they allow us to explain them if we will of a Christian official head-dress, they most certainly cannot be considered as evidence compelling us to such a belief; and in the absence of any direct trustworthy evidence from ancient pictures of the existence of such a head-dress, and considering the known later use of the term *infula*, we cannot but feel that the probability inclines strongly against those who claim the above series of passages as establishing the ancient use of a mitre.

Two more passages which have been cited are absolutely of no weight. The first is a line from Ennodius, a poet of the fifth century, with reference to St. Ambrose, "Serta redimitus gestabat lucida fronte" (*Epig.* 77; *Patrol.* lxiii. 348), but the context, even the following line alone, serves to shew that we are dealing with metaphor and not with fact—"distinctum gemmis ore parabat opus." Finally, in a poem (*Paraenesis ad Episcopos*) of Theodulf of Orleans (ob. A.D. 821), we are met with the line, "Illius ergo caput resplendens mitra tegebat" (lib. v. carm. 3, *sub fin.*; *Patrol.* cv. 360). The whole context, however, as Marriott has plainly pointed out, is dwelling on the contrast between the splendour of the Jewish high-priestly dress and the spiritual character which should be the ornament of the Christian minister. This contrast is elaborately worked out, and the line immediately following the one we have quoted is "contegat et[1] mentem jus pietasque tuum."

On a general survey of the foregoing evidence, it may, at any rate, be safely asserted that no case has been at all made out for a *general* use of an official head-dress of Christian ministers during the first eight or nine centuries after Christ. Many of the passages adduced in favour of such a view have been shewn to be, if not quite inconclusive, at any rate of very doubtful character. Hardly one can be called definite, plain or positive. Also, if direct evidence is sought on the other side, we may again appeal to a treatise of Tertullian we have already cited (*de Corona Militis*, c. 10). The words "Quis denique patriarches . . . . quis vel postea apostolus aut evangelista aut *episcopus* invenitur coronatus?" ought to be definite enough, as shewing the usage in his time. When, further, as we have already remarked, the remains of early Christian art, which can really be considered trustworthy, furnish no evidence whatever for the use of such a head-dress, but distinctly point the other way; we feel, that while not venturing altogether to deny the possible existence, of a local or temporary kind, of a mitre or head-dress, here and there, we may still fairly say with Menard that "vix ante annum post Christum natum millesimum mitrae usum in ecclesia fuisse" (*Greg. Sacr.* 557). Menard justly insists on the fact that in numerous liturgical monuments (*e.g.* a mass for Easter Day in the Cd. Ratoldi [written before A.D. 986], where the ornaments of a bishop are severally gone through), as well as in writers who have fully entered into the subject of Christian vestments, as Rabanus Maurus, Amalarius, Walafrid Strabo, Alcuin (Pseudo-Alcuin), there is no mention whatever of a mitre.

[1] *At* is doubtless to be read as Marriott suggests.

Even a writer as late as Ivo of Chartres (ob. A.D. 1115), while describing the Jewish *mitra*, makes no mention of its Christian equivalent. There are good grounds, however, for believing that at first the mitre was an ornament specially connected with the Roman church, from whence its use spread gradually over Western Christendom, though this use had evidently not become universal in Ivo's time. We shall very briefly cite an instance or two to illustrate this Roman connexion. The following is the earliest adduced:[m] when the archbishop Eberhard of Treves was at Rome in A.D. 1049, Leo IX. placed on his head, in St. Peter's on Passion Sunday, the Roman mitre. The pope's words in the charter are "*Romana mitra* caput vestrum insignivimus, qua et vos et successores vestri in ecclesiasticis officiis *Romano more* semper utamini." (*Ep.* 3; *Patrol.* cxliii. 595: cf. also *Ep.* 77, *op. cit.* 703, where the same privilege is granted to Adalbert, bishop of Hamburg. We there read of the mitre, "quod est insigne Romanorum.") Again, a few years later, in A.D. 1063, Alexander II. granted to Burchard, bishop of Halbestadt, the privilege of wearing the archiepiscopal pallium and mitre, because of his special services to the Roman see. We cite in this case a clause of some interest, as shewing the concession of the use of the Roman mitre as not confined to the episcopal order: "Insuper mitras tibi ac successoribus tuis ac canonicis excellentioribus, scilicet presbyteris et diaconis in missarum solemnia ministraturis, subdiaconis in majori ecclesia tua et suprascriptis festivitatibus portandas concedimus" (*Ep.* 10, *Patrol.* cxlvi. 1287). In A.D. 1119, Calixtus II. grants the use of the "episcopalis mitra" to Godebald, bishop of Utrecht (*Ep.* 37; *Patrol.* clxiii. 1130). One more example may suffice. Peter Damian, in an indignant letter (c. A.D. 1070) to Cadalous, bishop of Parma, who was the anti-pope Honorius II., says scornfully, "habes nunc forsitan mitram, habes juxta morem Romani pontificis rubram cappam" (*Epist.* lib. i. 20; *Patrol.* cxliv. 242).

Any discussion as to the variation in form and material of this later mitre is quite beyond our purpose; suffice it to say that while the description of Honorius of Autun (*Gemma Animae*, i. 214; *Patrol.* clxxii. 609), in the twelfth century, still seems to point to a cap made of linen (*mitra ex bysso facta*[n]), that of Innocent III. in the thirteenth, shews that in the case of the bishop

[m] A possibly earlier instance is referred to by Marriott (p. 241), from a coin of Sergius III. (ob. A.D. 911), where the *mitra* is said first to appear as replacing an older papal head-dress, the *Camelaucium*. This, however, must perhaps not be pressed in the absence of confirmatory evidence.

[n] See for an example probably of this type, Marriott, plate xliv. (and cf. p. 220), figured from a MS. of the 11th century. This is the earliest example of the kind known to Marriott, except perhaps one in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwald, a MS. of the 10th century. Here, however, the figure wears a kind of gold circlet, which may indicate royal rank and not be an ecclesiastical head-dress in the strict sense at all.

of Rome, at any rate, it was made partly of gold, and approximated to its later shape (*de sacro altaris mysterio*, i. 60; *Patrol.* ccxvii. 796).

It will have been observed that nothing has been said as to the restriction of the use of the mitre to the highest order of the clergy. On this, however, it can only be remarked that, as far as the first eight centuries at least are concerned, practically nothing from the whole of our scanty body of evidence is adducible. The mention of the *infula* in the life of Willibald has sometimes been cited, but we have already seen how slight is the basis on which the whole argument in connexion with the word *infula* rests.

In conclusion, the practice of the Eastern church may be most briefly referred to. Here the mitre, properly speaking, is unknown, and thus we find Symeon, archbishop of Thessalonica in the fifteenth century, declaring that all ecclesiastics, whether bishops or priests, except only the patriarch of Alexandria,[a] performed the sacred rites without any covering on the head (*Expositio de divino templo*, c. 45; *Patrol. Gr.* clv. 716; cf. *Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum*, c. 20, *ib.* 871. Reference may be specially made to Goar, *Euchologion*, p. 314). In the Armenian church, however, bishops have, it is said since the eleventh century, worn a kind of mitre, apparently in imitation of Rome, the priests of that church wearing a kind of bonnet.

A passing allusion may be made here to the *mitra virginum*, mentioned by Isidore of Seville, which appears to have been worn in addition to the veil by those who made profession of virginity. Isidore remarks that such a person, "because she is a virgin, may display the honour of a hallowed body 'in libertate capitis' [cf. ἐξουσία, 1 Cor. xi. 10] and 'mitram quasi coronam virginalis gloriae in vertice praeferat'" (*de Eccl. Off.* ii. 17. 11; *Patrol.* lxxxiii. 807). Again, in a letter of St. Remigius of Rheims, to Clovis, condoling with him on the death of his sister Albofleda, who had died shortly after baptism, he says of her, "fragrat in conspectu Domini flore virginitatis, quo scilicet et corona, quam pro virginitate suscepit" (*Ep.* 1; *Patrol.* lxv. 965). The use of the *mitra* by professing virgins is alluded to by Optatus (*de Schismate Donatistarum*, ii. 19; *Patrol.* xi. 973; also vi. 4, *ib.* 1072, where see Dupin's note).

*Literature.*—For the matter of the foregoing article, I have to express my obligations to Hefele's essay, *Inful, Mitra und Tiara* in his *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte, Archäologie und Liturgik*, vol. ii. pp. 223 sqq.; Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, pp. 187, 220, etc.; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, i. 2. 348 sqq.; Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters*, vol. ii. pp. 153 sqq.; Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, lib. i. c. 4, § 1; and Ducange, *Glossarium*, s. vv. *Infula*, *Mitra*. [R. S.]

**MITRIUS**, martyr; commemorated Nov. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

[a] Balsamon, cited by Goar (*l. c.*), derives this from the presidency of Cyril at the council of Ephesus. However, this need not be taken very seriously. The same writer and Symeon of Thessalonica absurdly refer the origin of the Roman mitre to a privilege specially granted by Constantine to pope Silvester.

**MITTON**, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria May 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MITTUNUS** (1) Presbyter; commemorated in Africa May 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Constantinople May 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Two martyrs; commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MIXTUM** or **MISTUM.** (1) A morning meal or "jentaculum" in monasteries, consisting of bread and wine only. (*Reg. Bened.*)

(2) The word *mixtum* is also used as equivalent to the Greek *κρᾶμα*, to designate the mixed chalice in the Eucharist. [ELEMENTS, p. 604.] [C.]

**MNASON**, of Cyprus; commemorated July 12 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, iii. 248). [C. H.]

**MOCHELLOCUS** (KELLENUS), commemorated in Ireland Mar. 26 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 626). [C. H.]

**MOCHOEMOCUS** (PULCHERIUS), Irish abbat of the 7th century; commemorated Mar. 13 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 281). [C. H.]

**MOCHTEUS.** [MOCTEUS.]

**MOCHUA BALLENSIS** (CRONANUS), Irish abbat; commemorated Jan. 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 47). [C. H.]

**MOCHUA LAEGSIENSIS** (CUANUS), Irish abbat; commemorated Jan. 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 47). [C. H.]

**MOCHUS**, martyr; commemorated at Milan July 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, ii. 689). [C. H.]

**MOCIANUS**, martyr with Marcus; commemorated July 3 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**MOCIUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated Jan. 29 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Reader and martyr; commemorated with bishop Silvanus and deacon Lucas Feb. 6 (Basil. *Menol.*)

(3) Presbyter, native of Byzantium, martyred under Diocletian at Heraclea; his relics deposited by Constantine in his great church at Constantinople; commemorated May 11 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*); MOCIUS or MUCIUS, May 11 and 13 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, ii. 620); a church dedicated to him and St. Menas at Constantinople (Codinus, *de Aedif.* 38). [MUCIUS (3).] [C. H.]

**MOCTEUS** (MOCHTEUS), Irish bishop, cir. A.D. 535; commemorated Aug. 19 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 743). [C. H.]

**MODANUS**, perhaps a bishop, in Ireland, of the 6th or 7th century; commemorated Aug. 30 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 565). [C. H.]

**MODERAMNUS**, bishop of Rennes, cir. A.D. 719; commemorated Oct. 22 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 619). [C. H.]

**MODERATA**, martyr; commemorated at Sirmia Ap. 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MODERATUS** (1) Martyr with Felix at Auxerre, probably in the 5th century; commemorated July 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, i. 287).

(2) Bishop and confessor at Verona in the 5th century; commemorated Aug. 23 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 596). [C. H.]

**MODESTA** (1) Martyr with Patricia and Macedonius at Nicomedia; commemorated Mar. 13 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*); Modestia (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Ap. 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MODESTINUS**, martyr; commemorated Mar. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MODESTUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr with Posinnus; commemorated at Carthage Feb. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 580).

(4) Infant martyr, with Ammonius, at Alexandria; commemorated Feb. 12 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 580); MOLESTUS (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

(5) Bishop of Treves, cir. A.D. 480; commemorated Feb. 24 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 463).

(6) Presbyter; commemorated in Asia Mar. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Martyr; commemorated at Caesarea Mar. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(8) Martyr, with Vitus and Crescentia; commemorated in Lucania June 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*); in Sicily (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(9) Levita, martyr at Beneventum in the 4th century; commemorated Oct. 2 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. i. 325).

(10) Martyr; commemorated in Cappadocia Oct. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(11) Martyr with Euticus, Materus, Disseus; commemorated Oct. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 14; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

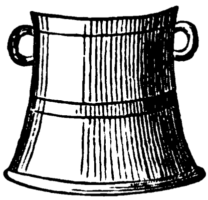
(12) Martyr with Afriges, Macharius, and others; commemorated Oct. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 14).

(13) Martyr with Tiberius and Florentia at Agde; commemorated Nov. 10 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(14) Martyr; commemorated at Syracuse Dec. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MODIANUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). (C. H.]

**MODIUS.** The modius or bushel measure is sometimes represented on Christian tombs. Martigny refers to Lupi's *Dissertations, &c., on the Epitaph of the Martyr Severus*, p. 51, tab. viii., for the best known example. The inscription over a Christian named Maximinus says that "he lived 23 years the friend of all men;" and his effigy is carved on the stone with a rod in his hand, and a bushel full of corn, from which ears are springing, is placed near him. Padre Lupi thinks this is an allusion to Luke vi. 38—the full measure, pressed down and running over, which Maximus hoped for in death; or to the grain of corn sown and washing away in earth, to bear much fruit, John vii. 24. And he gives another example of the modius in Boldetti, p. 371, from the tomb of a Christian named Gorgonius. He observes, however, very sensibly and truly, that Maximus may have been a mensor cereris augustae, or have had some connexion with the corn-trade, and quotes a further instance of the modius on the tomb of a baker, one Vitalis (BITALIS), dated 401. There is no reason why the survivors should not have attached the symbolism of the Lord's wheat and garner, or of His reward, to the usual signs of the business in which the dead had been engaged; and some disputes might be saved as to Christian symbolism if we consider that in primitive days as well as our own, devout and imaginative people saw and delighted in meanings which may have been overlooked then, as now, by people equally good but more matter of fact. Martigny refers to his article, *Instruments et Emblèmes représentés sur les tombeaux chrétiens*, p. 324, *Dict.*, the first part of which enumerates emblems of the trades of the smith, woolcomber, husbandman, baker, and surgeon. See FOSSOR. [R. ST. J. T.]



Modius. From Martigny.

**MODOALDUS**, archbishop of Treves, cir. A.D. 640; commemorated May 12 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, iii. 50). [C. H.]

**MODOMNOCUS** (DOMINICUS OSSORIENSIS) in the 6th century; commemorated Feb. 13 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 673). [C. H.]

**MODUENNA**, commemorated in Ireland July 6 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, ii. 297). [C. H.]

**MOECA**, martyr; commemorated at the cemetery of Praetextatus at Rome May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MOECHARUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Ap. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MOENIS**, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria July 10; another at Antioch the same day (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MOER.** [OECONOMUS, MONASTIC.]

**MOGUNTINUM CONCILIUM.** [MAYENCE.]

**MOISITIS**, martyr; commemorated May 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MOLENDION**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MOLESTUS.** [MODESTUS.]

**MOLINGUS** (DAYRGELLUS), bishop of Ferns in the 7th century; commemorated June 17 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, iii. 406). [C. H.]

**MOLOCUS** or **MOLONACHUS**, Scottish bishop in the 7th century; commemorated June 25 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, vi. 240). [C. H.]

**MOMINUS**, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Ap. 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MONA** (1) Bishop of Milan, A.D. 249; commemorated Oct. 12 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. vi. 11).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Nov. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

## MONASTERY.



I. General History of Monasticism.—The history of monasticism is one of the strangest problems in the history of the world. For monasticism ranks among the most powerful influences which have shaped the destinies of Christendom and of civilisation; and the attempt to analyse it philosophically is more than usually difficult, because the good and the evil in it are blended together almost inextricably. To those who contemplate it from a distance, wrapped in a romantic haze of glory, it may appear a sublime and heroic effort after superhuman excellence. To others approaching it more nearly, and examining it more dispassionately, it seems essentially wrong in principle, though accidentally productive of good results at certain times and under certain conditions. They regard the blemishes which from the first marred the beauty of its heavenward aspirations, as well as the more glaring vices of its later phases, as inseparable from its very being. To them it is not so much a thing excellent in itself, though sometimes perverted, as a mistake from the first, though provoked into existence by circumstances, not an aiming too high, but an aiming in the wrong direction. By declaring "war against nature," to use the phrase of one of its panegyrists (Montal. *Monks of the West*, i. 357), it is, in their eyes, virtually "fighting against God." In their judgment it degrades man into a machine. In their estimation the monk shunning the conflict with the world is not simply deserting his post, but courting temptations of another kind quite as perilous to his well-being. In brief, far from being an integral and essential part of Christianity, it is in their eyes a morbid excrescence.

Monasticism, in the proper sense of the word, cannot be traced back beyond the 4th century. Almost from the very commencement of Christianity ascetics are mentioned (ἀσκηταί, σπουδαῖοι, ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι), persons, that is, pre-eminent in the Christian community for self-denial and sanctity; but these were "in the world," though not "of it." In the 3rd century eremites or hermits began to form a distinct class in the East and in Africa; in the 4th they began to be organised in coenobitic communities. The origin of monasticism has sometimes been imputed to a growing indifference to faith in the Atonement (*e. g.* Hospinian *de Orig. Monachatûs*, Epist. Dedic.), but it would be easy to cite passages from Augustine and other panegyrists of monks conclusive against this theory as inadequate, if not altogether groundless. Rather the origin of the monastic life is to be found partly in the teaching of the schools of Alexandria, partly in the social state of the world external to Christianity. The luxury and the profligacy of the Roman empire even more than its outbursts of persecuting fury alienated the most earnest disciples of the Cross from taking their part in things around them and drove them far from the haunts of men, inspired by the passionate longing of the Psalmist for "the wings of a dove," that they might "fly away into the wilderness and be at rest." The causes at work were many and complex. To the timid and indolent the monastery was a refuge from the storms of life; it was a prop and a defence against themselves to the weak and wavering; to the fanatic it was a short and speedy way to heaven; to the ambitious, for the haughtiness which was its especial bane in later days, soon intruded into the cell, it was a pedestal from which to look down on the rest of mankind; to men of nobler temperament it seemed, according to the notions then becoming prevalent, the only fulfilment of what have been called "the counsels of perfection." (Chrys. *adv. Opp. Vit. Mon.* i. 7 et passim; Socr. *H. E.* iv. 23, 4; Soz. *H. E.* i. 12–15, iii. 14, vi. 28–34.)

Monasticism was not the product of Christianity; it was its inheritance, not its invention; not its offspring, but its adopted child. The old antagonism between mind and matter, flesh and spirit, self and the world without, has asserted itself in all ages, especially among the nations of the East. The Essenes, the Therapeutae, and other Oriental mystics, were as truly the precursors of Christian asceticism in the desert or in the cloister, as Elijah and St. John the Baptist. The Neoplatonism of Alexandria, extolling the passionless man above the man who regulates his passions, sanctioned and systematised this craving after a life of utter abstraction from external things, this abhorrence of all contact with what is material as a defilement. Doubtless the cherished remembrance of the martyrs and confessors who in the preceding centuries of the Christian era had triumphed over many a sanguinary persecution, gave a fresh impulse in the 4th century to this propensity for asceticism, stimulating the devout to vie with their forefathers in the faith by their voluntary endurance of self-inflicted austerities.

Some of the various terms used by early Christian writers for the monastic life shew how it was commonly regarded, and illustrate its twofold origin. The monks are frequently termed "the philosophers," and the monastery their "school of thought" (φιλόσοφοι; φροντιστήριον, σχολή, &c.), as the successors and representatives of Greek philosophy. They are termed "the lovers of God," "the servants of God" (φιλόθεοι, θεραπευταί, servi Dei, famuli Dei, &c.), as being the lineal descendants of Hebrew prophets and seers. As undergoing a discipline of extraordinary rigour, as inuring themselves to hardships, like good soldiers, stripping themselves of every encumbrance, and drilling themselves for the warfare with Satan, they are called "the renouncers," the "athletes of Christ," and the scene of their self-imposed toils and struggles

is their "wrestling-yard" or "gymnasium" (ἀποταξάμενοι, renunciantes; παλαίστρα, ἀσκητήριον, &c.). They are called endearingly "fathers" (nonni, abbates), by way of affectionate reverence; "suppliants," as giving themselves to prayer (ἱκέται); "the angelic," as leading the life of angels (ἰσάγγελοι, coelicolae); "fellow-travellers" (συνοδῖται); "dwellers in cells" (cellulani). Their abodes are called "holy places" (σεμνεῖα), "seats of government" (ἡγουμενεῖα), "sheepfolds" (μάνδραι). The terms monastery (μοναστήριον), originally the cell or cave of a solitary hermit, laura (λαύρα), an irregular cluster of cells, and coenobium (κοινόβιον), an association of monks, few or many, under one roof and under one government, mark the three earliest stages in the development of monasticism. In Syria and Palestine each monk originally had a separate cell; in Lower Egypt two were together in one cell, whence the term "syncellita," or sharer of the cell, came to express this sort of comradeship; in the Thebaid, under the customs of Pachomius of Tabenna, each cell contained three monks. (Bened. Anian. *Conc. Regul.* c. 29; Cass. *Instit.* iv. 16; *Coll.* xx. 2; Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* c. 38; Soz. *Hist. Ecc.* iii. 14.) At a later period the monks arrogated to themselves by general consent the title of "the religious" (religiosi), and admission into a monastery was termed "conversion" to God. (Ferreol. *Reg.* Praef.; Smaragd. *Vit. Bened. Anian.* c. 56.)

Passages laudatory of monasticism abound in the Christian writers, both Greek and Latin, in the 4th and 5th centuries. Basil of Neocaesarea, one of the founders of monasticism in Asia, and his friend Gregory of Nazianzum, the learned Jerome in his cell at Bethlehem, and the eloquent Chrysostom in the midst of a noisy populace at Constantinople, profound thinkers and men of action like Augustine of Hippo and Theodoret of Cyrus, all vie with one another in reiterating its praises (Basil. *Constit. Mon.*; Gregor. Naz. *Or.* 12; Chrys. *Vit. Mon.*; Aug. *de Mor. Eccl.* 31, *de Op. Mon.* c. 28, etc.; Hieron. passim; Theodoret, *Hist. Rel.*; Epiphan. *Ancor.* 107, etc.). The great Augustine is said to have lived in a kind of monastery with the clergy of his cathedral; and by his eulogies of the monastic life in his 'Commentary on the 36th Psalm' to have won Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe, in the 6th century, to become a monk himself. In one enthusiastic passage he expresses a fervent hope that monasticism may shoot out its branches and offshoots all over the world (*De Op. Mon.* 28). Jerome goes so far as to speak of embracing the monastic life as a kind of second baptism (*Ep.* 39, *ad Paul.*). And yet in the writings of those who extolled monasticism most highly there are cautions and warnings not a few against the dangers which beset it. Augustine, with characteristic insight into the strange contradictions of human nature, describes, almost as one of the greatest of modern painters has represented it on his canvas, the recoil of a novice on first entering a monastery from the vices and inconsistencies of some among its inmates (*In Ps. c.*; cf. Hieron. *Ep. ad Rust.* 125, *ad Eustoch.* 22). Pride was always the besetting sin of the cloister. Ambition and covetousness crept in even among those who had renounced the world, its pomps and vanities (Hieron. *Epp. ad Rust.* 125, *ad Eustoch.* 22; Aug. *Ep.* 60, *ad Heliodor.*), and sensuality assailed those who had retired, as they hoped, to a safe distance from the temptations of the flesh (Hieron. *Epp. ad Rust.* 125, *ad Eustoch.* 22). The loneliness, the silence of the cell, often brought on that torment of the over-scrupulous, a religious melancholy, and sometimes downright insanity (Hier. *Ep. ad Rust.* 125; Cass. *Instit.* v. 9). And though, as a rule, the monks were among the fiercest and noisiest champions of orthodoxy, at times, in their ignorance and isolation from the church at large, they were equally zealous for the extravagant notions of heretical fanatics (Sozom. *H. E.* i. 12). Whatever side they espoused, they were the fiercest of its partisans. In retaliations on the heathen for the cruelty which they had inflicted on the church, in putting down heresy by force, in extorting from the civil authorities the pardon of criminals, monks were ever foremost. By the advice of Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, and in consequence of the tumults in Antioch about Peter the Fuller, Leo the Thracian, in the middle of the 5th century, made an edict forbidding monks to quit their monasteries and excite commotion in cities (Milm. *Hist. Lat. Christianity*, i. 294). The outrages of the Nitrian monks against Orestes, the praefect, in their zeal for Cyril of Alexandria, of Barsumas and his rabble against Flavian of Antioch in the "robber council" of Antioch, and the ferocity which would not leave the saintly Chrysostom in peace even at the point of death, are no extraordinary instances of what the monks of the 5th century were capable of in their theological frenzies. By a strange, yet not uncommon inconsistency, the monk in his cell listened eagerly for the rumours of polemical controversy in the world which he had abjured, and reserved to himself the right of rushing into the fray, not as peacemaker, but to take part in the combat. They claimed for themselves an authority above that of bishops, emperors, councils. As in the Iconoclastic controversy, so generally they were on the side of superstition. The Egyptian monks clung tenaciously to their anthropomorphic conceptions of the Deity. One of them, an old man named Serapion, exclaimed with tears, on hearing that God is a Spirit, "They have taken away our God! We have no God now" (Cassian. *Coll.* x. c. 3; cf. Ruffin. *de Verb. Senior.* c. 21). Some monks in Asia Minor inculcated rigid abstinence generally, and condemned marriage as sinful (Soc. *H. E.* ii. 43, iv. 24; *Concil. Gangr.* c. A.D. 330, cc. 1, 2, 9). Antinomianism prevailed among some of the Mesopotamian monks in the 4th century (Epiphan. *Haeres.* lxx.). Augustine speaks of Manichaean tendencies among monks (*De Mor. Eccles.* i. 31).

In the 4th century the growing reverence for celibacy aided monasticism to make its way into almost every province of the Roman empire, the civilised world of that day. (Aug. *de Mor. Eccles.* i. 31; Theod. *Hist. Rel.* 30). The elder Macarius in the Scetic or Scithic desert, the elder Ammon on the Nitrian mount, higher up the Nile Pachomius in the Thebais, treading in the footsteps of Antony, the celebrated hermit, founded enormous communities of monks, with some sort of rude organisation. The numbers of monks in Egypt thus herding together and with-

drawn from ordinary duties of a social and political life, were reckoned at this time by thousands. (Soz. *H. E.* iv. 14, vi. 31: Cass. *Inst.* iv. 1.) In Syria Hilarion and his friend Hesychas, with Epiphanius, afterwards bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, in Armenia Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, the first, according to some writers, to prescribe a monastic dress, in Asia Minor Basil, the first, to impose the vow (Soz. *H. E.* vi. 32; Hieron. *Vit. Hilar.*; cf. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres;* Bulteau, *Hist. des Moines d'Orient*), led the way. In Africa the rage for the monastic life, according to Augustine, was chiefly among the poor (*De Op. Mon.* 22). The severe enactments of the persecuting emperor Valens were powerless to check the rush of popular feeling in this direction (Soc. *H. E.* iv. 24). Jerome speaks of multitudes of monks in India, Persia, Ethiopia (*Ep.* 107 *ad Laet.*).

From Syria and Egypt the passion for monasticism spread rapidly westwards. Severinus, called "the Apostle of Noricum," was a monk, like most of the great missionaries of this period, and propagated monasticism side by side with Christianity. The islands of the Adriatic sea soon swarmed with monks, nor were the isles in the Tuscan sea slow to follow their example (Hier. *Ep. de Mort. Fabiol.*; Hieron. *Ep.* 60 *ad Helio.*). About the middle of the 4th century, Athanasius, in his exile from Alexandria, sought shelter at Rome, and there, in the metropolis of the world (Aug. *de Mor. Ecc.* 33), the growing taste for monasticism enjoyed to the full all the advantages which his reputation for orthodoxy and sanctity could lend it, or which it could derive, half a century later, from Jerome's fervid and uncompromising advocacy. There was much in the monastic life thoroughly in keeping with what remained among Romans of their pristine sternness; it was a congenial reaction from the luxury and effeminacy of the day. Eusebius, contemporary with Athanasius, fostered it at Vercellae, in Northern Italy, where, as bishop, he resided under the same roof with some of his clergy, all living together by rule; and somewhat later, the illustrious Ambrose promoted its development in and about Milan, then, as now, one of the chief cities in that part of the peninsula (Aug. *de Mor. Eccles.* 33). Cassian, early in the 5th century, carried his experiences of eremitic and coenobitic life in Egypt and the Thebaid to Marseilles, already an important trading place, there establishing two monasteries, afterwards of great celebrity. He found similar institutions flourishing in the islands then called Stoechades, and now so familiar to invalids, off the southern coast of France, at Toulouse, and in the adjacent district, under the direction of Honoratus, Jovinianus, Leontius, and Theodorus. St. Martin, bishop of Tours (Caesarodunum), turned his episcopal palace into a monastery, and at his death was followed to the grave by 2000 monks (Sulpic. *Vit. St. Mart.*). In the earlier part of his life he had founded a monastery (Locogiagense, in modern times Ligugé), near Poictiers (Pictavium). One of his disciples, Maximus, founded a monastery on L'Isle Barbe (Insula Barbara) near Lyons, and another at Trier or Treves (Augusta Trevirorum) in the East. Romanus, a pupil of Benedict, of Monte Casino, with his brother. Lupicinus, faithful to their master's teaching, planted monasteries on the Jura mountains in the West, early in the 6th century (Mabill. *Annal. O.S.B.*). In Spain, probably from its proximity to Africa, and easy communication with that country, then the representative of Western or Latin Christianity, monasticism flourished at an earlier date even than in southern Gaul, under the auspices, apparently, in the first instance of an African named Donatus (Ildefons, *de Vir. Illustr.* iv.). So early as in A.D. 380 a decree of a council at Saragossa, forbidding priests to affect the dress of monks, shews that monasticism had even then made considerable progress in Spain (*Concil. Caesaraugust.* c. 6; cf. Mabill. *Annal. O. S. B.* iii. 38, 39). In the British Isles, monasticism flourished extensively long before the mission of Augustine to England; but the Roman missionaries on their arrival received anything but a cordial welcome from their British brethren, a feeling of mutual distrust and hostility arising from the differences which existed in ritual, costume, &c. But rapid as was the growth of monasticism, it had many and grave difficulties to contend with. The very enthusiasm in its favour, which the ardour of men like Jerome kindled among devout persons, only intensified in other quarters the bitterness and rancour of antagonism. The tumultuous uproar of the Roman crowd at Blesilla's funeral (Hier. *Epp.* 127 *ad Princip.* 39 *ad Paul.*) was a popular protest against the austerities which were supposed to have been the cause of her death. Salvian in the 5th century speaks of the unpopularity of the monks in Africa, and of the jibes and jeers which their pale faces and sombre dress excited in the streets (*De Gubern.* viii. 4). And though the imperial government on rare occasions, probably under some exceptional influence, shielded the monasteries, as when Justinian allowed minors and slaves to embrace the monastic life without the permission of their superiors (*Cod.* I. iii. 53, 55; *Novell.* v. 2), yet, as a rule, the civil power regarded with a not unreasonable jealousy the absorption of so many of its citizens into a current which withdrew them not for a time only but for life, for the obligation soon came to be considered a lifelong one (Aug. *Serm.* 60 *ad Frat.*), from all participation in responsibilities of a social and political nature.

From the first there was a marked contrast, which has been well expressed by the terms "endogenous" and "exogenous," between eastern and western monachism. The dreamy quietism of the East preferred silent contemplation of the unseen world to labour and toil; its self-mortification was passive rather than active. So far as it prescribed work at all, it was more as a safeguard for the soul against the snares which Satan spreads for the unoccupied, than with a view to benefiting others. Weaving mats and baskets of rushes or osiers was all that was required, as a harmless way of passing the time, or of busying the fingers while the thoughts were fixed on vacancy. The soft and genial climate, too, spared the Asiatic or the African the trouble of providing for his own daily wants and those of his brethren with the sweat wrung from his brow. And the same habit of indolent abstraction held him back from those literary pursuits, which were in

many an instance the redeeming characteristic of the great monasteries of the West, even while it gave the rein to an abstruse and bewildering disputativeness, ever evolving out of itself fresh materials for disputing. In Europe it was quite otherwise. There, even within the walls of the monastery, was the ever-present sense of the necessity and the blessedness of exertion. There, the monk was not merely a worker among other workers, but by his vocation led the way in enterprises of danger and difficulty. Whatever time remained over and above the stated hours of prayer and study was for manual labours of a useful kind, and farming, gardening, building, out of doors and within the house, for caligraphy, painting, &c. The monks in Europe were the pioneers of culture and civilisation as well as of religion; usually they were the advanced guard of the hosts of art, science and literature. From this radical divergence of thought and feeling, two main consequences naturally followed. A less sparing, a more generous diet was a necessity for those who were bearing the fatigues of the day in a way which their eastern brethren could form no idea of. A more exact, a more minute arrangement of the hours of the day was a necessity for those who, instead of wanting to kill time, had to economise it to the best of their ability. The closer and more systematic organisation which, from the date, at least, of Benedict of Monte Casino, marked the monasteries of the West, and the more liberal dietary which he deliberately sanctioned were admirably adapted for the Roman and the Barbarian alike in the Europe of his day. To the one, with his innate and traditionary deference for law, the orderly routine of the cloister was infinitely preferable to the lawless despotism of the empire; and even the sturdy independence of the Goth bowed willingly beneath a yoke which it had chosen for itself without constraint.

> "In truth the prison unto which we doom
> Ourselves no prison is."

In the East the monasteries, as a rule, were larger, but less firmly administered. There the laxer system of the "Laura" prevailed more widely and lasted till a later period than in Europe (Mabill. *Praeff.* V. vi.). In East and West alike, the control exercised by the bishop of the diocese over the monasteries in his jurisdiction was from first to last scarcely more than titular. But in Latin Christendom the centralising authority of the pope supplied the want of episcopal control, not, however, without the vices which are inherent in an overstrained centralisation.

Before the 5th century there was no uniformity of rule among the various monasteries even of one race or country. Cassian complained that every cell had its rule; that there were as many rules as monasteries (*Instit.* ii. 2). In some cases, under the roof of the same monastery, a divided allegiance was given to several rules at once (Mab. *Annal. O. S. B.* Praef. 18). All this was perhaps inevitable from the fact that the monastic life had its origin not in an impulse given by any one directing and controlling spirit, but in the exigencies of the age generally. Gradually order emerged out of this chaos. The ascetic writings commonly ascribed to Basil of Caesareia sometimes to his friend Eustathius of Sebaste, exercised from the first over the monasteries of the East an influence which they have never lost in those unchanging lands where change is an impiety. The rule of Basil—the first written code of the sort—was popular for a time in Southern Italy, a stronghold, from the circumstances of its colonisation, of Greek sympathies, was translated into Latin at the instance of Urseus, abbat of Pinetum, probably near the famous pine woods of Ravenna (Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* I. 15), was used in Gaul during the 5th century at Lemovicus (Limoges) in conjunction with Cassian's *Institutes* (*ib.* IV. 40); and won for itself the commendation of Cassiodorus and Benedict. Some European monasteries at first adopted their rules from Egypt, the mother-country of asceticism; thus the so-called rule of Macarius was in force in a Burgundian monastery, and the "rule of Antony" in a monastery near Orleans (Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* I.). Cassian was the precursor of Benedict in the arduous work of systematising the development of monasticism. But it is inexact to speak of "Cassian's severe and inflexible rule" (Milman, *Lat. Chr.* II. ii.). Strictly speaking, Cassian is the author of no rule properly so entitled; he was a compiler of materials suggestive of legislation, not a legislator himself. It was probably through his influence, in part at least, that many of the Gallic monasteries copied the type presented to them by the celebrated monastery of Honoratus at Lerina (Lérins), which seems to have been itself in its commencement a copy from those great Egyptian communities, which Cassian knew well from his own personal experience, wherein the brethren, dwelling each in his little separate cell, all under one abbat, met together at stated times for the sacred offices, and for refreshment (Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* I. 29, 30).

The appearance of the rule of Benedict, first and greatest in the long list of monastic reformers, was the commencement of uniformity in the monasteries of the West. Starting from its birthplace, Monte Casino, on the wildly picturesque spurs of the Apennines, it asserted its supremacy in Italy before the end of the 6th century, in the countries which are now France and Germany after the era of Winfried or Boniface, and in Spain, where the rule of Isidore had prevailed, after the 9th century. In the next century it was almost universally accepted throughout Christian Europe (Pelliccia, *Ecc. Chr. Pol.* I. iii. 1, 4).

Like Aaron's rod it swallowed up its rivals. For a time, indeed, the more ascetic rule of Columbanus, emanating from the remote shores of Britain, where, before his missionary labours in Gaul and westwards, he had been trained under the rigorous tutelage of the famous Comgall, abbat of Bangor, came into conflict in central Europe with the Benedictine rule, and disputed its pre-eminence. But the followers of Columbanus never became a separate order. The monasteries wherein his rule was followed solely and absolutely were never numerous. More usually his rule was combined with that of Benedict, as in the monasteries of Luxovium (Luxeuil) and Bobium (Bobbio) in the 7th century. The most characteristic part of his rule

the Poenitentiale, was too peremptory, too Draconic ever to become generally popular. After the synod of Mâcon, A.D. 625 (*Concil. Matiscon.*), in which the rule was defended by Eustathius, abbat of Luxeuil, from the charges brought against it by one of his monks, the Columbanist rule may be said to have ceased to exist separately. The Benedictine rule was milder and more flexible than its compeers; it was more in harmony with the temperament of the Italian peninsula, whence at that time other Christian lands in the West received their ecclesiastical laws; it enjoyed the favour and patronage of Rome, the capital of Christendom (Mab. *Annal. O. S. B.* Praef. pp. 23, 25). Wherever the two rules existed side by side in the same monastery, the Italian rule, inevitably and as of necessity, sooner or later ousted the Hibernian. Even in its own birth-land, notwithstanding the obstinate tenacity with which the native monks ("Scoti," *i.e.* Irish) clung to their prepossessions about the right time for keeping Easter and the right way of shaving for the tonsure, &c., the rule of Columbanus failed to hold its own against the encroachments of its exotic rival. In the 8th century, the rule of Benedict was carried by Saxon missionaries beyond the Tweed (Holsten, *Praef. in Cod. Regul. S. Bened. Anian.* pp. 403–405).

Amid all these divergencies and discrepancies, that which gave cohesion and stability to the monastic system was the almost absolute authority of the abbat, an authority greater than that of a captain of an English man-of-war in modern times, and almost on a par with that of an Oriental despot (e.g. *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794). For his monks to hear was to obey. He held his office, ordinarily, for life. Within the walls, primarily intended for defence against enemies from without, but which soon came to be quite as useful for keeping the brethren in, he reigned supreme; and his watchful eye followed them even beyond the precincts (*Conc. Tarracon.* A.D. 516, c. 11). Each monk in turn was a spy on the others (Greg. M. *Epp.* x. 22); was bound to inform the father-abbat of any misconduct on their part, bound, too, by habitual confession to the abbat, to accuse himself. It was an integral part of Benedict's policy thus to magnify the office of the abbat. It was, in a word, the keystone of his arch. Gregory the Great, a century later (the Roman church has always been skilful in utilising her monastic auxiliaries), was very severe against vagabond monks (Greg. M. *Epp.* I. 40, vi. 32, vii. 36, &c.; cf. *Conc. Aurel.* A.D. 511, c. 19). On the same principle Charles the Great enacted that solitary recluses should enroll themselves either as monks or canons (Car. M. *Capit.* 802 A.D. I. c. 17, 806 A.D. IV. c. 2, &c.; cf. Justin, *Novell.* 133.) Throughout the history of monasticism, the vow of unhesitating and unquestioning obedience has been one great secret of monastic vitality.

From the first the necessity had been recognised of repressing insubordination with an iron hand. Jerome and Augustine had censured the lawlessness of the "Remobothi," the "Sarabaitae," the "Gyrovagi," and other monkish vagrants (Hier. *Ep. ad Eustoch.*; Aug. *de Op. Mon.* cc. 28, 31; *Rett.* i. 21). Jerome, indeed, had recommended the very plan which afterwards became a prominent feature in the Benedictine policy, that the abbat should have a provost or prior under him as the officer next in command to himself, assisted by deans in the larger monasteries. Benedict himself preferred that the government of the monasteries should be carried on by abbat and deans without the intervention of a prior, lest there should be any rivalry between the abbat and his lieutenant. As monasteries, both in Eastern and Western Christendom, began to be founded in closer proximity to great cities, these and similar precautions against disorder became more and more necessary. Gregory the Great, exercising an almost ubiquitous supervision over Latin Christendom, recommended a probation of two or three years before a novice should become a monk (Greg. M. *Epp.* iv. 23). Again and again, in his solicitude for the preservation of a rigid monastic discipline, he insists that the abbat must be a monk whose moral and spiritual fitness has been well proved and tested before his election; that he is to relieve himself, as far as possible, of mundane distractions by having a good lay-agent; that he is to be strict in correcting offenders; that he is to retain in his own hands the appointment of the deans; and, in the appointment of a prior, to exercise his own discretion, if necessary, by deviating from the order of seniority, and by selecting the brother whom he believes best qualified for the office (*ib. pass.*). Council after council issued its fulminations against recalcitrant or disorderly monks, and endeavoured to weld together the organisation of each monastery firmly and compactly under one head. Thus the council of Agde, A.D. 506, ordered that no member of the community should live in a cell apart from the cloister, except by the abbat's special leave, nor, even so, outside the precincts ("intra saepta") (*Conc. Agath.* c. 38; cf. *Conc. Venet.* A.D. 465, c. 7; *Novell.* 133). The same council enacted that no abbat should superintend more than one monastery, hospices excepted (cf. Gregor. M. *Epp.* x. 41). The abbat was usually elected by the monks (Bened. Anian. *Concord. Regul.* IV. i.). Louis, the son and successor of Charles the Great, restored this ancient privilege to the great abbeys of his dominion, from whom his father had wrested it. [ABBAT.]

During the period of turbulence and confusion in Europe, which followed the crash of Rome under the onset of the barbarians, and before the disintegrated empire had been reconstructed by the strong hand of Charles the Great, the monks were everywhere the champions of order against lawless violence, of the weak and defenceless against the brute force of the oppressor. Again and again they confronted kings and nobles without fear, and without favour, as Columbanus for instance, among the Franks, rebuked the profligacy of the Merovingian princes. The proudest monarch, the most reckless of his barons, bowed in reverence before the mysteriously awful attributes of the pale, emaciated recluse coming forth like a phantom from his cell, or, at least, affected the friendship of so powerful an ally. The cloister, always a sanctuary and asylum for the friendless and the unfortunate, became in an age when even the tenure of the throne was so precarious, a convenient place for the incarceration of those whom

it was desirable to put out of the way without killing. What had been at first in many cases involuntary, came to be prized for its own sake. Clothilda, the widow of Clovis, in the 6th century, when threatened with death or the tonsure for her sons, preferred "death before degradation." In the 8th century two ex-kings, Carloman the Frank, and Rachis the Lombard, sought and found shelter at the same moment by their own choice, in the monastery of Monte Casino. Louis, the successor of Charles the Great on the throne of the Franks, was only dissuaded by his nobles, in A.D. 819, from becoming a monk; fourteen years later he was compelled by his sons to retire to the monastery of St. Medard, at Soissons. The list of sovereigns who from the 5th to the 10th century, either by constraint or by choice, became monks, is indeed a long one. Distinguished offenders among the Franks had the option of being shut up in a monastery or of undergoing the usual canonical penances (Capitul. *Reg. Franc.* vi. 71, 90; vii. 59).

Early in the 6th century, for the first time, according to Mabillon, criminal priests or deacons were sentenced by a council in the south-east of France to incarceration in a monastery (*Conc. Epaonense*, A.D. 517, c. 3; cf. Gregor. M. *Epp.* viii. 10). In the 7th century, in the words of the great historian of the Western church, "the peaceful passion for monachism had become a madness, which seized on the strongest, sometimes the fiercest souls. Monasteries arose in all quarters, and gathered their tribute of wealth from all lands" (Milman, *Hist. of Lat. Christianity*, ii. 221).

Under the fostering care of the great Charles, monasteries were not merely a shelter and a refuge from social storms, and centres from which radiated over fen and forest the civilising influences of the farm and the garden, but schools of useful learning, according to the requirements and capacities of the period. Already, under the Merovingians, sons of princes, for instance, Meroveus, son of Chilperic, had been sent to monasteries to be taught (Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* iii. 54). Charles made many and liberal grants of land to the monasteries, and his monk-loving son gave even more bountifully. But fine buildings and wide domains, besides attracting the cupidity of the spoiler, brought with them the pride and the luxury, which follow in the train of wealth and prosperity (Milman, *L. C.* ii. 294). Abbats too often took advantage of the absence of neighbouring barons on military service to seize their fiefs, stepping into their place, and becoming themselves feudal chieftains. But they were not content with the comparatively limited jurisdiction of their predecessors. The recognised appeal to the king in their case soon fell into desuetude; they assumed a position above their feudal peers, as suzerain lords; and on the principle that a thing once devoted to God becomes His only, His always, His altogether, they claimed various immunities for their lands from the ordinary tolls and taxes. "Their estates were held on the same tenure as those of the lay nobility; they had been invested with them, especially in Germany, according to the old Teutonic law of conquest. Abbacies were originally, or became, in the strictest sense benefices. Abbats took the same oath with other vassals on a change of sovereign. Abbats and abbesses were bound to appear at the Heerbann of the sovereign." (Milman, *ib.* ii. 289.) Though the abbats themselves were forbidden to carry arms, and took their oath of fealty as counsellors, their "men" were as much bound to follow the king in his wars as the "men" of his lay vassals (*ib.*). The first instance recorded of a fighting abbat is that of Warnerius, in his breastplate and other accoutrements, taking an active part in the defence of Rome against the Lombards in the 8th century (*ib.* ii. 243). Abbats, not unnaturally perhaps, in circumstances like these, grew rapidly less and less distinct in their manner of life from their compeers, the lay aristocracy around them. Their illustrious patron had to repress their hunting and hawking propensities, ordering them to do their shooting and their other field sports by deputy, in the person of the lay brothers (*Capit. Car. M.* A.D. 769, c. 3, A.D. 802, I. c. 19; *Conc. Mogunt.* A.D. 813, c. 14), and he denounced severely monks who are "lazy and careless." Charles reserved to himself the appointment of the great abbats. Under the feebler sway of his successors monasteries became more and more secular. The younger and the illegitimate sons of noble or royal families came to regard the richer abbeys as their patrimony, and resented the intrusion of men of lower birth into these high places of the church. And though then, as always, in spite of every discouragement, genius and piety sometimes forced their way to the front, and though sometimes baser arts won preferment, the larger ecclesiastical fiefs passed so generally into the hands of the nobles, as to make the great abbats almost a caste (Milm. *Lat. Chr.* ii. 329).

The relation of monks to the clergy, and their continually recurring jealousies, form a curious chapter in the history of monasticism. Originally monks, as a class, were regarded as laymen, although even from the first there were individual instances of persons becoming monks after being ordained. Still, as monks, all ranked collectively with the lay, not the clerical part of the Christian community. The term "clerici" was applied not only to the clergy properly so called, but to the numerous officials connected with the church in various secular capacities, as bursars, doorkeepers, &c. Accordingly, the monk, even if he were not himself a layman, was naturally classed with laymen, as being unconnected with ecclesiastical offices of any sort. Monks, for their part, were more than content to be so regarded. It was one of their axioms that a monk should shun the company of a bishop as he would the company of a woman, lest he should be ordained perforce and against his own free will; for monks were in request for the diaconate or the priesthood as well as abbats for the office of bishop[a] (Cass. *Inst.* xi. 17; Bingham, *Orig. Eccles.* iv. 7). Monks indeed had no cause to be ambitious of ecclesiastical dignities. In the 5th century they took precedence of deacons (Epiphan. *Haer.* lxviii.); and in the East their archimandrites had places at the councils of the church (*C. P. I.*, *Conc. Eph.* Act. I. Sess., *Conc. Chalced.*). Like other barriers between the monk and his fellow men, this demarcation between monks and

[a] After the 5th century, bishops were frequently chosen from among the monks.

clergy became less strongly marked after the 4th century; the gradual relaxation of primitive austerity in the monastery being partly the cause and partly the result of this mutual approximation of the one to the other (Hieron. *Ep. ad Eustoch.*). Other causes also were at work. The monastery was often a nursery or "training-college" for the clergy (Hieron. *Ep. ad Rust.*; cf. *Conc. Vasens.* A.D. 5.9). On the one hand, dioceses needed clergy other than the parochial clergy for missionary work; on the other hand, the monastery needed one priest at least, if not more than one, as its resident chaplain. The illiterate clergy looked naturally to the nearest monastery for help in the composition of sermons. Deacons, though forbidden to preach, were allowed to read homilies in church; and these were furnished in case of need by the monks, men, sometimes at least, of learning, in comparison with the country clergy (Mabill. *Annal. O. S. B.* iii. 56). And they, who were thus assisting the clergy in their work, affected not unreasonably a clerical costume. More than one council in the 6th century made its enactment against monks wearing the "orarium," or stole, and against their wearing boots or buskins instead of their own rude sandals (*Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506; *Conc. Aurel.* i. A.D. 511; *Conc. Epaon.* A.D. 518; cf. *Conc. Laodic.* A.D. 361). Sometimes, at first more usually, the spiritual wants of the monastery were supplied by the bishop sending a priest at the abbat's request, to perform mass at stated times; sometimes by a priest being appointed to reside in the monastery; sometimes by one of the monks themselves being ordained (Greg. M. *Epp.* pass.). On festivals the monks usually resorted to their parish church (Alteserr. *Ascet.* i. 2). [ORATORY.]

One of the hardest tasks of successive popes was to regulate and adjust the rival claims of their monks and their clergy. Gregory the Great, like his distinguished predecessor Leo, the first of the popes of that name, seems to have laboured to prevent either party from intruding beyond its own proper province into the duties and privileges of the other. He forbade monks to officiate without leave outside their walls (cf. Leo I. *Epp.* 118, 119). He forbade the parochial clergy to retreat at pleasure from their cures to the quietness and leisure of a monastery. He ordered baptisteries to be removed from monasteries. He discouraged clerical abbats; and he censured the parochial clergy, who either entered a monastery or quitted it without their bishops' sanction. Sometimes, however, he transferred the charge of a church neglected by its parochial clergy to the monks of the adjoining monastery, on condition that they should provide accommodation among themselves for a priest who should act as their "vicar" (*Epp.* i. 40; iii. 18; iii. 59; iv. 1; iv. 18). After the 6th century monks began to be classed in popular estimation with the clergy (Mab. *AA. O. S. B.* Praef. Saec. ii.); and the ecclesiastical policy of the great Carlovingian legislator in the 8th century, by subjecting the abbats to the jurisdiction of the bishops and archbishops, unintentionally favoured this notion. A council at Rome, in A.D. 827, ordered abbats to be in priests' order (*Conc. Rom.* c. 26); a council at Aachen about the same time permitted them to admit any of their monks into minor orders; another at Mainz soon afterwards permitted them to hold benefices (*Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 817, c. 60; *Conc. Mogunt.* A.D. 827). Monks were the predominating element in the synods of the ninth century, sometimes sitting apart from the clergy in a separate chapter (*AA. SS.* Jun. ii. c. 22, St. Minuerc.). In the eleventh and twelfth centuries more than one council prohibited monks from having charge of parishes; but Innocent III., their patron and champion, sanctioned their officiating even in parishes where they had no "domicilium" or residence. Gregory of Tours uses the terms "monachi" and "clerici" indiscriminately. But the long-standing rivalry between the monks and clergy lasted on, notwithstanding this superficial fusion, or rather all the more acrimoniously, because of their being brought more frequently into collision.

The right of the bishop of the diocese to exercise jurisdiction over the monasteries in his diocese, and the limits within which his authority ought to be exercised were a constant source of irritation on both sides. The struggle between bishop and abbat dates from the very commencement of monachism; council after council endeavoured to arbitrate between their conflicting claims; but it was inevitable that fresh occasions of dispute should arise continually. At first, and so long as the monk was distinctly regarded as a layman, there was less danger of rivalry or collision. The council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) enacted, that the bishop of each city should superintend its monasteries according to "the traditions of the fathers," and that every refractory monk should be excommunicated; that no monk should enter the city of Constantinople (already the monks had caused disturbances there) without the bishop's permission; and that the consecration of the monastery by the bishop should be the guarantee against its being secularised (*Conc. Chalced.* cc. 4, 8, 23, 24). Africa, notorious already for the turbulence of its vagabond monks, was the first to raise the standard of revolt. One of the abbats in the diocese of Byrsa, having been excommunicated by his own bishop, Liberatus, appealed to the bishop of Carthage, metropolitan in the proconsular province of Carthage (Du Cange, *Glossar. Lat.* s. v. Primas). At a synod in Carthage (A.D. 525), presided over by Bonifacius, bishop of Carthage, in right of his see, sentence was pronounced in favour of the abbat. Indeed, in their desire to prevent any intrusion on the part of Liberatus, the council went so far as to lay down the rule, that monasteries being as heretofore ("sicut semper fuerunt") entirely exempt from the obligations which restrain the clergy ("a conditione clericorum libera") should be guided only by their own sense of what is right ("sibi tantum ac Deo placentia"), and this decision was confirmed by a synod nine years later, in the same city (*Concc. Carth.* A.D. 525; A.D. 534). Mabillon thinks that this right of appeal to another bishop, involving for the monastery the right of choosing its own visitor, was a security against episcopal oppression. A similar dispute between Faustus, abbat of Lirinensis Insula (Lérins) and Theodorus, bishop of Forojulium (Fréjus), was settled at Arles far more equitably. There it was enacted, that clerical monks

should obey the bishop in questions relating to their office as clergy, while lay monks should obey their abbat only; on the one hand, that no one should officiate in the monastery, except as delegated by the bishop, and, on the other, that the bishop should never receive any lay-brother to ordination, without the consent of the abbat (Labb. *Concil.* ed. 1762, viii. pp. 635-656). But even this was no final or permanent solution of the ever-recurring difficulty. Councils again and again through the 6th and 7th centuries re-affirmed this fundamental distinction between monks as monks, and monks as clergy, but in vain. The tendency of things actually was to make the monastery within its own domain more and more independent of its bishop.

No new monastery could be founded without the bishop's sanction (*Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, c. 24; *Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506, c. 27); just as a layman needed the same permission to erect a church (*Conc. Ilerd.* A.D. 524, c. 3). If the bishop himself were the founder he might devote a fortieth part of his episcopal income as endowment, instead of the hundredth part permissible for the endowment of a new church (*Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 655, c. 5). But, the monastery once founded, the choice of a new abbat belonged not to the bishop but to the monks themselves. But the bishop might interfere, in case of their electing a vicious abbat. They were free to elect whom they would, one of their own body by preference, if possible, but, in the event of there being no eligible candidate among themselves, a stranger from another monastery (Bened. Anianens. *Concord. Regul.* v. s.; *Conc. Roman.* A.D. 601; *Conc. Tolet.* x. A.D. 656, c. 3). Nevertheless the abbat was to hold his office under the supervision of the bishop; he was to attend the bishop's visitation yearly; if he failed in the discharge of his duty, he was to be admonished and corrected, or even, in case of gross misconduct, deposed by the bishop, not, however, without a right of appeal to the metropolitan or to a general assembly of abbats (*Conc. Aurel.* A.D. 511, cc. 19, 20; *Conc. Epaon.* A.D. 517, c. 19; *Conc. Arelat.* A.D. 554, c. 3; *Conc. Roman.* A.D. 601). Outside their monastic precincts the bishop was supposed to have a general jurisdiction over the monks in his diocese, and in this way, obviously, might often prove himself an invaluable and almost indispensable ally to the abbat, seated within his monastery, in coercing and reclaiming truants. (*Conc. Aurel.* A.D. 511, c. 19; *Conc. Arelat.* A.D. 554, c. 2). Monks were forbidden to wander from one diocese to another, or from one monastery to another, without commendatory letters from the bishop as well as from the abbat; if contumacious, they were to be whipped (*Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 635, c. 53; *Conc. Venet.* A.D. 465, cc. 5, 6). The bishop's permission was requisite, not the abbat's only, for a monk to occupy a separate cell apart from the monastery (*Conc. Aurel.* A.D. 511, c. 22). In short the bishop was in theory, if not actually, responsible for the moral conduct of the monks in his diocese. Of course his control was more of a reality over their ecclesiastical ministrations. The bishop might not ordain a monk, nor remove a priest-monk from a monastery to parochial work without the abbat's consent, might not interfere to prevent a priest or deacon from taking the monastic vow (*Conc. Agath.* 506, c. 27; *Conc. Roman.* A.D. 601); might not ordain a monk who broke his vow and relapsed to the life secular (*Conc. Aurel.* 511, c. 21). Still, in accordance with the principle promulgated at Arles in A.D. 556 (u. s.), it was generally admitted that the monk's vow of obedience to his abbat was not to supersede the canonical obedience of the clerk to his bishop; and, though the force of circumstances might naturally draw the monk to his abbat and to his brother monks whenever their peculiar rights and privileges were threatened, the bishop could always retort effectively by simply holding back his hand when called to give the monastery the benefit of his episcopal services. From the reiterated cautions of the councils in this period against any encroachment of the bishops on the property of the monasteries, it would seem as if a wealthy monastery was sometimes a "Naboth's vineyard," as old monastic writers express it, in the eyes of a greedy or overbearing prelate. Bishops are forbidden by the council of Lerida, in the north of Spain, A.D. 524, to seize the offerings made to monasteries (*Conc. Ilerd.* c. 3); forbidden to tyrannise over monasteries or meddle with their endowments by the council of Toledo (*Conc. Tolet.* iv. c. 51), and by the council of Rome, A.D. 601 (*Conc. Rom.* A.D. 601). Another council of Toledo in A.D. 656, ordered any bishop guilty of appropriating a monastery for the aggrandisement of himself or of his family to be excommunicated for a year (*Conc. Tolet.* x. c. 3).

The master mind of Gregory the Great was quick to recognise the importance of keeping the monks distinct from the secular clergy, and, at the same time, of providing some efficient, official supervision, against laxity or immorality in the monastery. Of those numerous letters of Gregory, which attest his almost ubiquitous vigilance over the ecclesiastical affairs of western Christendom, and the commanding influence which made itself felt far and near, not a few contain his adjudication in quarrels of abbats with their diocesans. His personal sympathies were divided, for he had himself been an ardent and devoted monk, before becoming the head of the ecclesiastical system of Europe; and, like a true statesman, he saw that the way to make the cloister and the diocese mutually helpful, was to guard against any confusion of the boundary-lines between their respective spheres. The office of the monk, he writes, is distinct from that of the clerk (Greg. M. *Ep.* v. 1); it is dangerous for a monk to leave his cell to become a priest; a clerk once admitted into the monastic brotherhood ought to stay there, unless summoned to work outside the walls by the bishop (*Ep.* i. 42). The abbat is first to be elected by the monks, and then to be formally consecrated by the bishop (*Ep.* ii. 4, 2). On one occasion Gregory, taking the selection of an abbat into his own hands, sends a certain monk, Barbatianus, to be instituted abbat in the diocese of Naples. But in writing to the bishop, Gregory qualifies his mandate by adding, that Barbatianus is to be appointed "if the bishop approves his life and character" ("si placuisset vita ac mores"). Barbatianus, as abbat, admitted into the monastery without due probation a postulant, who soon afterwards ran away. Gregory blames

the bishop for neglecting to make proper enquiries beforehand about Barbatianus (*Epp.* ix. 91, x. 24). Similarly, he reprimands bishops very severely for not looking more closely after the morality of their monasteries, and, in more than one instance of a monk or a nun breaking the monastic vow and returning to the world, he lays the fault on the carelessness of the bishop as visitor (*Epp.* viii. 34, x. 22, 24, viii. 8, ix. 114, x. 8, etc.). He charges the bishops to exert themselves in reclaiming runaway monks, and to be strict in repelling them from holy communion (*Ep.* ix. 37, etc.). The bishop is not to set up his cathedral throne in the monastery, nor to hold public services there; he is not to ordain any monk for the services of the monastery unless by the abbat's request, nor for ministerial work outside the monastery without the abbat's leave (*Ep.* ii. 41, etc.); he is not to encourage the monks to rebel against their abbat; above all (and this seems to have been the most frequent cause of contention), he is not to harass or oppress the monasteries, by visiting them too frequently, by putting them to inordinate expense on those occasions, by interfering with the revenues of the monastery and with its internal management, or in any other way; on the contrary, he is to defend their rights and privileges diligently (*Epp.* i. 12, vi. 29, viii. 34, ix. 111). In order to escape from the pressure of episcopal control, monasteries not infrequently placed themselves under the bishop of another diocese (Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* i. 42).

The policy of Charlemagne towards monasteries was more repressive than that of Gregory; it substituted also the emperor for the pope as the mainspring of the system, as the person to whom the final appeal should be made. It was his aim at once to make the monastic discipline more binding, and to prevent the monastery from becoming a separate republic, independent of church and state. He sought to aggrandise the abbat as delegate of the bishop and the emperor, but not as a power in himself, to strengthen him in his authority over his monks, but at the same time to keep him obedient and dutiful to his bishop. The emperor's idea was, that the clergy and monks of his realm should be, like his feudal retainers, a compact, well-organised militia for defensive and offensive service; the monks in their cells and the clergy in their several dioceses were all to live by rule, the rule of the monastic order or the rule canonical, the monks teaching[b] in the schools attached to their monasteries, the clergy busily at work in their way under their bishop. All that could be done by legislation was done, and done with consummate skill, for this purpose under the emperor's direction in the parliament synods of his reign. But in spite of councils and their canons, the monasteries grew insensibly more autonomous, the parochial clergy more secular. It was far more easy, as Gregory had found, to say that the bishop must be responsible for good order in monasteries of his diocese than to enable him to enforce his authority on a monastery indisposed to accept it. It was enacted by the council of Vern, or Verne, near Paris, that if the bishop cannot himself correct an offending abbat, he must invoke the aid of the metropolitan, and, that failing, of a synod; that, the offender is to be excommunicated by the bishops generally, and a successor appointed by the king or his council (*Conc. Vernens.* A.D. 755, c. 5), and this was confirmed under Charles (*Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 802, c. 15). It had been also provided, that the abbat should render an account to his bishop as well as to the king, of any exemptions or immunities which he claimed (*Conc. Vern.* c. 20). The monks were not even to elect their abbat without the bishop's approval (*Conc. Francof.* A.D. 795, c. 17); and as the abbat received his office at the hands of the bishop, so he was to allow to the bishop, as visitor, free ingress into the monastery, reserving however for himself the right of appeal, first to the metropolitan, and from him to the crown (Car. M. *Capit.* A.D. 812, iii. 2; *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794, e. 4). About this time the Eastern church enacted that the bishop or metropolitan should appoint a bursar or treasurer ("oeconomus") in every monastery not provided with one already, to keep account of the receipts and expenditure; and that any abbat convicted of granting admission into the monastery for money, should be banished to another monastery and there do penance (*Conc.* ii. *Nicaen.* A.D. 787, cc. 11, 19; cf. *Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, c. 26).

Louis, the successor of Charlemagne, always devoted to monks, enriched the monasteries, and made them more secure in their possessions; but the power of the great feudal bishops was increasing proportionately; and sometimes the rapacity or the tyranny of their ecclesiastical superior drove a monastery to place itself under the protection of the king or one of his barons (Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ii. 294–5). The popes took some monasteries under their own special tutelage, as the patriarchs had done in the east; and before the end of the 12th century some of the greatest abbats were appointed by the pope, and some of the most important questions concerning the temporal and spiritual affairs of monasteries generally were regulated solely by him (Pellicia, *Ecc. Chr. Pol.*).

In the isles of the west, by their position and by other circumstances removed from immediate contact with central Europe, the course of events was somewhat different. Before the Saxon occupation of Britain, monks and monasteries were already very numerous, but monastic discipline was lax. No Benedict had mapped out the daily life of the monastery. Columba was rather a missionary than a monastic reformer, and his influence, though very widely extended, was rather the personal influence of a holy man, than the stereotyping influence of a legislator. Columbanus had bequeathed his rule to other lands rather than to his own country. The fervid temperament of the Kelts was in itself less patient of control, less amenable to discipline. Solitaries, that is monks living as hermits, each in his cell, apart from the monasteries, were not so systematically discountenanced, nor so carefully supervised in Ireland, as on the continent. The character, also, of their ecclesiastical organisation tended to make the monastery less dependent on its bishop. Originally, the chieftains of the clan or tribe, even after its conversion to

[b] The emperor's attention was awakened to the need of an educational reformation by some badly written letters to himself from certain monasteries (Mabill. *de Stud. Monast.* i. c. 9).

Christianity, exercised a patriarchal authority in spiritual, as well as in temporal matters; and as the conventual establishments grew in number and importance, the headship of them was still retained generally in the family of the chieftain, the office of the abbat, like the office of the bard, who was usually to be found in every Keltic monastery, being, as a rule, hereditary (Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, iii. pp. 194, 281–287).

Among the Saxons in England a similar result was produced by other causes. When Christianity came, the second time, into the island, it came in the guise of monachism. The monk and the missionary were one. Many of the British monks had been massacred by the heathen invaders; many had fled for safety to the peaceful and prosperous monasteries of their brethren in Ireland. But their places were quickly filled by their Teutonic successors. Almost every large church was attached to a monastery; and in the first instance the monks were the parish-priests of the diocese (Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ii. c. 4). All this gave the monasteries in England a hold over the people which they never lost, till their dissolution in the 16th century; and as the tie grew weaker which had grouped the monks around the bishop of the diocese, and as the monastery became detached from the minster, all this strengthened the abbats in their independence. The formal exemption of monasteries from episcopal control in things secular dates from the 7th century; and the council of Cealchythe (Chelsea?) a century later only affirmed that the monks should take the bishop's advice ("cum consilio episcopi") in electing an abbat (*Conc. Calcuthens.* A.D. 787, c. 5). For all practical purposes the authority of an individual bishop in England over a monastery was hardly ever more than nominal; and in course of time the lordly abbats of the great monasteries vied in power and magnificence with the occupants of the greatest sees.

The history of monasticism, like the history of states and institutions in general, divides itself broadly into three great periods of growth, of glory, and of decay. Not indeed as if the growth were unchecked by hindrance, the glory unchequered by defects, the decay never arrested by transient revivals from time to time of the flickering flame of life. Still the successive seasons of youth, maturity, old age, are marked plainly and strongly enough. From the beginning of the 4th century, to the close of the 5th, from Antony the hermit to Benedict of Monte Casino, is the age of undisciplined impulse, of enthusiasm not as yet regulated by experience. It has all the fervour, and all the extravagance of aims too lofty to be possible, of wild longings without method, without organisation, of energies which have not yet learned the practical limits of their own power. Everything is on a scale of illogical exaggeration, is wanting in balance, in proportion, in symmetry. Purity, unworldliness, charity, are virtues. Therefore a woman is to be regarded as a venomous reptile, gold as a worthless pebble, the deadliest foe and the dearest friend are to be esteemed just alike (*e.g.* Ruffin. *de Vit. SS.* c. 117). It is right to be humble. Therefore the monk cuts off hand, ear, or tongue, to avoid being made bishop (*e.g.* Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* c. 12) and feigns idiocy, in order not to be accounted wise (Ruff. *ib.* c. 118). It is well to teach people to be patient. Therefore a sick monk never speaks a kind word for years to the brother monk who nursed him (*St. Inc.* ap. Rosw. *Vit. Patr.* c. 19). It is right to keep the lips from idle words. Therefore a monk holds a large stone in his mouth for three years (*ib.* c. 4). Every precept is to be taken literally, and obeyed unreasoningly. Therefore some monks who have been plundered by a robber, run after him to give him a something which has escaped his notice (Mosch. *Prat.* c. 212). Self-denial is enjoined in the gospel. Therefore the austerities of asceticism are to be simply endless. One ascetic makes his dwelling in a hollow tree, another in a cave, another in a tomb, another on the top of a pillar; another has so lost the very appearance of a man, that he is shot at by shepherds who mistake him for a wolf (Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* c. 5; Mosch. *Prat.* c. 70; Theodoret, *Philoth.* c. 15). The natural instincts, instead of being trained and cultivated, are to be killed outright, in the utter abhorrence of things material as a defilement of the soul. Adolius, a hermit near Jerusalem, and it is merely one instance out of many, is said to have fasted two whole days together ordinarily and five in Lent, to have passed whole nights on Mount Olivet, in prayer, standing and motionless (Pallad. *ib.* c. 104), and habitually to have slept only the three hours before morning. Dorotheus, a Scetic monk, used to sleep in a sitting posture, and when urged to take his proper rest, would reply "Persuade the angels to sleep!" (*ib.* c. 2). Cleanliness became a sin, as a kind of self-indulgence. The common duties of life were shunned and neglected, because the end of all such things was near. No wonder, if with no more active occupation than meditation, or twisting osiers into baskets, the soul of the recluse preyed upon itself, and peopled the dreary solitude around it with demons and spectres. No wonder, if in this superhuman effort to burst the barriers of our mortal nature by a protracted suicide, men mistook apathy for self-control, and became like stocks or stones, or brute beasts, while wishing to be as God. [MORTIFICATION.]

The period which follows, from the first Benedict to Charlemagne, exhibits monasticism in a more mature stage of monastic activity. The social intercourse of the monastery duly harmonised by a traditional routine, with its subordination of ranks and offices, its division of duties, its mutual dependence of all on each other and on their head, civilised the monastic life; and as the monk himself became subject to the refining influence of civilisation, he went forth into the world without to civilise others. The contemplation of spiritual things was still proposed as the first object in view. But stated and regular hours for the religious services left leisure for other occupations, and brainwork took its proper place alongside of manual labour. The Benedictine rule implied, if it did not assert in so many words, that monks are to make themselves useful to others as well as to themselves; and the practical result is seen in the conversion of the greater part of Europe to Christianity, and in the revival of European learning and arts among the wild hordes from the north, the conquerors of Rome. Had it not been for monks and monasteries, the barbarian deluge might have

swept away utterly the traces of Roman civilisation. The Benedictine monk was the pioneer of civilisation and Christianity in England, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Sweden, Denmark (Mabillon, *de Stud. Monast.* i. c. 9). The schools attached to the Lerinensian monasteries were the precursors of the Benedictine seminaries in France, of the professorial chairs filled by learned Benedictines in the universities of mediaeval Christendom. With the incessant din of arms around him, it was the monk in his cloister, even in regions beyond the immediate sphere of Benedict's legislation, even in the remote fastnesses, for instance, of Mount Athos, who, by preserving and transcribing ancient manuscripts, both Christian and pagan, as well as by recording his observations of contemporaneous events, was handing down the torch of knowledge unquenched to future generations, and hoarding up stores of erudition for the researches of a more enlightened age. The first musicians, painters, farmers, statesmen in Europe, after the downfall of Rome Imperial under the onslaught of the barbarians were monks (Mabill. *de Stud. Mon.* i. cc. 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 22).

In what are called the middle ages, the various monasteries of each order were under the presidency of the monastery, originally the seat of the order. This development had not been contemplated by the rule of Benedict. The abbat of the parent monastery convoked the chapters-general. In the 9th century, the abbat of Monte Casino was nominally, if not actually, supreme over all abbats. In the 10th, Odo of Clugny was supreme over the abbats of his order of Benedictines. At a later date, among the friars, the cloisters of each province were under the authority of a "provincial," and the whole order under a "general," usually resident at Rome (Ferd. Walter, *Manuel du Droit ecclés.*; Pelliccia, *Chr. Eccles. Politia*).

How the original monastic idea came in course of time to be lost sight of, as monasteries became wealthy and powerful, how monastic simplicity was corrupted and enervated by luxury, how one monastic order vied with another for worldly aggrandisement, how, too often, the unfraternal rivalry was embittered by jealousies of the pettiest kind, and how the monastic orders became the janissaries or praetorian cohort of the papacy, is beyond our present scope to describe. The difference between Rome under Commodus and Rome in the days of Cincinnatus is hardly greater than the difference between a great mediaeval monastery, with all its pomp and ostentation of appurtenances, and the conception of a monastery in the rules laid down by the first founders of monasticism. Every new rule, every new order, has been in turn a protest against degeneracy, a spasmodic effort to revert to pristine simplicity. But the disintegration and the decadence of the monastic idea are due, not exclusively, nor indeed mainly, to causes acting upon it from without, but rather to something within itself, an inherent part of its very being from the first. If we look below the surface, and endeavour honestly to analyse the complex elements which, as ever happens in human actions, conspired to result in monasticism, we cannot but observe there, powerfully at work, a very subtle form of selfishness. Fear of ultimate punishment, hope of ultimate recompense, instead of being merely secondary and subsidiary motives, thrust themselves forward as the dominating principle of this apparent self-abnegation, too abnormal, too stupendous to be ever realised on earth, unless by sacrificing at the same time the responsibilities and the privileges which have been providentially constituted an essential part of man's probation. In his fanatical eagerness to secure his own salvation, the devotee of monasticism abjured the claims of home and country. He "died to the world" (Gregor. M. *Epp.* i. 44, Not. Benedictin.), not simply in the sense of mortifying evil affections, but as dead henceforth to the ordinary sympathies of humanity.

[See also ABBAT, ASCETICISM, BENEDICTINE RULE AND ORDER, CANONICI, CALOYERS, CELIBACY, CELLITAE, COENOBIUM, COLIDEI, DISCIPLINE, MONASTIC, HABIT, MONASTIC, HERMITS, HOSPITIUM, LAURA, LIBRARIUS, etc. in this Dictionary; and in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, AMMONIUS, ANTONIUS, BENEDICTUS of ANIANE, BENEDICTUS of NURSIA, BONIFACIUS MOGUNTINENSIS, CASSIANUS, CATHARINE, CHRODEGANG, etc.]

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[I. G. S.]

II. PARTICULAR RULES.—Monastic rules in the ordinary sense are necessarily subsequent to the establishment of the coenobitic system. The earliest monks were such according to the strict meaning of the word—μοναχοί, solitaries—occupying isolated cells in the deepest recesses of the desert, or the most inaccessible mountain gorges, as far as possible from other human habitations. The life of an anchoret was therefore absolutely independent. Each solitary was at liberty to frame for himself such a rule as he found best adapted for the development of the life of spiritual communion, contemplation, and abstraction from all worldly concerns, which was his object. He might seek counsel from others, but he was free to follow or reject it. No one could claim to lay down a law for another. But as time went on, and the monastic life could number its votaries by thousands, a desire was naturally felt to profit by the experience of others, and the more celebrated ascetics were called upon by their younger and less disciplined brethren to draw up ordinances

for their guidance in what began to be called "the true philosophy."

*Rules of St. Antony and St. Isaiah.*— The codes of rules of this nature, which bear the names of St. Antony and the Syrian abbat Isaiah, printed by Holstenius in his *Codex Regularum*, are, it is acknowledged, compilations of a later date, and partially adapted to the coenobitic system. They have however considerable value, as affording a faithful picture of the mode of life of the earliest solitaries, and indicating the temptations to which they were most liable. They are generally characterised by sound common sense, and an intimate knowledge of human nature. The object of the rule, to which all else was subsidiary, was true humiliation for sin, with earnest contrition, as a means of gaining the pardon and favour of God. Rigid self-discipline is enforced as a means to this end, valueless in itself. The ostentatious display of asceticism, almsgiving, or devotion is sternly prohibited, and warnings are given against spiritual pride. The day is to be divided between manual labour, reading, and prayer. "Ora et lege perpetuo" (*Reg. S. Anton.* c. 2; *Reg. Is.* 11); even when going to draw water the monk is to occupy himself in reading (*Ant.* c. 23); the Psalms are to be the chief subjects of his perusal and meditation, to keep him from impure thoughts (*Ant.* c. 40; *Is.* 13). The appointed hours of prayer are to be strictly observed. Before the monk goes to rest he is to devote two hours to watching, in prayer and praise. Midnight is to be spent in watching to prayer (*Is.* c. 57), and as soon as he rises he is to pray and meditate on the word of God, then begin his work (*Ant.* c. 32). Prayer is to be made standing, and that with the utmost reverence of body; the monk must not lean against the walls of his cell, or shift his weight from one foot to another (*Is.* c. 36). Food is never to be tasted before the ninth hour, except on Saturday and Sunday; only one meal is to be taken in the day (*Ant.* c. 2); eating to satiety is to be avoided, still more gluttony (*Ant.* c. 32); a little wine is allowed, but all drink must be taken slowly, not gulped down noisily. If two or more monks eat together each is to take what is placed before him, and not stretch out his hand to another dish (*Ant.* 33; *Is.* 20). The sick are not to be forced to eat, nor to be robbed of their portion (*Ant.* c. 5). Meat is to be avoided altogether (*Ant.* c. 14). Wednesdays and Fridays are to be kept as strict fasts, unless a monk is sick (*Ant.* c. 15). The time for taking food and its quantity is to be fixed by each monk for himself, and the rules laid down are to be strictly observed, giving to the body as much as it wants, that it may be able to pray and worship God. Excessive fasting is to be avoided (*Is.* c. 54, 56). The monk must maintain solitude, live alone, work alone, walk alone, above all sleep alone (*Ant.* c. 68, 8; *Is.* c. 18). He is specially to avoid conversing with boys or youths, and as the most dangerous of all, with women (*Ant.* c. 3; *Is.* c. 1). Even his relations living in the world are to be shunned, and the thought of them repressed. He must not loiter in other monks' cells. But if any one knocks at his cell he is to open to him immediately, and receive him with a cheerful countenance. No idle questions are to be put to him, but he is to be asked at once to pray, and a book is to be given him to read. If he is tired, water is to be given for his feet: if his clothes are ragged, they are to be mended: if foul, washed. If he chatters foolishly he is to be cautiously silenced; if he is an idle runagate he is to be refreshed and sent about his business (*Is.* c. 33). When the owner of the cell departs, the visitor is not to raise his eyes to see which way he goes (*Is.* c. 35). If the guest leaves anything behind the host must not examine it to see what it is (*Is.* c. 34). If it is some vessel or implement of common life he is not to use it without his leave (*Is.* c. 60). Crowded churches are to be shunned (*Ant.* c. 20). If anything takes a monk to the city he must keep his eyes on the ground, finish his business as soon as he can, and return promptly. In offering his wares for sale he is never to haggle about the price (*Is.* c. 59). If an old man accompanies him on the road he is not to be allowed to carry anything; if younger men, they are to share the load equally, or if it is very light each is to take it by turns (*Is.* c. 43). Idleness is to be shunned as the greatest of dangers (*Ant.* c. 43). The monk must force himself to work against his will, and fulfil any task assigned to him without murmuring (*Is.* c. 7). If two monks occupy one cell, neither is to lord it over the other, but each is to be ready at once to do what the other bids him (*Is.* c. 30). The utmost respect is to be paid to others; none should spit or gape in another's presence (*Is.* c. 21). All sense of property is to be put away. If a monk returns to a cell he has left and finds it occupied, he is not to try to turn out the intruder, but go and seek another cell (*Is.* c. 63). If he changes his cell he is to take nothing away with him, but leave all to his successor (*Is.* c. 64). All ostentation in dress is to be avoided; young monks are to go shabby and wait till they grow old before they wear a good dress (*Is.* c. 38). A monk must not shew off his voice, but pray in a low tone (*Ant.* c. 27). If he copies a book he is not to ornament it (*Is.* c. 23). The love of riches is to be regarded as the bane of a monk (*Is.* c. 66). The sick and infirm are to be visited, and their water vessels filled (*Ant.* c. 34). Alms must be given up to, but not beyond, one's means. A monk should never laugh, but always wear a sad countenance as one that mourns for his sins, except when other monks come to visit him, when he is to shew a bright face (*Ant.* c. 47; *Is.* c. 33). The diseases of the soul are to be opened to his spiritual father (*Is.* c. 6, 43). All is to be done that others may glorify their Father which is in heaven (*Ant.* c. 30). (*Regulae S. P. N. Antonii ad filios suos monachos; Isaiae Abbatis Regula ad Monachos.* Holstenius, *Cod. Reg.* tom. i. pp. 4–9.)

*Rule of St. Pachomius.*—When the eremite gave place to the coenobite, and the solitary cell developed into a convent peopled with a numerous society, the need of rules for the government of the fraternity was immediately felt. Regulations had to be laid down as to the dress, food, and daily occupations of the inmates, as well as for their stated meetings for worship and ordinary intercourse. The earliest rule of this nature is that of Pachomius, the founder of the coenobitic system, born, like Antony, in the Thebaid, A.D. 292. We have this rule in Jerome's Latin translation, with a preface from the pen of that father. It is a document of great interest, comprising 194 separate heads. The society, for

which it was drawn up, was first planted on the island of Tabennae in the Nile, from which it extended with such rapidity that before the founder's death in A.D. 348 it comprised nine coenobia for men, and one built for his sister for women. The number of monks in Jerome's time amounted to 50,000.

The whole society formed one vast industrial and religious fraternity, every member of which owed implicit obedience to a chief (*omnium monasteriorum princeps*) who resided in the parent house, at which the entire body assembled twice a year, at Easter, and in the month of August. The Paschal meeting was the great religious festival of the year. That in August was held for clearing up accounts, both religious and secular. All received absolution, and those who were at variance were reconciled. The administrators of each monastery brought in their accounts, all necessary business was transacted, and officials were appointed for the coming year (Hieron. *Praefat. in Reg. Pachom.* c. 7, 8). Each monastery was divided into thirty or forty houses (*domus*), each house containing about forty brethren; three or four houses being grouped according to the employments of the brethren into a "tribe," the members of which went to work together, or succeeded one another in the weekly ministry. Each monastery was presided over by an abbat (*pater*), and had its staff of stewards (*dispensatores*), hebdomadaries, and ministers. A provost (*praepositus*) exercised authority in each house. To him the brethren gave a weekly account of their work (*ibid.* c. 2, 6). The authority of the provost was very strictly defined; within certain limits he was absolute. Nothing was to be done without his sanction. All the property of the house was in his keeping, and he was to dispense it as he thought good, going round to the workshops for that purpose. No one was to murmur at his assignment, or try to exchange with another monk (*Reg. S. Pachom.* c. 97, 111, 157). But his authority was chiefly economical. His disciplinary power was restricted to ordering penance. Cases of insubordination or crime were to be brought before the abbat, and the provost exposed himself to rebuke if he neglected in three days' time to report them (*ibid.* c. 181, 152). The importance of his office may be measured by the number, particularity, and strictness of the injunctions for its execution, and the solemn maledictions against the abusers of their authority (*ibid.* c. 159). He was allowed to have a deputy. If he slept out of the house he was not to be readmitted, even after penance, without the superior's leave (*ibid.* c. 137). Under the provost were the *hebdomadarii*, weekly officers who served a week in rotation in various duties connected with divine worship, manual labour, or domestic duties (*ibid.* c. 12–15). [HEBDOMADARIUS.] Every day, after mattins, the hebdomadarii were to ask the abbat for orders, and carry them into execution. They were to visit all the "houses" to see what each wanted, to give out the books, and collect and replace them at the end of the week (*ibid.* c. 25). These officers, together with the provost, were to be vigilant guardians of the property of the convent. All tools were to be brought back at the end of the week, counted, and locked up till the beginning of the next (*ibid.* 66). They were to see that the mats on the pavements of the oratory were beaten, a proper quantity of rushes given out for rope-making, and a register kept of the ropes made each week (*ibid.* c. 26, 27). A stated daily amount of work was to be required of each brother, but they were not to be distressed by an excessive demand (*ibid.* c. 177, 179). The day began with public prayer (*collecta*). No monk was allowed to be absent unless he was sick, or had just returned from a fatiguing journey (*ibid.* c. 143, 187). The monks were summoned by a horn or trumpet. A penance was imposed on those who came late. No one was to presume to sing without leave, on pain of penance. They were all to repeat scripture in order when called on by clapping the hand. Those who blundered or halted were chidden. No one was to look at another when praying. If any one talked or laughed during service he was to stand before the altar with his head and hands held down, and be rebuked by the superior. No one was to leave the *collecta* before the end of service, except under necessity (*ibid.* c. 3–11). Mattins over, the monks were to attend a conference, or a disputation proposed by the provost, or to hear the *praecepta majorum* read. If a monk fell asleep during reading he was made to stand during the superior's pleasure (*ibid.* c. 20–23). There was one common meal after mid-day. A table was also set in the evening for the children, old men, and labourers, and for all in the extreme heats of summer. Some ate only at one, some at both meals, some of one dish only, others of more. Some ate only a little bread. If a monk was disinclined to come to the public table he was allowed bread and salt in his cell (*Praef. Hieron.* c. 5). It was an offence to come late to table, or to talk or laugh during the meal, to stretch out the hand over the table, or to look at others eating. If the provost bid a monk change his place he must obey instantly. Anything wanted must not be asked for, but indicated by a sign (*Reg. Pachom.* c. 28–33). Neither wine nor broth were allowed (*ibid.* c. 45). No one was to have more, or more delicate food than another. The plea of indisposition was to be decided on by the superior (*ibid.* c. 40). No monk might work in his cell. Those who went out to work took pickled vegetables with them (*ibid.* c. 80). At the end of the meal sweetmeats (*tragemata*) were given to the monks at the door of the refectory, to be taken to their cells, but not in their hoods, and eaten there. The dispenser was not to take his own share, but to receive it from the provost (*ibid.* c. 27, 29). A similar rule held good in the distribution of food, materials for work, and the like. A strict community of all things was enforced. No one was to presume to take anything for himself, neither vegetables (c. 73), palm-leaves for weaving (c. 74), ears of corn, grapes, nor fruit (c. 75). Those who were set to gather dates might eat a few, and some were to be brought to the brethren who stayed at home, for their eating; windfalls must not be eaten nor taken to the cells (c. 114), but piled up at the root of the tree (c. 78). No one was to claim anything in his cell as his own, and on changing it, he must leave all it contained to the new-comer. No monk might have his own pair of tweezers for pulling out thorns; a common pair was to hang in the window where the codices were placed (c. 82). No addition must

be made to the clothing provided by the superior, viz. two tunics (*levitonaria*), one worn with use; a long cape for the neck and shoulders (*sabanus*); a leathern pouch to hang at the side; galoshes (*gallicae*) and two hoods; a girdle and a staff (c. 81): anything besides this equipment a brother might possess was to be brought to the provost, and placed at his disposal (c. 192). The hoods were to bear the mark of the convent (c. 99). The monks were to sleep alone on a mat spread on the floor without a bolster (c. 81, 88). The cell door was to be always unfastened (c. 107). No one was ever to sleep in any place but in his own cell (c. 87). The rule guards most carefully against the dangers of unrestricted intercourse between members of the society. No one was to enter another's cell without necessity, or remain there when his business was concluded (c. 102). They were never to speak to one another in the dark, or hold one another's hands, or lie together on the same mat. No one was to go out alone (c. 56), but when two walked together they must be a cubit apart (c. 94). A monk was forbidden to anoint, wash, or shave another, or take out a thorn for him, except by the provost's permission (c. 93–95). Two might not ride together on an ass, or on the tilt of a waggon (c. 109). When forced to be together, as when kneading bread, or carrying the dough to the oven, silence was to be maintained, and the mind given to meditation on Holy Scripture (c. 116). The same rule was to be observed on board ship, nor were they to go to sleep on deck, or in the hold, nor allow others to do so (c. 118, 119). The greatest vigilance was to be observed against wandering thoughts. All who had mechanical duties to perform, *e.g.* to summon the brethren, give out materials, or serve food or dessert, were to meditate on a portion of scripture. When they went to work they were never to talk on secular matters (c. 59, 60). All tattling abroad, or bringing gossip home, was strictly prohibited (c. 85, 86). The rule of Pachomius, in broad distinction to some later rules and the practice of the majority of solitaries, is very particular in its directions about the washing of the monks' clothes. This was to be done in common, at the provost's order; the clothes were to be dried in the sun, but not exposed later than 9 A.M., lest they should get scorched. When brought home they were to be gently suppled (*leviter molliantur*). If not quite dry one day they were to be laid out a second. There was to be no washing on Sundays except for sailors and bakers (c. 67–73). Invalids received special care. A sick monk was conducted by the provost to the infirmary (*triclinium aegrotantium*), which he alone was permitted to enter. Extra clothing and food were given to him, according to his need. He was forbidden to carry these to his own cell. He might not be visited even by relations, except by the licence of the provost (c. 42–47). A monk who had hurt himself, or was poorly, but who was still about, might have extra clothing and food at the discretion of the provost (c. 105). There was to be a guest-house (*xenodochium*), where all who claimed hospitality were to be entertained with due honour. Weaker vessels and women were not to be repulsed, but to be received with caution in a place apart assigned to them (c. 51). If a relation came to see a monk, by the special sanction of the abbat he was allowed to go out and converse with him, with a trustworthy companion. If any good things were brought him to eat he was permitted to carry sweetmeats and fruit to his cell, but whatsoever had to be eaten with bread was to be conveyed to the sick-house, and there partaken of (c. 52). If a monk had to leave the convent to see a sick relative he was bound to observe the rule of the monastery as to eating and drinking (c. 54). He could only attend a kinsman's funeral by the provost's leave (c. 55).

Different degrees of penance were ordained for minor offences: breaking earthenware (c. 125), losing the property of the convent (c. 131), spoiling his clothes (c. 148), appropriating what did not belong to him (c. 149); and heavier punishments for offences of graver complexion; angry and passionate words (c. 161); falsehood (c. 151); false witness (c. 162); corrupting others (c. 163); stirring up dissension (c. 169). Any article found whose owner was unknown was to be hung up for three days before mattins, to be claimed (c. 132). A novice was first to be taught the rules of the order, and was then set to learn twenty Psalms, or two Epistles, or some other part of scripture. If he could not read, he was to have three lessons a day, and be forced to learn to read even against his will ("etiam invitus legere compelletur"). Every inmate of the convent was expected to know by heart at least the Psalter and the New Testament (c. 139, 140). If any of the boys brought up in the monastery proved idle, and careless, and refused to amend, they were to be flogged. The provost was to be punished if he neglected to report their misdeeds to the abbat (c. 172, 173).

The rules which pass under the names of the early anchorets, Serapion, Paphnutius, and the two Macariuses, though with no claim to be regarded as the production of those fathers, are important as additional evidence of the character of the earliest coenobitic life. The separate ordinances in the main correspond to those of Pachomius. They supply more distinct information as to the apportionment of the early part of the day. The time between the conclusion of mattins and the second hour, 8 A.M., was to be spent in reading, unless any necessary work had to be done for the society. From the second to the ninth hour was to be devoted by each severally to his own work, without murmuring (*Regul. Patrum*, c. 5, 6). Passing over the rule of Orsiesius, abbat of Tabennae, the disciple of Pachomius (d. c. A.D. 368), which, as its title, "*Doctrina sive tractatus*" implies, is a prolix hortatory address to the members of his society, embracing all the chief particulars of Pachomius's system, not a code, and the *Regula Orientalis*, compiled in the 5th century by Vigilantius the deacon from the earlier monastic rules, which exhibit nothing deserving special notice, we come to the rules of the founders of Cappadocian monasticism, Eustathius of Sebaste, and Basil the Great.

*Rule of St. Basil.*—St. Basil's monastic institutions run to a considerable length. They are comprised in his *Sermones Ascetici*, and his two collections entitled respectively *Regulae fusius tractatae*, and the *Regulae brevius tractatae*. The *Constitutiones Asceticae* printed in Basil's works, are assigned by the best authorities to Eustathius of Sebaste. The *ἐπιτίμια* or *Poenae in Monachos Delinquentes*, an early

example of a *Poenitentiale*, does not proceed from Basil's pen.

The picture of monastic life in these various rules is characterised by Basil's high-toned piety, and a common-sense drawn from the intimate knowledge of human nature he had gained in his intercourse with the world in early life, which is often wanting in rules of later date. The principle with which he starts is that "the one object of the ascetic life is the salvation of the soul, and that everything that conduces to that should be reverentially observed as a divine command." The unpractical and repulsive form too soon assumed by Eastern asceticism has no place in Basil's idea of the monastic life. Self-discipline is set forth by him, not as having any merit in itself, but as an instrument for enabling the spirit to rise above the flesh, and conquering the appetites and passions of fallen nature to give its whole powers to communion with God. The body was to be rendered the obedient servant of the higher nature, not made unfit for such service by exaggerated austerities. Selfishness is inconsistent with his idea of the religious life. "It was the life of the industrious religious community, not of the indolent and solitary anchoret which was to Basil the perfection of Christianity. . . . Prayer and psalmody were to have their appointed hours; but by no means to intrude upon those devoted to useful labour. . . . Life was in no respect to be absorbed in a perpetual mystic communion with the Deity" (Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, bk. iii. c. 9; vol. iii. p. 109). Basil was a zealous advocate of the coenobitic as opposed to the eremitic life, which he condemns as concentrating on self the gifts and graces intended for the benefit of mankind. The solitary buries his talent in the earth, and renders it useless by sloth. He can neither feed the hungry, nor clothe the naked, nor visit the sick. He has no one towards whom he can exhibit humility, or compassion, or patience. If he errs he has no one to bring him back; if he falls no one to lift him up; his offences remain hidden for want of any one to rebuke him. The solitary life, therefore, he decides to be both difficult and dangerous. (Basil, *Reg. fusius tract.* c. 7). He advises that a coenobitic establishment should be in a retired place, far from the converse of men (*ibid.* c. 6), and that there should not be more than one such house in the same place, to avoid rivalry and squabbles, to diminish expense and trouble, and to save aspirants from the difficulty of choice and from fickleness of purpose (*ibid.* c. 35). The number of brethren should be over rather than under ten. A man of tried character and morals should be placed at their head, who might be a pattern of all Christian virtue, and commend his authority by his blameless life. Implicit obedience must be paid him, and his word must be law. He should be old rather than young, but advanced years is not to be deemed the chief qualification (*Serm. Ascetic.* i. p. 320 sq., ii. p. 324; *Reg.* c. 48). The superior is to rebuke offenders without fear or favour (c. 25). The brethren are to lay bare to him all the secrets of their hearts, as the confessor of the establishment (c. 26). He should have a deputy to supply his place if sick, absent, or busy (c. 45). No brother is to be admitted without examination and trial for a definite period (c. 10). Married persons may be received on the assurance of mutual consent (c. 12), and children when presented by their parents or lawful guardians. Orphans of both sexes were to be adopted as the children of the community. These were not to be placed on the register until they were old enough to judge for themselves, and could understand the meaning of the monastic vows. They were to be separated from the brethren, except at public worship, and to follow special rules as to sleep, food, hours, etc., suitable to their age (c. 15). Runaway slaves, after admonition and reformation, were to be sent back to their masters. If the master was an evil man who commanded things contrary to God's law, the slave was to be exhorted to obey God rather than man, and to bear patiently the trials he might have to endure (c. 11). Those who entered the society were not bound to resign their property into the hands of their natural heirs if they were likely to abuse it, but should entrust it to those who would use it for God's glory (c. 9). The idea of ownership was to be studiously repressed; no one was to call anything, either shoe or vestment or vessel or any necessary of life, his own. All that the brethren required was to be kept in a common storehouse, and dispensed at the discretion of the superior, according to the needs of the brethren (*Serm. Ascet.* i. p. 322; ii. p. 324). A monk was forbidden to form any special friendships, and was to endeavour to love all equally (*ib.* p. 322). The whole life was to be given to prayer (*ib.* p. 321); but to secure regularity in devotion the canonical hours were to be observed, the midday prayer being divided into two to make up the "seven times a day" of Ps. cxix. v. 164 (*ib.* p. 322). Work was not to be neglected on the plea of devotion, but the tongue was to be vocal in prayer and psalmody while the hands were busy. The brothers working at a distance were to keep the hours in the field (*Reg.* c. 37). Every member of the body was to give himself to the works he could do best, so that the whole community might be supported by the labours of its own hands. The nature of these labours was strictly defined. They were to be such as were of real use to the community, not such as might contribute to luxury; such, also, as could be practised without noise, crowds, or disturbing the unity of the brethren. On these grounds weaving and shoemaking were to be preferred to building, carpentering, or braziers' work; but of all occupations agriculture was most recommended (c. 381). The produce of these handicrafts were to be entrusted to a grave, elderly man, deserving of confidence, who would dispose of them without compelling the brethren to leave the convent (*Serm. Ascet.* i. p. 321). Fairs were to be particularly avoided, even those which under the name of religion were held around the martyrs' tombs (*Reg.* c. 40). If it was necessary for the brethren to sell their goods themselves, they should, as much as possible, come together to one town and remain there, even if the market was not so good, rather than wander from town to town. All the monks from different convents should assemble in the same inn, both as a mutual safeguard, and to ensure the keeping of the hours of prayer. Towns should be chosen which had a high character for piety (*Reg.* c. 39). The food eaten should be

such as would nourish the body, and whatever was put on the table was to be partaken of; nor was wine to be rejected as something detestable, but drunk when necessary. Satiety, however, was to be avoided, and all eating for the gratification of the appetite (*Serm. Ascet.* i. § 4, p. 321; *Reg.* c. 18). No rigid uniformity was to be laid down as to the amount of food taken, but the superior was to judge in each case what was sufficient, with special regard to the sick (c. 19). Squabbles for the highest places at table were discreditable to a family of brothers (c. 21). If guests visited them no difference was to be made for them, but they were to partake of the ordinary fare (c. 20). The monk's clothes should shew humility, simplicity, and cheapness, and should be characteristic of his vocation. He was to wear the same garment by day and night, and never change it for work or resting (c. 22). He was always to be cinctured with a leathern girdle (c. 23). Silence was to be strictly observed except in prayer and psalmody (c. 13), and loud laughter was absolutely forbidden, though a gentle cachinnation was approved of as a sign of a cheerful heart (c. 17). Nods or signs were to be used in place of words or oaths. But even these were forbidden if they indicated sullenness or discontent, or illwill towards others. When it was necessary to speak it should be in a low and gentle voice, except when rebuke or exhortation had to be given, when a louder tone was not forbidden (*Serm. Ascet.* ii. p. 326). The rejection of medicine under a false notion of its being an interference with the will of God is decidedly condemned. It was to be accepted as God's good gift, to enable the body to render Him more ready service. It must not, however, be trusted to of itself, nor always resorted to on any slight cause. When the malady was distinctly a punishment for sin, it was a grave question whether any attempt should be made to remove it, instead of accepting it submissively as God's gracious chastisement (c. 55). No one was permitted to leave the convent without the licence of the superior (p. 326). Long journeys and protracted absences from home were to be avoided as far as possible. When for the interest of the convent it was necessary that a visit should be paid to a distant place, if there was one in the society who could be trusted to travel without harm to his own soul, and with advantage to those whom he might meet, he might be sent alone. Otherwise several brothers were to go together, who were to take care never to separate from one another, but to be a mutual safeguard. On their return a very strict inquiry was to be made into their conduct during their absence, and suitable penances imposed if they had in any way transgressed the laws of the society. All idle gadding about and huckstering under the plea of business was prohibited as utterly inconsistent with the monastic life (c. 44). All women and idle persons were to be excluded from the convent precincts. If such presented themselves, on no pretext was there to be any intercourse between them and the brethren. The superior alone was to question them as to their business and receive their answers (p. 322). Intercourse with relations was carefully guarded, and was only to be permitted in the case of those with whom edifying conversation could be held. Those who set at nought God's commandments were not to be admitted. All talk which could revive the memory of the monk's former life in the world was to be studiously shunned. A monk's relations were to be regarded as the common kinsmen of the society, not specially his own (c. 32). The necessary intercourse between the male and female members of a religious society was to be ordered so as to give no room for scandal. Two of each sex were to be present at every such interview (c. 33). Labour and rest was to be equally shared among the brothers, who were to be told off in rotation in pairs, every week, for the necessary duties of the establishment, so that all might gain an equal reward of humility (p. 322 ad fin.). A discreet and experienced brother was to be selected, to whom all disputes were to be referred, who, if he could not settle them himself, was to bring them before the superior (c. 49). The superior must be careful not to rebuke anyone angrily, lest instead of delivering his brother from the bonds of his sin he bind himself (c. 50). If rebuke was not sufficient penance must be imposed corresponding to the offence, *e.g.*, exercises of humility for the vainglorious; silence for the empty chatterers, vigils or prayer for the sluggards, hard work for the lazy, fasting for the gluttonous, separation from the others for the discontented and querulous (c. 28, 29, 51). Other usual penances were exclusion from the common prayers, or psalmody of the society, or a restriction of food. Incarceration was the punishment for the rebellious, who, if they continued obstinate were to be expelled (p. 322, c. 28). The superior himself was to receive needful warning and correction from the oldest and most prudent brother of the society (c. 27). The superiors of different establishments were to meet at stated times for mutual counsel as to the regulation of their societies, when difficulties were to be discussed, the negligent reprimanded, and suitable commendation given to those who had fulfilled their duties well (c. 54).

The *Regulae brevius tractatae*, 313 in number, are very short decisions of questions relating to monastic life; *e.g.* whether it is allowable to talk during psalmody, if a sister who refuses to sing is to be forced, whether a serving brother may speak in a loud tone, if all must come punctually to dinner, and what is to be done with those who come late; as well as resolutions of theological and moral questions, and of scriptural difficulties. The collection is valuable as helping to form a faithful picture of monastic life in detail, but does not answer to the idea of a "rule," as dealing with minor details rather than with broad principles.

The 34 *Constitutiones* which, as has been stated, are probably to be assigned to Eustathius of Sebaste, are partly addressed to solitaries, partly to coenobites, seventeen to the one, and seventeen to the other class. They are based on the same lines as the rules of St. Basil, and do not add much to our knowledge of monastic life. The duties of humility, obedience, temperance, and independence of all worldly interests are expressed, and rules laid down for the regulation of intercourse with the brethren, and with seculars. The monk must not seek honour or dignity, or desire holy orders (c. 24); he must have no personal friendships (c. 29), nor private busi-

ness (c. 27); he must not be nice in the choice of his clothes or shoes (c. 30), or be particular in his food (c. 25).*

Very wholesome counsels are given to the superiors, to treat the brethren with all fatherly kindness, and not enjoin duties beyond their power, though they must take care that no one hides his strength to shirk his tasks (c. 28, 31, 32). They must also exhibit great caution in receiving brethren from other monasteries, lest by admitting the disobedient and mutinous, they encourage laziness and disorder, dishearten the diligent and faithful members of their houses, and render the maintenance of discipline more difficult (c. 33).

*The Rule of St. Augustine.*—More than one rule for monks is extant under the name of St. Augustine. These are all spurious. The only rule which can claim authenticity is that for nuns contained in his 109th letter, from which it has been extracted and arranged in sections, as the *Regula Sancti Augustini sanctimonialibus praescripta.* The convent for the use of which this rule was drawn up was that founded by St. Augustine himself at Hippo, and presided over till her death by his sister. She had been succeeded by a nun of long standing who had served under her with her entire confidence, but whose rule had proved so distasteful to the sisters that they rose in open rebellion against her, and clamoured for her removal. In other respects the picture of the convent given in this letter is far from edifying. The society was not only mutinous, but disorderly. Instead of a perfect equality of food and habit, the richer sisters claimed superior indulgences on account of the property they had brought into the house, and looked down on the poorer members, who in their turn grumbled, and accused the superior of partiality. Jealousies, heartburnings, and squabbles were rife. Hard words flew about; unseemly jests and sports among the sisters were not unknown. Presents and letters stole in from the outside world. The life of the sisters was one of self-indulgence rather than of self-discipline, and, foulest charge of all, when they walked about or attended church, their aspect and deportment was far from being characterised by the purity befitting the spouses of Christ. They had begged St. Augustine to visit them, but he declined lest his presence should only bring their dissensions to a head, and force him to adopt severe measures for their correction. He therefore wrote a letter, in which, after severely rebuking the sisters for their contumacy, he proceeds to lay down a code of rules for their future discipline. He first enunciates, as the fundamental principle of coenobitic life, perfect oneness of heart and spirit, and complete community of all things, power being allowed to the lady superior, *praeposita*, to regulate the distribution of food and clothing in accordance with the requirements of each (c. 1). If ladies of property enter the monastery, they must gladly make their wealth over to the common stock, but they must not hold their heads high on that account, or look down on their poorer sisters, finding more to glory of in their association with the lowly than in the rank of their parents. Nor are the poorer sisters to congratulate themselves on obtaining in the convent food and clothing such as they could not have had outside, or think much of themselves on account of their being members of the same society with ladies whom they could not approach in the world, lest, while the rich are humbled in convents, the poor should be puffed up (c. 2, 3). The oratory is to be used only for its proper purpose of singing and prayer, lest, if the sisters gather in it to gossip, those who wish to go there for private devotion should be hindered. They must think of the meaning of the words while they sing, and not sing anything but what is set down (c. 4). When at table, they are not to chatter, but listen to the reading. They must not grudge more delicate food to the feeble in health, or to those who had been accustomed to a more refined mode of life, not regarding them as the happier for having such indulgences, but themselves for not requiring them (c. 5). Dress, as might be expected, presents a great difficulty. All the dresses ought to be in one wardrobe, and looked on as common property, so that no one should take it ill if she does not always have the same dress given out to her, but sometimes has a worse one than another sister, still less that she should grumble or squabble about it. Even if a nun is allowed to have a dress to herself, it must always be put in the same wardrobe with the rest, and no one is permitted to make anything, either for her bed or her person, not even a girdle or cap. If any present of clothing is made to a nun, she must not keep it to herself, but give it to the superior, who will let her have it when she really wants it. Their hair is to be closely covered, no locks being allowed to stray from under the cap by carelessness, or of set purpose; nor must the head-gear be so thin as to let the hair be seen through (c. 6, 10). The nuns' clothes are not to be washed too often, but only when the superior thinks right (c. 11). The sisters are not to have a bath oftener than once a month, unless the physician orders it. Not fewer than three must take it together, and these not by their own choice, but named by the superior. Indisposition is not to be accepted as an excuse for having a bath unless under medical sanction (c. 12). To receive letters or presents of any kind was regarded as a crime of the deepest dye, to be punished severely, if need be, by the bishop himself (c. 9). All immodest or unseemly frolicking between the sisters is strictly forbidden (c. 19), as well as all gazing on men with desire, or of such a character as to excite desire. They must remember that those who do so are seen when they think no one sees them, and even if they escape all mortal eyes, they cannot escape the eye of the all-seeing God (c. 7). The sick are to be under the charge of one sister specially told off for that purpose, who is to ask for what they want from the cellarer, and fulfil her duties without murmuring (c. 13). The books are to be given out at a fixed time, and at no other (c. 14). If a sister detects another in a grave fault, she is to admonish her seriously, but if she perseveres she is to call in the aid of two or three more, and if she still con-

* Some very curious particulars are given as to the use of the pickle allowed in some convents to give zest to the bread or vegetables. Eustathius does not forbid its use, but recommends its being mixed up with so large a mess of bread or vegetables as to deaden the tempting flavour (c. 25).

tinues obstinate, she is to be reported to the superior, by whose verdict, or that of the presbyter in charge of the convent, she is to be punished (c. 8). All differences or quarrels between sisters are to be checked at once, and forgiveness is to be granted immediately on the expression of penitence. Any one who is unwilling to forgive is out of place in a convent (c. 15, 16, 17). Due self-respect forbids a sister asking pardon of those whom duty has compelled her to rebuke, even if she is conscious that she has used over-harsh language. But she must ask pardon of God alone (c. 18). The rule closes with an order that to do away with the excuse of forgetfulness, the rule is to be read out aloud once every week.

The Benedictine rule has been fully treated of in a separate article [BENEDICTINE RULE AND ORDER].

*The Rules of Caesarius of Arles.*—Among the Western monastic rules which yielded to that most perfect order, was the almost contemporary rule of Caesarius, bishop of Arles (d. A.D. 542). This rule, which, in two divisions, embraces both monks and nuns, and was a great advance upon those that had preceded it, has been censured as needlessly pedantic and minute. The censure is little deserved, at least as regards that for monks. That for nuns is much inferior in elasticity to that of St. Benedict, and enters perhaps needlessly into details. But, as has been remarked, the rules "must be judged by their age, and regarded in the light of the whole spirit of monasticism" [CAESARIUS, ST.]. The rule for monks starts, as usual, with the perfect community of all things. No one was to have a cell, or even a cupboard, which could be closed (c. 3). Talking was forbidden during singing (c. 3) and at table, when one of the body was to read aloud (c. 9). No religious of either sex was to stand sponsor to a child, lest it should induce too much familiarity with the parents (c. 10). Late comers to service were to be caned on the hand. No one was allowed to reply when rebuked by his superior (c. 11). Monks were to read to the third hour and then fulfil their appointed tasks (c. 14), which were not to be chosen by themselves, but assigned them by the superior (c. 7). The receiving of presents or letters without the cognisance of the abbat was strictly prohibited (c. 15). The fasts were to be limited to Wednesdays and Fridays from Easter to September. Saturday was added from Christmas to a fortnight before Lent. From September to Christmas, and from a fortnight before Lent to Easter, they were to be observed every day except Sunday, when to fast was a sin. Poultry and flesh-meat was forbidden at all times save to the sick. No one was permitted to have anything by his bedside to eat or drink (c. 22, 24). A monk excommunicated for any crime was to be confined in a cell, in company with an elder brother, and employ his time in reading until he was bidden to come out and receive pardon (c. 28). The service for Saturdays, Sundays, and festivals was to include twelve psalms, three antiphons, and three lections: one each from the prophets, epistles, and gospels (c. 25).

St. Caesarius's rule for nuns is, as has been said, much more minute and particular than that for monks. It is based upon that of St. Augustine, the chief provisions of which it embodies almost verbatim. Among the most remarkable additional regulations are the following. No one, not even the abbess, was to have a waiting-maid of her own (c. 4). No infant was to be received, nor any child under six or seven years old, who was too young to learn to read and render obedience (c. 5). All the sisters were to perform the kitchen duties and other domestic offices in rotation, with the sole exception of the mother or superior. The cooking sisters were to have some wine for their labour (c. 12). At the vigils, to keep off sleep, work was to be done which would not distract the mind from listening to the reading. If a sister got drowsy, she was to be made to stand (c. 13). The chief occupation of the sisters was to be spinning wool for the clothing of the convent, which was all to be made within the walls, under the superintendence of the provost (*praeposita*) or woolweigher (*lanipendia*). Each sister was to accept her appointed task with lowliness and fulfil it with modesty (c. 14, 25, 26). No talking was allowed at table. The reading over, each was to meditate on what she had heard (c. 16). All were to learn to read, and to devote two hours, from six to eight in the morning, to study (c. 17). All were to work together in the same apartment. There was to be no conversation while thus engaged. One sister was to read aloud for one hour, after which all were secretly to meditate and pray (c. 18). The sisters were most solemnly charged "before God and the angels" to buy no wine secretly, or to accept it if sent them, but to give it over to the proper officers, who should dispense it to the sick and weakly. Inasmuch as it was customary for a convent cellar to have no good wine, the abbess was to take care to provide herself with such as would be suitable to the sick or delicately nurtured (c. 28). The officers were to receive their keys as a sacred trust, on the Gospels (c. 30). No men were to be admitted, except bishops and other ministers of religion commended by their age and character. The utmost caution was to be observed in the introduction of workmen where any repairs were needed (c. 33). Even females still in the lay habit were to be excluded (c. 34). Banquets were not to be prepared for bishops, abbats, or distinguished female visitors, except most rarely and on very special occasions (c. 36). The abbess was not to take any refreshment alone, except when forced to do so by indisposition or any close occupation (c. 38). If new clothes were sent to a nun, she might accept them with the abbess's leave, provided they were of the proper fashion and colour (c. 40). No dyeing was permitted in the convent except of the simplest hues. The counterpanes and bed furniture were to be of the plainest (c. 41). No embroidery was permitted, with the exception of sewing crosses of black or cream-coloured cloth on cushions or coverings. No male clothing or that of secular females was to be taken into the convent either for washing, mending, or any other purpose (c. 42). No silver plate was to be used except for the service of the oratory (c. 41). To the *regula*, a *recapitulatio* is appended, containing additional rules of great particularity relating to diet and the duties of the cellarer and porter.

*Rule of St. Isidore of Seville.*—A picture is given us of the internal arrangement of a Spanish monastery in the 7th century in the rule of St. Isidore of Seville (d. A.D. 636). The separate rules are of much greater length than is usual in other codes, and may be rather called short homilies on a given text. The monks, when not engaged in public worship or private prayers, were to be always engaged in working with their hands at the various arts or handicrafts with which they were best acquainted. While at work, they were to sing and pray. In summer the day was to be thus divided: from early morning to 9 a.m., work; from 9 to 12, reading; 12 to 3 p.m., rest; 3 to vespers, work. In autumn, winter, and spring, reading and work changed places before and after 9 a.m. (c. 6). When saying the hours, the monks were to avoid talking and laughing, and to prostrate themselves in adoration at the end of each psalm (c. 7). Three times a week there was to be a *collatio*, when the brothers were to come together to receive instruction from one of the seniors (c. 8), at which any monk might ask questions concerning anything he had not understood in his private reading (c. 9). All were to eat together in the same refectory, ten at a table, the abbat taking his place at the head, and partaking of the same fare with the rest. On all days but Sundays and feast days, when a very little meat was allowed, the diet was to be of vegetables alone, "viles olerum cibos et pallentia legumina." No one was to eat to satiety. Silence was to be kept while one brother read aloud. The gates of the monastery were to be closed at meal-times, and no layman was to venture to intrude. No food was to be taken, save by the sick, except at meal-times (c. 10). The monk's dress was to be sufficient to keep him warm, but remarkable neither for splendour nor meanness. They were never to wear linen. They were to have three tunics and as many capes (*pallia*) and one hood apiece, to which was to be added a sheepskin, napkin, or a scarf (*mappulae*), hose (*manicae pedales*), and a pair of thick shoes (*caligae*). The stockings were only to be worn indoors during the severity of winter or on a journey. The brethren were to consult decorum by wearing their capes indoors, or, if not, their *mappula*. A severe denunciation is levelled at those who paid any attention to the appearance of their face, "per quod petulantiae et lasciviae crimen incurrat." All were to have their hair cut short after one fashion, it being reprehensible "diversum habere cultum ubi non est diversum propositum" (c. 13). The brethren were all to sleep in one chamber, if possible. Not fewer than ten were to occupy the same apartment under the superintendence of a *decanus*. No one was to have better or handsomer bed furniture than another. Each was to be content with a straw mat, a blanket, and two sheepskins. The pillows denied by earlier and sterner rules were allowed them, not one only, but two. A *torche-cul*, "faecistergium," formed part of their equipment for the night. The beds were to be inspected by the abbat once a week, that no brother might have more or less covering than he needed. Each was to sleep alone. Perfect silence was to be observed. A light was ever to be kept burning (c. 14). The offences against the rules of the monastery were to be visited with different degrees of punishment according to their gravity. The slightest after ordinary penances was a three days' excommunication (c. 16). Excommunication was pronounced by the abbat or provost. The excommunicated party was confined to one place, and absolutely cut off from intercourse with the brethren. No one might talk, pray, or eat with him. He was to fast till evening, when one meal of bread and water was furnished him. Except in the depth of winter, he must sleep on the ground or on a mat, and wear nothing but a closely shorn frock, or a hair shirt and rush shoes (c. 17). All moneys given to the house were to be divided into three parts—one to buy indulgences for the old and sick, and superior food for feast days, one for the poor, one for the monks' clothing and other necessaries (c. 18).

The officers of the monastery under the abbat were—(1) The *provost*, *praepositus*, who had to manage all law-suits, the care of the estates and buildings, the oversight of the farms, vineyards, and flocks. (2) The *sacrist*, who had to see that the bell was rung for day and night offices, to take care of the veils, vestments, sacred vessels, books, lights, and all things pertaining to public worship. The wardrobe of the members was also under his care, and he was to give out the thread for making or mending the clothes. The plate of the establishment and all articles of metal were under his charge. To him also was committed the oversight of the tailors, seamsters, chandlers, &c., of the house. (3) The *doorkeeper* was to guard the entrance, announce all comers, and take care of guests. (4) The *cellarer* had charge of the victualling department, giving out to the hebdomadary whatever was necessary for the material wants of the brethren, the guests, and the sick. Every week he was to take account of the articles entrusted to the outgoing hebdomadary, and hand them over to the incomer. The whole oversight of the sources of supply, both for the table and the wardrobe, was laid on him, and the labourers, bakers, shepherds, farm servants, shoemakers, &c., were under his command. (5) The *hebdomadary* was the brother told off in rotation for all minor duties, such as setting the table, preparing the dishes, and ringing the bell. (6) The *gardener* had the care of the hives of bees in addition to the proper duties of his office. (7) The preparation of the bread devolved partly on laymen, partly on monks. All the more laborious work, the cleaning and grinding the wheat, belonged to the former, the monks only kneading the dough. The laymen were deemed the more skilful bakers. The bread for guests and the sick was to be made by them. (8) An old and very grave monk was entrusted with the care of the storehouse in the city, who was to be accompanied by two boys. (9) A holy, wise, and aged brother was to be selected to bring up and teach the boys; and (10) one who possessed the gift of administration was to act as *almoner* and *hospitaler* (c. 19). The utmost care was to be taken of those who were really sick, but caution was observed lest sickness was simulated to obtain indulgences. Baths were not permitted, except to those whose health required them (c. 20). Guests were to be received with all cheerfulness and honour, and their feet washed (c. 21). Absence from the convent was forbidden, except by express permission of the superior. Two

should always go together if duty called them to the town or elsewhere, who, before they set out and on their return, were to receive the solemn blessing of the society in the church. None was allowed to see relatives or friends, or to receive letters, or send letters or presents without special leave. Monks visiting another monastery were bound to live according to the law of the society to avoid giving scandal to the weak (c. 22). On each occasion of the decease of a monk, the holy sacrifice was to be offered before his burial for the remission of his sins, and a general celebration was to take place at Whitsuntide for all the departed. The dead were all to be buried in the same cemetery, "that one place might embrace those in death whom charity had united in life" (c. 23).

We have the rules of another Spanish house in the *Regula Monachorum* and the *Regula Monastica Communis* of St. Fructuosus, archbishop of Braga in Portugal, in the 7th century (Holstenius, vol. i. p. 198, sq.). These will reward examination, but space forbids our entering on them here. The most detailed rule belonging to this period is that known as the *Regula Magistri ad Monachos* (Holstenius, *ib.* p. 224 sq.), containing no less than ninety-five canons of considerable prolixity, each containing an answer to a question of a disciple. The date and country of the author are doubtful, but it is clear that his rule is subsequent to that of St. Benedict, and various expressions and allusions render it probable that the rule was composed in Gaul. The minuteness and puerility of some of the rules shew the decay of the free self-reliant spirit of the original founders of monasticism.

*Rule of St. Columba.*—Our examples of monastic rules have hitherto been taken from Asia and southern Europe. We will conclude with the transcript of that attributed to one of the noblest patterns of Northern monasticism—St. Columba. Although, in the words of Mr. Haddan, "the nature of its contents and the absence of evidence that St. Columba ever composed a written rule, mark it almost certainly as the later production of some Columbite monk or hermit," this document may be regarded as embodying the principles and general regulations of early Celtic monasticism, and therefore of great value. This rule was first printed by Dr. Reeves from a MS. in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. It is found also in Haddan and Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 119. The translation alone is here given from Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 508.

"The rule of Columcille here beginneth:

"(1) Be alone in a separate place near a chief city (*i.e.* an episcopal see) if thy conscience is not prepared to be in common with the crowd.

"(2) Be always naked, in imitation of Christ and the evangelists.

"(3) Whatsoever, little or much, thou possessest of anything, whether clothing, or food, or drink, let it be at the command of the senior and at his disposal, for it is not befitting a religious to have any distinction of property with his own free brother.

"(4) Let a fast place, with one door, enclose thee.

"(5) A few religious men to converse with thee of God and His testament and to visit thee on days of solemnity; to strengthen thee in the testaments of God and the narratives of the Scriptures.

"(6) A person, too, who would talk with thee in idle words, or of the world, or who murmurs at what he cannot remedy or prevent, but who would distress thee more were he to be a tattler between friend and foe, thou shalt not admit him to thee, but at once give him thy benediction, should he deserve it.

"(7) Let thy servant be a discreet religious, not tale-telling man, who is to attend continually on thee, with moderate labour of course, but always ready.

"(8) Yield submission to every rule that is of devotion.

"(9) A mind prepared for red [bloody] martyrdom.

"(10) A mind fortified and steadfast for white martyrdom [*i.e.* self-mortification, and bodily chastisement].

"(11) Forgiveness from the heart to every one.

"(12) Constant prayer for those who trouble thee.

"(13) Fervour in singing the office for the dead as if every faithful dead was a particular friend of thine.

"(14) Hymns for souls to be sung standing.

"(15) Let thy vigils be constant from eve to eve under the direction of another person.

"(16) Three labours in the day, viz. prayers, work, and reading.

"(17) The whole to be divided into three parts, viz. thine own work and the work of thy place as regards its real wants; secondly, thy share of the brethren's work; lastly, to help the neighbours only by instruction, or writing, or sewing garments, or whatever labour they may be in want of, as the Lord has said, 'Thou shalt not appear before me empty.'

"(18) Everything in its proper order, for 'no man is crowned except he strive lawfully.'

"(19) Follow almsgiving before all things.

"(20) Take not of food till thou art hungry.

"(21) Sleep not till thou feelest desire.

"(22) Speak not except on business.

"(23) Every increase that cometh to thee in lawful meals, or in wearing apparel, give it for pity to the brethren that want it, or to the poor in like manner.

"(24) The love of God, with all thy heart and all thy strength.

"(25) The love of thy neighbour as thyself.

"(26) Abide in the testaments of God throughout all times.

"(27) Thy measure of prayer shall be until thy tears come.

"(28) Or thy measure of work of labour till thy tears come.

"(29) Or thy measure of thy work of labour, or of thy genuflexions, until thy sweat often comes if thy tears are not free." [E. V.]

III. ARCHITECTURE.—The object of the present section is to give some account of the structural and architectural development of the buildings comprised under the general term "monastery."

The word monastery has in popular use travelled far from its original meaning. True to its derivation, μοναστήριον was primarily the

dwelling-place of a solitary ascetic, μοναχός, where he lived in complete isolation from his fellow-men. Cassian thus defines very clearly the difference between a monasterium and a coenobium. "Monasterium potest unius monachi habitaculum nominari. Coenobium autem non potest nisi plurimorum cohabitantium degit unita communio." (*Collat.* xviii. 18.) The founders of Christian monasticism (the Jews, it will be remembered, had had both hermitages and coenobitic communities), Paul and Antony in Egypt, and Hilarion in Palestine, and the crowd of Eastern anchorets who emulated their example in abnegation of the world and severe self-discipline, made their dwelling in deserted tombs, rock-hewn or natural caverns, or huts of the rudest construction, whose contracted dimensions barely afforded shelter for a human body. Hilarion, c. A.D. 328, is described as living in a cabin on the sea-shore, near Gaza, built of boards and broken tiles, and thatched with straw, too small either to stand or lie down in (Soz. *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 14). This affords an example of the earliest form of Christian monasticism, before the ascetics had felt the necessity of withdrawing entirely from the world. In such cases they placed their habitations at no great distance from a village or town, where they lived singly, independent of one another, supporting themselves by the labour of their hands, and distributing what remained after the supply of their own scanty wants to the poor around. Increasing fear of contact with the world, and a vain hope of escaping temptation by fleeing from the society of their kind, aided by persecution, contributed to drive these ascetics into mountain solitudes, and the most remote recesses of the desert. But even there they could not be alone. A hermit's reputation for superior sanctity robbed him of the isolation he coveted. "In all parts the determined solitary found himself constantly obliged to recede farther and farther. He could scarcely find a retreat so dismal, a cavern so profound, a rock so inaccessible, but that he would be pressed upon by some zealous competitor, or invaded by the humble veneration of some disciple . . . . The more he concealed himself the more was he sought out by a multitude of admiring and emulous followers. Each built or occupied his cell in the hallowed neighbourhood. A monastery was thus imperceptibly formed around the hermitage" (Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, bk. iii. c. 11, vol. iii. p. 207). This gradual formation of a monastic community is strikingly exemplified in the case of Antony (A.D. 312), who, as Neander remarks (*Ch. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 316, Clark's tr.), "without any conscious design of his own thus became the founder of a new mode of living in common. Thus arose the first societies of anchorets, who lived scattered in single cells or huts, united together under one superior." Other examples of this rudimentary coenobitism are given by St. Julianus Sabbas, who, having retired to a cave in Osrhoene, was followed by eager votaries, with whom he shared his rock-hewn dwelling, as many as a hundred at last finding shelter in its labyrinthine recesses (Theod. *Vit. Patr.* p. 774). Passing from the East to the West we find St. Honoratus also at the end of the 4th century, while occupying a cavern at Cape Roux, near Frejus, converting the Isle of Lerins into a second Thebaid, through the multitude of the disciples that flocked to him, and took up their abode in adjacent caverns. The foundation of *Saint-Antoine de Calamus*, in the Pyrénées Orientales, and *la Sainte-Baume*, in the Bouches du Rhône, and the celebrated Spanish religious site of *Mont Serrat*, are mentioned by Le Noir (*Architecture monastique*) as still exhibiting interesting examples of the manner in which monasteries, in the later sense, grew up around the cavern, which was the consecrated retreat of some one solitary celebrated for his sanctity. Le Noir gives a plan shewing no fewer than thirteen different hermitages collected round the centre of chief sacredness at Mont Serrat. A Byzantine painting of the funeral of St. Ephrem Syrus, of the 10th or 11th century, preserved in the Christian Museum at the Vatican, engraved by Agincourt (*Peinture*, pl. lxxxii.), affords a graphic representation of one of these communities [MONKS, IN ART]. Seven or eight caverns are depicted, each with its bearded inmates, some engaged in prayer, others in basket-making or forge work. From the roof of the caverns depend lamps and sacred pictures. St. Martin of Tours, in A.D. 356, housed the monks he collected about him at Ligugé, near Poitiers, in wattled huts, his own being of the same character, "ipse eo lignis contextam cellulam habebat" (Sulpic. Sever. *Vita Beati Martini*). At a later period of his life, when he had resigned his bishopric at Tours, and retired to Marmoutier (Majus Monasterium), he again collected a confraternity about him, the cells being hollowed out of the soft calcareous rock.

The first to introduce order and system into these irregular collections of monastic recluses was Pachomius (d. A.D. 348), who may be regarded as the founder of coenobitic life among Christians. The solitaries continued for the most part to live in their old cells, but they were incorporated into a regular community by the adoption of rules, of which Pachomius was the author, for the division of their time, their daily occupations, their stated gatherings for worship and food, etc., all the members being subject to the head or father of the body. The first ascetic community of this nature was formed on the island of Tabennae, in the Nile, in Upper Egypt, between Tentyra and Thebes. Eight others were founded in Pachomius's lifetime, numbering 3000 monks. The advantages of a settled organisation and a recognised authority caused the rapid spread of the institution. A multitude of affiliated coenobia sprang up in Egypt and the Thebais, recognising Tabennae as their mother house, which within fifty years of Pachomius's death could reckon 50,000 members. These coenobia may be compared to religious villages, peopled by a hard-working ascetic brotherhood, from which females were rigidly excluded. Each coenobium was surrounded by an enclosure, "diversas cellas in una aula" (Pallad. *Hist. Lausiac.* ii.), with a single door guarded by a doorkeeper (*Regula Sancti Pachomii*, xxvi. xxx.), and comprised from thirty to forty dwellings, each group of three or four being united for common labour. These cells, each of which, according to Sozomen (*H. E.* iii. 14), housed three monks, were detached ("manent separati sejunctis cellulis," Hieron. *Epist. ad Eustoch.* xxii. § 35; "tres in cella manent," Pallad. *Hist. Lausiac.* ii.), and arranged

in orderly rows or avenues (λαῦραι). There was a common refectory, with its kitchen and cellars, to which the brothers were summoned for their common repast by the sound of a horn at 3 P.M. (*ibid.* ii. xix.), up to which time they fasted. There was a garden with its gardeners (xxxviii.). For sick monks there was an infirmary, with a *triclinium aegrotantium* (xx.), and for strangers and wayfarers a guest-house, *xenodochium*. There was also a common oratory, to which the monks were summoned by a horn or trumpet. The monks slept in their cells, not in beds, but on reclining chairs. They devoted their time to handicrafts, chiefly the making of baskets and mats from the rushes of the Nile, but also paying attention to agriculture and shipbuilding. At the end of the 4th century each of the Pachomian coenobia had a vessel of its own, built by the monks themselves. There were also artisan brothers who supplied the community with its chief necessaries. Palladius, who visited the Egyptian coenobia towards the close of the 4th century, found at Panopolis, among the 300 members, fifteen tailors, seven smiths, four carpenters, fifteen tanners, and twelve camel drivers (Pallad. *Hist. Lausiac.* c. 39). Each coenobium was regulated by its own oeconomus, the whole body being subordinate to the oeconomus of the entire Pachomian confraternity (ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος, residing at the principal monastery, where they met twice a year under the presidency of the archimandrite (the "chief of the fold"), and at their last meeting gave in an account of their administration during the year (*Vit. Pachom.* § 52; Hieron. *Praefat. in Regul.*; Pachom. § 8, quoted by Neander, vol. iii. p. 318, Clark's edition). Coenobitic institutions were introduced into Palestine by Hilarion, c. 328. He founded a monastery on the Pachomian principle, near his native town of Gaza, the houses affiliated to which soon spread over the whole of Syria. Chrysostom in early life joined one of these monastic communities in the vicinity of Antioch, and we learn many particulars relating to them from his writings. The monks lived in separate huts, καλύβαι, dotted over the mountain side. They had a common refectory in which they partook of their frugal evening meal of bread and water, reclining on hay. Sometimes they took their repast out of doors. There was also an oratory in which they assembled four times a day for prayer and psalmody (Chrysost. *Homil. in Matt.* 68, 69; *Homil. in* 1 *Tim.* 14). The coenobitic system spread rapidly in Asia. It was introduced into Armenia by Eustathius of Sebaste, into Pontus and Cappadocia by Basil the Great, and the influence of Ephrem Syrus secured for it an enthusiastic reception in Mesopotamia, but few, if any, details of the arrangement or construction of the monastic buildings have come down to us. A century later we learn much respecting the construction of Syrian coenobia, and the distinction between such institutions and a "Laura," from the life of Euthymius (d. A.D. 473), by Cyrillus Scythopolitanus. The monasteries, as we have seen, generally had their nucleus in the cells and hermitages of distinguished anchorets. This was the case with those of Elias and Martyrius (*Vit. Euthym.* c. 95), and still more remarkably with the vast monastic establishment, called from its venerated founder, Euthymius, which was gradually developed from the little dwelling-place erected by his noble Saracen convert, Ashebethos, or Peter (afterwards first bishop of the Parembolae), as a token of his gratitude. Ashebethos began by excavating a huge cistern, near which he constructed a bakehouse and three cells, and an oratory, that Euthymius might stand in need of nothing he required. There had been no original intention of erecting either a laura or a coenobium, but such a step was rendered necessary by the large number of Saracen converts who flocked thither desiring to embrace a religious life. For their accommodation more cells were built, and a church erected, consecrated by Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (*Vita Euthymii*, cc. 37, 41, 42). It is evident from other parts of this biography that a *laura* was distinguished from a *coenobium*, as being a place of stricter discipline, and therefore less fitted for a young monastic aspirant (cc. 88, 89, 91). A coenobium, with its oratory, refectory, and other monastic offices, and orderly rows of contiguous cells, enclosed within a high protecting wall, not unfrequently formed the central mass of the wide area of the laura, with its straggling groups of cabins. Thither the anchorets from the laura repaired every Saturday and Sunday for worship and instruction, bringing with them the mats and baskets, and other articles they had finished, and taking back materials for the work of the next week, together with a supply of bread and water, after having partaken of a little cooked food and wine in the general refectory (*ibid.* cc. 89, 90). On the elevation of Anastasius to the see of Jerusalem, A.D. 458, he ordained his early friend and fellow anchoret, Fidus, deacon, who, in obedience to a supposed vision of St. Euthymius, destroyed the cells of the laura, and converted the whole establishment into a coenobium. Anastasius supplied them with a large body of masons, and builders, and engineers, by whose labour the work of rebuilding was completed in the space of three years. The whole area was fortified with a palisade and wall, and further protected by a strong tower, forming the citadel or stronghold of the whole desert, rising in the middle of the cemetery, on the very brink of the steep precipice on which the monastery was built, with the gate just below. A new church was built, the old one being converted into the refectory of the brethren (*ibid.* cc. 114–119). The tower, just described, was a very usual feature in the monasteries of the East, which, from their liability to attack from the predatory tribes, assumed the character of strong fortresses, surrounded by lofty blank stone walls, sometimes crenellated and strengthened with bastions, within which lay the monastic buildings, in some cases with the additional security of a moat and drawbridge. The whole establishment was dominated by a lofty tower, near the entrance, like the keep of a Norman castle, placed under the patronage of the Virgin Mary, St. Michael the archangel, apostles, or saints, to which the inmates might flee for protection when the rest of the buildings had fallen into the hands of the assailants. As examples of these fortified monasteries we may mention the White Monastery in Egypt, which Denon says, with a few pieces of artillery on the walls, could be defended against an enemy—the monasteries around the Natron

Lakes, and those on Mount Athos, and at Meteora in Thessaly. In some cases protection was still further secured by the single entrance being made many feet above the ground, only accessible by long ladders, or by a basket raised by a windlass, *e.g.*, at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, the White Convent in Egypt, the monasteries of Nitria, and those of Mount Athos.

The ground plan of the Eastern monasteries, where the locality permitted, was always rectangular, with the church or Catholicon as the chief object in the midst of the area, and the cells round. These were at first scattered, then in groups, and ultimately ranged side by side and connected by a covered cloistered walk. The monastery of Santa Laura on Mount Athos is a typical example of an Oriental monastery. Its fortified *enceinte* encloses between three and four acres, comprising two courts, in the centre of which stands the Catholicon, surrounded by an open cloister, from which on three sides the cells open. The refectory, which opens from the west cloister facing the church, and projects into the large outer covert, is a cruciform hall, about 100 feet each way, with an apsidal termination. The Eastern refectories were usually built on the plan of a triclinium, with an apsidal recess on each of their sides. It is so with the existing refectory at Parenzo in Istria (see woodcut, vol. i. p. 377), and the plan of the now demolished dining-hall at the Lateran was of a similar form, but much longer.

A very remarkable monastery of early date, which preserves in the main the plan of the 7th or 8th century, though frequently subjected to hostile attacks, exists at Etchmiadzin, the ecclesiastical capital of the Armenian nation. This was founded A.D. 302 by Gregory the Illuminator, in the reign of Tiridates, who, with his people, embraced Christianity twelve years before the conversion of Constantine. Within a lofty battlemented wall, a mile in circuit, lies a confused mass of buildings of different descriptions, besides some gardens and open areas, comprising almost a little town, with workshops for almost every description of trade—as at the coenobium of Panopolis described above—and a kind of bazaar or market for the sale of the monastic produce. Besides the cells of the monks on the west side of the great court there are apartments for the Armenian patriarch, as well as for the archbishops, bishops, and archimandrites from other monasteries. A separate quadrangle to the south, with a fountain in the centre, is devoted to the reception of guests. There are two refectories, one for summer and the other for winter use. The former is described as a long, low-vaulted room, with one long, narrow table running down the middle between two stone benches. There is a canopied throne for the patriarch, and a pulpit for the reader. The church is cruciform, with exceedingly short transepts, and a small apse, resembling in plan a square with four shallow recesses (Bryce, *Transcaucasia and Ararat*, p. 308 ff.).

The Coptic monasteries in Upper Egypt are among the earliest and the least altered now in existence. Lenoir gives a plan of one of the smaller monasteries, shewing a quadrangular mass of building, of which a three-aisled church, terminating in three cellular apses, and preceded by a narthex, forms the leading feature. Along the north wall of the church runs a range of cells, opening on either side of a long corridor, approached by a staircase.

The "White Monastery," or *Day'r Abon Sherood*, on the edge of the Libyan Desert, attributed to the empress Helena, corresponds to this type (Curzon, *Monasteries in the Levant*, p. 122). It is described as a building of an oblong shape, about 200 feet in length by 90 feet wide, very well built of fine stone. It has no windows outside larger than loopholes, and these are at a great height from the ground; twenty on the south side and nine at the east end. The walls slope inwards, and are crowned with a deep overhanging cornice. There is one doorway on the south side, entered from a narthex. The church was a noble basilica, with fifteen columns on each side of the nave, the apse and transept recesses covered with semi-domes. The monks' cells were contained in a long slip at the side of the church, lit by narrow loopholes. There is no court or open area within the building. The flat roof afforded the place of open-air exercise for its inmates. The desert of the Natron Lakes, which was one of the earliest seats of monasticism, contains some curious early convents. Only four remain entire, but the ruins of many others may still be traced. Those which remain are establishments of the larger type, surrounded by high walls of immense strength, unbroken by window or any other aperture, save the single door of entrance. Even this opening has in later times been not unfrequently built up for protection against hostile attacks, and the only way of admission is through a window furnished with a windlass. The walls enclose a considerable space of ground, including gardens and orchards, and usually contain several detached churches. The monastery *Day'r Macarius*, called after the celebrated anchoret of the name, contains four churches; the *Day'r Syriani*, and the *Day'r Amba Bishoi*, three each; and the *Day'r Antonius* in the Eastern desert, the largest monastery in Egypt, built over the cave of St. Antony, also contains four churches standing quite detached. The refectories of these monasteries are long, narrow, vaulted rooms, furnished with a stone table down its entire length, and usually with stone benches on either side, and a lectern also of stone. Each of these religious houses is provided with its *kas'r* or tower, commonly dedicated to St. Michael, a chapel to whom occupies the top story. ("Notes on the Coptic Day'rs," by Greville J. Chester, *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxx. p. 105 ff.)

The genius of the Western church, more practical and less contemplative, was at first unfavourable to monasticism. The powerful influence of Athanasius prepared the way for its reception in the West, which was secured by the enthusiastic adhesion of Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine. Little, however, is known of the arrangements of the early Italian monastic institutions. We learn, however, from the rules laid down by St. Augustine for the guidance of his nuns in North Africa, that the buildings included a wardrobe, in which the nuns' habits were kept, over which were one or two wardrobe keepers, whose duty it was to beat and shake the clothes, and keep them

free from moth. There was a library for the "codices," and as there was a "cellerarius" there must have been a cellar (St. Augustine, *Regulae pro Sanctimonialibus*, 10, 13, 14).

The monastic institutions for males, established by Augustine in North Africa, assumed an intermediate form, corresponding to a considerable extent to the colleges of secular canons of later times. The foundations of such an institution, probably coeval with Augustine, were discovered by Leon Renier, at Tebessa, the ancient Theveste, of which a drawing and description are given by Le Noir (*Architect. Monast.* ii. p. 483, pl. 553). The plan gives an outer and inner court at different levels, the inner being the higher. The outer court is surrounded by a cloister, and has the domestic offices to the north, and a long narrow vestibule to the south. The inner court forms an atrium before the church, a basilica of ten bays with an apse. The whole church and atrium are surrounded by a succession of rectangular cells, opening on the lower level of the outer court, surrounded by a terrace walk. To the south opening from the church is a large tricliniar refectory, a baptistery, and other offices. The whole is surrounded by a wall and towers. Lenoir also gives the ground plan of Strassburg cathedral (ii. 480) as built by Clovis, c. A.D. 496. The church is rectangular and two-aisled, ending square, not apsidally. To the east of the church is an open court, surrounded on three sides by the apartments for the bishop and his clergy, partially embracing the church.

Monasticism in the West, after having been almost crushed out during the migration and settlement of the nations, was revived by St. Benedict of Nursia, c. A.D. 529, by whom the system was reorganised and reduced to order. "The Benedictine rule was universally received, even in the older monasteries of Gaul, Britain, Spain, and throughout the West—not as that of a rival order, but as a more full and perfect rule of the monastic life" (Milman, *Lat. Christ.* vol. i. p. 425, note x.). Not only were new monasteries founded, but those already existing were frequently demolished and rebuilt in accordance with the requirements of the new rule. One leading principle of the Benedictine arrangement was that the walls of the monastery should include within them everything that was necessary for the material wants of the establishment, as well as the buildings connected with their religious, literary, and social life, to do away with the necessity of the inmates going beyond its bounds. It should contain water, a mill, bakehouses, stables, and cow-houses, etc., together with workshops for all necessary mechanical arts (*Regulae Sancti Benedicti*, 57, 66). The precinct was to be surrounded with a wall with one gate, at which a cell should be built for the gatekeeper, who was to be always on the spot to give an answer to all comers (*ibid.*). The buildings were to comprise an oratory (52), a refectory (38), a kitchen in which the monks were to serve week and week about (35), a cellar, superintended by a "cellerarius" (31), a dormitory large enough if possible to contain all the monks (22), a wardrobe (55), an infirmary (36), and a guest-house (50).

These rules are illustrated by the very remarkable plan of the monastery of St. Gall, c. A.D. 820, the larger portion of which has been engraved to illustrate the article CHURCH (I. p. 383). Its general appearance is that of a town of detached houses, with streets running between them, forming thirty-three detached blocks of building, all of which, except the church, were probably built of wood, and were generally of one story. The buildings form distinct groups. In the centre is the church and cloister, and the group belonging to the distinctly monastic life; to the east and north the group appropriated to the education of the young, and the care of the sick, with the abbat's house watching over the whole. To the west and north-west lies the group appropriated to hospitality; while the group connected with the grosser material wants of the establishment is placed at the furthest distance from the church to the west and south. By a reference to the plan it will be seen that the quadrangular cloister-court forms the nucleus of the establishment, round which the principal buildings are ranged. The two-apsed church stands to the north, that the cloister might be sunny and warm; the refectory to the south, the side furthest removed from the church that the worshippers might not be annoyed with noise or smell, with the kitchen annexed. From the kitchen a passage leads to the bakehouse and brewhouse, and the sleeping-rooms of the domestics. To the west, closely adjacent to the kitchen and refectory, is a two-storied building, cellar below, and larder and storeroom above. The absence of the chapter-house is perplexing. In all Benedictine houses the chapter-house opens from the east walk of the cloister, and the entire absence of so essential an element of monastic life throws a little doubt on the perfect accuracy of the plan. The east side is entirely occupied by the "pisalis," or "calefactory," the common day-room of the monks, warmed by flues under the floor. The dormitory occupies the upper story of this building, communicating by a staircase with the south transept of the church to enable the brethren to attend the nocturnal services without going into the open air. A passage leads from the dormitory to the "necessarium"—a portion of the monastic building always planned with the most delicate attention to health and cleanliness. Above the refectory is the "vestiarium," where the habits of the monks were kept. The "parlatorium," where the monks might have intercourse with members of the outer world, lies between the church and the cellar, with one door opening into the cloister, and another into the outer court. On the eastern side of the north transept is the "scriptorium" with the library above.

To the east of the church stands a group of buildings comprising two miniature monastic establishments, each complete in itself, the infirmary devoted to the sick monks, and the house of the "oblati" or novices. Each has a covered cloister, surrounded by the usual buildings, refectory, dormitory, etc., and an apsidal chapel, placed back to back. Contiguous to the infirmary stands the physician's residence, with the physic garden, the drug store, the house for blood-letting and purging, and a chamber for the dangerously sick, closely adjacent.

The "outer school," standing to the north of the church, contains a large schoolroom, divided

across the middle by a screen or partition, and surrounded by fourteen little rooms termed "the dwellings of the scholars." The head master's house stands opposite, under the north wall of the church. Close to the school to the east stands the abbat's house opposite the north transept of the church, conveniently placed for the supervision of both branches of the educational department, the outer school, and the house of the novices, as well as of the infirmary.

The two "hospitia" or guest-houses for strangers of different degrees comprise a large common chamber or refectory in the centre, surrounded by bedrooms. Each has its own brewhouse and bakehouse, and that for travellers of a higher class is also provided with a kitchen and storeroom, sleeping accommodation for the servants, and stables for horses. There is also an hospitium for strange monks under the north wall of the church.

Beyond the church at the eastern boundary of the convent area to the south is the "factory," containing workshops for shoemakers, saddlers, cutlers, and grinders, trencher-makers, tanners, curriers, fullers, smiths, and goldsmiths, with their dwellings behind. On this side also is the agricultural establishment, comprising the granary and threshing floor, mills, malthouse, ox-sheds, goat-stables, piggeries, sheep-cotes, together with the servants' and labourers' quarters. At the southeast corner is the poultry-yard with the duck and hen-house, and the keeper's dwelling. Close by is the kitchen-garden, and the cemetery, planted with fruit trees. This plan exhibits a Benedictine monastery as a well-organised religious, educational, and industrial establishment, in which every department had its most suitable position, and nothing was neglected which could conduce to the well-being of the institution, and the adequate fulfilment of the purposes of its foundation.

The Irish and early Scotch monasteries of the 6th and 7th centuries, such as that of Armagh and Iona, followed the Eastern model. The monastery proper was enclosed by a rampart and fosse, which, however, was usually circular, not quadrilateral, intended rather for restraint than for the security of its inmates. This "vallum" included the church or oratory, the refectory, with its kitchen and offices, and the lodgings, *hospitia*, of the community, placed round a court, *platea*. The *hospitia* appear to have been originally, as in the East, detached huts, formed of wattles or of wood. The monks slept on *lectuli*, each provided with a straw pallet and a bolster. The abbat's house in Columba's time, *hospitium*, stood on an eminence at some little distance from the other dwellings, and was built of beams and joists. Here was the founder's *lectulus*, here also he sat, and wrote or read, attended on by one brother, who occasionally read to him, or by two, who stood at the door awaiting his orders. The codices belonging to the foundation hung in leathern wallets round the walls of a special apartment, which also contained the waxed tablets and the styles, the pens and ink-horns. On the arrival of a stranger, if there was no guest-house, which, however, was found in not a few Irish monasteries, one of the huts was specially prepared for him. Outside the vallum were the various agricultural dependencies, the cowhouse, the barn, the kiln needed for drying the corn in that damp climate (*canaba*), the mill with its pond and stream, the stables, and cart sheds. There was also a smithy and a carpenter's shop, and other appendages of a like kind. Those who desired to follow a stricter life than the ordinary members, had permission granted by the abbat to withdraw to some solitary place in the neighbourhood of the monastery, where they might devote themselves to undisturbed meditation, without breaking the bond of brotherhood. Such a place of retirement was called a *disert*, from the Latin *desertum*, a word which is of very frequent occurrence in early Irish and Scotch ecclesiastical literature (Reeves, *Life of St. Columba*, pp. 357–369).

[E. V.]

IV. List of Monasteries founded before a.d. 814.—All kinds of monastic *communities* (often not to be precisely distinguished in the meagre notices of the earliest monasteries) are included in the following list; which, in the absence of any existing work upon these ancient monasteries of a full and general character, has been carefully compiled chiefly from the works of Dugdale, Archdall, Spottiswood, Kuen, Bulteau, and Migne's Patrology. Still the monasteries here given are a very small proportion of the numbers actually existing, especially in the East, in these early times. An asterisk has been prefixed to houses for nuns. Monasteries of the Benedictine and Augustinian orders are marked respectively O. Ben. and O. Aug.; and where the exact date of their foundation is uncertain, the abbreviations c. for *circa*, and cent. for century, are used; while a. for *ante* is prefixed to the date given in many instances as the earliest known time of the monastery's existence. For convenience of reference there has been added a Supplementary Index of the names and places of the monasteries, where these differ materially from the alphabetically arranged order of the Latin name in the list itself.

| | | A.D. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Abazan (de), near Sebaste, Armenia | a. 600 |
| 2. | Abbaini, S., Kilabbain, N. Meath | 640 |
| 3. | Abbani, S., Kilebbane, near Athy, Queen's Co., built by St. Abban | c. 650 |
| 4. | Abbendoniense (Abingdon), Berkshire; O. Ben. | 675 |
| 5. | *Abendense, or Romarici Montis (Remiremont), Vosges; O. Ben., founded by monk Romaricus and bp. Radulphus | c. 644 |
| 6. | Abernethe (de) (Abernethy), Scotland; founded by king Nethan | a. 617 |
| 7. | Achadablense, in Kenselach, Wexford, founded by St. Finian of Clonard | a. 552 |
| 8. | Achadcaoillense, near Dundrum Bay, Down | V[th] cent. |
| 9. | Achadchaoinense (Achonry), Sligo; founded by St. Finian of Clonard | VI[th] cent. |
| 10. | Achaddubthinghense (Achaddubthuigh), Antrim | a. 700 |
| 11. | Achad Finglassense, near Leighlin, Carlow | a. 600 |
| 12. | Achadfobairense (Aghagower), Mayo; founded by St. Patrick | V[th] cent. |

A.D.

13. ACHADMORIENSE (Aghamore), Mayo; founded by St. Patrick V[th] cent.
14. ACHADNACILLENSE (Achadnacill), Antrim; founded by St. Patrick V[th] cent.
15. ACHADURENSE (Freshford), Kilkenny; founded by St. Lactan . a. 622
16. ACOEMETARUM MAGNUM, near Constantinople, in Bithynia; founded by abb. John . . . . . V[th] cent.
17. ADESCANCASTRENSE, or EXONIENSE (Exeter); O. Ben. . . . . . a. 700
18. AEGYPTIORUM, near Anazarba, Cilicia . . . . . . . . . a. 600
19. AEMILIANI, S., in Aragon; founded by St. Aemilian . . . . . 574
20. AELIOTARUM, near the Jordan; founded by Antony . . . . a. 600
21. AGABOENSE, near Mountrath, Queen's Co.; founded by St. Canice . . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
22. AGALIENSE (Agali), near Toledo, Spain; O. Ben., founded by king Athanageld . . . . . . 592
23. AGAMORENSE (Abbey Isle), Kerry; O. Aug. . . . . . . . VII[th] cent.
24. AGAROISSENSE (probably Akeras, or Kilmantin), Sligo; founded by St. Molaisse . . . . . . . 571
25. AGATHAE, S., on the Ticino, Lombardy; founded by king Grimoald Longbeard . . . . . . 673
26. AGATHENSE, S. ANDREAE (Agde), Hérault; founded by abb. Severus c. 502
27. AGATHENSE, S. TIBERII (Agde), Hérault; O. Ben. . . . . . c. 770
28. AGAUNENSE, S. MAURICII (St. Maurice in Valais); O. Ben., founded by king Sigismund . . 545
29. AGERICI, S., previously S. MARTINI (St. Airy), dioc. Verdun; O. Ben. 639
30. AGMACARTENSE, near Durrow, Queen's Co. . . . . . . c. 550
31. AILECHMORIENSE, in Artech, Roscommon . . . . . . . a. 550
32. AIRECAL DACHIAROC (DE), in Tyrone a. 800
32B. ALAVERDENSE, on the Alan, Georgia; built by father Joseph . VI[th] cent.
33. ALBACHORENSE, or BANGORENSE (Bangor), Down; founded by St. Comgall . . . . . . . c. 555
34. ALBANI, S. (St. Alban's), Herts; O. Ben., founded by king Offa . 793
35. ALBATERRENSE, S. SALVATORIS (Aubeterre), dioc. Périgueux; O. Ben., founded by St. Maurus; or in . . . . . . . . . 785
36. ALBINI, S., Angers; O. Ben., founded by bp. Albinus . . . c. 540
37. ALBUM (White Monastery), Egypt; said to have been founded by emp. Helena . . . . . . IV[th] cent.
38. ALEXANDRI, S., on the Euphrates; the first monastery of Perpetual Adoration, founded by St. Alexander . . . . . . . . c. 400
39. ALEXANDRI, S., near the entrance of the Black Sea; founded by St. Alexander . . . . . . . a. 430
40. ALEXANDRIAE SUBURBANUM (Alexandria), Egypt . . . . . 387
41. ALEXANDRINUM (Alexandria), Egypt 387
42. ALEXANDRINUM, S. JOANNIS (Alexandria), Egypt; founded by John Eleemosynarius. . . . a. 650
43. ALEXANDRINUM, PAULI LEPRIS AFFECTI (Alexandria), Egypt . a. 500
44. ALEXANDRINUM, SANDALIARIORUM (Alexandria), Egypt . . . IV[th] cent.
45. ALEXANDRINUM, VIRGINIS B. (Alexandria), Egypt; founded by John Eleemosynarius . . . . . . a. 650
46. ALL FARANNAIN (DE), in Connaught a. 600
47. ALTHA INFERIORE (DE) S. MAURITII (Lower Altaich), Bavaria; O. Ben., built by duke Utilo . 741
48. ALTHA SUPERIORE (DE) (Upper Altaich), Bavaria; O. Ben., built by duke Utilo. . . . . c. 739
49. ALTI-MONTIS, SS. PETRI et PAULI (Haut-Mont), Ardennes; O. Aug., founded by count Vincent . . 640
50. *ALTITONENSE (Altenburg), near Strassburg; founded by duke Adelric . . . . . . VIII[th] cent.
51. ALTIVILLARENSE (Haut-Villiers), dioc. Rheims; O. Ben., founded by bp. Nivardus . . . . . 662
52. ALYPII, S., near Adrianople, Paphlagonia; founded by St. Alypius the Stylite . . . . . . c. 620
53. *ALYPII, S., near Adrianople, Paphlagonia; founded by St. Alypius the Stylite . . . . . . c. 620
54. AMANDI, S., or ELNONENSE, on the Elne, dioc. Arras; founded by St. Amandus and king Dagobert . 637
55. AMANTII, S. RUTHENENSE (Rodez), France . . . . . . 511
56. AMASIENSE (Amasia), Pontus . . a. 550
57. AMASIAE JOANNIS ACROPOLITANUM (Amasia), Pontus . . . . . c. 560
58. AMBIACINENSE (Ambazac), dioc. Limoges . . . . . . . a. 593
59. AMBRESBURIENSE (Amesbury), Wiltshire; founded by Ambrius, or Ambrose . . . . . . . a. 600
60. AMERBACHIENSE, dioc. Würzburg; founded by St. Pirminius . . c. 764
61. AMMONII, near Alexandria, Egypt IV[th] cent.
62. ANAGRATENSE (Ainegray), dioc. Besançon; founded by abb. Columbanus . . . . . . . c. 570
63. ANASTASII ABBATIS, near Jerusalem; founded by abb. Anastasius . . a. 600
64. ANCYRAEUM, ATTALINAE (Ancyra), Galatia . . . . . . . a. 620
65. ANDAGINENSE, S. HUBERTI, in the Ardennes; O. Ben., founded by duke Pippin and his wife Plectruda . . . . . . . . . 702
66. ANDEGAVENSE, SS. SERGII et MEDARDI (Angers) . . . . a. 705
67. ANDEGAVENSE, S. STEPHANI (Angers), France . . . . . . a. 814
68. ANDEGAVENSE, S. VENANTII (Angers); founded by bp. Licinius . c. 520
69. *ANDELIACENSE, S. MARIAE (Andelys, on the Seine); founded by St. Clothilda . . . . . . 526
70. ANDOCHII, S. SEDELOCENSE (Saulieu), dioc. Autun; founded by abb. Wideradus Flaviniacus . . a. 722

A.D.

71. ANDREAE, S., in ARVERNIS (Clermont), France . . . . . a. 563
72. ANDREAE, S., Isle Vulcano, Sicily. a. 600
73. ANDREAE, S., SUPER MASCALAS (Mascala), Sicily . . . . . a. 600
74. ANGELIACENSE, S. JOANNIS (Angély), Indre-et-Loire . . . c. 520
75. ANIANENSE (Orleans); O. Ben., founded by abb. Leodebodus . 617
76. ANIANENSE, S. SALVATORIS (Aniane), Hérault; O. Ben., founded by abb. Benedict . . c. 800
77. ANIANI ET LAURENTII, SS., Nevers; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . a. 800
78. ANISOLANUM, or S. CARILEFI (St. Calais), Sarthe . . . . . a. 480
79. *ANTHYMI, S. SENENSE (Sienna), Tuscany . . . . . . . a. 800
80. ANTINOOPOLITANUM (Antinoe), Egypt . . . . . . . IV[th] cent.
81. ANTIOCHENSE EUPREPII (Antioch) IV[th] cent.
82. ANTIOCHENSE GREGORII PATRIARCHI (Antioch) . . . . . a. 500
83. ANTIOCHENSE 'THEOTOCI B. (Antioch); founded by emp. Justinian . . . . . . . . . a. 560
84. ANTIOCHIA (DE) MYGDONIA (Nisibis), Mesopotamia . . . . . IV[th] cent.
85. ANTONINI, S., near Apamea, Syria a. 520
86. ANTONINI, S. (St. Antonin), dioc. Rodez; O. Ben. . . . . . . a. 767
87. AONDRIENSE (Entrumia), Antrim; founded by Durtrach . . . a. 493
88. APAMENSE (Apamea), Syria . . a. 420
89. APOLLINIS, S., near Hermopolis, Egypt . . . . . . . . . a. 500
90. APRI, S. TULLENSE (Toul), France a. 622
91. *AQUILEIENSE (Aquileja), Illyria; founded by bp. Niceta . . . 458
92. *ARCHANGELI DE MACHARI (Machari), near Naples . . . a. 600
93. ARDAGHENSE (Ardagh), Longford; founded by St. Patrick . . . a. 454
94. ARDCARNENSE (Ardcarna), Roscommon . . . . . . . . a. 523
95. ARCHARNENSE, in W. Meath . . a. 523
96. ARDFERTENSE, S. BRENDANI (Ardfert), Kerry; built by St. Brendan . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
97. ARDIENSE (Magillagan), Ireland; founded by St. Columb. . . VI[th] cent.
98. ARDMACNASCENSE (Ardmacnasa), Lough Laiogh, Antrim; founded by abb. Laisrean . . . . . a. 650
99. *ARDSENILISSENSE, in Tyreragh, Sligo; founded by St. Patrick V[th] cent.
100. *ARELATENSE, S. CAESARII (Arles); founded by bp. Caesarius c. 501
101. ARELATENSE, S. MARIAE (Arles); founded by bp. Aurelian . . . 554
102. ARGENTINENSE, S. MARIAE (Strassburg); endowed by king Dagobert II. . . . . . . . 675
103. *ARGENTOLIENSE, S. MARIAE (Argenteuil), near Paris; endowed by king Childebert III. . 697
104. ARIMINENSE, SS. ANDREAE ET THOMAE (Rimini), Italy; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . . a. 600
105. ARMACHANENSE (Armagh), Ireland; founded by St. Patrick . c. 457
106. ARMUIGHENSE (Killermogh), Queen's Co.; founded by St. Columb . . . . . . . . 558
107. ARNESBURGENSE (Arensburg), Westphalia . . . . VIII[th] cent.
108. ARNULFI-AUGIENSE (Schwartzach), dioc. Strassburg; O. Ben., endowed by Rothard . . . . 718
109. ARNULFI, S. METENSIS (Metz); O. Ben., founded by bp. Arnulph 625
110. ARRAGELLENSE (Arragell), Derry; founded by St. Columb . . VI[th] cent.
111. ARSINOETICUM (Arsinoë), Egypt IV[th] cent.
112. ARULENSE, S. MARIAE (Apremont, Arles), Roussillon . . VIII[th] cent.
113. ARUNDINIS VADO (DE) (Redbridge), Hants . . . . . . . . . a. 680
114. ASCLEPII, S., Mesopotamia . . a. 600
115. ASCHOVIENSE, S. MARIAE (? Aschbach), Lower Alsace . . . . a. 778
116. ASICHANUM, near Asicha, Syria . c. 400
117. ATHANENSE, S. MARTII, or S. AREDII (St. Yreix), dioc. Limoges; O. Ben., founded by Aldeon . VII[th] cent.
118. ATHDALARAGHENSE, on the Boyle, Roscommon . . . . . V[th] cent.
119. ATHENACENSE, S. MARTINI (Ainay), near Lyons; O. Ben. . VI[th] cent.
120. ATHFADENSE, at Longford, Ireland c. 500
121. ATHRACTAE, S., Killaraght, Lough Garagh; built by St. Patrick . 470
122. *ATHRACTAE, S. (probably Killaraght), Roscommon; founded by St. Patrick . . . . . V[th] cent.
123. ATREBATENSE, S. AUBERTI (Arras); O. Aug., built by bp. Aubert . . . . . . . . 580
124. ATREBATENSE, S. MARIAE (Arras); O. Aug. . . . . . . . . a. 680
125. ATREBATENSE, S. VEDASTI, or NOBILIACENSE (Arras); O. Ben., built by St. Aubert . . . . 534
126. *AUBECHIENSE (Auchy-les-Moines); built by the nobleman Adolscarius . . . . . . c. 700
127. AUDII, Dacia; Audius founded several monasteries here . IV[th] cent.
128. AUDOENI, S. ROTHOMAGENSE (Rouen); O. Ben. . . . . a. 659
129. AUGIENSE, or AUGIAE DIVITIS (Reichenau, lake of Constance); O. Ben., founded by abb. Pirminius and Sintlaus, prefect of Germany c. 724
130. AUGUSTENSE S. UDALRICI ET AFRAE (Augsburg) . . . . a. 700
131. AUGUSTODUNENSE, S. JOANNIS (Autun); O. Ben. . . . . c. 589
132. *AUGUSTODUNENSE, S. MARIAE (Autun); founded by bp. Siagrius . . . . . . . a. 535
133. AUGUSTODUNENSE, S. SYMPHORIANI (Autun); O. Ben., founded by bp. Euphronius . . . V[th] cent.
134. AUNAGHDUFFENSE, near Lough Boffin, Ireland . . . . . 766
135. AUTISSIODORENSE, S. AMATORIS (Auxerre), Yonne; founded by bps. Ursus and Germanus . . c. 590
136. AUTISSIODORENSE, S. GERMANI (Auxerre), Yonne; O. Ben., founded by bp. Germanus . . 570

| | A.D. |
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| 137. AUTISSIODORENSE APUD QUOTIACUM (probably Couches), Saône-et-Loire; founded by St. Germanus | 570 |
| 138. *AUTISSIODORENSE, S. JULIANI (Auxerre) | a. 800 |
| 139. AUTISSIODORENSE, S. MARIAE (Auxerre) | a. 670 |
| 140. AUXILLI, S. (Killossy), Kildare; founded by St. Patrick | a. 454 |
| 141. AVENACENSE (Avenay), Marne; O. Ben., built by Gombert and his wife Bertha | c. 660 |
| 142. AVITI, S. AURELIANENSE (Orleans); O. Ben. | 530 |
| 143. AVITI, S. CASTRODUNENSE (near Châteaudun), dioc. Chartres; O. Ben., built by king Clotaire I. | 521 |
| 143B. BAIENSI INSULA (DE) (Isle of Baya), near Sicily | a. 676 |
| 144. BAILEINEGRABARTAICHENSE, Tiraedha, Derry; founded by St. Columb | VI[th] cent. |
| 145. BAISLEACENSE (Baslick), near Castlereagh | a. 800 |
| 146. BAITHENI, S. (Taughboyne), Donegal; founded by St. Baithen | c. 590 |
| 147. BALGENTIACENSE, SS. MARIAE ET GENTIANI (Beaugency), Loiret; O. Ben. | VII[th] cent. |
| 148. BALLAGHENSE, near Castlebar, Mayo; founded by St. Mochuo | a. 637 |
| 149. BALLIMORENSE, on Lough Sendy, W. Meath | a. 700 |
| 150. BALLYKINENSE, near Arklow; founded by a brother of St. Keivin | VI[th] cent. |
| 151. BALMENSE (La Baume), dioc. Besançon | VI[th] cent. |
| 152. *BALMENSE (La Baume les Nonains), dioc. Besançon; O. Ben. | VII[th] cent. |
| 153. BALMENSE S. ROMANI (La Baume), Jura; O. Ben. | V[th] cent. |
| 154. BALNEOLENSE, S. STEPHANI (Banolas), Catalonia; O. Ben., built by abb. Bonitus | a. 800 |
| 155. BANCORNABURGIENSE (Bangor), Flintshire | V[th] cent. |
| 156. BARALENSE, S. GEORGII (Baralles), Arras; O. Aug., founded by king Clovis and bp. Vedast | c. 535 |
| 157. BARCETUM, S. ANASTASII (Barca); built by duke Luithprand | 723 |
| 158. *BARCHINGENSE (Barking), Essex; founded by bp. Erkenwald | VII[th] cent. |
| 159. BARDENEIENSE (Bardney), Lincolnshire; attributed to king Ethelred | a. 697 |
| 160. BARDSEIENSE, or DE INSULA SANCTORUM, Caernarvonshire; O. Ben. | a. 516 |
| 161. BARISIACUM, or FAVEROLENSE (Barisis, or Faverolles), dioc. Laon | a. 664 |
| 162. BARNABAE, S., near Salamis, Cyprus | 485 |
| 163. BARRI, S., Cork; founded by St. Barr | c. 606 |
| 164. BARIOWENSE (Barrowe), Lincolnshire; founded by St. Chad and king Wulphere | c. 691 |
| 165. BARSIS, S. (DE), in Mesopotamia | IV[th] cent. |
| 166. BARVENSE, in England; built by bp. Winfrid | a. 675 |
| 167. BASOLI, S., Verzy, dioc. Rheims; founded by bp. Basolus | c. 570 |
| 168. BASILII, S., near the Iris, Pontus; founded by St. Basil the Great | c. 358 |
| 169. *BASSAE, S., near Jerusalem | a. 460 |
| 170. *BATHONIENSE (Bath), Somersetshire; founded by king Osric | 676 |
| 171. BAUM (DE), Thebais | IV[th] cent. |
| 172. BEACANI, S., Kilbeacan, Cork; built by St. Abban | a. 650 |
| 173. BECANI, S., Kilbeggan, W. Meath; founded by St. Becan | VI[th] cent. |
| 174. *BECHREENSE, near Paban, Egypt; founded by abb. Theodore | IV[th] cent. |
| 175. BECIA (DE) B. VIRGINIS, Ancyra, Galatia | a. 580 |
| 176. BEDRICHSUERDENSE (Bury St. Edmunds), Suffolk; founded by king Sigebert | 630 |
| 177. BEGAE, S. (St. Bee's), Cumberland; O. Ben., attributed to St. Bega | c. 650 |
| 178. BEGERIENSE, or DE HIBERNIA PARVA (Isle Begery), near Wexford; founded by St. Ibar | 420 |
| 179. BELISIAE, Münster-Bulsen, dioc. Liége | c. 700 |
| 180. *BELISIANUM (Bilsen), dioc. Liége; founded by abb. Landrada | VIII[th] cent. |
| 181. BENEVENTANUM, S. MARIAE (Benevento) | a. 769 |
| 182. *BENEVENTANUM, S. SOPHIAE (Benevento); founded by king Raschis | 774 |
| 183. BENIGNI, S. DIVIONENSE (Dijon); O. Aug. | a. 734 |
| 184. BERCETO (DE) S. ABUNDII, afterwards S. REMIGII (Berzeta), Parma; endowed by king Luitprand | 718 |
| 185. BERCLAVIENSE, S. SALVATORIS (Billy-Berclause), on the Deule; founded by abb. Ledwin | VII[th] cent. |
| 186. *BERINENSE, or BERICINENSE, England; founded by bp. Erchonwald | a. 675 |
| 187. BETHLAPAT (DE), S. BADEMI, Persia; founded by St. Bademus | IV[th] cent. |
| 188. BETHLEEMITICUM, St. Cassian's, at Bethlehem | IV[th] cent. |
| 189. BETHLEEMITICUM, St. Jerome's, at Bethlehem | IV[th] cent. |
| 190. BETHLEEMITICUM, S. PAULAE (Bethlehem); founded by St. Paula of Rome | 387 |
| 191. *BETHLEEMITICUM, S. PAULAE (Bethlehem); founded by St. Paula | 387 |
| 192. BETHMAMAT (DE), near Emessa, Phoenicia | a. 450 |
| 193. BEVERLACENSE, S. JOANNIS (Beverley), Yorkshire; founded by St. John of Beverley | c. 700 |
| 194. BEYRONENSE (Alt-Beyren), dioc. Constance; O. Aug. | VIII[th] cent. |
| 195. BEZUENSE (Bèze), dioc. Langres; O. Ben., founded by Amalric, duke of Burgundy | a. 670 |

A.D.

196. Bilense, in Leyney, Sligo; built by St. Fechin . . . . . VII[th] cent.
197. Biorrense (Birr), King's Co.; founded by St. Brendan Luaigneus a. 553
198. Bischoi (de), Nitria, Egypt; founded by Bischoi . . . IV[th] cent.
199. *Bisense, dioc. Toledo; founded by St. Hildefonsus . . . . . c. 635
200. Bistagniense, SS. Petri et Pauli (Glendalough), Wicklow; founded by St. Keivin . . . . . . . a. 600
201. Bitumaeum, or Ad Tuveoneaeum, on the Severn, Worcestershire . . . . . . . a. 770
202. *Bituricense, S. Laurentii (Bourges), France; O. Ben., ascribed to St. Sulpicius . . VII[th] cent.
203. Blandiniense, S. Petri (Blandenburg), near Ghent; O. Ben., founded by St. Amand . . . 653
204. *Blangiacense, S. Berthae (Blangy-en-Ternois), Pas-de-Calais; (afterwards for monks) O. Ben., founded by St. Bertha, daughter of Count Rigobert . . c. 660
205. Bobbiense (Bobbio), Milan; O. Ben., founded by St. Columbanus 600
205b. Bodbeanum, in Sacheth, Georgia a. 500
206. Boetii, S., Monasterboice, Louth; founded by St. Bute . . . . a. 521
207. Boith-Medba (de), in Derry; founded by St. Columb . . VI[th] cent.
208. Bolhendesartense (Desert), Waterford; founded by St. Maidoc of Ferns . . . . . VI[th] cent.
209. *Bononiense (Bologna); founded by St. Ambrose . . . . IV[th] cent.
210. Bosanhamense (Bosham), Sussex; attributed to St. Wilfrid. . 681
211. Bothchonaissense, in Iniseoguin, Ireland. . . . . . . . a. 721
212. Bovis Insula (de) (Bophin Isle), Mayo; founded by St. Colman . 667
213. Bovis Insula (de) (Inisboffin), in Lough Rie, Longford; founded by St. Rioch . . . . . . . a. 530
214. Bovis Insula (de) V. Mariae (Devenish Isle), Lough Earn; founded by St. Laserian . . . a. 563
215. Braocani, S., Ardbraccan, Meath a. 650
216. Brajacum (Brou), dioc. Chartres . a. 535
217. Bredonense (Bredon), Worcestershire; founded by king Ethelbald a. 716
217b. Brethianum, near the Dwanis, Georgia; built by father Piros VI[th] cent.
218. Brivatense, SS. Martini et Juliani (Brionde), Haute-Loire . a. 510
219. *Brixiense, SS. Michaelis et Petri (Brescia), Lombardy; founded by queen Ansa . . . a. 758
220. *Brixiense, S. Salvatoris et S. Juliae (Brescia), Lombardy; founded by king Desiderius . . 671
221. *Buchaugiense, by Lake Federsee, Upper Suabia; founded by a daughter of duke Hildebrand . 756
222. Burdigalense, S. Crucis (Bordeaux), O. Ben., built by king Clovis II. . . . . . . . 650
223. Burdigalense, S. Severini (Bordeaux); O. Ben. . . . . a. 814
224. Burense (Beurn), near the Alps; O. Ben., founded by Landfrid, Waldram and Eliland. . . . c. 740
225. *Burneachense, S. Gobnatae (Ballyvourney), Cork; built by St. Abban . . . . . . . . a. 650
226. Busbrunnense . . . . . . . a. 765
227. Busiacense (Boussy), Mayenne; O. Ben., founded by priest Lonegisilus . . . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
228. Byzantinorum, near Jerusalem; founded by Abraham the Great . a. 600
229. Cabilonense, S. Petri (Châlons-on-Saône); O. Ben., founded by bp. Flavius . . . . . . . a. 600
230. Cabilonense Xenodochium (Châlons); built by abb. Desideratus. c. 570
231. Caer Gubiense (Holyhead), Anglesey; founded by St. Kebius . . c. 380
232. Caerleolense (Carlisle), Cumberland; founded by St. Cuthbert . 686
233. *Caerleolense (Carlisle); founded by St. Cuthbert . . . . . 686
234. Caesariense (Caesarea), Cappadocia . . . . . . . . . a. 380
235. *Caesariense (Caesarea), Cappadocia . . . . . . . . IV[th] cent.
236. Caesariense (Caesarea), Palestine a. 600
237. Cailleavindense, in Carbury, Sligo . . . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
238. Cainonense (Chinon), Touraine; O. Ben., founded by abb. Maximus 400
239. *Cairathense, S. Mariae (Cairate), Lombardy . . . . . a. 708
240. Calamone (de), near Alexandria . a. 430
241. Calamone (de), near Jerusalem . a. 470
242. *Calaritanum (Cagliari); founded by Theodosia . . . . . . c. 600
243. Calcariense (Tadcaster), Yorkshire a. 655
244. Calense, S. Mariae (Chelles), Seine and Oise; founded by queen Bathilda . . . . . . . . c. 680
245. Cambidobrense (Combronde), in Auvergne . . . . . . . . a. 600
246. Cameracense, S. Auberti (Cambray), founded by bp. Aubert and endowed by king Dagobert . . 637
247. Cameracense, S. Gangerici (St. Gery, near Cambray); O. Aug., built by bp. Gangericus . 600
248. Cameracense, S. Petri, or Gisleni (St. Ghislain, in Hainaut); O. Ben. . . . . . . . . a. 691
249. Cameracense, S. Praejecti (St. Prix), near St. Quentin, Oise; O. Ben., built by Albert, Count of Vermandois . . . . . . . c. 800
250. Campidonense (Kenipten), Bavaria; O. Ben., founded by queen Hildegard . . . . . . . . 777
251. Camrossense, in Fothart, Leinster; built by St. Abban . . . . a. 640
252. Canopeum Metanoeae (Canope), Egypt . . . . . . . . IV[th] cent.
253. Cantobonense, or Catabennense (Chantoin), dioc. Clermont . . a. 380
254. Cantuariense, SS. Petri et Pauli, afterwards S. Augustini (Canterbury), Kent; afterwards O. Ben., founded by king Ethelbert and St. Augustine . . . 605

A.D.

255. Caoin Insula (de) (Iniscaoin Isle), Lough Earn, Ireland . . . . a. 650
256. Caperet (de), near Emessa, Phoenicia . . . . . . . . a. 450
257. Cappanulense, SS. Martini et Quiriaci (Cappanello), dioc. Lucca . . . . . . . . . . a. 725
258. Caprae Caput (ad) (Gateshead), Durham . . . . . . . . a. 653
259. Capriolo (in) St. Valentini (Capriolus), Syria; founded by St. Valentine of Arethusa . V[th] cent.
260. Caranni, S., near Chartres; O. Aug. . . . . . . . . . 599
261. Carcassonense, S. Hilarii (Carcassonne), Languedoc; O. Ben. . a. 814
262. Cardena (de) S. Petri, Old Castille; O. Ben., founded by Sanctia c. 540
263. Carnotense, S. Petri (Chartres); O. Ben.. . . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
264. Carpense, S. Mariae (Carpi), Modena; O. Aug., built by king Astulph . . . . . . . . 750
265. Carrofense, S. Salvatoris (Charroux), dioc. Poitiers; O. Ben., founded by Count Robert . 769
266. Carterii, S., near Emessa, Phoenicia . . . . . . . . . a. 450
267. Carthaginiensia; at Carthage there were very many monasteries a. 400
268. Carnense (Caruns), Derry. . . a. 580
269. Casegonguidinense (Cougnon), Luxemburg; O. Ben., founded by king Sigebert . . . . . . 660
270. Casinense (Monte Casino), Naples; founded by St. Benedict . . . c. 525
271. Castellione (de) S. Petri (Castiglione), near Lucca; O.Ben., founded by Aurinand and Godfried 723
272. Castello (de) S. Sabbae, S. Palestine; founded by St. Sabbas c. 490
273. *Castrilocense, Hainault Mts.; founded by Waldedruda, sister of St. Aldegund . . . . . . . c. 610
274. Catalaunense, S. Petri, or Omnium Sanctorum (Châlons-on-Marne); endowed by king Sigebert and bp. Elaphius . . a. 600
275. Cauciacense, S. Stephani (Choisy-le-Roi), near Paris . . a. 739
276. Caulianense, near Merida, Spain a. 600
277. Caunense, S. Petri (Caunes), Aude; formed by abb. Ainan from two older abbacies . . . a. 793
278. *Caziense (Cas), Switzerland . a. 760
279. Cellae S. Eusitii (Celles in Berry); founded by abb. Eusitius and king Childebert . . . . 532
280. Cella Magna (de) Deathreib, Kilmore, Ireland; founded by St. Columb . . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
281. Cellarum, Nitria, Egypt . . IV[th] cent.
282. Cellense (Celles), near Dinant; O. Ben., founded by abb. Hadalinus . . . . . . . . . 664
283. Cellense, S. Petri (Moustier-la-Celle), Troyes; founded by abb. Frodobert . . . . . . . . 650
284. Cenomannense, S. Petri (Le Mans); founded by bp. Bertichramnus . . . . . . . . 623
285. Cenomannense, S. Victoris (Le Mans) . . . . . . . . . a. 800
286. Cenomannense, S. Vincentii et Laurentii (Le Mans); O. Ben., founded by bp. Domnolus . . 570
287. Centulense, S. Richarii (Centule), dioc. Amiens; founded by king Dagobert and abb. Richarius . . . . . . . c. 625
288. *Cerae, S., Grange, Cork; founded by St. Cera . . . . . . a. 679
289. Cernellense (Cerne), Dorsetshire, O. Ben. . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
290. Certesiense (Chertsey), Surrey; O. Ben., founded by earl Frithewald and bp. Erkonwald . . c. 666
291. Cestrense, S. Werburgae, Chester . . . . . . VII[th] cent.
292. Chalcedonium, SS. Apostoli. (Chalcedon), Bithynia; founded by Rufinus . . . . . IV[th] cent.
293. Chalcedonium, S. Hypatii (Chalcedon), Bithynia . . . a. 500
294. Chalcedonium, S. Michaelis (Chalcedon), Bithynia . . . a. 500
295. Chalcedonium, Philionis (Chalcedon), Bithynia . . . . V[th] cent.
296. Chalcidicum (Desert of Chalcis), Syria . . . . . . . . V[th] cent.
297. Chalcidica Audaeanorum (Chalcis), Syria; several monasteries . . . . . . . . V[th] cent.
298. Chalcidicum de Crithen (Chalcis), Syria . . . . . c. 420
299. Charitonis, S., near Jericho . IV[th] cent.
300. Chinoboscense, in Egypt . . IV[th] cent.
300b. Chirsanum, near Bodbe, Georgia; founded by father Stephen . VI[th] cent.
301. Chnuum (Chnum), Egypt . . IV[th] cent.
302. Choracudimense, Bithynia . . a. 560
303. Chorae, near Constantinople; founded by Priscus . . . VI[th] cent.
304. Chozabanum, near Jericho; founded by St. John Chozabitus VI[th] cent.
305. Chremifanense, S. Salvatoris (Kremsmünster), Bavaria; O. Ben., built by duke Tassilo . a. 791
306. *Christophili, S., Galatia; for nuns and the possessed . . . a. 580
307. Chrysopolitanum (Chrysopolis), Bithynia; founded by Philippicus . . . . . . . . . c. 604
308. Cibardi, S. (St. Cybar), dioc. Angoulême . . . . . . . c. 570
309. Cincinniaco (de) (Cessières), dioc. Laon; founded by bp. Amandus and duke Fulcoald . . . . 664
310. Cinniteachense (Kinnitty), King's Co.; founded by St. Finan Com. . . . . . . . . . 557
311. Claramniense, near Emessa, Phoenicia . . . . . . . . a. 450
312. Clariacense, S. Petri (Clariac), dioc. Agen; O. Ben., probably founded by Pepin . . . . . c. 800
313. Classense, S. Apollinaris (Classe), Ravenna . . . . a. 699
314. Classense, SS. Joannis et Stephani (Classé), Ravenna . a. 600
315. Cleonadense (Clane), Kildare; founded by St. Ailbe . . . a. 548

A.D.

316. CLIVATENSE, S. PETRI (Clivati), in the Valteline, or the Grisons; O. Ben., built by king Desiderius . . . 755
317. CLOGHERENSE (Clogher), Tyrone; founded by St. Aid . . . . a. 506
318. CLONARDENSE, S. PETRI (Clonard), Meath; founded by St. Finian . a. 548
319. CLONENAGHENSE, near Mountrath, Queen's Co.; founded by St. Fintan . . . . . . . . a. 548
320. CLONENSE, or DUNKERANENSE (Clonmacnoise), King's Co.; founded by St. Kieran . . . 548
321. CLONFERTENSE, S. MOLUAE (Clonfertmulloe), King's Co., founded by St. Molua . . VIth cent.
322. CLONFERTENSE, V. MARIAE; founded by St. Brendan . . . c. 562
323. CLONFERT KERPAN (DE), in Kilkenny . . . . . . . . . 503
324. CLONSHANVILLENSE, in Boyle, Roscommon; founded by St. Patrick . . . . . . Vth cent.
325. CLONTARFENSE, at the mouth of the Liffey . . . . . . . . 550
326. CLOONFADENSE, in Roscommon . a. 800
327. CLOONMAINANENSE, in Meath . 800
328. CLOONOENSE (Clone), near Longford 663
329. *CLUAINBOIREANENSE, on the Shannon, Roscommon . . . a. 577
330. *CLUAINBRONACHENSE (Clonebrone), Longford; attributed to St. Patrick . . . . . Vth cent.
331. CLUAINCAIRPTHENSE (Clooncraff), Roscommon . . . . . . . a. 580
332. CLUAINCLAIDEACHENSE, in Husconail, Limerick; built by St. Maidoc of Ferns . . . . . . a. 624
333. CLUAINCONBRUINENSE, near the Suire, Tipperary; founded by St. Abban . . . . . . . VIth cent.
334. CLUAINDACHRAINENSE (Clonrane), W. Meath; founded by abb. Cronan M'Niellan . . . . c. 630
335. CLUAINDOLCANENSE (Clondalkin), near Dublin . . . . . . a. 776
336. *CLUAINDUBHAINENSE, near Clogher, Tyrone; founded by St. Patrick . . . . . . . a. 482
337. CLUAINEMUINENSE, in Roscommon a. 800
338. CLUAINENACHENSE, in Inisoen, Donegal; founded by St. Columb. VIth cent.
339. CLUAINENSE (Clone), Leitrim; founded by St. Froech . . . c. 570
340. CLUAINEOISSENSE, S. PETRI ET PAULI (Clones), Monaghan; O. Aug., founded by St. Tigernach a. 548
341. CLUAINFIACULLENSE (Clonfeakle), Armagh . . . . . a. 580
342. CLUAINFINGLASSENSE, in Clare; founded by St. Abban . . . 650
343. CLUAINFODENSE (Clonfad), W. Meath . . . . . . . . . a. 577
344. CLUAINFOISSENSE, near Tuam; founded by St. Jarlath . . . c. 540
345. CLUAINIMURCHIRENSE, in Queen's Co. . . . . . . . . VIth cent.
346. CLUAIN INSULA (DE) (Clinish Isle), Lough Earn, Ireland . . . . a. 550
347. CLUAINLAODENSE (Clonleigh), Donegal . . . . . . . . . a. 530
348. CLUAINMAINENSE (Clonmany), Donegal; founded by St. Columba . . . . . . . VIth cent.
349. CLUAINMAOSCNENSE, in Fertullagh, W. Meath . . . . . . . . a. 700
350. CLUAINMARENSE (Clonemore), King's Co.; founded by St. Mochoemoc . . . . . . . . a. 655
351. CLUAINMORENSE (Clonemore), Wexford; founded by St. Maidoc VIth cent.
352. CLUAINMORFERNARDENSE, in Bregia, Meath; founded by St. Columkill . . . . . . VIth cent.
353. CLUAINNAMANACHENSE, in Arteach, Roscommon . . . . a. 600
354. CLUAINREILGEACHENSE, in Kianechta, Meath . . . . . a. 600
355. CLUAINUMHENSE (Cloyne), Ireland 707
356. CLUNOK WAURENSE, S. BEUNONIS (Clynnock Vawr), Caernarvonshire; founded by Gwythyn of Gwydaint . . . . . . . 616
357. CLYVUD VALLE (DE) (Clywd Valley), Denbighshire; founded by St. Elerius . . . . VIIth cent.
358. CNOBHERESBURIENSE (Burgh Castle), Suffolk; founded by Furseus and king Sigebert . . c. 637
359. CNODAINENSE, in Donegal . . a. 600
360. *COCHELSCENSE, in the Alps; O. Ben., founded by Counts Landfried, Waldram, and Eliland . c. 740
361. COEMANI, S., near Wexford . . a. 639
362. *COLDINGHAMENSE (Coldingham), Scotland; for nuns and monks; founded by Ebba . . . . . a. 673
363. COLERAINENSE (Coleraine), Ireland . . . . . . . . a. 700
364. COLGANI, S. (Kilcolgan), dioc. Clonfert; founded by St. Columbkill . . . . . . . . VIth cent.
365. COLGANI, S., Kilcolgan, Galway . a. 680
366. COLGANI, S., Kilcolgan, King's Co.; founded by St. Colgan . . 580
367. COLMANI, S., Kilcolman, King's Co.; founded by St. Colman . c. 570
368. COLONIENSE, S. CLEMENTIS, afterwards S. CUNIBERTI (Cologne); founded by St. Cunibert . . a. 664
369. *COLUDUNENSE, England . . . a. 684
370. COLUMBAE, S., Drumcollumb, Sligo; founded by St. Columb . . VIth cent.
371. COLUMBAE, S. SENONENSE (Sens); O. Ben. . . . . . . . . a. 659
372. COLUMBANIENSE, S. PATROCLI (Colombiers), dioc. Bourges; built by abb. Patroclus . . . c. 541
373. COMENSE, S. ABUNDII (Coma), Lombardy; O. Ben. . . . . a. 814
374. COMODOLIACENSE, S. JUNIANI (St. Junien-les-Combles), dioc. Limoges; founded by St. Amand and St. Juinan . . . . . c. 500
375. COMRAIRENSE, near Usneach, W. Meath . . . . . . . . a. 652
376. CONALDIS, S. COELLI, Keel Island, Donegal . . . . . . . c. 590
377. CONALLI, S., Kilconnell, Galway Vth cent.
378. CONCHENNAE S., Killachad-Conchean, Kerry; founded by St. Abban . . . . . . . . VIth cent.

A.D.

379. CONCHENSE (Conques), dioc. Cahors; O. Ben., probably built by bp. Ambrose . . . . . 755
380. *CONDATENSE, S. MARIAE (Condé), dioc. Cambray; attributed to St. Amand . . . . . . . . c. 580
381. CONDATENSE S. MARTINI (Candé), dioc. Tours; O. Ben. . . . VIth cent.
382. CONDATESCENSE, or S. EUGENDI JURENSIS (St. Oyan), Mt. Jura; O. Ben., founded by abb. Suspicinus and Romanus . . . . c. 520
383. CONFLUENTENSE, S. GEORGII (Conflans-en-Jarney), Lorraine . a. 673
384. CONGBAILENSE (Conwall), Donegal a. 650
385. CONGENSE, V. MARIAE (Cong), Mayo; founded by Donald, or perhaps, St. Fechan . . . VIIth cent.
386. CONINGENSE, in the Golden Vale, Tipperary; built by St. Declan VIth cent.
387. CONNORENSE (Connor), Antrim . a. 771
388. CONRIENSE (Conry), W. Meath . a. 758
389. CONSTANTINI, ABBATIS, near Jericho . . . . . . . . a. 600

CONSTANTINOPOLITANA MONASTERIA (CONSTANTINOPLE).

390. ABRAHAMI, S. . . . . Vth cent.
391. ABRAHAMITARUM . . . . c. 600
392. AEGYPTIORUM . . . . . a. 450
393. ALEXANDRI, S.; founded by St. Alexander . . . . . . a. 430
394. ANATOLII; founded by Anatolius c. 500
395. AREOBINDANUM; founded by Peter, brother of emp. Maurice . . . . . . a. 600
396. BASSIANI, S. . . . . Vth cent.
397. BETHLEEMITICUM; attributed to emp. Helena . . . . IVth cent.
398. CALLISTRATI . . . . IVth cent.
399. CARPI ET BABYLATIS, SS.; founded by emp. Helena . IVth cent.
400. DALMATII, S. . . . . Vth cent.
401. DIACONISSAE; founded by the Patriarch Cyriacus . . . c. 600
402. DII, S.; founded by St. Dius . c. 420
403. EUSTOLIAE, S.; founded by SS. Eustolia and Sopatra . . VIth cent.
404. FLORI . . . . . . IVth cent.
405. GASTRIAE; founded by emp. Helena . . . . . . IVth cent.
406. IMPERATRICIS; founded by Justin I. . . . . . . a. 526
407. ISAACI, S.; founded by St. Isaac . . . . . . Vth cent.
408. JOANNIS BAPTISTAE, S., or STUDIENSE; Acoemete, founded by the Consul Studius . . 463
409. JOB, S. (DE) . . . . . . a. 450
410. MACEDONII; Macedonius founded several mons. in Constantinople . . . . . . IVth cent.
411. *MAGNAE ECCLESIAE . . . a. 600
412. MARATHONIS; founded by Marathon . . . . . . IVth cent.
413. MATRONAE, S. . . . . Vth cent.
414. MAURAE, S.; founded by St. Maura . . . . . . IVth cent.
415. MYRIOCERATI . . . . . c. 450
416. OLYMPIADAE, S.; founded by St. Olympiada . . . . . c. 400
417. PAULI . . . . . . . IVth cent.
418. PAULINI; founded by a nobleman, Paulinus . . . . Vth cent.
419. POENITENTIAE NOVAE . . . a. 600
420. PETRI, S., DE HORMISDA . . a. 553
421. RABULAE, S.; founded by St. Rabulas . . . . . . . a. 515
422. ROMANUM; founded by Hemon Vth cent.
423. STEPHANI DE ROMANIS . . . a. 600
424. SYRORUM . . . . . . a. 450
425. THALASSII, S. . . . . . a. 450
426. URBICI; founded by Urbicus . a. 518
427. ZACHARIAE, S.; founded by St. Dominica . . . . . IVth cent.
428. ZOTICI; founded by Zoticus . a. 360

429. CORBEIENSE, S. PETRI (Corbie), dioc. Amiens; O. Ben., built by St. Clotilda and her son Clotaire 550
430. CORBIONENSE, dioc. Chartres . . a. 660
431. CORMERICENSE, S. PAULI (Cormery-on-Indre), France; O. Ben., built by abb. Itherius, and emp. Charlemagne . . . . . . 780
432. CORSICENSE (Island of Corsica); built by a nun, Sabina . . . c. 600
433. COSILAONIS, near Chalcedon, Bithynia . . . . . . IVth cent.
434. COSMAE ET DAMIANI, SS., in Spain; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . a. 644
435. CRAOBENSE, S. GRELLANI, in Carbury, Sligo; founded by St. Finian of Clonard . . . VIth cent.
436. CRAOIBECHENSE, near the Brosonach, Kerry; founded by St. Patrick . . . . . . Vth cent.
437. CRASSENSE, S. MARIAE (La Grasse), dioc. Carcassonne; O. Ben., built by abb. Nimfrid . . a. 779
438. CRAYKENSE (Crayke), Yorkshire; founded by St. Cuthbert . . 685
439. CRISPINENSE, S. PETRI (Crépin), near Mons; O. Ben., founded by St. Landelinus . . . . . c. 640
440. CRISPINI S. in CAGIA (Chaye), dioc. Soissons; O. Ben., built perhaps by bps. Principius and Lupus . . . . . . Vth cent.
441. CRONENSE, or CHRONONENSE (Cournon), Auvergne; founded by bp. Gallus . . . . . c. 551
442. CROYLANDENSE (Croyland), Lincolnshire; O. Ben., founded by king Ethelbald . . . . . 716
443. CRUCE (DE) S. LEUFREDI (Croix St. Leufroy), near Evreux, Eure; O. Ben., founded by St. Leufred . . . . . . . 692
444. CRUDATENSE (Cruas), Ardèche; O. Ben., founded by Count Elpodore a. 814
445. CRUSAYENSE (Isle Crusay), W. Scotland; founded by St. Columba . . . . . . . VIth cent.
446. CUANNANI, S., Kilcoonagh, Galway . . . . . . VIth cent.
447. CUIMINI, S., Kilcomin, King's Co., founded or enriched by St. Cuimin . . . . . . . a. 668
448. CUNGARI, in Glamorganshire; founded by Cungar and king Paulentus . . . . . . c. 474

A.D.

449. CULTURA (DE) S. PETRI CENOMANENSE (Le Mans); O. Ben., built by bp. Bertram . . . 589
450. CUSSANTIENSE, S. JOANNIS BAPTISTAE (Cusance), dioc. Besançon; O. Ben., founded by St. Ermenfrid a. 700
451. CYRIACI, S. (St. Cirgues), Auvergne; O. Ben. . . . . . . a. 560
452. DABEOCI, S., Loughdearg, Donegal; attributed to St. Dabeoc . . c. 492
453. DADANUM PHILOXENI (Dada), Cyprus . . . . . . . . a. 620
454. DAGAINI, S., in Decies, Waterford a. 639
455. DAIRMACHENSE (Durrow), King's Co.; founded by St. Columb . 546
456. DAMIETTA (DE), Egypt . . IV[th] cent.
457. DANIELIS, S., near the entrance of the Black Sea . . . . . a. 470
458. DARINIS INSULA (DE), near Wexford a. 540
459. DECIMIACENSE, S. CIRICI (? Dixmont), near Joigny, Yonne . . a. 700
460. DEENSE, S. PHILIBERTI (Dée, or Grand-Lieu), dioc. Nantes . . a. 814
461. DENTE (DE), Cork . . . VI[th] cent.
462. DEODATI, S. (St. Dié, Vosges, or Val-Galilée); O. Ben., founded by St. Deodatus . . . . . . 667
463. DEORHYRSTENSE (Deerhurst), Gloucestershire; O. Ben., founded by duke Dodo . . . . . c. 716
464. DEREHAMENSE (E. Dereham), Norfolk; O. Ben., founded by king Anna . . . . . . . . . 650
465. *DERWENTENSE (Ebchester), Durham; founded by Ebba, daughter of king Ethelfred . . . . a. 660
466. DERWENSE, SS. PETRI ET PAULI Moutier-en-Der), Haute Marne; built by abb. Bercharius and king Childeric . . . . . 673
467. DIENSE, S. MARCELLI (Die), Dauphiné; O. Ben. . . VIII[th] cent.
468. DIERMITI, S., Castledermot, Kildare; founded by St. Diermit . c. 500
469. DIOLCO (DE) (Diolcos), Egypt IV[th] cent.
470. DIONYSII, S. PARISIENSE (St. Denys), near Paris; O. Ben., begun by king Clotaire II., finished and endowed by king Dagobert I. . . . . . 632
471. DISERTENSE, S. TOLAE (Diserttola), Meath; founded by St. Tola . . . . . . . . . a. 733
472. DISERT HY THUACHUILLENSE (Dezertoghill), Derry; founded by St. Columb . . . . VI[th] cent.
473. DISERT MEHOLMOC (DE), near Lough Innell, W. Meath; built by St. Colman . . . . VI[th] cent.
474. DISIBODI, S. DE MONTE (Disenburg), dioc. Mayence; O. Ben., founded by abb. Disibodus . . 674
475. *DISIBODI, S. DE MONTE (Disenburg); founded by abb. Disibodus a. 700
476. DIVIONENSE, S. STEPHANI (Dijon); afterwards O. Aug. . c. 580
477. DOIREMACAIDMECAINENSE, in Meath; attributed to St. Lafra the virgin . . . . . . . c. 600
478. DOLENSE (Bourg-de-Deols), Indre; O. Ben. . . . . . . . VI[th] cent.

A.D.

479. DOLOGIENSE, or THEOLOGIENSE, S. MAURICII (Tholey, or St. Maurice, Vosges); O. Ben., founded by king Dagobert . . 623
480. DOMNACHBILENSE (Movill), on Loughfoyle, Ireland; founded by St. Patrick . . . . . V[th] cent.
481. DOMNACH COMMUIRENSE (Cumber), Down; founded by St. Patrick V[th] cent.
482. DOMNACHMORENSE (Donaghmore), Cork . . . . . . . . . a. 700
483. DOMNACHMORENSE (Donaghmore), Waterford . . . . . . . a. 600
484. DOMNACHMORENSE (Donaghmore), near Dungannon; founded by St. Patrick . . . . . V[th] cent.
485. DOMNACHMORENSE, in Maghseola, Roscommon . . . . . V[th] cent.
486. DOMNACHMORIENSE, in Tirawley, Mayo; founded by St. Patrick V[th] cent.
487. DOMNACHSARIGENSE, in Kreimacta-Breg, Meath . . . . . V[th] cent.
488. DOMNACHTORTAINENSE (Donaghmore), Meath; founded by St. Patrick . . . . . . V[th] cent.
489. DONISCLE (DE), ST. ROMANI, in Spain; O. Ben., founded by John and Munius . . . . . . 775
490. DONOGHPATRICIENSE (Donoghpatrick), Meath; founded by St. Patrick, and Conal M'Neill . V[th] cent.
491. DORENSE (Derry), Ireland; founded by St. Columb . . . . VI[th] cent.
492. DORMANCASTRIENSE (Caistor), Northamptonshire . . . . c. 650
493. *DORNATIACENSE (Dornac), Haut-Rhin . . . . . . . . . 635
494. DOROTHEI ABBATIS, near Gaza; founded by its first abb. Dorotheus . . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
495. DORYLAEO (in) GEORGII DE FONTIBUS (Dorylaeum), Asia Minor . a. 600
496. DOVORENSE (Dover), Kent . . c. 640
497. DROMORENSE (Dromore), Down; founded by St. Colman . . . a. 699
498. DRUIMARDENSE (probably Killaird), Wicklow . . . . . a. 588
499. DRUIMCHAOINCHELLAIGHENSE, in Kensellach, Wexford; founded by St. Abban . . . . . . a. 650
500. *DRUIMCHEONENSE, near Mt. Slieu Brileith, Longford; founded by St. Patrick . . . . . V[th] cent.
501. DRUIMCHORCOTHRIENSE, near Taral, Meath; founded by St. Patrick V[th] cent.
502. DRUIMCLIABENSE (Drumcliffe), Sligo; founded by St. Columba . 590
503. DRUIMCUILLENSE (Drumcullen), King's Co. . . . . . . a. 590
504. DRUIMEDERDALOCHENSE, in Tirerril, Sligo; founded by St. Finian VI[th] cent.
505. DRUIMINDEICHENSE (Druimindeich), Antrim; founded by St. Patrick . . . . . . . . c. 460
506. DRUIMINEASCLUINNENSE, near Drogheda, Ireland; founded by St. Patrick . . . . . V[th] cent.
507. DRUIMLIASSENSE (Dromleas), Leitrim; built by St. Patrick . V[th] cent.
508. DRUIMLIASSENSE, in Sligo; attributed to St. Patrick . . . V[th] cent.

A.D.

509. Druimmacublense, in Crimthann, Meath . . . . . . . . a. 458
510. Druimneense, near Lough Garagh, Sligo; founded by St. Patrick V<sup>th</sup> cent.
511. Druimthuomense (Drumhome), Donegal . . . . . . . . a. 640
512. Druinorum, near Cinna, Galatia . . . . . . . . . a. 600
513. Drumboense (Drumboe), Down; founded by St. Patrick . . V<sup>th</sup> cent.
514. Drumcuilinense, near Rathenin, W. Meath . . . . . . a. 590
515. Drumlahanense, B. V. Mariae (Drumlane), Cavan . . . . a. 550
516. Drumranense, S. Enani, near Athlone, W. Meath . . . . 588
517. Drumrathense (Drumrath), Sligo; founded by St. Fechin . . VII<sup>th</sup> cent.
518. Duinnae, S. (Kilduinna), Limerick; founded by St. Duinna IV<sup>th</sup> cent.
519. Duleechense (Duleek), Meath; built by St. Patrick . . . V<sup>th</sup> cent.
520. Dumiense, S. Martini (Dume), Portugal; O. Ben., founded by abb. Martin . . . . . . 572
521. Dunense, S. Patricii, or Leathglassense (Downpatrick), Ireland; founded by St. Patrick . 493
522. Duodecim-Pontibus (de), near Troyes; built by Alcuin . . c. 780
523. Duorum Gemellorum, near Bayeux; O. Ben., founded by St. Martin, abb. Vertou . . . . c. 760
524. Durmacense, or Dearmacense, in Ireland; founded by St. Columban . . . . . . . a. 600
525. Duserense, S. Mariae (Douzère), on the Rhone; O. Ben., built by abb. Norfrid . . . . . . . a. 814
526. Dyniacense, or Denoniense (Denain), dioc. Arras; O. Ben. . 764
527. Easmacneirense (probably Inchmacnerin Isle), Lough Kee; founded by St. Columb . . . a. 563
528. Eboracense, S. Mariae (York); O. Ben., where Alcuin studied . a. 732
529. Ebroniense, S. Mariae (Evron), dioc. Le Mans; O. Ben., founded by bp. Hadoindus 630
530. Edardruimense, in Tuathainlighe, dioc. Elphin . . . . . V<sup>th</sup> cent.
531. Edessenum, S. Thomae (Edessa), Mesopotamia . . . . IV<sup>th</sup> cent.
532. *Eichense, dioc. Liége; O. Aug., founded by the parents of the abb. Hirlinda . . . . VII<sup>th</sup> cent.
533. Elcerabense, near the Jordan; built by Julian . . . . . c. 500
534. Electense, S. Polycarpi (Aleth), Aude; O. Ben., founded by abb. Atalus and his friends . . . 780
535. Elesbani, S., in Abyssinia . . a. 530
536. *Eliense (Ely), Cambridgeshire; O. Ben., founded by Etheldreda, daughter of king Anna . . . 673
537. Ellandunense (Wilton), Wiltshire; founded by earl Wulstan 773
538. Elphinense (Elphin), Roscommon; founded by St. Assicus . . V<sup>th</sup> cent.
539. Eltenheimense, in Germany; founded by bp. Heddo . . . 763
540. Elwangense (Elwangen), Bavaria; O. Ben., built by bp. Hariculf . 764
541. Emesanum (Emesa), Phoenicia V<sup>th</sup> cent.
542. Enachtruimense, near Mountrath, Queen's Co.; founded by St. Mochoemoc . . . . . . . c. 550
543. Enaghdunense, Lough Corrib . a. 700
544. *Enaghdunense, V. Mariae, Lough Corrib . . . . . VI<sup>th</sup> cent.
545. Enixionense, or Hensionense, S. Jovini de Marnis (St. Jouin), near Thouars, dioc. Poictiers . a. 482
546. Eo Insula (de) (Iniseo Isle), Lough Earn . . . . . . . . . a. 777
547. Ephesium (Ephesus) . . . . a. 450
548. Epiphanii, S., near Eleutheropolis; founded by St. Epiphanius . . . . . . . . IV<sup>th</sup> cent.
549. *Episcopi-Villa (de) (Ville de l'Evêque on Marne), Aisne; founded by bp. Reolus and abb. Bercharius . . . . . . . 686
550. Eposiense (Carignan), dioc. Treves; O. Ben., built by abb. Ulfilaus . a. 595
551. Epternacense (Epternac), dioc. Treves; O. Ben., founded by bp. Willibrord and abbess Irmina . 698
552. Equitii, S., Valeria, Italy . . a. 600
553. Erasmi et Maximi, SS., in Naples; founded by Alexandra . . . a. 600
554. Erefordiense, or Petri Montis (Erfurt), Saxony; founded by king Dagobert II. . . . . 677
555. Erminii et Ursmari, SS., near Lobbes in Thiérache, Artois; attributed to bp. Ursmarus . . c. 657
556. Ernatiense (Cluainbraoin), Louth; attributed to St. Patrick . V<sup>th</sup> cent.
557. Escairbranainense (Ardsallagh), Meath; founded by St. Finian of Clonard . . . . . . a. 552
558. Esternacense, near Treves . . a. 740
559. Ethonis, near Kentzingen, Germany; O. Ben., founded by Wingern, or Count Etho . VIII<sup>th</sup> cent.
560. Eudeii, S., Arran Isle, Galway; founded by St. Eudeus . . . a. 490
561. Eugenii, S., near Siena, Tuscany; O. Ben., founded by the nobleman Wanfred . . . . . . . . 731
562. Eulaliae, S. Barcinonense (Barcelona), Spain; O. Ben. . a. 644
563. Eulogii, S., in Mesopotamia . IV<sup>th</sup> cent.
564. Eumorphianae Insulae S. Petri (St. Mary's Isle), Italy . a. 600
565. Eunuchorum, near Jericho . . a. 500
566. Euphrasiae, S., Thebais . . IV<sup>th</sup> cent.
567. Eusebii, S., dioc. Apt, Vaucluse; O. Ben., founded by the hermit Martian . . . . . . . . c. 800
568. Eusebonae et Abibionis, SS., in Syria; founded by SS. Eusebonas and Abibion . . . . . IV<sup>th</sup> cent.
569. Eustasia, Abb., in Abyssinia . VII<sup>th</sup> cent.
570. Eustathii, near Caesarea, Cappadocia; founded by Eustathius . a. 370
571. Eustorgii Abbatis, near Jerusalem; founded by abb. Eustorgius . . . . . . . . . c. 450
572. Euthymii Magni, near Jerusalem; founded by St. Euthymius . . c. 429

A.D.

573. EVASII, S., DE CASALI (Casal), Lombardy; O. Aug., endowed by king Luitprand . . . . 745
574. EVESHAMENSE, S. MARIAE (Evesham), Worcestershire; O. Ben., founded by bp. Egwin and kings Conrad and Offa . . . . . 714
575. EVINI, S. (Monasterevan), Kildare; founded by St. Abban . a. 600
576. EVURTII, S. AURELIANENSE (Orleans); O. Aug. . . . . 783
577. EXIDOLIENSIS CELLA (Excideuil), dioc. Limoges; O. Ben., founded by St. Aredius . . . . . 572
578. FABARIENSE, S. MARIAE (Pfeffers), dioc. Strassburg . . . . . c. 731
579. *FARENSE, or EBORIACENSE (Faremoutiers), dioc. Meaux; O. Ben., founded by St. Ferra and abb. Eustasius . . . . . . . . c. 625
580. FARFENSE, S. MARIAE (Farfa), prov. Rome; O. Ben., built by bp. Laurentius Illuminator . VI[th] cent.
581. FARNELAND (DE), or LINDISFARNENSE (Farne Island), Northumb. a. 651
582. FARONIS S. MELDENSE (St. Faron-lès-Meaux), Seine and Marne; O. Ben., founded by St. Faron . . 659
583. FATHENENSE, S. MURANI (Fahan), near Derry; founded by St. Columb . . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
584. FAUCENSE, or FUSSENSE, S. MAGNI, in the Alpine Swabia; O. Ben., founded by king Pepin . 720
585. *FAUGHERENSE (Faugher), Louth; founded by St. Monenna . . . 638
586. FAVERNIACUM, or FAURINIACUM, S. MARIAE (Favernay), near Vesoul; (afterwards) O. Ben. . c. 747
587. FEDDUNENSE (Fiddown), Kilkenny a. 590
588. FERNENSE (Ferns), Wexford; founded by king Brandub . . c. 600
589. FERRANENSE, S. MARTINI, in Castile; O. Ben., founded by John and Munius . . . . . 772
590. FERRARIENSE, S. MARIAE, or BETHLEEMITICUM (Ferrières in Gâtinais); O. Ben., founded by king Clovis the Great . . . c. 515
591. FERREOLI, S., Uzès, Languedoc; founded by bp. Ferréol, after his own order . . . . . . . . 580
592. FERREOLI, S., in Burgundy; founded by abb. Wideradus . . 721
593. FERRINGENSE, S. ANDREAE (Ferring), Sussex . . . . a. 790
594. FIACHRII, S., near Kilkenny . VII[th] cent.
595. FIDHARDENSE (Fidhard), Galway; founded by St. Patrick . . V[th] cent.
596. FIDHARDENSE, in Hy Mainech, Roscommon; built by St. Patrick V[th] cent.
597. FIGIACENSE, S. SALVATORIS ET S. MARIAE (Figeac), Lot; O. Ben., built by Ambrose, bp. Cahors, and king Pepin . . . 755
598. FINGLASSENSE, near Dublin; attributed to St. Patrick . . . V[th] cent.
599. FINIANI, S., Ardfennan, Tipperary; founded by St. Finian the Leper c. 600
600. FINNLUGHANI, Temple Finlaghan, Derry; founded by St. Columb VI[th] cent.
601. FIODNACHENSE (Fenaugh), Leitrim . . . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
602. FIONMAGHENSE, in Fothart, Leinster; founded by St. Abban a. 650
603. *FISCAMNENSE (Fécamp), Normandy; founded by count Wadingus . . . . . . . . c. 664
604. FLAVIACENSE, S. GEREMARI (Flaix), dioc. Beauvais; O. Ben., built by abb. Geremarus . . . 760
605. FLAVIANUM, near Mutalascus, Cappadocia . . . . . . a. 440
606. FLAVINIACENSE, S. PRAEJECTI (Flavigny), Côte-d'Or; founded by abb. Wideradus . . . . 721
607. FLEDANBURIENSE (Fladbury), Worcester; founded by king Ethelred . . . . . . . . 691
608. FLORENTINUM, S. JOANNIS BAPTISTAE (Florence); O. Aug. . . a. 721
609. FLORIACENSE, SS. PETRI ET BENEDICTI (Fleury on Loire); founded by abb. Leodebodus, Joanna of Fleury, king Clovis II. and his queen Bathilda . . . 667
610. FOILLANI, S., Kilfoelain, Queen's Co. V[th] cent.
611. *FOLCSTANENSE (Folkestone), Kent; O. Ben., founded by king Eadbald c. 630
612. FONTANELLENSE, S. MARIAE (Fontenelles), dioc. Luçon; O. Aug. . . . . . . . . . a. 684
613. FONTANELLENSE, SS. PETRI ET PAULI, or S. WANDREGISILLI (Fontenelles on Seine); O. Ben., founded by St. Wandregisillus . a. 673
614. FONTANENSE (Fontenay), Normandy; O. Ben., founded by St. Evremond . . . . . . . c. 568
615. FONTANENSE, S. MARIANI (Fontaines), near Auxerre; founded by St. Germanus . . . . . a. 570
616. FONTANENSE, S. MARIAE (Fontaines, Vosges); built by St. Columbanus . . . . . . a. 597
617. FORENSE (Fore), W. Meath; built by St. Fechin . . . . . . c. 630
618. FORNAGIENSE (Forghney), W. Meath; founded by St. Munis . 486
619. FOSSATENSE, SS. MARIAE ET PETRI ET PAULI, or S. MAURI (Fossés St. Maur), near Charenton, France; O. Ben., founded by king Clovis II. and St. Blidegisillus . 640
620. FOSSENSE, S. FURSEI (La Fosse), Hainault; O. Ben., founded by SS. Foillanus and Ultanus of Ireland . . . . . . c. 455
621. FRIDESLARIENSE, S. PETRI (Fritzlar), Hesse; O. Ben., built by St. Boniface . . . . . c. 748
622. FRIGDIANI, S. LUCENSE (Lucca), Italy; O. Aug., probably founded by Faulon . . . . . . a. 685
623. FULDENSE, S. SALVATORIS (Fulda), Hesse Cassel; O. Ben., built by St. Boniface . . . 747
624. FULRADO-VILLARENSE (Villers), Lorraine; founded by abb. Fulradus . . . . . . . a. 774
625. FUNDENSE (Fondi), Italy; O. Ben., founded by abb. Honoratus . . a. 600

A.D.

626. FURSEI, S., in East Anglia; O. Ben., founded by abb. Furseus of Ireland, and king Sigbert . . c. 670
627. GALEATENSE, S. HILARI (Galéate), Tuscany; O. Ben., founded by St. Hilary . . . . . . . a. 754
628. GALINENSE (Gallen), King's Co.; founded by St. Canoc . . . c. 492
629. GALLI, S. AD ARBONAM; St. Gall, Switzerland; O. Ben., founded or enlarged by St. Gallus of Ireland . . . . . 646
630. GALLIACENSE, S. QUINTINI (Gaillac), dioc. Alby; O. Ben. . a. 755
631. GANDENSE S. BAVONIS (Ghent); O. Ben., founded by St. Amandus . . . . . . . VII[th] cent.
632. GANDENSE, S. PETRI (Ghent); O. Ben., built by St. Amandus . . a. 653
633. GARBANI, S., Dungarvan, Waterford; founded by St. Garban VII[th] cent.
634. GAREDJANUM, in Georgia; founded by father David . . . . VI[th] cent.
635. GARSENSE, S. PETRI, on the Inn, dioc. Salzburg; founded by Boso, a noble priest . . . . . . c. 768
636. GARTONENSE, near Kilmacrenan, Donegal; founded by St. Columb VI[th] cent.
636B. GAUGERICI, S. (St. Géry), near Cambray; built by bp. Gaugericus . . . . . . . . . 600
637. *GAVINI ET LUXORII, SS., DE TURRIBUS, in Sardinia . . . a. 600
638. GEDDINGENSE (Gilling), Yorkshire; built by queen Eanfleda . . . a. 659
639. GELASII ABBATIS, in Palestine; founded by abb. Gelasius . . c. 440
640. GELLONENSE, S. SALVATORIS (Gellone), dioc. Lodeva; founded by abb. William . . . . . . a. 807
641. GEMETICENSE (Jamets in Barrois); O. Ben., built by SS. Philibert and Bathilda . . . . . . . c. 684
642. GEMMETICENSE, S. PETRI (Jumiéges), Normandy; O. Ben. c. 655
643. GENDARANUM, S. ASTERII (Gendara), Syria . . . . . IV[th] cent.
644. GENESII, S. THIGERNIENSE (Thiers), Auvergne; O. Ben., founded by bp. Avitus . . . c. 520
645. GENGENBACENCE (Gegenbach), dioc. Strasburg; O. Ben., built by count Ruthard . . . . . . 712
646. GENOLIACO (DE), Genolhac, dioc. Périgueux . . . . . . . a. 585
647. GENOVEFAE, S. PARISIENSE (St. Geneviève-du-Mont), Paris; O. Aug., founded by king Clovis and St. Clotilda . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
648. GEORGII S. DE MARATO (Marat), Sicily . . . . . . . . . . a. 600
649. GEORGII, S. (Saint George), dioc. Le Mans . . . . . . . . c. 802
650. GERASIMI, S., near the Jordan; founded by St. Gerasimus . . a. 470
651. GERMANI, S. AUTISSIODORENSE PARISSIENSE (St. Germain l'Auxerrois), Paris; probably built by king Childebert . . . . . a. 558
652. GERMAIN, S. A PRATIS (St. Germain-des-Prés), Paris; O. Ben., founded by bp. Germanus and king Childebert . . . . . 558
653. GERMANI, S. (St. Germains), in Cornwall . . . . . . . . c. 614
654. GERMANI, S. (Saint Germain on Sarthe), dioc. Le Mans . . . c. 802
655. GERMANUM DOMINÆ DE ALIGETA (Germa), Galatia . . . . . . a. 600
656. GERUNDENSE (Girone), Catalonia; founded by bp. John . . . . c. 610
657. GERWIENSE, S. PAULI (Jarrow), Durham; founded by abb. Benedict Biscop and king Egfrid . . 684
658. GLAISMORENSE (Clashmore), near Youghal; founded by Cuanchear a. 655
659. GLANCHOLUIMCHILLENSE, Clare; founded by St. Columb . . VI[th] cent.
660. GLANDERIENSE, S. MARTINI, or LONGOVILLANUM (Glandières, or Longueville), dioc. Metz; O. Ben., founded by Bodagesilus, father of St. Arnolf . . . . . . . . c. 587
661. GLANNAFOLIENSE, S. MARIAE (Glanfeuille), dioc. Angers; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . . a. 800
662. GLASNAOIDENSE, near the Liffey, Kildare . . . . . . . . a. 544
663. GLASSMORENSE (probably Moortown), Dublin . . . . . . . a. 631
664. GLASTONIENSE, or AVALLONENSE, and YNYSWYTRIN (DE) (Glastonbury), Somersetshire; afterwards O. Ben., attributed to St. Patrick c. 433
665. GLEANCHAOINENSE, Hy Lingdeach, Clare; founded by St. Patrick . . . . . . . V[th] cent.
666. GLOUCESTRIENSE, S. PETRI (Gloucester); O. Ben., founded by king Wulphere and Osric . . . . c. 680
667. GLUINHUSANNENSE (Gleane), King's Co.; founded by St. Diermit . . a. 560
668. GOBHANI, S., Teghdagobha, Down
669. GOMON (DE), near Constantinople; Acoemite, founded by abb. John . a. 488
670. GONAGAEUM (Gonage), Syria . . a. 600
671. GORGONIAE INSULAE, S. MARIAE (Isle Gorgona), Adriatic Sea . . a. 600
672. GORMANI, S., Kilgorman, Wicklow a. 600
673. GORZIENSE, S. PETRI (Gorze), dioc. Metz; O. Ben., founded by bp. Chrodegangus . . . . . . 745
674. GRANDISVALLENSE, S. MARIAE (Grandval), dioc. Strassburg; O. Ben., endowed by king Pepin . 770
675. GRAVENSE, or DE GRAVACO (Gravac), Piacenza; O. Ben. . . c. 746
676. GRASSELLENSE, SS. PETRI et VICTORIS (serait-ce Gréoux?), Basses Alpes; O. Ben. . . . . . 692
677. GRATTERENSE, or GAZERENSE, Naples; O. Ben. . . . . . . a. 600
678. GREGORII, S. (St. Grégoire), Alsace; O. Ben., endowed by Bodalus 747
679. GUINTMARI, S. (Lierre), dioc. Meaux; O. Aug., founded by Gunthmar . . . . . . . a. 775
680. GURTHONENSE, or GUERDONENSE (Gourdon in Charolais); O. Ben.. a. 570
681. HAGUSTALDENSE (Hexham), Northumberland; founded by St. Wilfrid . . . . . . . . 674

A.D.

682. HAMANABURGENSE, S. MICHAELIS (Hamamburg), dioc. Mayence; O. Ben., founded by bp. Boniface . c. 748
683. HASELACENSE (Haselach), dioc. Strassburg; O. Ben., founded by king Dagobert and abb. Florentius 633
684. HASNONIENSE, S. PETRI (Hasnon), dioc. Arras; O. Ben., founded by abb. John and his sister Eulalia . 678
685. *HASNONIENSE, S. PETRI (Hasnon); *idem* . . . . . . . 678
686. HASSARODENSE, on the Maine, dioc. Eichstädt . . . . . . VIII[th] cent.
687. *HASTERIÉNSE (Hastières), Meurthe; founded by Bertha, wife of count Wideric . . . . . . . . 626
688. HEAMBURIENSE (Handbury), Staffordshire . . . . . . . . a. 800
689. HEIDENHEIMENSE (Heidenheim), Swabia; O. Ben., built by abb. Winebald, son of king Richard . 758
690. *HEIDENHEIMENSE (Heidenheim); built also by abb. Winebald . . c. 780
691. *HEORTHUENSE (Hartlepool), Durham; founded by king Oswin . 655
692. HEPTASTOMATIS, S., Palestine; founded by St. Sabbas . . . c. 500
693. HERACLEENSE (Heraclea), Thebais IV[th] cent.
694. HERENSE, S. PHILIBERTI (Isle of Herr); O. Ben., founded by bp. Otto and emp. Charlemagne . . a. 800
695. HERMOPOLITANUM, S. APOLLONII (Hermopolis), Egypt . . . IV[th] cent.
696. HERSVELDENSE (Hersfeld), dioc. Halberstadt; O. Ben., founded by Sturmius, or archbp. Mayence . a. 790
697. HIBERNIAE OCULA (DE) (Ireland's Eye Island), near Howth; founded by St. Nessan . . . . . . . c. 570
698. HIENSE (Iona, or Icolmkill Island), Argyleshire; built by St. Columba c. 563
699. HIEROSOLYMITANUM, S. CHARITONIS (Jerusalem) . . . . . c. 330
700. HIEROSOLYMITANUM, S. ELIAE (Jerusalem) . . . . . . . c. 500
700B. HIEROSOLYMITANUM IBERIANUM (Jerusalem); built by king Wakhtang of Georgia. . . . a. 449
701. *HIEROSOLYMITANUM, S. MELANIAE (Jerusalem); founded by St. Melania the Elder. . . . c. 385
702. HIEROSOLYMITANUM, S. PHILIPPI (Jerusalem) . . . . . . a. 361
702B. HIEROSOLYMITANUM, TATIANI (Jerusalem); built by prince Tatian of Georgia . . . V[th] cent.
703. HIEROSOLYMITANUM B. THEOTICI (Jerusalem) . . . . . . a. 595
704. HILARIACUM, on the Moselle; founded by St. Fridoline . . VI[th] cent.
705. HIPPOLYTANUM (Trasma), Austria; founded by abb. Adalbert and Okar . . . . . . . . c. 750
706. HIRSAUGIENSE, S. AURELII (Hirsauge), dioc. Spires; O. Ben., founded by count Erlafrid . . c. 772
707. *HOHENBURGENSE (Hohenburg), dioc. Strassburg; built by abb. Odila . . . . . . . . . c. 720
708. HONANGIENSE, S. MICHAELIS (Hohenhausen), dioc. Strassburg; O. Ben., built by Adalbert, brother of St. Odila . . . . . . . c. 720
709. HORNBACENSE, S. PETRI (Hornbach), dioc. Metz; founded by St. Firminus . . . . . . . a. 700
710. HORNISGA (DE) S. ROMANI (Ornixa), dioc. Toledo; O. Ben., founded by king Cindasvind and his wife Reciberga . . . . c. 684
711. *HORREENSE, S. MARIAE (Oeren), dioc. Treves; O. Ben., founded by Irmina, daughter of king Dagobert, and bp. Modoald . . . c. 675
712. HOSIA (DE), in Bithynia . . . c. 560
713. HUACHUINN INSULA (DE) (Inisquin), Lough Corrib; founded by St. Brendan . . . . . . . a. 626
714. HUBERTI. S., in ARDENNIS (Ardenne Mts.); O. Ben., founded by duke Pepin and his wife Plectruda . . . . . . . . . 687
715. HULMENSE, S. BENEDICTI (Hulme), Norfolk; O. Ben. . . . . . c. 800
716. HUMBLERIIS (DE) S. MARIAE, S. HUNEGUNDIS (Homblières), dioc. Noyons; afterwards O. Ben., built by bp. Eligius and king Lothaire . . . . . . . . 650
717. *HUNULFOCURTENSE, S. PETRI (Honnecourt), Nord; founded by Amalfrid . . . . . . . . 680
717B. IBERIANUM, S. JOANNIS BAPTISTAE, afterwards V. MARIAE, Mt. Athos; founded by the monks John, Euthymius, and George . c. 800
718. ICANHOCCENSE (Icanhoc), Lincolnshire; founded by St. Botolph . 624
719. IGALTHOENSE, in Sacheth, Georgia; built by father Zenon . . VI[th] cent.
720. IHAMENSE, S. MARTINI, in Spain; O. Ben., founded by John and Munius . . . . . . . . 773
721. ILLMONASTRIUM, near Ingolstadt, Austria; founded by Utho . VIII[th] cent.
722. IMLEACHCLUANNENSE, Antrim; founded by St. Patrick . . V[th] cent.
723. IMLEACHENSE (Emly), Tipperary; founded by St. Ailbe . . . . a. 527
724. IMLEACHENSE, S. BROCHADI, in Roscommon . . . . . . . c. 500
725. IMLEACHFODENSE (Emlaghfadd), Sligo; built by St. Columb . VI[th] cent.
726. IMMAGHENSE (Immagh Isle), Galway; founded by St. Fechin . . a. 664
727. INBERDAOILENSE, S. DAGAINI, in Kenselach, Wexford . . . . a. 639
728. INBERNAILENSE, Tyrconnel, Ireland a. 563
729. INCHYMORIENSE (the Great Isle), Lough Gawn, Longford; founded by St. Columb. . . . . VI[th] cent.
730. INGELTINGUNENSE, in England . a. 655
731. INISBEGIENSE, in Kenselach, Wexford; founded by St. Patrick V[th] cent.
732. INISCAORACHENSE, Ibrichan, Clare; founded by St. Senan . . . c. 530
733. INISCARRENSE (Iniscarra), Cork; built by St. Senan . . . . c. 530
734. INISCATTERENSE (Scattery Isle), in the Shannon, attributed to St. Senan . . . . . . . . . c. 530
735. INISCHAOINENSE (Iniskin), Louth . c. 500

A.D.

736. INISCLOTHRANNENSE (Iniscloghran), Lough Ree, Longford; founded by St. Diarmuit the Just . . . c. 540
737. INISDUIMHLENSE (Cape Clear Island) a. 800
738. INISFAITHLENNENSE (Innisfallen), lake Killarney; founded by St. Finian Lobhar . . . . . a. 600
739. *INISFIDENSE (Finish Island), in the Shannon . . . . . V^th cent.
740. INISKELTAIRENSE S. CAMINI (Iniskeltair Isle), in the Shannon; founded by St. Camin . . . a. 650
741. INISLEAMNACTENSE, V. MARIAE (Inislounagh), Tipperary; founded by St. Mochoemoc . . . . a. 655
742. INISLUAIDENSE (Inislua Isle), in the Shannon; founded by St. Senan . . . . . . . . . a. 540
743. INISMORENSE (Inchmore Island), Lough Ree, Ireland; founded by St. Senan . . . . . . . VI^th cent.
744. INISPUINCENSE (Inispict), Cork; built by St. Carthagmochuda . c. 600
745. INISTIOGENSE, on the Noire, Kilkenny . . . . . . . . 800
746. INISTORRENSE (Torre Isle), Donegal a. 650
747. INISVACHTUIRENSE, in Lough Sillin, W. Meath; built by abb. Carthag c. 540
748. INREATHANENSE (Breatain), Down a. 540
749. INSULA BARBARA (DE), S. MARTINI (Isle Barbe), on the Saône; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . IV^th cent.
750. INSULA TRECENSI (DE) (l'Ile), near Troyes . . . . . . . . 537
751. ISIDORI, S. DE DUENAS, in Leon; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . . a. 714
752. ISIDORI, S., Thebais . . . IV^th cent.
753. ISSIODORENSE (Issoire), Auvergne; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . . a. 550
754. ITAE, S., Kilita, Limerick; founded by St. Ita . . . . a. 569
755. ITHANCESTRIENSE, on the Frodsham, Essex; erected by bp. Cedda . . . . . . . . . c. 630
756. JACOBITARUM ABU-MACARII, in Egypt . . . . . . . . a. 600
757. JEREMIAE, near Bethshan, Palestine a. 530
758. JOANNIS ET TRECHII, SS., IN BUXIDO (Saint Jean-de-Bouis), Allier; O. Ben. . . . . . a. 800
759. JOANNIS, S., Thebais . . . IV^th cent.
760. JOANNIS, S. AD TITUM, or AD PINUM, near Classé, dioc. Ravenna; O. Ben. . . . . . . a. 700
761. JOANNIS, S., IN EXTORIO (Citou), dioc. Carcassonne; O. Ben., founded by abb. Anian . . . a. 793
762. JOANNIS NANNI, S., in Egypt IV^th cent.
763. JOANNIS SILENTIARII, S., near Nicopolis, Armenia; founded by St. John Silentiarius . . . V^th cent.
764. JODOCI, S. (St. Josse-sur-Mer), dioc. Amiens . . . . . . . a. 800
765. JOTRENSE (Jouarre-en-Brie), dioc. Meaux; O. Ben., built by Adon, brother of St. Audoenus . . . c. 630
766. *JOTRENSE (Jouarre-en-Brie); O. Ben., founded by Adon, and St. Bathilda . . . . . . . . 684
767. JUGATIUM PAULI, S. (Jugat), Syria; founded by St. Paulus V^th cent.
768. JULIANI CENOMANENSE (Le Mans) a. 802
769. JUMERIS, S.; enriched by St. Radegundis . . . . . . . c. 545
770. JUNAUTENSE (Zunault), dioc. Rodez; O. Ben., founded by king Clovis . . . . . . . . . . a. 511
771. JURENSE, S. ROMANI (Joux), Jura; O. Ben., founded by St. Romanus and friends . . . . 460
772. *JUSSANENSE (Joussan), dioc. Besançon; founded by Flavia, mother of St. Donatus . . . c. 650
773. JUXTA ANTRUM, near Emessa, Phoenicia, the site of the Invention of the Head of St. John the Baptist; founded by Stephen . a. 450
774. KEDEMENESTRENSE (Kidderminster), Worcestershire; founded by king Ethilbalt . . . . 736
775. KEMESEYENSE (Kemesey), Worcestershire . . . . . . . a. 799
776. KEMPERLEGIENSE, S. CRUCIS (Quimperle), Lower Brittany; O. Ben., founded by duke Gurthian . . . . . . . . . c. 550
777. KENANUM, V. MARIAE (Kells), Meath; founded by St. Columb . c. 550
778. KIARANI, S., Seirkeran, King's Co.; founded by St. Kiaran the elder . . . . . . . . c. 402
779. KILALGENSE (Killegally), King's Co. . . . . . . . . . a. 600
780. KILBIANNENSE, in King's Co.; attributed to St. Abban . . . 583
781. KILBRENINENSE (Strawhall), Cork; founded by Aed . . . . . a. 588
782. KILCLIEFENSE (Kilclief), Down . a. 600
783. KILCOLPENSE, near Downpatrick, Ireland; founded by St. Patrick V^th cent.
784. KILCULLENENSE (Kilcullen), Kildare . . . . . . . . V^th cent.
785. KILDALUENSE (Killaloe), Clare; founded by St. Molualobhair . c. 610
786. KILDARENSE (Kildare), Ireland; founded by St. Brigid, for monks and nuns together . . . . a. 484
787. KILDELGENSE, in Upper Ossory, Queen's Co. . . . . . . a. 721
788. *KILEOCHAILLENSE (Kilnagallegh), on the Shannon . . . . V^th cent.
789. KILFOBRICHENSE (Kilfarboy), Clare 741
790. KILFORTCHEARNENCE, Idrone, Carlow; attributed to St. Fortchearn . . . . . . . VI^th cent.
791. KILHUAILLEACHENSE, probably in Fercall, King's Co. . . . . a. 550
792. KILKENNIENSE, near Athlone, W. Meath . . . . . . . a. 773
793. KILLACHADDROMFODENSE (perhaps Killaghy), Kilkenny . . . . a. 548
794. KILLACHADENSE (Killachad), Cavan; founded by St. Tigernach a. 800
795. *KILLACHADENSE (Killeigh), Cork; built by St. Abban . . . . a. 650
796. *KILLAINENSE (Killeen); founded by St. Endeus . . . . . a. 540
797. KILLAINENSE (Killeen), Meath; founded by St. Endeus . . . a. 540
798. KILLAMRUIDENSE (Killamery), Kilkenny; founded by St. Gobban a. 700
799. KILLARENSE (Killare), W. Meath 588

A.D.

800. KILLEACHENSE (Killeigh), King's Co.; attributed to abb. Sincheal M'Cenenain . . . . . . . a. 550
801. KILLOMIENSE, in Roscommon . . a. 760
802. KILLUNCHENSE, in Louth . . . c. 500
803. KILMACDUACHENSE, in Kiltarton, Galway; founded by St. Colman c. 620
804. KILMACRENANENSE, on the Gannon, Donegal . . . . . . VIth cent.
805. KILMBIANENSE, in Down . . . a. 583
806. KILMORIENSE, near Athlone; built by St. Patrick . . . . Vth cent.
807. KILMORIENSE, near Nenagh, Tipperary . . . . . . . 540
808. KILMORMOYLENSE, in Tirawley, Mayo; founded by St. Olean VIth cent.
809. KILNAGARBANENSE (Kilnegarvan), Mayo; founded by St. Fechan . a. 664
810. *KILNAINGHEANENSE, near Arklow . . . . . . . VIth cent.
811. KILNAMANACHENSE (Kilmanagh), near Kilkenny; founded by abb. Natalis . . . . . . . . a. 563
812. KILNEMANAGHENSE, in Leyney, Sligo; founded by St. Fechin VIIth cent.
813. KILOSCOBENSE (Kiloscoba), Antrim; founded by St. Boedain . . . a. 550
814. KILRATHENSE, near Mt. Claire, Ireland; built by St. Coeman VIth cent.
815. KILROENSE, in Tirawley, Mayo . a. 664
816. KILSKIRRIENSE (Kilskerry), dioc. Clogher . . . . . . . 749
817. *KILSLEVENSE (Killevy), Armagh VIth cent.
818. KILTOAMENENSE, in W. Meath . a. 600
819. KINGSALENSE, S. GOBBANI (Kinsale), Ireland . . . . . . a. 600
820. LAETIENSE, S. LAMBERTI (Liessies), dioc. Cambray; O. Ben., built by count Wicbert and his wife Ada 751
821. LAESTINGENSE (Lastingham), Yorkshire; O. Ben., founded by bp. Cedda and king Oswald . . . 648
822. LANDELINENSE, or WALLARENSE S. PETRI (Wallers in Faigne), dioc. Cambray; O. Ben., founded by bp. Landeline and king Dagobert 634
823. LATHRECHENSE (Latteragh), Tipperary . . . . . . . a. 548
824. LATTA (DE), S. MARTINI (Siran-la-Latte), near Sivré, dioc. Tours a. 600
825. LATINIACENSE, S. FURSEI (Lagny on Marne); O. Ben., founded by Count Erchinoald . . . . c. 654
826. LAUBIENSE, or LOBBIENSE (Lobbes), dioc. Liége; O. Ben., built by abb. Ursmar and Pepin senior . 691
827. LAUCONENSE (Saint-Lupicin), Jura; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . a. 520
828. LAURENTII, S. PARISIENSE (Saint-Laurent), Paris . . . . . 591
829. LAURENTII ET HILARII DE ABBATIA (Saint-Laurent-des-Abauts), dioc. Auxerre; O. Aug., founded by St. Ulfinus . . . . . 578
830. LAURENTII, S. DE OLIBEJO, or MONTIS OLIVI (Mt. Oléon), dioc. Carcassonne; O. Ben., built by abb. Anian . . . . . . . a. 793
831. LAURESHAMENSE, S. NAZARII (Lauresheim or Lorch), dioc. Treves; O. Ben. . . . . . a. 770
832. LAUSIENSE (Luze), dioc. Autun . a. 540
833. LEACFIOUNBAILENSE (Lianamanach), Mayo; erected by St. Patrick . . . . . . . Vth cent.
834. LEACHANENSE (Leckin), dioc. Meath a. 664
835. LEAMCHUILLIENSE (Leix), Queen's Co. . . . . . . . . a. 600
836. LEBRAHENSE (Leber), dioc. Strassburg; founded by abb. Dionysius Fulrad . . . . . . . c. 774
837. LECHNAGHENSE (Pierstown), Meath 750
838. LEGIONENSIS URBIS AD MUROS S. CLAUDII (Leon), Spain; O. Ben. . . . . . . . VIth cent.
839. LEIGHLINENSE (Leighlin), Carlow; founded by St. Gobban . . . a. 616
840. LEITHENSE, S. MANCHANI (Lemanaghan), King's Co. . . VIIth cent.
841. LEITHMORENSE, Ely, King's Co.; founded by St. Mochoemoc . . a. 655
842. *LEMAUSENSE, S. JOANNIS (Limours), near Etampes; built by Gammo and his wife Adagulda . a. 703
843. LEMINGENSE (Liming), Kent; O. Ben., founded by queen Ethelburgha . . . . . . . . 633
844. *LENDAUGIENSE (Lindau), Bavaria; founded by count Adelbert . . 810
845. LEOCADIAE, S. TOLETANUM (Toledo) . . . . . . . a. 644
846. LEODEGARII, S. DE CAMPELLIS (Saint Léger on Beuvray), dioc. Autun; O. Aug., founded by St. Leodegarius and Ansebert . . c. 696
847. LEODIENSE, ST. PETRI (Liége); founded by St. Hubert . . . 714
848. LEOMONASTERIUM (Leominster), Herefordshire; O. Ben., built by king Merwald . . . . . . . c. 660
849. LERHENSE, V. MARIAE (Lerha), Longford; founded by St. Patrick Vth cent.
850. LERINENSE (Lérins), island in dioc. Fréjus; attributed to St. Honoratus . . . . . . . . IVth cent.
851. *LIADANAE, S., Killiaduin, King's Co.; founded by St. Keran of Saiger . . . . . . . Vth cent.
852. LIEVANENSE, S. THURIBII, near Potes, Spain; O. Ben., founded by St. Thuribius . . . . VIth cent.
853. LINNALLENSE (Linnally), Antrim . a. 771
854. *LINNENSE (Linn), Antrim. . Vth cent.
855. LINNENSE (Maralin), dioc. Dromore; founded by St. Colman . a. 699
856. LINNLEIRENSE (probably Lynn), W. Meath . . . . . . . a. 741
857. LISMORENSE (Lismore), Ireland . a. 600
858. LITHAZOMENAE, Alexandria . . a. 600
859. LOCOCIACENSE (Ligugé), near Poitiers; attributed to St. Martin IVth cent.
860. LOECIS (DE), (Loches on Cher), Indre and Loire; afterwards O. Ben., founded by abb. Ursus . . 500
861. *LOGIENSE, near Caudebec, Normandy; endowed by St. Bathilda 680
862. LONGOGIONENSE, S. AGATHAE (Longuyon), dioc. Treves; built or enlarged by Adalgiselus . . VIIth cent.
863. LORRAHENSE, S. RUADANI, near the Shannon, Tipperary; founded by St. Ruadan . . . . . . a. 584

A.D.

864. Louthense, V. Mariae (Louth), Ireland; founded by St. Patrick . . . . . . . . V[th] cent.
865. Lucae, near Metopus; founded by Lucas . . . . . . . V[th] cent.
866. *Lucense, S. Mariae (Lucca); built by the clergyman Ursus . 722
867. Lucense, S. Michaelis (Lucca); O. Ben., founded by the nobleman Pertuald . . . . . . . . 721
868. Lucense, S. Petri (Lucca); founded by the priest Fortunatus and his son Romuald . . . . 713
869. Lucense Xenodochium (Lucca); founded by king Sichimund and noblemen . . . . . . . 729
870. Lucense Xenodochium, S. Silvestri (Lucca); founded by the citizens . . . . . . . . 718
871. Lucernense, SS. Mauricii et Leodegarii (Lucerne), Switzerland; O. Ben. . . . . . . VIII[th] cent.
872. Luciani, S. Bellovacense (Beauvais), France; O. Ben., founded by king Childebert . . . . . . 540
873. Lucullanense, S. Severini (Lucullano), near Naples . . . a. 500
874. Lucusianum (Lucusio), Palermo; O. Ben., founded by pope Gregory the Great . . . . . . . . c. 600
875. *Lugdunense (Lyons) . . . . a. 570
876. Luscanense (Lusk), Dublin . . a. 497
877. Luthra (de) SS. Martini et Deicolae (Lure), dioc. Besançon; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . 611
878. Lutosense, SS. Petri et Pauli (Leuze), dioc. Tournay; O. Aug., founded by St. Amandus . . . 545
879. Luxoviense (Luxen), dioc. Besançon; O. Ben., founded by St. Columban . . . . . . . . c. 590
880. Lycho (de) (Lychus), Egypt . IV[th] cent.
881. Lynnealleiense (Lynnally), King's Co.; founded by St. Colman Elo . . . . . . . a. 610
882. Macarii, S., Scithic Desert, Egypt . . . . . . . IV[th] cent.
883. Macedonii, Abbatis, Bithynia . a. 480
884. Macrinae, S., near the Iris, Pontus . . . . . . . . . c. 358
885. Maelruani, S., Tallaght, near Dublin . . . . . . . . . a. 750
886. Magbillense (Moville), Down VI[th] cent.
887. Magheense, in an island of Ireland; built by bp. Colman . . 667
888. Maghellense (Maghee), Galway; St. Abban built three monasteries on this plain . . . . . . a. 650
889. Maghere Nuidhe (de), near the Barrow, Wexford; built by St. Abban . . . . . . . . a. 647
890. Magnilocense, S. Sebastiani (Manlieu), near Clermont; O. Ben., founded by bp. Genesius . 656
891. Maguendi, S., Kilmainham, near Dublin . . . . . . . . . c. 600
892. *Magunense (Mayo), Connaught . c. 664
893. Magunense (Mayo); founded by St. Colman . . . . . . . . 665
894. Magunziani (Maguzano), dioc. Verona; O. Ben. . . . . . . a. 800

A.D.

895. Mailrosense (Melrose), Scotland; O. Columbanus, founded by abb. Aidan . . . . . . . . . . a. 660
896. Majuma (de) S. Hilarionis (Majuma), Palestine . . . . c. 340
897. Majus Monasterium, or S. Martini (Marmoutier), near Tours; O. Ben., founded by St. Martin IV[th] cent.
898. *Malbodiense, S. Mariae (Maubeuge), Nord; founded by queen Aldegund . . . . . . . 661
899. Malischo (de) S. Firmini (Mallschus), Palestine; founded by St. Firmin. . . . . . . . c. 500
900. Malliacense, S. Solemnis (Maillé, or Luynes), near Tours; attributed to bp. Solemnis . VI[th] cent.
901. Malmesburiense, or Meldunense (Malmesbury), Wiltshire; O. Ben., founded by abb. Maidulph and St. Aldhelm . . . . . . . . c. 680
902. Malmundariense (Malmédy), dioc. Liège; O. Ben., built by king Sigebert and others . . . . 660
903. Mandanense, or Malduinum (Saint-Malo), Normandy; O. Ben. c. 520
904. Manseense (Maunsee), Austria; O. Ben., built by duke Utilo . . c. 739
905. Maratha (de), near the Euphrates . . . . . . . V[th] cent.
906. Marcelli, S. Cabilonensis (Saint - Marcel-les-Châlons, or d'Obiliac); O. Ben., founded by king Guntchramn. . . . . . 579
907. *Marceniense, S. Rictrudis (Marchiennes), near Douay; founded by bp. Amand . . . 647
908. Marci, S., near Spoleto; O. Ben. a. 600
909. Marcianense, S. Petri (Marchiennes), Nord; founded by bp. Amand. . . . . . . . . 647
910. Marciani, near Bethlehem . . a. 550
911. Mariae, S. ad Ligerim (on the Loire); endowed by bp. Ageradus 686
912. Mariae, S. Cenomanense (Le Mans), France . . . . . . a. 802
913. Mariae, S. de Charitate ad Ligerim, Nievre; O. Ben. . . c. 706
914. *Mariae, S. de Scriniolo, near Tours; founded by Ingeltruda, aunt of king Guntramn . . . c. 580
915. Mariae, S., in Monte, near Würzburg, Germany; founded by St. Burchard . . . . . . . a. 752
916. Mariae, S., or SS. Gervasii et Protasii, in Aurionno, near Le Mans; founded by bp. Bertichramn . . . . . . . . . c. 680
916b. Mariae, V., in Georgia; built by Evagrius . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
917. Mariae, V., Insula (de) (Inismurray), Sligo . . . . . a. 747
918. Maricha (de), Palestine; founded by Severianus . . . . . . c. 500
919. Maricolense, S. Petri (Maroilles), dioc. Laon; O. Ben. . . . 671
920. Maris, Arabia; founded by Maris c. 420
921. Maronis, S., near Cyrrhus, Syria; founded by St. Maron. . . . a. 420
922. Martialis, S. Lemovicense (Limoges) . . . . . . VI[th] cent.

A.D.

923. MARTII, S., in ARVERNIS (Clermont); O. Ben., founded by bp. Martius . . . . . . . . . a. 525
924. MARTINI, S. DE CAMPIS PARISIIS (Paris); O. Ben. . . . . . . a. 567
925. MARTINI, S. DE PONTILEUVA (Pontlieue), near Le Mans; founded by bp. Bertichramn . . c. 620
926. MARTINI, S., in DIABLENTICO, dioc. Le Mans . . . . . . . a. 802
927. MARTINI, S., in HISPANIA, between Murviedo and Carthagena. a. 583
928. MARTINI, S., in SICILIA (Sicily) VIth cent.
929. MARTYRII, near Jerusalem; founded by Martyrius. . . . a. 500
930. MASSARUM, SS., or S. ENGRATIAE AD MASSAM CANDIDAM (Saragossa); O. Ben. . . . . . . a. 644
931. MASSILIENSE, S. CASSIANI (Marseilles); founded by St. Cassian . c. 425
932. *MASSILIENSE, S. MARIAE DE YVELINO (Veaune, near Marseilles); founded by St. Cassian . c. 425
933. MASSILIENSE, S. VICTORIS (Marseilles); perhaps the same as No. 931 . . . . . . . . a. 600
934. MATISCONENSE, S. PETRI (Mâcon), Saône and Loire; O. Ben. . . 696
935. MAURI-MONASTERIUM, or MAURINIACENSE (Maurs-Münster), dioc. Strassburg; O. Ben., founded by SS. Maurus and Leobard . . . 599
936. MAUZIACENSE, S. PETRI (Mausac), Corrèze; O. Ben., built by the senator Calmitus and his wife Numada . . . . . . . VIth cent.
937. MAXENTII, S., or S. SATURNINI PICTAVIENSE (Poitiers); O. Ben., built by Agapius and monks (rebuilt by St. Maxentius, c. 507) . c. 459
938. MECHLINIENSE, or MALISNACENSE, S. ROMUALDI (Mechlin or Malines), Belgium; O. Aug. . . . a. 700
939. MEDARDI, S. SUESSIONENSE (Soissons); O. Ben., founded by king Clotaire . . . . . . . . 560
940. MEDHOIN INSULA (DE) (Inchmean Isle), Lough Mask, Mayo . . Vth cent.
941. MEDIANUM-MONASTERIUM (Moyen-Moûtier), Vosges; O. Ben., founded by abb. Hidulph . . . 703
942. MEDIANUM-MONASTERIUM (Moyen-Moûtier), dioc. Bourges; O. Aug. c. 624
943. MEDIOLANENSE, S. MARTINI (Milan); founded by St. Martin IVth cent.
944. MEDIOLANENSE, S. SIMPLICIANI (near Milan); O. Ben. . . . 700
945. MELANIAE, S., Palestine . . . a. 430
946. MELANII, S. RHEDONENSE, or DOLENSE (Redon), Brittany; O. Ben. c. 530
947. MELITENE (DE), Armenia . . . a. 400
948. MELITENSE (perhaps Milhau), Auvergne; built by abb. Calupanus a. 576
949. MELLAE, S., Doiremelle, Leitrim; founded by St. Tigernach . . a. 787
950. MEMMII, S. (Saint Meuge), near Châlons-on-Marne; O. Aug. . . a. 576
951. MENATENSE (Menat), Puy-de-Dôme; O. Ben., founded by abb. Brachion VIth cent.
952. MENDROICHETENSE, in Ossory, Queen's Co. . . . . . . a. 600
953. *MENENSE, near Tabenna, Egypt; founded by St. Pachomius . IVth cent.
954. MENI, S., near Jerusalem; founded by St. Bassa . . . . . . . a. 480
955. MEREENSE, S. MARTINI (Méry on Cher) . . . . . . . . . a. 541
956. MESSANENSE, S. JOANNIS BAPTISTAE, now S. PLACIDI (Messina), Sicily; O. Ben., founded by St. Placidus . . . . . . . . a. 639
957. MESSANENSE, S. THEODORI (Messina); O. Ben.. . . . . . a. 600
958. METANIENSE (Metten), Bavaria; O. Ben., founded by emp. Charlemagne . . . . . . . . c. 800
959. *METENSE, S. GLODESINDAE (Metz); founded by St. Glodesinda, daughter of duke Quintrion . . 604
960. METENSE, S. MARTINI (Metz); O. Aug., founded by king Sigebert . 644
961. *METENSE, S. PETRI (Metz) . . a. 782
962. METENSE, S. STEPHANI (Metz); founded by bp. Chrodegang . . 740
963. MEVENNII, S., or S. MACLOVII (Saint-Méen de Ghe), Brittany; O. Ben., built by prince Judicael c. 565
964. MICHAELIS, S. et S. PETRI (Saint-Michel), Sicily; O. Ben., founded by abb. Andrea . . . . . c. 600
965. MICHAELIS, S., in PERICULO MARIS, or DE MONTE TUMBA (Tombelaine-sur-Mer), Manche; O. Ben., founded by bp. Autbert . . . 709
966. MICHAELIS, S. VIRIDUNENSIS (Verdun); O. Ben., built by count Wulfoald and his wife Adalsinda 709
967. MICIASENSE, S. MAXIMINI (Saint-My), near Orleans; O. Ben., founded by king Clovis I. . . c. 507
968. MILDREDI, S., Isle of Thanet; O. Ben., founded by Domneva . . c. 670
969. MILIPECO, or LONGORETO (DE) (Longuay), dioc. Auxerre; O. Ben., founded by abb. Sigiran and king Dagobert . . . . . . . . 632
970. *MILIZENSE (Milze), Bavaria; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . a. 783
971. MOCHAN (DE), Egypt . . . IVth cent.
972. MOCHEALLOGII, S., Kilmallock, Limerick; founded by St. Mocheallog . . . . . . . a. 650
973. MOCHOAE, S., Timohoe, Queen's Co.; built by St. Mochoe. . . a. 497
974. MODANI, S., near Ardagh, Longford a. 591
975. MODOETIENSE, S. JOANNIS (Mondovi); O. Aug., built by queen Theodelind. . . . . . VIIIth cent.
976. *MOGUNTINUM (Mayence); founded by Bilehilda . . . . . . 734
977. MOGUNTINUM, S. ALBANI (Mayence); O. Ben., founded by bp. Riculf . . . . . . . . 805
978. MOHILLENSE (Mohill), dioc. Ardagh; built by St. Manchan . . 608
979. MOISSIACENSE (Moissac), dioc. Cahors; O. Ben. . . . . . . . a. 680
980. MOLANFIDAE, S. INSULA (DE) (Molano Isle), in the Blackwater; founded by St. Molanfide. . VIth cent.
981. MOLINGI, S. (St. Mullin's), Carlow; founded by St. Molingus . . . a. 697

A.D.

982. MOLISMENSE, or MELUNDENSE, S. MICHAELIS, afterwards S. MARTINI (Molesme), Yonne; O. Ben., built by king Clovis the Great . a. 511
983. MONAINCHENSE, S. COLUMBAE, or DE INSULA VIVENTIUM (in Monela Bog), Tipperary . . VII^th cent.
984. MONASTERIENSE, or MIMIGARDEFORDENSE (Munster, or Mons), Belgium; O. Ben., founded by bp. Ludger . . . . . . . c. 748
985. MONCHOSENSE, in Egypt . . IV^th cent.
986. MONSTERIOLENSE, S. SALVII (Montreuil-sur-Mer), Pas-de-Calais; O. Ben., attributed to St. Salvius . . . . . VII^th cent.
987. MONTE ADMIRABILI (DE), near Antioch, Syria . . . . . . a. 600
988. MONTE AMANO (DE), Syria; founded by St. Simeon . . . IV^th cent.
989. MONTE AMIATO (DE) S. SALVATORIS (Mt. Amiat), Tuscany; O. Ben., founded by abb. Erpon and king Rachisius . . . . . 747
990. *MONTE CASTRILOCENSE, S. WALDRUDIS (Mons), Belgium; founded by viscountess Waldrude . . c. 640
991. MONTE CASTRI LOCO (DE), S. GERMANI (Mons); O. Aug., founded by viscount Vincent and his wife St. Waldrude . . . c. 640
992. MONTE CHRISTI (DE), S. MAMILIANI (Monte-Christo), Corsica; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . . . a. 595
993. MONTE CORYPHEO (DE), near Antioch; founded by Ammian. IV^th cent.
994. MONTE DRACONIS (DE) S. GEORGII, Asia Minor . . . . . VII^th cent.
995. MONTE EXTERIORE (DE), Pisper, Egypt; founded by St. Anthony. c. 305
996. MONTE NITRICO (DE) (Nitria), Egypt; many monasteries here in . . . . . . . . IV^th cent.
997. MONTENSE, S. GERMANI (Montfaucon), between Rheims and Verdun; O. Ben., founded by the priest Baldric . . . . . 630
998. *MONTE OLIVARUM (DE), S. MELANIAE (Mt. of Olives), Palestine; founded by St. Melania junior . . . . . . . c. 430
999. MONTE OLIVARUM (DE), S. MELANIAE (Mt. of Olives); founded by St. Melania junior . . . . c. 433
1000. MONTE OLYMPO (DE) (Mt. Olympus) . . . . . . . IV^th cent.
1001. MONTE S. ANTONII (DE), Thebais, Egypt . . . . . IV^th cent.
1002. MONTE S. ROMARICI (DE) (Remiremont), Vosges; O. Ben., built by St. Romaricus . . . 680
1003. MONTE SICEONE (DE), Galatia; founded by St. Theodore. . . a. 580
1004. *MONTE SIOPO (DE) TRYCHINARIUM (Mt. Siopus) . . . . a. 470
1005. MONTE SORACTE (DE), SS. ANDREAE et SILVESTRI (Monte San Oreste); O. Ben.. . . . . . a. 600
1006. MORBACENSE (Munsterthal), Alsace; O. Ben., founded by count Eberhard . . . . . . . a. 728
1007. MOTHELLENSE, near Carrick, Waterford; founded by St. Brogan . . . . . . . . c. 500
1008. *MOWENHEIMENSE, dioc. Eichstädt a. 790
1009. MUCINISSENSE, in Lough Derg, Galway . . . . . . VI^th cent.
1010. MUCKAMORENSE, B. MARIAE (Muckamore), Antrim; built by St. Colman Elo . . . . . 550
1011. MUGNAHELCHANENSE (Mugna), King's Co.; built by St. Finian and king Carbreus . . . . a. 550
1012. MUIGHE SAM, INSULA (DE) (Inis-Mac-Saint), Lough Earn; founded by St. Nenn . . . . . . a. 523
1013. MUNGRETENSE, near Limerick IV^th cent.
1014. MUNNUI, S., Taghmon, near Wexford; founded by St. Munnu a. 634
1015. MYLASSANUM, S. ANDROVICI (Mylassa), Caria . . . IV^th cent.
1016. MYLASSANUM, S., STEPHANI, (Mylassa), Caria; founded by St. Eusebia . . . . . V^th cent.
1017. NABORIS, S. METENSE, at first S. HILARII (Saint-Avold, Metz); O. Ben., founded by St. Fridoline of Ireland . . . . . . 509
1018. NAGRAN (DE), in Arabia Felix . a. 500
1019. NANTENSE, S. MARCULPHI (Nanteuil), dioc. Coutances; O. Ben., founded by abb. Marculph 526
1020. NANTOLIENSE, S. MARIAE (Nanteuil-en-Vallée), Charente; O. Ben., built by emp. Charlemagne a. 800
1021. NANTUACENSE, S. MARIAE (Nantua); O. Ben. . . . . . a. 757
1022. NASSOVIENSE, S. MONNONIS, dioc. Liége; attributed to St. Monnon . . . . . . . VII^th cent.
1023. NATALIS, S., Kilnaile, Breffiny, Ireland . . . . . . . . a. 563
1024. NAVENSE, S. SULPICII (La Nef, Bourges); O. Ben., founded by St. Sulpicius Pius . . . . 628
1025. *NEAPOLITANUM (Naples); founded by Rustica . . . . . VI^th cent.
1026. NEAPOLITANUM, SS. ERASMI, MAXIMI, ET JULIANI (Naples); O. Ben., founded by Alexandra c. 600
1027. NEAPOLITANUM, SS. NICANDRI ET MARCIANI, now S. PATRICII (Naples); O. Basil . . . . 363
1028. NEAPOLITANUM, S. SEBASTIANI (Naples); O. Ben., founded by the nobleman Romanus . . c. 595
1029. NEAS (DE), Jerusalem; mentioned by Gregory the Great (perhaps the same as No. 1049) . . . a. 600
1030. NICAEENSE (Nicea), Bithynia; founded by emp. Justinian . . a. 565
1031. NICERTANUM, S. AGAPETI (Nicerta), Syria; founded by St. Agapetus . . . . V^th cent.
1032. NICERTANUM, S. SIMEONIS (Nicerta); founded by St. Agapetus . . . . . . . V^th cent.
1033. NICOPOLITANUM (Nicopolis), Armenia; founded by emp. Justinian . . . . . . . . a. 565
1034. NICOPOLITANUM (near Nicopolis), Palestine; founded by St. Sabbas a. 500

A.D.

1035. *NIDERNBURGENSE, near Passau, Bavaria; O. Ben., built by duke Utilo . . . . . . . . . c. 739
1035B. NINAE, S., in Gareth Sacheth, Georgia . . . . . . . . c. 400
1036. NIVERNENSE, S. MARTINI (Nevers); O. Aug. . . . . a. 700
1037. NIVERNENSE, S. STEPHANI (Nevers); O. Ben. . . . . 600
1038. *NIVIELLENSE, or NIVIGELLAE (Nivelle), Brabant; founded by Ita, wife of Pippin of Landen, and her daughter Gertrude . 640
1039. NOBILIACENSE, S. VEDASTI (Neuilly), Artois; built by bp. Vedast . . . . . . . a. 540
1040. NOENDRUMENSE, in Down . . a. 520
1041. NOLANUM (Nola); founded by St. Paulinus . . . . . . c. 400
1042. *NOLANUM (Nola) . . . . a. 600
1043. NONANTULANUM, SS. PETRI ET PAULI (Nonantola), dioc. Modena; O. Ben., built by abb. Anselm and king Aistulf . . 735
1044. NONANUM, near Alexandria . . a. 600
1045. NONNIACUM, or MEMACUM (Mémac), dioc. Limoges; founded by St. Aredius . . . . . a. 572
1046. NONUM, Cadiz, Spain; built by bp. Fructuosus . . . . . 665
1047. NOVA CELLA, or JUVINIACENSE (Juviniac), Montpellier; O. Ben., built by abb. Benedictus a. 799
1048. NOVAE LAURAE, Lower Egypt . a. 530
1049. NOVA LAURA, near Jerusalem . a. 550
1050. NOVALIACENSE, SS. JUNIANI ET HILARII (Noailles), dioc. Poitiers; O. Ben. . . . . . . a. 559
1051. NOVALICIACENSE, S. PETRI (Novalice), Piedmont; O. Ben., founded by Abbo . . . . 739
1052. NOVEIENSE (Novi, or Novion), Ardennes; O. Ben. . . . 548
1053. NOVIENTENSE, or EBERSHEIMENSE (Neu-Villier), Alsace; O. Ben., founded by bp. Sigebald . VII[th] cent.
1054. NOVIGENTENSE (Nogent or St. Cloud), near Paris; founded by St. Clodoald, son of king Clodomire . . . . . . . . . 560
1055. *NOVIOMENSE; founded by bp. Eligius and king Dagobert . . 660
1056. NUADCHONGBAILENSE, on the Boyne, Meath . . . . . a. 700
1057. NUTSCELLENSE (Nutcell), Hampshire; O. Ben. . . . . . a. 700
1058. OBONNENSE, S. MARIAE, or S. MICHAELIS (Obonne), Spain; O. Ben., built by Adelgaster, son of king Silo . . . . . . . 780
1059. ODBACHEARENSE, in Patrigia, Mayo . . . . . . . . a. 600
1060. ODRAINI, S., in Hyfalgia, Queen's Co. . . . . . . . V[th] cent.
1061. OMAGHENSE (Omagh), Tyrone . 792
1062. OMNIUM SANCTORUM INSULA (DE), in Lough Rie, Longford; founded by St. Kieran . . . 544
1063. ONIENSE, or DE ONIA SILVAE (Forest d'Heugne), dioc. Bourges; founded by abb. Ursus . c. 500
1064. ORANI, S., Colonsay Isle, Argyleshire; founded by St. Columba VI[th] cent.
1065. ORANI, S., Oronsay Isle, Argyleshire; founded by St. Columba VI[th] cent.
1066. ORBACENSE, S. PETRI (Orbaix), dioc. Soissons; O. Ben., founded by archp. Reolus . . . . 680
1067. ORDORFENSE, S. MICHAELIS (Ordorf), dioc. Mayence; O. Ben., founded by bp. Boniface . . c. 740
1068. ORIENTII, S. AUSCIENSE (Auch), Gascony . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
1069. OSSANI, S., Rathossain, near Trim . . . . . . . . . a. 686
1070. OSTERHOVENSE (Osterhofen), in Bavaria; O. Ben., built by St. Firminius and duke Otto . . c. 739
1071. *OXONIENSE, S. FRIDEVIDAE (Oxford); O. Ben., founded by St. Frideswide and earl Didan . 727
1072. OXYRINCHO (DE) (Behnesa), Thebais, Egypt . . . . IV[th] cent.
1073. *PALATIOLO (DE) (Palatiole), Tuscany; founded by the brothers of St. Valfred . . c. 754
1074. PALATIOLO (DE), S. PETRI (Palatiole); O. Ben., founded by St. Valfred of Lucca . . . . 754
1075. *PALATIOLO (DE) TREVERENSI (Palz, near Treves); founded by Adela, daughter of Dagobert . 690
1076. PALNATUM, S. SALVATORIS (PANNAT), dioc. Périgueux . a. 800
1077. PANEPHYSIUM (Panephysis), Egypt . . . . . . IV[th] cent.
1078. PANO (DE), (Panos), Thebais, Egypt . . . . . . IV[th] cent.
1079. PANORMITANUM, S. HERMAE (Palermo); O. Ben., built by pope Gregory the Great . . c. 596
1080. PANORMITANUM, S. THEODORI (Palermo); O. Ben. . . . a. 600
1081. PAPIENSE, S. PETRI COELI AUREI (Pavia); O. Ben., founded by king Luitprand . . . . c. 722
1082. PARISIENSE, S. PETRI, afterwards S. GENOVEFAE (Paris); built by king Clovis II. and St. Clotilda . . . . . . . 545
1083. PASA (DE), Cappadocia . . . a. 370
1084. PASSARIONIS, S., in Palestine . a. 430
1085. *PASSAVIENSE (Passau), Bavaria; founded by duke Utilo . . . 739
1086. PATARIS (DE), (Patara), Lycia IV[th] cent.
1087. PATRICIACUM, or PRINCIACUM, S. EUSITII (Pressy on Cher); O. Ben. . . . . . . . . . a. 531
1088. PATRICIAE, near Alexandria; founded by St. Anastasia . . a. 550
1089. PAULIACENSE IN ARVERNIS (Auvergne) . . . . . IV[th] cent.
1090. *PAVILIACENSE (Pavilly), dioc. Rouen; founded by abb. Austreberta . . . . . . . 650
1091. PENTACLA (DE), near the Jordan a. 550
1092. PEONENSE, or PHAEONENSE, in Galicia; built by St. Fructuosus 670
1093. PEREGRINORUM, near Jerusalem a. 600
1094. PERSHORENSE (Pershore), Worcestershire; founded by Oswald 689
1095. PETRI ABBATIS, near the Jordan a. 600

A.D.

1096. PETRI, S. BURGO (DE), or MEDESHAMSTEDENSE (Peterborough), Northamptonshire; O. Ben., founded by king Peada 650
1097. PETRI, S. DE MONTIBUS, dioc. Alcala, Spain; O. Ben., founded by St. Fructuosus . . . . 640
1098. *PETRI, S. VIVI (Saint-Pierre-le-Vif), dioc. Sens; built by queen Theodechilda . . . . . . c. 564
1099. PETROCENSE (Bodmin), Cornwall; O. Ben., attributed to St. Petro VI[th] cent.
1100. PEYKIRKENSE (Peykirk), Northamptonshire; O. Ben.. . VIII[th] cent.
1101. PFAFFENMONASTERIUM (Pfaffenmünster), Bavaria; O. Ben., built by duke Utilo . . . . c. 739
1102. PHARANUM (Pharan), Palestine . a. 600
1103. PHERMA, MONTE (DE), Egypt. IV[th] cent.
1104. PHILOROMI, S., Galatia . . IV[th] cent.
1105. PHOCAE, S., Phoenicia; founded by emp. Justinian . . . . a. 565
1106. PIBI (DE), Egypt . . . . IV[th] cent.
1107. *PICTAVIENSE, S. CRUCIS (Poitiers); founded by St. Radegunda . . . . . . . 535
1108. PICTAVIENSE, S. CYPRIANI (near Poitiers); O. Ben., founded by king Pepin . . . . . . 758
1109. PICTAVIENSE, S. RADEGUNDIS (Poitiers); O. Ben., built by queen Radegunda . . . VI[th] cent.
1110. PINETUM (Pineto), Campagna di Roma . . . . . . . . . a. 400
1111. PIRONIS, S., probably Island Bachannis, Carmarthenshire; founded by abb. Piro . . . c. 513
1112. PISTORIENSE, S. ANGELI (Pistoja), Tuscany; O. Ben. . . . . . a. 800
1113. PISTORIENSE, S. BARTHOLOMAEI (Pistoja); O. Ben. . . . . . a. 748
1114. PISTORIENSE, S. PETRI (Pistoja); founded by Ratefrid . . . . 748
1115. *PISTORIENSE, S. PETRI et PAULI (near Pistoja); founded by Ratefrid . . . . . . . . . . 748
1116. *POENITENTIAE, near Constantinople; for penitents, founded by emp. Justinian . . . . . a. 560
1117. *POLLINGENSE (Polling), Bavaria; O. Ben., founded by counts Landfrid, Waldram, and Eliland . . c. 740
1118. POMPOSIANUM, S. AURELIANI, near Commachio, dioc. Ravenna; attributed to bp. Aurelian . . c. 460
1119. PONTII, S., under Mt. Cimier; O. Ben., founded by emp. Charlemagne . . . . . . 777
1120. PORTIANI, S., dioc. Clermont; built by abb. Portian . . . c. 527
1121. PORTUENSE (Porto), near Rome; O. Ben., built by pope Gregory the Great. . . . . . . c. 598
1122. PRATELLENSE (Preaux), Normandy; O. Ben.. . . . . VIII[th] cent.
1123. PROMOTI, near Constantinople . c. 390
1124. PRUMIENSE (Pruym), dioc. Treves; O. Ben., founded by duchess Bertha . . . . . . . 721
1125. PSALMODIENSE, S. PETRI (Psalmodi), dioc. Nîmes; O. Ben. . a. 791
1126. PUBLII, S. GRAECUM, near Zeugma, Syria . . . . . IV[th] cent.
1127. PUBLII, S. SYRIACUM, near Zeugma, Syria . . . . . IV[th] cent.
1128. *PUELLARE MONASTERIUM (Puelle-Moustier), dioc. Rheims; founded by lady Matilda and St. Richarius. . . . . . . . 680
1129. PUTEOLANUM, FALCIDIS (Pozzuoli), near Naples . . . . a. 600
1130. PUTEOLI LUTOSI, SS. MAURICII et MARTINI, or MONASTERIOLUM (Montreuil), dioc. Laon; O. Ben., built by St. Bercharius . . . c. 680
1131. QUADRAGINTA MARTYRUM, near Theodosiopolis; restored by emp. Justinian . . . . . . . . a. 565
1132. QUINCIACENSE, S. BENEDICTI (Quinçay), dioc. Poitiers; O. Ben. 654
1133. RABULI, Mesopotamia; founded by Rabulus and his wife . . a. 430
1134. RABULI, S., Phoenicia; founded by St. Rabulus . . . . . . a. 491
1135. RACHLINENSE (Rachlin Isle), Antrim . . . . . . . . a. 590
1136. RACULFENSE (Reculver), Kent; O. Ben., founded by Basse . . . 669
1137. RADOLIENSE, S. PETRI (Reuil), dioc. Meaux; O. Ben. . . VII[th] cent.
1138. RAITHA (DE), near Mt. Sinai. IV[th] cent.
1139. RANDANENSE (Randan), Auvergne; O. Ben.. . . . . . a. 571
1140. RATHAODENSE (Rahue), W. Meath; founded by St. Aid . . . . a. 588
1141. RATHBECANIENSE (Rathbeg), King's Co.; built by St. Abban. a. 650
1142. RATHBOTHENSE (Raphoe), Donegal; founded by St. Columb VI[th] cent.
1143. RATHCUNGENSE (Rathcunga), Donegal; founded by St. Patrick V[th] cent.
1144. RATHENINENSE, in Fertullagh, W. Meath; founded by St. Carthag 590
1145. RATHLIBTHENNENSE, in Fercall, King's Co. . . . . . . . a. 540
1146. RATHMATHENSE, in Lough Corrib, Galway; attributed to St. Fursey a. 653
1147. RATHMUIGHENSE (Rathmuighe), Antrim . . . . . . V[th] cent.
1148. *RATISPONENSE (Ratisbon) . . a. 800
1149. RATISPONENSE, S. EMMERAMMI, or S. SALVATORIS (Ratisbon); O. Ben., founded either by duke Theodo, A.D. 697, or count Ekkibert and bp. Adalvine . . . 810

RAVENNATENSIA MONASTERIA (Ravenna)

1150. ANDREAE, S.; built by bp. Peter Chrysologus . . . c. 450
1151. MARTINI, S., afterwards S. APOLLINARII; founded by king Theodoric . . . V[th] cent.
1152. NAZARII, S. . . . . . . a. 450
1153. PETRONILLAE, S. . . . . . a. 400
1154. PULLIONIS, S. . . . . . . a. 400
1155. SEVERI, S.; O. Ben.. built or restored by Peter Senior . . 578
1156. *STEPHANI, GERVASII, et PROTASII, SS.; built by the architect Lauricius. . . . . . 450
1157. THEODORI, B.; O. Ben., founded by Exarch Theodore . . . c. 809

A.D.

1158. VITALIS, S.; founded by bp. Ecclesius and Julian of Strassburg . . . . . . . . c. 480
1159. ZACHARIAE, S.; O. Ben., founded by Singledia, granddaughter of emp. Galla Placidia . . . . . . V[th] cent.

1160. *REGNACIAE, S. (Reynagh), King's Co.; founded by St. Regnacia . . . . . . VI[th] cent.
1161. REOMAENSE, S. JOANNIS (Réome), dioc. Langres; O. Ben., built by John, son of senator Hilary. . 442
1162. REPENDONE (DE) (Repton), Derbyshire . . . . . . . . a. 660
1163. RESBACENSE, S. PETRI, or HIEROSOLYMA APUD RESBACUM (Rebaix), dioc. Meaux; O. Ben., founded by Dado. . . . . 635
1164. RHEMENSE, S. NICASII (Rheims); O. Ben., Basilica built by prefect Jovinus, cir. A.D. 300, to which the monastery was afterwards added.
1165. RHEMENSE, S. REMIGII (Rheims); O. Ben., founded by St. Remigius and king Clovis. . . . a. 533
1166. RHEMENSE, S. SIXTI (near Rheims); O. Ben. . . . . . a. 808
1167. RHEMENSE, S. THEODERICI (near Rheims); O. Ben., founded by abb. Theoderic and king Theoderic . c. 530
1168. RHENAUGIENSE, S. MARIAE, or SS. PETRI et OLASII (Rheinau), Zurich; O. Ben., founded by count Volfehard . . . . . . 778
1169. RHINOCOLURANUM (Rhinocolura), Egypt; founded by St. Denis IV[th] cent.
1170. RICHELLAE, S., Kilnickill, Galway; built by St. Patrick . V[th] cent.
1171. RICMIRI, S., on the Sarthe . . a. 800
1172. RIPPONENSE (Ripon), Yorkshire; O. Ben., built by Alfred, son of king Oswy . . . . . . . a. 658
1173. RIPSIMIAE, S., Armenia; founded by St. RIPSIMIA . . . . IV[th] cent.
1174. ROCHAE, INSULA (DE); Inisrocha, Lough Earn . . . . . . a. 500
1175. ROFFENSE, S. ANDREAE (Rochester), Kent; O. Ben., founded by king Ethelbert . . . . 600
1176. ROFFIACO, or ROSIACO (DE) (Moûtier-Roudeil), dioc. Tours; founded by abb. Aredius. . . 572
1177. ROMANENSE, S. BARNARDI (Romans), on the Isère; O. Ben., founded by bp. Barnard. . . 640
1178. ROMANI, S., near Blaye, dioc. Bordeaux; O. Ben. . . . . . a. 580
1179. ROMANUM-MONASTERIUM (Romain-Moûtier), Berne; O. Ben., built by SS. Lupicin and Romanus . . . . . . . . 530

ROMANA MONASTERIA (Rome):

1180. ADRIANI, S.; O. Ben. . . . . a. 795
1181. AGAPETI, S.; O. Ben. . . . . a. 795
1182. AGATHAE, S. . . . . . . a. 795
1183. AGNETIS, S., or DUORUM FURNORUM . . . . . . . . a. 795
1184. ANASTASII, S., AD AQUAS SALVIAS; O. Ben.. . . . . a. 795
1185. ANDREAE et BARTHOLOMAEI, SS.; O. Ben., attributed to pope Gregory the Great (from which St. Augustine was sent to England) . . . . . . . c. 595
1186. ANDREAE, S., or MASSA JULIANA; O. Ben. . . . . a. 795
1187. AQUAE FLAVIAE; O. Ben. . . a. 795
1188. BONIFACII, S.; O. Ben., founded by pope Boniface IV. . . . 607
1188B. CAESARII, S.; O. Ben. . . a. 795
1189. CASSIANI, S., without the walls a. 795
1190. CHRYSOGONI, S.; O. Ben. . . a. 795
1191. CORSARUM . . . . . . . a. 795
1192. COSMAE et DAMIANI, SS.; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . a. 795
1193. DONATI, S., or S. PRISCA; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . a. 795
1194. ERASMI, S.; founded by pope Adeodatus . . . . . . . 669
1195. EUGENIAE, S.; O. Ben. . . a. 795
1196. EUPHEMIAE et ARCHANGELI, SS. a. 795
1197. EUSTACHII, S. . . . . . . a. 795
1198. GEORGII, S. . . . . . . . a. 795
1199. GREGORII, S., Campus Martis . a. 795
1200. GREGORII, S.; O. Ben., founded by pope Gregory the Great . 590
1201. HIERUSALEM (DE); O. Ben. . a. 795
1202. ISIDORI, S. . . . . . . . a. 795
1203. JOANNIS, S.; O. Ben. . . . a. 795
1204. JOANNIS et PAULI, SS.; O. Aug., founded by pope Leo the Great 461
1205. JOANNIS EVANGELISTAE, JOANNIS BAPTISTAE, et PANCRATII, SS.; O. Aug., restored by pope Gregory II. . . . . 726
1206. JUVENALIS, S.; O. Ben., founded by the patrician Belisarius . . . . . . . 540
1207. LAURENTII, S., EXTRA MUROS; founded by pope Hilary . . 460
1208. LAURENTII, S., INTRA MUROS; founded by pope Hilary . . 460
1209. LUCIAE, S., or DE RENATI; O. Ben. . . . . . . . a. 795
1210. MARIAE, S. AD PRAESEPE; founded by pope Gregory II. 714
1211. MARIAE, S. DE JULIA; O. Ben. a. 795
1212. MARIAE, S., or S. AMBROSII; O. Ben. . . . . . . . a. 795
1213. MARTINI, S.; O. Aug. . . a. 795
1214. MICHAELIS, S.; O. Ben. . . a. 795
1215. PANCRATII, S.; O. Ben. . . a. 600
1216. PETRI ET LUCIAE, or LUCAE, O. Ben., founded by pope Leo the Great . . . . . . . a. 461
1217. SABAE, S.; O. Ben. . . . a. 795
1218. SALVATORIS, S. LATERANENSIS; O. Ben. . . . a. 768
1219. SERGII ET BACCHI, SS. . . 740
1220. STEPHANI ET SILVESTRI, SS.; O. Ben., founded by pope Paul I. . . . . . . . 756
1221. STEPHANI, LAURENTII, ET CHRYSOGONI, SS.; O. Ben., founded by pope Gregory III. 735
1222. STEPHANI MAJORIS, S., or CATAGALLAE PATRICIAE; O. Aug. . . . . . . . . a. 795

A.D.

1223. VICTORII, S. . . . . . . a. 795
1224. VITI, S., or DE SARDAS . . a. 795
1225. VIVIANAE, or BIBIANAE . . a. 795
1226. XENODOCHIA; four were restored by pope Stephen II. . a. 750
1227. XENODOCHIUM; founded by pope Stephen II. . . . 750

1228. ROMARICENSIS MONTIS (Remiremont), Vosges; O. Ben., founded by bp. Arnolf . . . . . c. 630
1229. ROSCOMMON (DE), Ireland; founded by St. Coeman . . . . . c. 540
1230. ROSCREENSE, S. CRONANI (Roscrea), Tipperary; founded by St. Cronan . . . . . a. 600
1231. ROSSENSE (Rosse), Meath . . a. 614
1232. ROSSOIRTHIRENSE (Ross Orry), near Enniskillen; founded by St. Fauchea . . . . . . a. 480
1233. ROSSTUIRCENSE, near Mt. Slieu Bloom, Queen's Co. . . . . a. 525
1234. ROTNASCENSE, S. ERMETIS (Renaix), near Oudenarde; O. Aug., founded by St. Amand . 545
1235. SABALLENSE (Saul), Down; founded by St. Patrick . . V[th] cent.
1236. SABBAE, S., S. Palestine; founded by St. Sabbas . . . a. 480
1237. SABIRII, or SAVINI, S. PICTAVIENSIS (St. Savin), dioc. Poitiers; O. Ben., begun under emp. Charlemagne . . . . c. 814
1238. SALAMA (DE), near Alexandria . a. 600
1239. SALCIMA (DE), Alexandria . . a. 600
1240. SALIS (DE), S. MARIAE (Sales), dioc. Bourges . . . . . c. 632
1241. SALISBURGENSE, S. PETRI (Salzburg), Austria; O. Ben., founded by bp. Rupert and duke Theodoric . . . . . . c. 580
1242. SALONENSE (Salona), Lombardy; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . a. 777
1243. *SALTO (DE), S. MARIAE (Sault), Fréjus; built by the noblemen Erfo and Zanetus . . . . 768
1244. SAMIUM CHARIXENI (Isle of Samos) . . . . . . . c. 620
1244B. SAMTHAWISSENSE, on the Rechula, Georgia; built by father Isidore . . . . VI[th] cent.
1245. SANDAVIENSE, in the Alps; O. Ben., founded by counts Landfrid, Waldram, and Eliland . c. 740
1246. SANNABADENSE, S. LEUCADII (Sannabadus), Cappadocia . IV[th] cent.
1247. SANTONENSE, or SALIGINENSE, S. MARTINI (Salignac), dioc. Saintes; O. Ben., founded by abb. Martin . . . . . . . c. 400
1248. SAPSA (DE), N. Arabia; founded by its first abb. John . . VI[th] cent.
1249. SARABURGENSE (Saarburg), Treves; O. Ben., endowed by king Dagobert II. . . . . 577
1250. SARLATENSE, S. SALVATORIS (Sarlat), Dordogne; O. Ben., attributed to bp. Sacerdos . . 720
1251. SAVINI, S., near Barége, dioc. Tarbes; O. Ben., built by St. Savinus . . . . . . . c. 700

1252. *SCAPEIENSE, S. SEXBURGAE (Minster), Sheppey; founded by abb. Sexburgae . . . . . c. 675
1253. SCHEUNIS (DE), in Germany; founded by Hunfrid of Istria . c. 806
1254. SCHIRIAE, S. (Kilskire), Ireland . . . . . . . . . a. 745
1255. SCHLECHDORFENSE, in the Alps; O. Ben., founded by counts Landfrid, Waldram, and Eliland c. 740
1256. SCHLIERSEENSE, by lake Schlier, Bavaria; O. Ben., founded by Adelward and Hiltpold . . . c. 760
1257. SCHOLARIUM, near Jerusalem . a. 490
1258. SCHOLASTICAE, S., dioc. Le Mans, Orne; O. Ben. . . . . . a. 802
1259. SCHOTINI, S., in Slieumargie, Queen's Co. . . . . . VIth cent.
1260. SCHULTERRANENSE, S. MICHAELIS (Schulteren), Alsace; O. Ben., built by Otto . . . . . 603
1261. SCIREBURNE (DE), S. MARIAE (Sherborne), Dorsetshire; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . a. 671
1262. SCUVILIACENSE (Ecuillé), Maine and Loire . . . . . . a. 802
1263. SCYTHOPOLITANUM (Bethsan), Palestine . . . . . . IV[th] cent.
1264. SCYTHOPOLITANUM EUMATHII (near Bethsan); founded by Eumathius . . . . . . c. 500
1265. SEACHLANI, S. (Dunshaglin), Meath; founded by St. Seachlan a. 448
1266. SEANBOTHENSE, in Kenselach, Wexford . . . . . . . a. 624
1267. SEBASTANUM (Sebasta), Armenia; founded by emp. Justinian . . a. 565
1268. SECKINGENSE (Seckingen), on the Rhine; founded by St. Fridoline 495
1269. SEGESTRENSE, or S. SEQUANI (St. Seine), Côte-d'Or; O. Ben., founded by abb. Sequanus . . 580
1270. SEINGLEANENSE, dioc. Raphoe; founded by St. Columb . . VI[th] cent.
1271. SELESIENSE (Selsey), Sussex; founded by St. Wilfrid . . . 681
1272. SELEUCIUM, S. BASILII (Seleucia), Syria; founded by St. Basil, bp. of Seleucia . . . . V[th] cent.
1273. SELEUCIUM, S. THECLAE (Seleucia) . . . . . . . a. 370
1274. SENAPARIAE S. LEOBATII (Sénevière), dioc. Tours; O. Ben., founded by St. Ursus . . c. 560
1275. SENOCHI, S., near Loches; founded, or restored, by abb. Senochus . . . . . . c. 576
1276. SENONENSE, S. COLUMBAE (Saint-Colombe-lès-Sens); O. Ben., founded by king Clotaire II. . c. 620
1277. *SENONENSE, S. JOANNIS (Saint-Jean-lès-Sens); founded by bp. Heraclius . . . . . . 496
1278. SENONENSE, S. PETRI (Sens); O. Ben. . . . . . . . 505
1279. SENONENSE, S. REMIGII, or S. MAURICII (Sens); restored without the walls . . . . 535
1280. SENONIENSE, S. STEPHANI Senones (Vosges); O. Ben., founded by bp. Gondelbert . . 661

A.D.

1281. SERGII, S., near Bethsaloam, Persia . . . . . . . . a. 620
1282. SERIDI, S., near Gaza; attributed to its abb. Seridus . . . VIth cent.
1283. SERVITANUM, S. DONATI (Servit), Valencia; founded by abb. Donatus and Minchea . . . a. 600
1284. SESSIACENSE, S. PATERNI (Saint-Pair-du-Mont, Calvados); founded by St. Paternus . . 485
1285. SEVERI, S., Roustang, dioc. Tarbes; O. Ben., founded by St. Severus Sulpicius . . . . 500
1286. SEVERIANI, Palestine . . . a. 600
1287. SEVERINI, S. BURDEGALENSIS (Bordeaux); O. Ben. . . . . a. 593
1288. SEXTENSE, S. MARIAE (Sesto, Fréjus); O. Ben., founded by Erfo and Zanetus . . . . 762
1289. SIBAPOLITANUM (Sibapolis), Syria . . . . . . . IVth cent.
1290. SIBAPOLITANUM (Sibapolis), Syria . . . . . . . IVth cent.
1291. *SICEONE (DE), PETRINUM (Siceon), Galatia . . . . a. 580
1292. SICEONIS, DE VALLE B. VIRGINIS (Siceon); founded by St. Theodore . . . . . . . a. 580
1293. SICILIAE MONASTERIA; founded by pope Gregory the Great . a. 594
1294. SILVANI, S., near Gerar, Palestine; founded by St. Silvanus IVth cent.
1295. SIMPHORIANI, S., on the Moselle; founded by bp. Simphorian . . 645
1296. SINAITICUM (Mt. Sinai) . . IVth cent.
1297. SINCHEAE, S. (Techsinche), E. Meath; founded by St. Abban . a. 597
1298. SINDEN (DE), near Tyre; founded by St. Zosimus . . . . . c. 520
1299. SINERSTATIENSE, in the Alps; O. Ben., founded by counts Landfrid, Waldram and Eliland . . c. 740
1300. SISTARICENSE, S. MARII (Sisteron), Provence; O. Ben. . . c. 500
1301. SITHIVENSE, S. BERTINI (Sithiu); O. Ben., founded by St. Andomarus, bp. Thérouanne and count Adrowald. . . . . . . 638
1302. SKELIGENSE (Great Skelig Isle), Kerry; founded by St. Finian Vth cent.
1303. SLANENSE (Slane), Meath. . . a. 653
1304. SLEBTIENSE (Sletty), near Carlow VIth cent.
1305. SLIEVE DONAID (DE), Upper Iveagh, Down; founded by St. Domangart . . . . . VIth cent.
1306. SNAMLUTHIRENSE, in Carbury, Sligo; founded by St. Columban c. 600
1307. SOLEMNIACENSE, SS. PETRI et PAULI (Solignac), dioc. Limoges; O. Ben., founded by St. Eligius and king Dagobert . . . . 631
1308. SOLENHOFFENSE (Solenhoffen), dioc. Eichstädt; O. Ben., founded by B. Solo . . . . . VIIIth cent.
1309. SORICINENSE, or PACENSE, S. MARIAE (Sorèze), dioc. Lavaur; O. Ben., founded by king Pepin. a. 768
1310. SPELUNCA (DE), S. SABBAE, S. Palestine; founded by St. Sabbas c. 500
1311. SPHIGMENUM (Mt. Athos), founded by emp. Pulcheria . . . . c. 450

A.D.

1312. SRUTHAIRGUAIRENSE, in Wicklow, near Sletty . . . . . . a. 492
1313. STABULENSE (Stavelot), Ardennes; O. Ben., founded by king Sigebert and Majordomus Grimoald. 656
1313B. *STAFFELSEENSE, in the Alps; O. Ben., founded by counts Landfrid, Waldram, and Eliland . . c. 740
1314. *STAMPENSE, S. MARIAE DE BROCARIIS (Bruyères, Etampes); founded by Clothilda . . . 672
1315. STANFORDENSE, S. LEONARDI (Stamford), Lincolnshire; O. Ben., founded by bp. Wilfrid and Alfred . . . . . . c. 658
1316. STAVERENSE (Stavoren), Holland a. 800
1317. STEPHANI, S., near Cinna, Galatia a. 600
1318. STEPHANI, S., near Jerusalem; founded by emp. Eudoxia . . 460
1318B. STEPHANI, S., near Mameba, Georgia; built by father Thaddeus . . . . . . . . VIth cent.
1319. STONE (DE), in Staffordshire; founded by king Wolphere . . 670
1320. STRATFORD (DE); probably Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire. a. 703
1321. *STREANSHALCENSE (Whitby), Yorkshire; founded by abb. Hilda, daughter of king Oswin . 656
1322. STREANSHALCENSE (Whitby); O. Ben., founded by king Oswin . 658
1323. SUBLACENSE (Sublaco), Apennine Mts.; O. Ben., built by St. Benedict and his sister St. Scholastica . . . . . . . . c. 520
1324. SUCA (DE), Palestine . . . . a. 500
1325. *SUESSIONENSE, S. MARIAE (Soissons); founded by Majordomus Ebroin and his wife Leutrude . 666
1326. SUNGEIACENSE, or DE SONEGIIS S. VINCENTII (Soignies), Hainault; O. Ben., founded by count Vincent . . . . . . . . . a. 640
1327. SUPPENTONIA (DE), Tuscany; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . . a. 600
1328. SURDUM, S. COLUMBAE (Swords), Dublin; founded by St. Columba 512
1329. SUSTERENSE, or DE SUESTRA (Susteren), Juliers; O. Ben., founded by St. Willibrord and Pepin d'Héristal. . . . . . . . a. 714
1329B. SYMPHORIANI, S., Bourges; founded by St. Ursinus . . Vth cent.
1330. SYMPHORIANI, S., near Metz; O. Ben., built by bp. Pappolus. . 608
1331. SYNCLETIAE, S., near Alexandria, Egypt. . . . . . . . 387
1332. TABENNAE, near Assouan, Egypt; founded by Pachomius . . . c. 330
1333. TAGESTANUM, S. MELANIAE (Tageste), Numidia; founded by St. Melania junior . . . . . . c. 400
1334. *TAGESTANUM, S. MELANIAE (Tageste); founded by St. Melania junior. . . . . . . . c. 400
1335. TAMINANUM, S. MILI (Tamina), Lycaonia . . . . . . . a. 590
1336. TAMNACHABUADENSE, in Maghfeuchin, Tipperary . . . . a. 750
1337. TABENSE, Thebes . . . . IVth cent.
1338. TAURINI, S., Evreux; O. Ben. VIIth cent.

A.D.

1339. TAUSIRIACUM, or TAUSILIACUM (Toiselay), Berry; O. Ben., founded by St. Ursus . . . c. 500
1340. TEACHROMAMENSE, on the Dea, Wicklow; founded by St. Palladius. . . . . . . . V<sup>th</sup> cent.
1341. TEALLEANI, S. (Teltown); founded by St. Teallean . . . . . . a. 720
1342. TEGTALAINENSE (Tehallan), Monaghan . . . . . . . . . a. 671
1343. TEGSACRENSE, or TASSAGARDENSE (Saggard), near Dublin; founded by St. Mosacre . . . . . . a. 650
1344. TEJANUM, Phrygia; founded by St. Eutychus. . . . . . . a. 580
1345. TELAMISSANUM, S. BASSI (Telamissa), Syria; founded by St. Bassus . . . . . . . IV<sup>th</sup> cent.
1346. TELANESSENSE, Syria . . . V<sup>th</sup> cent.
1347. TELLII, S. (Teaghtelle), W. Meath; founded by St. Cera . . . . a. 576
1348. TEMPESTATUM, near Apamea, Syria a. 520
1349. TEMPLI BRIGIDENSIS, Armagh; attributed to St. Patrick . V<sup>th</sup> cent.
1350. *TEMPLI MIRACULORUM, near Armagh; founded by St. Patrick V<sup>th</sup> cent.
1351. TERMONFECHANENSE (Terfeckan), near Drogheda . . . . . . 665
1352. TERRACINENSE, S. STEPHANI (Terracina), Rome; O. Ben., founded by bp. Benedictus . . 542
1353. TERTIO (DE), S. MARTINI (Terzo), Italy . . . . . . . . VI<sup>th</sup> cent.
1354. TETTEBURY (JUXTA) (Tetbury), Gloucestershire . . . . . . a. 680
1355. THECLA HAIMANOT, S., in Abyssinia; many monasteries owe their origin and rule to this saint . . . . . . . . VII<sup>th</sup> cent.
1356. THECOAE DE SOLITUDINE, Palestine . . . . . . . . . . a. 500
1357. THEOCTISTI, S., near Jerusalem; founded by St. Euthymia . . a. 410
1358. THEODOSII ABBATIS, in SCOPULO, Cilicia; founded by St. Theodosius. . . . . . . . a. 400
1359. THEODOSII, S., near Alexandria IV<sup>th</sup> cent.
1360. THEODOSII, S., near the Psilis, Asia Minor . . . . . VII<sup>th</sup> cent.
1361. THEODOSII, S., S. Palestine; founded by St. Theodosius Coenobiarchus . . . . . . . a. 490
1362. THEODOSII, S., DE PETRA, near Seleucia, Cilicia; founded by St. Theodosius . . . . . . . a. 600
1363. THEODOSIOPOLITANUM, S. SERGII (Theodosiopolis) . . . . IV<sup>th</sup> cent.
1364. THEOGNII, near Jerusalem . . a. 550
1365. THEOKESBURIENSE (Tewkesbury), Gloucestershire; O. Ben., founded by dukes Oddo and Doddo . . . . . . . . 715
1366. THEOTIMI, S., Scythia. . . V<sup>th</sup> cent.
1367. THIERHAUPTENSE, SS. PETRI ET PAULI (Thierhaubten), Bavaria; O. Ben., built by duke Thassilo 750
1368. THMUITICUM (Thmui), Egypt IV<sup>th</sup> cent.
1369. THOMAE, S. APOSTOLI, India . . a. 600
1370. THORNEGIENSE, or AUCARIGENSE S. MARIAE ET S. ROTULFI (Thorney), Cambridgeshire; O. Ben., founded by king Sebert, or abb. Saxulph . . . . a. 662
1371. TIBRADENSE (Tippert), W. Meath; founded by St. Fechin . . VII<sup>th</sup> cent.
1372. *TICINENSE, S. THEODOTI, or S. DODOSI (Pavia) . . . . . 786
1373. TILLABURIENSE (Tilbury), Essex; erected by bp. Cedda . . . c. 630
1374. TILLIDI (DE) (perhaps Théliguy, near Mamers), dioc. Le Mans . a. 802
1375. TILMOGNIANUM (Tilmogna), Syria . . . . . . . V<sup>th</sup> cent.
1376. TINEMUTENSE or CELLA S. ALBANI (Tinmouth), Northumberland; O. Ben., ascribed to king Edwin a. 633
1377. TIRDACHROEBENSE, in Meath; founded by St. Columb . . VI<sup>th</sup> cent.
1378. TIRDAGLASSENSE, by Lough Deirg, Tipperary; founded by St. Columba M'Crimthann . . . a. 548
1379. TISMENENSE, or MENENSE, near Panos, Egypt . . . . IV<sup>th</sup> cent.
1380. TITAS-MONTE (DE), near Rimini, Italy . . . . . . . . a. 500
1381. TNITENSE (Tniz), near Cologne . 723
1382. TOLLENSE, S. PETRI (Tolla), dioc. Piacenza; O. Ben., built by bp. Tobia . . . . . . . VIII<sup>th</sup> cent.
1383. *TOLOSANUM, S. MARIAE DEAURATAE (Toulouse); (afterwards for monks, O. Ben.) . . . c. 585
1384. TORNACENSE, S. MARTINI (Tournay); O. Ben., founded by bp. Eligius . . . . . . . . 652
1385. TORNODORENSE, S. MICHAELIS (Tonnerre), Yonne; O. Ben. . c. 800
1386. TRAJECTENSE. S. MARTINI (Utrecht); O. Ben., attributed to kings Pepin and Charlemagne 770
1387. TRELICKMORENSE, in Omagh, Tyrone . . . . . . . . a. 613
1388. *TRENTEHAM (DE), in Staffordshire . . . . . . . . . a. 783
1389. TREVIRENSE, S. JOANNIS, afterwards S. HILARII and S. MAXIMI (Treves); O. Ben., founded by St. Maximinus . . c. 500
1390. TREVIRENSE, S. MARIAE AD MARTYRES (Treves); O. Ben., established by bp. Willebrord . 694
1391. TREVIRENSE, ST. MARTINI (Treves); O. Ben., founded by bp. Magnerius . . . . . 587
1392. TREVIRENSE, S. MATTHIAE, or S. EUCHARII (Treves); O. Ben. a. 623
1393. TREVOTENSE (Trevet), Meath . a. 800
1394. TRINITATIS, S., Trinity Island, Lough Kee . . . . . . . a. 700
1395. TRIPOLITANUM, S. LEONTII (Tripoli), Syria . . . . . . a. 460
1396. TRIUM FONTIUM, S. ANASTASII, near Rome; O. Ben., endowed by emp. Charlemagne . . . 805
1397. TROCHLEAE, B. VIRGINIS, Egypt; attributed to emp. Helena . IV<sup>th</sup> cent.
1398. TROCLARENSE (Le Truel), near Chrameaux, Tarn; O. Ben., built by Chramlic, father of St. Sigolena . . . . . . c. 770
1399. *TROCLARENSE (Le Truel); built by Chramlic . . . . . . . a. 770

A.D.

1400. TRUDONIS, S., or S. QUINTINI (Truyen), Belgium; O. Ben., founded by the nobleman Trudo . . . . . . . . 662
1401. TRUTHBERTI, S. (St. Trupt), near Friburg; O. Ben., founded by counts Otpert and his grandson Rampert . . . . . . . . 780
1402. TRYMENSE, V. MARIAE (Trim), Meath; founded by St. Patrick and Fethlemid . . . . . 432
1403. TUAIMGRANENSE (Tomgrany), Clare . . . . . . . . a. 735
1404. TUAMENSE, V. MARIAE (Tuam), Ireland . . . . . . . . 487
1405. *TUFFIACO (DE), (Tuffé), Maine and Loire; founded by abb. Loppa . . . . . . . . 675
1406. TULACHDUBGLAISSENSE (Tully), dioc. Raphoe; founded by St. Columb . . . . . . . VI^th cent.
1407. TULACHFOBAIRENSE, in Kildare; founded by St. Fechin, and endowed by king of Leinster . VII^th cent.
1408. TULACH MIN (DE), (Fermoy), Ireland; founded by St. Molagga . . . . . . . . a. 664
1409. TULENENSE (Tuileim), King's County . . . . . . . . a. 550
1410. TURONENSE, S. JULIANI DE SCALARIIS (Tours); O. Ben. VI^th cent.
1411. TURONENSE, S. RADEGUNDIS (Tours); O. Ben., founded by St. Radegunde . . . . . 555
1412. TURONENSE, S. VENANTII (Tours) a. 506
1413. TURONIUM (La Torre), near Braga, Portugal; built by St. Fructuosus . . . . . . . . 665
1414. TURRIUM, near the Jordan; founded by Jacobus . . . . c. 500
1415. TUSSONIS VALLIS (perhaps Thoury, or Thusey, near Vancouleurs), Campagne; founded by abb. Orderic . . . . . . . 696
1416. TUTELENSE (Tulle), Corrèze; O. Ben., built by count Calminius and his wife Namadia . . . c. 700
1416B. ULUMBANUM, in Karthli, Georgia; built by father Michael . VI^th cent.
1417. UNDOLENSE (Oundle), Northamptonshire . . . . . . a. 711
1418. USKECHAOINENSE, in Inisoen, Donegal; founded by St. Columb . . . . . . . VI^th cent.
1419. UTENBURRIENSE, or OTTENBURIENSE, on the Gunz, Germany; O. Ben., founded by duke Sylachus and his wife Ermiswinda . . . . . . . 764
1420. UTICENSE, S. EBRULFI, or S. PETRI (Ouche), dioc. Lisieux; O. Ben., built by abb. Ebrulf . . . 560
1421. UVAE LACU (DE), Fermanagh . . 500
1422. VALERICI, S. AMBIANENSE (St. Valery-sur-Mer), Somme; O. Ben., built by king Clotaire II. 611
1423. VALLIS CAVAE, Asturias . . VIII^th cent.
1424. VALLIS S. GREGORII (St. Grégoire du Val), Alsace; O. Ben., founded by Childeric, son of Grimoald . . . . . . . 664
1425. VALLIS ROSINAE, near St. David's, Pembrokeshire; founded by St. David . . . . . . . c. 519
1426. VARENAS (AD) S. VALERIANI (Varennes), dioc. Auxerre; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . . a. 700
1427. VATOPEDANUM, Mt. Athos; attributed to emp. Constantine IV^th cent.
1428. VAZALANUM, S. VALENTINI (Vazala), Syria; founded by St. Valentine of Apamea . V^th cent.
1429. VENETUM, S. GEORGII (near Vannes); O. Ben., founded by king Cunibert . . . . . c. 662
1430. VERCELLENSE, S. EUSEBII (Vercelli), Piedmont; ascribed to bp. Eusebius . . . . IV^th cent.
1431. *VERONENSE (Verona); founded by St. Zeno, said to be the earliest in the west . . . IV^th cent.
1432. *VERONENSE, S. MARIAE IN ORGANO (Verona); built by Anteunda and Natatia . . . 744
1433. VERONENSE, S. ZENONIS (Verona); O. Ben. . . . . . . . . a. 750
1434. VETUS MONASTERIUM, S. MARIAE (Montières), dioc. Thérouanne; O. Ben., built by bp. Aunomar and count Adrowald . . . 682
1435. VICTORIS, S. GENEVENSIS (Geneva); O. Ben., founded by queen Seleuba . . . . VI^th cent.
1436. VIENNENSE, S. FERREOLI (Vienne), Dauphiny; O. Ben. . . VI^th cent.
1437. VIENNENSE, S. PETRI (Vienne); O. Ben., founded by abb. Leonianus . . . . . . c. 515
1438. VIENNENSE, S. THEUDERII (Vienne); O. Ben., built by St. Theuderius . . . . . VI^th cent.
1439. VIGORIS, S. CERASIENSE (Cérisy), near Bayeux; O. Ben., founded by bp. Vigor and king Childebert 538
1440. VILLAE MAGNAE, SS. MARTINI ET MAJANI (Villemagne), l'Argentière, Herault; O. Ben. . a. 800
1441. VILLA LUTOSA (Leuze), near Tournay; O. Aug., founded by bp. Amandus . . . . . . . 645
1442. *VILLARENSE (Montivillier), dioc. Rouen; O. Ben., founded by St. Philibert . . . . . . . 682
1443. *VILLA SANCTIS, S. SATURNINAE (Saints-lès-Marquions), dioc. Arras . . . . . . . . VI^th cent.
1444. VINCENTII, S. AD VULTURNUM, Benevento; O. Ben., founded by three noblemen, brothers, Paldo, Paso, and Tuto . . . . . c. 760
1445. VINCENTII, S. DE OVETO (Oviedo), Spain; O. Ben., founded by abb. Fromista and his cousin Maximus 791
1446. VINCENTII, S. LAUDUNENSIS (Laon); O. Ben., ascribed to queen Brunichilde . . . . 580
1447. VINDICIACENSE (Venzat, or Panzat), Auvergne; founded by abb. Bracchio and lady Ragnachilde . 538
1448. VINEARUM, near Ravensburg, dioc. Constance; O. Ben., endowed by countess Irmentrude . . . c. 800

A.D.

1449. VIRDUNENSE, S. MICHAELIS (Verdun); O. Ben., founded by count Wufoald and his wife Adalsinda 709

1450. VISUMENSE, near Lamas, in Leon; O. Ben., founded by St. Fructuosus . . . . . . . . . 660

1451. VITI, S., IN SARDINIA; O. Ben., founded by the lady Vitula . . a. 595

1452. VITI, S., near Mt. Etna, Sicily; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . . a. 595

1453. VITTONI, S. VIRDUNENSIS (Verdun); O. Aug. . . . . . c. 507

1454. VIVARIENSE (Viviers), near Esquilau, Calabria; founded by Cassiodorus . . . . . . . 560

1455. VOLVICENSE (Volvic), near Riom, Puy-de-Dôme; O. Ben. . . . a. 800

1456. VOSIDENSE (Le Vigeois), Vienne; O. Ben. . . . . . . . . . a. 550

1457. VULFINI, S., dioc. Auxerre; O. Aug. . . . . . . . . a. 700

1458. WASLARENSE (Walers-en-Faigne), dioc. Cambray; O. Ben., built by B. Landelinus . . . . 657

1459. *WATTUNENSE (Watton), Yorkshire; founded by abb. Gillebert a. 686

1460. *WEDONENSE (Wedon on the Street), Northamptonshire; founded by St. Werburgha . . c. 680

1461. WEISSENBURGENSE, SS. PETRI ET STEPHANI (Weissenburg), Bavaria; O. Ben., founded by king Dagobert . . . . . . . . 623

1462. WELTENBURGENSE, S. GEORGII, near Ratisbon; O. Ben., founded by duke Theodo . . . . VIII$^{th}$ cent.

1463. WENDESCLIVENSE (Clive), Gloucestershire . . . . . . . a. 790

1464. WERDENSE, or WERTHINENSE, S. SALVATORIS (Werden), dioc. Cologne; O. Ben., founded by bp. Ludger . . . . . . . a. 778

1465. WESIENPRUMENSE, S. PETRI (Wesbrun), Bavaria; O. Ben., founded by counts Landfrid, Waldram, and Eliland . . . c. 740

1466. WESTMONASTERIUM (Westminster), Middlesex; O. Ben., ascribed to king Sigbert . . c. 604

1467. WIGORNIENSE (Worcester); ascribed to Aelfred . . . VIII$^{th}$ cent.

1468. WILDESHUSANUM (Wilshusen), Westphalia; founded by duke Wigbert . . . . . . . . c. 800

1469. WILFRIDI, S., Inch Rock, Scotland; founded by abb. Wilfrid and king Alfred . . . . . 682

1470. *WIMNICASSENSE (Wenlock), Shropshire; founded by St. Milburga . . . . . . . . c. 680

1471. *WINBURNENSE (Wimborne), Dorsetshire; founded by St. Cuthburga, or abb. Eadburga . c. 713

1472. WINCHELCUMBENSE (Winchcombe), Gloucestershire; O. Ben., founded by king Offa (after 798 re-established for monks by Kenulph) . . . . . . . 787

1473. WINOCIBERGENSE (Wormhoult), Flanders; O. Ben., founded by St. Bertin . . . . . . 695

1474. WINTONIENSE (Winchester) . . a. 646

1475. WIREMUTHENSE, S. PETRI (Weremouth), Durham; the monastery of Ven. Bede and Alcuin; O. Ben., founded by abb. Benedict Biscop and king Egfrid, or Naitau . . . . . . . . 674

1476. *WUDIANDUNENSE (Withington), Worcestershire . . . . VII$^{th}$ cent.

1477. XANXARIDO (DE), Cappadocia . a. 380

1478. XEROPOTAMO (DE), S. SERGII, near Bethlehem . . . . a. 600

1479. YPRENSE, or MORINENSE S. JOANNIS (St. Jean-du-Mont, Ypres); O. Ben., founded by king Theodoric II. . . . . 686

1480. ZANO ET BENJAMIN (DE), S. Palestine; founded by Zanus and Benjamin . . . . VI$^{th}$ cent.

1481. ZIPHONIS DE SOLITUDINE, Arabia; founded by St. Euthymia . . c. 420

INDEX REFERRING TO THE NUMBERS OF THE MONASTERIES IN THE PREVIOUS LIST.

Tonnerre, 1385
Torre Isle, 746
Torre (La), 1413
Toul, 95
Toulouse, 1383
Tours, 1410–12
Trasma, 706
Trim, 1402
Truel (Le), 1398–9
Truyen, 1400
Trychinarium, 1004
Tuileim, 1409
Tulle, 1416
Tully, 1406
Tuueoneaeum (ad), 201

Utrecht, 1386
Uzès, 591

Val-Galilée, 462
Veaune, 932
Venzat, 1447
Verdun, 966, 1449–53
Verzy, 167
Vigeois (Le), 1456
Ville de l'Évêque, 549
Villiers, 624
Viventium Insula, 983
Vulcano Isle, 72

Wallers, 822
Wenlock, 1470
Weremouth, 1475
Whitby, 1321–2
Wilton, 537
Winchester, 1474
Worcester, 1467
Wormholt, 1473

Ynyswytrin, 664
York, 528
Yreix, 122

Zunault, 770

[E. B. W.]

**MONASTIC BISHOP**, though not entirely unknown in the Eastern church (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* l. vi. c. 34) came into greatest prominence in the Western, in the development of the church's life. According to the Catholic idea of the church, the bishop is supreme in all spiritual things in his own diocese, the visible source of orders, mission, and all sacramental graces (*C. Antioch.* c. 9). But in different ages this has received various limitations, specially from the principle of patriarchates on the one side and from that of monasticism on the other. The relation of the monastery to the episcopate was at first that of entire subjection (*C. Chalc.* c. 4; Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.* A.D. 451, § 25; Bingham *Orig. Eccl.* ii. c. 4, § 2), even to the appointment of the abbat (Justinian, *Novell.* v. c. 9). But in course of time this was altered, (1) by papal exemptions, on account, apparently at the outset, of episcopal officiousness (Baronius, *ib.* A.D. 598, § 3, 601, § 2; *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* A.D. 675, 963), or by regal, as by King Ina's charter to Glastonbury A.D. 725 (Wilkins, *Conc.* i. 80), or by conciliar, as by the synod at Herutford, A.D. 673 (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. c. 5), and perhaps the third council of Arles, A.D. 455 (Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* i. c. vii. § 14), and (2) by the spread of Christianity through monastic agencies beyond the limits of the old Roman empire and hence outside the ordinary means of diocesan organisation. [ORDERS.] So long as the monastery continued under the entire jurisdiction of the bishop as head and centre of spiritual life in his diocese, he supplied the needs of its members with all episcopal offices. But when the monastery was either withdrawn from his jurisdiction, or was established prior to and practically outside the direct agency of the bishop, the natural relations became inverted, and while the grace of orders remained of necessity with the bishop, the jurisdiction and mission passed for the time to the monastery, and the monastic bishop was under the jurisdiction of the monastic head, the abbat, whether ordained or lay. This is most frequently met with in the Celtic church of Ireland and her offshoots in Scotland and Northumbria, where it presented itself to the venerable Bede as an "ordo inusitatus" (*Hist Eccl.* iii. c. 4). It is also met with on the continent. According to ecclesiastical principle the monastery required a bishop for the discharge of episcopal functions to the inmates, and if the chief official was the abbat, the bishop was at least one of the "family," honoured indeed for his sacred office (Adamn. *Vit. S. Col.* i. c. 44), though under the abbat in jurisdiction and monastic precedence; he was higher in spiritual power (*Ib.* i. c. 36), though lower in local dignity and official, that is, monastic rank.

Monasticism spread rapidly from the Thebaid into the Western church, its great patron in Gaul being St. Martin, the celebrated bishop of Tours (A.D. 371–397), who built monasteries at Poitiers and Tours, and by his authority and exhortation established the monastic system. When and by whom the Gospel was carried across the Channel to Britain and Ireland is unknown to authentic history, but Pelagius introducing monasticism seems a fable (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 291). When the Gospel is met with in Britain it is radiating from monastic centres (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i. c. 27, ii. c. 2), and it was not till the 12th century that the monastic church of Ireland had become merged in the diocesan. Accepting the "Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae, secundum diversa tempora," supposed to have been written by Tirechan in the 8th century, and first published by Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Ant.* vi. 477–479), as embodying a certain amount of truth regarding the condition of the early Irish church, as at one time purely episcopal, then monastic, and finally eremitic, we find monasticism firmly established in Ireland at an early date. St. Patrick, himself a bishop, founded churches and monasteries, ordained bishops and presbyters, and spread the faith as a zealous missionary; yet in his own church at Armagh, while bishops are recorded in an uninterrupted line from A.D. 447 to 535 inclusive, bishops and abbats are mingled from that date to the twelfth century (*Four Mast.*; *Ann. Ulst.*; *Ann. Tig.*; *Ann Clonm.*; *Ann. Inisf.*), the obits of eleven bishops and fourteen abbats being given between the years 547 and 811 inclusive (*Four Mast.*); but in the common lists of prelates these are all alike treated as bishops (Ware, *Irish Bishops*). So at Kildare from A.D. 519 to 800 inclusive, there are recorded eight abbesses, seven abbats and five bishops, but at Bangor from A.D. 552 to 812 inclusive there is a single line of twenty-nine abbats and no bishops (*Four Mast.*). From this we may infer either that the obits of abbats and bishops alike, when contemporaneous, were entered in the annals, or more probably that the leading idea was to give the abbatial succession, and that a bishop at times held the abbacy, as at other times he was scribe and anchoret (Reeves, *S. Adamn.* 365), yet "Affiath, bishop of Ard-Macha, and Aireachtach Ua Faelain, abbat of Ard-Macha, died on the same night" (*Four Mast.* A.D. 793), and Ware has to count them both as one bishop (Todd, *St. Patrick*, 20 sq.; *Prim. Hist. Ch. Ir.* 448, Dubl. 1851).

The first clear instance of an Irish monastic bishop is in St. Brigida's monastery at Kildare, in the end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th centuries. Cogitosus (*Vita S. Brigidae*) says in the language of probably the 7th century, "Haec ergo egregiis crescens virtutibus, ubi per famam bonarum rerum ad eam ab omnibus provinciis Hiberniae innumerabiles populi de utroque sexu confluebant vota sibi volentes voluntariè, suum monasterium caput penè omnium Hiberniensium ecclesiarum, et culmen praecellens omnia monasteria Scotorum (cujus Parrochia per totam Hiberniensem terram diffusa a mari

usque ad mare extensa est), in campestribus campi Liffei supra fundamentum fidei firmum construxit: et prudenti dispensatione de animabus eorum regulariter in omnibus procurans, et de ecclesiis multarum provinciarum sibi adhaerentibus sollicitans, et secum revolvens, quod sine summo sacerdote, qui ecclesias consecraret, et ecclesiasticos in eis gradus subrogaret esse non posset, illustrem virum et solitarium omnibus moribus ornatum, per quem Deus virtutes operatus est plurimas, convocans eum de eremo . . . ut ecclesiam in episcopali dignitate cum ea gubernaret, atque ut nihil de ordine sacerdotali in suis deesset ecclesiis, accersivit" (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 518; Todd, *S. Patr.* 13 sq.; Smith and Wace, *Dict. Christ. Biog.* "Conlaedh.") Though not so explicitly yet with sufficient precision we find the same practice to have prevailed in the Columban monastery of Hy. "Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provincia, et ipsi etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus, sed presbyter extitit et monachus" (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. c. 4), and the fourth abbat there, Fergna Brit, is called a bishop (*Four Mast.* A.D. 622; *Mart. Doneg.* March 2; Reeves, *S. Adamn.* 340–341, 372). To Lindisfarne bishop Aidan was sent by the monastery of Hy (Bede, *ib.* iii. c. 3), and there also the abbat governed and the clergy, with the bishop himself, observed the monastic rule (Bede, *Vit. S. Cuth.* c. 16). When Fergil or Virgilius, abbat of Aghaboe, became abbat of Salzburg, in the 8th century, "dissimulata ordinatione fermè annorum duorum spatiis, habuit secum laboris et coronae participem episcopum comitantem de patria, nomine Dobda, ad persolvendum episcopale officium" (*Vit. S. Virg.* ap. Messingham, *Flor. Ins. Sanct.* 331). In S. Columbanus's Irish foundation at Bobio, a slightly different practice prevailed, which points to the jealousy already arising between the monastery and episcopate and ending in the frequent monastic exemptions by the popes; the bishop was invited into the monastery as required, and was specially excluded from all power in monastic affairs (Messingham, *ib.* 248). At other times a bishop-abbat directed the affairs of the monastery [ABBAT], not in Ireland only but elsewhere (Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 129), and thus was the monastic bishop exercising, pro hâc vice, the monastic jurisdiction (Du Cange, *Gloss.* iii. 108–9).

On the continent, mostly in exempt abbeys and monasteries, the monastic bishop was a recognized official in the 8th century, as in the abbey of St. Denis near Paris, the abbey of St. Martin at Tours, the monastery of Lobes or Laubes in Belgium, and the monastery at Salzburg in Bavaria as above mentioned (Todd, *S. Patrick*, 48 sq. treating the question fully with authorities; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 254–5). Under the Benedictine Rule there was special provision made for him; "igitur ut junioribus praesertim fratribus omnis discurrendi occasio tolleretur ad sacros suscipiendos ordines, ad requirendum chrisma, neve adventu episcoporum in monasteria ad sacras ordinationes explendas, quies monachorum turbaretur, plerique episcopum ad manum semper in monasteriis sive abbatem sive simplicem monachum habere voluerunt" (Martene et Durand, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.* t. i. Praef. ap. Todd, *S. Patrick*, 69). In the monastery of Mount Sinai, in the 11th century, the abbat and 500 monks had their own bishop (Todd, *ib.* 67–8).

But regarding the monastic bishop a further distinction is necessary. Bishops sometimes, in the first zeal of monasticism, lived with their clergy in a quasi-monastic state (Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* vii. c. 2, § 8) to assimilate the life in cities to that in the desert: thus St. Augustine of Hippo "factus presbyter monasterium intra ecclesiam mox instituit, et cum Dei servis vivere coepit secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis Apostolis constitutam" (Possidius, *Vita S. Aug.* c. 6; *Opp. S. Aug.* t. x. App. col. 260, Venet. 1729). And when he became bishop he had "in ista domo Episcopi meum monasterium clericorum" (*Serm.* 49 *de Diversis*, t. x. 519), or bishops demitted their episcopal charges and retired to monasteries for contemplation and prayer. But neither of these were properly monastic bishops. Again, according to Catholic rule, ordination and consecration could only be to definite charges, and not ἀπολελυμένως "at large" (Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* iv. c. 6), yet in the Celtic church this rule (*Conc. Chalc.* c. 6) seems never to have been closely followed, but the episcopate was frequently conferred on persons who were eminent for learning, piety, or other personal qualification, as it was also in the East (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* l. vi. c. 33–4). Hence, in the Irish annals, we find bishops without local designation, or named only in connexion with the place where they chanced to live at the time without being either diocesan or monastic. Again there were groups of bishops, seven being a favourite number (*Mart. Doneg.*), and also in single monasteries a large company of bishops under the abbat, as at Louth a hundred bishops under Mochta (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 729, c. 7). The evident effect of this system was to multiply indefinitely the number of bishops both without and within the monasteries, and to foster that restless spirit which was attempted to be checked by the synod at Herutford (c. 4 in its disputed reading, "Ut *episcopi* monachi non migrent de loco ad locum," Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. c. 5), which carried so many Irish bishops across to the continent, especially after the monasteries began to be plundered by the Northmen, and which called for the frequent conciliar enactments against the see-less bishops, the episcopi vagi, vacantes, and vagantes, and the "Scoti qui se dicunt episcopos esse" (C. Cabill. c. 43) [BISHOP V.] both in England and on the Continent. Having been trained under a different system, they came into frequent collision with the diocesan bishops, and even in the 11th and 12th centuries St. Anselm of Canterbury and St. Bernard of Clairvaux could regard the want of diocesan organisation in Ireland as a serious blot on the whole Irish church (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* iv. 523), a "dissolutio ecclesiasticae disciplinae, censurae enervatio, religionis evacuatio" (S. Bern. *De Vit. Mal.* c. 10).

(Du Cange, *Gloss.*; Fleury, *Eccl. Hist.*; Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of S. Columba*, *History of the Culdees*, and *Eccl. Ant. of Down, Connor, and Dromore*; Todd, *S. Patrick*; Mosheim, *Ch. Hist.*; *Monumenta Hist. Brit.*; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii.; Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.*) [J. G.]

**MONESSA**, virgin. [MUNESSA.]

**MONEY.** *Introduction.*—The appearance of any positive indication of Christian influence on the coins of the Roman emperors has been generally considered to commence under Constantine I. the Great, since during his reign most of the public money bears official marks of the new religion which he embraced. There are, however, a few isolated examples previous to his time, which are of sufficient interest to need special illustration; (1) the representation of the deluge; (2) a symbol like the monogram of Christ: and (3) the legend IN PACE.*

1. *Obv.* ΑΥΤ. Κ. Λ. CΕΠΤ. CΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΠΕΡΤΙ. Bust of Septimius Severus to the right, laureated with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΑ. Γ. In the exergue ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. [*Under Artemas, Agonothetes* (*or judge at the games*) *for the third time* (*money*) *of the Apameans.*] Two figures, a male and a female within an ark, on which is inscribed ΝΩΕ, and which is floating on some water. Outside the ark two figures, a male and a female, standing as if in adoration. On the top of the ark a bird perched; in the field above a bird flying toward the ark, holding an olive branch in its claws. Æ. (Fig. 1; *Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.*)

The remarkable coins giving the representation of the deluge were issued during the reigns of three emperors, (1) Sept. Severus, 193–211, who was at first favourable to the Christians, and whose son Caracalla had a Christian nurse (Tertull. *ad Scap.* iv.; cf. Spart. *in Carac.* 1), but who at a later period of his reign, 202, allowed a persecution to prevail (Spart. *in Sev.* 17; Euseb. *H. E.* vi. c. 2); (2) Macrinus, 217, under whom the church enjoyed peace, and (3) Philip I. 244–249, whose Christian tendencies have been the source of much discussion (Moniglia, *de Relig. utriusque Phil. Aug. Diss. duae*, Rom. 4to, 1741; Greppo, *Notes hist. biog. etc. concern. les prem. siècles chrét.* Lyons, 1841; Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. ii.; Lardner, *Cred.* vol. vii. etc.), and who by many ecclesiastical authors has been considered the *first* Roman Emperor who was a Christian (Oros. *Hist.* vii. 20; Hieron. *de Vir. Ill.* 52; *Chron.* ed. Mai, vol. viii. p. 646), an honour that more properly belongs to Constantine I. the Great (Lactant. *De fals. Relig.* c. 1; Sulp. Sev. *Sacr. Hist.* ii. 33; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. c. 75; Theod. *H. E.* v. c. 39).

The type of these coins was by early numismatists and scholars (Falconeri, Froelich, Hardouin, Bryant, Barrington, Milles, etc.) considered to refer to the Greek legend of the flood of Deucalion, in which it is stated that Zeus had resolved to destroy all mankind, with the exception of Deucalion and Pyrrha, whilst the letters on the ark were supposed to have been either added by a forger or altered from ΝΕΩΚ [ὁρῶν]. Numismatists, however, of the present century have not failed to recognise that the letters on the ark are certainly ΝΩΕ and that the type refers to the Noachian deluge, the figures both inside and outside the ark representing Noah and his wife, in the latter case holding up their hands in thanksgiving for their safety. It has been suggested (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 137), and with much probability, that the word ΝΩΕ was placed on these coins so that there might be no confusion with the flood of Deucalion, in a similar manner as on the coins of Magnesia in Ionia the word ΑΡΓΩ is put to show that the vessel thereon represented is the ship 'Argo,' in which history makes Jason and his colleagues sail in search of the golden fleece.

It is not difficult to distinguish on these coins the form of the raven from that of the dove, and the Bible gives an account of the presence of only these two birds. In the short description of the flood of Deucalion, by Plutarch (*De Solert. Animal.* xiii. ed. Didot) there is allusion to a *dove*, but there is no mention of an olive branch or of another bird. In the Chaldaean accounts of the deluge, as preserved in the fragments of Berosus and Abydenus (Cory, *Anc. Frag.* 2nd ed. pp. 28–34), *some birds* were twice sent out to discover if the waters had receded, and the second time they returned with, instead of an olive branch, *some mud on their feet;* whilst in the Assyrian accounts (G. Smith, *Chald. Acct. of Genesis*, 1876) it is stated that "a dove, a swallow, and a raven" were sent forth, the two former of which returned to the ship, but the raven did not come back. These statements are

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* Professor Churchill Babington has kindly called my attention to the coins of the kings of Edessa, and has sent me the following note respecting them:—"Among the kings of Edessa, Abgar Bar Manu, or Abgar VIII. (who reigned 153–189, according to Langlois) is said to have been 'a holy man,' (ἱερὸς ἀνὴρ Jul. Afric. *in Euseb. Chron.* Olymp. 149, 1); and as he patronized the Christian Bardesanes, and forbade the worship of Cybele, it has been inferred that he was a Christian, and this inference is thought 'to be strengthened by the fact that on the coins of this prince the usual symbols of the old national worship are for the first time wanting and the sign of the cross appears in their place' (Neander, *Ch. Hist.* vol. i. p. 111 [Bohn], following Bayer, *Hist. Osr. et Edess. ex Num. illustr.* lib. iii. p. 171, who figures two coins of an Abgarus, contemporary with Severus, and bearing his head on which a *cross* appears on the tiara). The cross is formed in one case of five dots (pearls), in the other the central dot becomes oval. The chronology of these kings is doubtful. Neander places Abgar Bar Manu between 160–170, but it seems impossible in any case that these coins belong to him. The cross, however (apparently of five united dots), is found on a coin of Abgarus, having the head of Commodus on the reverse (Langlois, *Num. de l'Arménie*, pl. iv. No. 7), who may be Abgar VIII. That which is certain about these coins is that on some coins of an Abgar contemporary with Severus a *cross* occurs on the diadem, while on others we have the crescent surmounted by a star, taken by Bayer and Neander to be the symbols of the old national worship." On a coin of Abgarus and Commodus in the British Museum, there appears to be on the diadem of Abgar a + or ×, but I am inclined to think with Professor Babington, that the supposed cross on these coins of Edessa is only a cruciform star or ornament without any Christian significance.

On a coin of barbarous fabric of the Roman emperor Tetricus (267–273), with legend ORIENS AVG (Cohen, *Suppl.* No. 26), or of Tacitus (275–276), published by Rasche (*Lex.* vol. i. pt. ii. p. 1098), there is said to be in the field a *cross*, but in both cases it is probably a *star*, though it may be that these pieces were issued long after at the epoch of Christianity. A *cross* is also given by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.* vol. vi. pl. xv.) in the field of a coin of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian, but this coin has been incorrectly engraved and described and the object is really a *star* (Madden, *Handb. of Rom. Num.* p. 168, 1861, pl. iv. No. 3).

quite contrary to that in Genesis, as also to the subject shown on the coins. A very important feature of this type (Lenormant, *Mél. d'Arch.* vol. iii. p. 199, 1853) is the exactness with which, as regards the raven, it agrees with the Hebrew text, which is quite at variance with the LXX and Vulg. In these latter (Gen. viii. 7) the raven is stated as "*not returning* until the water had dried from off the earth" (*καὶ ἐξελθὼν, οὐκ ἀνέστρεψεν ἕως τοῦ ξηρανθῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.*—Qui *egredicbatur* et *non revertebatur*, donec siccarentur aquae super terram), whereas in the Heb. text we read that the raven "went forth *to and fro* until the waters were dried up from off the earth" (וַיֵּצֵא יָצוֹא וָשׁוֹב עַד־יְבֹשֶׁת הַמַּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ "Et exiit *egrediendo* et *redeundo*, donec arescerent aquae desuper terram," Walton, *Polygott*; Kalisch, *Crit. Com.*; Patrick, *Com.* etc.). The expression "to and fro" leaves no doubt that the raven – a bad messenger and Noah chose another, the dove —must have returned at intervals to the ark, and in all probability rested on its top, as indeed it is represented on these coins.

It is also interesting to compare the type of these coins with the representations on early Christian monuments. A painting of the 3rd century, in the catacombs at Rome (Savinien Petit, *Mél. d'Arch.* vol. iii. pl. xxix. Paris, 1853), shows Noah in the ark and a dove holding an olive branch in its mouth flying towards him; Noah's wife is not represented, nor the raven, but one cannot fail to observe the striking similarity of the shape of the ark, its cover, the figure of Noah and the dove. Though the raven is not found on any of the paintings of the catacombs, it may be seen on a bas-relief found at D'Jemila, in Algeria (De la Mare, *Revue Arch.* 1849, vol. vi. p. 196), and is here occupied in devouring the carcases.

It now remains to assign a reason, if possible, for this type occurring upon the coins of Apameia. In the first place there was a Phrygian legend of a great flood relating to Annacus or Nannacus, a king who resided at Iconium, and who lived to the age of 300 years. When he died the tradition was that all mankind would be destroyed (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἰκόνιον; Suidas, *s.v.* Νάννακος). There is not much doubt that the Old Testament influenced this tradition, and it is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that there is here a reference to Enoch, the father of Methuselah, who after his son's birth "walked with God 300 years" (Gen. v. 22). Prof. Ewald indeed has supposed (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. 356) that the city Enoch, which was built by the eldest son of Cain, and called after his name (Gen. iv. 17, 18), refers to the Phrygian city of Iconium, at which Annacus is supposed to have resided. In the second place the curious lines in the "Sibylline Books" (*Orac. Sibyll.* vv. 247–256, 261–267) may have actually suggested to the Apameans the types for these coins. They are as follows: "But Noah resting some days sent again the dove that he might know whether the Deluge had ceased, but she flying up and down fled away, and descending to earth rested a little her body on the wet earth and returned bringing a branch of an olive tree, a great sign of good news . . . . and then presently he sent forth another bird black-winged, and she flew away and remained on the earth. . . . . There is on the continent of black Phrygia a high and great mountain called Ararat. . . . . Here arise the springs of the great river Marsyas. On its lofty top the ark rested when the waters receded." The term *κιβωτός*, "an ark," which occurs in these verses is of special interest, for not only was it employed by the LXX (Gen. vi. 14), by the Evangelists (Matt. xxiv. 38; Luke xvii. 27), and by the Apostles (Heb. xi. 7; 1 Pet. iii. 20), for the "ark of Noah;" but Apameia itself was called *Cibôtos* (Strab. xii. 6; Ptol. v. 2), probably on account of the great wealth collected there, it being a great emporium next in dignity to Ephesus (Strabo, xii. 8), and *κιβωτός* signifies "a chest" or "coffer." Moreover that the ark was supposed to rest at Apameia is testified by the line *ἔνθα φλέβες μεγάλου ποταμοῦ Μαρσύαο πέφυκαν*, for the river Marsyas ran by Apameia, and was also itself called *Cibôtos*, as testified by coins struck at the time of Hadrian (Madden, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1866, vol. vi. p. 211, pl. vi, No. 4).

Among the various suppositions which may be brought forward to explain the appearance of this type, whether it be suggested that it may have been produced owing to the semi-generous treatment that the Christians received during the reign of the emperors under which they were issued, it is certain that the type did not emanate from a Christian sect. The deep root which an ancient tradition of the Deluge—shown by the Phrygian legend, probably greatly influenced by the Biblical account and the minute description in the Sibylline books—had taken at Apameia is far more likely to have originated these pieces. At the same time it would be presumptuous to suppose that they might not have been designed by a Christian artist, for the worship of God had long circulated throughout Asia Minor. (For a full account of these coins see Madden, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1866, vol. vi. p. 173.)

2. *Obv.* ΑVΤ. Κ. Γ. Μ. ΚV. ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΔΕΚΙΟC. Bust of Trajan Decius to the right laureated, with *paludamentum.*

*Rev.* ΕΠ. ΑVΡ. Α·Ι··Ι·ΙΑΝΟV Β. Α☧. Α. ΤΟ Β. CΤΕ·Ι·ΑΝΗ. [*ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου Ἀφφιάνου δὶς ἄρχοντος ἀγωνοθέτου τὸ δεύτερον στεφανηφόρου.*] In the exergue ΜΑΙΟΝΩΝ. Bacchus, holding in the right hand a vase and in the left a spear, seated to left on a chair, which is on a car drawn by two panthers. Before him a female (Ariadne?) walking to left, but looking at Bacchus and carrying a large vine-branch covered with grapes. Æ. (Fig. 2; *Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.*)

This medallion was issued during the reign of Trajan Decius (249–251) at Maeonia in Lydia.

It will be observed that the engraver has taken care to place the monogram between two A's (Α☧Α) in the middle of the legend at the top of the coin, as if to call special attention to it.

Suggestions have been made (Lenormant, *Mél. d'Arch.* vol. iii. p. 196) that a Christian moneyer intended to introduce on this coin the mysterious sign of the new Faith, and that though symbols of a similar character to the Christian monogram occur upon other monuments anterior to Chris-

tianity (see § xv.), yet in this case the sign is more probably the work of a Christian. Moreover, that the Bacchic emblems, appropriate to the institution of the Eucharist, may also be found on the sarcophagus of St. Constance and on the mosaics which decorate the mausoleum of this princess (Ciampini, *de sacr. Aedif. a Const. mag. constr.* pl. xxxii. Rome, 1693). This opinion is further sustained by another scholar (De Witte, *Mél. d'Arch.* vol. iii. p. 172), who adds that the title ἄρχων chosen by the artist in which to introduce the monogram of Christ seems to offer a direct allusion to the domination and the reign of the Saviour.

The form of the Φ (·|·) in the words Ἀφφιάνου and Στεφανηφόρου have been also considered to allude to the form of the *cross* (+), but it would be hazardous to affirm this, as a similar manner of engraving this letter occurs on the coins of the Seleucidae, of Philadelphia in Lydia, and of Sardes, in the latter case on a coin of Salonina, who is supposed to have been a Christian (see par. 3; Madden, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1866, vol. vi. p. 218); at the same time such a form may be seen on the top of the *labarum* of certain coins of Constantine the Great to which I shall presently allude (§ vi.).

It must, however, be remembered that under Trajan Decius the Christians were grossly persecuted ("Exstitit post annos plurimos *exsecrabile animal* Decius, qui vexaret Ecclesiam," Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* c. 4). Fabian, bishop of Rome, the first authentic martyr pope, was one of the early victims (Milman, *Hist. of Christ.* vol. ii. p. 188; vol. iii. p. 329), and many persons were killed throughout the empire. Yet the quiet that the Christians enjoyed during the mild reign of his predecessor Philip, and its effects, cannot have been suddenly stopped even by this attempt to extirpate Christianity, and it is not therefore improbable that a Christian artist here sought surreptitious means of protest against the tyranny of the persecutors of the church.

I may add that Tryphonia or Cephinia, the wife of Herennius Etruscus, son of Trajan Decius and Etruscilla, was probably converted to Christianity with her daughter Cyrilla after her husband's death (De Witte, *op. cit.*). Of this empress no coins are extant.

3. *Obv.* CORN. SALONINA AVG. Bust of Salonina to the right on a crescent.

*Rev.* AVG. [or AVGVSTA] IN PACE. Salonina seated to the left holding an olive-branch and sceptre. In the exergue sometimes the letters M S, sometimes P or S, sometimes S I. Billon. (Fig. 3; British Museum.)

The explanation of the remarkable legend on this coin of Salonina (*circ.* 260–268) was first given by M. de Witte, who in a most interesting memoir published in 1852 (*Mém. de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique*, vol. xxvi.; cf. *Rev. Num. Belge*, vol. ii. 1853; *Mél. d'Arch.* vol. iii. Paris, 1853) traced the origin and names of Salonina the *wife* of Gallienus — carefully distinguishing her from Pipa or Pipara the *concubine*;—the character of this empress, and finally attempted to show, and not without success, that she was a Christian.

It has been amply proved, in spite of many objections, that the formula ΕΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ or IN PACE was exclusively Christian (Cavedoni, *Ragg. dei Mon. delle Art. Crist.* Modena, 1849), that is to say, not in vogue among the pagans, though it was used previously by the Jews (Greppo, *Not. sur des Inscript. ant. tirées de quelq. tombeaux juifs à Rome*, Lyons, 1835). It was moreover a formula of Christian apotheosis, and as such has been treated by M. de Witte, who in the papers above referred to has supposed that these coins are commemorative, and were struck by order of Gallienus, after his wife's death. A few years after, two finds, one in 1855, consisting of some 4000 coins, the other in 1857, consisting of some 25 or 30,000 coins of silver and billon, among which were some of the pieces of Salonina, with the legend AVG. or AVGVSTA IN PACE, proved to M. de Witte (*Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 71) that these coins must have been issued before 265 and consequently *during the lifetime of Salonina*, an opinion that was shared by the late M. C. Lenormant (*Rev. Num.* 1857, pp. 243–245), but which has not commended itself to Mr. C. W. King (*Early Christ. Num.* p. 49, 1873), who whilst suppressing all mention *of the authority of the two finds* speaks of M. de Witte's conclusion as an "unlucky after-thought."

As regards the letters M S in the exergue, Mr. King (*op. cit.* p. xiv.) is of opinion that they must stand for some title, and that *Memoriae Sanctae* not merely gives a most appropriate sense, but is supported by the *Venerandae Memoriae* on the coins of Constantine (§ xiii.). The fact, however, is that other letters occur in the exergue, and the same may also be found on *pagan* types of the coins of Salonina, and on the coins of Gallienus, so that this hypothesis is out of the question. I am inclined to think that the letters bear some reference to the mintage or place of minting, but I am unable to offer any satisfactory solution.

It must be added that the late Abbé Cavedoni considered (*Album. Giornale Lett.* vol. xix. Rome, 1852) M. de Witte's suggestion a paradox, and did not admit his interpretation of the legend.

§ i. *Chronological and Historical Sketch of the Reign of Constantine.*—Previous to commencing the actual description of the coins of Constantine I. with Christian emblems, and for the better understanding of their arrangement and classification, it is necessary to give a brief chronological and historical sketch of the reign of this emperor.

311. In the year 311, Constantine I., being determined to stop the tyranny of Maxentius, reviewed in his own mind all considerations, and felt it incumbent on him to honour no other than the God of his father Constantius I. Chlorus (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* i. c. 27). He is consequently said to have prayed earnestly to God, and whilst thus praying with fervent entreaty, a most marvellous sign appeared to him from heaven. About midday, when the sun was beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes in the heavens the trophy of a cross of light placed above the sun, and bearing the inscription BY THIS CONQUER (ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ), a miracle witnessed by his whole army (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* i. c. 28).

But doubting in his own mind what the import of this apparition might be, he continued to meditate till night. During his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the sign that he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a standard resembling the sign and to use it as a safeguard against his enemies (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* i. c. 29). So soon as it was day he arose, and calling together those that worked in jewels and precious stones, he sat in the midst and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen, and commanded them to make one like it in gold and precious stones, to which Eusebius adds, "and I also have seen this representation" (*Vit. Const.* i. c. 30).

The description of the standard of the cross, called by the Romans *labarum*, is minutely given by Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* i. c. 31. See art. LABARUM), who says that two letters indicating the name of Christ by means of the first letters were placed on the crown, "the letter P being marked diagonally with X exactly in its centre" (χιαζομένου τοῦ ρ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον), which would perhaps rather give the form ☧ than ☧, and these letters the emperor at a later period used to wear on his helmet. The form of the cross, as employed by the soldiers on their shields, is given by Lactantius (*De Mort. Pers.* c. 44)—*transversa* X *litera, summo capite circumflexo*, i.e. ☧.

312. Encouraged by these signs, Constantine advanced against Maxentius, whom he defeated on Oct. 27, 312, Maxentius himself being drowned in the Tiber while endeavouring to escape over the Milvian bridge. Constantine thus became sole master of the Western empire.

Shortly after Constantine's entry into Rome, he, in conjunction with Licinius I. his colleague, "having first praised God as the author of all their successes," drew up a full and comprehensive edict in favour of the Christians, and then sent it to Maximin, ruler in the east, who fearful of refusing, addressed a decree [b] commencing IOVIVS MAXIMINVS AVGVSTVS, etc. (a title assumed by him after the death of Galerius) to the governors under him, respecting the Christians, as if of his own free will (Euseb. *H. E.* ix. c. 9).

The whole Roman people received Constantine as their benefactor. The senate who paid adoration to the *labarum* (Prudent. *in Symm.* 494–496) decreed him the first rank among the *Augusti* (Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* c. 44), and perhaps offered him the title of *Maximus*, "quem sibi Maximinus vindicabat," to the great grief and indignation of Maximin. "Cognito deinde senatus decreto, sic exarsit dolore, ut inimicitias aperte profiteretur, convicia jocis mixta adversus *Imperatorem Maximum* diceret" (Lactant. *op. cit.*). [See under 315.] Constantine erected a statue of himself in the most frequented part of Rome, and ordered a long spear in *the form of a cross* to be placed in the hands of the statue, and the following inscription to be engraved on it in the Latin language;—BY THIS SALUTARY SIGN, THE TRUE SYMBOL OF VALOUR, I HAVE SAVED YOUR CITY, LIBERATED FROM THE YOKE OF THE TYRANT. I HAVE ALSO RESTORED THE SENATE AND ROMAN PEOPLE TO THEIR ANCIENT DIGNITY AND SPLENDOUR. (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* i. c. 40; *H. E.* ix. c. 9.)

312–313. In 312–313, Constantine and Licinius were at Milan, where the latter was married to Constantia, the half-sister of Constantine (Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* c. 45; Vict. *Epit.*; Zosim. ii. 17); and here the two emperors issued a second edict giving liberty to the Christians in particular, and to all men in general, to follow the worship of that deity which each might approve, so that thus the Divine Being (*Divinitas*) might be propitious to them and to all their subjects (Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* c. 48; Euseb. *H. E.* x. c. 5).

In the meantime the impious Maximin Daza, taking advantage of the marriage festivities which were going on at Milan, marched from Syria into Bithynia, and from thence into Thrace. Licinius pursued him, and in a pitched battle at Adrianople defeated him. Maximin fled to Mount Taurus, and thence to Tarsus, where he is said to have given glory to the God of the Christians, and enacted a full and complete law for their liberty (Euseb. *H. E.* ix. c. 10), but too late, for being seized with a violent disease, he perished miserably (313). Licinius thus became sole master of the East, and on arriving at Nicomedia, he gave thanks to God for his victory (*gratiam Deo, cujus auxilio vicerat*, Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* c. 48), and repeated the edict in favour of the Christians as issued by Constantine and himself at Milan (Lactant. *op. cit.*).

314. In 314 Constantine and Licinius

[b] The original edict is not now extant, but the copy issued by Maximin is given by Eusebius in Greek (*H. E.* ix. c. 9).

quarrelled, but the latter, being defeated, sued for peace, which was accepted.

**315.** In 315 the title of *Maximus* and the *diadem* were officially decreed to Constantine.

The title of *Maximus* is given to Constantine by Eumenius in his panegyric pronounced at Treves in 310 (*Paneg. Const. Aug. Dict.*), but the statement cannot be accepted as true (Heyne, *Cens.* xii. *Paneg. Vet.* in his *Opusc. Acad.* vol. vi. p. 80). Pagius (*Crit. Baron.* ann. 311) gives the date as 311 on the authority of a coin having on the obverse MAX. and on the reverse VOTIS V MVLT. X, but Mediobarbus, from whom the description of the coin is taken, is an authority of no value (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. viii. p. 94). Some modern numismatists, on the other hand (Feuardent, *Rev. Num.* 1856, p. 249; Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* vol. vi. p. 89), think that coins with this title were not struck till the *end of his reign*. The title was probably offered to him in 312 by the senate, as I have previously stated, but it is more likely that it was officially granted to him in 315, when the triumphal arch, to commemorate the victory over Maxentius in 312, was dedicated to him. — IMP. CAES. FL. CONSTANTINO MAXIMO P. F. AVGVSTO S. P. Q. R. etc. (Orelli, *Inscr.* No. 1075; see § xviii. "False or uncertain coins of Constantine I.") on which it was proclaimed that by the greatness of his own mind and *the inspiration of the Divinity* (instinctu *Divinitatis*)[c] he defeated the tyrant Maxentius, and this view is confirmed by a genuine brass coin preserved in the "Musée de Vienne," having on the obverse CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. COS. IIII and on the reverse the legend SOLI INVICTO COMITI (Eckhel, *Cat. du Musée de Vienne;* Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 467, 468).

It is extremely probable that the senate decreed to Constantine at the same time the *diadem* (see § xvi. "Coins of Constantine with the *diadem*"), and it was perhaps on the occasion of these honours that Constantine distributed money to the people as attested by his coins (CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Bust with *diadem*, Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 160. from *Welzl*).

**317.** In 317 Crispus and Constantine II., the sons of Constantine I., and Licinius II. the son of Licinius I., were made *Caesars*.

**321.** In 321 Constantine enjoined all the subjects of the Roman empire to observe the "Lord's Day," and passed an edict for the solemn observance of *Sunday* (Clinton, *F. R.* vol. ii. p. 91), which he called *dies Solis* (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. c. 18; Sozomen, *H. E.* i. c. 8).

**323.** For nine years there had been peace, but at last, in 323, a second war broke out between Constantine and Licinius. Two battles were fought, and in the second Licinius was utterly defeated and obliged to sue for pardon. His life was spared at the request of his wife Constantia, but only for a brief period, as he was put to death in the next year, 324, at Thessalonica, where he had been placed in confinement (Eutrop. x. 6; Hieron. *Chron.*; Zosimus, ii. 28; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* ii. c. 18; *H. E.* x. c. 9).

By this victory Constantine became sole master of the Roman world (RECTOR TOTIVS ORBIS on a gold coin struck at Thessalonica, Madden, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1862, vol. ii. p. 48).

On Nov. 8 of this year Constantius II. was made *Caesar*.

**325.** About 325 the combats of Gladiators were abolished, but they appear still to have continued till as late as 455 (Gibbon, *Rom. Emp.* ed. Smith vol. iv. p. 41, *note*), and perhaps also the punishment of the cross (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* c. 41; Sozomen, *H. E.* i. c. 8).

**330.** 330. Dedication of Constantinople where Constantine abolished idolatry and built churches (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. c. 48), placing in his palace a representation of the cross composed of precious stones richly wrought in gold (*Vit. Const.* iii. c. 49).

**333.** 333. Constans made *Caesar*.

**337.** 337. Constantine now began to feel signs of failing health, and visited Helenopolis, the birthplace of his mother Helena, where he is said to have for the first time received the imposition of hands with prayer, in fact became a catechumen, after which he proceeded to Nicomedia, where he was baptized by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, though he had intended to defer this rite till he could have been baptized in the river Jordan. He soon after died, at noon on the feast of Pentecost (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. c. 61–64;

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[c] The words *instinctu divinitatis* have been supposed by some (Guattini, *Mon. Ant. di Roma*, p. xciv. 1789; *Rom. descr.* p. 42, 1805; Henzen, *Suppl. ad Orell.* vol. iii. p. 113) to have been written *over* the effaced words *nutu jovis o. m.* or perhaps *Diis faventibus*, but Garrucci quite sets the question at rest by assuring us (*Num. Cost.* 2nd ed. p. 245; *Rev. Num.* 1866, p. 96) from personal inspection that the marble was not lower in the portion where these words occur than in other parts, nor are the letters themselves confused, nor are there any traces of letters to be seen that could have been previously engraved. It may be added that Constantine himself in his oration to the assembly of the saints (ap. Euseb. c. 26) speaks of his services as owing their origin to the *inspiration of God* (*ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας Θεοῦ*).

> Socrates, *H. E.* i. 39; Sozomen, *H. E.* ii. c. 34; Theodoret, *H. E.* i. c. 32). Delmatius and Hanniballianus, and other members of the Imperial family, excepting Julian and Gallus, were put to death, and the three sons of Constantine I.—Constantine II. Constantius II. and Constans were declared *Augusti*.

From these statements it would appear that Constantine the Great was converted to Christianity about the year 312, and that his colleague Licinius I. pretended to embrace the same faith at or about the same period. Still many acts of his reign after this date show that he acted in anything but a Christian spirit. There may be specially mentioned: (1) the murder of Licinius I. in 324 *contra jus sacramenti*; (2) the murder of his son Crispus, and the young Licinius, a boy of eleven years of age, in 326; and (3) the murder of his wife Fausta in 327.[d] For these and other reasons, especially because he had on his coins the inscription *Sol Invictus*, some have considered (Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rom.* vol. v. p. 359) that he must have been "a repulsive phenomenon and was certainly not a Christian." Be this as it may, it is during the reign of Constantine that Christian emblems appear in a marked manner on the coins and on the Roman dated *tituli*.

In the numismatic studies now about to follow, it will be seen whether Constantine the Great ordered to be placed on the imperial coinage, either openly or latently, any Christian emblems from the time when he first professed Christianity in 312, or whether he deferred so doing till 323, after the defeat of Licinius, when as "ruler of the whole world" he could dare, without opposition, to inscribe upon his coins the symbols of the true religion of Christ.

§ ii. *Coins of Constantine I. and Licinius I.* —? 312—? 317.

1. *Obv.* IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Bust of Constantine I. armed in cuirass with the shoulder-belt, holding a spear slanting over right shoulder, and on the left a shield on which is figured a horseman striking with a spear a barbarian. The head is covered with a helmet divided in the middle by a large band, on which is engraved the monogram ☧ between two stars.

*Rev.* VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP. Two victories supporting a shield placed on a pedestal; on the shield VOT. P. R.; on the pedestal an I; in the exergue B. SIS. (2 *Sisciâ.*) Æ.

(Published by Angelo Breventano, in Macar. *Hagioglypta*, p. 159, 1856; Baronius, *Ann.* ad ann. 312, p. 510; Sada, *Dialoghi dell'Agostini*, p. 17, Rome, 1592; Tanini, *Suppl. ad Bandur.* p. 275; Caronni, *Mus. Hederv.* Nos. 3996, 3971; Cavedoni, *Ricerche*, p. 15, Nos. 18, 19—the latter having the additional letters P. F. on the obverse with neither the shield nor the stars; Garrucci, *Num. Cost.* 2nd ed. p. 237, No. 1; *Rev. Num.* 1866, p. 81, No. 1; but I do not know where this actual example may now be.)

2. *Obv.* IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Bust of Constantine I. to left, armed with cuirass, and with the shoulder-belt, holding a spear slanting over right shoulder, and on the left a shield, on which is a horseman striking with his spear a barbarian. The head is covered with a helmet, divided in the middle by a large band, on which, a crescent moon and a small globule; on each side of the band on the crown of the helmet the monogram ☧.

*Rev.* Same legend and type; on the pedestal the letter X; in the exergue B. SIS. ✱ (2 *Sisciâ.*) Æ. (Fig. 4; *Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.*)

Other specimens exist, issued at another mint, P. T. S. T. or T. T. (*Prima*, *Secunda* or *Tertia Tarracone*), the first and last of which are in the British Museum, on which the monogram ✱ occurs. On another example in the British Museum, with reverse legend VICT. LAETAE PRINC. PERP. there is certainly a *star of eight rays*—thus ✳—on either side of the band (Fig. 5), whilst the rays are said to take the form of a Maltese cross on some pieces struck at Treves and at London (Lagoy, *Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 196).

3. *Obv.* IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Licinius I. to the right, laureated, with cuirass.

*Rev.* Same legend and type; on the pedestal X; in the exergue A. SIS. ✱ (1 *Sisciâ.*) Æ. (British Museum.)

The cross (X) on the pedestal is very like the one on the coin of Constantine (No. 2), also struck at Siscia, and may be a Christian emblem, or it may simply be intended for an ornamentation of the pedestal.

§ iii. *Coins of Constantine I., Crispus, and Constantine II.*—(?) 317-323.

4. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Helmeted bust of Constantine I. to the right, laureated, with cuirass.

*Rev.* VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP. Same type, on the pedestal an equilateral cross ✚ In the exergue S. T. (*Secunda Tarracone.*) Æ.

(Garrucci, *Num. Cost.* 2nd ed. p. 239, No. 3, pl. No. 2 from coll. of Sig. L. Depoletti, dealer in Rome; cf. *Rev. Num.* 1866, p. 83, No. 3, pl. ii. No. 2, where the reverse is engraved VICTORIAI LEITAI (*sic*) PRINC. PERP.)

5. *Obv.* D. N. CRISPO NOB. CAES. Head of Crispus.

*Rev.* Same legend and type: on the pedestal an equilateral cross. In the exergue ? Æ. (Garrucci from *Tanini*.)

6. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS IVN. N. C. Bust of Constantine II. to the left, radiated, with *paludamentum*.

[d] Gibbon (*Rom. Emp.* ed. Smith, vol. ii. pp. 354, 355) thinks that there is reason to believe, or at least to suspect, that she escaped the blind and suspicious cruelty of her husband, and apparently principally on a statement in an oration pronounced during the succeeding reign (*Monod. in Constantin. jun.* c. 4, ad calcem Eutrop. ed. Havercamp). But the Abbé Cavedoni asserts (*Ricerche Crit.* etc. p. 4, *note*) that the supposed *Monodia* on the death of Constantine junior has been proved by Wesseling to have been written on the death of Theodorus Palaeologus, *about the middle of the fifteenth century* (*Anonymi Orat. Fun.* ed. Frotschero), whilst Manso (*Leben Constantins*, p. 66) treats the suggestion with contempt. There is, however, a great want of positive proof on this question.

*Rev.* Same legend and type: on the pedestal an equilateral cross ✚ within a wreath. In the exergue P. LN. (*Prima Londinio.*) Æ.

(Fig. 6; British Museum. Another example, published by Garrucci from *Tanini*, has on the obverse the additional letters FL. CL.)

Cavedoni considered (*Ricerche*, p. 20) the monograms on coins Nos. 1 and 2 to be more like *stars*, or monograms composed of the letters I and X, the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, but they seem to have really the form of ☧.

As to the date of issue of the coins above described it is supposed that some may have existed previous to 323, as there are specimens of the coins of Constantine II. among them, and none of Constantius II. made *Caesar* in that same year (Cavedoni, *Appendice*, p. 6; Garrucci, *op. cit.*). The coin No. 4, bearing as it does the title of MAX. (*Maximus*), might have been issued in 315, in which year the Senate, as we have seen, granted him that title, whilst the coins of Constantine I. (Nos. 1 and 2) might even be as early as 312, and those of Crispus and Constantine II. (Nos. 5 and 6) as early as 317. They are all probably anterior to 319, and certainly precede the year 323.

The first two coins are interesting as confirming the words of Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* i. c. 31; cf. Sozomen, *H. E.* i. c. 8) that Constantine, besides having the monogram placed upon the *labarum*, was in the habit of wearing it upon his *helmet*. The helmet is sometimes ornamented with *pellets* or *stars*, and the former are no doubt intended to represent *gems*, according to the account of his panegyrist Nazarius (xxix. 5)—"fulget *galea* et corusca luce *gemmarum* divinum verticem monstrat," whilst according to Philostorgius (*H. E.* i. c. 6) the holy sign seen in the sky by Constantine was surrounded by *stars* that encircled it as a rainbow—καὶ ἀστέρων αὐτῶν κύκλῳ περιθεόντων ἴριδος τρόπῳ.

The words VICTORIAE LAETAE may be compared (cf. Cavedoni, *Ricerche*, p. 16; *Disamina*, p. 212) to the scriptural expressions "*Laetabor* ego super eloquia tua: sicut qui invenit spolia multa" (Ps. cxviii. 162), or "*Laetabuntur* . . . . sicut exultant *victores* capta praeda, quando dividunt spolia" (Is. ix. 3), and to the line of Horace (1 Sat. i. 8)—"Momento cita mors venit, aut *victoria laeta*."

§ iv. *Coins of Constantine I., Licinius I., Crispus, Licinius II., and Constantine II.*—? 319–323.

7. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS AVG. Helmeted bust of Constantine I. to the right, with cuirass.

*Rev.* VIRTVS EXERCIT. Standard, at the foot of which two captives, seated; on the standard VOT. XX. In the field to left ☧. In the exergue A. SIS. (1 *Sisciâ.*) Æ. (Garrucci, from *Museo Kircheriano.*)

8. *Obv.* IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Helmeted bust of Licinius I. to the right, with cuirass.

*Rev.* Same legend and type. In the field to left ☧. In the exergue AQ. S. (*Aquileiâ Secunda.*) Æ.

(Fig. 7; British Museum. There is a similar example in the *Cabinet des Médailles, Paris*, struck at Thessalonica.)

9. *Obv.* CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Bust of Crispus to the left, laureated, with cuirass, and holding a spear and shield.

*Rev.* Same legend and type. In the field to left ☧. In the exergue AQ. P. (*Aquileiâ prima.*) Æ.

(British Museum. A similar specimen with AQ. T.-*tertia-* is in the *Cab. des Méd. Paris.*)

10. *Obv.* LICINIVS IVN. NOB. C. Bust of Licinius II. to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

*Rev.* Same legend and type. In the field to left ☧. In the exergue P. T. (*Prima Tarracone.*) Æ.

(Fig. 8; British Museum. Garrucci describes another example from the collection of Signor Depoletti with T. T. in the exergue, the emperor on the obverse holding a globe surmounted by a victory.)

11. *Obv.* LICINIVS IVN. NOB. C. Same type as No. 10.

*Rev.* Same legend and type. In the field a *star with eight rays*. In the exergue ? Æ.

(Cohen, *Suppl.* No. 3 from coll. of *M. Poydenot.*)

12. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Bust of Constantine II. to the left, laureated, with cuirass, and holding a globe surmounted by a victory.

*Rev.* Same legend and type. In the field ☧. In the exergue P. ✳ T. (*Prima Tarracone.*) Æ. (British Museum.)

Cavedoni would never believe that the supposed monogram was anything more than a *star of six rays*, or at the utmost the monogram composed of I and X, the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. From the coins of this series which I have been able to examine (Nos. 8, 9, 10 and 12) it seems perfectly clear that the form is ☧, the vertical line terminating in a globule or a circle. Cohen (*Méd. Imp.* vol. vi. p. 83, *note; Suppl.* p. 375, *note*) agrees with Cavedoni that the sign is a *star*, which view he considers confirmed by the coin of Licinius II. (No. 11), which has a *star of eight rays;* but as he allows that the monogram ☧ (?) sometimes appears on the coins of Crispus (No. 9), there is no reason why it or ☧ or ✱ should not occur upon the coins above described. The piece with *eight rays* proves nothing, and we have seen that on the helmet of Constantine there was sometimes placed a *star of eight rays* — ✳ — instead of the Christian monogram. (See under No. 2; Fig. 5.)

I do not myself see any reason to doubt that these signs were intended for the Christian monogram, though at this period of the reign of Constantine expressed on the coinage in somewhat a latent manner.

This series was probably introduced about the year 319. It is anterior to 323, coins of both the Licinii being common to it, whilst those of Constantius II. *Caesar*, are wanting.

§ v. *Coins of Constantine I. with the "Mars Conservator" and "Sol Invictus" types.*—? 312—? 323.

It was at one time considered that the coins of Constantine I. with pagan symbols were not entirely excluded till 323, after the defeat of Licinius, but on no safe grounds, as the coins bearing the names and types of *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Mars* never bear the title of *Maximus*, bestowed upon him in 315, from which it may reasonably be inferred that all these coins were struck previous to 312, when Constantine openly professed Christianity. One coin, however, of the *Mars* type and the title MAX. has been described from *Tanini* (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 361), whilst there is a series of coins of Crispus and Constantine II. with the type of *Jupiter* (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* vol. vi. pp. 197, 198, Nos. 83–85; p. 234, Nos. 143, 144), which were certainly issued posterior to 317, in which year they were created *Caesars*, but the type was not struck in any mint in the dominions of Constantine, but in those subject to Licinius.

Some coins of Constantine I. with the legend MARTI [or MARTI PATRI] CONSERVATORI, having for type the bust of Constantine (?) with the helmet adorned with the *monogram*, or Mars standing, and in the field an *equilateral cross* or on his shield , and others with the legend SOLI INVICTO COMITI, the sun standing, and in the field , are supposed to be in existence (Garrucci, *Num. Cost.* 2nd ed. p. 241 *seq.*; *Rev. Num.* 1866, p. 86 *seq.*), but it is not clearly established that the "monogram" is not a *star of six equal rays*; or "the equilateral cross" the *Latin letter* or *numerical mark* X *drawn sideways*. On available specimens, from one of which a drawing is given (Fig. 9), there is a symbol which appears to be a *cross*, but it differs considerably from that on the coins previously described, and may indeed be only a numeral or a letter.

According to Zonaras (*Ann.* xiii. 3) Constantine placed in the forum of Constantinople the circular porphyry column brought from Rome, and on it he put the brazen statue of Apollo which *he set up in his own name*, substituting some of the nails of the passion for the rays of the sun, thus assuming with "singular shamelessness" (cf. Von Hammer, *Const. und Bosp.* vol. i. p. 162) the attributes of Apollo and Christ, from which circumstance Garrucci has found no difficulty in supposing that Constantine "changed the head of the statue," and fully intended to represent himself as *Sol* upon his coins.

Though Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* i. c. 43; cf. Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* c. i.) in the rhetorical language of the time, compares Constantine to the sun rising upon the earth and imparting its rays of light to all, and though in the legend SOLI INVICTO COMITI there may be the idea of the ancient Sun-god and the new Sun of Righteousness [see art. CHRISTMAS], it is doubtful whether Constantine would have placed the monogram of Christ beside the image of the *Sol Invictus*, or have caused himself to be represented under the semblance of the sun together with signs of Christianity.

Should the coins of the *Mars and Sol Invictus* types be considered subsequent to 312, in any case they must be placed before 323, since coins of Constantius *Caesar* are wanting in this series, and as to the type of *Sol Invictus*, as no specimens of the coins of Licinius II. have been discovered, it would seem that it was first struck by the two *Augusti*, Constantine I. and Licinius I., and secondly by Constantine I. and his sons, after the year 319, when the quarrels between Constantine I. and Licinius I. had probably commenced.

There appears, indeed, to be little doubt that Constantine I., after he had conquered Maxentius in 312, found himself compelled to tolerate for some years on his coins, and on those of Crispus and Constantine II., some of the heathen types, such as the *Mars* and the *Sol Invictus*, one specimen of which, with the title MAX. and COS IIII gives the date 315 (see § i.), whilst the coins of Crispus and Constantine II. with these types cannot be anterior to 317, when they were made *Caesars*. Soon after, the coins with the Sun-type, but with the legend CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE on the coinage of Crispus and Constantine II. must have been introduced and continued in circulation till about ? 317 or 319, when the new coins of Constantine I., Crispus and Constantine II. with the legend VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP. (§ iii.) and the coins of Constantine I. and Licinius I. and their sons, with the legend VIRTVS EXERCIT. (§ iv.) became universal.

§ vi. *Coins of Constantine I., Licinius I., Crispus, Constantine II. and Licinius II. with the spear head ending in a cross.*

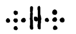
A. ? 317 — 323.* — *Obv.* IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Bust of Licinius I. to the right, helmeted, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

*Rev.* VIRTVS EXERCIT. Standard, at the foot of which two captives seated; on the standard VOT. XX. The top of the staff of the *labarum* ends in a *cross*. In the field to right and left the letters S. F. In the exergue AQ. S. (*Aquileiâ Secunda.*) Æ. (Fig. 10; British Museum.)

Similar coins exist of Licinius I., Crispus, Licinius II., and Constantine II., struck at Thessalonica, and at Treves; of Constantine I. and Crispus struck at Lyons, and of Constantine I. struck at Arles.

B. ? 321–323. — *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS AVG. Bust of Constantine I. to the right, helmeted, with cuirass.

*Rev.* VIRTVS EXERCIT. Same type. In the exergue P. LN. (*Prima Londinio.*) Æ. (British Museum.)

* About the year 323, after the defeat of Licinius I. there was issued at the mints of Lyons, London and Treves, a series of coins of Constantine I., Crispus, Licinius II. and Constantine II. *Caesares* with the legend BEATA TRANQVILLITAS and the type a globe on an altar on which VOTIS XX, and above the globe three stars. On the globe may be seen   and , which according to Cavedoni (*Ricerche*, p. 20) the holy fathers delighted to think was the *sign of the cross* on the four cardinal points of the globe (S. Maximus Taurin. *Homil.* L. *quae est* ii. *de cruce*; Sedulius *Carm. Paschal.* l. iii). On some of the coins of the kings of the Bosphorus (Baron de Köhne, *Descr. du Mus. du feu le Prince Kotschoubey*, St. Pétersbourg, 1857), where Christianity had been early diffused, dating about 324 there has been thought to be a *cross* (Cavedoni, *Appendice*, p. 18). In 1853 the Count Ouvaroff discovered, near Sevastopol, the pillars and mosaic pavement of a Christian church built in the 4th century, and near the ruins of a temple of Venus (Köhne, *op. cit.* pp. 447, 448).

Similar coins exist of Crispus and Constantine II.

Of the series of these coins struck at Thessalonica there is no coin of Constantine I., of that struck at London there is no coin of Licinius I. That a coin of Constantine I. of this series was issued at Thessalonica is more than probable, as Illyricum, in which Thessalonica was situated, was added to the dominions of Constantine in 314, after the war with Licinius. Why no coin of Licinius I. should occur in this particular branch of the London series is not so clear, as coins of this emperor were probably struck there up to 321. It may be that the new quarrel with Licinius had commenced, and determined Constantine not to strike any of his colleague's coins at London.

The coins having the top of the staff of the *labarum* ending in a cross, were admitted in the first instance by Cavedoni (*Ricerche*, p. 9), who published from the *Trésor de Numismatique* (P. 131, Pl. lxii. No. 8) a gold medallion of Constantine II. with the legend PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS and having in the exergue the letters CONS. (*Constantinopoli*), and alluded to brass coins with the legend VIRTVS EXERCIT. This example is not specially published by Cohen (cf. *Méd. Imp.* No. 5), and Cavedoni, apparently forgetting that he had mentioned this medallion, came to the conclusion (*Appendice*, p. 3) that the supposed cross on the top of the *labarum* was not in reality a cross, but only had the appearance of one, being nothing more than small pellets indicating the extremity of the cords or holders or other ornaments at the top of the spear.

Garrucci, on the other hand, has stated (*Num. Cost.* 2nd ed. p. 252; cf. *Rev. Num.* 1866, p. 107, pl. iii. No. 15) that he has seen a coin of Licinius I. struck at Aquileia, of which the form of the cross is 

. I have not, however, myself seen any specimens of coins struck at Aquileia shewing such a decided cross, and it is difficult to say in most cases, whether the head of the spear is *meant* to express a cross or not. On some coins, as on those struck at Treves, Lyons, and Arles, the form appears to be ·|·, on others, especially on those issued at Thessalonica, the form becomes more a cross ✝.

§ vii. *Coins of Constantine I., Constantine II., and Constantius II.*

326–333. A. *with cross* ☧ *in field.—Obv.* CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem and with *paludamentum.*

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers standing, each holding a spear and leaning on a shield. Between them two standards, and between these a cross ☧. In the exergue AQ. S. (*Aquileiâ Secunda.*) Æ. (Fig. 11; British Museum.)

Similar coins exist of Constantine II. and Constantius II. *Caesares.* A specimen of a coin of Constantine II. in the possession of Garrucci (*Num. Cost.* 2nd ed. pl. No. 11; *Rev. Num.* 1866, pl. iii. No. 11) has a cross with a square top ☧. (See § xv.)

The type of the two soldiers was not introduced till after the death of Crispus. These coins must have been struck before 333, because those of Constans *Caesar* are wanting.

B. *with monogram* ☧ *in field.* Similar types of Constantine I. (Fig. 12; British Museum), Constantine II., and Constantius II., but in the exergue, P. or S. CONST. (*Prima* or *secunda Constantinâ* [Arles].) Æ.

This series must have been struck before 333, because the coins of Constans *Caesar* are wanting.

Feuardent, Cavedoni, and Garrucci would limit the date to 330, supposing that the exergual letters CONST. refer to *Constantinople*, but it has long been established that these letters should be interpreted *Constantina*, the name given to *Arles* by Constantine the Great, probably about 312, after the defeat of Maxentius and Maximin, when he improved the city and made a new town on the opposite side of the river. It is called by Ausonius (*Clarae urbes* viii.) *duplex*, and the exergual letters CON. or CONST. (*Constantina*) are always preceded by a *Latin* differential letter, or accompanied by OF I, II or III in the field, whilst CON. or CONS. (*Constantinopolis*) are followed by a *Greek* numeral in cases where there is a differential letter (cf. F. W. Madden, *Handb. to Rom. Num.* p. 157; *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1861, vol. i. pp. 120, 180; J. F. W. de Salis, *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxiv.; *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1867, vol. vii. pp. 326, 327).

It has not been hitherto observed by any numismatist that the letter X of the word EXERCITVS is on these coins placed *at the top of the coin exactly between the two standards*, whilst on the coins with the same legend and two soldiers standing, between them the *labarum*, struck at a later date (335–337; § xii.) the letter X is placed *in the centre at the top of the labarum.* I am inclined to think that the arrangement is not accidental, but was specially intended by the artist.

The coin engraved (B. with ☧; Fig. 12) gives the earliest example of the so-called Constantinian monogram on the coins of Constantine.

§ viii. *Coins of Helena and Theodora.*

After 328. *Obv.* FL. IVL. HELENAE AVG. Bust of Helena to the right.

*Rev.* PAX PVBLICA. Peace standing to left, holding olive-branch in the right hand and a long sceptre in the left. In the field to left ☧. In the exergue TR. P. (*Treveris prima.*) Æ. (Fig. 13; British Museum.)

*Obv.* FL. MAX. THEODORAE AVG. Bust of Theodora to the right, laureated.

*Rev.* PIETAS ROMANA. Piety standing, carrying an infant. In the field to left ☧. In the exergue TR. P. or TR. S. Æ. (British Museum.)

Helena was the mother, and Theodora the mother-in-law of Constantine the Great.

The coin of Helena has been supposed by Cavedoni (*Ricerche*, p. 16) to have been struck about the year 326, when it is thought that she

discovered the cross of our Saviour, and he quotes in proof of his assertion a passage from St. Ambrose (*de Obitu Theodosii*, 47, 48), but without entering into the question of the "legend of the finding of the cross" [CROSS, FINDING OF], it may be mentioned that Eusebius, who gives an account of Helena's visit to the holy sepulchre, says nothing about the discovery of the cross, a point he was not at all likely to have omitted had such really been the case (*Vit. Const.* iii. c. 43). But the real fact is that both the coins of Helena and Theodora are "restoration coins," and struck *after their death* by Constantine the Great, and therefore after 328. It will be noticed that the legend is in the *dative* case, and that neither of them bear the title of *Diva* as they were Christians.[f] It has been insinuated that Helena first embraced the Christian faith, and gave her son a Christian education (Theodoret, *H. E.* i. c. 18; Gibbon, *Rom. Emp.* ed. Smith, vol. ii. p. 3, *note* 10), but Eusebius positively asserts (*Vit. Const.* iii. c. 47) that she owed her knowledge of Christianity to Constantine.

Shortly after Constantine's elevation to the purple he recalled his mother (who had been set aside by his father on his marriage with Theodora), and either before Fausta became his wife or upon the occasion of his marriage in 307, he issued some brass coins with the legends and titles FAVSTA N. F. (*nobilissima femina*) and HELENA N. F. These coins have on the reverse a large star with eight rays within a laurel wreath.[g] Constantine always treated his mother with the highest respect, and after his marriage gave her the title of *Augusta*, striking gold and brass coins in her honour with that title, the former of which are mentioned by Eusebius—χρυσοῖς τε νομίσμασι καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐκτυποῦσθαι εἰκόνα (*Vit. Const.* iii. c. 47; cf. Sozomen, *H. E.* ii. c. 2).

§ ix. *Coins of "Constantinopolis" and "Urbs Roma."*—After 330.

*Obv.* CONSTANTINOPOLIS. Bust of the city to the left, helmeted with sceptre.

*Rev.* No legend. Victory with wings extended walking to the left, holding a spear in the right hand and resting the left on a shield. In the field to the left ☧. In the exergue P. CONST. (*Prima Constantinâ.*) Æ. (Fig. 14; British Museum.)

*Obv.* [VRBS] ROMA. Bust of the city to the left, helmeted.

*Rev.* No legend. Wolf suckling twins; above, the monogram ☧ between two stars with eight rays. In the exergue P. CONST. (*Prima Constantinâ.*) Æ. (Fig. 15; British Museum.)

[f] This remark must not however be taken as absolute, for the sons of Constantine struck coins after his death giving him the epithet of *Divus* (§ xiii.).

[g] This attribution is objected to by Mr. C. W. King (*Early Christian Numismatics*, pp. 36–39, 304), who would wish to assign these coins of Helena to the *wife of Julian*, and those of Fausta to some lady who *might have been the wife of one of the cousins of Julian*, or *to the sister* (?) of *Gallus and Julian*, said to be mentioned by the latter in his epistles to the Athenians. I am not, however, prepared to accept Mr. King's conclusions. See my paper in the *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1877, vol. xvii. p. 267.

These types were introduced at the time of the dedication of Constantinople in 330. The pieces above described were not however issued at Constantinople, but at "Arles" (*Constantina*; § vii.). The stars on either side of the monogram on the coin with VRBS ROMA recall the words of Philostorgius about the "holy sign surrounded by stars," to which I have already alluded (§ iii.).

Some pieces of the VRBS ROMA type have been published (Eckhel, *Cat. Mus. Caes.* p. 480, No. 286) with the letters M. OST. (*Moneta Ostiâ*), but I doubt this reading, as after the defeat of Maxentius in 312, Constantine transferred the mint of Ostia to Rome (Madden, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1862, vol. ii. p. 47; 1865, vol. v. p. 111).

§ x. *Coins of Constantine I. and Constantine II.*—After 330.

1. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Head of Constantine I. to the right, laureated.

*Rev.* SPES PVBLIC[A in field under SPES]. The *labarum* on which three globules; on the top of the staff of the spear ☧, the extremity of the spear piercing a serpent. In the exergue CONS. (*Constantinopoli.*) Æ. (Fig. 16; Museum of Berlin.)

A specimen of this extremely rare and interesting coin, which has been from time to time published by different writers (Baronius, Gretzer, Ducange, etc.), was seen in the cabinet of the Prince de Waldeck, by Eckhel, and was recognised by him as a genuine coin (*Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. viii. p. 88). The drawings usually given of it, such as that reproduced after Baronius, by Aringhi (*Roma Sott.* vol. ii. p. 705), and again engraved by Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v. *Serpent*), are of such a size as to lead most numismatists to suspect it. But there is no doubt that at least *two* genuine specimens exist, the one engraved, for the cast of which I am indebted to Dr. Friedlaender, and the example in the "Museum of Prince von Waldeck," published by Dr. Friedlaender (*Blätter für Münzkunde*, vol. i. p. 149, pl. vi. No. 6, Berlin, 1863).

2. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS AVG. Bust of Constantine II. to the right, laureated.

*Rev.* Same legend and type. Æ. (Fig. 17.)

This rare little piece, of the smallest size, smaller even than the similar coin of his father, which I have introduced here, instead of in its proper chronological place, for better illustration, is in the possession of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who most kindly sent it to me to see. It was formerly in the Wigan collection, and may be the same as that published by Gaillard (*Descript. des Mon. de J. Garcia*, p. 304, No. 4929, pl. x. No. 5). It has been published, and an engraving given of it *twice* the actual size, by Mr. C. W. King (*Early Christ. Num.* pp. xvi. xxiii. and 25 *note*, engraved on title-page; cf. art. LABARUM), who has allowed himself to be led away, as he says, by the "practised (and what is greatly to the present purpose), the *unprejudiced* eye of his draughtsman," who reads the word DEO on the *labarum*, which on examination turns out to be nothing more than *three pellets*, as on the coins of his father, and which probably represent gems or other ornaments of the *labarum*, or may be intended for the

*three stars* as represented on the coins with the BEATA TRANQVILLITAS type (see § vi. *note*).

Both coins bear the mint mark CONS. which can only be interpreted *Constantinopoli*. This being the case, I may observe that they are the only coins of Constantine I. and his son bearing *positive* Christian emblems issued at the mint of Constantinople.[h]

The coin of Constantine I. was most likely struck in 330 on the dedication of the new capital; that of the son was probably issued after his father's death in 337 or 338, as it is recorded (Gibbon, *Rom. Emp.* ed. Smith, vol. ii. p. 366, and *note* 53) that "at the personal interview of the three brothers, Constantine II. the eldest of the Caesars obtained, with a certain pre-eminence of rank, the possession of *the new capital, which bore his own name and that of his father*." M. Feuardent (quoted by Mr. King) would assign its date to the period of the elevation of Constantine II. to the rank of *Augustus*, in the *last days of his father's lifetime*, but I do not know of any authority for such a supposition (cf. Socrat. *H. E.* i. c. 39; Sozomen, *H. E.* ii. c. 34; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. c. 63, 68).

The type of these pieces and the inscription—though the legend is by no means a new one, occurring as it does from the time of Commodus (Cohen, *Suppl.* p. 484)—indicate how "the public hope" (cf. Euseb. *Vit. Const.* ii. c. 29; iv. c. 9) was centered in the triumph of the Christian religion over the adversary of mankind—"the great *dragon*, that old *serpent*, called the Devil and Satan" (Rev. xii. 9; xx. 2)—and we are told (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. c. 3) how Constantine had a picture painted of the dragon—the flying serpent—beneath his own and his children's feet pierced through the middle with a dart and cast into the depths of the sea (*βέλει πεπαρμένον κατὰ μέσου τοῦ κύτους;* cf. Euseb. *Const. orat. ad Sanct. Coetum*, c. 20)

The spear-head on these coins ends in the *monogram of Christ*; on those struck at Thessalonica, Aquileia, London, and other mints, it ends in a *cross* (§ vi.).

§ xi. *Coins of Constantine I., Constantius II., and Constans.*—333–335.

*Obv.* CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem and with *paludamentum*.

*Rev.* VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG. Victory walking to the left, holding trophy and palm; in the field to right LXXII; to left ⳨. In the exergue S. M. AN. (*Signata moneta Antiochiâ.*) *AV*. (Fig. 18; British Museum.)

*Obv.* CONSTANTIVS NOB. CAES. Bust of Constantius II. to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

*Rev.* VICTORIA CAESAR NN. Victory; in field to right LXXII; to left ✱ but probably should be an *eight*-rayed star; in the exergue S. M. AN. *AV*.

(Sabatier, *Icon. Rom. Imp.* pl. xcvi. No. 8; *Mon. Byz.* vol. i. p. 56, but incorrectly attributed to *Constantius Gallus*.)

*Obv.* FL. IVL. CONSTANS NOB. C. Bust of Constans to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

*Rev.* VICTORIA CAESAR NN. Victory; in field to right LXXII; to left ✱. In the exergue S. M. AN. *AV*. (British Museum.)

These gold coins were probably issued about the same time. They cannot have been struck before 333, in which year Constans was made *Caesar*, and perhaps not till 335, when Constantine celebrated his *tricennalia*, and divided the empire between his sons and nephews. The mint of Antioch was in the dominions of Constantius II., and the form ⳨ instead of ☧ is that specially employed in the East (see § xv.). The figures LXXII signify that 72 *solidi* were coined to the pound, Constantine I. having reduced the *aureus* about the year 312.

It was at Antioch that the name of Χριστιανός was first used (Acts xi. 26) about the year 44.

§ xii. *Coins of Constantine I., Constantine II., Constantius II., Constans, and Delmatius*—335–337.

A. with ☧ on *labarum*.—*Obv.* CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers standing, holding spear and leaning on shield; between them the *labarum*, on which ☧. In the exergue P. CONST. (*Prima Constantinâ*—Arles.) *Æ*. (Fig. 19; British Museum.)

This coin was attributed by the late Mr. de Salis to Constantine II., but a comparison with the coins of this *Caesar*, as also with those struck at Lyons and Siscia when he became *Augustus*, make this attribution doubtful, an opinion also held by Mr. Grueber of the British Museum (see § xix.).

Similar coins occur of Constantine II. and Delmatius. Those of Constantius II. and of Constans were no doubt issued, but no specimens are in the British Museum.

B. with ☧ on *labarum*.—Coins of Constantine I., Constantine II., Constantius II., Constans, and Delmatius exist. (British Museum.)

The coin of Constantine I. engraved (Fig. 20; British Museum) was also attributed by the late Mr. de Salis to Constantine II., but with even less reason than in the former case.

These two series were not issued before 335, as the type is found on coins of Delmatius, who was made *Caesar* in this year, and it continues to the death of Constantine I. in 337. (See § vii.)

§ xiii. *Consecration coins of Constantine I.*—337–338.

*Obv.* DIVO CONS[TANTINO P] [*atri*]. Bust of Constantine I. to the right, veiled.

*Rev.* [AETERNA] PIETAS. Constantine stand-

[h] On certain coins of Constantine I. struck at Constantinople, his head bears the *nimbus* (see § xvii.), whilst on the magnificent gold medallion of Constantius II. *Caesar*, also struck at Constantinople (Cohen. *Méd. Imp.* No. 21, from *Musée de Vienne*) weighing 3920 grains or 56 *solidi*, Constantine I. is represented standing between his two sons Constantine II. and Constans, whilst *a hand from heaven crowns him with a wreath* (§ xiii.). This piece must have been issued between 323 and 337, as Constantius II. is *Caesar*, and perhaps in 336 on occasion of his marriage. There is also the gold medallion of Constantine II. with *spear-head ending in a cross* and exergual letters CONS. (see § vi.).

ing, holding spear and globe; above the globe ☧. Æ. (Fig. 21; British Museum.)

Varieties of this coin occur with either ☧ or ☧ or X struck at Lyons and at Arles. They must have been issued shortly after the death of Constantine in 337, or at latest in 338. Cavedoni has suggested (*Disamina*, p. 222) that this type represents the statue set up by Constantine in the forum of Constantinople (see § v.).

Other consecration coins were struck having the legends DV [*Divus*] CONSTANTINVS AVG. [or PT. AVGG. *Pater Augustorum*], and IVST. VEN. MEM. [*Justa venerandae memoriae*] IVST. VENERAB. or VN. MR. [*venerandae memoriae*], and especially a coin of which the following is a description:—

*Obv.* DV. (rarely DIV.) CONSTANTINVS PT. AVGG. Bust of Constantine to the right, veiled.

*Rev.* No legend. Constantine in *quadriga* to right, holding his hand to another hand which descends from heaven to receive it; above, a star. In exergue S. M. AN. ϵ. (*Signata moneta Antiochiâ* 5.) Æ. (Fig. 22; British Museum.)

Mr. King (*Early Christ. Num.* p. 53; cf. Rev. J. Wordsworth, DICT. OF CHRIST. BIOG. vol. i. p. 649) speaks of these coins as issued at "Alexandria, Antioch and Carthage alone," but no coins were struck at *Carthage* at so late a date. They are found with the mint marks of Heracleia, Alexandria, Constantinople, Cyzicus, Nicomedia and Antioch. On some specimens there is no star.

With reference to the word *Divus*, the system of "consecration" seems to have obtained even after the time of Constantine I. among his Christian successors; Constantius II. "meruit inter *divos* referri" (Eutrop. x. 15); Jovian "inter *divos* relatus est" (Eutrop. x. 18); Valentinian I. was consecrated by his son Gratian "*divinis honoribus*" (Auson. *ad Grat. act.* c. 8), to which may be added the name of Valentinian II., as appears from a marble of Chiusi in Tuscany (Cavedoni, *Cimit. Chius.* p. 45, Modena, 1853). No coins, however, bearing the title of *Divus* are known of any of these emperors.

The coin engraved (Fig. 22) is especially mentioned by Eusebius as representing Constantine I. in the act of ascending to heaven (*Vit. Const.* iv. c. 73). The type was probably suggested by the biblical account of Elijah taken up to heaven in a chariot and horses of fire (2 Kings ii. 11; cf. vi. 17). The *star* is doubtless the *comet* alluded to by Eutropius as appearing after his death ("denunciata mors ejus etiam per *crinitam stellam*," &c. *Hist.* x. 8), and which reminds one of the *stella crinita* which blazed for seven days after the death of Julius Caesar (Suet. *Jul. Caes.* 88; cf. Plin. *N. H.* ii. c. 25; Dion. Cass. xlv. 7; Plut. *Caes.* 69), and which is represented on his coins (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 20, 21). The star was originally a pagan symbol, but pagan symbols for long after the time of Constantine were mixed with Christian ones. There may be specially mentioned the *phoenix*, occurring first on the gold consecration coins of Trajan as an emblem of Eternity (Madden, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1861, vol. i. p. 95), on a gold coin of Hadrian representing Trajan (?) holding a phoenix within the zodiac (Madden, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1862, vol. ii. p. 49), on an Alexandrian coin of Antoninus Pius with AIΩN (*aeternitas*, Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iv. p. 69), and again reappearing on the brass medallions of Constantine I., with the legend GLORIA SAECVLI VIRTVS CAES, and probably struck after 315, as they bear the title of MAX. (Cohen, No. 164), and on coins of Constantius II. and Constans when *Augusti* (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*; see § xix.).

The "hand from heaven" occurs on the gold medallions of Constantius II., to which I have already referred (§ x. *note*); and Eusebius (*de Laud. Const.* c. 10) speaks of the Almighty King *extending his right hand from above* and giving Constantine I. victory over all his enemies.

§ xiv. *Coins of Constantine I. and II. with cross, not previously alluded to.*

There are certain coins of Constantine I., some gold with legend GLORIA EXERCITVS (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 17, from Tanini), some silver with PAX AVGVSTORVM (Cohen, No. 76, from *Musée de Vienne*), and of Constantine II. Caesar (brass) with BEATA TRANQVILLITAS (Cohen, No. 86, from *Ducange*) having a *cross* either in the field, or on the standard, or on the helmet, but of what form it is impossible to say. The first mentioned may have been struck between 326 and 333; the second, as it does not bear the title of *Maximus*, perhaps before 315, though this rule cannot be considered as absolute, as coins of Constantine I. were certainly struck after 315 without it (§ iv.); and the third about 323 (§ vi.).

§ xv. *Remarks on the Forms of the Crosses adopted by Constantine I.*—There is not much doubt that Constantine did not *invent* the forms of the cross or monogram which appears on his coins. The monogram ☧ may be seen on the coins of Alexander Bala, king of Syria (B.C. 146), and on those of the Bactrian king Hermaeus (B.C. 138–120), and also occurs on the coins of Trajan Decius (A.D. 249–251), forming part of the word A☧ (ἄρχοντος) to which I have already referred (see *Introduction*), whilst the *complete form* of the *labarum* ☧ may be found on the coins of the Indo-Scythian king Azes (B.C. 100), and on those of the Bactrian kings Hippostratus the Great (B.C. 140–135) and of Hermaeus (B.C. 138–120), which monogram has been interpreted *Ortospana*, another name for Kabul (Gen. Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1868, vol. viii. p. 203, pl. vii. Mon. No. 46, &c.; E. Thomas, *Num. Chron.* vol. iv. pl. viii. No. 3). The ☧ may have sometimes signified XPυσιππός. It was used as an abbreviation for XPηστόν, since a collection of passages so marked might make up a χρηστομάθεια. It also stood for XPυσός and XPόνος (Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* X), but it eventually became the Christian monogram composed of X and P, the two first letters of the name of XPιστός.

The form with the vertical line ending in a circle or a pellet (☧ ☧) may be compared with the monogram ☧ supposed to signify

ΧΙλίαρχος, to that occurring on the coins of the Ptolemies— ⳩, ⳩, ☧, ☧, to the ⳩ on some (though rarely) of the coins of the kings of the Bosphorus, and to the star or comet above the heads of Julius Caesar and Augustus (Letronne, *Inscript. de l'Egypte*, vol. i. p. 433; Mionnet. *Suppl.* vol. ix. p. 22, No. 122; Koehne, *Mus. Kotschoubey*, vol. ii. p. 309; Cohen, *Méd. de la Répub. Rom.* pl. xv. No. 30).

The form ⳨ occurs on the coins of Tigranes, king of Armenia (B.C. 96–64); on coins of Arsaces X. XII. and XIV. (B.C. 92–38) forming ΤΙΓΡανοκερτας or *Tigranocerta*, the capital of Armenia (Mionnet, vol. v. p. 108, No. 939; Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1868, vol. viii. p. 196); on the coins of the Jewish king Herod I. (B.C. 38), and on the coins of Chios of the time of Augustus (Madden, *Jew. Coinage*, pp. 83, 85, 87, 244). This form seems to have been that exclusively used in the East, and Letronne states (*La Croic ansée* in *Mém. de l'Acad.* vol. xvi.) that he never found the ☧ on any of the Christian monuments of Egypt. Its adoption was doubtless from its affinity to the *crux ansata*. It is the only monogram in the *Vatican Codex* (4th cent.), in the *Codex Bezae Cantab.* (5th or 6th cent.), and in the *Codex Sinaiticus* (4th cent.), where it occurs in four places, at the end of Jeremiah, twice at the end of Isaiah, and in the middle of the word ΕSΤΑVΡⲰΘΗ in the 8th ver. of chap. xi. of Revelation (Martigny, *Dict.* p. 416).

It was on the coins struck at *Antioch* (§ xi.) that Constantine first introduced the ⳨, about the year 335, though the same form occurs on the coins struck after his death at Lyons and (?) Arles (§ xiii.).

The earliest example of the equilateral cross ⊠ may be seen on the breast of or suspended from the neck of one of the kings on the slabs brought from Nineveh (Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, pp. 333, 414; cf. p. 303). At a later date its form was ✛ (De Witte, *Mon. Céram.* vol. i. pl. xciii.), sometimes accompanied by globules ⁘, as on vases, both of which symbols may have had their origin in the sign 卐, which occurs on the coins of Gaza—frequently called the "monogram of Gaza"—on monuments and vases of Phoenician origin, on Gallo-Celtic coins, on Scandinavian monuments called "Thor's hammer," and on Indian coins called "the Swastika cross" (Rapp, *Das labarum*, etc., in vol. xxxix. of the *Vereins v. Alterthumsfreundem im Rheinlande*, 1865; Garrucci, *Num. Cost.* 2nd ed. p. 242).

The three principal forms of crosses in antiquity are (1) the cross X called *decussata* (2) the cross T called *commissa*, and (3) the cross ✝ called *immissa*. [CROSS.]

The form X was doubtless an abbreviated monogram of the name of Christ. Julian the Apostate, in speaking of his hostility against Christianity in his satire against the people of Antioch, writes (*Misopōgon*, Jul. *Op.* p. 111, Paris 1583), "You say I wage war with the *Chi* and you admire the Kappa" (καὶ ὅτι πολεμῶ τῷ Χῖ πόθος δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰσεισι τοῦ Κάππα); and again (*op. cit.* p. 99), "They say that neither the *Chi* nor the Kappa ever did the city any harm; it is hard to understand the meaning of this wise riddle of yours, but we happen to have been informed by some interpreters of your city that they are initial letters of names, the *one denoting Christ*, the other Constantius" (τὸ Χῖ, φησίν, οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ τὸ Κάππα ..... δηλοῦν δ' ἐθέλειν τὸ μὲν Χριστὸν τὸ δὲ Κωνστάντιον).

The cross T is in the form of a *Tau* and appears to be a variety of the *crux ansata*, or "cross with a handle" found on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. It was sometimes used in the same manner as the ☧ in the middle of the name of the deceased, as may be seen on a marble of the 3rd century in the Callixtine cemetery with the legend IRE T NE.

The cross ✝ has been generally supposed to be the kind on which our Lord was crucified, which seems further corroborated from the fact that the title of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin was placed *above* his head (Matt. xxvii. 37) or *over* him (Luke xxiii. 38; cf. Mark xv. 25) or *over* the cross (John xix. 19) and so would have a form like ☨.

De Rossi has shown (*De Christ. tit. Carth.* in vol. iv. of *Spicil. Solesmense*, ed. Pitra, 1858) that no Christian monument of certain date before the 5th century gives examples of the *crux immissa*, or of that which has been called the Greek — ✛. On the other hand an epitaph, which from its consular date is earlier than the reign of Constantine, proves that the Christians had a monogram composed of the letters I and X (Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός), thus formed ⳩ (De Rossi, *Inscript. Christ.* vol. i. p. 16, 1855).

The most ancient and most correct form of the monogram of Christ occurs upon a monument of Sivaux in France, which is considered by De Rossi (*Bullet. Arch. Christ.* p. 47, 1863) earlier than the time of Constantine, having the arms of the cross of great length ☧. [INSCRIPTIONS, I. p. 856, where it is engraved.] This was not long afterwards modified, and it is at the time of Constantine that the ☧ occurs for the first time on the Roman dated *tituli*. There has been discovered (De Rossi, *Bullet.* p. 22, 1863) a monument of the year 323, which is precisely *the year of the defeat of Licinius*, having on it the monogram ☧. De Rossi has also published (*Inscr. Christ.* vol. i. No. 26) a fragment with the inscription [VI]XIT .... ☧ ... GAL. CONSS. which he thinks might *perhaps* be of the year 298, when Faustus and Gallus were consuls, adding that if he could only find the missing portion and it bore the name of

Faustus, *auro contra et gemmis cariorem aestimaret.* It is, however, more than probable that the Gallus in this inscription was consul at a much later date; indeed it has been suggested that this inscription refers to the emperor Constantius II. and Constantius *Gallus* Caesar, who were consuls in 352, 353, and 354 (*Edinburgh Review*, vol. cxx. 1864, p. 229). Other marbles of the years 331, 339, 341, and 343 are known. In 347 the form ☧ occurs, but not for long, for the ✕ is dropped, and this form together with the old one continues in existence till the end of the 4th century. From the 5th century the P disappears and the *Latin cross* † or the Greek + take the place of the monograms, so that after 405 the ☧ (at Rome at least) especially on epitaphs is entirely eclipsed, and the plain cross is found on all monuments (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* p. 416) excepting on coins.

The form of the cross on some of the coins of Constantine struck at Aquileia is ☧. This has been supposed by Cavedoni (*Nuove Ricerche*, p. 3) to be not the *Latin* but the *Alexandrian* or *Egyptian*, an opinion not acceded to by Garrucci (*Num. Cost.* 2nd ed. p. 259), and it may be noticed that Garrucci has published a coin with a *square* instead of a rounded top (*Num. Cost.* 2nd ed. pl. No. 11; *Rev. Num.* 1866, pl. iii. No. 11; see § vii.). It is certainly very doubtful if the cross on the coins of Aquileia is the *crux ansata*, and even Borghesi did not know what the rounded extremity could have in common with the *handle* of the Egyptian cross, for the cross called *ansata* has not a round but an *ovoid top*, into which the hand might be introduced, as may be seen on existing monuments (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, 1841, *Suppl.* pl. 20, 21, etc.).

As to the rounded top, Garrucci suggests (*Num. Cost.* 2nd ed. p. 261) that it may have been meant to allude to the sacred head of the Redeemer, which was thus intended to be represented projecting *above* the cross, an idea considered by Cavedoni (*Rivista*, p. 216) a "whimsical fancy," as "everyone," he says, "knows that that most sacred head rested *below* the beam of the cross itself." But Cavedoni is decidedly wrong, as the following earliest examples of the crucifix show the head *above* the cross beam; (1) crucifixes on a cornelian and an inedited ivory of the 5th century (Garrucci, *Diss. Arch.* p. 27); (2) crucifix of the Syrian codex in the Laurentian library at Florence, dated 586 by its writer the monk Rabula (Assemani, *Bibl. Laurent. Medic. Cat.* pl. xxiii. Florence, 1742); (3) the pastoral cross and reliquary of Theodolinda, Queen of Lombardy, who died in 628 (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* p. 191); (4) crucifix of the cemetery of St. Julius or St. Valentinus (Bottari, *Sculture*, etc. vol. iii. 192; Rome, 1737–1754); to which may be added the curious graffito, giving a caricatured representation of the crucifixion drawn at the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century (see art. CRUCIFIX).

§ xvi. *Coins of Constantine I. with the diadem*—?315–337.

Without entering into the history of the introduction of the diadem at Rome, by the emperors, it is certain that Constantine I. was the first to unhesitatingly adopt it, as testified by his coins, and indeed he is said to have always worn it. ("Habitum regium gemmis et caput exornans *perpetuo diademate.*" Aurel. Vict. *Epit.* 141.)

It has been supposed (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. viii. p. 80) that Constantine adopted the diadem, wishing to liken himself to Alexander the Great, on whose coins an effigy of a very similar character may be seen, but according to the authority of St. Ambrose (*de Obitu Theod.* 47, 48) the empress Helena, at the time when she is supposed to have discovered at Jerusalem, about 326, the fragment of our Saviour's cross, together with two of the nails (one of which was used for the bridle of his horse, the other for his diadem), sent to her son Constantine a *diadem studded with gems*, which has been identified with the iron crown of Lombardy at Monza cathedral [CROWN]; moreover the senate is said (*Anonym. Paneg.* viii. 25; Tillemont, *Const.* note 33)—probably in 315 when he was decreed the title of *Maximus* (see § i. under 315)—to have specially granted a *diadem* to Constantine.

The coin engraved (Fig. 23; British Museum) shows Constantine with the diadem, and with his head represented looking upward towards heaven, and Eusebius states (*Vit. Const.* iv. c. 15) that "he directed his likeness to be stamped on the gold coins of the empire *with the eyes uplifted as if praying to God*," adding that "this money became current throughout the whole Roman world." It was doubtless to this coinage that his apostate nephew Julian sneeringly alludes in his "Caesars" when he speaks of Constantine being enamoured of the moon, upon whom he kept his eyes constantly fixed, and from the style of his hair and face leading the life of a female hairdresser. Constantine also had his full-length portrait placed over the entrance gates of his palaces with the eyes upraised to heaven and the hands outspread as if in prayer (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. c. 15),[1] though this form of adoration likewise obtained among the pagans (Virg. *Aen.* i. 93; Demosth. *adv. Macart.* 1072).

The diadem also may be found on the coins of all Constantine's sons *Caesars*, and Eusebius says (*Vit. Const.* i. c. 18) that it was a special distinction of the Imperial *Caesars.*

§ xvii. *Coins of Constantine I. and his Family, with the Nimbus.*

Several coins and medallions of Constantine I., of his wife Fausta, and of his sons Crispus, Constantine II., and Constantius II. with the *nimbus*, some of which were issued at Constantinople, are given by Cohen, but very few are now in existence. The absurd brass medallion

[1] The Rev. J. Wordsworth (Smith, *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* vol. i. p. 649) speaks of the *coins* as "having no traces of the *hands* mentioned by Eusebius," but this author does not mention the *hands* in connection with the *coins* on which the face is "stretched out or up towards God (ἀνατεταμένος πρὸς Θεὸν), but in connection with the *picture* where the *hands* are said to have been "stretched forth" (τὼ χεῖρε δ' ἐκτεταμένω) in the attitude of prayer.

of Crispus, with legend SALVS ET SPES XPPVBLICAE (*sic*) and Christ seated facing, holding a cross, etc., and in the exergue S. P. *Sanctus Petrus!* (Cohen, No. 27), is evidently an altered piece, the "XP-PVBLICAE" being substituted for "REIPVBLICAE," "the cross" for "a globe," and "the figure of Christ" for "Constantine with *nimbus* seated facing," as may be seen on a genuine medallion of Constantine; S. P. should certainly be S. R. (*Secunda Româ*). After Constantine's death his sons continued striking coins representing their father with the *nimbus* (Cohen, Constans, No. 3, No. 34), and they very soon frequently adopted it, a custom continued under their successors, and especially on the splendid gold medallions of Valens preserved at Vienna (Cohen, Nos. 1, 6, 8, and 10).

Some of the coins of the Roman emperors earlier than the time of Constantine, are decorated with this symbol, notably those of Claudius, Trajan, and Antoninus Pius (Madden, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1868, vol. viii. p. 34), so that its presence gives no direct proof of the Christianity of Constantine, though it was doubtless adopted in this sense.

§ xviii. *False or uncertain coins of Constantine I. and II.*

(1) Silver medallion representing Constantine holding standard on which ☧, and in the exergue R. P. (Garrucci, *Num. Cost.* 2nd ed. p. 248, from *Caronni*); (2) the brass medallion with legend IN HOC SIN. (*sic*) VIC. and monogram ☧; above a star; totally remade from a large brass coin of the time between Trajan Decius and Gallienus (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* vol. vi. p. 119 *note*); (3) the brass medallion of the contorniate style, having for legend the entire inscription on the arch of Constantine, placed thereon to commemorate the defeat of Maxentius in 312. Its authenticity was vindicated by the compiler of the Pembroke *Sale Catalogue* (p. 297), but whether it *sold* as a genuine piece I am unable to say; see § i. under 315; (4) the gold coin with the legend VICTORIA MAXVMA and type A ☧ ω published by Garrucci and accepted as genuine by other modern writers (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* p. 458; see Art. A and Ω); it is not published by Cohen; (5) the coin with legend BAP. NAT. supposed to refer to the baptism of Constantine, but which by the alteration of one letter becomes B. R. P. NAT. (*Bono ReiPublicae* NATO); (6) coins with the monogram ☧ on the helmet, and ☧ or ⳨, *tracé en creux* on a pedestal supporting a shield, on which VOT. P. R., originally published by Garrucci (*Num. Cost.* 1st ed. Nos. 13 and 16), and now considered by him to be false (*Num. Cost.* 2nd ed. p. 253; *Rev. Num.* 1866, p. 110). To which may be added the *silver* piece of Constantine II. *Caesar*, described incorrectly as a *gold* coin from Tristan, by Garrucci (*Num. Cost.* 1st ed. No. 10), with the legend VICTORIA AVGG. and in the field +, a piece which has been in all probability confounded with the coins of Constantine III. (407–411) with the legend VICTORIA AAAVGGGG.

§ xix. *Coins of Constantine II., Constantius II., and Constans Augusti—Introduction of* A *and* ω *on coins.*

After the death of Constantine I. the type of the two soldiers and the legend GLORIA EXERCITVS was continued by his three sons[j] The cross on the *labarum* is of three forms:

(1) ⳨. (Fig. 24.)

(2) ☓. Of this series I have not seen any coin of Constantine II., but it doubtless exists. That attributed by the late Mr. de Salis I have restored to Constantine I. (see § xii.). The coins of Constantius II. and Constans of this series are in the British Museum.

(3) ☧. (Fig. 25.)

On some coins all three emperors have the title of *Maximus*. The coin engraved (Fig. 25) was struck at Siscia, but similar pieces with the title MAX. were issued at Lyons. They are erroneously attributed by M. Feuardent (*Rev. Num.* 1856, p. 253, pl. vii. No. 2) to Constantine I. the Great.

The same type continues for a short time after the death of Constantine II. in 340, but only with the symbols ☓ and ☧ on the *labarum*,[k] but many other types were introduced, among which may be noticed the FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO (*Felix temporis reparatio*), bearing on the *labarum* all the three forms—⳨, ☓, ☧ (Fig. 26). The "happy reparation" did not however extend to the softening of manners, for the types of the coins as a rule represent scenes of the grossest cruelty. At the introduction of Christianity artistic style seems to have perished, and the coinage of this and later periods, to quote M. Cohen's expression (*Méd. Imp.* vol. vi. p. 264, *note*), can be summed up in two words—"monotonie dans les types, lorsqu'ils ne sont pas barbares, barbarie lorsqu'ils ne sont pas monotones."

It is during the reign of Constantius II. that the brass coins with the inscription HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS are first issued (Fig. 27), a legend which is repeated on the coins of Vetranio (350) and of Constantius Gallus (351–354).

The most important innovation of this period was the introduction of the letters A and ω. I have already pointed out (§ xviii.) that the coin of Constantine I. with these letters cannot be relied on, and I have now further to state that many numismatists and others (Garrucci, Martigny; see art. A and Ω) have accepted as genuine a gold coin of Constantius with the

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[j] For the classification in this section of the coins of the sons of Constantine with the legend GLORIA EXERCITVS, which is fully developed in my paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, (N. S. 1878, vol. xviii. p. 23), I am indebted to the labours of the late Mr. de Salis.

[k] On some of the coins of Constans and Constantius II. the letter M occurs on the *labarum*, which M. de Witte has suggested (*Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 197) may be the initial letter of the *Virgin Mary*, and Mr. King (*Early Christ. Num.* p. 43) of *Magnentius*, commander-in-chief under Constans, but neither of these theories is worthy of serious thought. Moreover the letters O, C, G, I, S, T, or V, also occur on the *labarum*, and how are these to be interpreted? I cannot explain the letters.

A ☧ ω which turns out to have been described originally by Banduri (vol. ii. p. 227) as A ☧ Q; but the authenticity of the piece is very doubtful. These letters do however occur upon the second brass coins of Constantius II. (Fig. 28), struck about (?) 350–353, and also on a rare silver medallion of Constans in the 'Musée de Vienne' (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 28), on which are represented four military standards, on the second the letter A, on the third ω, and above ☧, and issued at *Rome*. It has been suggested (Cavedoni, *Appendice*, p. 15) that Constans in striking this medallion at Rome wished to testify his adherence to the Catholic dogma of the divinity and eternity of the Incarnate Word, in opposition to the Arian heresy favoured by his brother Constantius, and it may have been struck soon after the council of Sardica in 347. Though the letters A and ω were probably employed perhaps even as early as the council of Nice in 325 (art. A and Ω), it was not till about 347 that they commenced to come into general use in any case on coins. As to the form ω instead of Ω, Garrucci asserts (*Hagioglypta*, p. 168) that the Ω nowhere occurs on any authentic Christian monument, and condemns, as also does De Rossi, a ring published by Costadoni on which is a dolphin between the letters A and Ω.

§ xx. *Coins of Nepotian, Vetranio, Magnentius, Decentius, Constantius Gallus, and Julian the Apostate.*

Nepotian made himself master of Rome in 350, and issued gold coins with the legend VRBS ROMA and the type Rome seated holding a globe surmounted with ☧ (☧), but was killed after a reign of twenty-eight days. Vetranio, on hearing of the death of Constans and the revolt of Magnentius, had himself proclaimed emperor at Sirmium, and produced a new legend SALVATOR REIPVBLICAE with the type of himself holding the *labarum*, on which ☧. He also repeated the coinage with the legend HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS. The usurper Magnentius (350–353) and his son Decentius struck coins with the A ☧ ω at *Ambianum* (Amiens), a mint that was suppressed soon after his death by Constantius II. On the coins of Constantius Gallus *Caesar* (351–354) the HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS again, and for the last time, occurs. Some coins of this prince with the *Isis* reverse shew that he to a certain extent must have embraced the pagan opinions of his brother Julian.

Immediately on the accession of Julian the Apostate (355–363) all Christian emblems were abolished, and pagan customs and worship were re-established. In consequence most of the coins of this emperor bear the image of Apollo, Jupiter, the DEVS SANCTVS NILVS, and of many Egyptian deities, Anubis, Serapis, Isis, etc., several of them giving representations of himself as Serapis, and his wife Helena as Isis. It is then hardly to be expected that any coin of this prince would be in existence bearing Christian signs, and yet one has been published—a bronze medallion—representing Julian holding a standard, beneath which is ☧ (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 51, from *Wiczay*). The only point in its favour is that it shews Julian as bearing the title of *Caesar*, and if really authentic must have been struck immediately on his appointment to that honour in 355. I cannot however say that the medallion is above suspicion.

§ xxi. *Coins from the Accession of Jovian* (363) *to the death of Theodosius the Great* (395).

Under Jovian, the successor of Julian the Apostate, although a few coins bearing pagan types with the legend VOTA PVBLICA occur, and which continue to circulate during the reigns of Valentinian I., Valens, and Gratian, Christian emblems again re-appear, and the *labarum* terminating in a cross together with the monogram ☧ or the simple *labarum* are of common occurrence (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 17, 21). The coin of Jovian which has been published by some (Sabatier, *Mon. Byz.* vol. i. pp. 34, 58; Martigny, *Dict.* p. 460; King, *Early Christ. Num.* p. 84), as struck at *Ravenna*, cannot be genuine, as Ravenna was not established as a mint *till the reign of Honorius* (Madden, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1861, vol. i. p. 181; 1862, vol. ii. pp. 60, 253; *Handb. of Rom. Num.* p. 159).

Under Valentinian I. the most notable reintroduction is that of the form ⳨ which is generally carried at the top of the sceptre held by the emperor (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 20), but sometimes occurs in the field of the coin (No. 25). Similar emblems, as also the *labarum* adorned with the ☧ or ✕ continue on the coins during the reigns of his brother Valens, the usurper Procopius, of his sons, Gratian and Valentinian II. and Theodosius I. the Great.[1] The coins both of gold and brass of Aelia Flaccilla, the wife of Theodosius I., who was much esteemed for her piety, also exhibit interesting Christian emblems, among the most striking of which is the type of victory seated inscribing on a shield the ☧ (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 1), a reverse that occurs frequently afterwards on the coins of other empresses; whilst the coins of Magnus Maximus, usurper in Britain and Gaul, and of his son Victor (BONO REIPVBLICAE NATI)

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1 The form COMOB which may be explained *Constantinae* [Arles] *Moneta* 72, or *Obrysa* "pure gold," appears for the first time on the gold coins under Valentinian II. and Theodosius I., and is exclusively a *Western mint mark*; the form CONOB *Constantinopoli* 72, occurs *only* on the coins of Constantinople and for the first time under Gratian, Valentinian II., and Theodosius I. (Madden, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1861, vol. i. pp. 123, 124), and they both continue till about the time of Justinian I., when CONOB is used throughout the empire on the Byzantine gold. I am inclined to think with Messrs. Pinder and Friedlaender (*Aeltere Münzkunde*, 1851; cf. *De la Sign. des Lettres OB*, Berlin, 1873) that the letters OB stand for "72 solidi," coined from one pound of gold (*Num. Chron.* N. S. 1861, vol. i. p. 177; vol. ii. p. 240), but the late Mr. de Salis considered (*Num. Chron.* N. S. 1867, vol. vii. p. 327), that M. de Petigny (*Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 115) gives most convincing arguments for reading *Obrysa* "pure gold."

and of Eugenius, usurper in Gaul, shew more or less the same symbols.

§ xxii. *Division of the Empire* (395). A. *The West to end of Western empire* (476). B. *The East to the time of Leontius* (488).

A. *The West.*—After the death of Theodosius I. the empire was divided between his two sons Arcadius and Honorius,[m] the former taking the Eastern, the latter the Western provinces. About this time the type of Victory, holding a globe surmounted by a cross, is introduced (*Arcadius*, Sabatier, *Mon. Byz.* vol. i. p. 404; *Honorius*, Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 24), and the *Greek* cross may be seen on the *exagia solidi* of Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II. (Cohen, No. 6, Sabatier, pl. iii. No. 9). On a gold coin of Honorius struck at Ravenna, in the collection of Dr. John Evans, the emperor is represented holding a spear, surmounted by ⳨, on the head of an animal which appears like a lion with a serpent's or dragon's tail.

On certain coins of Aelia Galla Placidia, wife of Constantius III., the colleague of Honorius for a few months, the ☧ or a *cross*, is represented on her right shoulder, whilst the ☧ is within a wreath on the reverse (Cohen, Nos. 1–16), and the hand from heaven crowning the empress is introduced (Cohen, Nos. 2, 10, 11), as had also been the case on the coins of Eudoxia in the East.

The usurper Priscus Attalus seems to have dropped Christian emblems, and Rome having been sacked by Alaric who placed him on the throne, he dared to strike silver medallions twice the size of a five-shilling piece, and gold and silver coins with the presumptuous legend INVICTA ROMA AETERNA (Cohen, Nos. 1, 3–5). The usual emblems occur on the coins of John, proclaimed emperor in 423.

Valentinian III. appears to have been the first emperor who wore *a cross on his diadem*, if the gold medallion is genuine (Cohen, No. 1, from *Banduri*), and on other coins (Cohen, No. 11), holding a cross and a globe on which Victory, he changes the ordinary captive trampled under foot to a *human-headed serpent*, a custom followed by many of his successors. The type of the emperor holding the *mappa* or *volumen* and *a long cross* was also introduced (Cohen, No. 21). His wife Licinia Eudoxia also bore *the cross on her diadem* on her coins struck in Italy (Fig. 29; Cohen, No. 1). A very rare gold coin of this empress (De Salis, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1867, vol. vii. pl. viii. No. 1) has the ☧ surrounded by a circle and the legend SALVS ORIENTIS FELICITAS OCCIDENTIS. It was struck on the occasion of her marriage in 437, and she was so called because Theodosius II. had no son, and the Eastern empire seemed likely, as well as the Western, to become the inheritance of his eldest daughter's issue (De Salis, *op. cit.* p. 206). Some coins of his sister Justa Grata Honoria bear the legend BONO REIPVBLICAE (Cohen, No. 1).

The usual types occur on the coins of Petronius Maximus, Avitus, Majorian, Anthemius, and his wife Eufemia, but on one coin of this emperor representing Anthemius and Leo, there is between them a tablet (surmounted by a cross) on which is inscribed the word PAX (Cohen, No. 9). On the accession of Olybrius he dared to introduce the legend SALVS MVNDI, engraving on his coin a *large cross*, though he only enjoyed a reign of about three months and thirteen days. The coins of Glycerius, Julius Nepos and Romulus Augustus (Fig. 30), the last emperor of the Western empire, offer the usual symbols.

B. *The East.*—Under Arcadius, as already pointed out, the type of Victory holding a globe surmounted by a cross was introduced. Coins with the legend NOVA SPES REIPVBLICAE and the type of Victory resting on a shield were struck (Sabatier, *Mon. Byz.* No. 17), matching the coins of his wife Eudoxia, with the legend SALVS RIPVBLICAE, (*sic*) and the type of Victory inscribing on a shield the ☧ (Fig. 31; Sabatier, No. 3), a type that was already in vogue at the time of her mother-in-law Flaccilla. The question of the attribution of the coins bearing the names of *Eudocia* and *Eudoxia* was for a long time involved in great obscurity till set at rest by the late Mr. de Salis (*Num. Chron.* N. S. 1867, vol. vii. p. 203); and many coins bearing the name of *Eudoxia* with the ☧, given by Sabatier to the wife of Theodosius II., are now attributed to the wife of Arcadius.

Theodosius II. issued coins with the legend GLORIA ORVIS (*sic*) TERRAR. representing himself holding the *labarum* and a globe *cruciger*, and all the coins with the name EVDOCIA belong to the wife of this emperor (Fig. 32).

In 451 Marcian was proclaimed emperor owing to the influence of Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius II., whom he married, and who was at this time about fifty years of age. A gold coin was struck by Marcian to commemorate this event, bearing the legend FELICITER NVBTIIS (see Madden, *Num. Chron.* N.S. 1878, vol. xviii. p. 47, and "Addenda," p. 199) representing Marcian and Pulcheria, both with the *nimbus*, standing joining hands; in the middle, Christ, with the *nimbus cruciger*, standing and placing his hands on their shoulders (Fig. 33). This piece, which is one of the most interesting examples of Christian Nu-

[m] During the reign of Honorius some brass medals were issued representing in most cases the head of Alexander, but sometimes that of Honorius, and on the reverse an ass suckling her young, accompanied by the legends D. N. IHV. (*sic*) XPS DEI FILIVS or IOVIS FILIVS or ASINA, or as on a large medallion of the contorniate class, the monogram ☧. The effigy of Alexander the Great seems to have been considered as a "protection" (Treb. Poll. "XXX TYR." 14). John Chrysostom (*Homil.* ii. No. 5; cf. Montfaucon, *Op. Chrys.* vol. ii. p 243) reproached certain bad Christians of his time for wearing as amulets on their heads or feet medals of bronze with the head of Alexander the Macedonian (*νομίσματα χαλκᾶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ περιδεσμούντων*). These medals were thought by Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. viii. p. 173) to be symbolic representations made by the Christians, but Tanini appears to have been of opinion that they were satirical pieces fabricated by the Pagans to turn into derision the name of Christian, whilst Cavedoni (*Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 314), thinks that "they are the work of certain evil Christians or the Gnostics or Basilidians, who employed these medals as 'pierres astrifères' to circulate among the people their false and detestable doctrines." [See MEDALS, below.]

mismatics, is preserved in the Hunter Museum, Glasgow, and I am indebted to Prof. Young, M.D., Curator of the Museum, for sending me an impression of it (cf. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. viii. p. 191; Sabatier, No. 2). The coins of Pulcheria bear similar types to those of the other empresses.

Some coins of Leo I. shew the ⳨ in the field (Sabatier, pl. vi. No. 24), and represent him holding the *mappa* and *long cross* (No. 19), as on the coins of Valentinian III. previously alluded to, but the type of the coins of his wife Verina, as well as those of Leo II. and Zeno (with the exception of the brass coins of the latter with INVICTA ROMA and S. C. *Senatûs-consulto*), his wife Ariadne, of Basiliscus, his wife Zenonis, and son Marcus, and of Leontius, do not exhibit any novelty of type.

§ xxiii. *Coins of the Empire of the East from the time of Anastasius* (491) *to the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II.* (1453).

The true Byzantine type of coinage commences under Anastasius (491–518), who instituted a monetary reform. During his reign, as well as during that of Justin I. (518–527), the types of the gold and silver coins are principally the usual Victory holding a globe, on which is a cross, or else a large cross, or a staff surmounted by the ☧, whilst the ☧, ⳨ or ✳ are of frequent occurrence. The A ⳨ ω or ✳ ⳨ ✳ may be found on the small silver coins of Justin I. (Sabatier, *Mon. Byz.* pl. ix. Nos. 25, 26), a type likewise appearing on those of Justinian I. (Sab. pl. xii. Nos. 12, 15, cf. A ✝ ω on Æ coins, pl. xvii. Nos. 36–38) and Mauricius Tiberius (Sab. pl. xxiv. No. 14). The copper coinage now under Anastasius for the first time bears an *index* of its value, which generally occupies the whole of the field, almost always accompanied by crosses. One specimen shews the emperor Justin I. wearing the ☧ on his breast (Sab. pl. x. No. 1), or the ✝ on his head (No. 2).

In 527 Justinian was associated to the empire by his uncle Justin, and coins were struck of gold and copper bearing both' their portraits. On a very rare copper piece, formerly in the collection of the late Mr. de Salis, and now in the British Museum, the word VITA appears for the first time (Fig. 34; Sab. pl. xi. No. 22), a form employed afterwards by Justin II. and Sophia (Sab. pl. xxi. Nos. 10, 12, 13), and Mauricius Tiberius (Sab. pl. xxiv. No. 20), signifying, according to the late Baron Marchant and M. de Saulcy, "*Sit longa* VITA," but which the Abbé Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* p. 464) thinks may refer to the sign of the cross as the source of true life. In favour of the first interpretation M. Sabatier mentions (vol. i. p. 170) the words VINCAS or NIKA on the contorniates and the legend *Ne pereat* (but probably *Noster Perpetuus*) on the brass coins (Sab. pl. xxvii. No. 26) of Focas and Leontia (602–610), as also the letters P. A. MVL. or P. A. MVL. on the coins of Theodosius III. (716), Leo the Isaurian (716–741), and Constantine V. and Leo IV. (751–755), these being interpreted *Per Annos* MVLTos [*vivat*], but Mr. de Salis, who states that the legend MVLTVS or MVLTVS ANNIS occurs for the first time on the coins of Justinian II. without the letters PA, considered (*Rev. Num.* 1859, p. 441) that these letters signified PATHR or PATHR AVGVSTI, an opinion that M. Sabatier seems to have adopted in other parts of his work (vol. i. p. 74; vol. ii. p. 46). It may be mentioned that the Abbé Cavedoni preferred to read *Perpetuus Augustus* MVL*totics* or MVL*timodis* (*Rev. Num.* 1859, p. 399); but this interpretation is doubtful.

On the death of his uncle, Justinian I. succeeded to the throne (527–565), and about his twelfth year introduced his portrait full-faced on the copper coinage, adding the word ANNO together with a number marking the year of his reign. The ☧ (reversed) is also fixed on the breast of this emperor (Sab. pl. xii. No. 22), set as it seems on a plate surrounded by gems (Fig. 35), and the form ✳ occupies the whole of the reverse of some of the small copper coins (Sab. pl. xvii. Nos. 2 and 9).

The coins of the Ostrogoths in Italy, commencing at the overthrow of Romulus Augustus (476–553), which generally bear the portraits of Anastasius, Justin I., and Justinian I., and many of which carry on the farcical legend of INVICTA ROMA, as well as the coins of the Vandals in Africa (428–534), do not require any special allusion in connexion with the present subject.

The reign of Justin II. (565–578), with the exception of the pieces of himself and wife Sophia with the inscription VITA, to which I have already alluded, offers no new types.

Under his successor Tiberius II. Constantine (578–582) the cross is placed on four steps (Sab. pl. xxii. No. 13), or on a circle or globe (Sab. pl. xxii. Nos. 17, 18), types that become especially common under Heraclius, whilst on some of his coins he is represented holding the *volumen*, and a sceptre surmounted by an eagle, above which a cross (Sab. pl. xxii. No. 15; xxiii. Nos. 1, 2, and 13), a type occurring on the coins of Mauricius Tiberius (582–602), who also issued a very rare *solidus* (of which a woodcut is given by Sabatier, vol. i. p. 238), representing himself holding the *volumen* and long cross, and on the reverse Victory holding a long sceptre terminating in ⳨, and a cross on a globe (see the description of a coin of Leo I. § xxii.). The coins of Focas (602–610) are of the usual type.

Heraclius (610–641), who issued coins of himself and sons Heraclius Constantine, and Heracleonas, with the title of *Consul*, an office that was not definitely abolished till the reign of Leo VI. (886–912), produced the legend DEVS ADIVTA ROMANIS (Fig. 36; Sab. pl. xxix. No. 23) on his silver coins, a legend which continued on the coins of his successors down to the time of Justinian II. (685). Some of his copper coins present an entirely new feature, in that the legend is completely *Greek*, instead of the curious mixture of Greek and Latin, and also reverts to the Constantinian legend EN TϤTO NIKA (Sab. pl. xxviii. No. 26), which appears in the form ЄH ΤΟVΤω ΗICAΤ or ΗICAΤЄ on the coins of Basil II. and Constantine XI. (Sab. pl. xlviii. Nos. 15, 16), and EN TOVTω

NIKATE on those of Michael VII. and Maria (Sab. pl. li. No. 11).

The late Dr. Finlay has suggested (*Greece under the Romans*, p. 544) that the copper coins of rude fabric with the EN TʊTO NIKA legend were probably coined by Heraclius for the use of the troops and provincials during his Persian campaigns, to which theory, with the exception of the words "rude fabric," as these coins are no ruder than the rest of the copper currency, the Hon. J. L. Warren assented, adding "that such a type would be peculiarly appropriate in a war against the crescent and the infidels, thus readopting the *labarum* motto, translated, however, and thereby shewing how essentially Greek the empire had become" (*Num. Chron.* N. S. 1861, vol. i. p. 229). The same type was copied by Constans (641–668), and an interesting account of some coins of this emperor and his sons, discovered in the island of Cyprus, has been written by Mr. Warren (*op. cit.* p. 42). During the short reign of Theodosius III. (716) some small silver coins were struck (Sab. pl. xxxix. No. 3) bearing the legend AMENITAS DEI (the loving-kindness, *i.e.* the grace of God) within a wreath of myrtle.

During the reign of Constantine V. Copronymus, and his son Leo IV. (751–775), the hand "descending from heaven" occurs on the gold coinage (Sab. pl. xl. No. 22), and the form in which the hand is held is supposed to express the sacred letters IC—XC (DICT. OF CHRIST. ANTIQ. I. p. 199). The hand also occurs on the coins of John I. Zimisces, Michael IV., Michael VI., Alexius I. Comnenus, John II. Comnenus, Manuel I. Comnenus, Isaac II. Angelus, John VIII. Palaeologus, and on those of the emperors of Trebizond. The legend IhSЧS XPISʊЧS NICA, with the type of a large cross on three steps, first appears on his silver coins (Sab. pl. xl. No. 25), though on a copper coin with the effigies of Leo III. (dead), Constantine V., and Leo IV. (Sab. pl. xl. No. 17), the letters X N for Xristus Nica may be found. Sometimes the letters are triplicated, X–N / X–N / X–N as on coins of Irene (Sab. pl. xli. no. 13). This legend was continued on the silver coins of Leo IV. (775–780), and of Constantine VI. and Irene (780–797), but Nicephorus I. Logothetes struck it on a *gold* coin (Sab. pl. xli. No. 14), and it is generally found on the silver till the reign of John I. Zimisces (969–976), on whose coins the face of the emperor is represented within a circle surrounded by the letters I A / ω h (Sab. pl. xlvii. No. 19). On some of his brass coins (Sab. pl. xlviii. No. 6), as also on those of Alexius I. Comnenus (Sab. pl. lii. Nos. 18, 19), and Andronicus IV. Palaeologus (Sab. pl. lxiii. no. 1), the legend is $\frac{IC}{NI}\Big|\frac{XC}{KA}$. Alexius I. was the first emperor who was really Greek, and Latin legends are after his time no longer to be found on the Byzantine coinage. It was on the coins of Michael I. Rhangabe (811–813), with the legend IhSЧS XPISʊЧS NICA (Sab. pl. xlii. No. 3), that the words 6ASILIS ROMAIOh were first introduced, "a sad acknowledgment of a rival *Romanorum Imperator*" (*Sat. Review*, June 1, 1861); and Theophilus (829–842) on some coins of the same legend and type (Sab. pl. xliii. No. 10), calls himself ΘEOFILOS ƆЧLOS XPISʊЧS PISTOS Eh AVʊO bASILEЧ ROMAIOh, whilst on some of the same type he inscribes CVRIE bOHΘH TO SO ƆOVLO✱E Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ (*Lord protect thy servant*).

The principal Christian types on the Byzantine coinage may be classified in the following manner:—

A. CHRIST.—During the reign of Justinian II. (685–695), who had been deposed on account of his cruelties in 695 and banished to the Chersonese by Leontius with his nose cut off, and hence his name of *Rhinotmetus* (Ῥινότμητος), but who was restored to the throne together with his son Tiberius in 705, many innovations were introduced, the most notable of which is the bust of Christ holding the gospels and giving the benediction, with the legend dN. IhS. ChS. REX REGNANTIЧM, and on the reverse the emperor holding a long cross with the title of SERЧ. ChRISʊI adopted by himself. On some of the coins the emperor holds a globe (on which is the word PAX), surmounted by a cross (Fig. 37; Sab. pl. xxxvii. No. 2). The former legend is generally found on the *gold* coins, but it sometimes occurs on the *silver* and *copper*, and it is always accompanied by the type of Christ represented in the four following ways:—

(1) *Bust of Christ facing on a cross* on the coins (Fig. 37) of Justinian II. Rhinotmetus (685–695) and on his coins, with his son Tiberius IV. after his restoration (705–711). From the reign of Leo III. the Isaurian (716–741), the first of the Iconoclasts, to that of Irene (797–802), all images of Christ, the Virgin, and Saints were abolished, though the legend IhSЧS XPISʊЧC NIKA without any image, as I have above shewn, was introduced during the reign of Constantine V. and his son Leo (751–775). The bust of Christ facing on a cross was again produced (Sab. pl. xlii. No. 1) on the coins of Michael I. Rhangabe (811–813), and after another interval of about 30 years, on those of (Sab. pl. xliv. No. 7) Michael III. and his mother Theodora (842–856), and on those of Michael III. (Sab. pl. xliv. No. 12) when reigning alone (856–866), but with the legend IhSЧS XPISʊOC✱. On a brass coin of Michael VII. Ducas (1071–1078; Sab. pl. li. No. 8) the bust of Christ on the cross occurs *between two stars* but *without any legend*.

(2) *Bust of Christ facing on a cross with nimbus*, from the reign of Constantine X. and Romanus II. (948–959) to that of Isaac I. Comnenus (1057–1059). The *nimbus* is generally adorned with gems. [Sab. pl. xlvi. No. 18; xlvii. Nos. 10–12, 17; xlviii. Nos. 10, 19, 20; xlix. Nos. 3, 5; l. No. 1.]

(3) *Christ with nimbus cruciger seated facing, sometimes holding the right hand raised*, from the reign of Basil I. and Constantine IX. (869–870) to that of Manuel I. Comnenus (1143–1180). [Sab. pl. xliv. No. 22; xlvi. Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 12; xlix. Nos. 2, 4, 16, 17; l. Nos. 2, 6, 10; lvi. No. 3.] It was on the coins of this type (Sab. pl. xlix. No. 17) that Isaac I. Comnenus changed

the type of the gold coinage of the empire, and impressed on it his own figure with a drawn sword in his right hand, thereby, as the Byzantine writers pretend, ascribing his elevation to the throne, not to the grace of God, but to his own courage (Finlay, *Hist. of Byz. and Greek Empires*, vol. ii. p. 12).

(4) *Christ with nimbus cruciger standing facing* on the coins (Sab. pl. xlix. No. 13) of Theodora (1055–1056). See *Types of Virgin* (j).

On a gold coin of Romanus I. Constantine X. and Christophorus (920–944), Christ is represented *with a cross at the back of his head*, standing crowning the emperor Romanus I. (Sab. pl. xlvi. No. 10).

The type of Christ also occurs in the following various types, accompanied by the letters IC—XC (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός):—

(5) *Bust of Christ facing on a cross with nimbus.*—The letters IC—XC and this type first appear on the brass coins of John I. Zimisces (969–976), but with the addition in some cases of the word EMMANOVHΛ, and on the reverse + IhSUS XPISTUS bASILEU bASILE (Fig. 38; Sab. pl. xlviii. Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8), and the attribution of these anonymous coins to John I. Zimisces is founded on a passage of Scylitzes and of Cedrenus, where it is said that "this emperor ordered to be placed upon the coins the image of the Saviour, which had not been done before, and on the other side *Latin* letters forming the sentence, IESVS CHRISTVS REX REGUM" (Sab. vol. ii. p. 143), but this statement can only refer to these *copper* coins, as the bust of Christ occurs (as I have shewn (1)) on the coins of other metals of earlier dates. The same letters are sometimes connected with the word ΝΙΚΑ (see above) IC/XI | XC/KA (Sab. pl. xlviii. No. 6; lii. Nos. 18, 19; lviii. No. 18; lxiii. No. 1), a form of legend also occurring on the copper coins of Romanus IV. Diogenes (1067–1070), but here representing the bust of Christ *without the cross or nimbus*, and with three globules on either side of His head (Sab. pl. li. No. 3).

The type continues from the time of Theodora (1055–1056) to that of John VIII. Palaeologus (1423–1448). On some of his coins (Sab. pl. lxiii. Nos. 19, 20), as well as on those of his predecessor Manuel II. (Sab. pl. lxiii. Nos. 7, 9, 10), the bust of Christ is surrounded by *stars* or *crosses* with the legend ΘV.XAPITI BACIΛEC TW PWMEWN "*By the grace of God, King of the Romans*,"—equivalent to the *Dei gratiâ* on our own coinage. It is sometimes accompanied by the legend KEROHΘEI for Κύριε BOHΘEI, as on the coins of Alexius I. Comnenus (Sab. pl. liii. No. 10), and Manuel I. Comnenus (Sab. pl. lv. Nos. 5 and 10; lvi. No. 5).

(6) *Christ with nimbus cruciger seated facing*, on a brass coin of John I. Zimisces (969–976; Sab. pl. xlviii. No. 4) having on the reverse ISXS 6ASILE 6ASILI, and on a very rare brass coin of Constantine XIII. Ducas and Eudocia (1059–1067; Sab. pl. l. No. 9), and from the time of Michael VII. Ducas (1071–1078) to that of Andronicus IV. Palaeologus (1371–1373). [See under C. SAINTS and Fig. 41.]

The words KE. ROHΘEI are sometimes added on the coins of Alexius I. and John II., whilst on some of Andronicus II. Palaeologus and Andronicus III. (1325–1328) the legend is in full KVPIE BOHΘEI (Sab. pl. lxi. Nos. 14, 15).

On some of the coins of Michael VIII. (1261–1282; Sab. lix. Nos. 3–6), *Christ with nimbus cruciger or nimbus is seated blessing the kneeling emperor*, who is generally accompanied by the Archangel Michael.

(7) *Christ with nimbus standing facing, sometimes crowning or blessing the emperor or emperors*, on coins from the time of Michael VII. (1071–1078) to that of Andronicus II. and III. (1325–1328). [Sab. pl. li. Nos. 5, 18; lii. Nos. 16, 17 [with KE. ROHΘEI], 20; liii. No. 18; lv. No. 2; lvii. Nos. 4, 5, 11; lx. Nos. 1–5, 13, 14; lxi. Nos. 7–9, 13.]

The letters IC—XC occur on some coins of Alexius I. (Sab. pl. lii. No. 22) and Manuel I. (pl. lvi. No. 8), having for type a *six-rayed cross on three steps.*

B. THE VIRGIN.—The Virgin Mary is represented on the Byzantine coinage in various postures, generally accompanied by the letters MR—ΘV (Μήτηρ Θεοῦ);—

(a) *Bust of Virgin veiled facing and hands raised*, on coins of Leo VI. (886–912). In this instance we have the name MARIA in full as well as the letters MR—ΘU (Fig. 39; Sab. pl. xlv. No. 11).

(b) *Bust of Virgin with nimbus facing and hands raised*, first occurs (Sab. pl. xlvii. No. 9) on the brass coins of Theophano (963) and on those (Sab. pl. xlviii. No. 9) of John I. Zimisces (969–976), and may also be found on the coins of many emperors down to the time of (Sab. pl. lxi. No. 5) Andronicus II. and Michael IX. (1294–1320).

On a coin of Constantine XII. Monomachus (1042–1055; Sab. pl. xlix., No. 12) the Virgin of Blachernae [M. RΛAKE6NITICA *sic*] is represented. Blachernae was a suburb of Constantinople, which was taken into the city under Heraclius, and the empress Pulcheria is said to have erected a temple to the Virgin called *Ædes Blachernianae*, which Justin I. restored. On account of the many miracles said to have been performed here, the temple and image were held in high esteem (Chron. Alex. *ad ann. Heracl.* xv. and xvii.; Ducange, *Const. Christ.* lib. i. c. xi.; Madden, *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. xviii. p. 207; pl. vii. No. 10).

(c) *Bust of Virgin with nimbus facing, holding a medallion of Christ on her chest*, from the time of (Sab. pl. xlvii. No. 18) John I. Zimisces (969–976) to that of (Sab. pl. li. Nos. 7, 9) Michael VII. Ducas (1071–1078), and sometimes accompanied by the legend ΘKE BOHΘEI (θεοτόκε βοήθει, *mother of God, help*). In some cases the *medallion rests on her chest whilst the hands are raised* as on the coins of (Sab. pl. li. No. 17) Nicephorus III. (1078–1081), of (Sab. pl. lii. Nos. 9–11, 21) Alexius I. Comnenus (1081–1118), and of (Sab. pl. liv. No. 14) John II. Comnenus (1118–1143). On the coin of John Zimisces there is the legend mEROU—DEDOΞAEm — OEISSEEL — ΠIZWhOU — CAΠOƧ'K' which appears to be Μήτερ Θεοῦ δεδοξασμένη ὁ εἰς σε ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀποτεύξεται Κυρίου, *O glorified mother of God, he that trusteth in thee shall not fail of the Lord.* (Madden, *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. xviii. p. 209; pl. vii. No. 11.)

(d) *Bust of Virgin with nimbus within walls*, on the coins of (Sab. pl. lix. No. 3) Michael VIII.

Palaeologus (1261–1282), of (Sab. pl. lx. Nos. 1–4) Andronicus II. Palaeologus (1282–1328), and of (Sab. pl. lx. Nos. 13, 14) Andronicus II. and his son Michael IX. (1294–1320).

The walls are those of Constantinople, and the type commemorates the restoration of the Greek emperors at Constantinople after it had been under the sway of the Latins for nearly fifty-eight years. Pachymer of Nicaea, who flourished during the reign of Michael VIII., records that "Michael, after the taking of Constantinople, changed the type of the old coins, engraving instead a representation of the city," but at the same time he debased the standard of the mint, and issued coins containing only 15 parts of gold and 9 of alloy (Pachymer, ii. 343; Finlay, *Hist. of Byz. and Greek Empires*, vol. ii. p. 436). The obverse type on his coins represents the emperor, presented by the archangel Michael, kneeling to Christ seated, or the emperor in prostration before Christ standing, or the two emperors blessed by Christ. [*Types of Christ*, (6), (7).]

(*e*) *Virgin with nimbus seated facing*, on coins of John II. Comnenus (1118–1143) but *with the hands outspread* (Sab. pl. liv. No. 13), of (Sab. pl. lv. No. 6; lvi. No. 4) Manuel I. Comnenus (1143–1180), and of (Sab. pl. lix. No. 5) Michael VIII. Palaeologus (1261–1282). (Sab. pl. lxiv.–lxvi.)

(*f*) *Virgin with nimbus seated, holding medallion of Christ*, from the time of Michael VII. Ducas (1071–1078) to that of Andronicus II. and Michael IX. (1294–1320). [Sab. pl. li. No. 5; lii. No. 1; liii. No. 18; liv. No. 1; lv. No. 11; lvi. No. 14; lvii. No. 15; lx. No. 16.]

(*g*) *Virgin with nimbus standing, hands raised and medallion of Christ on her chest*, on the coins of (Sab. pl. lii. Nos. 8, 12) Alexius I. Comnenus (1081–1118), of (Sab. pl. lvii. No. 4) Andronicus I. Comnenus (1182–1185), all with ΚЄ. ΡΟΗΘЄΙ, and of (Sab. pl. lvii. No. 20; lviii. No. 5) Isaac II. Angelus (1185–1195). On some of the coins of Andronicus II. the Virgin holds *the medallion with both hands* (Sab. pl. lvii. Nos. 5, 11).

(*h*) *Virgin with nimbus standing on a cushion holding the infant Christ, with nimbus cruciger, in her arms*, on the gold and silver coins of (Sab. pl. l. Nos. 14, 15) Romanus IV. Diogenes (1067–1070). On these coins the legend ΠΑΡΘЄΝЄ COI ΠΟΛΑΙΝЄ ΟC ΗΛΠΙΚЄ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΤΟΡΘΟΙ (*O glorious Virgin, he that trusteth in thee prospers in all things*) forms an hexameter line. (Fig. 40.)

(*i*) *Virgin with nimbus standing facing and hands raised or arms folded* from the time of (Sab. pl. xlix. No. 11) Constantine XII. Monomachus (1042–1055) to that of Alexius I. Comnenus (1081–1118). [Sab. pl. l. No. 7; li. No. 6; lii. No. 7.] On the coin of Constantine XII. there is the legend ΔЄCΠΟΙΝΑ CѠΖΟΙC ЄVCЄΒΗ ΜΟΝΟΜΑΚΟΝ (*Lady mayest thou preserve the pious Monomachus*). On some specimens the words ΘΚЄ. ΡΟΗΘЄΙ occur.

On other coins the Virgin is represented *side-faced* as on those (Sab. pl. lvi. Nos. 12, 13) of Manuel I. Comnenus (1143–1180).

(*j*) *Virgin with nimbus standing crowning emperor, sometimes half-length*, on coins of (Sab. pl. xlvii. No. 17) John I. Zimisces (969–976), on which, in addition to the letters ΜΘ above her head, there is added the legend ΘЄΟΤΟC. 6ΟΗΘ. ΙѠ ∂ЄSP (*mother of God help the Lord John*) [A. Christ, No. 2], and from the time of Romanus III. Argyrus (1028–1034; Sab. pl. xlix. No. 2) to that of (Sab. pl. lv. Nos 7, 12; lvi. Nos. 2, 3) Manuel I. Comnenus (1143–1180).

On gold coins of (Sab. pl. xlvii. No. 12) Nicephorus II. Focas (963–969), and of (Sab. pl. lxvii. No. 1) John Angelus Comnenus, emperor of Thessalonica (1232–1234), the Virgin is represented *half-length* presenting a *long cross* to the emperor; on some of Michael VIII. Palaeologus (1261–1282; Sab. pl. lix. Nos. 10, 11) she is represented *half-length* holding the *labarum* on which ☧; and on a brass coin of (Sab. pl. lxii. No. 17) John V. Palaeologus (1341–1391), the *Virgin and Emperor are shaking hands*. On another (Sab. pl. xlix. No. 13) of Theodora (1055–1056), to which I have already alluded [A. Christ, No. 4], she is standing *full-length* with Theodora, both holding the *labarum*.

C. Saints.—The figure of a saint (generally standing) was first introduced by Michael VI. (1056–1057). The following are the saints and angels represented—*St. Alexander*, on a gold coin of Alexander (912–913; Sab. pl. xlvi. No. 3); *St. Michael*, on coins of Michael VI. (Sab. pl. xlix. No. 16) and of Isaac II. Angelus (Sab. pl. lvii. Nos. 15, 16, 17) and other emperors; *St. Constantine*, on coins of Alexius I. Comnenus (Sab. pl. lii. Nos. 16, 17); *St. George*, on coins of John II. Comnenus (Fig. 41; Sab. pl. liii. No. 15, [A. Christ, No. 6]), and other emperors; *St. Theodore*, on coins of Manuel I. Comnenus (Sab. pl. lv. No. 2), &c.; *St. Demetrius*, on coins of Manuel I. Comnenus (Sab. pl. lv. No. 9), &c.; *St. Andronicus*, on coins of Andronicus II. and III. (Sab. pl. lxi. No. 17); *St. Eugenius*, on the coins of the emperors of Trebizond (Sab. pl. lxvii.–lxx.; some on horseback); *St. John*, on the coins of John I. Axouchos, emperor of Trebizond (Sab. pl. lxvii. No. 9, bust facing; No. 10 standing); and some unknown.

The *winged head* or body *of a seraph* occurs on the brass coins of Andronicus I. Comnenus (Sab. pl. lvii. Nos. 9, 10), of Andronicus II. and Michael IX. (Sab. pl. lx. No. 19; lxi. No. 11), and John III. Ducas emperor of Nicaea (Sab. pl. lxiv. No. 15) very similar in form to the seraphim engraved in the article Angels and Archangels (§ 14).

On some coins of Romanus I. and II., Constantine X., Nicephorus Focas, John Zimisces, Basil II., Manuel I. Comnenus, and Alexius III., the initial letters of the names of these emperors are so placed as to form a *cross* (Sab. pl. i. Nos. 54–60, 63, 68, 69), in some cases, as on the coins of Romanus I. and II., taking the form of an *anchor*, whilst on those of Romanus IV., Alexius I. Comnenus, and Baudouin (Nos. 65, 67, 71), the initials are figured around a *Maltese cross*.

There are yet one or two curious pieces to which I must allude. During the reign of John I. Zimisces (969–976) some brass coins or tokens were issued (1) having on the obverse the bust of Christ with *nimbus* and the letters ΙC—ΧC, and on the reverse the legends ΘѠΔΑΝ — ЄΙΖЄΙΤΟV — CΠЄΝΗΤΑC — ΟΤΡЄΦѠΝ, and (2) on the obverse ΔΑ—ΝЄΙΖЄΙ—ΘЄѠ, and on the reverse ΟЄΛЄ—ѠΝΠΤѠ—ΧΟΝ, which may be interpreted

Θεῷ δανείζει τοὺς πένητας ὁ τρέφων and Δανείζει Θεῷ ὁ ἐλέων πτωχόν (*He that hath pity on the poor lendeth unto the Lord*). Both are translations of the same Hebrew verse (Prov. xix. 17), and the latter is the exact translation of the LXX. These pieces have been published by Dr. Friedlaender (*Num. Zeitschrift*, vol. ii. Vienna, 1870); the first is in the collection of Prince Philip of Saxe-Coburg, the second in the museum of Basle. Dr. Freidlaender remarks that "it is curious that the coins of smallest value are always those which remind the possessor to give them to the poor."

Another brass coin or medal with the legend ANACTACIC has also been attributed to this reign, but the piece is not above suspicion. (Madden, *Num. Chron.* N. S. 1878, vol. xviii. p. 191.) [See MEDALS below.]

To the time of John II. Comnenus (1118–1143), according to the late Baron Marchant (*Mél. de Num.*), or to that of John V. Palaeologus (1341–1391), according to the late Mr. de Salis, and with greater probability, a most remarkable piece is attributed, of which the following is a description:—

*Obv.* The emperor with *nimbus* standing facing, holding cross and *labarum* (surmounted by cross) on which X.

*Rev.* The Magi worshipping and making offerings to the Virgin Mary, who holds a child in her lap. The Virgin wears the *nimbus* and is seated, raising her right hand. Between the Magi and the Virgin the letters ΕΥΛΟ/Ε Æ. (Fig. 42.)

This piece, which is in the British Museum, is considered by Mr. Grueber to be undoubtedly genuine. The shape of the *labarum* is uncertain, but appears to be . The inscription is perhaps ΕΥΛΟΓΕιτε, or rather ΕΥΛΟΓημΕνη, which is not improbable, as the Virgin Mary was hailed by her cousin Elizabeth as "Blessed among women, and blessed the fruit of her womb" (εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξί, καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου, Luke i. 42).

Another specimen of very similar reverse type, but having on the obverse the bust of Christ facing with *nimbus* and the legend EMMANVHL (*sic*) was formerly in the Pembroke Collection, and passing into the cabinet of the late Mr. Wigan, is now in the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, who has published and engraved it in the new illustrated edition of Dr. Farrar's *Life of Christ* (p. 21, ed. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin). Mr. Lewis kindly sent me the piece to see, and I must confess that I am not altogether favourably impressed with its appearance. I may observe that Mr. Burgon the author of the *Pembroke Sale Catalogue* (p. 324) classed it among "early fabrications in copper bearing imaginary types," and stated that "the composition can hardly be regarded as genuine, but as the metal and surface are antique, it must (if false) have been produced by means of a punch and an engraving tool, principally by the former. The workers in *Niello* in Italy in the 15th century used their tools in a manner which is almost inconceivable." If, however, there is no doubt about the authenticity of the piece in the British Museum, we can hardly reject this one as spurious only on account of its *composition*. The two birds (doves?) in the exergue of the reverse, Mr. Lewis (*op. cit.*) suggests may "delicately symbolise the purification." [See MEDALS, below.]

It may be, as Martigny has suggested (*Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* p. 383), that medals or medallions of this description were frequently struck for suspending round the neck, as was done with some of the *verres dorés* with the same subject (Garrucci, *Vetri*, iv. No. 9).

The representation of the adoration of the Magi on both these pieces, especially on the latter, is somewhat similar to that on a fresco of the cemetery of Callistus engraved by Martigny (*op. cit. l. c.*), or to that on a fresco in the cemetery of St. Marcellinus, engraved by the Rev. W. H. Withrow (*Catacombs of Rome*, p. 306. 1877.) (Compare p. 1299.)

In conclusion I must record my thanks to Mr. H. A. Grueber, assistant in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, for the trouble that he has had in superintending the casting of most of the coins here engraved, and for the readiness with which he has answered my numerous queries.

The principal works referred to are as follows:—Feuardent, *Médailles de Constantin et de ses fils portant des signes de Christianisme* in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1856, p. 247; C. Cavedoni, *Ricerche critiche intorno alle medaglie di Costantino Magno e de' suoi figliuoli insignite di tipi e di simboli Cristiani* in the *Opuscoli Religiosi Letterarii e Morali*, I. iii. pp. 37–61, Modena, 1858 (tirage à part 27 pages); *Nuove ric. crit. intorno alle med. Costantiniane insignite dell' effigie della Croce* in the *Opuscoli Religiosi*, etc., I. iv. pp. 53–63, Modena, 1858 (tirage à part 11 pages); R. Garrucci, *Numismatica Costantiniana portante segni di Cristianesimo*, in his *Vetri Ornati di figure in oro trovato nei Cimiteri dei Cristiani primitivi di Roma*, pp. 86–105, Roma, 1858; C Cavedoni, *Appendice alle ricerche critiche*, etc., in the *Opuscoli Religiosi*, etc., I. v. pp. 86–105, Modena, 1859 (tirage à part 20 pages); H. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, vols. v. and vi. Paris, 1861, 1862, vol. vii. (Supplement), 1868; J. Sabatier, *Monnaies Byzantines*, 2 vols. Paris, 1862; R. Garrucci, *Num. Cost. o sia dei segni di Cristianesimo sulle monete di Costantino, Licinio e loro figli Cesari*, in his *Vetri ornati di figure in oro*, p. 232, Roma, 1864 [a partial translation of this paper, by M. de Witte, omitting the introduction (pp. 232–235) and the concluding remarks (pp. 253–261), appeared in the *Revue Numismatique* 1866, p. 78, which has been translated into English (but must be used with caution) by Mr. C. W. King, *Early Christian Numismatics and other Antiquarian Tracts*, 1873]; C. Cavedoni, *Disamina nella nuova edizione della Num. Cost. del P. Raffaele Garrucci d. C. d. G.* in the *Rivista della Num. ant. e modern.* vol. i. pp. 210–228, Asti, 1864; R. Garrucci, *Note alla Num. Cost.* in the *Dissertazioni Arch. di vario argomento*, vol. ii. pp. 23–30, Roma, 1865; Martigny, *Numismatique Chrétienne* in the *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* Paris, 1865; F. W. Madden, *Christian Emblems on the coins of Constantine I. the Great, his family and his successors* in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S. 1877, vol. xvii. pp. 11, 242· 1878, vol. xviii. pp. 1, 169. [F. W. M.]

Passing from the Eastern Empire to Western

Europe, we find that, from the reign of Honorius downwards, the gradual loss of territory to the Roman empire is marked by the introduction of new coinages issued by the barbarian invaders in place of that which proceeded from the imperial mints. In most cases, however, these new issues begin as mere imitations of the Western or Eastern imperial coins, and it is not till long subsequent to their acquisition of a country that the barbarian nations institute distinctly recognisable series of coins. The fact is, that the imperial coinage had been so long the coinage of the Roman world that it was only gradually that the Teutonic invaders conceived the possibility of substituting a separate coinage of their own. The length of time which often elapsed between the settling of these invaders in Roman territory and their first issue of a coinage on which the name of the emperor is replaced by that of a barbarian king, is exemplified in the case of the Visigoths, who under Astaulf in 410 established a kingdom in Aquitania, but who did not begin a national coinage until the reign of Leovigild (573), the first king of all Spain. Indeed Procopius complains of the audacity of the Frankish king (Theodebert), who for the first time ventured to strike gold coins "bearing his own portrait, not that of the emperor as was [heretofore] the [universal] custom;" and adds with slight exaggeration: "the king of the Persians, indeed, used to strike silver money of his own; but it was not lawful either for him or for any other barbarian king to make his gold coins with a portrait of the ruler." (*Bell. Goth.* iii. 33.) This was about the year 544.

It is obvious that this long period of imitation must have had a great effect upon the symbols of all kinds which appear upon coinages of the West, and accordingly we find that the Christian symbols upon these coins are generally taken directly from the money of Constantinople. We may divide the barbarian coinages of Western Europe from the accession of Honorius to that of Charlemagne into six distinct classes, struck respectively by:

(1) The Vandals in Africa from Huneric to the defeat of Gelimir at Trikameron, that is from 477 to 533.

(2) The Visigoths in Spain from Leovigild to the defeat of Roderic at the battle of Guadelata, from 573 to 711.

(3) The Ostrogoths in Italy from Theodoric, 493 to the battle of Mons Lactanus, 553. These were followed by:

(4) The Lombards, who include not only the Lombard kings at Pavia, but likewise the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto, who struck coins. The coinage of Pavia and Lucca lasted from the time of Aripert, 653, down to the conquest of the kingdom of Italy by Charles in 774; the coinage of Benevento continued till the death of Radechis in 955.

(5) The Merovingians, who began to strike coins about 544, under Theodebert, king of Austrasia, and continued their issue until a new coinage was introduced by the Karling dynasty.

(6) The English, who may have brought a coinage with them into this country, but who cannot with certainty be credited with a national issue until the time of Peada, a king of Mercia, about 655.

On the first and third of these six classes, the coins of the Vandals and the Ostrogoths, Christian symbols are curiously conspicuous by their absence. On the Vandal money none appears save upon some copper coins of doubtful attribution; on the money of the Ostrogoths the only exception is found in the large cross which appears upon the embroidered robe on the bust of Theodahat as displayed upon his copper coins, and in the crosses upon some nameless copper coins struck at Rome during the time of Ostrogothic rule, but not necessarily by the authority of the barbarians themselves.

Yet if we were inclined to attribute this want of Christian symbols to the Arian proclivities of the Vandals and the Ostrogoths, we should find that our conclusions were defeated by the money of Leovigild, the last Arian king of Spain. He seems to have adopted three types for his money, which, with little change, run through the whole series of the coinage of this dynasty. The first presents on the obverse the rude representation of a head or bust; on the reverse a cross *haussée*, or raised upon three steps, a type which was first introduced by Tiberius II. (574–582), and was probably adopted by Leovigild about the period of the *second* date. The engraved coin, which is one of Chintila, struck at Narbonne, will give an adequate idea of this type, for it is the peculiarity of this series that the style and fabric of its coins varies scarcely at all during the whole period of nearly a century and a half during which they continued to be struck. The obverse reads + CHINTILA REX; the reverse, NARBONA PIV[S]: the name of city of minting, Narbonne (Fig. 43).

This type of the cross *haussée* is the only one which can be distinctly recognised as Christian. But it is curious that the cross is not adopted upon the coins of Leovigild's catholic son San Hermengild. He adopts Leovigild's second type, which is also an imitative one, copied from the *Victoria Augusta* coins of Rome and Constantinople. The reverse represents a winged figure (Victory) walking to the right, and holding in her right hand a wreath. Around the usual Roman legend VICTORIA AVG is replaced by the name of the king, or an attempt at the legend INCLYTVS REX. (See Heiss, *Mon. des Rois Wisigoths d'Espagne*, pl. i. Nos. 1–3, and pl. ii. Nos. 1–3.) Now, though this coin is undoubtedly, as far as the origin of its type goes, of a pagan character, it is equally certain that it is impossible in the history of Christian iconography to separate accurately the Angel from the Victory or Nikè of the Romans and Greeks; and there can be little doubt that the figure upon the Visigothic coins would have passed in these days and in popular estimation for an angel. The third characteristic type of the Visigothic coinage represents simply a rude bust on either side, and is devoid of any attempt at symbolism. In addition to the Christian types, we have on one coin of Leovigild the letters Α ω, and on one of St. Hermengild the legend *Regi a Deo Vita*, an almost unique instance of pious instruction upon a Visigothic coin.

The Lombards may lay claim to more originality than the Visigoths, in that, upon their pieces, a most undoubted angel is portrayed, with a legend shewing that he is intended to represent the Archangel Michael. The engraving

(Fig. 44) represents a coin of Cunipert of this type. The obverse reads DN CVNI NC PERT. Diademed bust to right, wearing paludamentum; in front, uncertain letter, D? Rev. SCS MI HAHIL. St. Michael standing to left, holding long cross *pommée* in right, and on left arm, round shield. This angel seems to have been held in especial honour by the Lombards, to have been, in fact, in some sort their patron. He is mentioned several times by Paulus Diaconus (iv. 47, v. 3, 41), and we gather that there were in Warnefrid's time many churches and cities dedicated to him. The cathedral of St. Michael at Pavia was the scene of the coronation of the Lombard kings, and some have considered—though without satisfactory reasons—that the now standing church of San Michele dates from their time. Following the observable tendency of middle-age Catholicism to prefer the *cult* of saints to that of angels, the majority of these churches and cities probably became in later days re-dedicated to some more human and more popular object of reverence.

The later Lombardic coins abandon the type of St. Michael and adopt for their reverses either a flower pattern, or else the cross potent, having one limb longer than the other three. Those of the dukes of Benevento, who form a lesser branch of the Lombards in Italy, imitate more closely the contemporary coinage of Constantinople, generally displaying on the obverse the bust of the duke facing, and on the reverse the long cross potent and *haussée* upon three steps, known under this form as the Byzantine cross. (See Fig. 53.) The coins likewise bear not infrequently the legend SAN MICHALIS, although only in one instance do they display the image of the archangel.

We now turn to the coinage of the Franks, which, as has been said, begins with Theodebert, the second king of Austrasia, the son of Thierry, and grandson of Clovis. Dating from an earlier period than the last two series, the imitative character of the Frankish money is much more apparent than that of the Visigothic or Lombardic coinages. All the types of Theodebert are borrowed directly from Constantinople with no change but the substitution of the Merovingian's name upon the obverse. The most common, as also the most Christian, type is that given in the engraving (Fig. 45), and is taken from the contemporary coinage of Justinian. It affords a good example of a Victory which has just passed through the transitional stage and become an angel, while the legend on the reverse VICTORIA AVGGGA still remains to betray its origin. The attitude of the figure upon these coins, or on those of Justinian, may be compared with that of an angel which is carved in ivory upon a beautiful consular diptych of this epoch, now in the British Museum.

As time went on a change takes place in the Merovingian money, which is not paralleled in that of any other country of Europe. Not only does it depart more and more from the imperial type, but a coinage bearing the name of no king, only that of the moneyer who struck it, and of the town where it was minted, is introduced alongside the regal issue. It seems probable that the Frankish kings never asserted the right of exclusive coinage; but, on the contrary, that it was within the faculty of almost any local goldsmith to strike these coins for particular or local purposes. There is no reason to believe, as has been thought by some, that this non-regal money was issued by the authority of a religious see or order. Most of the later Merovingian coins, whether royal or not, are of the kind known as trientes or tremisses, one-third, that is, of the solidus aureus. Their type generally displays a head upon the obverse, and on the reverse a cross of some sort. Two coins of the royal issue with rather peculiar symbols are engraved beneath, Figs. 46 and 47. The first which was struck by Charibert II. (630–631) reads:

*Obv.* TEVDOSVS (Theodosius?) MONETA. Bare head to right.

*Rev.* CHARIBERTVS RE. Figure, probably a chalice surmounted by a cross (Conbrouse, *Monnaies Nationales de France*, pl. 22). The second is a coin of Clovis or Chlodvig II. (638–656).

*Obv.* CLOTHOVICHVS R. Helmeted bust to right.

*Rev.* MONETA PALAT I. Cross *haussée*, and terminating in open chrism. On either side of cross ELI GI (Conbrouse, *Mon. Nat. de France*, pl. 18). The Eligius, whose name appears upon this rare and interesting piece, is St. Eloi, the treasurer of Dagobert I. and Clovis II., who before his elevation to this post had been a goldsmith and moneyer under Clotaire II. (See *Life of St. Eloi*, by St. Ouen in D'Achéry's *Spicilegium*, vol. ii. p. 76.)

A great variety is observable in the symbols displayed upon the Merovingian coins, though they are nearly always of a religious character. The most common device is a short square even-limbed cross, which rests sometimes upon a step or ball. The Christian monogram appears, but is not common. The two unusual and interesting types given here (Figs. 48 and 49) represent a Calvary, on either side of which a man is standing, and a monstrance raised upon three steps. They are taken respectively from a silver coin of Le Mans and a gold triens of Angers (Conbrouse, *o. c. Types Mérov.* pl. iv. Nos. 16 and 24).

Of the coinages whereof we have been speaking, the Vandalic and Ostrogothic belong to the period which preceded the introduction of the genuine barbaric gold coinage into Europe, and are—with the exception of a few coins which display the monogram of Theodoric — coinages in silver and copper only. The money of the Visigoths, the Lombards, and the Franks, which are more distinctly national and barbarian issues, are almost as exclusively coinages in gold; for when the invaders obtained full possession of a Roman province they seem nearly to have discarded the use of silver coins. In our own country, on the other hand, and probably also in the region of the Lower Rhine, a silver coinage was almost the only currency, and if some of the gold tremisses—or, as they were called here, *thryms*—found their way across the Channel, their appearance must be regarded as quite exceptional. This fact forms a marked contrast between the coinage of England and that of the greater part of continental Europe. The silver coins which were in use in England before the rise of the Karling dynasty were the sceattas, small and thick pieces, weighing some

nineteen or twenty grains: in the north however, that is, in the countries of Bernicia and Deira, a copper coin, the *styca*, supplied the place of the sceatt. Some few of the sceattas bear the names of known sovereigns, and in that case their date is of course determinable. The earliest piece of this description bears *in runic letters* the name of Paeda, a son of Penda, king of Mercia, who reigned about 655. The greater part of these early coins however are without intelligible legend. They bear a few letters of the Roman character, which seem to have been nothing but rude and ignorant copies of the legend upon some imperial coin. Their types are so numerous that a detailed description of them is impossible; but the reader may consult the plates in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, and in Hawkins's *English Silver Coins*, 2nd ed. A great majority of these sceattas have one or more crosses upon the field, and this fact has led numismatists to infer that those pieces upon which no such symbol occurs were struck before the conversion of the English to Christianity. M. Dirks (*Revue de la Num. Belge*, 5th series, vol. ii.), who has devoted special attention to this class of coins, has gone further than this, and signalised some types as bearing a distinctly heathen character, the head of Wodin, the Fenriswulf, the sea monster Jormundgandr, &c. On this point it is difficult to pronounce with certainty. It is extremely probable that most of the sceattas were copies, more or less remote, of Roman coins; Mr. Hawkins in his *Cuerdale Find* has given an instance of an undoubted copy separated by a distance of nearly five hundred years from its original; therefore neither the presence nor absence of Christian symbols upon these nameless pieces can be taken as conclusive evidence of the time at which they were first issued.

The earliest known coin among the stycas merits particular notice. It was struck by Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria (670–685), and bears upon the reverse a radiate cross, with the legend + LVX or, as we may perhaps read it, LVX X (*Lux Christus*, Christ is [my] light). (See *Silver Coins of England*, 2nd ed. No. 99, and Ruding, *Annals*, vol. iii. pl. 28 ap.) This king, who is called "rex religiosus" by the biographer of St. Wilfred, appears to have been in his earlier days a great friend of religion and of the archbishop of York. The types of the subsequent Northumbrian stycas is a small cross on one or both sides enclosed by the legend, without further ornamentation or symbolism.

Towards the end of the 8th century, and after the rise of the Karling dynasty upon the continent, pennies superseded the sceattas in the central and southern districts of England, while stycas and some sceattas continued to be coined in the north. The penny usually displays a cross upon the reverse, and this cross is treated in curious ornamental devices; but the coin is without any other religious symbolism. Types of the early English penny may be found in the works of Hawkins and Ruding.

Beside the royal money, coins were struck by the archbishops of York and Canterbury, by the former stycas, by the latter pennies. The earliest of these episcopal coins seems to have been struck by Ecgberht, archbishop of York, from 730 to 766, conjointly with his brother Eadberht, king of Northumbria. One side reads ECGBERHT[AR?]. Figure standing between two long processional crosses. The figure seems to wear a sort of three-cornered hat, which may very probably be intended for a mitre. The other side reads EOTBERHTVS, and represents a figure standing (Hawkins (102), p. 67, and Ruding, iii. 3; the engraving in the latter, however, is very faulty).

The other archbishops of York of whom we have coins are, Eanbald, 780 to 796; Vigmund, 831 to 854; and Ulfhere, 854 to 895. These coins, which are stycas, follow in type those of the contemporary Northumbrian kings, as described just now.

The archbishops of Canterbury, whose pennies resemble in type those of the kings of Kent, and subsequently those of the kings of England, are Jaenberht, 763 to 790; Ethilheard, 790 to 803; Wulfheard, 803 to 830; Ceolnoth, 830 to 870; Ethered, 871 to 890; Plegmund, 891 to 923.

We have said that when the Karling dynasty came into power it introduced a new coinage of silver to supersede the old Merovingian gold money; and the latter began from that time rapidly to disappear. Pepin the Short struck denarii or pennies of a new pattern and fabric, bearing no resemblance either to the current gold coinage or to the older denarii of Rome. In 781, we find a decree of Charles the Great ordering that the new denarii shall be current throughout the Frankish kingdom; and from this time it would appear that the coining of gold almost ceases in western Europe. The types of this money of Pepin and Charles are as rude as they are original. All attempt at a face or bust is for the most part abandoned: sometimes nothing but an inscription is given on either side, but generally the name of the king is displayed in a monogram disposed round the four limbs of a cross, somewhat like the monogram of the word *Roma* in the figure 51. Generally, too, a cross occupies the centre of the reverse, a cross of a somewhat new shape. It is the cross pattée which from this time becomes almost universal upon European coins, a small even-limbed cross slightly broadening towards its extremities. "We must observe the position of the cross. It has its limbs of equal length, and they are slightly *paté* at the ends; the cross is *alaisée* and detached, its limbs not touching the circle which surrounds the field and separates the legend. A cross of this description only appears quite accidentally upon the Roman money of the preceding centuries: it appears occasionally on the Merovingian coins; it became common, and at length indispensable on those of the Carlovingians, and no other sort was used" (Lelewel, *Num. du Moyen Age*, tom. i. p. 87: see Fig. 13). After his conquest of Italy, and for the use of that country, Charles seems to have struck coins bearing his bust, represented like that of the Roman emperors. He also introduced a very important type, which became common upon the coins of many succeeding emperors. It represents, probably, the front of the basilica of St. Peter with the legend XRISTIANA RELIGIO (Fig. 50). Fig. 51 a coin engraved by Conbrouse, which is supposed to have been struck either to commemorate the restitution of Adrian I. to his rights and the assumption by Charles of the titles king of Italy and

patrician of Rome, or else to commemorate Charles's crowning as emperor on the famous Christmas of 800, is of doubtful authenticity. Both these coins are silver denarii (Combrouse, pl. 162). Fig. 52 also represents a type which is peculiar to Charlemagne (Lelewel, i. 88). The double triangle is of course a Christian type, the triangle being a symbol of the Trinity. But it is also, as Solomon's seal, a type frequently in use among the Arabs, and is to be met with upon coins of the 'Abbásee dynasty as early as 783 (Tiesenhausen, *Mon. des Khalifes Or.* p. 108, No. 997).

In the time of Charlemagne we have also to notice the beginning of a papal coinage. The rare coins of Adrian I. were probably struck subsequently to the overthrow of the Lombardic kingdom in 774. They are denarii, and represent the bust of the pope, facing, in a style copied from the coinage of Constantinople (Fig. 53). The legend is HADRI ANVS P[x] P[a]; on either side of head, I B.

*Rev.* VICTOR IA DNN ∴. Long cross *haussée* on two steps, and having three limbs potent, called also a Byzantine cross; on either side R M; in exergue CONOB. (See Lelewel, o. c. tom. i. p. 116.) The above is probably the oldest papal coin. Lelewel attributes one uncertain piece to Deodatus as early as the 6th century; and Fig. 54 has by some numismatists been considered the proof of a coin of Gregory II (715–731). In spite of the GRE II, however, this attribution is extremely doubtful. With the exception of these rare papal coins, and of the coins which continued to be struck by the dukes of Beneventum down to the middle of the 10th century, Charlemagne's denarii formed the coinage of western continental Europe (Fig. 55). In our country the introduction of these denarii was followed by the substitution of the *penny* for the *sceatt*, whereby, with a change of form and a slight change of weight, the coinage of England was brought into harmony with that of the continent. The shape of the cross is approached to that on the money of Charlemagne, that is to say it is now generally an even-limbed cross occupying the centre of the coin, and rather a definite part of its *structure* than a mere symbol. In fact, from this time forward throughout Europe the general tendency of the coinage is to assume an architectural design, and following the same impulse, the cross upon it becomes architectural rather than pictorial. [C. F. K.]

It is probable that the earliest coins of Venice belong also to this period. In the *Numismatica Veneta, o serie di monete e medaglie dei Dogi di Venezia* (Venezia, Giuseppe Grimaldo tip. calc. editore), 1856, indeed accounts and figures are given of the coins of ten doges who ruled in Venice from A.D. 697–827; but many of these earlier pieces are admitted by the author to be forgeries, and all labour under grave suspicion. The type of the c ins published as genuine is, in nearly every case, a cross sometimes neatly, sometimes rudely formed, the limbs of which are nearly equal, being occasionally of the Maltese type. It occurs either at the head of the legend, or in the centre of the coin, or in both one and the other on the money of Paoluccio Anafesto (697–717), Marcello Tegalliano (717–726), Teodato Ipato (726–737), Galla Gaulo (755–756), Domenico Monegario (756–764), Giovanni Galbajo, false, (787–804), Obeleiro Antenoreo, false, (804–810), Angelo Partecipazio (810–827). Some deniers attributed to the last-named doge are, however, undoubtedly genuine. They are of the temple type of Fig. 50, bearing upon one side a cross with an obscure legend, PSCV SERVA ROMANO IMP, of which no interpretation is proposed by the editor, possibly standing for *Perpetuum securum servi Romanorum imperium;* and on the other side a temple, as on coins of Charlemagne and Louis le Débonnaire, with legend, XPE (Christe) SALVA VENECIAS. This money (of which there is a specimen in the British Museum) is believed to have been struck at the time when the Venetians concluded a peace with Charlemagne, after the discomfiture which they inflicted on Pepin, A.D. 810.

Coins with the legend CRISTUS IMPER', and of a degraded form of the temple type, though ascribed by Schweitzer (*Serie delle monete e medaglie d'Aquileja e di Venezia*, Trieste, 1848) to the very beginning of the 9th century are, almost without doubt, of a much later date. [C. F. K. and C. B.]

### Medals.

Medals, as the word is commonly used by English writers,[a] designate objects in metal which resemble coins in general appearance, but which were not made to pass as money. More usually they bear devices on both sides, but occasionally on one side only (*plaques*). Medals may commemorate events or persons, or may be used for purposes of devotion, or as charms, or be employed for ornamental purposes, being inlaid in Christian ecclesiastical furniture of various kinds. But as they are commonly classed under Numismatics, this article would not be complete without some notice of the few Christian medals which have come down to us from the period embraced in this work. The following are the principal subjects represented:—

(1) *Christ as the Good Shepherd.* A bronze medallion (4½ inches in diameter) of rough work (di rozza maniera) has this most ancient subject of Christian art on both sides. On the obverse the Shepherd (without nimbus) is turned to the left, dressed in a tunic, with buskins on his legs, the feet bare, his right hand placed on his head, his left hand resting on a staff upon the ground; his right heel leans on his left instep. On either side is a tree, considered by Buonarotti to be a palm, by Perret (with perhaps better reason) to be an olive; in the middle a sheep (of small size). The Shepherd is here sad, going in search of the lost sheep, intended to be represented in the distance. The reverse has two trees nearly as before, but the Shepherd (turned to the left as before) now holds no staff, but the sheep (of much larger size) across his shoulders, holding two of its legs by either hand. This medal has been gilt.

Found in the Catacombs of Rome. Described and figured by Buonarotti, *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro*, pp.

[a] Gibbon however often speaks of coins as *medals;* so also the French writers in general style them *médailles*. English and French writers alike use *medallion* for either a coin or medal of large size.

24–28, tav. iv., and after him by Perret, *Catacombes de Rome*, vol. vi. p. 118, and vol. iv. pl. xvii. nos. 5 and 7. Perhaps of the 3rd or 4th century.

There are other bronze medals exhibiting Christ as the Good Shepherd. One, now in the Vatican Museum, having a design on one side only, gives him (without nimbus) standing to the right beneath a tree (mistico olivo, De Rossi); a dog near his feet looking up: in the landscape at different heights are seen seven sheep, standing, lying down, feeding or playing; another tree halfway up the landscape on the other side. Diameter 1½ inches, with a ring for suspension. Considered by De Rossi to be not later than the 3rd century (*Bullett. Arch. Crist.* 1869, p. 42, tav. n. 1). He quotes (p. 39) Marini's MS. description of another most interesting medal of this class, formerly in the collection of Cardinal Stefano Borgia, but which he has in vain endeavoured to trace. "Velitris in Museo Borgiano in orbiculo aereo incuso in antica parte capita se invicem respicientia SS. Petri et Pauli et litterae PETRVS PAVLVS, supra ☧, infra duae aviculae bibentes: in postica stat pastor dextra innexus pedo, sinistra ostentans fistulam, ad pedes canis dominum respiciens, hinc inde oves et inscriptio—

SECVNDINE VIV
AS."

A variety of scenes from the Old and New Testament is combined in the following thin bronze plaque, which Buonarotti suspects was intended for a processional cross; it would be suitable enough for insertion into a pastoral staff; but was probably made for neither the one nor the other in the first instance; a casket is at least as likely to have had it thereon. Christ, as the Good Shepherd, in the centre bearing a sheep, two other sheep are at his feet. About him, in four compartments, are the following nine subjects taken from the Old Testament, having (or supposed to have) some connexion with the Saviour (see Buonarotti, *u. s.* pp. 1–3).

In the first one: (*a*) Adam and Eve; (*b*) Noah in the Ark, welcoming the dove; (*c*) Jonah resting under a gourd.

In the second: (*d*) The Sacrifice of Abraham; (*e*) Daniel in the Lions' Den.

In the third: (*f*) Moses striking the Rock; (*g*) Samson bearing the gates of Gaza.

In the fourth: (*h*) Jonah swallowed up by the whale; (*i*) Jonah vomited up by the whale.

Diameter, 1⅞ inch. Found in the cemetery of St. Pontianus; first published by Ciampini, *De duobus Emblem.*, p. 4, Rom. 1691, then by Buonarotti (*u. s.* tav. 1), from which an enlarged copy is given in Perret, *Catacombes*, vol. vi. p. 120 and vol. iv. pl. xx. n. 7. It does not appear where this most interesting monument now is. To judge from the figures it would seem to be very ancient, perhaps even as early as the 3rd century (Fig. 56).

The Good Shepherd appears in fine (as it would seem) on one side of a medal described below.

(2) *Portraits of Christ.*—These are not found upon *coins* till the reign of Justinian Rhinotmetus (685–711), and it is by no means clear that all the medals which have them are not later still. The earliest in all likelihood, and certainly the most important, is a massive plaque of gold, on one side of which the face of the Saviour in low relief is represented in the centre, the eyes being formed by garnets or by pastes in imitation of them. Around it in six compartments is the chrisma formed of X and R (not P), and from the transverse bar of the cross are suspended *α* and *ω*. "Ces lettres sont découpées à jour." Ornaments in the centre are formed of enamels *cloissonés*. Reverse plain. Diam. 63 mill.; weight 39 grammes. Acquired in 1855 for the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, having been found a few years previously at Linon in the department of Puy-de-Dôme. Referred to the Merovingian period by M. Chabouillet (*Catal. des Camées*, &c., n. 2711, p. 402). Three holes in the margin shew that it had been used for insertion into some piece of ecclesiastical furniture.* See under n. 3.

(3) *Infant Saviour adored by the Magi.*—Three medals on which this subject is represented are known, and there has been much controversy about the age of one of them; none of them can be earlier than the 5th century, and all may probably be much later, perhaps even lower than the period embraced in this work.

(*a*) *Obv.* Bust of the Saviour, with circular nimbus, between two stars (*i. e.* seen in heaven), holding a wreath in each hand, crowns two saints (without nimbus) in long drapery, each holding a long cross in one hand, and holding up the other towards another larger long cross between. On one side of this cross is *α*, and on the other *ω*. A boy, holding a candle (an *oblate*) on the left, approaches one of the saints: folds of drapery on each side the coin indicate a ciborium in the apse of a church in which the scene is placed. *Rev.* The Virgin (without nimbus) seated on high chair to right, a stool before her; on her lap the infant Saviour (with circular nimbus), before them three magi standing in short drapery, each holding a round object in his hand; above the Saviour is a short cross (approaching in form to the Maltese); higher up a dove holds a branch; above the middle magus is a star. Æ 1⅛ inch; figures in intaglio. Space below exergual line on both sides empty. In the Vatican. (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 55, tav. n. 9.) The composition of the Saviour crowning the saints is compared by De Rossi to that in the apse of the church of SS. Primo and Feliciano in Rome (A.D. 645), figured by Ciampini; he inclines to place the medal in the 6th or 7th century.

(*b*) *Obv.* The Saviour standing on a stool, front face, in long drapery (with circular nimbus), between two stars, holding a cross of double limbs, each botone; on either side of him angel looking towards him with circular nimbus, palm-branch behind. *Rev.* Virgin, Child and magi, standing nearly as before; star above the Child; dove with branch above the magi; palm-branch behind the Virgin's chair. Below the exergual lines on both sides two stags drinking; facing each other, and a stream between them. Æ 1$\frac{7}{10}$ inch; figures in intaglio; very rude

* The golden Saxon bracteate, represented by Wise, *Catal. Num. Bodl.* t. xvii. and described at length by Pegge in the first volume of the *Archaeologia*, p. 179, sqq., is probably rather too late for this work. It represents the bust of the Saviour, and reads XPO *α* & *ω*.

work. In the Vatican. The composition of the obverse is compared by De Rossi with that of a mosaic of St. Michael in Ravenna, A.D. 545; he thinks it earlier than the 8th century, from which time he finds no medals with figures in intaglio (*u. s.* pp. 55, 56, tav. n. 10). This and the preceding were referred to the age of the Comneni by Marangoni, who wrongly considered them as money (see De Rossi, *u. s.*), but he may perhaps not have erred greatly as to their age. A coin, having an emperor on one side, supposed by Mr. Madden to be John Comnenus, or John Palaeologus, is described and figured in the *Num. Chron.* 1878, p. 194, pl. x. n. 10, which has a similar reverse with the adoration of the (three) magi, but they are here kneeling; the Virgin alone has a circular nimbus [p. 1293].

(*c*) *Obv.* EMMANVHL (*sic*). Bust of the Saviour, full faced, draped, with cruciform nimbus; each limb of the cross double, enclosed in a circle. *Rev.* Virgin seated to left, the Child on her lap: star above; three magi standing before them with offerings; below exergual line two birds (doves?) (Æ. nearly 1 inch). Collection of Rev. S. S. Lewis, formerly in the Pembroke Cabinet (Catal. Pemb. Coll. [by Burgon], p. 324 (1848). Figured in *Pemb. Plates*, iii. t. 115 (1746); Farrar's *Life of Christ*, p. 21 (reproduced here, Fig. 57); *Num. Chron.* 1878, p. 194, pl. x. n. 11. An example of this medal was formerly in the possession of Pasqualini, who corresponded in 1601 with Peiresc about it; the latter thought it no older than John Zimisces, and regarded it as a piece of his money, being herein followed by Ducange, Banduri, and Eckhel.[p] Pasqualini perceived that it was a medal, and placed its antiquity much higher. It came into the Kircherian Museum, but has been since lost; but a drawing by Ménétrier made in 1629 (which we now perceive to be about three times the size of the original), was reproduced in 1869 by De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 44, n. 5. The latter considers the piece of the second half of the 5th century, or of the first half of the 6th. He thinks that the money ascribed to John Zimisces (969–976), which bears so great a resemblance to this medal on the obverse,[q] was derived from an earlier prototype; if so, it may have been taken from this very medal. But on the whole it seems much more probable that the medal belongs to the same general period as the copper money of Zimisces, who first placed the portrait of the Saviour thereon; the nimbus on both (cruciform with double limbs enclosed in a circle) seems to be more artificial and later than that which surrounds the Saviour on the money of Justinian II., in whose reign it appears for the first time upon the gold coinage. This later nimbus, however, is somewhat earlier upon coins than Zimisces, being found on the gold money of Constantine X., of Romanus I. and Romanus II., of Nicephorus II. (Focas), and of Basil II. (Sabat. *Monn. Byz.* pl. xlvi. nos. 4, 6, 12, 18; pl. xlvii. 10, 12). For other notices of this medal, see Mamachi, *Orig. et Ant. Christ.* tom. i. p. 237, tab. i. fig. 9 (Ed. Matranga, Rom. 1846);[r] and Martigny, *Dict. Ant. Chrét.* s. v. *Mages*, who also refers to a plaque of bronze nearly like it, published in the *Athénée Français* (Févr. 1856, p. 9), by M Edmond Le Blant. This precious disk, of *repoussé* work, used as an inlaid ornament, is now in the Christian Museum of the Vatican Library (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 37).

(4) *Portraits of Apostles.*—The heads of Peter and Paul occur facing on a famous bronze medal, said to have been found by Boldetti in the Catacombs, which has commonly been thought to be very ancient[s] (see under PETER

[p] Hardouin was inclined to ascribe it to the 14th century, but Mamachi (see below) thought it much older. Burgon suspected it to be the 15th (*u. s.*).

[q] A description of the piece may not be out of place. *Obv.* EMMANOVHΛ around draped bust of the Saviour facing, holding the Gospels, whose head is adorned with cruciform nimbus enclosed in a circle; IC XC in field. *Rev.* Star or scroll above and below, between them: ✚ IHSVS | XRISTVS | BASILEY | BASILE (in four lines). (See Sabat. *Monn. Byzant.* t. ii. p. 143, pl. xlviii. n. 5; *Numis. Chron.* 1878, p. 179, pl. ix. n. 4.)

[r] The example seen by Hardouin was in the possession of Card. Boncompagni; Mamachi does not say where the medal which he saw was preserved.

In connexion with this medal two others of bronze, formerly in the Vettori Museum, may be named, about whose age little can be said with confidence, except that both are late. They may probably be later than the 9th century, and if so, do not concern the present work. Yet a short notice may not be unwelcome under the doubtful circumstances. Both have on the obverse the full face of the Saviour with cruciform nimbus enclosed in a circle, which is of the same general character as that on the coins of John Zimisces. One has on the reverse the legend ANACTACIC and a building with a dome, the door open, on either side of which is a soldier asleep (¾ inch). Figured in Mamachi (*Orig. et Ant. Christ.* t. i. p. 287; Matranga's edition, after Vettori, *Numm. aereus Vet. Christ.* p. 47). Tanini, who describes this piece from a specimen in the collection of Card. Borgia, places it after the coins of Constantine (*Suppl. ad Band.* p. 280), and thinks it may have been struck when Constantine built the basilica of the Anastasis on the site of the Holy Sepulchre. But the style of work renders this supposition impossible; Eckhel (*D. N. V.* t. viii. p. 251) is disposed to class it to John Zimisces. De Rossi (*u. s.* p. 58) thinks it is struck for pilgrims as a memorial of their visit to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. For the controversies to which this medal has given rise, see De Rossi, *u. s.* and Madden, *Num. Chron.* 1878, p. 192. The other has on the reverse the baptism of Christ by John in the Jordan, who standing on the bank pours water on His head as He is immersed in the river up to the middle; above is the dove; the legend around is REDEMTIO FILIIS HOMINVM. with IORDA in exergue. 1 inch. Figured after Vettori by Mamachi, *u. s.* t. i. p. 240, who regards it as a vetus monumentum; "quo tamen tempore elaboratum fuerit, ne suspicari quidem possum." De Rossi, having examined this specimen, now in the Vatican Library, is unable to form "un giudizio sull' età e sull' arte di questa medaglia," and is inclined to suspect its genuineness.

There are two unimportant tokens referred to the reign of Zimisces, one of which has the bust of Christ as before on the obverse, accompanied by IC XC, and on the reverse ΘΩΔΑΝ | ΕΙΖΕΙΤΟV | CΠΕΝΗΤΑC | ΟΤΡΕΦΩΝ (Prov. xix. 17). The other has on obverse ΔΑ | ΝΕΙΖΕΙ | ΘΕΩ, and on the reverse, ΟΕΛΕ | ΩΝΠΤΩ | ΧΟΝ, which is exactly the rendering of the same passage in the LXX. These pieces have been published by Dr. Friedländer (*Num. Zeitschrift*, vol. ii. Vienna, 1870), and from him by Mr. Madden (*Num. Chron.* 1878, p. 193).

[s] The beautiful figure given by Brownlow and Northcote led the writer (see vol. i. p. 733, note) perhaps too hastily to suspect that it was of the age of the Renaissance, as it bears little resemblance to any medallion of ancient Roman art which he remembers to

and Paul). Another bronze medal with the same heads inscribed with their names and various accessories is mentioned above under n. 1. A third of the same metal in the Christian Museum of the Vatican, (2½ inches) engraved by Perret, bears the same heads, but in a different style, having the chrisma between them (*Catacombes*, vol. ii. on title-page). A small oblong medal or plaque in the Vatican of rude work, having a neck-like loop pierced for suspension. gives the head of St. Paul in intaglio with legend SCS PAVLVS (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 44, with figure). Age uncertain, probably late (*id.* p. 56).

(5) *Representations of other Saints.*—Among the few of this class which can be recognised is St. Laurence (Fig. 58), who is represented as being broiled on a gridiron, with his feet held by an executioner behind; in front sits a Roman officer bearing a staff, with an officer standing at his feet; above the head of the saint is the chrisma (⳨), and above his body is seen his soul rising upward in human form (see Martigny, *Dict.* s. v.; *Ame.* ed. 2, 1877). It is crowned by the hand of God appearing above, between Alpha and Omega. The reverse has an oblate (?) bearing a candle, approaching a cancellated structure, arched, but open above, which is probably intended for the tomb of St. Laurence. The legend SVCCESSA VIVAS occurs on both sides, she being the person for whom the medal is made; it has a loop above, shewing that it was intended for suspension. This lead medal, formerly in the Vettori Museum, now in the library of the Vatican, is in intaglio (1½ inches); it is a cast from a bronze, probably of the 5th century, described by Ménétrier (De Rossi, *u. s.* pp. 33–37, tav. n. 8). Other medals are found with figures of saints either at full length or the bust only, about which little can be said with certainty. One (perforated) has a head seen in front on the obverse, the reverse bearing the ordinary chrisma with *α* and *ω* in the angles. Probably of the 4th or 5th century. Bronze, nearly 1 inch (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 41, n. 6). Another has the Saviour at length with circular nimbus between two other figures (Peter and Paul ?), one of which has a staff on his shoulder terminated by the chrisma with legend ZOSIME VIVAS; the other side has a shepherd between trees, with staff, dog behind. Æ. 1$\frac{1}{10}$ inches (*Id. u. s.* tav. n. 4). De Rossi is probably right in thinking that the Saviour here commissions the two great apostles to preach the gospel; he holds something (perhaps a volume) in one hand towards one of them (see De Rossi, *u. s.* pp. 43–45). Probably about the 5th century. Another (p. 45, tav. n. 2) gives two figures (a woman, with uplifted hands talking to a man, the chrisma above, and on the other side three men., Æ. 1½ inches. These are suspected by De Rossi to be intended for St. Felicitas and her seven children, martyred along with her; and to have been struck in Rome in their honour. Perhaps about the same age as the preceding.

(6) *Chrisma or Monogram of Christ.* See above, n. 5. A small piece (described by Marini) with reversed chrisma (☧) in circle on one side and VINA | NTII in two lines on the other. Æ. $\frac{6}{10}$ inch (De Rossi, p. 43, tav. n. 6), the other side blank. Another (perforated) found in a loculus in Aringhi's time, has the ordinary chrisma. Æ. 1 inch (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 43, engraved at p. 44, n. 3). Another, a plaque with loop for suspension, has the chrisma between I and N, LEO being in a line below (*i. e.* in Christo Leo). Æ. 1½ inches. In the Kircherian Museum (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 44, n. 6, and p. 39). These pieces may probably be of the 4th century or a little later.

(7) *Cross.*—A bronze piece (perforated), irregular in form, about 1 inch in diameter; has on one side a Latin cross, at the feet of which are the *α* and *ω* in silver, incised and worked in niello (incise e niellate in argento). Museum of the Vatican. Not earlier than the 5th century, perhaps much later (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 43, engraved p. 44, n. 4). Crosses of various forms are also figured as accessories on other medals, see under n. 3.

From the Old Testament we have a few scenes, such as the following:—

(8) *Sacrifice of Abraham.*—A plaque, representing Abraham and Isaac on the top of Mount Moriah, between trees; an angel looks down from heaven. An animal (meant for a ram) behind Abraham. The style is peculiar, apparently very ancient. 1½ inch, bronze. (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 40, tav. n. 3.) The same subject is repeated on a badly preserved bronze medal, which has a loop for suspension, where Isaac kneels before Abraham, who holds a knife; a ram is behind him; the legend above (now remaining) is VRBICVS. The other side represents a male figure in long drapery, presenting a chalice before an altar on which are three lights, the slab being supported by spiral columns on a frame; behind him an oblate; the legend is GAVDENTIANVS. De Rossi explains the medal thus: Urbicus devotes his son Gaudentianus to the service of God or one of the saints, possibly to St. Laurence; Abraham would resemble Urbicus in offering his son to God. He thinks the medal was struck about A.D. 400. (De Rossi, *u. s.* pp. 49, 50, tav. n. 5.)

(9) *Daniel in the Lions' Den.*—A plaque with this device is figured by Venuti among the medallions of the Albani Museum (*Ant. Num. Max. Mod. Mus. Albani*, t. ii. p. 119). Now in the Vatican. De Rossi regards it as an ornament for furniture (*u. s.* p. 37). See also under n. 1, where this and other subjects from the Old Testament are figured as accessories.

Of the preceding medals those which bear the figure of Christ as the Good Shepherd are in all likelihood the oldest; and these (or some of them) may probably be earlier than Constantine; the greater part perhaps of the others may be referred to the 4th and 5th centuries; all those, however, that bear the portrait of Christ with cruciform nimbus are later, perhaps very much later.

M. De Rossi, who above all others has contributed to the knowledge of Christian medals, quotes a passage from the Acts of St. Germanus of Auxerre, in which it is said that after Geneviève had consecrated herself to God in perpetual

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have seen or read of. A tin-foil impression obtained at his request by the Rev. H. R. Bailey from the original by the courtesy of M. De Rossi, was unfortunately much injured, and does not enable him either to confirm or remove his suspicion. The diameter of the medal is 3 inches.

## MONEY.—PLATE I. OF COINS.




Fig. 1.

**Septimius Severus.**




Fig. 2.

**Trajan Decius.**




Fig. 3.

**Salonina.**




Fig. 4.

**Constantine I.**




Fig. 5.

**Constantine I.**




Fig. 6.

**Constantine II.**




Fig. 7.

**Licinius I.**

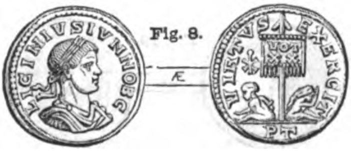
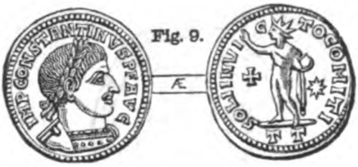



Fig. 8.

**Licinius II.**

# MONEY.—PLATE II. OF COINS.

Fig. 9.



Constantine I.

Fig. 10.



Licinius I.

Fig. 11.



Constantine I.

Fig. 12.



Constantine I.

Fig. 13.



Helena.

Fig. 14.



Constantine I.

Fig. 15.



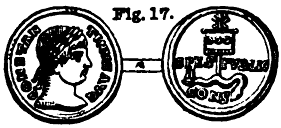
Constantine I.

Fig. 16.



Constantine I.

Fig. 17.



Constantine II.

Fig. 18.



Constantine I.

Fig. 19.



Constantine

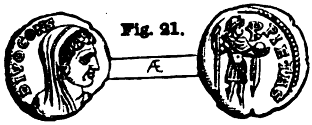
Fig. 20.



Constantine I.

# MONEY.—PLATE III. OF COINS.

Fig. 21.



Constantine I.

Fig. 22.



Constantine I.

Fig. 23.



Constantine I.

Fig. 24.



Constantine II.

Fig. 25.



Constantine II.

Fig. 26.



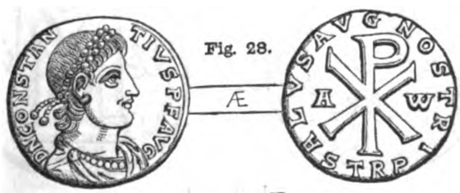
Constantius II.

Fig. 27.



Constantius II.

Fig. 28.



Constantius II.

# MONEY.—PLATE IV. OF COINS.

Fig. 29.



Licinia Eudoxia.

Fig. 30.



Romulus Augustus.

Fig. 31.




Eudoxia.

Fig. 32.




Eudocia.

Fig. 33.



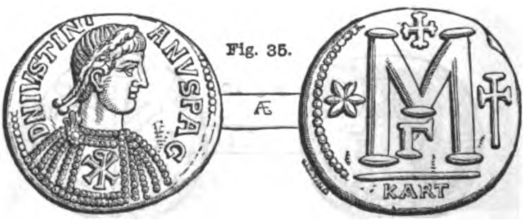

Marcianus.

Fig. 34.




Justin I. and Justinian I.

Fig. 35.




Justinian I.

## MONEY.—PLATE V. OF COINS.

Fig. 36.



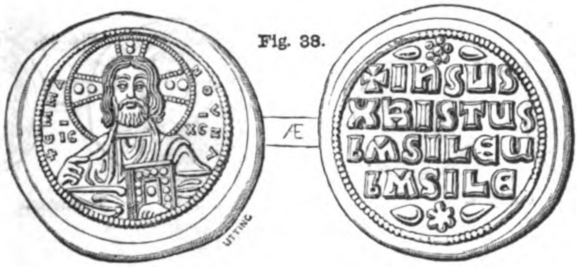
Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine.

Fig. 37.



Justinian II.

Fig. 38.



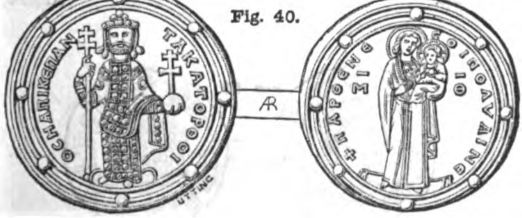
John I. Zimisces.

Fig. 39.



Leo VI.

Fig. 40.



Romanus IV. Diogenes.

# MONEY.—PLATE VI. OF COINS.

Fig. 41.



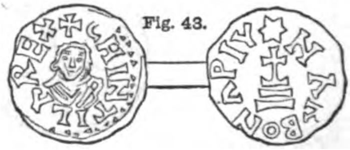
John II. Comnenus.

Fig. 42.



John V. Palaeologus (?).

Fig. 43.



Chintila.

Fig. 44.



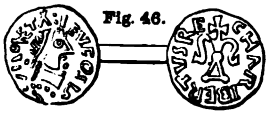
Cunipert.

Fig. 45.



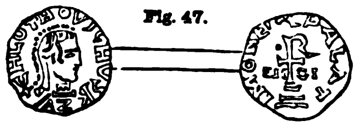
Theodebert.

Fig. 46.



Charibert II.

Fig. 47.



Clovis II.

Fig. 48.



Le Mans.

Fig. 49.



Angers.

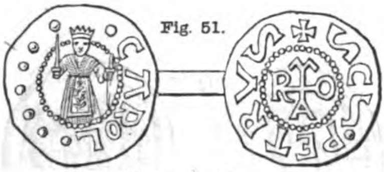
Fig. 50.



Charles the Great.

# MONEY.—PLATE VII. OF COINS.

Fig. 51.



Charles the Great.

Fig. 52.



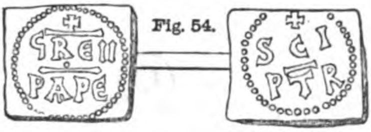
Charles the Great.

Fig. 53.



Pope Adrian I.

Fig. 54.



Pope Gregory II. (?).

Fig. 55.



Denarius of Charles the Great.

Fig. 56.



Christ as the Good Shepherd, accompanied by subjects taken from the Old Testament.
(Perret, after Buonarotti.)

# MONEY.—PLATE VIII. OF COINS.

Fig. 57.



**Adoration of the Magi. (Rev. S. S. Lewis.)**
**This cut is reproduced from the illustrated edition of Canon Farrar's *Life of Christ*, by permission of Messrs. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.**

Fig. 58.




***Obv.* Martyrdom of St. Laurence. *Rev.* Oblate approaching his tomb or shrine. (De Rossi.)**

Fig. 59.



**Amulet against the powers of darkness. (King of Holland's Cabinet.)**

virginity (circa A.D. 429), the saintly bishop suspended a bronze medal (nummus aereus), bearing a cross, "quasi quoddam pignus religiosi muneris, atque ut perforatus collo ejus inhaereret indixit" (Bolland. *Acta SS.* 1 Jan. p. 143, in De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 57; see also Chiflet, Anast. *Child. Regis*, pp. 184, 185, 276). No other clear allusion to Christian medals of devotion has hitherto, it is believed, been adduced from ancient authors.

But the fathers, SS. Athanasius, Augustine and Chrysostom, condemn the superstitious use of amulets, which prevailed in their age among some Christians; the last of whom mentions that bronze medals of Alexander of Macedon were attached to the head and feet as charms (*Ad illuminand. Catech.* ii. 5); now De Rossi (who refers to these authors) mentions a bronze medal, published by Vettori, preserved in the Vatican Library, bearing on the obverse the head of Alexander (reading ALEXANDER) covered with the lion's skin (as on his silver coins), and on the reverse the chrisma (☧) enclosed in a circle. He appears to be right in thinking that this and the following are the kind of charms against which St. John Chrysostom protests. Paciaudi in 1748 first published a medal having the head and name of Alexander as before on the obverse, but bearing on the reverse an ass's colt sucking its mother, accompanied by the astrological scorpion and the legend D.N. IHS XPS DEI FILIVS (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 61, MONEY). He mentions in fine (p. 62) a copper plate (*lamina di rame*), perforated for suspension, in the possession of Signor Lovatti, a dealer in antiques at Rome, reading on one side as follows:—In the centre an owl; about it DOMINVS and seven stars; in a circle near the circumference, BICIT TE LEO DE TRIBVS IVDA RADIS DAVIT. (*The Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David hath overcome thee.*) On the reverse, IESV ☧ STVS | LIGABIT TE BRA | TIVS DEI ET SIGIL | LVS SALAMONIX | ABIS NOTTVRNA | NON BALEAS AD | ANIMA PVRA ET | SVPRA QVIS | VIS SIS. *Jesus Christ hath bound thee, the arm of God and the seal of Solomon (have bound thee). Bird of night, mayest thou not prevail to approach the pure soul and to get over her, whoever thou beest.* No speculation is made by De Rossi concerning the age of this document. There is a very similar medal of red copper (Fig. 59), meant for an amulet pierced for suspension, which was found at Keff, anciently Sicca Venerea, in Tunis. It is now in the King of Holland's Cabinet at the Hague, and is rendered by Reuvens, at the end of his second letter to Letronne (pp. 29–32), as follows; the doubtful conjectures are also his.

*Obv. Invidia invidiosa nihil tibi ad* (adimat?), *anima pura et munda, Quiriace* (for *Cyriace*): *sata malina* (maligna) *non tibi praevaleat* (sic). *Ligabit te Dei brachium Dei et Christi et* (sic) *signum et sigillum Solomonis* + PAXCACA (Abraxas?).

*Rev.* Owl: legend round it in two circles. *Id n n praevaleas* (sic: praevaleat?) *inf.* (infaustum or infanti?). *Ligabit te brachium Dei. Quiriace, in Deo vivas.* (Reuvens, *Lettres à M Letronne sur les Papyrus bilingues*, &c., Leide, 1830, who gives an enlarged figure; from this and from an impression kindly sent by Dr. Vollgraff the present figure of the size of the original is taken. The original proper name, which can hardly now be read, has evidently been cancelled, and *Quiriace* written in its place.) The learned author regards the medal as late, but without saying how late. In all likelihood it was not struck too late to be embraced in the present work. For the *Sigillum Salomonis*, see Reuvens, *u. s.* and Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, iii. 1534, note: in this case the name of Solomon itself appears to constitute the seal (see SEAL). It is worthy of note that the word Abraxas here seems to occur on a tolerably ancient monument which is undoubtedly Christian. [See GEMS, p. 720, note.] [C. B.]

**MONIALIS.** [NUN.]

**MONICA**, mother of St. Augustine; commemorated May 4 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, i. 473). [C. H.]

**MONICIA**, martyr; commemorated in Achaia Ap. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MONITIO (1).** According to a decree of a council of Orleans, quoted by Ivo (*Decret.* p. ii. c. 120), the priest after the sermon, which is preached in the Mass, is to admonish the people to pray to the Lord for their several necessities, for the king, for the bishops and rulers of churches, for peace, for the sick, for those who have lately departed, &c.; at each of which petitions the people are silently to say the Lord's Prayer, while the priest says—apparently also silently—the prayers which are to accompany the several admonitions (monitiones).

(2) After sermon the priest also gave notice of such things as the days to be observed specially in the ensuing week. Thus St. Augustine (*Serm.* 3, s. fin.) begs the people to observe on the next day the anniversary of the ordination of Aurelius at the basilica of Faustus (Martene, *de Rit. Eccl.* I. iv. 5, § 7). Such notices were called *monitiones*. [C.]

**MONK** (*μοναχός, monachus*). It is obvious that in the first instance the word *μοναχός* designated a solitary, an anchoret or HERMIT. And it was in fact applied originally to those who passed their lives in solitude (*μονάζοντες*), in deserts, or in "dens and caves of the earth" [MORTIFICATION], and who were thus distinguished from ascetics, who might carry on their ascetic practices in the midst of a town. But when the rage of persecution passed away which had driven many into the wilderness (Sozom. *H. E.* i. 12), and the scattered hermits came to dwell in villages of huts or cells [LAURA], and even when they came to live in regularly organised communities [COENOBIUM; MONASTERY], they still retained the title which they derived from their original solitary life. So that in almost all the languages of Europe a word derived from solitude has come to designate one who is emphatically a member of a community; and a word which originally designated the solitary retreat of a hermit has come to designate a house crowded with organised life, though the cell of the individual monk is still a *μοναστήριον* in the stricter sense of the word. [C.]

**MONKS (IN ART).** It is as difficult to distinguish the monastic dress from the ecclesiastical, as in many cases to tell the ecclesiastical from

the civil. As St. Anthony's first organisation of the monastic life, as distinguished from the eremitical, dates from the latter half of the third century, no representation of monks can be expected much earlier than the fourth. Bottari, however, at the beginning of his 3rd volume, in a picture of the burial of St. Ephrem, represents three coenobites of the East, one in prayer, the other two occupied in basket-making; indicating, of course, the rule of devotion and labour which St. Benedict afterwards adopted for the Western monasteries. (See woodcut.) Martigny (*Dict.* p. 407) says that he knows no more ancient representation of the monastic habit. It is to be observed that the nun-like habit usually represented as worn by the Blessed Virgin, is later than the mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore (circ. 431), where she is represented bareheaded, and richly dressed (Rohault de Fleury, *L'Évangile*, vol. i. p. 64, pl. 21). Her dress has a decidedly monastic appearance in the Pentecost of the Laurentian MSS. of Rabula (Assemani, *Catal. Biblioth. Medica Laurent.* tav. xxvi.), and monks are certainly represented at tav. xxv., though the apostles in the former plate wear togae with clavi. See also tab. iii. iv. vii. and indeed passim. This MS. is dated A.D. 583.



Monks. From Martigny.

The dress of saints in the mosaics up to the 11th century is rather ecclesiastical than monastic, though of course many are represented who were under monastic vows. This appears to be the case even in the 9th century Greek Menologium of the Vatican (D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. xxxii. xxxiii.). The writer can find no distinctively monastic dress in Professor Westwood's *Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS.* up to that of St. Dunstan, 11th century, plate l. The dark colours would be objectionable in illuminations; but the black Benedictine robe and tonsure are unmistakeable. A monk, apparently in glory, has a pink habit and the tonsure. [R. St. J. T.]

**MONNUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome at the cemetery of Praetextatus May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MONOBAMBYLUM** (*μονάμπουλον*). the candlestick holding a single taper, carried before a patriarch of Constantinople on ordinary occasions. On the day when he received the pastoral staff from the emperor he was honoured with a candlestick with two sockets, *diabambylum*, *διάμπουλον* (Pachymeres, *Hist.* ii. 28). [C.]

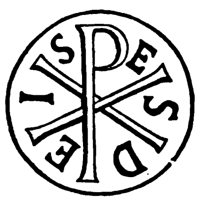
**MONOGAMY.** [DIGAMY; MARRIAGE; ORDERS, HOLY.]

**MONOGRAM**, an abbreviation of the name Jesus Christ. The Christian public or official use of this symbol is involved in nearly the same chronological difficulties as that of the cross. [See CROSS.] The term *Chrisma* is frequently applied to it. Its original form was certainly that of the X, the initial letter of our Lord's name, with the letter P across the intersection of its limbs. It was subsequently altered by enlarging the central P into the form ☧. A further modification, which turned the X into the Egyptian T, brought the monogram into the form of the penal cross thus ⳨. It is suggested under CROSS, that though we can produce few or no instances, before Constantine, of the public use of the monogram of the name of the Lord, or the cross which symbolized His person and His death, both the letters and the symbol were then in private use: so as to be fully understood as representing Him. The distinction must be observed that the monogram, as an initial, is only a phonetic or letter-symbol; whereas the Cross is a graphic symbol or hieroglyph, and appeals to memory and a train of associations connected with the Lord's person, and indeed the manner of His death, the nature of His sacrifice, and His whole church as a system and a kingdom.

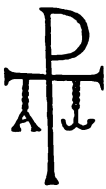
The modification into the penal, the Egyptian, or Tau-cross surmounted by the P, seems to date from about the time of Constantine, and may have been produced by either or both of two causes. At that period it became safe, and it may have been thought both right and necessary, for Christendom to avow the Lord's death as a malefactor: the reproach of the cross would then be no longer intolerable to fresh converts, and the manner of His death had to be remembered in attestation of His perfect humanity. Hence the penal cross of His death was raised as a standard. But this later T-form of the monogram seems to have been especially popular in the East, and in Egypt almost exclusively used (Garrucci, *Vetri*, p. 104, and Letronne, *De la Croix ansée Égyptienne*, p. 16). It is quite possible that it may have become more popular under Alexandrian influence, especially after the appearance of Athanasius at the council of Nicaea. Garrucci is decidedly of opinion that the monogram and the cross were both adopted, simultaneously and from the first, by Constantine, and considered in fact as the same symbol. In some cases the upright cross was added to the oblique one so as to form an eight-rayed star ✳, but the ☧ monogram and the Greek cross appear alike on coins of Constantines, published in the "tavola d'Aggiunta" at the end of Garrucci's *Vetri*. [MONEY.] He says it is certain that the ⳨ monogram represented

the σταυρός or cross in the Coptic church, and quotes a curious passage from St. Ephrem, which gives the reason for attaching the letters A and ω to the opposite limbs of the upright symbol, and then identifies it with the Rho-monogram ⳨. (*Opp.* v. iii. 477, ed. Assemani.) Διὰ τί ἱστοροῦμεν ἐν διαφόροις τόποις ἐκ (τῶν πλευρῶν) τοῦ σταυροῦ A καὶ ω; The answer follows:—"Ὅτι ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει, τὸ δε ἐπάνω P σημαίνει βοηθία, ψηφιζόμενον ἑκατόν."* Martigny remarks further, that the ⳨ is the only form of the monogram found in the Alexandrine Bibles, as in the Vatican MS., that of Mount Sinai published by Tischendorf, and that at Cambridge.

Boldetti (*Osservazioni sopra i Cimiteri*, etc. pp. 336–347) gives a series of examples of the monogram from the catacombs and cemeteries of SS. Agnes, Praetextatus, Calixtus, Cyriaca, Gordianus, Pontianus, Lucina, Helena, Calepodius, and Hippolytus. All except two in the two last-named cemeteries are of the ☧ or ☧ form. [INSCRIPTIONS, pp. 847 ff.] The latter may have been adopted simply because it is easier to write. But few have the A and ω; and this may be taken as some indication, at least, that they are antecedent to the Nicene council. [A and ω, i. 1.] In the annexed example the Greek P is used as a Roman P for the better arrangement of its inscription on the sigil or stamp. The universal




employment of the Greek letters is another illustration of the observations of Dean Milman in his *History of Christianity*, that the Roman church, for the first two centuries at least, was essentially a Greek body.




The A and ω are sometimes hung by small chains to the branches of the cross, or thus represented. (See Boldetti, pp. 338 and 345, and Bottari, tav. xliv.) The first of these examples is somewhat rare, as representing these letters attached to the ☧ monogram. They are given with another example of the same form in a mosaic on a tablet of terra cotta from the cemetery of St. Cyriaca (see *infra*). The former of these may be the same as that quoted by Martigny from De Rossi (*Inscr. Christ. Rom.* t. i. No. 776), which he says is unique according to his experience.

The monogram is sometimes (and almost always in Gallic inscriptions) surrounded by a wreath of palm or other leaves, in sign of the Lord's victory; and there is an analogous use of placing the upright monogram in the letter N thus for XPICTOC NIKA. [CROSS, p. 498.]



In Aringhi, vol. i. p. 605, there is a copy of a sepulchral inscription from the cemetery of Priscilla, by Victorina to her dead husband Heraclius, which ends with the palm-branch, and is headed by the upright monogram with the A and ω, all inscribed in a triangle. This is said to be very uncommon, but Martigny, in his article on 'Triangle,' gives three other forms of its combination with the monogram: the two






first from Lupi (*Severae Epitaphium*, fol. Palermo, 1734), the other from a letter by M. de St. Antoine, canon of the cathedral of Lyons, which gives account of fifteen inscriptions on various monuments. It is dated 14th April, 1631, and was discovered by De Rossi in the Barberini library, and published by E. Le Blant (*Inscr. Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, t. i. p. 107). The monogram is often placed on the forehead of the portrait of our Lord. (See Boldetti, p. 60, and Martigny, *Dict.* 334.) It is found thus on the Good Shepherd and the Lamb (Mamachi, iii. 18; Bottari, tav. xxi.; GEMS, p. 718; and in the NIMBUS [p. 1393]; see also Aliegranza's *Sacri Monum. antichi di Milano*, tav. i.). It appears on a glass representing the miracle of the Seven Loaves (Garrucci, vii. 16, and Buonarotti, tab. viii. 1), and on an altar, between St. Peter and St. Paul, or other saints (Buonarotti, xiv. 2). These latter are all in the ☧ form, which seems to have kept its hold on Christian use from the fact that the X alone, as an initial, represented the venerated name. Julian speaks of the X and the K in his *Misopogon*, pp. 94, 5, ed. Par. 1566, as representing Christ and Constantine, Ἐδιδάχθημεν ἀρχὰς ὀνομάτων εἶναι τὰ γράμματα; δηλοῦν δ' ἐθέλειν τὸ μὲν Χριστὸν τὸ δὲ Κωνστάντιον; and again (pp. 106–7) of the two reproaches made against him in Antioch, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πώγωνός μου πλέκειν δεῖ σχοίνια· καὶ ὅτι πολεμῶ τῷ χῖ.

It seems difficult to imagine, as is sometimes contended, that the monogram was unknown or rarely used before the days of Constantine. The habitual use of the Cross in his time is proved by Tertullian, *de Cor. Mil.* c. 3, quoted under CROSS. It may have been used privately or unofficially from the first, though perhaps unsatisfactory to Hebrew brethren or Roman catechumens. It is remarkable, however, that the monogram or cross is not mentioned in Clement's list of permitted symbols on rings at *Paedagog.* iii. 11, p. 246 D. A certain use of symbolism was allowed by the synagogue, though the use of the cherub-forms probably ended with the ancient temple. Still a Christian society in which the Greek element altogether predominated for 300 years cannot have gone on long without the use of emblematic or specially significant forms; especially where secrecy was often an object. The passages in *Apoc.* vii. 2, xiv. 1, where the sign of the Son of God is spoken of, compared with Ezek. ix. 4, 6, suggest the idea that the monogram is there intended, and though

* P is the numeral for 100; and the letters which make up βοηθία, taken as numerals, also amount to 100. [C.]

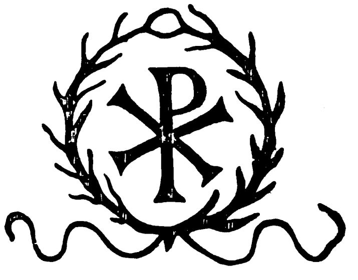
the speculation is not one to be pursued far, it is excusable. Whatever the subjective reality of Constantine's vision may be, it is clear that he saw, or thought he saw, or said he thought he saw, some emblem or sign whose meaning he and his followers well knew. There is no reason for supposing that the form of the Labarum was revealed to Constantine for the first time, never having existed before. In Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* i. 24–26) his vision is spoken of as a dream; and it is consistent with the mysterious admixture of the natural and the providential, which constitutes what we call divine interference, that a well-known form should be for ever invested, in his mind, with divine meaning, rather than that a new one should have been invented. In fact, had the labarum been believed to be a new revelation of a divine sign of the Son of Man, it would everywhere have taken the place of the cross, on the authority of Constantine, as the man privileged to see it; and might have prevented the use or worship of the crucifix. The change to the upright cross in the labarum may have proceeded naturally from the cruciform vexillum of the Roman cavalry [LABARUM, p. 11]. But the earlier ☧ or ☧ continued in use even on that ensign; and it is certainly found, in most. instances without Christian meaning, on ancient coins and medals, as in the Lydian or Mæonian medal quoted by Martigny, *s. v.* "Numismatique," p. 454, where the letters X and P, which form part of the legend, are united so as to form it thus ☧. See M. Ch. Lenormant, *Signes de Christianisme sur les Monum. numismatiques du troisième Siècle*, in *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, t. iii. [MONEY.] In this matter, as in every other which concerns the monuments of Christian Rome, we have to lament the effects of relic-removing, collecting, and devout interpolation. Inscriptions are collected in museums, arranged and re-arranged according to tastes or theories, and crosses and monograms of secondary date are everywhere found inscribed on more ancient tablets after the peace of the church, and thus the monuments will vitiate each other's evidence to the end of time.

Until lately the earliest *certain* Chi-monogram was supposed to date A.D. 331, omitting the mutilated and doubtful fragment which is thought to present date 298. (De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.* t. i. p. 29, and p. 38, No. 39.) But an earlier example than the former—as far back as 323—has been found under the Constantinian basilica of St. Lawrence in Agro Verano. We have already speculated on the greater importance and more frequent use of the symbol after the council of Nice. But this year is also the date of the death of Licinius, from which time the symbol begins to be engraved on coins (De Rossi, *Bullett.* 1863, p. 22). In 355 it is for the first time joined to the A and ω. Other forms appear about 347, the upright cross being first added to



the Chi-rho so as to form a kind of star; then the X is withdrawn and the ⳨ remains. To the 5th century the old and new forms go on together, ☧ and ⳨; but early in the 6th the P disappears, and the Latin or Greek cross takes the place of the monograms. Martigny gives a very curious and interesting instance of the final transition into the cross as symbolic not only of Christ's name but of His death. The monogram ⳨ is used in the Sinaitic Bible four times: once at the end of Jeremiah, twice at the end of Isaiah, and in Apoc. 11, 8, in the middle of the word ΕϹΤΑΥΡΩΘΗ. (De Rossi, *Bullett.* 1863, p. 62.) However in the Western world the use of the ancient letter-symbol continued to the end of the 5th century. It was revived for a time by Charlemagne, and used by councils held under him, and even on sepulchral inscriptions. For the former, see Mabillon, *de Re Diplomatica*, l. v. tav. liv. lv. lvi., ed. Nap. p. 468 sqq.

On a larger scale the monogram occurs on the exteriors and interiors of ancient churches and basilicas. See Boldetti (*Cimet.* etc. p. 338), where a rude example of it with the A and ω is given. It continued visible to his day sculptured over the Latin Gate of the walls of Belisarius. He found it more frequently in the tile-mosaic in the cemeteries of Cyriaca and Priscilla, and in the tomb of Faustina, Callixtine cemetery (Boldetti, p. 339) it is enclosed in a wreath, which may represent a crown of palm. This is carved on a



marble slab. But the sign occurs frequently in the mosaics which adorn the apses or arches of triumph in the churches of Rome and Ravenna; as in SS. Cosmas and Damian in the former place (Ciampini, *Vet. Monum.* ii. p. 60), or in Galla Placidia's chapel at Ravenna (*ib.* vol. i. tab. lxv. lxvi.). So also on the inner walls and veil of the sanctuary (Mabillon, *de Re Diplom.* bk. ii. c. 10, p. 110). The earliest example on a sacred building is now preserved in the Hôtel de Ville of Sion, and dates from A.D. 377. It was probably often used in baptisteries; Martigny gives a woodcut from Bottari (tav. xxxiv.; Aringhi, vol. i. p. 319) of a round or octagon building of this kind from a sarcophagus in the Vatican, which bears the monogram in the centre of its low roof. An interesting engraving, as recording a very early adoption for Christian purposes of that form; of which the Tower of the Winds, or Horologium, Athens, is one great example, and San Giovanni at Florence the chief one of the first Etrurian renaissance.

On sarcophagi and funereal monuments the monogram may be said to occur *passim*; often, as of old, standing as *signum Domini* or *signum Christi*, representing simply the name and person of our Lord (Boldetti, pp. 273, 345, 399).

"In ☧ Aurelio Marcellino Deposito, in ☧ vii. Idus Martia," the first of these examples, may stand for the others also. At p. 338 (Boldetti) there is a woodcut which is here reproduced (see below) of a tile, or ancient and thin brick, which was once used to close up a loculus in the cemetery of St. Cyriaca. In a




painting of the Adoration of the Magi, recently discovered after a fall of earth outside of this place, the monogram takes the place of the star; perhaps with some reflection of the Lord's prophecy of the appearance of the sign of the Son of man in heaven.

For examples on sarcophagi, there is a very rich one in Bottari (tab. xxxvii.), Aringhi, i. p. 325, and at Bottari, tav. xxx., Aringhi, i. p. 311, it is attended (as representing our Lord) by the twelve apostles. On the bases of columns and pilasters see Bottari, tav. cxxxvi.

Some reference has been made above to the works of Buonarotti and Garrucci for the use of the monogram on glasses and cups. It is represented alone, or between St. Peter and St. Paul, or other saints, or on marriage cups with the wedded pair. We add an example of a lamp from Aringhi



(vol. ii. p. 371), which, he says, is of early date, "longe ante Constantini tempora." [LAMPS, pp. 921, 923, 924.] There are several examples on rings in Boldetti (p. 502), with or without the palm-branch. On encolpia and amulets [ENCOLPION, p. 611]. In *Hagioglypta*, p. 225, there is an instance of the X in the mystic word IXΘΤC, which has the loop of the P added to it. Compare the use of the P, both in its Greek and Roman meaning, Boldetti, p. 336.

A small bronze figure of St. Peter bearing the penal cross-monogram, of excellent workmanship, is given by Martigny, p. 539.

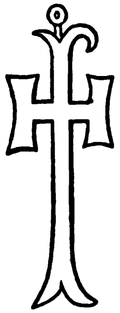
Count Melchior de Vogüé found the sign of the cross or monogram on many ancient houses in the mountain villages of Syria, which were probably anterior to the Mussulman occupation; and St. Cyril of Alexandria (*Contra Julianum*, lib. vi.; Migne, vol. lxxvi. p. 796) shews that this was customary (τὸ χρῆναι δὴ πάντως ἐγχαράττειν ἀεὶ καὶ οἰκίαις καὶ μετώποις τὸ σημεῖον τ. τιμίου σταυροῦ).

For the use of the monogram on medals and coins, see LABARUM and MONEY. On furniture and utensils Martigny refers to a wooden "pupitre," or faldstool, now preserved in the monastery of St. Croix at Poitiers, and shewn as originally the property of St. Radegund, wife of Clotaire I., son of Clovis. The monogram is roughly carved on it within a crown, between two crosses or cruciform symbols. (See Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, t. iii. p. 156.) In Garrucci (*Vetri*, etc. pp. 104, 5) reference is made to a poem of Publilius O. Porphyrius to Constantine, in which the emperor is addressed as pilot of the ship of the state, and the cross-monogram is his helm. The object of the work is to request permission for the author's return from exile, and he has shewn his ingenuity by disposing the verses in which he compares the emperor to the world's helmsman in the form of a ship thus symbolically directed. For vessels, see Le Blant (*Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, t. i. pl. 41, No. 244). Bottari (t. i. p. 102) mentions a strigil which Pignorio had seen marked with it in the midst of the name of the owner. So in sepulchral inscriptions. (De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.* p. 111, No. 221. A☧CRIGE.) Again, on the collars worn by fugitive slaves. (See Giorgi, p. 39; Fabretti, iii. 385.) One in particular seems to have belonged to a serf of the ancient basilica of St. Clement at Rome, being inscribed A DOMINICV CLEMENTIS. It appears from Pignori (*Epist.* xxiv., Spon. *Miscell.* 301), that the use of these collars dates from Constantine's time. It had been originally the custom to brand runaways on the forehead; and the wearing the collar was a Christian usage of mercy, which probably lasted long into the Middle Ages. (See Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, of Gurth and Wamba.) In any case, in these early times, the monogram was engraved on the plate of the collar, perhaps, as Martigny says, to remind the slave that severe punishment had been spared him in the name of Christ; perhaps with allusion to the text, "One is your Master, even Christ."

Other uses of the monogram seem to have been that it was placed at the head of episcopal letters; was used as a mark by readers for specially important passages; employed as a symbol of initiation and text for exhortation for catechumens before their baptism. In this capacity it was the custom in Milan to paint it on a large cloth and exhibit it in the church. (Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Script.* vol. iv. p. 66.) In short till the crucifix took its place, its use seems to have been coextensive with that of the cross, and to have had the function of uniting the symbolical with the individual devotion of personal religion.

Thus much for the true or original monogram in which the initials of the Lord's title of

Anointed, and the symbol of His person, life, and death were formally united, at or before the time of Constantine. A later monogram seems to have been constructed on the same principle from the first three letters IHC of the name Jesus. It seems to have been derived from Byzantine usage. The usual Lower Greek abbreviation for the Lord's name is IC, and one may give caligraphers and miniaturists credit for developing it by adding the H and perpendicular stroke, so as at length to form the IHS of later times. Martigny says that St. Bernardin of Siena (d. 1444) was one of the first who used it, and this is confirmed by a passage in his Life in Alban Butler (May 20), in which he is said during one of his sermons to have exhibited the name of our Lord beautifully carved on a gilded panel, and incurred some suspicion in consequence. Martigny closes his article on this subject with one or two curious examples, of ancient date, where the ☧ and IHC monograms seem both to have been in the mind of the inscriber or sculptor. One is in Lupi's *Epitaphium Severae*, p. 137, and bears the anchor-mark, which may indicate great antiquity, with both monograms, thus IH☧. The other (p. 420) is from the chapel of St. Satyrus in St. Ambrogio at Milan, where St. Victor bears a cross in one hand and the annexed symbol (see above) in the other. It seems intended to combine the ancient Chrisma or Chi-Rho monogram with the initials IH, if not IHC, and the cross, so as to join both initials and symbol in the words IHCOYC XPICTOC.



[R. St. J. T.]

**MONOGUNDIS**, nun; commemorated at Tours July 2 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, i. 309). [C. H.]

**MONOLAPPUS**, martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Sept. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

**MONOMACHIA.** [DUEL; ORDEAL.]

**MONONIS**, hermit and martyr in Belgium in the 7th century; commemorated Oct. 18 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 363). [C. H.]

**MONORGUS**, martyr; commemorated at Corthosa May 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MONOTOR**, bishop and confessor; commemorated at Orleans Nov. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**MONTANUS** (1) Martyr with Lucius, Julianus, and others, in Africa; commemorated Feb. 24 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 454).

(2) Presbyter, and his wife Maxima, martyrs; commemorated at Sirmium Mar. 26 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 616).

(3) (MONTANIANUS), martyr; commemorated at Sirmium May 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* May, ii. 625).

(4) Monk in Gaul; commemorated May 17 (Boll. *Acta SS.* May, iv. 35).

(5) Martyr; commemorated in Spain May 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Soldier and martyr at Terracina; commemorated June 17 (Boll. *Acta SS.* June, iii. 278).

(7) Martyr; commemorated at Tarsus July 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(8) Martyr; commemorated in Africa July 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(9) Martyr; commemorated at Carthage Nov. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MONTH.** The *month-reckoning* used by the church in the first century, in Palestine, was doubtless that which was followed by the Jews, such as we find it in Josephus, especially in the *Wars*. Writing for Syrian Greeks, he constantly substitutes for the Jewish (Babylonian) month-names those of the corresponding Macedonian lunar months, which names were introduced into the East in the track of Alexander's conquests.

The corresponding lunar months in the Jewish, Syrian, and Macedonian nomenclature are as follows:—

| *Jewish.* | *Syrian.* | *Macedonian.* |
|---|---|---|
| Tisri .. .. | First Tisri .. | Hyperberetaeus. |
| Marchesvan | Second Tisri .. | Dius. |
| Kisleu .. .. | First Kanun .. | Apellaeus. |
| Tebeth .. .. | Second Kanun | Audinaeus. |
| Shebat .. .. | Shebat .. .. | Peritius. |
| Adar .. .. | Adar .. .. | Dystrus. |
| Nisan .. .. | Nisan .. .. | Xanthicus. |
| Ijar .. .. | Ijar .. .. .. | Artemisius. |
| Sivan .. .. | Hasiran .. .. | Daesius. |
| Thamuz .. | Thamuz .. .. | Panemus. |
| Ab .. .. | Ab .. .. .. | Lous. |
| Elul .. .. | Elul .. .. | Gorpiaeus. |

The intercalary month is inserted, when necessary, between Adar and Nisan. The months are usually of 29 and 30 days alternately.

Later, throughout Syria, these Macedonian months were absolutely assimilated to the Roman months, in dimensions and epoch. Thus Hyperberetaeus is identical with September, Dius with October, etc. But no month-dates, lunar or other, occur in Christian writings earlier than the middle of the second century.[a] When such do occur, they are constantly Julian-Roman, or in terms of a Julianized calendar, usually in both together. From Galen (*Comment. in Hippocr. Epidem.*; *Opp. Hippocr. et Galen.* ix. 2, p. 8) we learn that in his time (circ. A.D. 150), "as the Romans, so the Macedonians, our own Asiani (Asia Procons.), and many other nations,

[a] Assemani, indeed (*Bibl. Orient.* ii. 486), describing a Syriac MS. of "a Gospel" preserved in the Vatican, gives from its epigraph (Syriac) the following startling date—which, however, he receives unquestioned—"Absolutus est iste liber feria quinta die 18 Canun prioris anno Graecorum 389"—which year (Aera Seleuc.) began in the autumn of A.D. 77. Of course there is some error here. At any time to which the epigraph can be referred the Syrian months were identical with the Julian: the "former Canun" was Syro-Macedonian Apellaeus, identical with December. Now as in A.D. 77, Sunday letter E, the 18th December did fall on a Thursday, the simplest explanation is to say that there is an error in the centuries; for 389 read 1089; of A.D. 777 the Sunday letter is of course E, as of A.D. 77, and 18 Dec. Thursday.

had adopted the solar year," the cardinal points of which (as he goes on to describe) were taken as fixed by Julius Caesar, and, consequently, the Macedonian months, Dius, Peritius, Artemisius, and Lous made to begin at, or near, Sept. 24, Dec. 25, March 25, June 24 respectively. But the names and sequence of these months are not everywhere Macedonian, neither are the epochs the same. The requisite information on these points, laboriously gathered in by Ussher (*de Macedonum et Asianorum anno Solari Dissertat.*, app. to his *Annal. V. et N. Test.*), and by Noris (*de Anno et Epochis Syromacedonum; Opp.* t. ii. 1 sqq.), confirmed by two Ἡμερολογίαι διαφόρων πόλεων, since brought to light, will be found in Ideler (*Handbuch*, i. 393 sqq.).

The Macedonian names of the months, when a solar year was adopted, run as below in the Ephesian arrangement; the "Asian" names—*i.e.* those used in proconsular Asia—are different, though, as will be seen, the arrangement of the year is very nearly the same.

| *Asian.* | *Ephesian.* | *Epoch.* | *Days.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Caesarius .. | Dius .. .. | 24 Sept. .. | 30 |
| Tiberius .. | Apellaeus .. | 24 Oct. .. | 31 |
| Apaturius .. | Audinaeus .. | 24 Nov. .. | 31 |
| Posideon .. | Peritius .. | 25 Dec. .. | 30 |
| Lenaeus .. | Dystrus .. | 24 Jan. .. | 29 |
| Hierosebastus | Xanthicus .. | 22 Feb. .. | 30 |
| Artemisius | Artemisius | 24 Mar. .. | 31 |
| Evangelius | Daesius .. | 24 Apr. .. | 30 |
| Stratonicus.. | Panemus .. | 24 May .. | 31 |
| Hecatombeon | Lous .. .. | 24 June .. | 31 |
| Antaeus .. | Gorpiaeus .. | 25 July | 30 [As. 31] |
| Laodicius .. | Hyperberetaeus | 24 [Asian 25] Aug. | 31 [As. 30] |

In bissextile, Lenneus has 30 days in the Asian calendar, Dystrus 30 days in the Ephesian. (Browne, *Ordo Saeclorum*, § 402, p. 463.)

We give here a few month-dates, some with concurrent week-days. The martyrdom of St. Polycarp (*Mart. Polyc.* c. 21, in *Patr. Apost.*; Hefele, p. 220, ed. 1842; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15) gives as the date of the martyrdom 2 Xanthicus = vii. Kal. Mart. (but *Vet. Lat.* vii. Kal. Mart.), σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ—a statement beset with difficulties, discussed by Ussher, *in l.*; Vales, *in. l.* Eus.; Noris, *u. s.*; Pagi, a. 167; Ideler, i. 419; *Ordo Saeclorum*, § 417; Clinton, *Fasti Rom.* a. 166. The like difficulties attach to the date given in the *Mart. S. Pionii*, c. 2 (Ruinart, *Acta Mart.* p. 140), where the *Natale* of St. Polycarp is also placed on the "Great Sabbath," and this is said to have fallen in the year 251, on iv. id. Mart. the second day of the seventh Asian month (*Ordo Saecl.* § 478). The latter date belongs to a generalised calendar, in which the months are numbered, not named. In this the first month corresponds to Dius, and therefore the seventh to Artemisius. It continued in use long afterwards—as may be seen in a paschal discourse included among the *Spuria Opp.* St. Chrysost. t. viii. 284 (A.D. 672–5, explained by Ussher). In Eusebius, *de Martyr. Palaest.* app. to *H. E.* viii., are nine double dates, some with concurrent week-days; these, also attended with difficulties, are discussed in *Ordo Saecl.* § 479. Here the calendar is that τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἤτοι Σύρων, in which the Macedonian months are absolutely identical with the Julian:

7 Daesius, vii Id. Jun. [= 7 June] ἡμέρᾳ τετράδι σαββάτου.
24 Dystrus, ix kal. Apr. [= 24 Mar.]
2 Xanthicus, iv. non Apr. [= 2 Apr.] ἡμέρᾳ παρασκευῆς.
20 Dius, xii kal. Dec. [= 20 Nov.] προσαββάτου ἡμέρᾳ.
2 Xanthicus, *u. s.* ἐν αὐτῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

This mode of reckoning is of frequent occurrence, especially in connexion with the Era of the Seleucidae. Thus, in the heading of the acts of the Council of Nice stands "year 636 from Alexander [= *Ae. Sel.*], in the month Daesius, 19th day, the xiii. Kal. Jul." [*i. e.* 19th June, A.D. 325]. Evagrius, the ecclesiastical historian, uses it, as does John Malala, historian of Antioch, and also the Paschal Chronicle; and, as may be seen in Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.*), it constantly occurs in dated epigraphs to Syriac MSS. In Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 24; p. 446 Petav.), we have an accumulation of correspondences. Christ, he says, was born 6th Jan., which is 6 Maemakterion of Athenians (Ideler, i. 361), 6 Audynaeus "of the Greeks, *i.e.* Syrians," 11 Tybi of the Egyptians (= Alexandrians), 14 Julus of the Paphians, 5 of the 5th month of the Salaminians, 13 Atarta of Cappadocians. The Lord's baptism he dates 8th November, which is 7 Metageitnion of Athenians (Ideler, *u. s.*), 8 Dius "of Greeks, *i. e.* Syrians," 16 Apellaeus of Macedonians, 12 Athyr of Egyptians (Alexandrians), 16 Apogonieus of Paphians, 6 Choeak of Salaminians, 15 Aratata of Cappadocians.

The fixed Alexandrian year—twelve months of thirty days each, with the five *epagomenae* at the year's end (24–28 Aug.), and a sixth at the end of each fourth year, so arranged that the year always began (1 Thoth) on 29th August—stood its ground against the Julianized Syro-Macedonian year, and is still retained by Copts, Abyssinians, and (some) Armenians. This calendar runs as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Thoth | = 29 Aug. | 1 Pharmuthi | = 27 Mar. |
| 1 Phaophi | = 28 Sept. | 1 Pachon | = 26 Apr. |
| 1 Athyr | = 28 Oct. | 1 Payni | = 26 May. |
| 1 Choeak | = 27 Nov. | 1 Epiphi | = 25 June. |
| 1 Tybi | = 27 Dec. | 1 Mesori | = 25 July. |
| 1 Mechir | = 26 Jan. | 1 Epagomenae | = 24 Aug. |
| 1 Phamenoth | = 25 Feb. | (*Ordo Saecl.* § 401, p. 460.) | |

Of this form, in earlier times, were variously modified the calendar of the Arabians (Bostra?), Gaza, Ascalon, Cappadocia, Salamis (in Cyprus). For the discussion of these matters it must suffice here to refer to Ideler's *Handbuch u. s.* and his authorities.

This multiplicity of month-reckonings was felt, the more the Roman world was Christianized, to be incompatible with the requirements of the church; and, before the close of our period, with the exception of Copts, Aethiopians (Abyssinians), and (partially) Armenians, whose year is still of the Alexandrine form, all the churches had accepted the Julian method (with or without the Roman names), according to which January, March, May, July, August, October, December have each 31 days, February 28, in leap year 29, and each of the remaining four months, 30 days. The established Roman notation by calends, nones and ides, inconvenient and absurd as it seems to us, was long retained—so long, in fact, as Latin continued to be the only written language in the West. Attempts, indeed, were made to intro-

duce the regular numerical count of month-days, as by Gregory the Great at the close of the 6th century. Of earlier times, there is a fragment of a Gothic calendar (4th century) in which the month-days are numbered (Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Collect.* v. i. 66). In the Byzantine church, the numerical way of dating began to be used in the 7th century. It appears, together with the old way, in the Paschal Chronicle; but in the same century the emperor Heraclius, in a chronological writing of his, keeps to the old method, which continues to be used in numerous πασχάλια of later times; Georgius Syncellus (end of 8th century) employs only the new reckoning. [H. B.][b]

**MONULPHUS**, bishop of Utrecht in the 6th century; commemorated July 16 (Boll. *Acta SS.* July, iv. 152). [C. H.]

**MOON.** The moon does not appear in Aringhi's 'Index of Christian Symbols,' nor does the present writer know of her being used as a Christian emblem until the 6th century, when the crucifixion began to be a common subject of representation, and the sun and moon of course formed a part of it. [See CRUCIFIX.] The latter appears as a crescent or female figure, or as either, holding or containing the other, or as a face. In the crucifixion of the Laurentian MS. she is a crescent within a round disk, and there is a very singular picture in tab. v. of that MS. (Assemani *Catalog. Bibl. Medic.*) of a partial and total eclipse of the sun, which seems to represent the moon as a white disk and face, and also as a black disk marked with the crescent. See the crosses and ivory plaque, Mozzoni, sec. 8. The associations of Asiatic and Egyptian paganry may easily account for the omission of the moon from Christian art for the first three or four centuries. The Mithraic worships prevalent in Rome in the earlier centuries must have included the moon as well as the sun. See the Abbé Auber's *Symbolisme Religieux*, vol. i. p. 169. Even in the many arabesques of vaultings in Bosio's plates, the writer can find no use of the disk or the crescent as ornament, though in the earlier basilicas and memorial churches, where roofs were sown with stars (as notably in the chapel of Galla Placidia at Ravenna), the moon may also have occurred. The great Apocalyptic mosaics would allow the presence of the sun and moon in the Lord's hand; as also some Old-Testament subjects, as the 5th-century mosaic of Joshua in Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome, the Vienna Greek MS. of Genesis (4th or 5th century) in a dream of Joseph (D'Agincourt, pl. xix., and compare Vatican Virgil, pl. xx.). But they seem to have been held in earlier times to be a part of the idolatrous symbolism against which Tertullian protested so decidedly in his treatise 'De Idololatriâ'; and to have been necessarily banished from the Christian Church wherever there was danger of confounding pagan rites with her own. The moon does not occur in Garrucci's or Buonarotti's *Vetri*. The classical enthusiasm of the Carlovingian period, both English and Frank, seems to have accepted solar and lunar imagery with equal readiness, both being now fully allowed in the crucifixions and Apocalyptic pictures. The former Saxon worship of sun and moon seems to have haunted the minds of northern Christianity very little, and the symbols of both seem to have been so freely used in crucifixions as to be considered safe anywhere. Sometimes personifications occur, such as those in the Cottonian Aratus (*B. Mus. Tiberius*, B. 5; Westwood, *Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.* pl. 48). There is a very interesting miniature of chariots of the sun and moon in Count Vivian's Bible, middle 9th century (Bastard, *Peintures des Manuscrits*, vol. ii; see woodcut), and a Franco-Saxon MS. in the same volume contains a crucifixion with a crescented Diana's head, as moon, on a medallion.



From the Bible of Count Vivian.

It seems impossible, to connect Egyptian lunar symbolisms of the horned Isis with any Christian emblem. But a twofold allegory was connected with the idea of the moon from the days of Augustine at least. He speaks of her as representing the church (Enarr. in Ps. x.), "Luna in allegoria significat ecclesiam, quod ex parte spiritali lucet ecclesia, ex parte autem carnali obscura est. Alii dicunt non habere lunam lumen proprium, sed a sole illustrari. Ergo lunâ intelligitur ecclesia, quod suum lumen non habeat, sed ab Unigenito Dei Filio, qui multis locis in SS. allegoriae sol appellatus est, illustratur." One of the latest and most beautiful repetitions or echoes of this idea is the well-known passage in the 'Christian Year, beginning "The moon above, the church below.

The presence of the sun and moon in crucifixions may be accounted for as representing the darkness which prevailed at the Lord's death; but it seems that it gave occasion in later days to the idea of the moon's representing the synagogue, or Hebrew church. St. Gregory the Great takes her to represent the frailty and decay of the flesh (*In Evang. S. Lucae, Hom.* 2.)

The Turkish use of the crescent after 1463 was the adoption of the ancient symbol of the city of Byzantium, which was probably more welcome to them as unconnected with any Christian association. It is found on Byzantine coins (Mionnet, *Descr. des Médailles*, vol. i. p. 378), and dates from a repulse given to Philip of

[b] This article had not the advantage of Mr. Browne's final revision, having been left in MS. at his death.—[EDD.]

Macedon, about B.C. 340, when a mysterious light, attributed to Hecate, warned the city of a night attack. (See von Hammer, *Gesch der Osman.* vol. i. p. 93.) [R. St. J. T.]

**MOON, SUPERSTITIUOS OBSERVANCE OF.** The practice of blowing horns, shouting, and so on, during eclipses of the moon, to defend those doing it from witchcraft, was well-known to the nations of antiquity. Juvenal (*Satir.* vi. 442) refers to it:

> "Jam nemo tubas, nemo aera fatiget:
> Una laboranti poterit subcurrere lunae."

It was an old custom therefore, which lingered on long after the introduction of Christianity, and was reprehended by more than one of the fathers. A sermon attributed to St. Augustine (*Serm.* 215, *De Tempore*) details, in order to denounce and forbid, this among other superstitious practices. Ducange quotes a MS. Poenitential, which says: "Si observasti traditiones paganorum, quas quasi haereditario jure, diabolo subministrante usque in hos dies patres filiis reliquerunt, id est, ut elementa, colores, lunam, solem, aut stellarum cursum, novam lunam, aut defectum lunae, ut tuis clamoribus aut auxilio splendorem ejus restaurare, valeres," etc. And in a Life of St. Eligius (c. 15) we find: "Nullus si quando luna obscuratur, vociferare praesumat, quia Deo jubente certis temporibus obscuratur." The practice seems, indeed, to have been common to all savage nations, and not to have died out in Europe up to the ninth century. [Compare NEW MOON.] [S. J. E.]

**MOPSUESTIA, COUNCIL OF** (*Mopsuestenum Concilium*), held by order of the emperor Justinian, A.D. 550, to make enquiry whether the name of Theodore, formerly bishop of Mopsuestia, whose writings were comprised in the celebrated three chapters afterwards condemned by the fifth council, had ever been on the sacred diptychs or not. Its acts are preserved in the fifth session of that council. (Mansi, ix. 150 and 274–17.) [E. S. Ff.]

**MORGENGABE** (German). A gift by a husband to his wife on the day after marriage. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* ix. 20) says of it, "tam in dote, quam in *morgengabe*, hoc est, matutinali dono, certum est adaequasse" (Macri *Hierolex.* s. v.). [C.]

**MORLAIX, COUNCIL OF** (*Marlacense Concilium*), held at Morlaix in the diocese of Toul, or Marle, near Paris, A.D. 677, under king Theodoric, whose ordinance relating to it is extant; when Chramlin, bishop of Embrun, was deposed, and at which Mansi thinks St. Leodegar or Leger exhibited his last will and testament (xi. 163 and 171). [E. S. Ff.]

**MORNING PRAYER.** [HOURS OF PRAYER; OFFICE, THE DIVINE.]

**MORTAL AND VENIAL SINS.** The first among the early Christian writers who makes such a distinction is Tertullian. He ranks among *capital* sins—idolatry, blasphemy, murder, adultery, violation, false witness, fraud, which seven he fancifully connects with the sevenfold dipping in the river Jordan: "Septem maculis capitalium delictorum inhorrerent, idololatria, blasphemia, homicidio, adulterio, stupro, falso testimonio, fraude" (*Adv. Marcion.* lib. iv. cap. 9). Similarly, in *De Idololatriâ*, cap. 1. And in *De Patientiâ*, cap. 5, after a similar list, he adds: "Haec ut principalia penes Dominum delicta." (This word *delicta* is, apparently, with him, a general term for *offences*, and dependent on the particular appellative adjoined to it for the degree of gravity to be attached to its meaning. In St. Augustine and later writers, on the contrary, it is used by itself for grave crimes. See Pamelius's comment on this passage, p. 147, n. 40.) In the same manner he ranks among the number of daily or little sins anger, evil speaking, a blow struck, a vain oath, a failure to fulfil a promise, a lie caused by shame or necessity: "Quod sint quaedam delicta quotidianae incursionis quibus omnes simus objecti. Cui enim non accidit, aut irasci inique, et ultra solis occasum, aut et manum immittere, aut facile maledicere, aut temere jurare, aut fidem pacti destruere, aut verecundia aut necessitate mentiri? In negotiis, in officiis, in quaestu, in victu, in visu, in auditu, quanta tentamur, ut si nulla sit venia istorum, nemini salus competat. Sunt autem et contraria istis, ut graviora et exitiosa, quae veniam non capiant, homicidium, idololatria, fraus, negatio, blasphemia, utique et moechia et fornicatio, et si qua alia violatio templi Dei" (*De Pudicit.* c. 19). And he draws the distinction sharply between the great and the small in cap. 18, "quae aut levioribus delictis veniam ab episcopo consequi poterit, aut majoribus et irremissibilibus a Deo solo." As to penance there was a milder party and a more rigid; the latter maintaining that no "locus poenitentiae" should be allowed to certain classes of offenders; and this difference of opinion was one of the causes of the Novatian and other schisms. [PENITENCE.] St. Cyprian calls adultery, fraud, murder, mortal crimes ("adulterium, fraus, homicidium, mortale crimen est") (*De Bono Patientiae*, c. 5). Origen declares that there are mortal sins which are not in the rank of great sins (*Hom.* xv. *in Levit.*); but there is a doubt whether the passage should be read culpa *mortalis* or *moralis*. In his sixth commentary on St. Matthew, he mentions evil speaking, lying, idle words, intemperance, as slighter sins, and such as murder and adultery as greater.

St. Augustine distinguishes more accurately three classes of sins: "There are some sins so great that they are to be punished with excommunication; there are others for which this remedy is not necessary, but they may be healed by the medicines of chastisements; and, lastly, there are some which are very light, from which no man is free in this life, for which we have left us a daily cure in that prayer, Forgive us our trespasses," etc.—"nisi essent quaedam ita gravia, ut etiam excommunicatione plectenda sint, non diceret apostolus; congregatis vobis et meo spiritu, tradere ejusmodi hominem Satanae, etc. Item nisi essent quaedam non eâ humilitate poenitentiae sananda, quales in ecclesia datur eis qui proprie poenitentes vocantur, sed quibusdam correptionum medicamentis, non diceret ipse Dominus, Corripe inter te et ipsum solum, etc. Postremo, nisi essent quaedam, sine quibus haec vita non

agitur, non quotidianam medelam poneret in oratione quam docuit, ut dicamus, Dimitte nobis debita nostra" (*De Fide et Operibus*, cap. 26). Many other passages might be quoted from this father, and all to the same effect. To the above may be added that St. Gregory (*Moral.* lib. xii. c. 9) distinguishes between *peccatum* and *crimen*, as does St. Augustine, making the first to mean such sins as are forgiven daily, upon repentance and prayer; and the second to mean flagrant crimes, to be punished by public penance. The general conclusions to be drawn from these and other declarations may be stated thus:

That all sins were deadly to the soul: not merely those called great, mortal, capital, or deadly sins, but also those known as small, light, or venial. These St. Augustine, in the treatise last quoted, goes on to say, destroy the soul by reason of their number. They are like the small drops which fill a river, or the grains of sand which, although they are small individually, will oppress and weigh us down; or as the bilge of a ship which, if neglected, will swamp the vessel as surely as the greatest wave, "by long entering and never being drained."

That it was not all mortal or deadly sins, but only sins of a public and heinous nature, which gave public scandal, that were put to public penance for a longer or shorter time. St. Gregory Nyssen, in his Letter to Letoius, gives a list of such publicly punished sins, among which he mentions idolatry, Judaism, Manichaeism and heresy, magic, witchcraft, and divination; adultery and fornication; public and violent robbery, and murder. All these might be put to penance of various degrees, and then the offender might be re-admitted; but it would seem that penance was permitted only once, and that there were a multitude of other sins for which public penance was not imposed, which were, nevertheless, entirely distinguished from venial or less grave offences.

*Idolatry* was considered, in the early church, the greatest of all sins. A letter found among the works of St. Cyprian, and purporting to be from the clergy of Rome to him, calls it "grande delictum. Ingens et supra omnia peccatum" (*Ep.* 31); and Cyprian, in a letter to his own clergy, agrees that it is "summum delictum"—the sin against the Holy Ghost, which he who commits "non habebit remissam, sed reus est aeterni peccati" (*Ep.* 10). But here he is speaking of apostates.

The councils do not, apparently, treat of this distinction specifically. There are many provisions as to the degree of penance for particular offences, but no attempt at a general classification. But yet they recognized this distinction between classes of sins, which, indeed, was one that could not be overlooked. The Council of Agde (A.D. 506) forbade the excommunication of persons for slight causes (can. 3). Similarly, the fifth council of Orleans, c. 2 (A.D. 549), has a provision that no person of right faith should be cut off from communion for slight causes, but only for those offences deemed worthy of excommunication by the fathers [EXCOMMUNICATION; PENITENCE]. Bingham refers to a similar provision made by the Council of Clermont in its second canon, but this is, apparently, an error. [S. J. E.]

**MORTIFICATION** (*mortificatio, νέκρωσις*). Under this head it is intended to give some account of the practices adopted at various times by Christians, to "mortify" or deaden "their members which are upon the earth." A general account of the progress of ascetic ideas has already been given under ASCETICISM.

I. MORTIFICATION IN REGARD TO BATHING, CLOTHES, SHELTER, REST, AND FOOD.—To cast ashes upon the head, to abstain from bathing and even from washing, to lie on the bare ground, to wear dirty and ragged clothing—all these were methods of mortification practised by various ascetics. Jerome, for instance (*Epist.* 77 *ad Ocean.* c. 4), describes the dishevelled hair, the sallow face, the dirty hands, the unclean neck, of Fabiola performing her penance; of himself he says (*Epist.* 22 *ad Eustoch.* c. 7) that his limbs were scarred and rough with the use of sackcloth, while his unwashed skin was black as that of an Ethiopian; and again (*Epist.* 14 *ad Heliod.* c. 10) he asks, what need there can be for one who is washed in Christ ever to wash again? Palladius (*Lausiaca*, cc. 142, 143) relates of the anchoret Sylvania, that for sixty years she never washed, except her hands for the reception of the Eucharist. Even at a much earlier period, Hegesippus relates of St. James the Just (in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23) that he neither anointed himself with oil nor used the bath. Several of the early rules of nuns, as those of Augustine (c. 12), Caesarius (c. 29), Leander (c. 10), discourage the use of the bath, as an indulgence only to be granted to sick persons. Jerome refers (*Epist.* 77, c. 2) to Fabiola's deliberate preference of the poorest and meanest clothes to robes of silk, and (*Epist.* 54 *ad Furium*, c. 7) deliberately lays down the principle, that the fouler a penitent is, the fairer is he—"poenitens quo faedior, eo pulchrior." Some ascetics allowed the hair to grow unkempt and uncared for; on the other hand, the cutting off the hair of the head was practised as an ascetic disfigurement, a very wide-spread custom, as an indication of mourning [HAIR, WEARING OF, p. 755; TONSURE]. It was naturally a special mortification for women; in the 4th century (A.D. 370) the Council of Gangra (c. 17) anathematizes women who cut off their hair from mistaken asceticism. At about the same period Jerome (*Epist.* 147 *ad Sabinianum*) testifies that virgins or widows on entering a nunnery offered their hair to be cut off by the superior. Optatus of Mileve (*de Schism. Donat.* i. 6) and Ambrose (*ad Virg. Lapsam*, c. 8) blame the custom, which evidently existed in the Western as well as the Eastern churches, of nuns cutting their hair on entrance into a convent. In the capitularies of Charles the Great (vii. c. 310) the cutting off the hair is only prescribed for penitents. Somewhat different from the purely ascetic view is the cutting off her hair by a woman to avoid the love of a particular person (Isidore of Pelusium, *Epist.* ii. 53; compare Mabillon, *Acta SS. Bened.* ii. 592).

The early Christian Fathers earnestly protest, as is natural and right, against luxury and ostentation in dress; but the fury of asceticism sometimes went far beyond all moderation. Some fanatics passed their lives in absolute nakedness, like that hermit of the Sketic Desert, the sight of whom convinced Macarius that he

had not attained the highest pitch of ascetic austerity; the Βοσκοὶ or "Grazers" were probably not very far removed from this state (Sozom. *H.E.* vi. 33; Evagrius, i. 21). Sulpicius Severus (*Dial.* i. 17) mentions a monk of Sinai who for fifty years had no other clothing than his own hair; and the like is reported of Onuphrius and Sophronius, and many others. In the West too, similar aberrations are recorded; the famous Spanish monk Fructuosus († 675), for instance, is said to have lived for a long period of penance in a cave, like a wild beast (*Vita S. Fructuosi*, in *Acta SS.* April 16; ii. p. 432). A common method of producing discomfort was wearing next the skin the rough HAIRCLOTH, of which sacks were commonly made. [SACKCLOTH.]

Going barefoot was from ancient times an ascetic practice. [SHOES.]

Attempts to confine sleep and necessary rest within the narrowest possible limits have been made so long as ascetic life has been practised at all. Many of the ancient Egyptian hermits attempted to banish sleep for long periods, either by standing in prayer or by various kinds of bodily exertion. Macarius, the younger, is said to have succeeded in remaining without shelter and without sleep for twenty days and nights (Palladii *Laus.* c. 20, p. 722). Dorotheus the Theban carried stones all day long for the building of cells, and at night employed himself in making ropes of palm-bark, never lying down to rest (*Laus.* c. 2). The "adamantine" Origen attempted to banish sleep by hard study. The monks of Tabennae, under the rule of Pachomius (art. 50), slept in a kind of coffin, so arranged that they were unable to lie down at full length; others, mentioned by Cassian (*Collat.* i. 23; xviii. 1; *Instit.* iv. 13), used for beds only mats (mattae, ψίαθοι) of reeds or straw. The more rigorous ascetics lay on the bare ground; thus Jerome says of himself (*Epist.* 22, *ad Eustoch.* c. 7), that when sleep crept over him in spite of himself, he dashed his skeleton frame on the ground; and Paulinus tells us of St. Martin of Tours (*Vita*, iv. 72) that the bare ground sufficed for his light slumbers. Nor were the feebler sex wanting in such austerities; Gregory of Nazianzus tells us (*Orat.* 11 [al. 8], c. 13) how his sister Gorgonia laid her tender limbs on the ground; and Jerome glorifies his friend Paula (*Epist.* 108, c. 15) for refusing the indulgence of a bed even in severe fever, and choosing to sleep on the hard earth, with sackcloth spread under her. Benedict allowed for his monks (*Regula*, c. 55) a mat, a blanket, a rug, and a pillow (matta, sagum, laena, et capitale); they were to sleep in their clothes and girdles (*Reg.* c. 22). Benedict's rule furnished the general type of monkish bedding for many generations. In all monasteries sleep was abbreviated by the necessity of rising for the offices of the night or early morning [HOURS OF PRAYER; VIGILS].

The custom of living without any habitation whatever began, as was natural, in those regions of the East, where for the greater part of the year it is possible to pass the night in the open air without risk. Theodoret (*Hist. Rel.*) gives many examples of hermits of Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and Mesopotamia, who spent their lives in the manner of John the Baptist in the wilderness. Even women endured this rude life, as Marana and Cyra (Theod. *H. R.* c. 29), and the probably fabulous Mary of Egypt, who is said (Rosweyd's *Vitae Patrum*, i. 18, p. 388) to have passed forty-seven years in the wilderness to the east of Jordan without the shelter of a roof and without intercourse with mankind. Many ascetics exposed themselves on bare rocks or peaks of mountains, or on pillars built for the purpose, to the heat of the sun and to all the winds of Heaven. Pillar saints were divided into στυλῖται and κιονῖται, the former of whom lived on the bare platform which formed the capital of the pillar, while the latter had a hut constructed for shelter. Some hermits lived on trees (δενδρῖται), as Addas of Mesopotamia (Moschus, *Pratum Spirit.* c. 70); many lived in caves (σπηλαιῶται), as the Egyptian monks Elias, Pityrion, Solomon, Dorotheus, Capito, and Elpidius (Palladius, *Laus.* cc. 51, 74, 96–99); some submitted to be walled up in their narrow dwellings (χωστοί, ἐγκλειστοι, reclusi), as Salamanus (Theod. *H. R.* c. 19) and Macarius Romanus (*Vita*, c. 21, in Rosweyd *Vitae Patrum*, p. 230); the latter believed that he continued at least three years in this condition, but the whole narrative shews a disordered mind. In the more rigorous climate of Western Europe the kind of exposure which is possible in Egypt and Palestine was soon discovered to be destructive to life; hence in this region even cave-dwellers are comparatively rare; hermits could not exist without some kind of shelter, however scanty. Recluses were, however, not very uncommon.

Insufficient or distasteful food is a very common form of mortification. For the principal ecclesiastical prescriptions as to time and manner of fasting, see FASTING, LENT, STATIONES. With regard to the fasting of professed ascetics, we may remark that a much greater rigour of abstinence is possible in the milder regions of the East than in our ruder climate. Several Eastern ascetics lived wholly on uncooked food, as (*e.g.*) Ammonius (*Hist. Lausiaca.* c. 12, p. 716; Apollo, *ib.* c. 52, p. 742). The principal founders of Eastern Monachism—Anthony, Hilarion, and Pachomius—were men of excessively mortified life; the latter was taught by his master, Palaemon, to maintain life on bread and salt alone, without oil or wine (*Vita*, c. 6, in Rosweyd, p. 115); but they did not seek to compel their monks to emulate their own austerity. Pachomius forbade his monks to use wine and "liquamen," but he allowed them daily, at least, one meal of cooked food, with rations of bread, that they might be able to endure their labour (*Vita*, c. 22). Flesh meat was in no case included in the viands—not an insupportable hardship in the climate of Egypt; the bread was the "paximatium"[a]—the twice baked bread or biscuit—which Cassian (*Collat.* ii. 19) informs us was the usual food of the Egyptian hermits of his time. The daily allowance for a monk was (according to Cassian) two cakes of this bread, weighing together about a pound troy. On fast days only half this allowance was issued. In Lent we read of some of the monks of Tabennae fasting for two, three, or even five days without intermission. The younger Macarius is said to have taken no more than four or five ounces of bread daily (*Lausiaca*,

[a] See Alteserrae *Asceticon*, v. ii.

c. 20, p. 722); Hilarion to have lived from his thirty-first to his thirty-fifth year on a daily allowance of about six ounces of barley bread (Jerome, *Vita Hil.* c. 6); Marcianus of Cyrus, on the Euphrates, to have taken no other food in a day than his evening meal of three ounces of bread (Theodoret, *Hist. Rel.* c. 3). In a colder and damper climate such excessive abstinence was, of course, impracticable. "We are Gauls," said the monks of St. Martin (Sulpic. Severus, *Dial.* i. 4, § 6), "and it is inhuman to compel us to live like angels." Such considerations probably compelled Benedict, in drawing up his statutes for the monastery of Monte Cassino, to content himself with a moderate dietary; the scanty portion of bread on which an exceptional person like Macarius subsisted was not to be the rule for a whole community. He allowed (*Reg.* c. 39) a pound of bread for each man per day, with two different "made dishes" (cocta duo pulmentaria), that if any man could not eat the one he might take the other. When fruit or fresh pulse was to be had, a third course of these might be added. In case of unusually hard labour, the abbat might order a more generous diet. The flesh of four-footed beasts was altogether forbidden, except for the sick and infirm; fish and fowl were allowed With regard to wine, Benedict believed that one "hemina"—about half an English pint—of wine per day was sufficient for each man; but, though he allowed this, he evidently preferred total abstinence (*Reg.* c. 40). The rule of St. Benedict became the standard of Western monachism. which, however, constantly tended to fall away from the severity of its first estate, and was from time to time recalled to its old rigour, or even more than its old rigour, by such reformers as Benedict of Aniane.

Abstinence from wine was commonly practised by ascetics. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vii. c. 6, p. 850) deprecates the use of wine by the Christian sage, and he does also that of flesh; abstinence from wine is one of the practices which Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 3, § 12) mentions as having injured the health of the ascetic Origen. Some of the Gnostic sects abstained altogether from wine, and the Encratites, in particular, thought it the "blood of the evil spirit."

II. Special kinds of Mortification.—1. *Use of the Cross.* Among the methods of mortification must be included the stamping or impressing crosses on the flesh in a painful manner, the expanding the arms in the attitude of one crucified, and the bearing a heavy cross of wood.

The first of these may perhaps have originated from a literal interpretation of the expression of St. Paul (Gal. vi. 17), "I bear in my body the marks (στίγματα) of the Lord Jesus." St. Rhadegund († 587), to take one instance, to give vividness to her conception of the Passion, used to lay a metal cross, heated in the fire, on various parts of her body (Venant. Fort. *Vita*, iii. c. 21). To be "crucified with Christ" has sometimes been attempted by rapt enthusiasts in the most literal sense. But a more common kind of self-torture was that of standing with outstretched arms, in the attitude of one crucified. This was practised within our period, both as a form of ordeal (stare vel vadere ad crucem) and as a part of monastic discipline. The way of applying the former, seems to have been that accuser and accused took their stand in the cruciform attitude, and the one who first dropped his arms was adjudged to have failed to prove the charge or to vindicate his innocence, as the case might be. Thus, in a matrimonial case, husband and wife were ordered "exire ad crucem" (*Capit. Vermeri.* 17; Baluze, *Capitularia*, i. 164). The remaining for long periods with the arms expanded, as a form of penance, originally a merely monastic practice, was introduced in the 8th century by the rule of Chrodegang into the canonical life. St. Lambert (about A.D. 700) is said to have nearly lost his life in consequence of having been compelled to stand in the attitude of one crucified against a stone cross, in the court of his monastery, during a cold winter's night (*Vita S. Lamberti* in Canisius, *Var. Lectt.* II. i. p. 140). St. Austreberta is related (*Vita*, § 15, in *Acta SS.* Feb. 10) to have endured a similar penance. More particular precepts as to this matter belong to a later age. Cassian († c. 445) mentions (*Collat.* viii. 3) certain Egyptian ascetics who carried about with them a heavy cross of wood; a practice which, he says, occasioned more laughter than respect. The practice seems to have become more common in the Middle Ages.

2. *The practice of wearing chains or rings of iron*, which has existed among Brahmins and Buddhists from a high antiquity, is found also in the Christian Church. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Carm.* 47) mentions monks who labour under never-ceasing iron fetters, wearing away the evil of their nature as their flesh is worn away. Epiphanius (*Expositio Fidei*, *Opp.* i. 1106 d) blames monks who went about in public with neck-rings of iron; and Jerome (*Epist.* 22 *ad Eustochium*) bids his friend beware of those who went about barefoot, laden with chains, with long hair and beard and dirty black mantle, to be seen of men. The hermit Apollo in the Thebaid wore chains, as Rufinus (*Vitae Patr.* i. 7) informs us; Theodoret cannot say too much of those chain-wearers, whose story he tells in the *Historia Religiosa.* The well-known Symeon of the Pillar was for some time chained to the rock on which he lived by a long chain fixed to his foot; afterwards, on his pillar, he wore for thirty years a heavy chain hanging from his neck; his iron collar, the historian Evagrius (*Hist. Eccl.* c. 13) says that he had seen with his own eyes. Many other instances of men wearing heavy chains or rings may be seen in Theodoret's *Historia Religiosa.* See also the accounts of the Abbat Senoch of Tours, in Gregory of Tours (*Vitae Patr.* c. 15), and of St. Radegund (*Vita*, iii. c. 21).

From the 6th century onward we find the wearing of chains and the like prescribed as a penance. Homicides of their own kindred were sentenced either to an oppressive weight of chains, or to wear an iron band round the body made from the blade of the sword with which the homicide was committed. This punishment Gregory of Tours (*de Gloria Conf.* c. 87) tells us was endured by a fratricide, who also bore heavy chains. Charlemagne (*Capit. Aquisgran.* c. 77, in Baluze, i. 239) in 789 thought it necessary to issue a caution against vagrants who went about in irons (nudi cum ferro) which they pretended to wear for penance sake. Unchaste priests were not uncommonly sentenced to wear rings or hoops of iron round their arms or bodies.

3. *Bodily Pain and Disfigurement.* The voluntary self-wounding of the Baal priests and other pagan hierophants was not altogether unknown in the Christian Church, though it had a less orgiastic character. Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, in his *Epistola Synodica* to the bishops of Palestine and Cyprus (Hieron. *Opp.* i. 543, ed. Vallarsi), reprobates the conduct of some who, he says, mutilated themselves with the knife, thinking that they shewed religion and humility in going about with scarred forehead and cropped ears; one man had even bitten off a part of his tongue, to reprove the timidity with which some served God. Ammonius the monk cut off one of his ears and threatened to bite out his tongue; but this was not from ascetic motives, but to render himself ineligible for the office of bishop. He was, however, in the habit of burning himself with a red-hot iron from pure asceticism (Pallad. *Hist. Lausiaca*, c. 12, p. 716). Another Nitrian monk, the younger Macarius, is said to have exposed his naked body for six months to the stings of venomous flies to atone for the anger and impatience with which he had once crushed a fly that stung him (*Laus.* c. 20, p. 722); and Symeon, the pillar-saint, to have allowed vermin to eat into his body for a considerable time (*Vita*, c. 7, in Rosweyd, p. 172). The Greek *Menologion* (Jan. 4) relates that St. Apollinaris of Egypt used to expose herself to the stings of gnats and gadflies; and Johannes Moschus (*Pratum Spirituale*, c. 141) voluntarily exposed himself to the stings of the countless insects of the hot Jordan valley, thinking so to escape the never-dying worm and the flame that is not quenched. A sister of the famous nunnery of St. Bridget at Kildare is said to have burned her feet over a fire which she had secretly lighted in her cell (*Vita S. Brigidae*, c. 11, in Surius, Feb. 1). Martinianus scorched his whole body in the flames of a fire of sticks, with a view of counteracting unlawful passion. And these are but specimens taken from the crowd of records of self-torture which may be found in various hagiologies. The discipline of the scourge will be treated separately [WHIPPING].

4. *Cold.* Ascetics frequently attempted to cool the burning passion which possessed them by exposure to cold. Thus the English monk Drithelm is said (Bede, *H. E.* v. 12) to have remained immersed in a stream during the recitation of many psalms and prayers. Of James, the disciple of Maro, it is related (Theodoret, *Hist. Rel.* c. 21) that during his long devotions in the open air he was sometimes so covered with snow that he had to be dug out. Similar austerities are related of many other ascetics, both male and female. Abraam of Carrhae is said (Theod. *H. R.* c. 17) to have held fire an altogether superfluous luxury.

5. The SPIRITUAL EXERCISES of ascetics will be noticed under that heading, and the ascetic views of continence under VIRGINITY. See also CELIBACY.

(This article is taken mainly from O. Zöckler's *Kritische Geschichte der Askese*, Frankfurt a. M. 1863.) [C.]

**MORTMAIN.** The law of mortmain which, in the English use of the term, is a law restricting the acquisition of property by permanent corporations, especially of a religious character, is based upon two distinct considerations of policy; one that of preventing property being withdrawn for ever from the general market (that is, being grasped by the "dead hand" of an artificial legal personality); the other, that of opposing obstacles to fraudulent or extortionate impositions on the part of religious advisers. There is no doubt that both these lines of policy are distinctly represented in, if not directly copied from, the Roman law at its ripest maturity, and the later legislation of Christian emperors. Ulpian (circ. A.D. 200) says "we are not permitted to appoint the gods as our heirs, with the exception of those in favour of whom either a *senatus consultum*, or imperial constitutions, have conceded a special privilege, as, for instance, Tarpeian Jove." The policy of this prohibition may have been the same as that by which Justinian, three centuries later, enacted that, where a testator nominated the Lord Jesus Christ as his heir or part heir and added no limiting words, the inheritance should accrue to the church of the testator's domicile; and similarly where an archangel or martyr was nominated an heir; and where there was no such church, the sacred edifices of the metropolis should profit from the inheritance (L. 26 (c. I. 3)). Savigny (*System*, vol. ii. b. ii. c. 2) has adverted to the real meaning of this policy, which was to secure that the benefit and responsibility should be vested in concrete persons distinctly cognisable by law.

The law with respect to *collegia*, that is, corporate bodies consisting of at least three persons (L. 85. D L. 16), throws, perhaps, the greatest light on some of the aspects of early mortmain law. As early as A.D. 117–138, we see that *collegia* could not take inheritances unless they were specially privileged for this purpose (L. 8. C. (vi. 24)). A passage of Paulus (A.D. circ. 200) alludes to a *senatus consultum* of the time of Marcus Antoninus permitting the legacies to be made in favour of *collegia*, supposing the *collegia* were lawfully constituted (L. 20. D. xxxiv. 5)), and with respect to the constitution of these bodies it appears that a religious purpose was presumedly a legitimate object ("religionis causâ coire non prohibentur; dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatus consultum quo illicita corpora arcentur" (L. 1. D.(xlvii. 22)). Nevertheless, it appears from a constitution of one of the Antonines in Justinian's code that the corporate body of the Jews in Antioch was not reckoned a legal association, and could not sue for a legacy which had been left it.

As respects the claims of the Christian church to inherit, or even to own, property, it must have depended at first upon whether the local religious societies were or were not treated as legitimate *collegia*. Gibbon (c. xv.), indeed, adduces an interesting story, told in the life of Alexander Severus (A.D. 222–235), of a dispute in respect of land between the society of Christians and the victuallers (*popinarii*), as a proof that property had already legally vested in the Christian church.

But it was not till Constantine's Edict of Milan (A.D. 313), by which he restored to the Christians the property of which they had been bereft in the late persecutions, that their right of ownership in land was formally recognised. This

edict prepared the way for the more celebrated one of the year A.D. 321, by which anyone "was to have full power of leaving by will whatever property he chose to the church and its governing bodies." It was within fifty years of this time that the first unmistakeable mortmain law was enacted by Valentinian the Elder (*Cod. Th.* xvi. 20). It forbids all sorts of ecclesiastical persons from entering on the property of widows or wards. It prevents them from acquiring any benefit from the donation of the wife of any one who, under pretext of religion, has privately joined himself to them. The whole gift is to be so completely invalid that the offending person cannot take anything from the same quarter either by gift or by testament. Any attempted gifts lapsed to the treasury.

The next law is twenty years later (*Cod. Th.* xvi. 28). After prescribing the conditions under which a woman may become a deaconess, it enacts that she shall make neither the church, the clergy, nor the poor her heirs. Any attempted act in violation of the law would be invalid. The following language of the law may almost be supposed to have supplied the policy and the terms of an English mortmain act. "Immo si quid ab his morienti fuerit extortum nec tacito fideicommisso aliquid clericis in fraudem venerabilis sanctionis callidâ arte aut probrosâ cujuspiam conhibentiâ deferatur: extorres sint ab omnibus quibus inhiaverant bonis: et si quid forte per epistolam, codicillum, donationem, testamentum, quolibet denique detegitur ergo eas quas hac sanctione submovimus id nec in judicium devocetur: sed vel ex intestato is qui sibi competere intellegit, statuti hujus definitione succedat." Women offending against the law are forbidden to enter a church or to receive the communion, and any bishop not enforcing these penalties is to be deposed. About two months later this constitution was partially repealed, to the extent that deaconesses were allowed to alienate moveables in their lifetime. A controversy subsequently arose as to the true import of this repealing statute. The emperor Marcianus held that its effect was to sweep away all restrictions on dispositions in favour of the church. The merits of the controversy are lucidly expounded by Gothofred in his note to the passage in the Theodosian Code.

We have the advantage of studying this legislation in a more impressive form than is presented by the bare letter of the law. St. Ambrose writes: "Nobis etiam privatae successionis emolumenta recentibus legibus denegantur. Et nemo conqueritur. Non enim putamus injuriam qui dispendium non dolemus" (*Libel. ad Rer. relat. Syn.*). St. Jerome, again, writes still more explicitly: "It shames one to confess that idol-priests, mimes, charioteers, and harlots can take inheritances, and only the clergy and monks are disabled from taking them; and it is not by persecutors but by Christian princes that they are disabled. Not that I complain of the law, but I lament that we have deserved the law. Cautery is good; but how has the wound come which calls for the cautery? The cautery of the law is provident and safe; and yet even thus our avarice is not restrained, but by secret trusts we evade the law" (*Ep.* 2, *ad Nepot.*). A curious allusion to the current legislation is also contained in a letter of Gregory Nazianzen, in which he beseeches Aërius and Alypius to pay the legacy left by their mother to the church. He says, Τοὺς ἔξω ῥίψαντες νόμους τοῖς ἡμετέροις δουλεύσατε (*Ep.* lxi.)

By Justinian's time the policy of restricting gifts by legacy or otherwise to religious and charitable institutions seems chiefly to have been based upon the importance of securing due deliberation and publicity. Thus a distinction was drawn by a constitution of Justinian's between gifts to religious and charitable institutions of less and of more than 500 solidi in value; only the latter requiring to be publicly registered (L. 19; C. (I. 2)). It also appears from the sixty-fifth Novel (though this novel is imperfectly preserved) that, in the case of granting immoveable property to a church, the donor or testator is required to use very precise words in order to determine for what distinct object or objects his gift was intended, whether the substance or only the income of the property was to be rendered available for them, and whether a sale was or was not to be made. It may be concluded then that all jealousy of corporate bodies as owners, and all apprehension of frauds perpetrated on weak-minded testators, were, during this period, in abeyance. The progressive triumph of the church and its prominence in civil government may likewise account for the absence of distinct mortmain legislation up to and including Charlemagne's period. The utmost aim of Charlemagne's Capitularies in this respect was to secure that religious gifts were made with sufficient deliberation. Such a precaution is contained in the capitulary of A.D. 803 (Addita ad legem Salicam), "qui res suas pro animâ suâ ad casam Dei tradere voluerit domi traditionem faciat coram testibus legitimis."

(Giannone, *Hist. Civ. di Napoli*, lib. 2, cap. 8, lit. 4, "*Beni Temporali*"; F. Paolo Sarpi, *Delle Materie Beneficiarie*; Savigny, *System des heutigen Rechts*, Band 2, b. 2, c. 9, *Stiftungen*; *Codex Theodosianus*; *Corpus Juris*.) [S. A.]

**MOSAICS** IN CHRISTIAN ART. — It is not the purpose of this article to enter into the history of the form of pictorial and architectural decoration known as "mosaic." Any disquisition on the origin of the art, the countries where it was first employed, its introduction into Greece and Rome, its various forms, and the names by which they were known, would be out of place here. All the information required on these and kindred topics will be found elsewhere, especially in the late Sir Digby Wyatt's excellent treatises, *The Art of Mosaic*, and *The Geometrical Mosaics of the Middle Ages*. Neither do we propose to enter on the vexed question of the orthography and derivation of the name. After all that has been written upon it the true etymology of the word "mosaic" still remains a matter of speculation, and perhaps can never be determined. Suffice it to say that by the term "mosaic" we understand the art of arranging small cubes or tesserae of different substances, either naturally hard or artificially hardened, and of various colours, so as to produce an ornamental pattern or a historical or symbolical picture. The materials of these tesserae were at first chiefly different coloured marbles, hard stones, pieces of brick and tile, earthenware, &c., the natural colours being

used to form the pattern. Subsequently pastes of glass coloured artificially were almost exclusively employed. These, according to Sir Digby Wyatt, were "what is now generally called *lavoro di smalto*; *i.e.* mosaic composed of minute portions of silex and alumina, vitrified by heat and coloured by the addition of one of the metallic oxides." *

The gilt tesserae used so profusely for the background of the pictures were formed by applying two thin plates of glass with a film of gold leaf between them to a cube of earthenware, and then vitrifying the whole in a furnace.

The discovery of the mode of making these coloured tesserae of vitreous paste may be said to have created the art of mosaic decoration in the ecclesiastical form in which it is chiefly known to us. It put into the hands of the designers the power of producing all varieties of colour, from the most delicate to the most intense, essential for the truthful representation of the subjects; while its brittleness enabled them to obtain pieces of any size and shape required, at a cost far smaller than that of the precious marbles; and, "in case of deterioration from dirt or other causes, it can," as Mr. Layard has observed, "be restored and cleaned without any loss of character or detriment to the original work." (*Paper read before Roy. Inst. of Brit. Arch.*)

To these recommendations may be added its durability. From the nature of the substances employed mosaic pictures are practically indestructible, except by direct violence. It may be styled, in the words of Ghirlandajo, "the only painting for eternity." No form of pictorial art therefore can be regarded so suitable for the decoration of ecclesiastical buildings, in which the permanence of every detail should symbolize the perpetuity of the faith. The subdued richness of this mode of decoration, especially when gold grounds are extensively used, and at the same time its grand and solemn character when used in large masses, give mosaic an appropriateness for the ornamentation of sacred edifices which was very early appreciated. No sooner had Christianity emerged from the hiding-places of the catacombs, and been triumphantly installed by Constantine as the religion of the empire, than mosaic began to receive that amazing development which allows us truly to style it essentially a Christian art. Pliny indeed distinctly tells us that mosaic-work, which had been originally employed almost exclusively for the decoration of floors, had in his time recently passed upwards and taken possession of the vaulted ceilings, and that glass pastes had begun to be used, "pulsa . . . . ex humo pavimenta in cameras transiere, e vitro: novitium et hoc inventum." (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. c. 64.) But as Kugler correctly states (*Handbook of Painting: Italian Schools*, part i. p. 20, note), the middle links between the small cabinet pieces of wall-mosaic, almost exclusively of a decorative character, exhibited by the fountain recesses at Pompeii and in a few examples at Rome, and the vast Christian wall-pictures, are entirely wanting. We are so entirely destitute of examples of such decoration on a large scale where we should have most looked for it, on the vaults of the Imperial Thermae, the Palace of the Caesars, or other contemporaneous edifices, that "we are almost led to recognise mosaic-work as we see it in the basilicas, as a spontaneous development called forth by a newly awakened religious life," and may with him be "almost tempted to believe that historical mosaic-painting of the grander style first started into existence in the course of the 4th century, and suddenly took its wide spread, borne on the advancing tide of the triumphant Christian faith." At the commencement of the art the designers were evidently restricted by no conventional rules, but were left to follow their own genius in the selection of subjects and their arrangement. By degrees, however, a recognised system of symbolic decoration was adopted, which became stereotyped and prevailed from the 5th century onwards through the whole of southern Christendom, displaying its last examples before the final extinction of the art in the 12th century, in the gorgeous wall-pictures of St. Mark's, Venice, and the mosaics of the Royal Chapel at Palermo and the cathedrals of Monreale and Cefalù in Sicily.

In the earliest mosaics the position of chief dignity, the centre of the conch of the apse, was always occupied by Christ, either standing or enthroned, supported on either hand by the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul standing next Him, together with the patron saints and founders of the church. Subsequently the place of our Lord was usurped by the patron saint (as at St. Agnes at Rome), or by the Blessed Virgin holding the Divine Child in her lap (as at Parenzo and St. Mary in Domnica). A hand holding a crown is usually seen issuing from the clouds above the chief figure, a symbol of the Supreme Being. The river Jordan flows at the feet of Christ, separating the church triumphant above from the church militant below. In a zone below we usually find in the centre the Holy Lamb, the head surrounded with a cruciform nimbus, standing on a mount from which gush the four rivers of Paradise, symbolizing the four evangelists. Trees, usually palm trees, laden with fruit, typify the Tree of Life, while the phoenix with its radiant plumage symbolizes the soul of the Christian passing through death to a new and glorified life. On either side six sheep, types of the apostles, and through them of believers in

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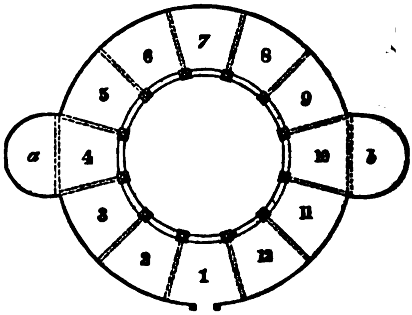
* The Greek word for the tesserae or cubes of which mosaics are formed was ψηφῖδες, a diminutive of ψῆφος, a pebble. In the Acts of the Second Council of Nice the destruction of the mosaic pictures by the Iconoclasts is thus described: ὅσα μὲν ἐκ ψηφῖδος ὄντα ἐξώρυξαν (Labbe, *Concil.* vol. vii. col. 580); and again, in the order to set up sacred pictures, we read, τὰς σεπτὰς καὶ ἁγίας εἰκόνας τὰς ἐκ χρωμάτων καὶ ψηφῖδος καὶ ἑτέρας ὕλης ἐπιτηδείως ἐχούσας (*Ibid.* col. 356). The mosaic wall-picture of Theodoric in the forum at Naples, the gradual disintegration of which was regarded as so ominous a sign, is described by Procopius as ἐκ ψηφίδων τινων ξυγκειμένη μικρῶν μὲν ἐσάγαν, χροιαῖς δὲ βεβαμμένων σχεδόν τι ἁπάσαις (*De Bell. Goth.* lib. i. c. 24). It would be hardly possible to describe a mosaic picture in more accurate language. The Saracens borrowed the name, together with the art and materials of mosaic work, from Byzantium. The Arabic term for the mosaic tesserae was *fsefosis* or *fsefysa*. "When at the commencement of the 8th century peace was concluded between Byzantium and the caliph Walid, this latter potentate stipulated for a certain quantity of *fsefysa* for the decoration of the new mosque at Damascus. In the middle of the 10th century also Romanus II. sent the caliph Abderrhaman III. the materials for the mosaics of the Kibla in the mosque at Cordova." (Kugler, i. p. 58, note.)

general, issue from the gates of the two holy cities, Jerusalem and Bethlehem. [BETHLEHEM, p. 201.] On the western face of the great arch of the apse or the arch of triumph we see at the apex a medallion bust of Christ, or the Holy Lamb, or, which is very frequent, the book with seven seals elevated on a jewelled throne. On either side are ranged angels, the evangelistic symbols, and the seven golden candlesticks in a horizontal band, the spandrels below containing the twenty-four white-robed elders of the Apocalypse offering their crowns with arms outstretched in adoration to the Lamb. In the larger basilicas, where a transept separates the nave from the apse, a second transverse arch is introduced, the face of which is also adorned with subjects taken from the Apocalypse. That at St. Praxedes (see *post*) represents the heavenly Jerusalem with the redeemed in long line entering the gates, which are guarded by angels.

The detailed description given by Paulinus of the mosaics executed by his direction for the basilica of St. Felix and the "Basilica Fundana" at Nola early in the 5th century (*Epist. ad Sever.* 32) indicates points of resemblance and difference with the subsequently recognised type. The whole representation was strictly symbolical, and the human figure seems to have been rigidly excluded, so that it would speak only to the initiated. He describes the Lamb standing on the mount from which issue the four rivers typical of the Gospels, the symbol of the Father above, the lofty cross surmounted by the crown occupying the chief place, which are familiar to us in other mosaics. But, what we do not see in any existing mosaics, the Holy Spirit, under the form of a Dove, was represented as descending on the symbolic Lamb; the apostles were also depicted as doves (a symbol reproduced many centuries later in the apse of St. Clement at Rome), and in addition to the customary sheep as many goats appeared on the left of the Saviour, symbolizing the last judgment. We cannot sufficiently regret the loss of these very remarkable early works.[b]

The catacombs present very few examples of mosaic work. There are fragments of a mosaic picture of considerable size on the soffit of the arch of an *arcosolium* in the catacomb of St. Hermes. From the engravings given by Marchi (*Monum. delle Arti Crist. Primit.*, tav. xlvii., described p. 257) we see that it must have been a very rude performance, the drawing bad, and the execution coarse. The portions remaining exhibit the raising of Lazarus, Daniel in the lions' den, and the paralytic carrying his bed, only differing from the ordinary catacomb frescoes in the material employed. The mosaic cubes, according to Mr. Parker (*Archaeology of Rome, Catacombs*, p. 110), are entirely of glass paste, not of marble. Marangoni (*Cose Gentilesche*, p. 461) preserves the record of an arcosolium in the cemetery of St. Callistus decorated in mosaic, with our Lord seated between St. Peter and St. Paul, also seated. Two sepulchral mosaics from the same catacomb are preserved in the sacristy of St. Mary in Trastevere, one representing birds, probably, according to Mr. Parker, of the 2nd century, the other, representing the miraculous draught of fishes, of the 3rd (Parker, *u. s.* *Mosaics*, p. 3). Two mosaic busts in circular medallions, from the cemetery of St. Cyriaca, discovered in 1656, are preserved in the Chigi Library. One represents a young man, Flavius Julius Julianus, with short black hair; the other his deceased wife, Maria Simplicia Rustica. She, as one deceased, is represented in the attitude of prayer, with outstretched hands (De Rossi, *Musaici Cristiani delle Chiese di Roma*). Perret (vol. iv. pl. vii. No. 3) gives a mosaic fragment, depicting a fighting cock, also from a catacomb. This scanty list comprises nearly, if not quite, all the catacomb mosaics recorded.

The earliest known examples of mosaic art used for the decoration of a sacred building are those of the 4th century, which cover the waggon-roof of the circular aisle of the church of St. Constantia, in the immediate vicinity of the basilica of St. Agnes, outside the walls of Rome. There is sufficient reason to believe that this edifice was erected by Constantine the Great either as a baptistery to the adjacent basilica (BAPTISTERY, vol. i. p. 165), or after his death as a place of sepulture for his two daughters, Constantia, or Constantina, who died A.D. 354, and Helena, the wife of Julian, who died A.D. 360. As in the earliest Christian frescoes, the style of art seen in these mosaics is in no way distinguishable from pagan art of the same period. They belong essentially to the class of decorative paintings, and although those who wish to do so may read a Christian symbolism into the vintage scenes which cover the vaults, it is probable that none such was intended. "They have quite the light and gay character of ancient pagan wall decoration, and if they must be considered of Christian origin—the vine and vintage scenes having been frequently adopted as Christian emblems—they are probably the earliest Christian wall-mosaics that have been preserved" (Dr. Appell, *Christian Mosaic Pictures*, p. 6). These mosaics form twelve equal compartments, the opposite bays having analogous decorations. The ground of the whole is white, instead of the blue or gold which subsequently universally prevailed. Bays 1, 2, 12 have ordinary geometrical designs with octagons




No. 1. Plan of St. Constantia.

and crosses without flowers or figures. Bays 3, 11 have intertwined arabesque wreaths forming small compartments framing airy dancing figures, winged *amorini*, and richly plumaged birds. Bays 4, 10 contain vintage scenes. Little genii are actively engaged, some gathering

[b] Paulinus' description is given in article DOVE, vol. i. p. 576.

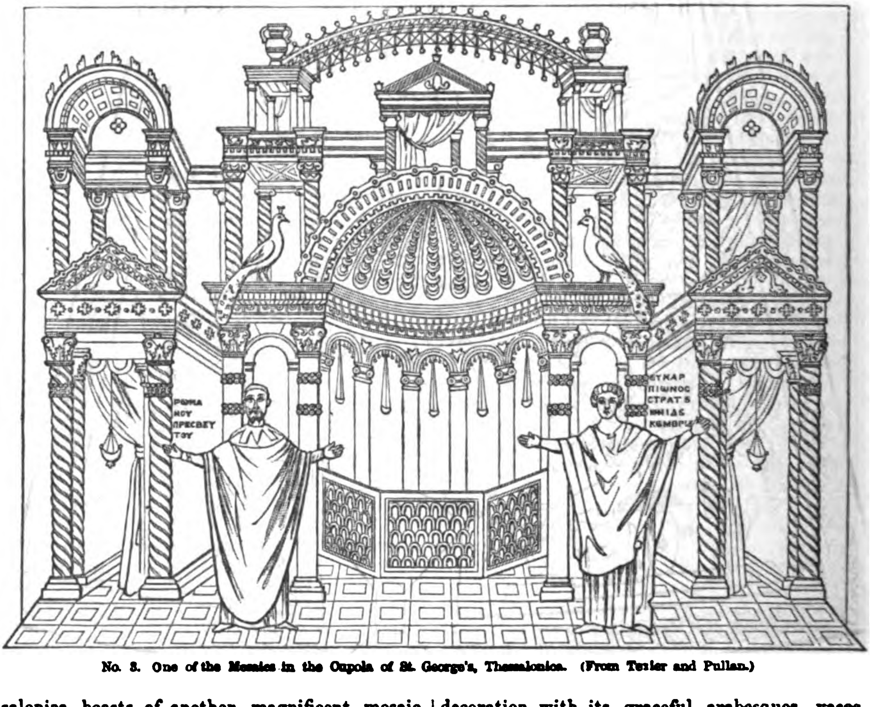
grapes, some carting them home, some treading the wine-press. One holds a writhing snake. Birds are fluttering among the branches or pecking the grapes from the vine which gracefully trails over the vault. In the centre is a female bust, perhaps intended for Constantia. (Woodcut No. 2.) (It may be remarked that scenes very similar to these adorn the magnificent red porphyry sarcophagus of Constantia which stood here, now in the Vatican.) Bays 5, 9 are very similar to bays 3, 11. Bays 6, 8, are far the richest of the whole. The vault is covered with boughs of olive and other fruit-bearing trees, with peacocks, guinea fowls, partridges, and other birds interspersed among them, without any attempt at conventionalism. Bay 7, which was probably the most elaborate of the whole, has been modernised. The two side apses (a) (b) contain coarse, ill-drawn mosaics of a much later time (added by pope Hadrian A.D. 772–798), representing Christ and some of the apostles, the latter crouching in distorted attitudes, in defiance of anatomical possibilities. The contrast between the joyous freedom of the earlier designs and the grim melancholy of the later is so marked that it is difficult to conceive how they can have been so frequently attributed to the same period.



No. 2. The Vintage. From St. Constantia. (South Kensington Museum.)

So widespread and complete has been the destruction of the earlier mosaics that the only other work which can be with any probability referred to the time of Constantine is that which decorates the cupola of the church of St. George at Salonika, the ancient Thessalonica. This church is on sufficient grounds assigned by MM. Texier and Pullan to the first sojourn of Constantine at Thessalonica (323). It is a circular building, covered with a dome more than 216 feet in circumference entirely lined with mosaics of the most magnificent character, probably the most extensive work of the kind in superficial area that has come down to us. According to the authorities just quoted this mosaic, which is one of the very few that has survived the fury of the Iconoclasts or of the Mahommedans, covers no less than 9,732 square feet, and it has been calculated to contain more than 36,000,000 tesserae. The light and fanciful architectural designs, vividly recalling the wall frescoes of the Baths of Titus or those at Pompeii, which are so markedly absent from the majority of the Christian mosaics furnish an unmistakeable evidence of its early date. The drawing, though conventional and architectonic, is good, the arrangement exceedingly dignified, the colouring rich and harmonious, and the

whole effect of the cupola, with its gold ground, extremely gorgeous. The cupola is divided into eight compartments, alternately repeating each other in general design. They present a series of sacred edifices of fantastic architecture, veiled with purple curtains floating in the wind, with richly plumaged birds,—peacocks, ibises, ducks, partridges, curlews, doves, &c.,—perched on the friezes, which are themselves decorated with dolphins, birds, palm trees, and other naturalistic devices. Each of these buildings presents a splendid colonnade, in the centre of which a semi-circular or octagonal apse protected by *cancelli* retires, or a veiled baldacchino stands, with a burning lamp hanging from the vault above the curtained altar, the whole displaying invaluable evidence of early ritual arrangement. On either side of the altar stands a holy personage, colossal in stature and severe in aspect, in the variously-coloured dress of solemn ceremonial, with his hands elevated and outstretched in prayer. (Woodcut No. 3.) The personages represented, who all bear names famous in the Greek church but less familiar in the West, are (1) over the west door (*a*) Romanus, a white-bearded presbyter; (*b*) Eukarpion, a young dark-haired soldier; 2. (to S.) (*a*) effaced; (*b*) Ananias, a presbyter; 3. (*a*) Basiliscus, a soldier; (*b*) Priscus, a soldier; 4. (*a*) Philippus, a bishop; (*b*) Therinus, a soldier; (*c*) Basiliscus, a beardless youthful layman; 5. effaced; 6. (to N.) (*a*) Leon, a soldier; (*b*) Philemon, a flute-player; 7. Onesiphorus, a young beardless soldier; (*b*) Porphyrius; 8. (*a*) Cosmas, old, grey-headed and grey-bearded; (*b*) Damian, young and beardless. These magnificent and most interesting works deserve to be much more widely known and more carefully studied. (They are found well reproduced in chromo-lithograph in Texier and Pullan's *Eglises Byzantines*, pl. xxx.–xxxiv.; and Nos. 1, 4, 7, 8, are engraved by Mr. Wharton Marriott in his *Vestiarium Christianum*, pl. xviii.–xxi.) Thes-




No. 3. One of the Mosaics in the Cupola of St. George's, Thessalonica. (From Texier and Pullan.)

salonica boasts of another magnificent mosaic in the cupola of St. Sophia, a work of the 6th century, of which we shall speak in its place.

The only other ancient mosaics breathing the spirit of classical art are those of the 5th century, which decorate the quadripartite vaults of the chapels of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, which open out of the Lateran baptistery. These are said to have been apartments in the palace of Constantine, converted into chapels by pope Hilary, A.D. 461–467. The Christian character of these mosaics is shewn by the nimbed Holy Lamb, surrounded by a rich garland of fruit and flowers in the centre of each ceiling; but the decoration with its graceful arabesques, vases of fruit and groups of birds, peacocks, ducks, parroquets, red-legged partridges, and doves, and other conventional ornaments, are quite in the classical style of St. Constantia. The ground, however, is gilt, not white, as in that building. On the walls of the chapel of St. John the Baptist are figures of the four Evangelists. (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* vol. i. tab. 74, 75; Parker, *Mosaics*, p. 16.)

We have purposely described these last mosaics somewhat out of their chronological order on account of their artistic connection with those already described. The very extensive series of mosaics in the church of St. Mary Major, or the Liberian basilica, though some-

what earlier in date, having been executed by the order of Sixtus III., A.D. 432–440, as is expressly stated in the letter of Hadrian I. to the emperor Charlemagne (Labbe, vii. col. 955), and perhaps the most remarkable works of early Christian art, belong to a totally different school. As Lord Lindsay has remarked (*History of Christian Art*, vol. i. p. 99, Letter ii.), "none stand so isolated; none have had so little influence on the latter ages of its development." The reason of this want of artistic relation with anterior or subsequent works lies probably in the fact that the artists who designed them had formed themselves entirely on the study of classical bas-reliefs, especially those of the columns of Trajan and Antoninus, while their predecessors had taken the frescoes of the baths as their models, and their successors formed their taste in Greece or Byzantium. These very remarkable mosaics consist of two series: viz. (1) those decorating the arch of the tribune, and (2) those ranged along the walls of the nave, occupying what may be called the triforium space. Of these the former series are much the inferior; "straggling in composition," writes Lord Lindsay, "and poorly executed." They have, indeed, little artistic interest except as the earliest known representations of scenes from the early gospel history. As such, it has been remarked that they manifest the difficulty an artist who had only studied in classical schools had in depicting subjects which as yet had no fixed type in Christian art. The pictures accordingly exhibit no distinctly Christian characteristics, or anything that differences them essentially from Pagan subjects. For the first time, it is true, we here see at the apex of the arch, in a medallion, the familiar symbol of the jewelled throne bearing the apocalyptic roll with seven seals, and above the roll a gemmed cross and crown, supported by St. Peter and St. Paul, with the evangelistic symbols on either side, and below it the signature of the builder XYSTVS . EPISCOPVS . PLEBI . DEI. But the scenes of Gospel history depicted below are so entirely unlike the subsequently recognised types that it is not at first sight easy to identify them. These pictures occupy the wall on either side of the arch, and are ranged in five rows. The uppermost row (1) contains to the left (*a*) the angelic message to Zacharias; (*b*) the Annunciation; to the right (*c*) the Presentation in the Temple; (2) the second row contains (*d*) the Adoration of the Magi [see woodcut, article ANGELS, vol. i. p. 84]; (*e*) our Lord among the doctors; (3) the third row gives a long subject, (*f*) the Massacre of the Innocents, extending to both sides of the arch; (4) in the fourth row we see, again for the first time, the two holy cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem; (5) the fifth, the Faithful figured as sheep. It deserves notice that in these pictures, the only figures besides Christ distinguished by the nimbus are those of the angels and Herod, as if the nimbus were a conventional mark of dignity unconnected with sanctity. The Virgin Mary never has it; at any rate in the original design. (See Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* vol. i. p. 203; Valentini, *la Patriarc. Basilica Liberiana*, pl. 61; Parker, *Mosaics*, p. 15; South Kensington drawings, No. 7445.) Far superior in drawing and grouping are the scenes from the Old Testament which occupy the walls of the nave. Here we recognise the spirit of the antique still lingering, while the distinctly religious idea is almost entirely wanting. They were originally forty-two in number, but are now only twenty-seven. Six were destroyed to form the arches of entrance to the Borghese and Sistine chapels, and nine, lost through accident or decay, have been replaced by paintings. In these, which we may regard as the first and last effort of any extent in dramatic representation, "the composition is often excellent; the attitudes simple and expressive, though they want relief, and the conception is altogether superior to the performance" (Lord Lindsay, *u. s.* p. 101). The series, which begins at the upper end to the left with the interview of Abraham and Melchizedek, carries on the Old Testament history through the times of Isaac and Jacob, and beginning again at the same end to the right with the finding of Moses, pursues his history and that of Joshua to the battle of Bethhoron. Some of the historical scenes display real life. In that of the separation of Abraham and Lot, "the figures," writes M. Vitet (*Histoire de l'Art*)

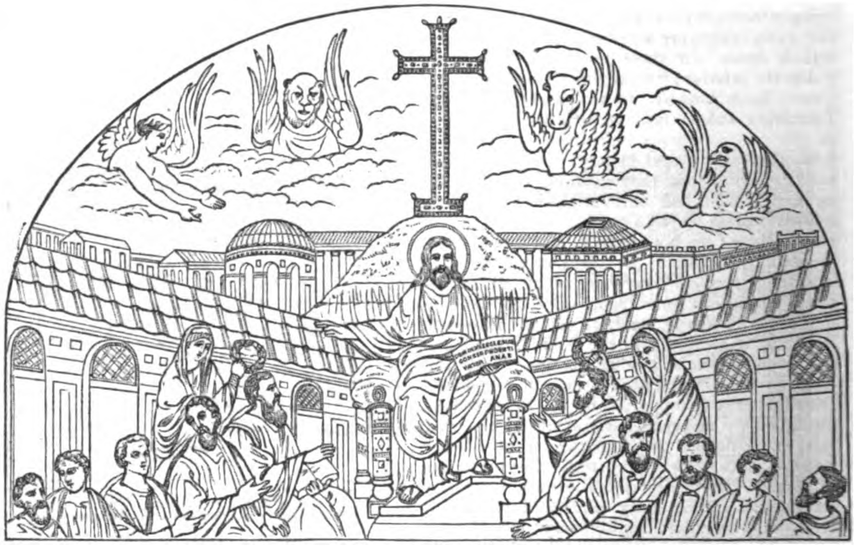


No. 4. Visit of Angels to Abraham. From St. Maria Maggiore. (South Kensington Museum.)

"express well what they are about. One feels that the two groups are separating. Isaac blessing Jacob has almost the same *pose* as Raphael has given it in the Loggie; the taking of Jericho, the battle with the Amalekites, also have details which are not without a certain interest." The visit of the angels to Abraham, of which we give a woodcut (No. 4), in which three stages of the story are represented in one picture, has a solemn dignity not unworthy of the subject (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* vol. i. tav. 50–64; Valentini *u. s.*; Parker, *Photogr.* 1952–1966; 2038–2058).

There are few ancient works of which the date has been more variously assigned than that of the very remarkable mosaic in the apse of St. Pudentiana on the Esquiline, perhaps the most beautiful in Rome. It has been placed at various epochs from the end of the 4th to the close of the 9th century. The earlier date is with little doubt the correct one. It is true that as we see it now the picture has suffered too much from the hands of restorers to allow us to speak with absolute certainty on the point. But in the remarkable dignity of the composition, the freedom of treatment and correctness of per-

spective, as well as in the whole drawing grouping and drapery, it has all the essential marks of a living art, and points to a time when the still surviving traditions of the Pagan schools had been quickened with a new spirit. The figures do not, as in the later mosaics, stand in rigid isolation, gazing out into vacancy, but are seated with most calm dignity, "grouped so as to form a picture," and displaying much variety of attitude and individuality of feature. Kugler's verdict is certainly correct, that "even if the building itself be proved to be of more recent date than Siricius, who built the church A.D. 390, still this work at least must have been copied from one much older" (*u. s.* p. 41). This picture represents Christ enthroned in the centre of a semicircle of Apostles in Roman costumes (two of whom have been lost by modern repairs), each seated in front of an open portal, forming a crescent-shaped cloister with a tiled roof, above which rise the roofs and domes of the heavenly Jerusalem. St. Peter and St. Paul sit on either side of Christ. Behind them stand two female figures of singular dignity and beauty, with martyrs' chaplets in their hands, representing either St. Pudentiana and her sister St. Praxedes, or, according to Garrucci, the church of the circumcision and that of the gentiles. None are nimbed except our Lord. Christ is seated on a richly decorated throne, His right hand is raised in benediction, and in the left He holds a book inscribed *Dominus Conservator Ecclesiae Pudentianae*. Behind His throne a tall jewelled cross is planted on a mount, and among the clouds which form the background are seen Evangelistic symbols of somewhat large dimensions. We give a woodcut of this very remarkable and beautiful work (No. 5).[c]



No 5. Apse of St. Pudentiana.

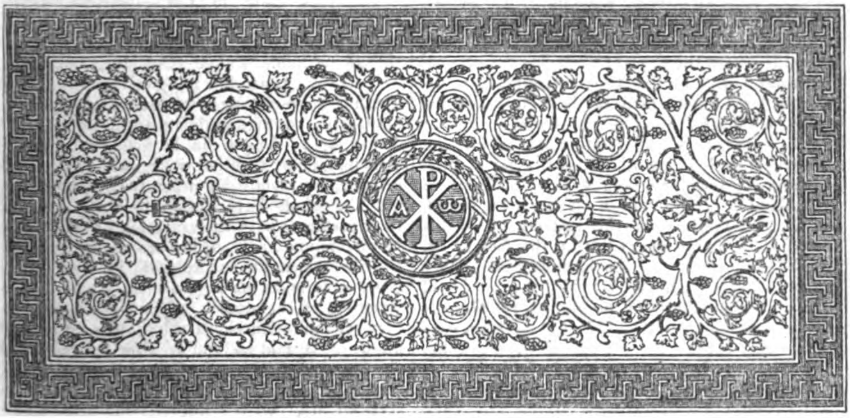
(Gally Knight, *Eccles. Arch. of Italy*, vol. i. pl. 23; Labarte, *Histoire des Arts Industriels*. album, vol. ii. pl. 121; Fontana, *Musaici delle Chiese di Roma*, tav. 14; Parker, *Photogr.* Nos. 280, 1416–1419; South Kensington, No. 7987; Parker, *Mosaic Pictures*, pp. 23–27, 153.)

Passing over the small remains of the mosaics of St. Sabina, Rome, with the singular "imagines clipeatae," and the noble figures of the churches of the Jews and the Gentiles, entirely Roman in type, character, and costume, c. 424 (Ciampini, *u.s.* vol. i. c. 21, tab. 48), and the fragments of the once imposing decorations of St. Paul's outside the walls, set up by Leo the Great, A.D. 440–462, mentioned in Hadrian's letter to Charlemagne already referred to, which were almost entirely destroyed in the conflagration of 1823 to the irreparable impoverishment of early Christian art (Kugler, *u. s.* p. 29; Parker, *Mosaics*, p. 16; see woodcut, art. CHURCH, vol. i. p. 371), we must now transfer our attention to Ravenna. No city in Italy, Rome hardly excepted, can shew such admirable specimens of this art. They belong chiefly to the earliest and best period, while the principles of classical art were still in living exercise, before the hieratical traditions of the Byzantine school had begun to proscribe all traces of freedom and nature. Nowhere do we find pictorial decoration more intimately allied to architectural arrangements, the two being so closely connected that each appears essential to the completeness of the other. The mosaic works still existing at Ravenna—many, alas! have perished—exhibit four distinct styles of art. The earliest and most classical in style and drawing are those of the lower part of the orthodox baptistery, set up by archbishop Neon, A.D. 430, and those which cover the whole of the interior of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, now known as the church of St. Nazarius and Celsus, A.D. 440. A century later in date, and decidedly

[c] Labarte considers that the Apostles and female figures are works of the 4th century; but that the figure of Christ and the Evangelistic symbols belong to a later epoch. (*Arts Industriels*, iv. 172.) This is also the opinion of Vitet. Garrucci also attributes this mosaic to pope Siricius, A.D. 390.

inferior in style and execution, though still entirely free from Byzantine stiffness, are those which decorate the domes of the orthodox baptistery, and of the Arian baptistery, which may be ascribed to the same date, c. A.D. 553. We have examples of a third mode of treatment distinct from the other two, in the mosaics of St. Vital, A.D. 547, of the chapel of the archbishop's palace, completed in the same year, and of the basilica of St. Apollinaris in Classe, built in A.D. 549. "In themselves," writes Mr. Layard (*u. s.* p. 14), "these mosaics are deserving of the most careful study, as belonging to the best period of early christian mosaic art. They are especially valuable to the architect, as affording some of the finest examples of the treatment of pictorial mosaics, and of the technical qualities of the material." The Ravenna mosaics, though, as we have seen, extending over a period of full a century, and displaying various styles, are evidently productions of one and the same school of art; exhibiting, it is true, a gradual decline from classical dignity and purity of taste, but maintaining on the whole the same high level, both in drawing and design, as well as in harmony of colour: we shall therefore treat them together.[d] To commence with the orthodox baptistery erected by bishop Ursus, A.D. 400–410, and decorated with mosaics by archbishop Neon, A.D. 430. This building is internally an octagon, covered with a cupola, and is brilliant with mosaics, almost from floor to roof. The most remarkable of these are the eight prophets; grand majestic figures, draped in white, which occupy the spandrels of the lower tier of arches, upon an oval background of gold enclosed by acanthus leaves which spread out in lovely arabesque scroll-work. To quote a very appreciative description, "the most remarkable individuality, not merely in face but in figure, is preserved in each; and in each there is a distinct expression, life-like and full of character. Found in a pagan building, one would say they represented Roman senators of the sterner republican type, and were portraits. Their actions are essentially different; their draperies cast with that truthful, excellent variety of fold no study of art-examples only could have taught, and the manipulation of light and shade is perfect."

The ornamentation of the cupola is divided



No. 6. Soffit of Arch. Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna.

into two zones encircling the central picture representing the baptism of our Lord. The lower zone, which may be ascribed to the earlier period, presents a series of throned crosses; altars bearing the open gospels; episcopal chairs beneath shell-roofed niches; and tombs surmounted with garlands, set within an architectural framework of almost Pompeian elegance. This lower zone springs from a profusion of acanthus leaves, on which parrots, doves, and other birds are perched. The upper zone, containing the twelve apostles, together with the central picture of the baptism, shew indications of restoration at a later and inferior period of art (c. A.D. 553), though still preserving much of antique dignity and grace. The apostles, colossal in size, robed in gold and white drapery floating in the wind in graceful folds, advance with rapid step towards the central figure, bearing in their hands jewelled crowns. The life and movement of the advancing figures present a striking contrast to the motionless repose of later mosaics. In the picture of the baptism, which fills the centre of the cupola, Christ is entirely nude, immersed in the river up to the middle. The Baptist, half nude, pours water on the Saviour's head, on which the holy dove is descending. An incongruous relic of paganism appears in the form of the river-god Jordan, rising from his stream and offering a napkin as an act of homage. The mosaics of this building stand in the very highest rank among similar works for the richness of the ornamentation, the harmony and delicacy of the colouring, the excellence of the drawing, and the dignity of the composition. (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* vol. ii. c. 25; von Quast, *Ravenna*, taf. i. pp. 4, 5; Kugler, p. 25.) Analogous in style, and rivalling the baptistery in the rich harmony of its ornamentation, is the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, A.D. 440. This is

[d] In describing the Ravenna mosaics I have drawn largely from the admirable articles which appeared in the *Times* newspaper during the year 1876, especially those published September 25 and December 30.

[e] *Times*, *u. s.*

a building in the form of a short Latin cross, each arm covered with a barrel vault, with a small cupola rising on a square lantern above the intersection. The whole interior, both walls and roof, from the height of about six feet from the floor, is coated with mosaics, which, as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have pointed out, are of special value as a connecting link both in the subjects and their treatment between the Graeco-Roman work of the primitive Christian church, and the strictly new-Greek or Byzantine; between the frescoes of the catacombs and the mosaics of the Roman churches. The chief arches are decorated with rich acanthus scroll-work (see woodcut No. 6), which also covers the lunettes at the ends of the transepts, where the bright green leaves pencilled with red and black and bordered with gold, stand out on a dark blue ground, with stags making their way through the foliage to slake their thirst at a fountain, in evident allusion to Ps. xlii. 1. The subject in the chief lunette facing the entrance has been variously explained. It represents a male figure, advancing with energetic stride, his pallium floating in the air, and bearing a *crux hastata* over his right shoulder. In his right hand he carries an open book. Before him to his right is an iron grate or gridiron, with burning wood under it. Behind him is an open cupboard, or *scrinium*, containing rolls of the Gospels. This figure has been identified from the days of Ciampini downwards with our Lord, and the book is supposed to be an heretical work which He is about to throw into the flames. Such a representation of our Lord, however, is quite without a parallel in the whole cycle of sacred art, and it has of late, with more probability, been regarded by Garrucci and Richter (*Die Mosaiken von Ravenna*, p. 31), as St. Lawrence with the instrument of his martyrdom, as the sword lies at the feet of St. Agnes in the mosaic in the basilica bearing her name at Rome. The book held by him would under this interpretation be one of the Gospels (before the restoration of 1875 the *scrinium* contained only three rolls, St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John), borne as a symbol of his office as a deacon (cf. Const. *Apost.* lib. ii. c. 57; Hieron. *Epist.* lvii.; *Concil. Vasens.* ii. c. 2). Very superior both in design and execution is the celebrated, but somewhat overpraised, mosaic of the Good Shepherd in the lunette above the chief entrance. "For beauty and purity of design," writes Mr. Layard (*u. s.* p. 14), "which nearly approaches that of classic times, and for exquisite harmony of colour, this is one of the most perfect specimens of the art that can be found." Its resemblance to some of the catacomb frescoes of Orpheus is too strong to be overlooked. [FRESCOES, vol. i. p. 656.] The Saviour, represented as a beardless young man with long flowing hair, clad in a long gold tunic striped with blue, and holding a *crux hastata* in His left hand, is seated in a grassy, hilly landscape, with His sheep grazing around Him, caressing with His right hand one of the flock that has lovingly approached Him.[e] Each of the walls of the lantern supporting the cupola bears two standing figures—perhaps apostles—by another and inferior hand, but full of action and admirably posed. Below the windows are doves perched on the rim of a vase and drinking from it, reminding one of the celebrated antique mosaic in the Capitol, described by Pliny. The dome itself is spangled with stars shining forth from a red azure ground encircling a Latin cross. (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* vol. i. tab. 65–67; von Quast, taf. 2–6, pp. 10–15; Kugler, p. 28.)

We have to leap over a century to arrive at the period of the execution of the mosaics of what is known as the Arian baptistery, or St. Maria in Cosmedin, said to have been built by Theodoric, and after his death reconciled and decorated by bishop Agnellus, c. 560. Our limits forbid our dwelling upon these works of art, which are almost exactly reproductions of those in the upper part of the dome of the orthodox baptistery. We have, as there, the baptism of Christ in the centre, with the attendant figures of the Baptist and the river-god Jordan, with the lengthy, angular apostles in a lower zone—disproportionate, figures—bearing crowns. (See Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* vol. ii. c. 23; von Quast, 18; Kugler, p. 35.)[f]

We pass now to the celebrated church of St. Vital, consecrated in 547. It will be seen from the ground plan and section of this remarkable edifice (CHURCH, vol. i. pp. 375, 376), that in its general plan it is circular, covered by a dome, with what we may call a quadrangular chancel ending in a domed apse. There can be no doubt that the principal dome, together with the whole of the interior, was originally decorated with mosaics, but the whole have perished at the hands of later restorers with the exception of those of the sacrarium and apse. These are so remarkable in their treatment and so splendid in their general effect as to make us regret most keenly the destruction of the others. Although the architecture of the church is what was afterwards known as Byzantine, and it owed its erection to the Emperor of the East, the term "Byzantine" cannot properly be applied to the mosaics. "The style of art," writes Kugler, "is still of that late Roman class already described, and we have no reason to conclude that the artists belonged to a more Eastern school" (*Handbook of Painting*, *u. s.* p. 34). It is evident, however, that the direct classical influence was waning, and giving place to realism. They no longer, as in the representations of which "the Good Shepherd" of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia may be taken as a type, "reflect pagan art-tradition glorified by Christian sentiment," but either depict scenes belonging to their own times or sacred subjects into which the spirit of the day has been breathed, with scarcely any trace of antique feelings. The broad soffit of the arch dividing the sacrarium from the central domical

[e] The somewhat exaggerated laudation given to this mosaic by von Quast and others may be estimated by an inspection of the accurate reproduction of the original size by Salviati and Riolo, in the gallery of the south-east court at the South Kensington Museum.

[f] At the cathedral of Naples there is a baptistery ascribed to Constantine, but assigned by some to bishop Vincentius, A.D. 556–570, the cupola of which is enriched with mosaics. The sacred monogram occupies the centre. On the sides of the octagon below, we are told, are ranged the prophets presenting their crowns. The attitudes are said to be varied, the action suitable, and the draperies of classic dignity. (Catalani, *Chiese di Napoli*, vol. i. p. 46; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. p. 12.)

area is decorated with 15 medallions containing individual portrait-like heads of our Lord and His apostles and the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius, set in a field of gold-green arabesque foliage on a blue ground. The two walls of the sacrarium exhibit a remarkable series of Old Testament subjects, chiefly symbolical of the Eucharist, together with figures of prophets and evangelists, set in an architectural framework. The principal picture on each side is contained in the blank head of a semicircular arch, above which two angels floating through the air support a circular medallion bearing a Latin cross with the letters A Ω. Each semicircle includes two subjects combined in one picture: that to the north (1) Abraham and Sarah entertaining the three angels, and (2) Abraham raising his hand to slay his son, while a hand from heaven points to a ram. That to the south (1) the offering of Melchizedek, who, draped in royal vestments of white with gold ornaments, advances from a palatial edifice to an altar or draped table, on which stand two loaves of bread and a chalice; (2) Abel, "an excellent and perfectly antique shepherd figure" (Kugler), clad in a kind of goatskin, holding a lamb in his extended arms over the table, with a rude hut



No. 7. Mosaic of Justinian and his Attendants, in St. Vital, Ravenna.

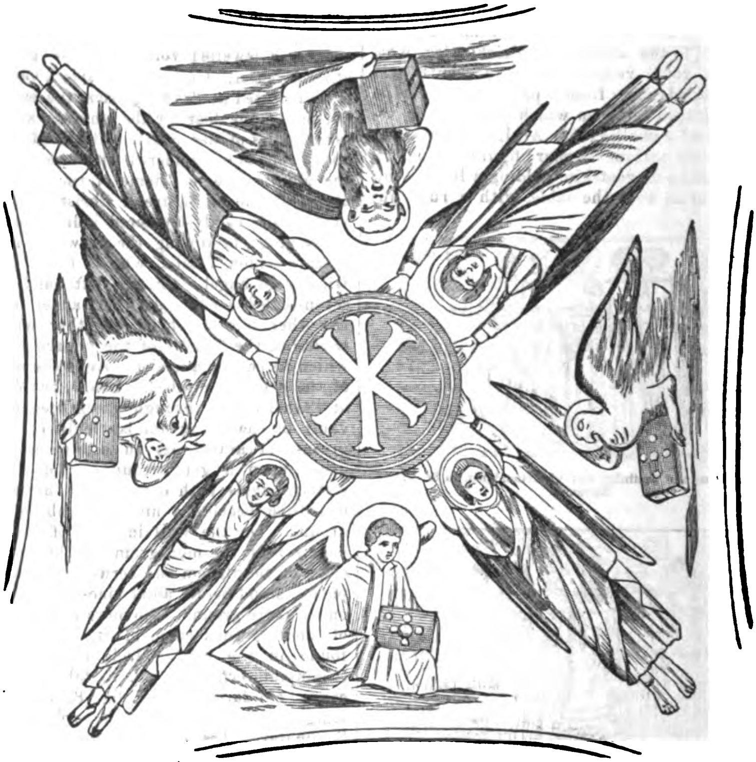


No. 8. Mosaic of the Empress Theodora and her Ladies, in St. Vital, Ravenna.

behind him. These figures are nearly life size. The spandrels to the south contain on one side (1) Moses keeping the flock of Jethro, and above (2) Moses loosing his shoes from his feet; and on the other side (3) the prophet Isaiah standing by a crowned column. Still higher on this side above the arch are St. Matthew and St. Mark, with their symbols of the angel and the lion. The corresponding pictures in the southern spandrels are (1) Moses on the Mount receiving the law, (2) a group of Israelites below, and (3) the prophet Jeremiah also standing by a crowned pillar; St. Luke and St. John, with the ox and the eagle, being represented above. Advancing into the apse proper, the walls on either side at the entrance bear the celebrated historical pictures of Justinian and "his strangely chosen empress" Theodora, with their respective suites, making their costly offerings at the consecration of the church. (Woodcuts No. 7, 8.) These, "as almost the sole surviving specimens of the higher style of secular painting, are of great interest, and as examples of costume quite invaluable." They are, however, inferior in knowledge of form and in drawing, and display little skill in grouping; the artists endeavouring to make up for their deficiencies by minute and careful execution and gorgeous colouring. The figures are life-size, and are upon a gold ground. Both the emperor and empress are distinguished by the nimbus, and wear diadems. (See the woodcuts in article CROWN, vol. i. p. 506.) The emperor is preceded by the archbishop Maximianus (A.D. 546–562) who consecrated the church, a very characteristic figure, accompanied by a deacon and subdeacon, the one bearing a jewelled volume of the gospels, the other a censer. On the other side a chamberlain is represented as drawing back the embroidered curtain of the door for the empress, attended by seven ladies of her court. The border of Theodora's robe is embroidered with the Adoration of the Magi. The half-dome of the apse contains the semi-colossal figure of Christ as "a godlike youth with richly-clustered hair" seated on an azure globe, bestowing the crown of life on the martyr-soldier Vitalis, who is being led up to Him by an angel. Christ's left hand holds the seven-sealed book. Another angel stands on the other side of Christ, together with bishop Ecclesius, the founder of the church (d. 541), of which he carries a model. He is the only figure of the group unnimbed. Below, the four rivers of Paradise flow through green meadows. The vault of the sacrarium is richly covered with green-gold arabesques on a blue ground, and green upon a gold ground, amid which four stately angels with outstretched arms uplift a medallion bearing a nimbed lamb on a starry ground. On the wall in front of the apse two angels bear the monogram of Christ, while the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, blazing with jewels, stand below, amid vine-tendrils and birds on an azure ground. No more remarkable series of mosaics than these of St. Vital's are to be found in the whole circle of Christian art. (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* vol. ii. tab. 18–22; Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. xvi. fig. 8, 10, 12; Gally Knight, *Eccles. Arch. of Italy*, vol. i. pl. 10; Du Sommerard, *Les Arts du Moyen Age*, album, série 10, pl. 32; La Barte, *Handbook of Arts of Middle Ages*, vol. i. pl. 27; Kugler, *u. s.*; Parker's *Photographs*, No. 752, 753; South Kensington, 972, 973, 6808–6810.)

The basilica known as St. Apollinare Nuovo, since the removal thither of the body of St. Apollinaris for safety in the 9th century from the basilica of the same name in "Classe," but originally built by Theodoric, A.D. 500, for Arian worship, and designated "St. Martino in coelo aureo," from the splendour of its golden walls and ceilings, and "Sacellum Arii," presents two grand processional friezes, of colossal figures, extending the whole length of the nave, in what we have called the "triforium spaces," which "belonging to the very last days of ancient art remind us curiously of the Panathenaic procession on the frieze of the Parthenon" (Kugler, *u. s.*) That to the south consists of twenty-

four male saints, nimbed, holding crowns in their hands divided by palm trees, all clothed in white robes, with the exception of the patron saint, St. Martin, the last of the row, who is clad in violet, advancing in stately march from the city of Ravenna towards the throned Saviour seated between four angels (a restoration since Ciampini's time); on the north, or women's side, we have a similar procession of twenty-two virgin saints issuing from the suburb of Classis, clothed in white, with a gold-coloured short-sleeved robe over, the head covered with a white veil, and the left hand which holds a crown also similarly veiled. They are preceded by the three kings (restored) presenting the offerings to the Infant Saviour seated on His throned Virgin Mother's lap, with two stately angels on either side, both mother and child having the nimbus, and with their right hands raised in act of benediction. "Few of man's works," writes Mr. Freeman, "are more magnificent than that long procession of triumphal virgins. . . . not stiff conventional forms, as in the late Byzantine work; but living and moving human beings." There is great variety in the expression of the faces, and the features are some of the most beautiful in early Christian art. The names are inscribed over each saint. Mrs. Jameson calls attention to the fact that only five of the whole number "are properly Greek saints, all the rest being Latin saints, whose worship originated with the Western, and not with the Eastern



No. 9. Cupola of the Archiepiscopal Chapel, Ravenna.

church" (Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. ii. p. 527). Above the friezes the spaces between the windows exhibit small single figures of prophets and apostles in niches; and over each window, a vase with two doves recalls a familiar feature in classical art. Higher still, just below the roof, is a series of small subjects from the life of Christ. Those on the ritual, north, depict thirteen scenes from the life of our Lord:—(1) The cure of the paralytic; (2) the cure of the demoniac; (3) healing of the man with the palsy; (4) severing the sheep from the goats; (5) the widow's mite; (6) the Pharisee and publican; (7) the raising of Lazarus; (8) Christ and the woman of Samaria; (9) the woman that was a sinner; (10) cure of the two blind men; (11) miraculous draught; (12) the feeding of the five thousand; (13) gathering up the fragments. Those on the south, as many scenes from the Passion, commencing with the Last Supper and ending with the appearances of our Lord after His Resurrection—to the disciples at Emmaus, and to the eleven apostles; and, what is noteworthy, omitting the Crucifixion and all the physical sufferings of Christ. It deserves notice that in the former our Lord is represented as a beardless young man; in the latter as adult and bearded. These mosaics are of high value in Christian art, and deserve to be better known. The best account of them is in Richter, *Die Mosaiken von Ravenna*, pp. 44 ff. Above the saints we see the conch-shaped

vault of an apse, with a pensile crown, and a cross above supported by a dove on either side. (Woodcut, CORONA LUCIS, vol. i. p. 461; Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* tom. ii. pp. 126, 127; Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. xvi. fig. 13, 15–20; Garrucci, *Arti Primitiv. Crist.*; von Quast, taf. 7; South Kens. No. 6811, 6812; Kugler, *u. s.* pp. 38–40.)

To the same period belong the mosaics of the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace.[g] (Woodcut No. 9.) We have here a dome with the monogram of Christ in the centre, supported by four simple and graceful angels, with the evangelistic symbols in the spandrels, all on a gold ground. The soffit of each of the four sustaining arches is decorated with seven medallion heads on an azure ground, that of Christ (a very youthful bust) occupying the place of honour in the centre of the chancel arch, with three of the apostles on either side, the heads of the remaining six with that of St. Paul, ornamenting the western arch. The side arches exhibit six male saints to the north, and as many female saints to the south, with the sacred monogram in the centre. These medallions are conceived in the same spirit as those on the arch of the sacrarium of St. Vital, but are inferior in design and execution.

The mosaics which decorate the basilica of St. Apollinaris in Classe belong to a later period, c. 671–677, but they may be conveniently treated of here, as they are examples of the same school of art, and present many points of close resemblance to the earlier works. These mosaics are pronounced by Kugler to be of the highest importance in the history of ecclesiastical art, as almost the only surviving example, since the conflagration of St. Paul's at Rome, of the manner in which "whole rows of pictures and symbols were employed to ornament the interior of churches" (Kugler, *u. s.* p. 61). The spandrels of the nave arches offer a series of early Christian symbols, from the simple monogram to the Good Shepherd and the Fisherman, while a line of medallions on the wall above exhibits full-face portraits of the archbishops of Ravenna, on the same plan as the series of popes in St. Paul's, which are continued also along the wall of the aisles. (See the woodcut, article CHURCH, vol. i. p. 377.) These are modern, but apparently correct copies. The mosaics of the apse are original, and very remarkable. The arch of the tribune presents the familiar arrangement. The bust of Christ, in a medallion, occupies the centre between the evangelistic symbols, with twelve sheep on either side issuing from the gates of the two holy cities and advancing up the sides of the arch. Lower down are the two archangels, Michael and Gabriel, with heads of youthful beauty, each holding the labarum. Lower still are figures of St. Matthew and St. Luke. The side walls of the apse present two very remarkable historical compositions, evidently designed in imitation of those at St. Vital. To the south the three sacrifices of the Old Testament, those of Abel, Melchizedek, and Abraham, are combined in one really spirited composition. To the north is represented the Granting the Privileges of the church of Ravenna to the archbishop Reparatus by the emperor, probably Constantine Pogonatus, A.D. 668–685, slighter and inferior in drawing and execution to the opposite picture (Kugler, *u. s.* p. 63), but deserving to be ranked with the mosaics of St. Vital's as invaluable contemporary records of secular costume of the 7th century. Between the five windows of the apse are sainted bishops of Ravenna in pontifical robes, holding books, and blessing the people. The most noteworthy however of the series of mosaics in this church is that of the Transfiguration, which fills the conch of the apse, considered by Lord Lindsay as "perhaps the most beautifully executed mosaic in Ravenna." With the exception of that at Mount Sinai it is the earliest known representation of the scene, and is given in so emblematical a character that by the uninitiated the subject would not be readily recognised (Mrs. Jameson's *History of our Lord*, vol. i. p. 341). The traditional type is adhered to in the arrangement. In the chief place the presence of Christ is symbolized by a jewelled cross, set in a blue circle studded with gold stars, in the centre of which His sacred face is inserted with *Salus mundi* below, and ΙΧΘΥΣ above. The divine hand issuing from the clouds, and pointing to the cross, indicates the Father's recognition of the Son. On either side of the cross truncated half figures of Moses and Elias repose on delicately coloured clouds. Below, three sheep in a hilly green meadow looking upward symbolize the apostles. At the base of the composition, in the central position, reserved in the earlier mosaics exclusively for Christ, St. Apollinaris stands in his pontifical robes, with his arms extended in prayer, between six sheep on either side. The freedom from the Byzantine rigidity which characterizes the contemporary works at Rome is very noteworthy. Indeed, notwithstanding its intimate political connection with Constantinople the art-traditions of Ravenna seem to have continued to a late date unaffected by the paralyzing influence of the schools of the Eastern capital, which was destined to destroy the life of ecclesiastical art, and reduce it to the almost mechanical reproduction of conventional forms, depending for their effect on the architectonic regularity of their arrangement and the gorgeousness of the materials employed. The absence of Byzantine influence here has been noticed by Mr. Freeman; the "Ravenna monuments all come together under one head; they are all Christian Roman . . . . Greek inscriptions appear over the heads of the holy personages in the mosaics (at St. Mark's, Venice), but the walls of St. Vitalis and St. Apollinaris in Classe spake no tongue but Latin" (*Historical and Architectural Sketches*, pp. 46, 47).

Contemporaneous with the earliest mosaics at Ravenna are the very interesting works at Milan, in the churches of St. Lawrence and St. Ambrose. Those at St. Lawrence are in the lateral apses of the ancient chapel of St. Aquilinus, containing the tomb of Ataulphus, the first husband of Galla Placidia (A.D. 415). They may be safely ascribed to the early part of the 5th century, and are entirely free from Byzantine influence. That to the right repre-

[g] They are pronounced by Von Quast to belong to the 5th century chiefly on account of a monogram, "Petrus," which he considers to refer to Petrus Chrysologus, A.D. 433–454. Kugler would prefer to refer this monogram to archbishop Petrus IV., A.D. 569–574 (*u. s.* p. 40, note).

sents Christ, youthful and beardless, clad in white. (Woodcut No. 10.) His head encircled with a cruciform nimbus, bearing A Ω; His right hand raised in benediction, His left holding the Book of Life. The apostles sit on either side, all robed in white long-sleeved tunics, with a black *clavus* over the right shoulder. Their feet are sandalled. The heads display much variety in expression, meditative stern or cheerful, and some are characterized by youthful beauty. The tribune to the left represents a pastoral scene, where three youthful shepherds, one asleep, are depicted with three sheep in a rocky landscape, under a cloudy nocturnal sky. Two dignified figures clad in rich gold-coloured robes are directing the attention of the shepherds to something out of the picture. If, as Dr. Appell believes, this represents the angel appearing to the shepherds at the Nativity, it is an interesting proof of the entire absence at that early period of any recognised type of the scene (Allegranza, *Spiegazoni*, &c, tav. 1; South Kens. Nos. 7782, 7967). The mosaics at St. Ambrose are in the side chapel of St. Satyrus, or of St. Victor, "ad coelum aureum," this being the original place of the latter saint's interment. They are ascribed to the middle of the 5th century, and are of remarkable excellence, characterized by a living freedom and absence of stiffness. On each side wall of the chapel are three standing saints; on the gospel side, St. Ambrose between St. Gervasius and St. Protasius; on the epistle side, St. Maternus between St. Nabor and St. Felix. All wear white togas over tunics, their feet are sandalled, they have no nimbi. The cupola has a gold ground, in the centre of which, within a garland of gay flowers, is the half figure of St. Victor, a bearded and moustached young man, of a high colour and short brown hair. (Woodcut No. 11.) He is clothed in a red tunic, with a



No. 10. The Apse of St. Aquilinus, St. Lorenzo, Milan. (South Kensington Museum.)

light purple pallium over it. He holds in his right hand a cruciform monogram of Christ with an inscription on the horizontal bar of the H, read by Ferrario, *Panagriae*. In his left hand he bears an open book inscribed *Victor*, above is a cross with *Fau-tini* on the horizontal bar. The evangelistic symbols as usual occupy the pendentives. They are more unconventional than usual but the lion suffers in drawing from the artist's ignorance of the real animal (Ferrario, *Monumenti di Sant' Ambrogio in Milano*).

Before we return to Rome to trace the gradual stiffening and shrivelling up of ecclesiastical art under increasing Byzantine influence, we must cross the Adriatic, and take a survey of the mosaics of the very remarkable basilica of Parenzo in Istria, erected, according to an inscription on the tabernacle, (strangely misread by Dr. J. M. Neale, and the German authorities)[h] by Euphrasius, the first bishop of the see, between A.D. 535 and A.D. 543. These mosaics have a strong family likeness to those of Ravenna, especially those of St. Apollinare Nuovo, and evidently belong to the same school. The soffit of the arch of the tribune is decorated with a series of medallion heads of female saints, with the sacred monogram on the vertex of the arch. The western face of the arch has only ribbons and arabesque foliage. The side walls of the

[h] The inscription is as follows: "Famul(us) . D(e)i . Eufrasius . Antis(tes) . temporib(us) . suis . ag(ens) . an(num) . XI . hunc . loc(um) . a . fundamen(tis) . D(e)o . jobant(e) . sce . Deccl . Catholec(ae) . condidit." The words *Deo . jobante*, i.e. *Deo juvante*, have been strangely read into an abbreviation for *Domino Johanne beatissimo Antistite*.

apse present the Annunciation to the north, and the Visitation to the south. Two saints and a gold nimbed angel in white robes holding an orb, occupy the spaces between the windows. The semi-dome of the apse contains a very extensive mosaic picture, somewhat coarse, but very effective, the figures being remarkably free from stiffness, noble in outline, and with well-arranged drapery. The general arrangement is that with which we are familiar in this position. A sacred figure occupies the central place with saints and angels standing in solemn attendance on either side, while from the clouds above the Divine Hand holds out a crown. But it is no longer Christ Himself that is the chief object of veneration, but His Virgin Mother, throned and nimbed, holding her Son on her lap. This mosaic therefore indicates a distinct step onwards in the cultus of the Blessed Virgin, anticipating by three centuries the throned Virgin of Santa Maria in Domnica. On either side of the central group stands a stately angel, and beyond three saintly personages; those to the Virgin's right hand are the patron saint, St. Maurus, holding a crown, bishop Euphrasius the founder, and archdeacon Claudius, the architect of the church, a model of which Euphrasius is presenting; and between them a second Euphrasius, a boy, the child of Claudius. The three saints to the Virgin's left are anonymous. The mosaics at Parenzo are not limited to the interior of the church. The western façade was decorated with a mosaic picture of Christ in a Vesica, between the Evangelistic symbols, with the seven golden candlesticks and two saints below, all in a state of sad decay.

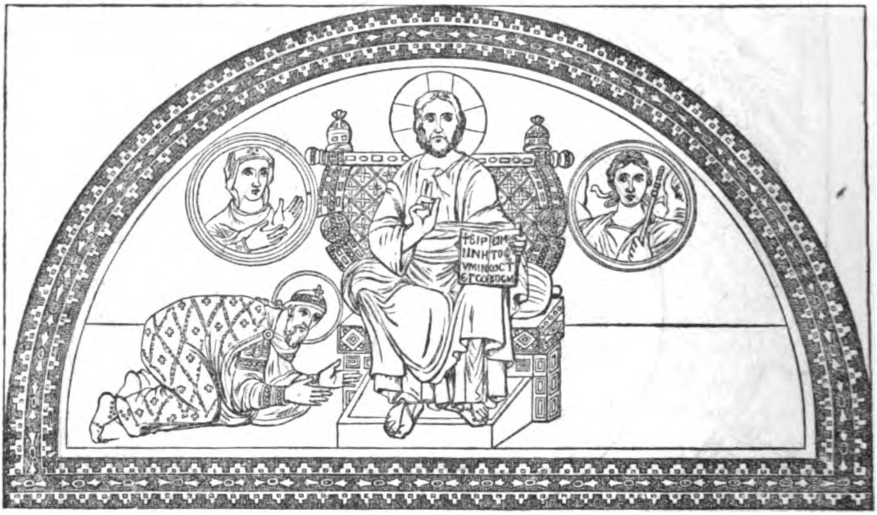



No. 11. Cupola of the Chapel of St. Satiro, at St. Ambrogio, Milan.

The very remarkable mosaics of this basilica demand careful illustration. (Lohde, *Der Dom von Parenzo*; Eitelberger, *Kunstdenkmale des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates*, heft 4–5, pl. xiii.–xvi.; Neale, *Notes of Journey in Dalmatia*, pp. 79, 80.)

Proceeding still further to the east, Justinian's glorious church of St. Sophia at Constantinople presents an example of mosaic decoration unparalleled in extent and unsurpassed in magnificence, but almost entirely hidden beneath the whitewash of the image-hating Mussulmans, and only known to us by the rhetorical descriptions of Paulus Silentiarius, and from the drawings of Salzenberg, taken during the temporary removal of the plaster, and published in his magnificent work on the ancient Christian architecture of Constantinople (*Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel*). The present state of the mosaics may be seen in Signor Fossati's work *Agia Sofia*. Salzenberg's plates afford an undeniable proof that even in Byzantium itself the stiffening influence of Byzantine pictorial traditions had hardly begun to operate in the 6th century. It is true that, with some exceptions, there is little attempt to produce a pictorial composition. The mosaics chiefly consist of majestic single figures rhythmically arranged as

accessories to the architecture, looking down calmly on the worshippers below, without any indication of action. But they are well drawn, and display none of the spectral rigidity and attenuated length which renders later Byzantine art so repulsive. The subsidiary ornamentation on the walls, panels, soffits and spandrels of the arches is no less free and joyous. Here we have beautiful arabesque foliage, branches of trees with clusters of fruit and flowers, with stars, lozenges, triangles, and guilloche borders, manifesting the influence of a still living classical tradition. The whole interior of the church was originally invested with inlaid work. The lower portions were covered with "opus sectile," patterns inlaid in various-coloured marbles, while the upper and far larger portion was swathed, as it were, in a continuous gold sheet (we see the same, at a later date, at St. Mark's, Venice), throwing up the stately sacred forms. The general arrangement of the mosaics may be seen in the section of St. Sophia, given in our first volume (GALLERIES, vol. i. p. 707). Four vast seraphs, with faces of youthful majesty, set in the midst of six overshadowing wings, occupy the pendentives of the great cupola. These are still partially visible, their faces only being concealed by silver stars. The dome itself had no figures, and was simply divided by bands of conventional ornament. The soffits of the four main arches supporting the dome were adorned with full length colossal figures of sacred personages within rich mosaic borders. The soffit of the arch of the apse presented on either side a truly magnificent picture of a white-robed angel holding a globe and a wand, with two wings of vast length and breadth, almost reaching to his feet. The face is characterized by a noble youthful beauty; the hair long and curling. The arrangement of the wall spaces within the cupola will be seen in the woodcut already referred to. The six smaller figures between the second tier of windows represent the minor prophets, flanked at either end by taller figures

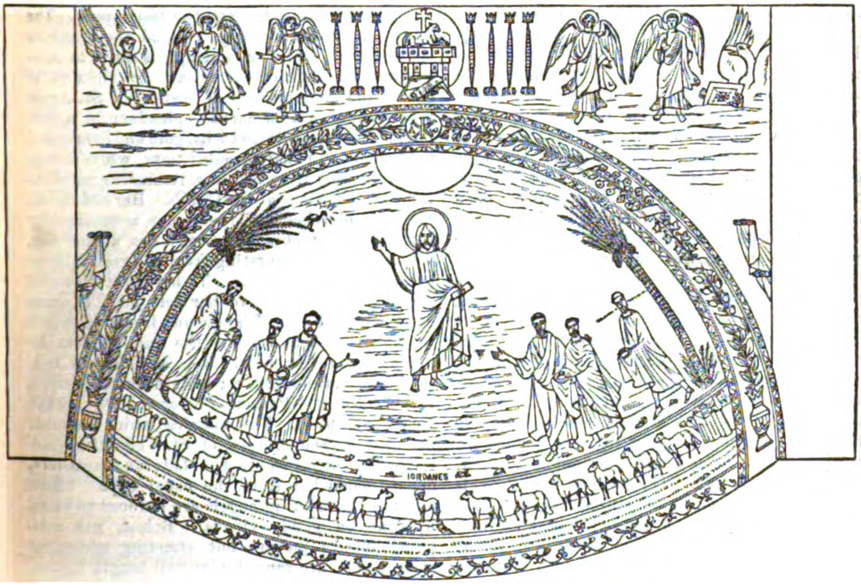


No. 12. Mosaic in Narthex, Agia Sophia. From Salzenberg's *Constantinopel*.

of the major prophets, Isaiah and Jeremiah to the north, Ezekiel and Daniel to the south. There is much variety and individuality of expression in these stately figures. Jeremiah has a very noble head, with long flowing hair and beard. Jonah and Habakkuk are also noticeable. The latter has a very earnest face, without a beard, and with short hair (Salzenberg, pl. 30). A mosaic given by Salzenberg (pl. 31), from the Gynaeceum, representing the Day of Pentecost shews the only attempt at a regularly composed picture. The twelve apostles are ranged in a semicircle (it is noticeable that the Virgin is absent), the descending fiery tongues being depicted on the ribs of the half dome. A fragment from one of the spandrels shews a portion of a group of bystanders, depicted with much graphic power. Half-incredulous wonder is well represented in their faces. One ill-looking fellow with a goat's beard is mocking. The mosaics of St. Sophia are evidently not all of the same date. The figures of Eastern saints, Anthimus, Basil, Dionysius, Gregory Theologus, &c., from the walls of the nave, shew a somewhat soulless uniformity in dress form and feature, with an approach to excess of length, indicating a decline of art (*ib.* pl. 28, 29). The mosaic of our Lord enthroned, with the prostrate form of the emperor (Constantine Pogonatus) awkwardly poising himself on his knees and elbows at His feet, displays the union of excessive gorgeousness of dress and accessories, with bad drawing and ignorance of anatomy, which characterizes the later Byzantine works. (Woodcut No. 12.)

Another contemporaneous specimen of Greek mosaic, on a scale of which unhappily there are but few examples remaining, is the cupola of St. Sophia, at Thessalonica, representing the Ascension. This vast composition covers an area of 600 square yards, and is executed with a finish rarely exhibited in such works. It may be safely assigned to the middle of the 6th century. The ascending figure of Christ in an aureole supported by angels, in the centre of

the dome, has almost entirely perished. The Virgin and twelve apostles, poised insecurely on little conical hills divided by olive trees, stand in a circle round the base, their colossal figures, more than twelve feet high, stretching over the golden concave. The Virgin occupies the chief place opposite the entrance; she is vested in a purple robe, with scarlet sandals, and has a golden nimbus, as have the two angels who, one on either side of her, are addressing the apostles. The apostles are un-nimbed. Their expression is very varied and life-like. Some gaze upwards; some lean their heads on their hands in deep thought; some hold up a hand or a finger in astonishment. There is as yet no trace of the paralyzing effect of Byzantine stiffness and despotic art traditions in this truly magnificent work (Texier et Pullan, *Églises Byzantines*, pl. xl, xli, pp. 142–144). There can be no reason to doubt that Greece, Asia Minor, and the Holy Land once possessed many other equally noble specimens of mosaic decoration, "incomparably more splendid, more extensive, and grander in plan" (Gally Knight) than those with which we are most familiar in Italy; but very few have survived the wasting effects of the elements, wars, fires, and earthquakes, and those that remain are mostly hidden by Mahommedan whitewash. The apse of the church of the convent of Mount Sinai has preserved its mosaics of the time of Justinian, representing the Transfiguration, with figures of Christ, Moses, and Elias, and the three apostles below, set in a border of medallions containing busts of prophets, apostles and saints. Portraits of Justinian and Theodora are found on the face of the arch of the apse. Above them are the appropriate historical scenes of Moses and the Burning Bush, and Moses receiving the Tables of the Law. Accurate drawings or photographs of




No. 13. The Apse and Triumphal Arch of SS. Cosmas and Damian, Rome.

these mosaics are urgently called for. M. Didron also reports that the "vaults and cupola of Vatopedi and St. Laura on Mount Athos, and of Daphne, near Athens, and of St. Luke in Livadia, are covered with mosaics," but he supplies no details.

The devastating inroads which swept over Italy in the 5th century effectually stamped out all native art both in the capital and the provincial cities. The revival of mosaic decoration, as of the other forms of ecclesiastical art, must be attributed to artists from the Eastern Rome, who brought with them their technical processes and pictorial traditions. It was not, however, till a later period, as has been already remarked, that the rapid decline which characterizes the Byzantine school proper set in. The mosaic compositions in Rome belonging to the 6th century still exhibit a life and movement which render them "in point of composition scarcely perceptibly inferior to those of the 5th, and in splendour of material by no means so" (Kugler, *u. s.* p. 31).

The finest mosaics of this class existing in Rome are those in the church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian (the Eastern physician saints) in the Forum, built by Felix IV. A.D. 526–530. (Woodcut No. 13.) Here we perceive that we have finally said farewell to pictorial composition, and enter upon the system of pictorial architectonic decorations, which continued with ever-increasing formality and stiffness up to the extinction of the art. The effect is made to depend entirely on majestic figures rhythmically placed in motionless repose, striking the eye of the worshipper with their calm and solemn grandeur, and filling his mind with reverence and awe, while "the rich play of antique decoration is lost sight of behind the severe gravity of figurative representation" (Lübke, *History of Christian Art*). The arrangement of this admirable mosaic, the last work in Christian Rome in

which we trace a really living art in contradistinction to the mechanical reproduction of hieratical forms, conforms to the type described at the commencement of this article; conventional in arrangement, gorgeous in colour, severe in form, and stern in expression. A colossal figure of our Lord, His right hand raised in benediction, His left holding a scroll, occupies the centre of the roof of the apse. To the left St. Peter introduces St. Cosmas; St. Paul, to the right, St. Damian, each bearing martyrs' crowns. They are followed by St. Theodore to the right, gorgeously robed, carrying his crown, and pope Felix IV., the founder of the church, of which he carries a model, to the left (an entirely restored figure). The composition is terminated on either side by a palm tree, laden with fruit, sparkling with gold, symbolizing the tree of life. Above that to the left is the phoenix with a star-shaped nimbus, typifying eternal life through death. The river Jordan is indicated below Christ's feet, as it were dividing heaven from earth. A frieze encircling the apse bears twelve sheep, drawn with much truth and individuality of expression, advancing from the two holy cities to the Holy Lamb, who, with nimbed head, stands on a hill, from which issue the four rivers of Paradise, which, as well as the Jordan, have their names inscribed. The arch of the apse presents the usual symbols on its face. In the centre the Lamb, "as it had been slain," on a jewelled altar with a cross behind and the seven sealed book on the step; on either side the golden candlesticks, two angels, and the evangelistic symbols, two of which, as well as the throng of elders below offering their crosses, have been nearly obliterated by repairs. The only nimbed figures are Christ and the angels. "The figure of Christ," writes Kugler (*u.s.* p. 32), "may be regarded as one of the most marvellous specimens of the art of the middle ages. Countenance, attitude, and drapery combine to give Him an expression of quiet majesty, which for many centuries after is not found again in equal beauty and freedom. The drapery especially is disposed in noble folds, and only in its somewhat too ornate details is a further departure from the antique observable. The saints are not as yet arranged in stiff parallel forms, but are advancing forward, so that their figures appear somewhat distorted, while we already remark something constrained and inanimate in their step. . . . A feeling for colour is here displayed, of which no later mosaics with gold grounds give any idea. The heads are animated and individual. . . . still far removed from any Byzantine stiffness." (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* vol. ii. tab. 15, 16; De Rossi, *Musaici Cristiani*, fasc. v.; Fontana, *Musaici delle Chiese di Roma*, tab. 3; Lübke, *History of Christian Art*, vol. i. p. 319; Parker, *Photogr.* 1441–1445; South Kens. No. 7805.)

A very decided decline in art, though still preserving some traces of the ancient Roman manner, is manifested by the mosaics of St. Lawrence without the walls built by Pelagius II. (A.D. 577–590). The apse was destroyed when Honorius III. (A.D. 1216–1227) reversed the orientation, and erected a long nave where the apse had stood, and the only mosaics remaining are on the back-side of the arch of triumph. They are too much restored and altered to be of much value in the history of art. Christ is here seated on the globe of the world, holding a long cross; to his right stand St. Peter and St. Lawrence bearing similar crosses, and St. Pelagius, a diminutive figure, presenting his church. On Christ's left stand St. Paul and St. Stephen, and St. Hippolytus bearing his martyr's crown. Vitet remarks that the savage ascetic aspect of Christ resembles that of an Oriental monk. (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* vol. ii. c. 13, tab. 28; Parker, *Mosaics*, pp. 20–22.) "Standing on the boundary line between the earlier and later styles" (Kugler, *u.s.* p. 59), but shewing a very decided tendency to Byzantine treatment, are the mosaics of St. Agnes, the work of pope Honorius, A.D. 625–638. The picture, limited to three figures, is a strong contrast to the crowded compositions of later times. Here, for the first time, we have a human saint occupying the central place hitherto reserved for Christ. The Divine Hand holds the crown above her head. The execution is coarse, and the design poor. The forms are stiff and elongated, and the attitudes conventional, while an attempt is made to compensate for deficiencies in art by richness of colour and gorgeousness of costume. St. Agnes is attired with a barbarous splendour in a dark purple robe embroidered with gold and overloaded with gems, as is her jewelled tiara, while strings of pearls hang from her ears, reminding us of the Empress Theodora at St. Vital's. Her red cheeks are mere blotches, and the figure is outlined by heavy dark strokes. A sword lies at her feet, where flames are bursting from the ground, symbolizing her martyrdom. To her right Honorius presents his church; to her left pope Symmachus holds a book. The ground is of gold, which by this time had become the rule, seldom departed from (De Rossi, *Musaici Cristiani*, fasc. iv.; Fontana, *u.s.* tav. 8; D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 17, No. 2; Parker, *Photogr.* 1593; South Kens., No. 974). The mosaics which decorate the apse of the oratory of St. Venantius (A.D. 632–642), attached to the Lateran baptistery, depart somewhat from the usual type. Christ and the two adoring angels are reduced to busts, upborne on gaudy clouds. Below, not composed into a picture but standing motionless side by side, are ranged nine full-length figures, the central one being the Virgin as an "orante" (the earliest example of her representation, not in an historical subject, in a Roman mosaic). To her right are St. Paul, St. John, St. Venantius, and pope John IV., the builder of the oratory, of which he holds a model in his hand; to her left St. Peter, St. John the Baptist, St. Domnius, and pope Theodore, by whom the oratory was completed. The frieze above the arch has the usual symbolical representations; in the spandrels below are eight full-length figures of saints, four on each side, some having crowns, others books. The execution of the whole is coarse, and the design tasteless. We must pass rapidly over the remaining Roman mosaics in which Byzantine formalism gradually crushes out more and more of the life of art. Those of the small altar apse attached to the round church of St. Stephen, on the Coelian Hill, A.D. 642–649, display in the centre a richly jewelled cross between the standing figures of St. Primus and St. Felicianus, with a medallion head of Christ on its upper arm (recalling the analogous

arrangement at St. Apollinaris in Classe), and the hand of the Father holding out the martyr's crown above. A solitary figure in mosaic, that of St. Sebastian, over a side altar at St. Pietro, in Vincoli, belongs to the same period of art. The saint appears, not as in later art as a youthful half-naked Christian Apollo, but as an old man with white hair and beard, in full Byzantine costume, with richly embroidered trousers bare legs and sandals. He holds his martyr's crown. His countenance displays stern resolution. The figure is stiff and lifeless. Some fragments of the mosaics put up in St. Peter's by John VII., A.D. 703, removed when the basilica was rebuilt, still exist. A figure of the Virgin, with uplifted hands as an orante, is preserved in the Ricci chapel, in St. Mark's at Florence. A portion of the Adoration of the Magi is to be seen in the sacristy of St. Mary, in Cosmedin, which "shews composition of a good character, somewhat in the older taste." The circular church of St. Theodore, A.D. 772–795, contains a well-executed picture, which "is chiefly interesting to us as one of the earliest specimens of the copying of old mosaics" (Kugler, *u.s.* p. 41). Christ in a violet robe, with long light hair and a short beard, holding a cross in his left hand, is seated upon a blue starry globe. St. Peter on the right is introducing St. Theodore, both being exact copies of the corresponding figures in St. Cosmas and St. Damian. St. Paul, on the left, introduces another youthful saint. Both are offering their crowns on an embroidered mantle to Christ. The unmeaning draperies indicate the rapid decline of art. The largest and most magnificent of the works of this period are those in the church of St. Praxedes. Nowhere, except at Venice and Ravenna, do we find so wide an extent of mosaic decoration in the same building. Not only the portions usually so ornamented, the apse and its arch, but a second arch crossing the nave, and a side chapel, that of St. Zeno, with its vaulted roof, are similarly vested. "The effect of this grand work," writes M. Vitet, "is most imposing, the effect entirely of decoration, independent




No. 14. St. Praxedes; Rome. (From Kugler.)

of the character and value of the objects represented. If the eyes are not charmed, they are at least dazzled, and it is only after some time that we are aware of the feebleness and coarseness of the work, and that we feel a sad surprise at this great degradation of art." Any detailed description of the subjects is rendered unnecessary by their being a formal reproduction, with the necessary substitutions, of the mosaics at St. Cosmas and St. Damian. The sainted sisters St. Praxedes and St. Pudentiana take the place of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, and pope Paschal of pope Felix. All else is, in plan at least, the same. The degrading influence of the Byzantine art traditions were, however, too potent to allow the imitator to copy faithfully. He has reproduced the general form and lost the spirit. The execution is rude, and the gorgeousness of the colouring only increases the barbaric effect. The figures are stiff attenuated and angular; the countenances meagre sad and ascetic; the drapery formed only by a few dark lines. The sheep in the frieze are "like children's toys; small horses of wood badly cut" (Vitet). The arch of the tribune preserves the decoration in a degraded form which has almost entirely perished at St. Cosmas and St. Damian. (Woodcut No. 14.) The front of the arch of triumph represents in the centre the heavenly Jerusalem, within whose gates stands our Lord, too diminutive for effect, attended by angels and saints, while below a multitude of the redeemed approach in solemn procession "clad in white robes, and with palm branches in their hands." The simultaneous action of so vast a crowd is not without solemn effect, but the whole displays commonplace thought and feebleness of execution (Ciampini, tom. ii. tab. 47; Fontana, tav. 12; De Rossi, *Musaici Cristiani*, fasc. v.; Kugler, pt. i. p. 67; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. p. 51; Parker, *Photogr.* No. 1477–1483, 1506, 1507; South Kens., No. 976). The side chapel, though from its barbaric splendour it has obtained the designation of the "Garden of

Paradise," is even poorer in design and ruder in execution. The walls are covered with long lean figures of saints—the Virgin Mary, St. John Baptist, Apostles, Virgins, busts, and sacred symbols, ranged side by side on a glittering gold ground, with no attempt at combined pictorial effect. The vault exhibits in the centre a half-length figure of Christ upborne by four angels, apparently copied from the ceiling of the archi-episcopal chapel at Ravenna. The most interesting portion of these decorations is the Holy Lamb on a mount, from which issue the four streams of Paradise, at which as many stags are drinking. The window above the side door is framed in double rows of medallion portraits, "which are merely rude caricatures" (Kugler, *u.s.* p. 68). (Ciampini, tom. ii. c. 26, tab. 48, 50; Parker, *Photogr.* No. 1508–1512; Parker, *Mosaics*, p. 32; South Kens., No. 1393–1396). To the same pope, Paschal I., are due the mosaics of the apse of St. Cecilia, in Trastevere, where the subjects and arrangements are nearly the same, and which in rudeness and "multiplicity of figures correspond pretty much with those at St. Praxedes." We have "the same forgetfulness of the human frame, the same disparity between the richness of the costumes and the deformity of those who are clothed in them" (Vitet). (Ciampini, vol. ii. c. 27, tab. 51, 52; Parker, *Photogr.* 1706.) To Paschal also we must ascribe the rich mosaics of the apse of St. Mary in Navicella, or in Domnica, where, for the first time in existing Christian Roman art (the example at Parenzo is three centuries earlier), we find the Virgin Mary enthroned with our Lord on her lap, not as an infant, but as a dwarfed man, taking the chief place in the composition. (Woodcut No. 15.) Kugler calls attention to the richness of the foliage decoration, usually proscribed by the moroseness of Byzantine art. The mosaics of St.




No. 15. St. Maria in Domnica; Rome. Circa 815.

Mark's, erected by Gregory IV., A.D. 828, are, according to M. Vitet, "unquestionably the most barbarous in Rome," in which "all respect for any kind of rule, all antiquity of expression, all notion of order and beauty have disappeared. The meagreness of the figures, the lengthening of the bodies, the stiff parallelism of the draperies, cannot be carried farther." The subject, Christ attended by apostles and saints, with the usual accessories, calls for no remark (Ciampini, tom. ii. c. 19, tab. 36, 37). The cathedral of Capua possesses mosaics of the same school, which deserve fuller description and illustration (Ciampini, tom. ii. c. 29, tab. 54). The celebrated mosaic of the apse of the Leonine Triclinium at the Lateran, though a modern restoration by Benedict XIV., A.D. 1740–1758, is a tolerably faithful copy of the original work, erected by Leo III., A.D. 798–816. The chief subject is the constantly repeated one of Christ and His apostles, with the river of Paradise gushing out at their feet. "The figures in their stiff yet infirm attitudes, and still more in the unmeaning disposition of the drapery, display a decided Byzantine influence" (Kugler, *u.s.* p. 66). On the walls on either side of the apse, at the springing of the arch, are the pictures famous for their ecclesiastical and political significance. To the left the enthroned Saviour bestows, with His right hand, the keys on St. Sylvester and with His left hand the Vexillum on the emperor Constantine each kneeling at His feet, as the symbols respectively of the spiritual and temporal power. To the right St. Peter, similarly enthroned, places a crown on the head of pope Leo III., with his right hand and with His left gives the Vexillum to the emperor Charles the Great (Ciampini, tom. ii. c. 21, tab. 39, 40; Wharton Marriott, *Testimony of Catacombs*, p. 95, pl. 6; *Vestiarium Christ.* pl. 32, 33; Parker, *Photogr.* No. 761). At the church of St. Nereus and Achilleus, rebuilt by Leo III., A.D. 796, the mosaics of the apse have perished, but those above the arch remain, and are remarkable as representing historical scenes instead of the usual symbolical and apocalyptic subjects. The Transfiguration is represented over the arch, with Moses and Elias standing on either side of Christ, whose superior dignity is indicated with a puerile realism by

his taller stature, and the awkward prostrate figures of the three apostles beyond. Further to the left is the Annunciation, and to the right the Virgin and Child accompanied by an angel, less ungraceful than the other figures. The whole composition strikingly indicates the low state to which art had fallen at the end of the 8th century (Ciampini, tom. ii. c. 20, tab. 38). The last mosaic to be noticed in this period is that of the church originally called St. Maria Antiqua, then changed to St. M. Nova, and rededicated in the 16th century to St. Francesca Romana, the name by which it is commonly known. In this work there is a strange mixture of good and bad, with some novelties of treatment, indicating the introduction of a new influence. The chief figure, as at St. Maria in Navicella, is the Virgin attended by saints, with our Lord on her lap, throned, and now for the first time crowned. The attempt at pictorial composition is entirely given up, and architectural composition is substituted for it. The figures are, according to the arrangement with which we become afterwards so familiar, for the first time placed each under the arch of a continuous arcade, supported by columns. A sort of tabernacle, in the form of a cockle shell, spreads over all the upper part of the mosaic. The drawing is very bad; the figure of the Virgin, "one of the most hideous that can be imagined" (Vitet), the cheeks simply red blotches, the folds of the drapery merely dark strokes, poorly compensated for by the Oriental magnificence of the costumes, especially that of the chief figure. The garlands of foliage, however, display a certain grace alien from the usually morose rigidity of the Byzantine school. Indeed the whole composition indicates some original power and freedom of thought on the part of its designer (Ciampini, tom. ii. c. 28, tab. 53). With the Imperial power the art of mosaic was transferred from Rome to Aachen. Charles the Great summoned the artists to decorate his new basilica, for the enrichment of which rich marbles and pillars were transported from Ravenna. Ciampini (tom. ii. c. 22, tab. 41) preserves the design of the apse, which is very unlike the usual conventional type. In the centre is our Lord enthroned, holding a book with an angel on either side. Below are seven small figures of the elders rising from their thrones, and casting their crowns at our Lord's feet. After the 9th century, during the fierce struggles of contending factions, by which the unhappy land was rent asunder, mosaic ceased entirely in Rome and in Italy generally. Its first revival was in the republic of Venice, where we find its earliest examples in the church of St. Cyprian at Murano, and on a most extensive scale and with the utmost gorgeousness of character at St. Mark's. These, however, are outside our chronological limits. The art was much later in its revival in Rome itself, where the earliest examples, evidently the work of Byzantine artists, belong to the 12th century. We may specially mention those of St. Mary, in Trastevere A.D. 1130–1143; St. Clement, A.D. 1250–1274; St. John Lateran, A.D. 1288–1294; the apse of St. Mary Major's, of the same date, and the external mosaics in the façade, A.D. 1292-1307. But on these also their late date forbids us to touch.

Authorities.—Appell, Dr., *Christian Mosaic Pictures*; Barbet de Jouy, *Mosaïques de Rome*; Ciampini, *Vetera Monimenta*; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*: Ferrario, *Basilica di Sant' Ambrogio*; Fontana, *Musaici delle Chiese di Roma*; Freeman, *Historical and Architectural Sketches*; Furietti, *De Musivis*; Garrucci, *Arti Cristiane*; Grimouard de St.-Laurent, *Guide de l'Art Chrétien*; Kugler, *Handbook of Painting*; Layard, *Paper on Mosaics read before the Institute of British Architects*; Lohde, *Dom von Parenzo*; Parker, *Archaeology of Rome, Mosaics*; *Photographs*; Quast, von, *Baudenkmale von Ravenna*; Rossi, de, *Musaici Cristiani*; Richter, *Die Mosaiken von Ravenna*; Salzenberg, *Baudenkmale von Constantinopel*; Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments*; Texier et Pullan, *Églises Byzantines*; Tyrwhitt Drake, *Art Teaching of the Primitive Church*; Vitet, *L'Art Chrétien*; Wharton Marriott, *Testimony of the Catacombs*; *Vestiarium Christianum*; Digby Wyatt, *Art of Mosaic*; *Geometrical Mosaics of the Middle Ages*. [E. V.]

**MOSCENTUS**, martyr; commemorated in Achaia Jan. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MOSES (1)** Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Feb. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) (MOYSES), the Ethiopian, "Our holy father;" commemorated Aug. 28 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 267; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 199).

(3) The prophet; commemorated Sept. 4 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 6); Sept. 5 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

[See also MOYSES.] [C. H.]

**MOSEUS** (MOYSEUS), martyr with Ammonius, soldiers, at Pontus; commemorated Jan. 18 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 188). [C. H.]

**MOSITES**, martyr; commemorated at Picenum Ap. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MOSSEUS**, martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MOSUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome in the cemetery of Praetextatus May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MOTHER CHURCH.** (*Ecclesia matrix*, *Matricularis*. *Matricialis*, *Mater Principalis*, *Diocesana*, or *Ecclesia per se*.) We find all these epithets used during the early ages, and substantially in the same sense, viz. that of a principal and dignified church, having other churches dependent upon it. We may distinguish four distinct varieties of meaning in which this word is employed.

I. Of a church planted immediately by the apostles, from which other churches were afterwards derived and propagated. Thus Tertullian (*de Praescript.* cap. 21) calls the churches in which the apostles preached, either in person or by their epistles, by this name, and makes their traditions to be the rule of doctrine for the whole church: "constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quae cum illis ecclesiis apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspiret, veritati deputandam, id sine dubio tenentem, quod Ec-

clesiae ab Apostolis, Apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo, suscepit." And in this sense the second general council of Constantinople called the church of Jerusalem the mother of all churches in the world, Τῆς δέ γε μητρὸς ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. And the church of Arles is similarly called the mother church of France, because Trophimus its first bishop was supposed to have first preached the gospel in that country.

II. It denotes a *metropolitan* church, *i. e.* the principal church of an ecclesiastical province. Thus in the African canons (can. 119 or 120). "Si autem non fecit, non praejudicetur matrici, sed liceat, cum locus acceperit episcopum, quem non habebat, ex ipso die intra triennium repetere." And in can. 90 we meet with the phrase "matrices cathedrae," and Ferrandus Diaconus uses the simple term "matrices" to denote metropolitan and cathedral churches (*Brev.* cap. ii. 17, 38). Similarly Agobard (*de Privilegio et Jure Sacerdotii*, cap. 12), "nos ab ecclesiâ non recedimus, nec spernimus matrices ecclesias." But Ducange suggests that the reading here should be *nutrices*.

III. The term was also and more generally used of the chief church of a diocese, a *cathedral*, as distinguished from parish churches, committed to the charge of single presbyters, which were called *tituli*. Among the Greeks the former were known as καθολικαὶ = *generales*. Thus Epiphanius, in treating of the Arian heresy, calls the cathedral of Alexandria καθολικήν. See also a canon of the council in Trullo (can. 58 or 59). In the African canons (can. 123), we find again the phrase: "si in matricibus cathedris episcopus negligens fuerit adversus haereticos, conveniatur a vicinis episcopis." And in the same sense, can. 33, by which the bishop is forbidden to alienate or sell the property of his cathedral, and the presbyters that belonging to their parishes: "non habenti necessitatem, nec episcopo liceat matricis ecclesiae, nec presbytero rem tituli sui." The fifth council of Carthage (A.D. 401) calls the metropolitan church "principalis cathedra" (can. 5). It was termed the "mother church," and the rest of the churches in the diocese *diocesan* churches, *ecclesiae dioecesanae;* as in the 8th canon of the council of Tarraco (A.D. 516), which directs bishops to visit their dioceses every year, and ascertain that the churches were in good repair; which, continued the canon, we find not to be the case in all instances—"reperimus nonnullas dioecesanas ecclesias esse destitutas."

IV. The term *mater* or *matrix* is sometimes applied, at a later period, to parish churches also, as distinguished from chapels or other churches dependent ecclesiastically upon them. Thus pope Alexander III., in the Appendix to the third council (A.D. 1167) at the Lateran (pars i. cap. 7): "nec eos duas matrices ecclesias, quarum unam sufficere sibi videbitis, tenere permittatis," where it is apparently equivalent to ecclesia *baptismalis*, a church in which baptisms were administered, which is one way of describing a parish church, as in Walafrid Strabo (*de Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, c. 30), "Presbyteri plebium, qui baptismales ecclesias tenent, et minoribus presbyteris praesunt." And similarly a charter of Hugh Capet mentions two churches existing in a particular place: "quarum una est mater ecclesia, in honore B. Remigii, et alia capella in honore S. Germani." This distinction was one commonly existing, and clearly recognised. The *mother church* was considered as a church *per se*, i. e. owing obedience to no other; having its own presbyter, and so distinguished from *chapels*, which were probably always served from the parish church. [ORATORY.] In illustration of this we may quote from a letter of Hincmar of Rheims (*Ep.* 7): "dicunt enim quia ex quo memorari ab his qui in carne sunt potest, quoniam ipsa ecclesia per se fuit semper, nulli alteri ecclesiae fuit subjecta. . . . Evidentibus documentis invenerunt, quod ipsa ecclesia de Follanaebraio nunquam ecclesiae in Codiciaco fuerit subjecta, sed presbyterum semper habuerit."

[S. J. E.]

**MOURNERS.** [PENITENCE.]

**MOURNING.** Outward signs of grief at the loss of friends, either by (*a*) formal lamentation, (*b*) change of attire, or (*c*) seclusion from society. The mourning of the disciples after our Lord's crucifixion and death (Mark xvi. 10), that of the devout men at the burial of Stephen (Acts viii. 2), and that of the widows on the death of Dorcas (*ib.* ix. 39) are passages that have been cited to shew that demonstrations of grief on such occasions were not regarded by the primitive Church as inconsistent with the Christian theory of the future life of the faithful. The language of St. Paul (1 Thess. iv. 13) probably indicates the character of the Church's teaching in relation to the question during the first three centuries; such losses being viewed as occasions for natural sorrow, tempered however by a firm belief in the joyous resurrection of the departed and their future reunion with their friends. Upon the bereaved Christian the Church enjoined neither a stoical disguising of all emotion nor a formal affectation of grief.

The earlier Christians appear to have condemned even a change of attire as a relic of paganism; and it is certain that many practices —such as the custom on the part of relatives to walk with the head bare, the women with their hair dishevelled and beating the breast, the hiring of female mourners (praeficae), who lamented and sang naenia or songs in praise of the dead, and of lictors dressed in black, corresponding to the modern mute, the observance of a definite period of mourning, during which time it was regarded as indecorous for the relatives of the deceased to appear in public—are all distinctly traceable to Jewish or pagan precedents. Traditional observance, however, often prevailed over religious conviction; and, speaking generally, actual practice appears to have been somewhat at variance with the more enlightened teaching of the Church. The authority of the most eminent among the Fathers is clearly condemnatory of such displays. St. Cyprian disapproves of excessive lamentation and black attire: "desiderari eos debere, non plangi, nec accipiendas esse hic atras vestes, quando illi ibi indumenta alba jam sumpserint, occasionem dandam non esse gentilibus ut nos merito ac jure reprehendant quod quos vivere apud Deum dicimus, ut extinctos et perditos lugeamus, et fidem quam sermone et voce depromimus cordis et pectoris testimonio non probemus" (*Lib. de Mortal.* Migne, iv. 234). The language of St. Zeno, bishop of Verona in the following century, shews that it was still cus-

tomary for widows to indulge in displays of excessive grief. In a dissuasive against second marriages among this class, he adverts, though without direct censure, to the rending of the hair over the corpse, lacerated cheeks, "livore foedata ubera," the mourner "coelum ipsum ululatibus rumpens," as ordinary expressions of sorrow on the part of widows (Migne, xl. 305). The authority of St. Chrysostom is emphatically pronounced against such excesses. In addressing an audience, he says, "Thenceforth therefore let no one beat the breast, or wail, or impugn Christ's victory. For He conquered death. And why dost thou, O mourner, weep without measure? This state (τὸ πρᾶγμα) is but a sleep. Why dost thou lament and utter cries? For if even the Gentiles (Ἕλληνες) were wont thus to do, it ought but to move us to scorn (καταγελᾶν ἔδει, in evident allusion to Matt. ix. 24, καὶ κατεγέλων αὐτοῦ). But if the faithful dishonour themselves by such practices, what excuse can they plead? For how canst thou expect to be forgiven who actest thus foolishly, and that too when Christ has so long been risen and the proofs of His resurrection are so clear? But thou, as though seeking to magnify thy offence, bringest in praeficae (θρηνῳδοὺς Ἑλληνίδας γυναῖκας), that thou mayst add fuel to thy grief and stir up the furnace of affliction; and heedest not the words of St. Paul, 'What concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?'" (*Homil.* 31; Migne, *Series Graeca*, lvii. 374). This passage can hardly be understood otherwise than as implying that the practices condemned were prevalent in the Church in Chrysostom's time. The final conclusion of the homily is that the Christian ought not to mourn for the relative who has been removed from the calamities of life, nor even, with the prospect of future reunion, to grieve over a temporary separation. The passage is quoted in confirmation of his own view by John of Damascus in his *Sacra Parallela*, "De mortuis, et quod eorum causa non sit lugendum" (Migne, *Series Graeca*, xcvi. 543); see also a sermon attributed to Chrysostom by the Benedictine editors (*ib.* xl. 1166), in which the conduct of Horatius on receiving the intelligence of his son's death (Livy, ii. 8) is cited with approval.

St. Jerome holds similar language. In writing to one Julianus, a man of wealth, who in the lapse of a few days had not only lost his wife and two daughters by death, but also a considerable portion of his property through an invasion of the barbarians, he says, "laudent ergo te alii . . . quod laeto vultu mortes tuleris filiarum, quod *in quadragesimo die* dormitionis earum lugubrem vestem mutaveris, et dedicatio ossium martyris candida tibi vestimenta reddiderit, ut non sentires dolorem orbitatis tuae, quem civitas universa sentiret, sed ad triumphum martyris exultares; quod sanctissimam conjugem tuam non quasi mortuam sed quasi proficiscentem deduxeris" (*Epist.* cxvii. Migne, xxii. 794).

It is, however, unquestionable that by many somewhat different views were held. A passage in one of the Apostolical Constitutions, belonging, it is conjectured, to the period intervening between the age of Cyprian and that of Chrysostom, shews that a more definite and formal observance of certain rites was already recognised and inculcated by the Church, though the passage probably indicates the practice of the East rather than of the West [APOST. CONST. p. 125]. A short religious service, whereby it was designed not so much to lament as to commemorate the deceased, is here directed to be held on the third, ninth, and fortieth days after the day of death, the anniversary of the day to be observed by a distribution of alms to the poor. Ἐπιτελείσθω δὲ τρίτα τῶν κεκοιμημένων, ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ἀναγνώσεσι καὶ προσευχαῖς, διὰ τὸν διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγερθέντα. καὶ ἔννατα, εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῶν περιόντων καὶ τῶν κεκοιμημένων· καὶ τεσσαρακοστὰ, κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν τύπον· Μωσῆν γὰρ οὕτως ὁ λαὸς ἐπένθησε· καὶ ἐνιαύσια, ὑπὲρ μνείας αὐτοῦ. καὶ διδόσθω ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ, πένησιν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ (*Const. Apost.* viii. 42; Cotelerius, i. 424). The repetition of such observances on the *ninth* day (corresponding to the Greek ἔνατα, Lat, *novendialia*) appears to have had only pagan precedent, and is accordingly condemned by St. Augustine, who considers that the observance of the other days is in conformity with Scriptural usage. "Nescio utrum inveniatur alicui sanctorum in Scripturis celebratum esse luctum novem dies, quod apud Latinos *Novendial* appellant. Unde mihi videntur ab hac consuetudine prohibendi, si qui Christianorum istum in mortuis suis numerum servant, qui magis est in Gentilium consuetudine. Septimus vero dies auctoritatem in Scripturis habet: unde alio loco scriptum est, *Luctus mortui septem dierum; fatui* autem omnes dies vitae ejus (Eccles. xxii. 15). Septenarius autem numerus propter sabbati sacramentum praecipue quietis indicium est; unde merito mortuis tanquam requiescentibus exhibetur" (*Quaest. in Heptateuch.* i. 172; Migne, xxxiv. 596). St. Ambrose, in his *Oratio de obitu Theodosii* (ann. 375), says, "Ejus ergo principis et proxime conclamavimus obitum, et nunc quadragesimam celebramus, assistente sacris altaribus Honorio principe; quia sicut sanctus Joseph patri suo quadraginta diebus humationis officia detulit, ita et hic Theodosio patri justa persolvit. Et quia alii tertium diem et trigesimum alii septimum et quadragesimum observare consueverunt, *quid doceat lectio* consideremus." He then quotes Gen. l. 2, and adds, "Haec ergo sequenda solemnitas quae praescribit lectio;" quoting again Deut. xxxiv. 8, he says, "Utraque ergo observatio habet auctoritatem."

Tertullian (*de Corona*, c. 3) speaks of offerings in memory of the departed, "oblationes pro defunctis," as customary on the anniversary of their death; and Evodius, bishop of Uzala, in 414, when giving an account of the obsequies of a young Christian, says, "per triduum hymnis Dominum collaudavimus super sepulchrum ipsius, et redemptionis sacramenta tertio die obtulimus" (*Epist.* clviii. Migne, xxxiii. 694). This passage is adduced, apparently with little reason, by Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* art. DEUIL) as evidence that offerings for the repose of the soul of the departed were authorised by the church.

The contrast of Christian to pagan sentiment in relation to the subject is perhaps strongest in the manifestations of joy and exultation [BURIAL OF THE DEAD, p. 252] with which the relatives and friends followed the body to the grave. These demonstrations were, however, widely different from the spirit in which some barbarous nations (*e.g.* the Thracians, the earlier inhabitants of Marseilles) often conducted their funeral rites.

The latter indulged in unseemly riot and revelry. The feelings of the early Christians resembled rather those of the ancient Cimbri, who were wont to rejoice over friends fallen in battle (Amm. Marcell. II. vi. 2), and such demonstrations appear to have been confined to (α) the obsequies of a martyr, (β) those of some distinguished benefactor of the Church, (γ) those of an ecclesiastic of superior rank and eminent piety. Jerome, speaking of the funeral of Fabiola, says, "totius urbis populus ad exsequias congregabat; sonabant psalmi, et aurata tecta templorum in sublime quatiebat Alleluia" (Migne, xxii. 466). A decree attributed to pope Eutychianus directs that no martyr shall be interred without a purple undergarment (*sine colobeo purpureo*), the emblem of his service in the cause of his divine Master (*ib.* v. 158–161). Gregory of Tours, in recording the burial of St. Lupicinus, says, "celebratis missis, cum summo honore *gaudioque* sepultus est." The office for the burial of a bishop in the time of Gregory the Great appears to have included the singing of the Hallelujah (Migne, lxxviii. 478, 479); and the singing of hymns when conveying the dead to the place of interment seems to have been an invariable accompaniment. Victor Vitensis, in describing the condition of the faithful during the occupation by the Vandals, ann. 487, says, 'Quis vero sustineat, ac possit sine lacrumis recordari, cum praeciperet nostrorum corpora defunctorum sine solemnitate hymnorum, cum silentio ad sepulturam perduci" (*Hist. Persecut. Vand.* I. v.; Migne, lviii. 5). The Pseudo-Dionysius, which may be regarded as of some authority with respect to the theory of the Eastern church in the 5th century, inculcates the observance of distinctions in the funeral rites of the unconverted and of the righteous, corresponding to the sentiments proper to their different careers. Their lives have differed, and so their manner of encountering death must differ. The righteous man, who has not given himself up a slave to corrupt passions and criminal excesses, is filled with joy at the prospect of completing his course of trial. Similarly, his relatives, on his completion of that course, pronounce him happy (μακαρίζουσι, πρὸς τὸ νικηφόρον εὐκταίως ἀφικόμενον τέλος) and glorify Him who has given the victory, hoping that they themselves may come to a like end. These sentiments find, in turn, fitting expression in the actual rites [BURIAL, p. 254]; OBSEQUIES (*De Eccles. Hierarch.* c. 7; Migne, *Series Graeca*, iii. 263–265).

Undue parade and excess of adornment are censured by St. Jerome. Writing to the mother of Blaesilla, a convert who had died shortly after her conversion, he says, "*ex more* parantur exequiae, et nobilium ordine praeeunte, aureum feretro velamen obtenditur. Videbatur mihi tunc clamare de coelo: non agnosco vestes, amictus iste non est meus; hic ornatus alienus est" (Migne, xxii. 177). The language of St. Augustine (*de Civit. Dei*, i. 13) is that of one who looks upon details of ceremonial of this character as of little or no importance. At the third council of Carthage (A.D. 397), at which he was present, the practice of placing the Eucharist between the lips of the defunct was condemned. The ceremony of bidding the deceased farewell, probably by the kiss of peace, was condemned in the 6th century at the council of Auxerre.

The custom of remaining within doors, secluded from society, during the first week of mourning is traced by Buxtorf (*Lex. Chald. Talm.* ad v. *Luctus*) to Jewish precedent. Under Valentinian and Theodosius, it was enacted that a widow marrying again within a year from the time of the death of the husband "probrosis inusta notis, honestioris nobilisque personae et decore et jure privetur, atque omnia quae de prioris mariti bonis vel jure sponsaliorum vel judicio defuncti conjugis consecuta fuerat, amittat et sciat nec de nostro beneficio vel annotatione sperandum sibi esse subsidium" (*Cod. Theodosianus*, ed. Hänel, iii. 8). This law is evidently a reflex of Roman rather than Christian sentiment (see Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 134; Zedler, *Universal-Lexicon*, s. v. Trauerjahr).

The tolling of the bell at the time of death, which is regarded by some as a tradition from paganism, and designed originally to drive away evil spirits, does not appear as a Christian usage before the 8th century [OBSEQUIES OF THE DEAD], and was more probably intended as a signal for prayer. [J. B. M.]

**MOYSES (1)** Bishop of the Saracens in Arabia, 4th century; commemorated Feb. 7 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 43); called MOYSETES by Usuard. and *Vet. Rom. Mart.*

(2) Abbat, martyr in Egypt with six monks, in the 5th century; commemorated Feb. 7 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 46).

(3) Martyr with Cyrio, Bassianus, and Agatho; commemorated Feb. 14. The same name occurs in *Hieron. Mart.* on this day in connexion with others. [C. H.]

**MOYSETES (1)** Martyr; commemorated Feb. 7. [MOYSES (1).]

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Dec. 18 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MOYSEUS (1)** Martyr; commemorated May 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated Aug. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*) [C. H.]

**MOYSUS**, martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Ap. 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUCIANUS**, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria June 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUCIUS (1)** Martyr; commemorated in Africa Jan. 17, according to one reading of *Hieron. Mart.*, otherwise MICA (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 80).

(2) Martyr with Lucas, deacons, at Cordula; commemorated Ap. 22 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(3) Presbyter and martyr at Constantinople; commemorated by the Latins May 13, and by the Greeks, who write the name MOCIUS, on May 11 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* May, ii. 620). [MOCIUS (3).]

(4) Martyr at Constantinople; commemorated June 15; according to another reading NUCUS (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* June, ii. 1050). [C. H.]

**MUINTIR**, the Irish family or clan, came to denote the monastic society or congregation, in Latin "familia." It was first applied to all

within the one monastery, as used in the *Felire of Aengus* of the monks of St. Donnan in the island of Egg. and in *Ann. Ult.* (A.D. 640, 690, 716, 748) of the brotherhood in Iona (Ja), and again (A.D. 763) of those at Durrow and Clonmacnoise, who were at war and bloodshed. But in a wider sense it also included those monasteries which had been founded from the parent house, or were under the rule of abbats who were coarbs of the same original founder and thus owed fealty to the abbat of the chief monastery, like the monasteries at Derry, Durrow, Kilmore, Swords. Rechra, and Drumcliff to that in Iona (Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of S. Columba*, 162, 304, 342, and *Eccl. Ant. of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, 153; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 158–9; Skene, *Celtic Scotland* ii. 61). [J. G.]

**MULCTRA.** The figure of the Good Shepherd [SHEPHERD, THE GOOD] is often represented with vessel either hanging on His arm, or suspended from a tree near Him, or lying at His feet.



Lamb with Mulctra. (From the cemetery of Domitilla.)

These are *mulctrae*, the pails into which the kine are milked. (Compare MILK, p. 1184.) A good example of the introduction of the *mulctra* is found in the cemetery of Domitilla, where the Lamb, obviously typifying the Lord, has beside Him a milking-vessel suspended on the pastoral staff.



Lamb with Mulctra. (From Martigny.)

The Lamb is also represented at the four angles of a vault of the cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus bearing on His back the *mulctra* surrounded by a nimbus in much the same manner that the fish in the cemetery of St. Cornelia bears a basket containing the bread and wine [CANISTER, p. 264]. The Lamb being the symbol of the Saviour, the mulctra is the symbol of the spiritual nourishment derived from Him. [C.]

**MULIER**, martyr; commemorated at Heraclea Nov. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUMMOLINUS**, bishop; commemorated Oct. 16 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. vii. 2. 953). [C. H.]

**MUMMOLUS**, abbat of Fleury in the 7th century; commemorated Aug. 8 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 351; Mabill. *Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. ii. 645, Venet. 1733). [C. H.]

**MUNATUS**, presbyter and martyr, with his wife Maxima; commemorated at Sirmium Mar. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUNERARIUS.** With the Romans, *munus*, in one of its senses, denoted a show of gladiators, and the person who paid the expenses of such a show and presided at it (*edebat*) was called *editor*, *dominus*, *munerator* or *munerarius*, and was honoured during the day of exhibition, even if a private person, with the official ensigns of a magistrate. [*Dict. of Gr. and Roman Antiq.* art. 'Gladiatores.']

From the very first, the church stigmatized these shows as cruel and debasing, and withdrew, as far as her power extended, all Christians from any share in or responsibility for them. [GLADIATORS, p. 728.] Tertullian (*Apol.* cap. 44) refers to such games as employing multitudes of criminals and of the lowest class of people, but among them no Christians; if there were any, that they were sent there simply for being Christians. That a Christian could possibly himself be a *munerarius* does not seem to have even occurred to him. De vestris [*i.e.* heathen] semper aestuat carcer, de vestris semper metalla suspirant, de vestris semper bestiae saginantur, de vestris semper munerarii noxiorum greges pascunt, nemo illic Christianus, nisi plane tantum Christianus, aut si et aliud, jam non Christianus." And the council of Elvira (A.D. 305), in its third canon, orders that those Christians who had taken upon them the office of *flamen*, to which it belonged to exhibit these games, if they had offered the sacrifices to the heathen gods which were customary, were never to be received again to communion, even at the hour of death; and such as did this, but avoided the sacrifice, were put to life-long penance, and only admitted to communion at the hour of death, after satisfactory proof of their penitence. A similar feeling governed the enactment in the 56th canon of the same synod, that all Christians who took upon them the city magistracy or *duumvirate* (to which office, also, it belonged to exhibit such shows) should be repelled from communion during the whole year in which they held office. Another somewhat deeper shade of blame is attached to those who were present on such occasions, and wore the crown or garland for the sacrifice (comp. Acts xiv. 13), but had neither actually sacrificed nor paid any portion of the expense. Such were re-

admitted to communion after two years' penance (can. 55). It is to be noticed that such provisions are not repeated by later synods; and probably they were rendered needful by a mere temporary phase of the conflict between Christianity and heathenism; when the newer faith, while yearly growing and already stronger in numbers than the paganism which it was supplanting, had for a while to deal with a social system in which the latter was recognized as the religion of the state. But, in fact, a very few years later (A.D. 313) Christianity was itself established as the religion of the Roman empire by Constantine. Nevertheless the gladiatorial shows lingered on until the reign of the emperor Honorius, almost a hundred years later, and were only then abolished through the self-sacrifice of the monk Telemachus (A.D. 404). [S. J. E.]

**MUNESSA** (MONESSA), virgin in Ireland, probably after A.D. 454; commemorated Sept. 4 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. ii. 227). [C. H.]

**MUNICIPUS**, martyr; commemorated at Jumilla Jan. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUNICUS**, martyr; commemorated at Neocaesarea in Mauritania Jan. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUNNU** (FINTANUS), abbat of Taghmon in Ireland, A.D. 635; commemorated Oct. 21 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 333). [C. H.]

**MURDER.** [HOMICIDE.]

**MURICUS**, martyr; commemorated Ap. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MURITTA**, martyr with archdeacon Salutaris; commemorated July 13 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MURUS** (MURANUS), abbat in Ireland, cir. A.D. 540; commemorated Mar. 12 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 212). [C. H.]

**MUSA** (1) Roman virgin in the 6th century; commemorated Ap. 2 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. i. 94).

(2) Deacon; commemorated at Etrusia Ap. 22 (Bed. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUSCA**, martyr; commemorated at Aquileia June 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUSCULA** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Capua Ap. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

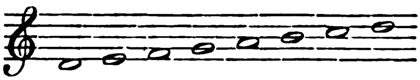
(2) Martyr; commemorated in Etruria Nov. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUSCUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Treves Sept. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

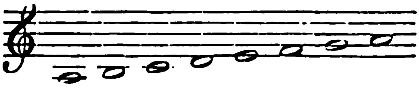
(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Dec. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUSIC.**—For the first thousand years of the Christian era, the antique Greek system of music was adopted, with but few alterations, and those chiefly modifications of the compass of the scale, and of the notation. In the article on AMBROSIAN MUSIC, the matter (so far as chants are concerned) is taken down to the 4th century. Through the influence of St. Ambrose, all music but that consisting of a diatonic sequence of notes [see CANON] was discarded; the other methods had been considered preferable, perhaps on account of the difficulty in performing such music, or from reminiscences of an Oriental origin; and with the subsequent irruptions of the barbarians, which must have operated very seriously against the cultivation of any but ecclesiastical music, they became obsolete.

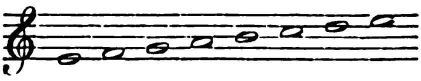
GREGORIAN CHANT.—It was observed by St. Gregory, a great musician of his time, that the Ambrosian chants, handed down traditionally to a great extent, had become corrupted; he therefore subjected them to revision, and added other modes and scales to those four which St. Ambrose had retained. This was done by taking away the upper tetrachord from the Ambrosian scales, and placing it below the lower tetrachord. The octaves thus formed were called from the previous scales, with the prefix hypo (ὑπὸ), thus: Hypodorian, Hypophrygian, Hypolydian, and Hypomixolydian. They were also called Plagal, while the four original ones were called Authentic. Thus in the *Tonarius Reginonis Prumensis* (middle of 9th century) we find them called "Autheenticus protus; ii. Plaga proti; Tonus tertius autenticus: Tonus quartus, plaga deuteri; Differentie v. toni autenticus tritus; Differentie sexti toni plaga triti; Differentie vii. toni autenticus tetrarchus; Incipiunt viii. toni plaga tetrarchi." Thus we have the Dorian scale (first mode):



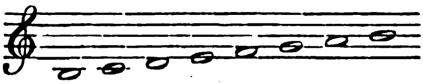
giving the Hypodorian (second mode, plagal):



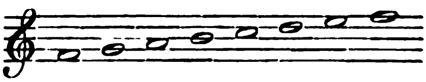
the Phrygian scale (third mode):



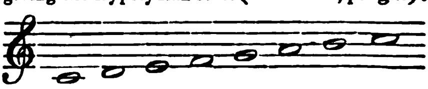
giving the Hypophrygian scale (fourth mode, plagal):



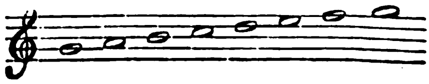
the Lydian scale (fifth mode):



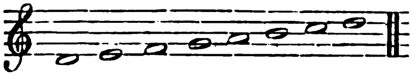
giving the Hypolydian scale (sixth mode, plagal):



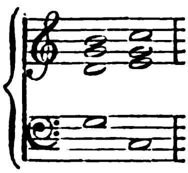
and the Mixolydian scale (seventh mode):



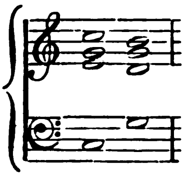
giving the Hypomixolydian scale (eighth mode, plagal):



But it seems that the compass of chants was expected to be confined within five or six notes, and those which are generally accepted as typical examples in the odd modes are certainly not so much within such limits as those in the even modes, which points to the supposition that St. Ambrose's chants had become so altered that the originals were probably forgotten in most instances: in the first mode, for example, b flat is generally found, whereas it is not in the scale, and certainly some very early copies of chants in this mode have assigned the b without any indication; it is, however, hard to imagine but that it was sung b flat. It must be borne in mind that the system of chanting being a monotone with an ornamental end, there are in every one of these scales two important notes: the Dominant, or prevailing note on which the psalm was sung, and the Final, on which the chant was made to end. These, in the Ambrosian modes, are respectively: Proti a, D; Deuteri c, E; Triti c, F; Tetrardi d, G. In the plagal modes, the same finals, D, E, F, G, were kept, and the dominants placed lower, F, a, a, c. The first mode approximates the most nearly in effect to our modern minor mode: the fifth, to our major mode with its fourth sharpened; the seventh and eighth, to our modern major mode. The sixth, although it consists of the notes now forming the natural scale of C, is really in the tonality of F. Our modern use of the terms authentic and plagal, as applied to cadences,



and



seems derived from the seventh and eighth modes, which are authentic and plagal, from taking the dominant and final in each of them and placing a common chord on them in succession. The authentic (or odd) modes will appear to have their finals as the lowest note in the scales; sometimes, but rarely, melodies written in them have been found to descend a note below this: whereas in the even plagal modes the scale itself descended below the final, and the melodies seldom exceeded a fifth above it; whence the line, "Vult descendere par, sed scandere vult modus impar."

"Majores toni, i.e. autentici, scil. primus et tertius, quintus et septimus possunt descendere una voce a fine et ascendere octo. Minores autem toni, i.e. plagales, viz. secundus et quartus, sextus et octavus possunt ascendere v. vocibus et descendere v., quod patet his versibus:

> "Majores a fine toni descendere possunt.
> Ad primas voces ascendunt vocibus octo.
> Ad quintas voces scandunt a fine minores.
> Ad quintas etiam possunt descendere voces."
>
> *Coussemaker*, vol. ii.

There is very little direct evidence in the first eight centuries as to what the chants were, but a good deal of indirect evidence from various tracts of the centuries immediately following, in many of which the author speaks of the chants as having come down to him from great antiquity. The great musical epoch that parts mediaeval music from the antique is that of Guido Aretinus (11th century): and he asserts that there was a musical usage of 200 years and upwards at his time.

It appears that a distinction was drawn in the accommodating of chants to the psalms, the introits, the communions, and the responsories. All these appear in the *Tonarius Reginonis Prumensis* (9th century), and with the beginnings appear the musical notation, which presents an appearance more like shorthand writing than anything else; a kind of attempt to render *visible* the pitch of sounds. These same appear also in Guido Aretinus, with notation substantially the same as our present one; so also in the Intonarium attributed to abbat Oddo and believed by Guido Aretinus to be his. In some of these appears a more elaborate form, appropriated to the Canticles Magnificat and Benedictus. The various forms of beginning the antiphons were called Differentiae, and these had appropriated to them different "endings" of the psalm-chant. One antiphon, ingeniously chosen to fix the mode, is given as a specimen, with a pneuma at the end of it, and intended to be committed to memory: and these have, in the *Tonarius Reginonis*, been added by a later hand.

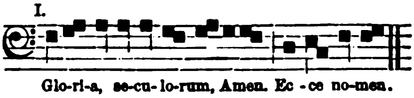
There are five differentiae of the first tone in Regino: nine in abbat Oddo, and twelve in Guido Aretinus. The following is the description given in the last-named author:

> Protus adest, denis formarum nexus habenis
> Que modum nectunt autentum undique totum:
> He tibi sint cordi, jugiter habeantur in ore;
> Has queso ne minuas; poteris si addere curas

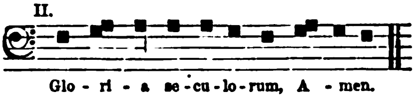




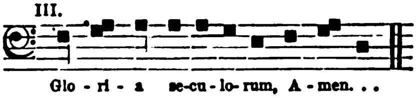

I.




II.



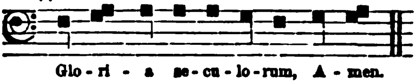

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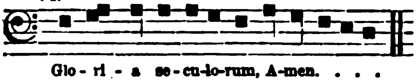

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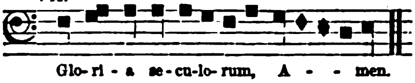
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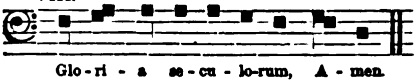

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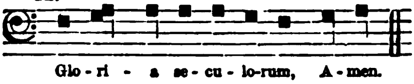

VII.



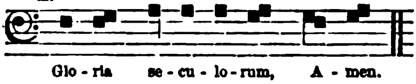

VIII.



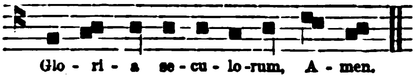

IX.




X.

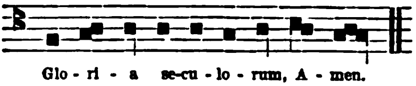



Diverso numero pollet non nomine tantum
Hic protus: proprias conceptus habere figuras.
Quas nec miscuit autento primo ordine fixo.
Consimili voce discordet recto tenore.





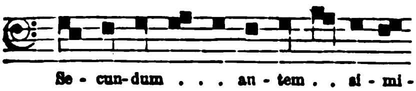


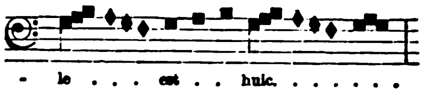


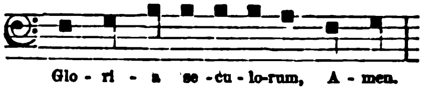

It would appear then that the first mode was allowed a compass up to d, and down to B, or perhaps more probably down to C, with the power of using b flat or b natural; i.e. using the synemmenon or diezeugmenon tetrachord at pleasure, which would have been, in the latter part of the ages we have under consideration, written b or ♮.

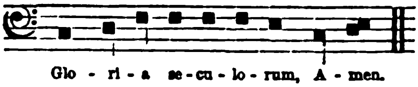
The second mode is thus described:

Plagarum tropi sociantur rite secundi;
Autentas formas retinent, semperque minores:
In quibus et proti primum contexere plagin
Libuit, ut recto succedant tramite cuncti
Ardua hic spernit, media et graviora resumit,
Et se per duplas patitur constringere formas.



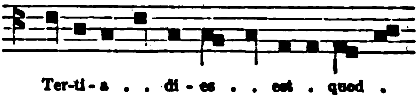



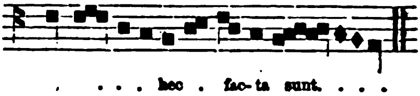




thus giving two "endings;" but the former is evidently transposed, and requires b flat. In Regino and Oddo there is but one differentia of this tone, namely the usual ending, but with the accent differently placed; Messrs. Doran and Nottingham have placed it thus in their Psalter.

The third mode (Authentus Deuteri):

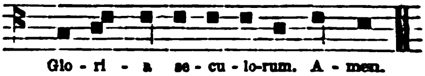
Phrygius modus est protus hypolydius deuterus estque
Hic aliter modus nescit distinguere vocum.
Hic resonant celsa tantum spiramina quinto.
Hic graditer sexto nec horum lege tenetur.



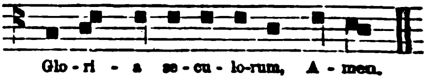




Five endings are given in Guido:

I.



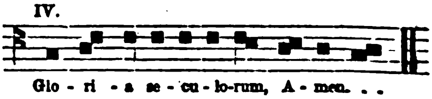

II.




III.




IV.



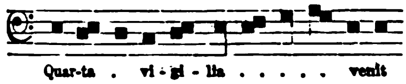

V.

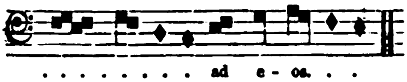



The first of these does not appear in Oddo in Regino there are five differentiae.

The fourth mode (Deuterus Plagis):

"Deuterus in quinis subactus congrue piris
Ipsius adstrictim curratur ordine plagin
Que quondam lembis cantus fulcare novenis.
Immensus pelagus multi quoque ciere motus
Consuit in senis graditer inclita tribus adeptis."




and the following six endings are given by Guido:

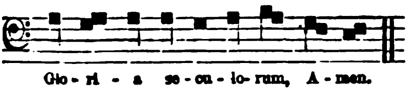
I.



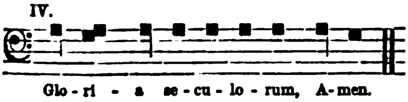

II.



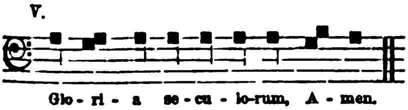

III.




IV.




V.




VI.

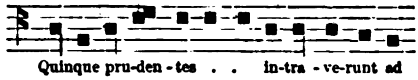


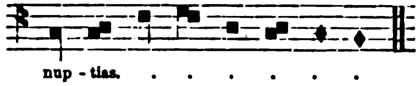

In Oddo, four endings are given, including the first and fourth of these: the other two differ somewhat: six differentiae are specified in Regino.

The fifth mode (authentus tritus):

"Troporum quintus tritus agricole dictus
Insequitur splendens croceo rubroque colore
Hic monstrat c teros super signacula notos
Deuterum et protum subscripto ordine primum
Claviger ac fortis reserat sic ostia vocis."

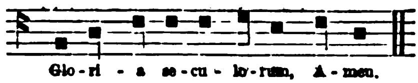
The allusion in the second of these lines is to a practice which was extensively adopted after the invention of the stave, of using a red line for that on which F was situated, and a yellow or golden line for C, in place of clefs; C is the dominant and F the final of this mode.



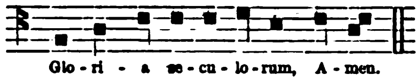




Guido gives three endings:

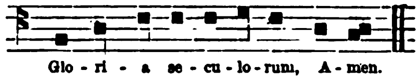
I.




II.



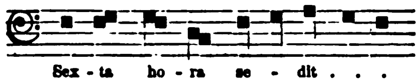

III.

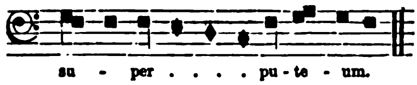



In Oddo only the first two of these are given; in Regino three differentiae are noticed.

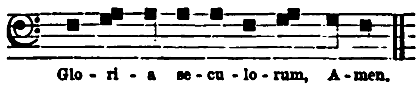
The sixth mode (plagis triti):

"Simplicior casus quam strictas possidet amplas
Tertia plagarum districte et prima sub una
Regula formarum variisque insistere vocum
Ordinibusque solent fusca colorare alieno
Sub modulo trium referetur tertia vocum."



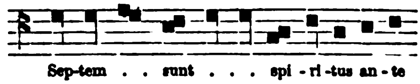

There is only one ending given in Guido and Oddo, viz.:

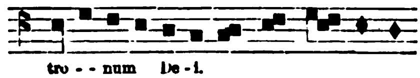


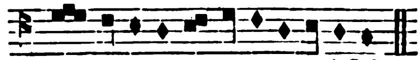

and one differentia in Regino.

The seventh mode (tetrardus authentus):

"Ultimus authentum tetrardus grece vocatur
Corpore d tractas in cujus reddere formas
Perplacuit certis, valeant quo ciere phtongis
Pullulat ex proto et trito nam sub super hisque."



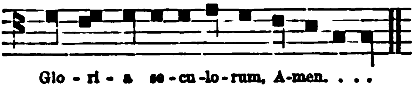



Guido gives the following endings:

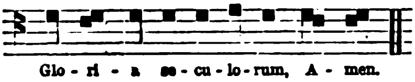
I.



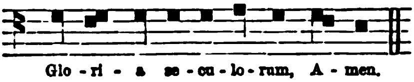

II.



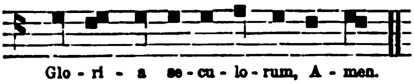

III.




IV.



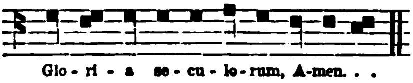

V.




VI.



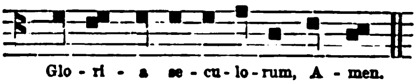

VII.




VIII.




IX.




The penultimate note in II. would seem to be an error for a.

Oddo gives six endings, viz. the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh of these; one which is substantially identical with III., and one with which IV. would be identical if the three last notes are written in error for c, b, a. Regino specifies six differentiae.

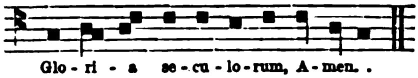
The eighth mode (plagis tetrardi):

"Hinc plagis sequitur certoque fine tenetur
Nomen habens proprium toto de termine vocum
Namque alii qui ibi sunt quarti quintique locati
Unde magis melum datur variabile in ipsis,
Nescius ast horum fertur stricti sime rectus
Octavus ponitur subsuper, hicque vocatur
Ut nomen loca sic mutat per climata nunquam."

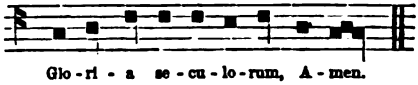



Guido gives four endings:

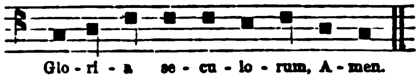
I.



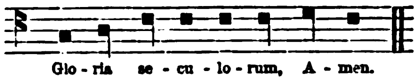

II.



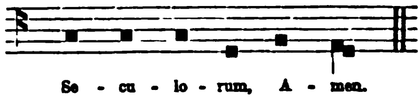

III.




IV.

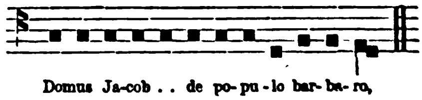


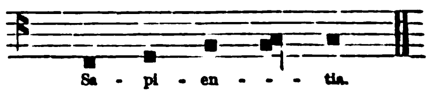

Oddo recognises three differentiae, the first of which is identical with III. above, the third is the ending commonly known and nearly identical with IV., and the second is "the Peregrine Tone:" why it should ever have been classed under the eighth mode is inexplicable to the writer; he thinks it naturally belongs to the first: the beginnings of antiphons given in Oddo are certainly more akin to those of the first mode than to the eighth.










No b flat is here indicated, though it would seem most probable that it was used, as in the first mode above, where it is not written.

This renders the verses more obscure, in the third and fourth lines, which the writer thinks

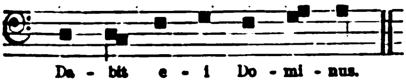
must be intended to refer to the variation between b flat and b natural. Perhaps however Guido would not include this chant under the eighth mode in consequence of its using a b flat.

In Regino three differentiae of this tone are recognised.

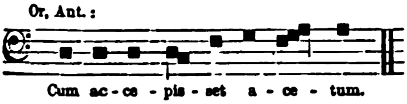
As stated above, the endings of the tones were not taken arbitrarily (as is done so commonly at the present time), but depended upon the beginning of the antiphon used with the psalms. In the works here cited, a list of antiphons occur under each differentia, some of which are supplied with musical notation, and the others apparently left for the cantor to sing in like manner.

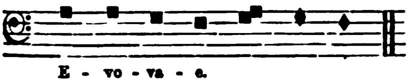
Thus in abbat Oddo, in the first tone, when the antiphon began on D, the first ending given above was used, thus:

Ant.:




Or, Ant.:



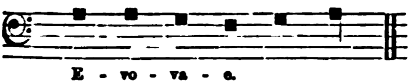

When the Antiphon began on C or on g descending to C, the ninth ending was used;

Ant.:




Or, Ant.:



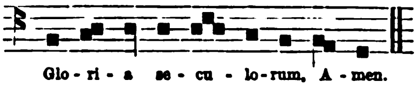

And so in other cases.

Of course in the Intonarium of abbat Oddo, the music was indicated by a notation different from the modern one: although it appears with the stave and notes, these must have been added by Guido Aretinus when he revised, or edited, the work. And at the head of every tone or mode, before the antiphons, occur the words NONANNEANE, or NOEACIS; with some slight variations: these are supplied with musical characters, and appear to be artificial words to assist the memory of the singer in making the proper inflections, something after the manner of EVOVAE *q. v.*): the former of these belong to the authentic modes (first, third, fifth, seventh), the latter to the plagal modes.

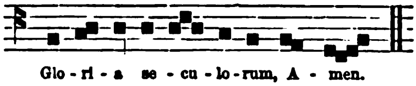
In Regino and in Guido are to be found forms for the introits and the communions, which differ in some respects from those already mentioned, generally being fuller, requiring more 'singing' than recitation.

In the first mode, Guido gives the following for introits:

I.



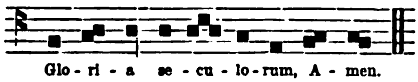

II.




III.




IV.




and for communions the first and third of these.

In Regino three differentiae for introits and one for communions appear.

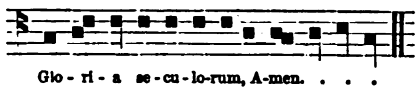
In the second mode Guido gives the following form for both introits and communions:




No more differentiae are to be found in Regino.

In the third mode, for introits Guido gives the forms:

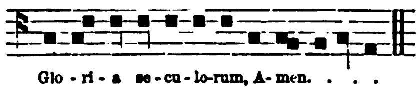
I.




II.




For communions, he gives (II.) again, and




which may be thought an error for (I.) above; but the error, if any, may quite as well be the other way. In Regino, two differentiae for introits, and one for communions appear.

In the fourth mode, Guido gives for introits:

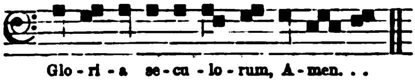
I.



II.



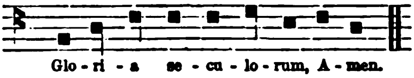

III.



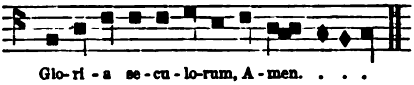

and the first of these for communions also. In Regino, there are two differentiae for introits, and one for communions.

In the fifth mode, for introits the following two forms appear in Guido, the first of them also for communions:

I.




II.



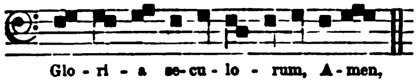

This appears to agree with Regino.

In the sixth mode, Guido gives two introit forms:

I.




II.




and for communions:




only one form for each appears to be recognised by Regino.

In the seventh mode, Guido gives two introit forms:

I.

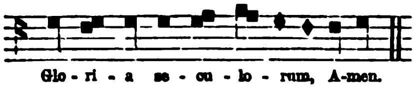



II.




and two communion forms:

I.



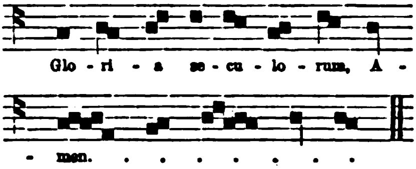




Only one of each is recognised in Regino.

In the eighth tone, Guido gives the following for introits:

I.

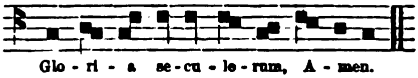



II.




The former of these appears to have a pneuma added to it.

For communions:



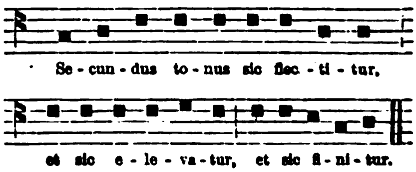

Only one of each is recognised in Regino.

Besides these, Guido gives one elaborate form of a chant for the Gloria Patri in each mode: it is preceded by a response and a versicle. These responses appear in Regino, for the most part: but in that work it is professedly a selection of them only that is given.

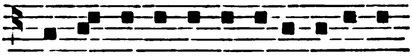
The Intonarium of abbat Oddo concludes with a short "Modus Intonandi Psalmos," professing to be then of an antiquity of two centuries and upwards: the following complete forms for the tones appear; they are as given below, with an example "Dixit Dominus" (Ps. 110):

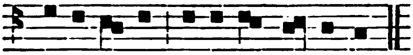


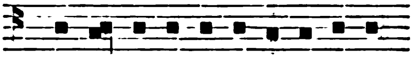

The G before the last three notes has been accidentally omitted, as it is given in his examples. Here we have the 'intonation' at the beginning, and the 'mediation' ("sic elevatur,") and the 'ending': besides this an 'inflection' appears; but it does not seem quite clear how this is to be used.

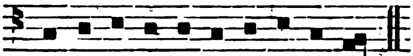


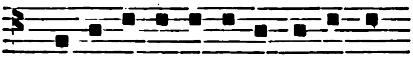
The tenor clef here seems put by mistake for the bass.

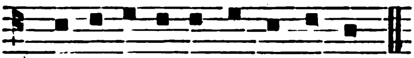


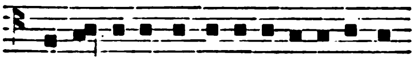



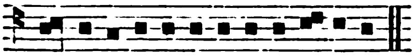



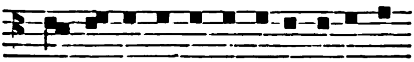



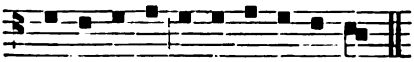



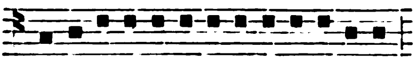



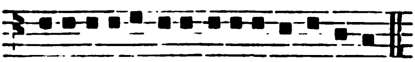

The last five notes of this have been placed a line or space too high, as appears from the examples: they should be F, G, a, G, F.



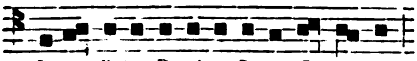

From the examples the notes e, d, c, at "sic e-le-" should be f, e, d.

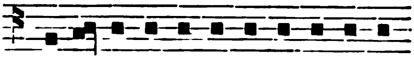


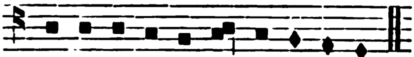




A more florid form was adopted for the Magnificat and Benedictus, in this work of the abbat's, and has been continued in later authors:

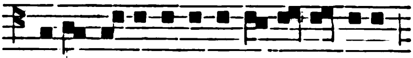
I.

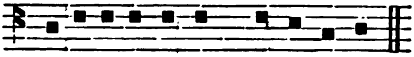


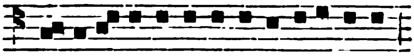



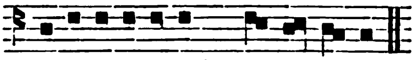

II.



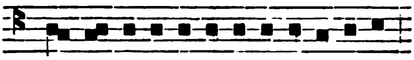



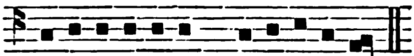

III.



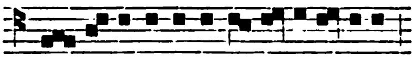



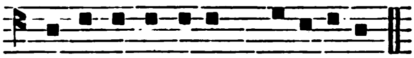

IV.



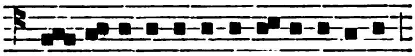



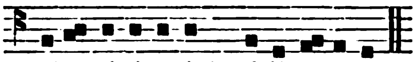

V.



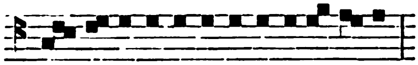

VI.

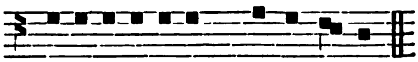


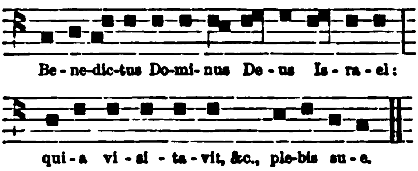

This ending is misplaced a line or space too low, as appears from the psalm 'Dixit Dominus' given with it.

VII.



VIII.




There is no indication here whether the b in the first tone is flat or natural: but probably the flat would be taken, in the synemmenon tetrachord of the Dorian mode.

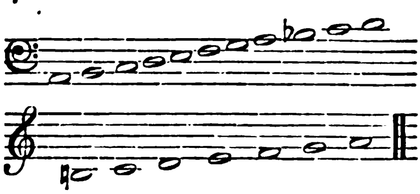
Amongst the early authors preserved by abbé Gerbert occurs Aurelian; he lived in the ninth century, and he gives the following varieties in the several tones:

| Tone. | Introits. | Offertories. | Communions. | Responsories. | Antiphons. | Invitatories. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. | 3 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 5 | — | 17 |
| II. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | — | 6 |
| III. | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 12 |
| IV. | 2 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 18 |
| V. | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 9 |
| VI. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | — | 8 |
| VII. | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 11 | 2 | 21 |
| VIII. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 5 | — | 12 |

It appears also that occasionally the modes in Antiphons were changed, *i.e.* an Antiphon would begin in one mode and end in another. This is what is called in Euclid commutation or modulation (μεταβολή), for example changing from Dorian into Phrygian, or the like. Thus in the *Tonarius Reginonis Prumensis*, under the first tone we find to the antiphon "Domine salva nos, perimus," the note "Finit[ur] iiij tono;" and under the 2nd tone to "Cum indurerent" and "Primum audisset Job" is the note "Ton. j potest esse." And so in Guido Aretinus, "Sunt preterea plurime antiphonarum que hujus videntur formule [third tone] cum sint ex autento proto et prima voce: sic est *Pulchra es* et inter quas quidem autenti deuteri faciunt, non bene tonorum semitoniorumque positionem intuentes: vel idcirco eas deuteri faciunt quidam quibusdam D, E, F, et G, finales constitute in omnibus omnino modis vel vocum tropis indifferenter et improvide sint." Again under Tone 6: "Iste due communiones que sequuntur, i.e. *Panem de celo* et *Anima nostra* proprie sunt de quinto tono et de secunda differentia. Multa responsoria sunt ex isto modo que magis finiuntur in tetrardo quam in trito, sicut est *Ego sum id quod sum.*" So J. M. Neale (De Sequentiis ad H. A. Daniel Epistola) mentions some MSS. containing a list of sequences &c., in which occurs the word "Frigdola," applied to melodies, as some other adjectives are in the MS.: of which he says, "*Frigdola* vel *Frigdora* facilius agnoscit etymon: idem enim vult atque Phrygo-Doricum, i.e. Tonus primus mixtus cum tertio." One of the best known examples of this practice is the old melody of the Te Deum, usually attributed to St. Ambrose; which is in the third and fourth modes combined: and this fact would lead us to conclude that the melody had undergone some change since St. Ambrose's time, as the fourth mode was not then in use, unless indeed the tradition of it may have varied, which is quite possible, and may have had some weight in inducing St. Gregory to add the four plagal modes.

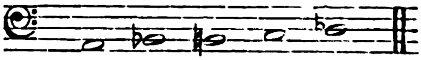
The chief authors used here are those mentioned, and reference has been made also to later ones, such as St. Bernard (Tonale), Peter de Cruce, Walter de Odyngton, John de Muris, Hucbaldus, &c., preserved in the collections of abbé Gerbert and M. de Coussemaker. The most valuable authority (probably) is the treatise of Gabriel Nivers (Paris, 1685) which the writer has in vain endeavoured to meet with: it is mentioned in Sir John Hawkins' *History of Music* as the most exhaustive book on the subject published up to that time, and seems to have been pretty well known then.

Musical Notation.—During the first six centuries of the Christian era the Greek musical notation was in universal use, and indeed the knowledge of it was kept up as late as the time of John de Muris (c. 1320). This notation was exceedingly complicated, being at first sight purely arbitrary, and scarcely reducible to any law. This is the more extraordinary, as some instances can be observed which indicate the acquaintance possessed by the ancients with the property of the octave which has caused sounds separated by that interval to be now called by the same name. Referring to Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* it will be seen that the different modes, Dorian &c., were ultimately, at any rate, nothing more than transpositions of the 'greater system' of two octaves:

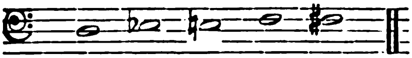


and they were determined by the pitch of the Proslambanomenos, the lowest note, an octave below the Mese.

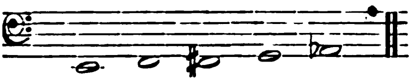
These are mentioned in Euclid's *Introductio Harmonica.* But the most important work for this purpose is the tract of Alypius, published by Meibomius amongst the *Antiquae Musicae Auctores Septem*: this consists of a short preface, a mere résumé of Euclid's *Introductio*, and a catalogue of all the notes in every mode. There were five principal modes, the Dorian, Iastian, Phrygian, Æolian, and Lydian: these had for their Proslambanomeni respectively



and five others, named from the above with the prefix Hyper, whose Proslambanomeni were



and five others, named from the first with the prefix Hypo, whose Proslambanomeni were



The Proslambanomenos of the Hypodorian mode was supposed to be the lowest sound producible by the human voice (βόμβος, Eucl. sect. Can. Theor. 19). Meibomius arranged all the diatonic notes in a tabular form (as also all the chromatic notes, and the enharmonic notes), but the overlapping of the synemmenon and diezeugmenon tetrachords has caused his diagrams to be rather obscure.

The writer has combined the whole set, without this disadvantage; but it was impossible to introduce them here without interfering with the convenience of the book.

The following notes, being those of the diatonic Dorian mode, are given as an example.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proslambanomenos | (our A), | И | Ƞ | (antinu and double π). |
| Hypate hypaton | (B), | — | E | (ι sideways, and ε written square). |
| Parhypate hypaton | (C), | ⋒ | Ш | (half θ, looking downwards, and ε square, inverted). |
| Lichanos hypaton | (D), | ∇ | ⊣ | (δ inverted, and τ sideways, reversed). |
| Hypate meson | (E), | Ω | μ | (the left half of μ). |
| Parhypate meson | (F), | Ψ | ⊏ | (half μ inverted). |
| Lichanos meson | (G), | T | ꟻ | (digamma reversed). |
| Mese | (a), | Π | Ɔ | (ς reversed). |
| Trite synemmenon | (b ♭) | O | K | |
| Paranete synemmenon | (c), | K | Λ | (half δ extended). |
| Nete synemmenon | (d), | H | > | (λ sideways, reversed). |
| Paramese | (b ♮), | M | Π | (π extended). |
| Trite diezeugmenon | (c), | Λ | < | (half δ inverted). |
| Paranete diezeugmenon | (d), | H | > | |
| Nete diezeugmenon | (e), | Γ | N | |
| Trite hyperboleon | (f), | B | / | (the acute accent). |
| Paranete hyperboleon | (g), | Ӿ | ⁄ | (χ with a line through it, διεφθορός, and the left half of α looking down). |
| Nete hyperboleon | (a a), | ⊥ | ⟍ | (τ inverted, and the right half of α looking up). |

The following are the notes with their present equivalents:





The symbols here given are formed from the Greek letters:

A ∀ ⅄ ⋋ ⅄ ⋋ (the right and left halves of the letter made "to look up or down").
B ꓭ ($\beta$ imperfect).
Γ ꓶ L ($\gamma$ inverted).
Δ ∇ ⅄ ∢ ($\delta$ imperfect, and lengthened).
E Ǝ ɯ ($\epsilon$ written square).
Z 7 (imperfect).

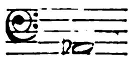
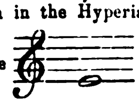
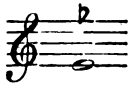
Η  ⊣  ⊢  ⊥ (imperfect), Ϻ ("careless," ἀμελήτικον).
Θ  ⋒ (half of the letter).
Ι  —
Κ  ⋊  Ӿ
Λ  V  >  <
Μ  W  ꟽ  ⋋  ⊐ (the halves of the letter).
Ν  И (antinu).
Ξ  ɯɯɲ ("double" ξ, sideways).
Ο  Ϙ
Π  ⊔  ⊏  ⊐  ⊓ (lengthened), ⊓ ⊔ ("double").
Ρ  ь
C  Ͻ  ᴗ  3  ω  Ɛ (the last three are "double" s's).
Τ  ⊥  ⊣  ⊢
Υ  ⅄
Φ  ⊖  ⌓  ⌓ (the two halves of the letter).
Χ  ⋇ (διεφθορός).
Ψ  ⋔
Ω (capital, to distinguish it from double s), ⊔ written square, and inverted.
Ϝ  ⅂  ⊥  ⊢
/  \ (the acute and grave accents).

NOTE.—"We have seen by the treatise of Alypius, written professedly to explain the Greek musical characters, to what an amazing number they amounted, 1240 at the lowest computation." (Hawkins' *History of Music*, p. 104 ed. Novello, 1853.) The number of characters here given is eighty-four; to these must be added the accented ones (twenty-eight), and a few in Aristides Quintilianus. I have tabulated sixty-three vocal notes and sixty-three instrumental, from Alypius, and the total number of entries in a complete diagram is 810.

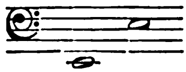
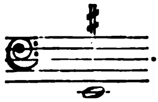
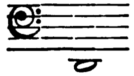
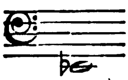
The ambiguities here shewn arise from the different genera, enharmonic, chromatic, and diatonic. There are no ambiguities in any given mode. The enharmonic notes (which have a ♯ over them) have generally the same symbols as the chromatic notes next above them. In a few instances, where four alternatives are given, those with the line through them are chromatic notes, in the Lydian mode: the writer is inclined to suspect that this was carried throughout all the chromatic systems for the sake of distinction.

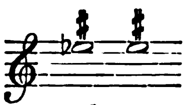
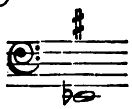
The immoveable sounds (ἑστῶτες), viz. the Proslambanomenos, Hypate hypaton, Hypate meson, Mese, Nete synemmenon, Paramese, Nete diezeugmenon, and Nete hyperboleon, are of course expressed in the three genera (in any given mode) by the same symbols; the two Parhypatae and three Tritae in the three genera have the same characters; these chromatic and diatonic notes are identical, but the enharmonic ones are flatter. The two Lichani, and three Paranetae of the chromatic genus, are distinguished by the line through them.

In some of the latter notes an accent will be found; it is probable that this should be applied to both the symbols employed: these are all one octave above the notes belonging to the corresponding unaccented symbols. This must evidently have been done when the 'Great System' received its fullest development, and the property of the octave mentioned before had been observed, so that the musicians avoided the necessity of introducing fresh arbitrary symbols. But it is a surprising thing that this did not suggest a reform in the notation, discarding for the lower notes symbols different from those in the medium pitch, and making a somewhat similar accommodation. For these symbols had become now representatives of pitch, rather than of the place in the scale.

The pairs of symbols are sometimes put side by side, instead of over each other, as just given; the first of them has reference to the voice, the other to the accompanyist on the lyre or other instrument. It is strange that it should not have been seen that one symbol would be quite sufficient for both purposes; and great complication must have arisen from the use of the same symbol to express different sounds, according as it was to be sung or played: thus ⊔ as a vocal note is  the Proslambanomenos of the Hypoaeolian mode in all the three genera, or the same sound as the Hypate hypaton of the Hypoiastian mode in them all; or the same sound as the enharmonic Lichanos hypaton of the Hypodorian mode; or it is  the chromatic Lichanos hypaton of the Hypodorian mode: but as an instrumental note, it is the Trite hyperboleon in the Hypolydian mode, or the Trite diezeugmenon in the Lydian mode, or the Trite synemmenon in the Hyperiastian mode, and will therefore be  when it is diatonic or chromatic, and  when enharmonic. (Here the ♯ or ♭ above the

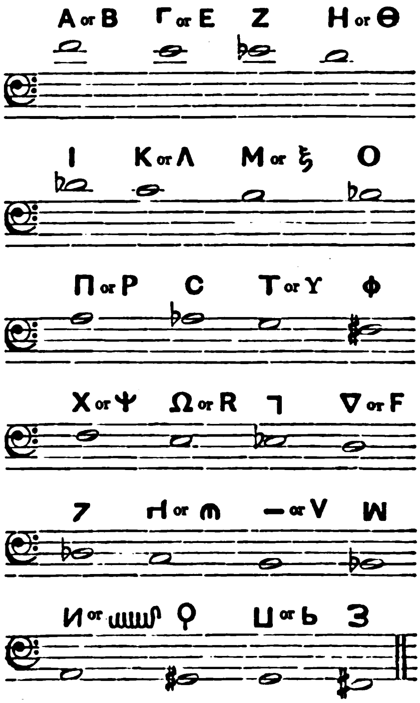
modern note sharpens or flattens it by a quarter-tone.)

Aristides Quintilianus gives a description of all the genera and modes, with notation, which is identical with that of Alypius, but a little extension downwards is perceptible. It would appear that the enharmonic system was becoming obsolete in his time, or likely to become so; for he speaks of the diatonic as most natural (φυσικώτερον) and capable of being used even by uninstructed people (πᾶσι γάρ, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαιδεύτοις παντάπασι μελῳδητόν ἐστι); of the chromatic, as most artistic (τεχνικώτατον), being manageable by practised performers only (παρὰ γὰρ μόνοις μελῳδεῖται τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις); of the enharmonic, as most subtle (ἀκριβέστερον), because it requires none but the most advanced musicians to attempt it (παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἐν μουσικῇ τετύχηκε παραδοχῆς); and that it is impossible to average people, and they were discontinuing the use of it (τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ἐστιν ἀδύνατον. ὅθεν ἀπέγνωσάν τινες τὴν κατὰ δίεσιν μελῳδίαν, διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀσθένειαν καὶ παντελῶς ἀμελῴδητον εἶναι τὸ διάστημα ὑπολαβόντες). He gives the enharmonic notes arranged in dieses for the lowest octave , and in semitones for the next octave. In this list appear the following, not in Alypius. Ɛ used for  (it has been already used for FF♯), and ⊏ for . And in another list of notes, arranged according to tones, he gives ⊐ for  and ⋋ for 

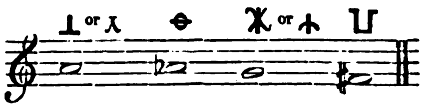
From his semitonic list we find also E′ and U B′ for  respectively, and ⊁ for 

He has also catalogued them in such a manner as to shew that the vocal notes were first chosen, having the twenty-four letters adopted in their usual form; then these for the most part inverted, some written 'imperfect,' and ξ and ϛ 'doubled': also ⊢ and Ω; and F correlative with E.

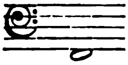
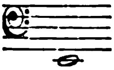
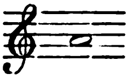
If the diatonic vocal notes be taken out, they give the following:




This ends at the Hypate hypaton of the Hypodorian mode, and, therefore, must have been in use before the Proslambanomenos was added to the scale. The first note, A, is the Nete diezeugmenon of the Iastian mode, or Nete synemmenon of the Aeolian, and also in their derivatives. The sound is not in the Lydian or the Phrygian mode at all; the Dorian employs B, the Hyperdorian both, and the Hyperphrygian B. The remaining inverted letters seem to have been adopted for the Hyperboleon tetrachord, which would obviously have been added to the lyre at some later period.



The law of this seems fairly evident, the alternatives arising from different modes. The order, it will be perceived, is precisely the contrary of the modern one; probably it was derived from the position of the lyre, and the hand of the performer on it. The highest note but one of the original tetrachords, being called λίχανος, would seem to indicate that the highest string was played by the thumb, and the others by our first, second, and third fingers, and this made one "position" of the hand, which would be "shifted" for another tetrachord; the lyre would be held on the left side of the performer, and the letters of the alphabet would follow the order of the fingers of the right hand. The omitted letters, Δ, N, ∀, ⊻ are only chromatic

and enharmonic notes. When the Proslambanomenos was adopted it involved two more symbols; ⊣, as next to C, but not inverted, presented itself at once for , then ≻ for an enharmonic note, and next ⏶ for . The notes above  were indicated by accenting their replicates below, as has been said. The instrumental notes were then, apparently, made up of the various contrivances seen above. The authors, here appealed to, flourished at the beginning of the second century.

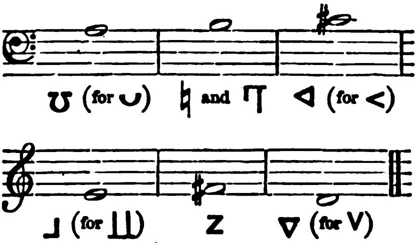
The most celebrated author (in musical respects) of the early centuries is Boethius; unfortunately his work, *De Musicâ*, was left incomplete; in his time evidence is forthcoming of a modification of the notation in the direction of simplicity; still the old notation was preserved, and in some cases the letters were joined together, thus Z̦. There appear to be some errors in the text of Boethius, owing probably to insufficient acquaintance with the notation, and clerical errors in the MS.; as the symbols in some cases do not agree with Boethius's own description of them. One deserves notice: the Parhypate hypaton of the Lydian mode is described rightly as $\beta$ imperfect, yet it is given in four different places in Boethius as BL; and apparently this has been copied by later writers. These seem to have contented themselves with one symbol only in the pairs; thus Hucbaldus (ninth century) gives the following for the notes of the Lydian mode:

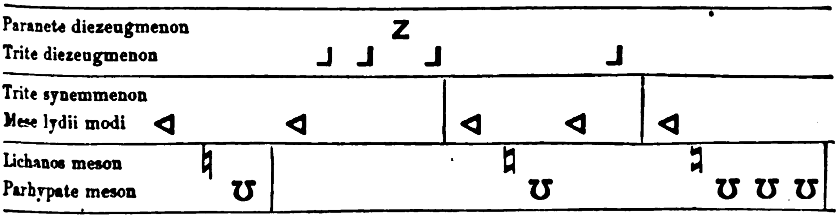



("Iota extensum, sic V.")

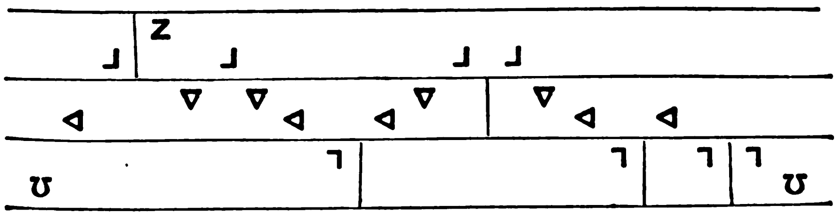
The N here is doubtless a corruption of the "careless" $\eta$.

And later still, John de Muris uses some of these notes:



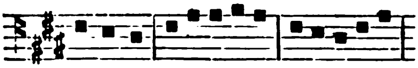




Quin - que pru - - - - - - den - tes . . . in - tra - ve - runt

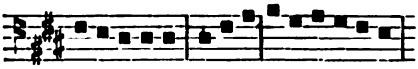



ad . . . nup - ti - as. . .

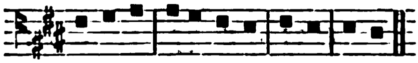
Which he also gives in the notation, presently to be noticed, of letters (alone, and between lines as above), but he has transposed it. His 'letters' are appended underneath the text here, and the equivalent modern notation (not transposed) given.



Quin-que pru - - - - den-tes. . .
a G F a c c d c a G F a c



in - tra-verunt ad . . nup - - ti-as.
a G F F F F a c d b c b a G



a b c c b a G a G G F

It is right to say that this is subsequent to the invention of the stave.

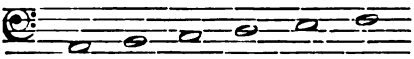
But the great change made about this time was the adoption of Latin letters instead of Greek, and using one symbol only, instead of two. Boethius gives the following as one system of notes:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hypate hypaton, | A: | modern equivalent | B. |
| Parhypate hypaton, | B: | „ | C. |
| Lichanos hypaton, | C: | „ | D. |
| Hypate meson, | D: | „ | E. |
| Parhypate meson, | E: | „ | F. |
| Lichanos meson, | F: | „ | G. |
| Mese, | G: | „ | a. |
| Paramese, | H: | „ | b. |
| Trite diezeugmenon, | I: | „ | c. |
| Paranete diezeugmenon, | K: | „ | d. |
| Nete diezeugmenon, | L: | „ | e. |
| Trite hyperboleon, | M: | „ | f. |
| Paranete hyperboleon, | N: | „ | g. |
| Nete hyperboleon, | O: | „ | aa. |

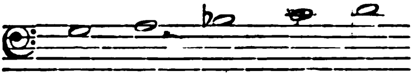
The Proslambanomenos here has no letter assigned to it; but it seems that it was soon found advisable to do this, and so the whole of the set just given was shifted one place, thus using up the letters from A to P, and occupying the double octave  through our modern natural notes.

But in another place Boethius gives a larger system, combining all the three genera, and giving the relative lengths of the strings producing the respective sounds.

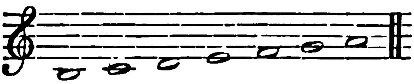
Diatonic:



A B C E B or H I
9216 8192 7776 6912 6144 5832

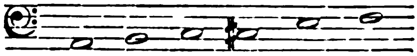


M O E T Y
5184 4608 elsewhere, R 3888 3456
4374

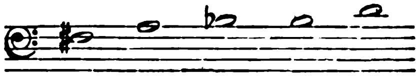


X Y CC DD FF NN LL
4096 3888 3456 3072 2916 2592 2304.

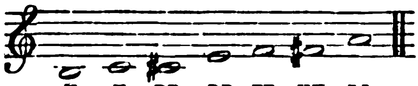
Chromatic:



A G C F E or H I
8192 7776 7296 6144 5832

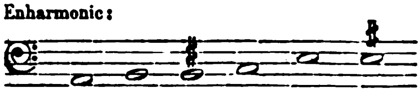


N O E S Y
5442 4608 elsewhere, R 4096 3456
4374

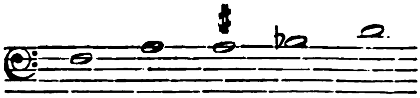


X Y BB DD FF KK LL
4096 3888 3648 3072 2916 2736 2304.

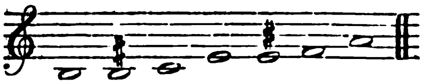
Enharmonic:



A B D F E or H K
8192 7984 7776 6144 5988



L O P R Y.
5832 4608 4491 4374 3456.



X Z AA DD EE NN LL
4096 3997 3888 3072 2994 2916 2304.

His description of this is, "Sed ita ut quoniam trium generum est facienda partitio, nervorum que modus literarum excedit numerum, ubi defecerint literae, easdem geminamus versus hoc modo, ut quando ad Z fuerit usque perventum, ita describamus reliquos nervos Bis A, i.e. AA, et bis B, i.e. BB." He assigns A, O, and LL, and a few more, but some errors would seem to have crept into the table from whence the above is obtained.

It appears from Walter de Odyngton that the double octave of the diatonic genus at one time, used the letters from A to S, the Proslambanomenos being A, and the rest up to the Mese B, C, D, E, F, G, H; the synemmenon notes I, K, L; and the diezeugmenon and hyperboleon M, N, O, P, Q, R, S. This would make K and L identical with N and O. But it would seem that this was soon reduced to the fifteen. Accordingly we find Jerome de Moravia describing the eight modes as follows:

"Let the double octave be A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P. Then—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A to H | is an 8ve, | and is the | Hypodorian | mode. |
| B to I | „ | „ | Hypophrygian | „ |
| C to K | „ | „ | Hypolydian | „ |
| D to L | „ | „ | Dorian | „ |
| E to M | „ | „ | Phrygian | „ |
| F to N | „ | „ | Lydian | „ |
| G to O | „ | „ | Mixolydian | „ |

And another one must be added, from H to P, which was done by Ptolemy."

The next development is due to St. Gregory, and arises from a further perception of the qualities of the octave as alluded to above, in respect of the accented Greek symbols for the upper notes; if the synemmenon tetrachord be eliminated, the notes from the Mese upwards are each an octave above those from the Proslambanomenos; and when performed they produce an almost identical effect. The idea may have been suggested by the accented Greek notes; anyhow St. Gregory made those from the Mese become replicates of the preceding ones, by assigning to them the same letters; this rejected all the letters beyond the first seven; the notes from the Proslambanomenos to the Lichanos meson, inclusive, being written A, B, C, D, E, F, G; from the Mese to the Paranete hyperboleon a, b, c, d, e, f, g; and the Nete hyperboleon itself aa. This notation is sometimes used at the present day, and the writer has had to employ it here. It is obvious that this can be continued further, and, indeed, is the basis of our present nomenclature. If the synemmenon tetrachord be re-introduced, it requires the note next to a to be a semitone, not a tone above it; accordingly, in the course of time, the letter belonging to this received two forms, "quadratum" and "rotundum," ♮ and b, according as the diezeugmenon or synemmenon tetrachord was to be used; these were also called b "durum" and b "molle," and the former became written ♮. This is the origin of the German nomenclature of H for the note a semitone below C, confining B to that a semitone above A (e.g. J. S. Bach's fugue on his own name:



&c.)

and also of the terms "dur" and "moll" applied to the major and minor tonality. It will be at once seen in the key of G; it is also the origin of the symbol ♭, and the French term *bémol*, applied thereunto.

Accordingly we find Walter de Odyngton giving the compass of the modes, thus: "Dorius. C D E F G a b h c d; Hypodorius Plaga prothi, Γ A B C D E F G a b; Phrygius, C D E F G a h c d e; Hypophrygius Plaga deuteri, A B C D E F G a b h c; Lydius, E F G a b h c d e f; Hypolydius Plaga triti, B C D E F G a b c d; Hypermixolydius Γ G a h c d e f g; Mixolydius Plaga tetrardi, C D E F G a b h c d e." (The Γ in the last but one should apparently be F.)

These letters were written over or under the words to be sung; there was no method of indicating duration of sound, that being entirely dependent upon the "quantity" of the syllable. Thus, from Jerome de Moravia:

G a c c c c c c c c c c c a a
Oc-ta-vus to-nus sic in-ci-pit, et sic flec-ti-tur,

c c c d c c ♮ c a G c a c d c
et sic me-di-a-tur, et sic fi-ni-tur, et sic fi-ni-tur.

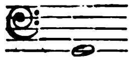
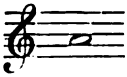
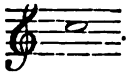
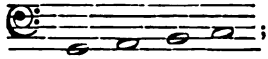
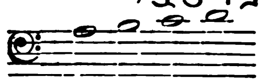
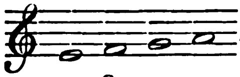
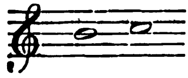
Ad antiphonam vero *nos qui vivimus* communiter talis differentia datur:

a b a a a a a a b a G F a b G G G G
In ex-i-tu Is-ra-el de E-gyp-to do-mus Ja-cob de

G G D F F E D a a a a a a a a G
po-pu-lo bar-bar-o. Ma-nus ha-bent et non pal-pa-bunt,

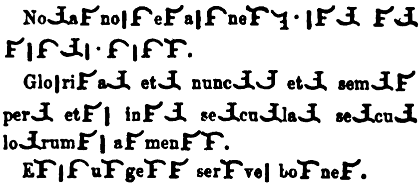
a a a a a a b a G F a a a b G
pe-des ha-bent et non am-bu-la-bunt, non clama-bunt

G G G D F E D
in gut-tu-re su-o.

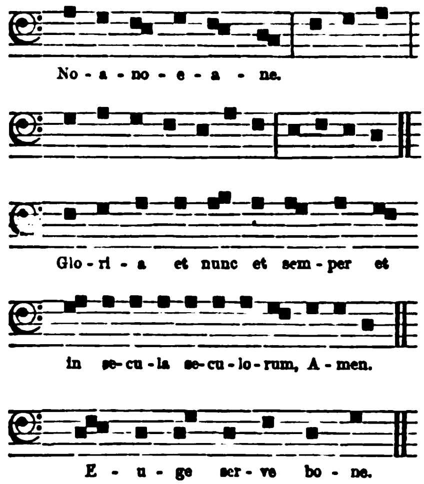
Another method of notation appears to have been in considerable use about the 8th and 9th centuries, invented apparently to diminish, if possible, the number of the arbitrary symbols employed. For this purpose the system of tetrachords was employed, but they were all disjoined by a tone from each other, giving the notes of our natural scale from  to  and occasionally to . The symbols present in one tetrachord a similarity to the characters of the lowest notes in the Lydian mode, ⊢, Γ, B (ought to be "imperfect"), F; it is alleged that they are all made from the first of these, for the most part by affixing a *s* in various positions to it. Thus the first four are Ꞁ Ꞁ N Ꞁ which correspond to the notes ; for the tetrachord next above, these were reversed, F F | F corresponding to ; for the next two tetrachords above these were inverted, ꓕ ꓕ ꓘ ꓕ, corresponding to ; and ꓕ L X L, corresponding to . Also ꓘ ꓘ were used for . The connection of N ꓘ X | together is not very evident, but it professes to exist. In abbé Gerbert's collection, ꓘ is replaced by ꓘ. This notation is largely used by Hucbaldus, and is mentioned by Guido Aretinus.

These notes were put in amongst the text, or over it; this latter mode doubtless to simplify the reading of the work.

Ex.—A Cadence, &c., in the first mode, from Hucbaldus:



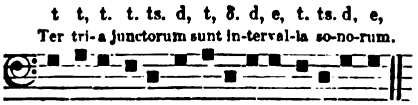
which is equivalent to



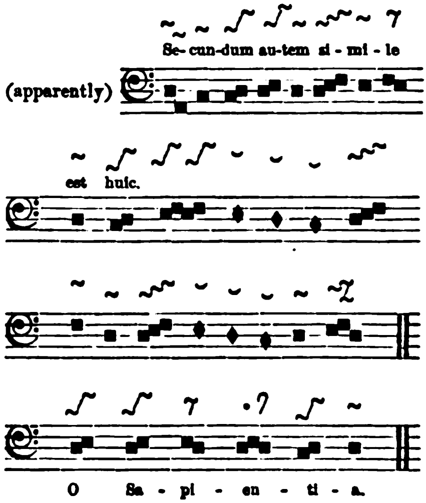

Hymn, from the same:




One method of assisting the performer by indicating the distances between sounds is mentioned by Hermanus Contractus: it consisted in specifying the intervals which the note belonging to each syllable stood above or below the preceding note; thus, e for unison (equal), s for semitone, t for tone, ts for the Minor third, d for the perfect fourth (diatessaron), δ for the perfect fifth (diapente) a point being placed after these when the interval was taken in a descending manner; and a comma when ascending: for example:




It was then attempted to render the positions of the sounds visible, so that the eye might assist the ear of the performer; and the first system was that mentioned before as like shorthand: the following is extracted from the *Tonarius Reginonis Prumensis*, under the Second Tone.



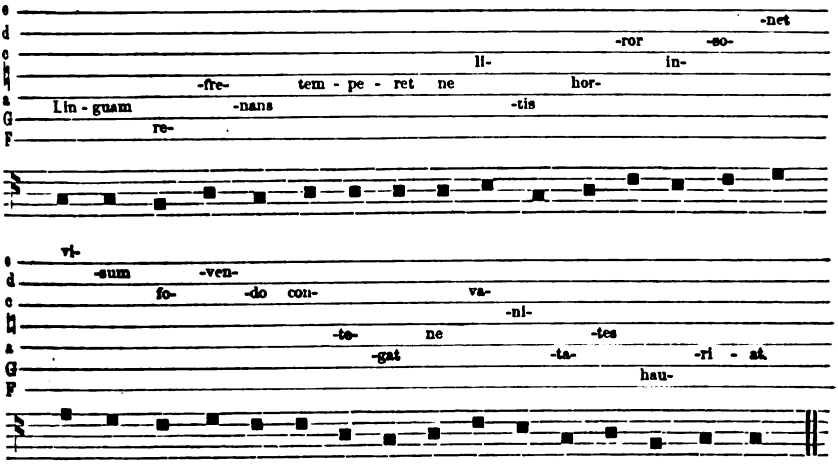

These are not precisely identical with the versions above, or in Walter de Odyngton. But it is obvious that great uncertainty must have prevailed on this system, so that without diligent study and much instruction no singer could sing these without error; accordingly we find that great varieties were known, so much that almost every church had its own way of singing. This was partly remedied by the introduction of a red line and sometimes another which would tend to fix the pitch of the notes placed on or near them. According to Sir John Hawkins (*Hist. Music*) Gabriel Nivers examined many old MSS., and concluded that the whole system of notation before the time of Guido Aretinus was uncertain, that there were no means, in this method, of ascertaining the distinction between a tone and a semitone, which of course was of itself sufficient to induce musicians to seek improvements.

The first was the multiplication of these lines and the writing of the words on them in such a manner that the position of the syllable should indicate the sound to which it was to be sung. Each line corresponded to a sound of the scale of the mode adopted, and the symbol for its note was placed at the beginning of it. See the example on the next page, from 'Aribonis Scholastica.'

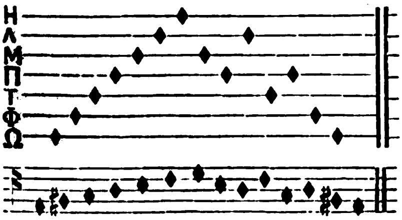
This was further improved by adopting a red line for the place of F, and a yellow one for that of C. So we find Guido Aretinus writing in his *Micrologus*,

> "Quasdam lineas signamus variis coloribus
> Ut quo loco sit sonus mox discernat oculus;
> Ordine tertiae vocis splendens crocus radiat,
> Sexta ejus, sed affinis flavo rubet minio."

C being the third from A, and F the sixth, in ascending order.




The next step was to banish the words from these lines, and put points on them. In Sir John Hawkins' *Hist. Music* is a specimen given from Vincentio Galilei, which is much anterior to Guido Aretinus; but it does not appear to have been correctly translated; the version is here revised, according to the notes given above.




It is easy to see what a great convenience the coloured lines introduced would be in the great number that would often be used.

The improvement of Guido Aretinus consisted in placing notes in the spaces, i.e. abolishing every other line; when this was done, the fifth mode was the only one which would have both F and C on lines, and therefore be "splendens croceo rubroque colore."

A mystical reason has been assigned to these coloured lines: a yellow line is assigned to C, because gold is the most precious among the metals, and C may represent Charity, the chief of the Christian graces; and a red line is given to F, which may stand for Faith that caused the martyrs to seal their testimony with their blood.

These lines most probably were intended in the first instance to represent the actual strings, something after the manner in which the music for the lute was written "in tablature" (see Mace's *Musick's Monument*, 1676), but the ancients were not apparently acquainted with the art of "stopping" strings in performance. And so, curiously enough, to this day in the harp, coloured strings (red and black) are assigned to the C's and F's, the others being the natural colour of the catgut; it is difficult to avoid connecting this with the old practice, as G would now be a more likely note to be chosen than F.

Consequently Guido's improvement may be said to be the invention of the stave, in the sense of indicating the sound irrespective of the instrument producing it, and when this was once done the whole system of music became so revolutionised as to enter upon a new phase altogether, mediæval instead of antique; which is foreign to the purpose of this book.

The writer has here used the modern stave of five lines, and the modern forms of some of the clefs: there is no difference in principle between these and their predecessors, and the music is much more easily read.

MUSIC, CHRISTIAN USE OF.—We are left a good deal to conjecture to what extent music was used, or what forms it took. The first intimation is that of St. Paul (Ephes. v. 19; Col. iii. 16), in which he recognises three distinct kinds of composition; psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs (ψαλμοί, ὕμνοι, ᾠδαὶ πνευματικαί): these it would seem most reasonable to suppose to be the Psalms of David, original compositions in stanzas, and more irregular compositions, such as the choruses in the Greek plays. Each of these would require a somewhat different musical treatment, although all of them would be little else than recitative. (Vide HYMNS.) The first of these would be fitted with a monotonous chant having an ending, as shewn above; the second with something more like a rhythmical tune, and the third with a melody similar to those of the antiphons. It is commonly believed that St. Ambrose took a melody that had been in use in pagan rites, and adapted it to his Advent hymn "Creator alme siderum," which melody is still in use, though with some varieties of reading; and it is easy to see that for such compositions the example would be followed. All the early writers assign to St. Ignatius the introduction of antiphonal chanting; "A quibus vel quando cepit antiphona dici, Ignatius Antiochie Syrie tertius post Apostolum Petrum Episcopus, qui et jam (etiam?) cum ipsis degebat apostolis, vidit visionem angelorum, quomodo per antiphonas Sancte Trinitati dicebant ymnos. Isque modus visionis Antiochie tradidisse probatur

ecclesie, et ex hoc ad cunctas transivit ecclesias." (*Tonarius Reginonis Prumensis.*) Accordingly we find these forms appearing in the liturgies: the thirty-third psalm is specified in that of St. Clement, and the twenty-third and others in St. James's. But the presence of a choir is recognised, and a part assigned them. Lit. St. Mark: *καὶ ψάλλουσιν ὁ μονογενὴς,—καὶ ψάλλουσι τὸν χερουβικόν,—σὺν αὐτοῖς ὑμνούντων καὶ λεγοντων* ·[Ὁ λαός] Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος Κύριος.

So in St. James: Εἶτα οἱ ψάλται τὸν τρισάγιον ψάλλουσιν ὕμνον,—Οἱ ψάλται· Ἄξιόν ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς· κ.τ.λ.,—Καὶ πάλιν ψάλλουσιν,—and St. Chrysostom: Καὶ ψάλλεται τὸ πρῶτον Ἀντίφωνον παρὰ τῶν ψαλτῶν (and so for the second antiphon, and the third, or in some cases the beatitudes); ψαλλομένου δὲ τοῦ Τρισαγίου, λέγει ὁ Ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην μυστικῶς,—Εὐχὴ, ἣν λέγει ὁ Ἱερεὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν, τοῦ Χερουβικοῦ ᾀδομένου. Accordingly provision is made for a choir in the early churches. Neale (*Introduction to Translation of Primitive Liturgies*) gives a ground plan of the church of St. Theodore at Athens; in it the choir are placed under the trullus, or dome, which position was maintained up to the 12th century. A very early ode is still extant, φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης; but it is not known whether the music of it has been preserved. The use of the church of Alexandria in the 4th century is shewn by an account in the *Geronticon* of St. Pambo, abbat of Nitria (apud Gerbert); he had sent a disciple there for some purpose, and the disciple regretted the ignorance of singing in the monastery: 'Ἀπελθόντος γάρ μου ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, εἶδον τὰ τάγματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας πῶς ψάλλουσι, καὶ ἐν λύπῃ γέγονα πολλῇ, διατι καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ ψάλλομεν κανόνας καὶ τροπάρια" (vide CANON OF ODES). The abbat thought his disciple departing from primitive simplicity. From another work of uncertain date, but of great antiquity, preserved by Gerbert, the *Institutio Patrum de modo psallendi sive cantandi*, we find three kinds of chanting recognised, according to the nature of the day, whether a principal festival, a Sunday or saint's day, or an ordinary day: "Tres ordines melodiae in tribus distinctionibus temporum habeamus, verbi gratia, in praecipuis solempnitatibus toto corde et ore omnique affectu devotionis; in Dominicis diebus et majoribus festivitatibus sive natalitiis sanctorum . . . multo remissius; privatis autem diebus ita psalmodia modulatur nocturnis horis, et cantus de die, ut omnes possent devote psallere et intente cantare sine strepitu vocis, cum affectu absque defectu." And the nature of this chant, as similar to the Gregorian chant, appears also: "syllabas, verba, metrum, in modo et in finem versus, id est, initium, medium, et finem, simul incipiamus, et pariter dimittamus. Punctum aequaliter teneant omnes. In omni textu lectionis, psalmodiae vel cantus, accentus sive concentus verborum (in quantum suppetit facultas) non negligatur, quia exinde permaxime redolet intellectus. Scire debet omnis cantor, quod literae quae liquescunt in metrica rite, etiam in Neumis musicae ritis liquescunt." This last shews that the musical rhythm conformed to the poetical, elisions and crases being made when necessary; and probably that the system of one note to a syllable was adopted; in this case Neuma (q. v.) would mean a cadence, and not assume its more usual meaning.

It does not appear that the early British church used any music in the services; from the few remains of the old churches that have come down to us, it would seem that no provision was made for a choir: this is remarkable, so far as the Cambrian part of the British church is concerned, since they had an order of bards, and were skilled in the harp. According to John the deacon, certain singers came with St. Augustine to Canterbury, and the church's song (more Romano) became known in Kent; and in several instances we find from Bede that exertions were made to spread this over England. Thus when St. Paulinus became bishop of Rochester he left behind him in the diocese of York a deacon, James, a skilled musician, who lived at Catterick, and taught the Roman or Cantuarian method of church song. "Qui, quoniam cantandi in ecclesia erat peritissimus, . . . etiam magister ecclesiasticae cantionis juxta morem Romanorum seu Cantuariorum multis coepit exsistere." (Bede, ii. 20.) And the custom of using music in the church service began to be generally spread over England at the accession to the see of Canterbury of archbishop Theodore (A.D. 669). "Sed et sonos cantandi in ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantia tantum noverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere coeperunt; primusque, excepto Jacobo, . . . cantandi magister Northanhumbrorum ecclesiis Eddi cognomento Stephanus fuit, invitatus de Cantia a reverendissimo viro Wilfrido" (Bede, iv. 2); and the archbishop filled up the vacant see of Rochester by another musician, Putta; "maxime modulandi in ecclesia more Romanorum, quem a discipulis beati papae Gregorii didicerat, peritum" (ibid.): a few years afterwards this bishop abandoned his see, and having received an appointment from the bishop of Lichfield of a church and glebe, propagated church music: "in illa solum ecclesia Deo serviens et ubicunque rogabatur ad docenda ecclesiae carmina divertens." (Bede, iv. 12.) About this time John the precentor of St. Peter's, Rome, was sent by pope Agatho, and received by Benedict Biscop into his monastery at Wearmouth for the purpose of teaching church music, and was very much resorted to. "Non solum autem idem Joannes ipsius monasterii fratres docebat, verum de omnibus pene ejusdem provinciae monasteriis ad audiendum eum, qui cantandi erant periti, confluebant. Sed et ipsum per loca, in quibus doceret, multi invitare curabant." (Bede, iv. 18.) From this we may fairly infer that the Cantus Gregorianus soon became naturalised in England so as to create an Anglican tradition of it, of which there is reason to suppose traces have descended to this day.

The same use was professed in France and Germany, but had become corrupted. Gabriel Nivers (quoted by Sir John Hawkins, *Hist. Music*) asserts that in consequence of pope Stephen II. coming to Pepin, king of France, a number of singers who had accompanied him propagated the church-song in the Gregorian manner over France generally; but after the death of Pepin, the purity of the song was not maintained. In consequence, Charlemagne made an application to pope Adrian to send experts to restore the music: this was attended to, but a

second mission of experts had to be made before the desired result was accomplished.

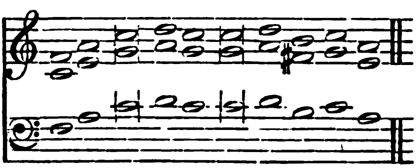
*Instruments.*—Whatever evidence is forthcoming, is to the effect that the early Christians did not use musical instruments. Various causes would operate: the poverty of a considerable portion of the church, the frequency of persecution, but chiefly the associations, theatrical and indecent, with which the musical instruments that were attainable were associated. (v. DIAPSALMA). But at a later period, after the disruption of the empire, and the re-organisation of society, such causes not existing to any extent, the feeling against instruments ceased to exist; and we find that organs were introduced into churches and in some cases other instruments also. Thus it appears, from the above reference to Gabriel Nivers, that the choir that accompanied pope Stephen II. into France spread over that country not only the knowledge of the Roman plain-song, but also the use of instruments. Organs deserve a separate notice.

*Harmony.*—Whether the ancients were acquainted with harmony has been much disputed: the writer, following most of the eminent musicians, is strongly of opinion that they were not (v. CANON OF THE SCALE): ἁρμονία would appear to mean nothing more than 'true intonation,' or producing successive notes in their right sound. Seneca has been cited to prove the contrary. "Non vides quam multorum vocibus chorus constet? Unus tamen ex omnibus sonus redditur. Aliqua illic acuta est, aliqua gravis, aliqua media. Accedunt viris feminae, interponuntur tibiae, singulorum latent voces, omnium apparent." It would be perfectly impossible that "one sound" should be produced under such circumstances, unless the voices and instruments sung and played in unisons and octaves. This passage and others appear in Hawkins' *History*, and the writer only wishes to add that the adoption of the accented symbols (as shewn above) for notes an octave above the others appears to him proof positive that this is the true meaning of this and similar phraseology. When men and women sing together the same melody, their voices are really an octave apart; and if the "interposition" of the tibia is to be taken literally, the consequence is consecutive fifths or discordance, which would be detected instantly as not 'unus sonus.'

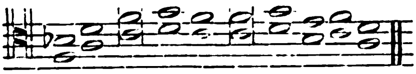
It has been conjectured that the practice of harmony of some kind, *i.e.* the use of two notes not always of the same modern name (A, B, C, D, E, F, G) simultaneously, so that two persons would not always sing in unisons or octaves, took its rise in Northumbria in the 8th century. Sir J. Hawkins quotes Giraldus Cambrensis, who gives the following account, and believes (Hawkins thinks without sufficient reason) that the Northumbrians obtained it from Denmark or Norway. "In borealibus quoque majoris Britanniae partibus trans Humbrum, Eboracique finibus Anglorum populi qui partes illas inhabitant simili canendo symphoniacae utuntur harmonia: binis tamen solummodo differentiae et vocum modulando varietatibus, una inferius submurmurante altera vero superne demulcente pariter et delectante (*i.e.* singing 'in two parts'). Nec arte tantum sed usu longaevo et quasi in naturam mora diutina jam converso, haec vel illa sibi gens hanc specialitatem comparavit. Qui alio apud utramque invaluit et altas jam radices posuit, ut nihil hic simpliciter, ubi multipliciter ut apud priores, vel saltem dupliciter ut apud sequentes, mellite proferri consueverit. Pueris etiam (quod magis admirandum) et fere infantibus (cum primum a fletibus in cantus erumpunt) eamdem modulationem observantibus. Angli vero quoniam non generaliter omnes sed boreales solum hujusmodi vocum utuntur modulationibus, credo quod a Dacis et Norwagiensibus, qui partes illas insulae frequentius occupare et diutius obtinere solebant, sicut loquendi affinitatem, sic canendi proprietatem contraxerunt." (*Cambr. Descr.* xiii.)

It has been already noticed that John the precentor of Rome lived at Wearmouth for some time and taught music; and it has been conjectured that the invention of this kind of harmony (or its introduction into England) is due to him. The writer thinks that the system described by Giraldus may mean no more than that the melody was not sung in octaves, at least at the time of John, whatever it may have become afterwards. If this be true, the practice of harmony in church music is due to the church of Rome.

The writer is aware, and thinks he ought here to mention, that Sir F. Ouseley (a good authority) believes harmony to be an invention of the northern tribes of Europe; but he is not acquainted with the evidence for this belief: and Professor Macfarren (*Lectures on Harmony*) contrasts the peoples of the South and North in respect of inventive power of melody and harmony. Those who advocate the opinion that the ancients were acquainted with harmony, consider a strong point of evidence to be the number of voices and instruments collected together on several public occasions: but as the writer is not satisfied with this, he thinks it more likely that harmony was a discovery of the learned musicians, who had had the experience of their predecessors for centuries, during which many advances had been made in the science of music, and that the inventive powers of the people have little to do with it: and in this view it is certainly most likely that such a discovery should have been made, or at least pursued, chiefly at Rome. It is rather difficult to imagine barbarous tribes inventing harmony while civilised people were ignorant of it and studied music all the while. Certainly towards the ninth century, the practice of producing octaves, fifths, or fourths simultaneously was known, and in the former two cases it was called 'symphonia,' and in the latter 'diaphonia.' The terms 'succentus' and 'concentus' are also used as synonymous with 'symphonia.' Regino Prumensis allows the use of *succentus* in octaves and fifths, but he prohibits diaphony: Hucbaldus acknowledges both. Thus for a 'symphony' of octaves and fifths we should have, in the fifth tone—



and for a diaphony of fourths, we should have



The ancients always considered the fourth a concord; and it is a satisfactory interval in melody; probably for this reason the experiment of singing in fourths as well as in fifths and octaves was tried, and found unsatisfactory: wherefore it was called diaphony, a term used by the ancients as *contrary* to συμφωνία. This is doubtless the reason why the fourth is now considered a dissonance. Harmony appears to have extended no further than this before the time of Guido Aretinus. [J. R. L.]

**MUSIVUM OPUS.** [MOSAICS.]

**MUSO**, martyr; commemorated at Neocaesarea Jan. 24 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUSTA**, martyr; commemorated Ap. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUSTACUS**, martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Feb. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUSTILA**, commemorated Feb. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUSTIOLA**, noble matron, martyr; commemorated at Clausen July 3 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

**MUSTULA** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Rome Feb. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated Ap. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated in Mauritania Oct. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUSTULUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome June 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUTACUS**, martyr; commemorated at Rome in the cemetery of Praetextatus May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUTIANA** (1) commemorated at Caesarea June 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Laodicea July 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, vi. 305). [C. H.]

**MUTIANUS**, martyr; commemorated at Caesarea Nov. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**MUTILATION.** [BODY, MUTILATION OF THE.]

**MYGDONIUS**, martyr; commemorated Dec. 28 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**MYRON** (1) Bishop, "our holy father thaumaturgus," of Crete; commemorated Aug. 8 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 342).

(2) Presbyter, "holy martyr" at Cyzicus under Decius; commemorated Aug. 16 (Basil. *Menol.*); Dec. 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 420; Daniel, *Cod. Litur.* iv. 266). [C. H.]

**MYROPE**, martyr at Chios under Decius; commemorated July 13 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, iii. 482). [C. H.]

**MYROPHORI** (μυροφόροι). The women who brought to the Lord's tomb the "spices and ointments" which they had prepared are so called in Greek office-books. The third Sunday after Easter is in the Greek church the "Sunday of the Unguent-bearers" (τῶν μυροφόρων). [C.]

**MYSTAGOGIA** (μυσταγωγία) would naturally mean the conducting or initiating into mysteries. It is, however, commonly used by the Greek fathers as a term for the sacraments themselves, regarded as conducting to higher life. Thus Chrysostom uses the word μυσταγωγία for Baptism, ἱερὰ μυσταγωγία for Holy Communion, κρατὴρ τῆς μυσταγωγίας for the cup in the Lord's Supper (Suicer, *Thesaurus*, s. v.). [C.]

**MYSTAGOGUS** (μυσταγωγός) is, as Suidas has defined it, "a priest, an initiator into mysteries." Hence the Lord Himself is described as acting as Mystagogus to His disciples (Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* 40, p. 659). And those who prepared Christians for initiation into the sacred mysteries of the church were called by the same name. Hence the lectures which Cyril of Jerusalem addressed to his catechumens, in which he expounds the rites to which they were to be admitted, are called Κατηχήσεις μυσταγωγικαί. [C.]

**MYSTERY** (μυστήριον, root μυ-, as in μύειν, to shut). A μυστήριον is properly a rite to which none but the initiated can be admitted. Hence baptism, to which in early ages men were not commonly admitted without a catechumenate of some length; and the Holy Communion, to which none could be admitted without baptism, and of which the most sacred portions were concealed from the profane [DISCIPLINA ARCANI], naturally came to be called μυστήρια. Thus Chrysostom on St. John xix. 34 (*Hom.* 85), speaking of the water and blood, says that from these are derived the mysteries of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* 39, p. 632, ed. Paris, 1630) calls the ministers of baptism οἰκονόμους τοῦ μυστηρίου; and (*Orat.* 44, p. 713) says that Jesus in the upper room partook of the mystery (κοινωνεῖ τοῦ μυστηρίου). The Laodicean Council (*Can.* 7) provides that certain heretics, after learning an orthodox creed and being anointed with chrism, should be admitted to the holy mystery (κοινωνεῖν τῷ μυστηρίῳ τῷ ἁγίῳ [al. τῶν μ. τῶν ἁγ.]), *i. e.* to the Holy Communion, for they were already baptized. In later times, however, the word μυστήριον came to be applied to many rites of the church in much the same way as the Latin *Sacramentum*, and the Greek doctors generally reckon the same number—seven. Compare SACRAMENT. [C.]

**MYSTIC RECITATION.** [SECRET.]

**MYTHOLOGY** [PAGANISM.]

# N

**NABOR** (1). Martyr, commemorated in Africa, March 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr, commemorated at Rome, Ap. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 165).

(3) Martyr, with Basilides and Cirinus, commemorated at Rome June 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*;

Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 524).

(4) Martyr, with Felix, Januarius, Marina; commemorated in Africa July 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*).

(5) Martyr with Felix, Eustasus, Antonius; commemorated in Sicily July 12. The name also occurs on the same day in connexion with Felix, Primitivus, Julius, at Milan (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iii. 280).

(6) Martyr, commemorated Sept. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*) [C. H.]

**NABORUS** (1) Martyr, commemorated in Africa Ap. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr, commemorated at Alexandria Ap. 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr, commemorated at Arecium June 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NAHUM**, prophet, commemorated Dec. 1 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Cal. Ethiop.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 276). [C. H.]

**NAMES** (Influence of Christianity on). The origin and meaning of names, a subject long regarded as too capricious and arbitrary in character to admit of scientific treatment, has received considerable elucidation from recent philological research both in England and on the continent. Very slight investigation suffices to shew that religion, whether pagan or Christian, furnishes a most valuable clue to such inquiry. The present article is restricted to the comparatively limited field presented in the nomenclature of Christian nations during the first eight centuries, and to an endeavour to determine how far that nomenclature was modified or remained unmodified by Christian influences.

For this purpose, it will obviously be of primary importance to ascertain how far the early Christian theory required from converts the assumption of a new name at the ordinance of baptism. On this point the evidence is somewhat conflicting, but generally it would seem that the practice was comparatively rare until after the period of persecution. In the first and second centuries, it is to be remembered, the ancient gentile relations, which transferred to an adopted member of a *gens* the *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen* of his adoptive father, gradually ceased to exist. So early as the reign of Trajan we find instances in the *Fasti* of the designation of consuls solely by their *cognomina* or *agnomina*; and in the second and third centuries such instances are numerous. Sometimes a consul is designated only by his *cognomen* or *agnomen*, and sometimes by all his names. Thus Domitian's colleague in his ninth consulship (A.D. 83) appears now as Rufus, and again as Q. Petilius Rufus; the colleague of Philippus in the reign of Honorius is sometimes Bassus, sometimes Anicius Auchenius Bassus. Gradually, however, the Roman form of nomenclature almost entirely disappears; though even so late as the 6th century we find Fulgentius, the eminent African bishop, bearing also the names Fabius Claudius Gordianus, while Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, in the preceding century, bore also the name Apollinaris.

The influences that successively determined Christian practice, were—(1) *indifference*, originating in the causes above mentioned, with regard to adoption or family names; (2) the *freedom* conceded by legislative enactments; (3) the *removal of deterrent considerations* such as existed during the persecuting age; (4) the express exhortations of the teachers of the church to a change of practice; (5) the veneration of relics. Of these influences (1) and (2) were shared in common with paganism, and belong to the first three centuries; (3) (4) and (5) are connected with the subsequent period only.

(1.) The letters of Cyprian illustrate the prevalent indifference of his age. In default of motives like those which had formerly existed in adopting a Roman name on admission to the rights of citizenship, the provincial contented himself with Latinising his native name. We find, for example, Cyprian referring to a fellow bishop by the name of Jubalanus, a provincial name with a Roman termination. (Migne, Patr. iv. 129.) In the same correspondence we find in letters written on behalf of different church communities, and signed by their leading members, names of signataries such as Saturninus and Felix, repeated with addition of *alter* or *iterum alter* (*ibid.* iv. 158), where it is evident that the employment of the *nomen* or *praenomen* would have effectually prevented any confusion.

(2.) In the 3rd century it was declared lawful by the state for any citizen to lay aside his name and assume any other he might wish. This enactment, first promulgated in the reign of Caracalla (A.D. 212), and sanctioned by succeeding emperors, is thus re-enacted under Diocletian and Maximin:—"Sicut in initio, nominis, cognominis, praenominis recognoscendi singulos impositio libera est privatis: ita eorum mutatio innocentibus periculosa non est. Mutare itaque nomen, vel praenomen sive cognomen sine aliqua fraude licito jure, si liber es, secundum ea, quae statuta sunt, minime prohiberis: nullo ex hoc praejudicio futuro. S. 15. Kal. Jan. A. A. Conss." *Justiniani Codex*, ix. 25: *Corp. Jur. Civil.* (Lipsiae, 1720), ii. 396.

(3.) Under ordinary circumstances, the Christian of the first three centuries appears to have shared in the prevalent indifference with respect to names, and to have baptized his children with little regard to the significance of the particular name bestowed; the expression of St. Ambrose that our ancestors were wont to coin names on definite principles,—"*apud veteres nostros* ratione nomina componebantur" (Migne, xvii. 47), is confirmed by the language of St. Chrysostom, who says that the Jews made the names given to their offspring a means of moral training and an incitement to virtue, and bestowed them not as men did in his day, carelessly and as chance might dictate, *καὶ οὐ καθάπερ οἱ νῦν ἁπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε τὰς προσηγορίας ποιοῦντες* (Migne, *S. G.* liii. 179). It may be observed that this latter passage is alone sufficient to discredit the spurious Arabian canon of Nicaea (Mansi, *Concilia*, ii. 961), quoted by Martigny, which represents the church as having already, in the early part of the 4th century, forbidden the faithful to give their children names other than those distinctively Christian. There is, however, good reason for inferring that prudential motives also deterred Christians from assuming names significant of their change of faith, although in times of persecution, when compelled openly to avow their

religion, they often changed a pagan for a scriptural name before undergoing a martyr's death. Procopius of Gaza, who wrote in the first half of the 6th century, refers to this as no uncommon practice under such circumstances. "One," he says, "called himself Jacob; another, Israel; another, Jeremiah; another, Isaiah; another, Daniel; and having taken these names they readily went forth to martyrdom" (*Comment. in Isaiah*, c. 44; Migne, *S. G.* lxxxvii. 2401).

(4.) The example and teaching of the fathers proves that from the earliest times the teachers of the church did not share in the prevalent indifference. St. Cyprian assumed the name of Caecilius in addition to his own, as an acknowledgment of gratitude to one to whom he owed his conversion. Eusebius took the name of *Pamphili* from that of the martyr Pamphilus, whom he held in special veneration. It is, however, in the 4th century, when Christianity had received state recognition, that we first find evidence of a desire on the part of the leaders of religious opinion to modify the customary practice. St. Chrysostom, in the Homily above quoted, distinctly censures the prevailing fashion of giving a child his father's or grandfather's name without regard to the import of the name itself. Such, he says, was not the custom in ancient times. *Then* especial care was taken to give children names which should not merely incite to virtue those who received them, but also serve as admonitions to all wisdom (**διδασκαλία φιλοσοφίας ἁπάσης**) to others, and even to after generations. "Let us not, therefore," he concludes, "give chance names (**τὰς τύχουσας προσηγορίας**) to children, nor seek to gratify fathers, or grandfathers, or those allied by descent, by giving *their* names, but rather choose the names of holy men conspicuous for virtue and for boldness before God." (Migne, *S. G.* liii. 179.) At the same time he warns his hearers against ascribing any efficacy to such names, all justifiable hope on the part of the Christian being grounded upon an upright life. We find, from another discourse, that the practice he recommended was already sometimes observed. The parents of Antioch, he tells us, gave the name of Meletius (an eminent bishop of that city, who died 381) in preference to any other name, each thinking thereby to bring the saint under his own roof (Migne, *S. G.* l. 515).

But notwithstanding some eminent exceptions, there can be no doubt that, prior to the 4th century, such practice was rare, a conclusion supported by the evidence afforded by the early Christian epitaphs. The Martyrologies also present us with many names (as will be seen from the subjoined lists) which reflect not merely the secular associations of paganism, but even its religious culture. Martyrs often encountered death bearing the names of those very divinities to whom they refuse to offer sacrifice. It has, indeed, been sought to qualify the evidence derived from Christian epitaphs, by conjecturing that, in order to prevent confusion, only the original name was inserted in the inscription, and that in those instances where we are presented with a second name,—*e.g.*, *Muscula quae et Galatea* (ann. 383, De Rossi, i. 112), *Asellus qui et Martinianus* (Marangoni, *Cose Gent.* 458), and in the well-known one of king Ceadwalla, *Hic depositus est Ceadwalla qui et Petrus* (Baedae *Hist. Eccles.* v. 7),—the second name is that conferred at baptism. Against this theory Le Blant, however, quotes the equally notable instance *Petrus qui et Balsamus* (Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 501). Balsamus, according to the *Acta*, on being asked his name, replied, "Nomine patris, Balsamus dicor, spirituali vero nomine, quod in baptismo accepi, Petrus dicor." Other instances, *e.g.*, *Macrina quae Jovina* (Marangoni, *Acta Sancti Vict.*, 88). *Vitalis qui et Dioscurus* (Marangoni, *Cose Gent.* 465), *Cannsias qui et Asclepius* (Mai, *Coll. Vat.* v. 14), where the second name is directly derived from the pagan mythology, are equally adverse to such a theory.

(5.) While the customs and associations which had once given interest and importance to names gradually disappeared, other circumstances began to invest them with new significance. Foremost among these must be placed the superstitious veneration of relics. As the presence of a supposed fragment of a body of a saint was believed to secure his protection for the locality where it was enshrined, the inhabitants of the district sought to prove their reverence for his memory by assuming his name. In later times, with the adoption by each country of a patron saint, the same principle became still further extended. St. James (San Diego or Iago) in Spain, St. Andrew in Scotland and Holland, St. Martin in France, and St. Maurice in Switzerland, are some of the more notable instances in which a name (in some cases that of an altogether mythical character) became the favourite national designation for the individual. In those countries which were among the last to embrace Christianity, this principle is to be seen yet more widely extended. Here the adoption at baptism of a Christian name was the usual practice. In the 14th century, Ladislas Jagellon, duke of Lithuania, on becoming a convert to the faith, persuaded many of his subjects to follow his example. In consequence of their numbers they were baptized in companies, the same name being given to all in one company. All the men in the first company were named Peter, and all the women Catherine; in the second company, the names given were Paul and Margaret; and so on. (Salverte, i. 171.)

A considerable stimulus to the interest attaching to names was imparted, in the 7th century, by the chapters on the subject in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. He taught that all scriptural names had been given with a pregnant reference to the part or future career of the individual, and in a lengthened enumeration assigned to each name a meaning (often erroneous) expressive of that individual's character or experiences. To the influence of his treatise, we may attribute the fact that in the 8th century, with the revival of letters in Frankland, it became a not uncommon practice for men of eminence to assume a literary alias. Charles the Great, and many of his courtiers, were addressed in more familiar intercourse, by other than their baptismal names, scriptural names being generally adopted. Charles probably was led to assume the name of David, from the erroneous meaning given to it by Isidore, "fortis manu, quia fortissimus in praeliis fuit." (Migne, lxxxii. 323.)

The following lists from Martigny, but verified and augmented, represent two classes:—(A.)

NAMES OF CHRISTIANS DERIVED FROM PAGAN ANCESTORS; (B.) NAMES OF CHRISTIAN ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE. Of the works from which these lists have been principally compiled, a critical notice will be found under INSCRIPTIONS (pp. 841–844); see also CATACOMBS, pp. 295–306. Those which rest on the authority of Aringhi, Boldetti, or Perret, must be accepted with the caution necessary in relation to the researches of those archaeologists, but it has not been thought desirable to expunge them from the lists. It must also be borne in mind that the value of this evidence rests, in not a few instances, on the assumption of the exclusively Christian character of the Catacombs of Rome,—the view adopted in CATACOMBS, and maintained by Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow (*Roma Sotterranea*), but one by no means unanimously accepted.

A. (α) Under the first head are given *names derived, unchanged, or but slightly modified from the pagan mythology:* Alcinous (*Act. Sanct. Vict.* 76); APOLLOS = Apollonius (1 Cor. xvi. 12); to be met with even in the 6th century (De Rossi, i. 1013); Apollinaris (Marangoni, *Act. S. V.* 122); Apollinaria (Muratori, *Thesaur.* 1830–6); Apollonius (*Martyr. Rom.* xiv. Feb.); Phoebe (Rom. xvi. 1); Pythius (*Act. S. V.* 83). From ARTEMIS: Artaemisius (Marini, *Arval.* 695); ΑΡΤΕΜΕΙΣΙΑ (Perret, v. pl. 78); BACCHUS: Bacchius (Marangoni, *Cose Gent.* 455); Dionysia (*Act. S. V.* 113); Libera (*Ib.* 87); Liberia (Vignoli, *Insc. Select.* 334). The DIOSCURI (*Act. S. V.* 131); Castoria (*Ib.* 98). CALLIOPE, Calliopa (*Martyr.* viii. Jun.). CERES, Cerealis, and from Demeter, Demetrius (*Act. S. V.* 115); this name would appear to have been borne by many martyrs (*Ib.* 701). DIANA: Dianesis (*Ib.* 89); Cinthia (Vignoli, 332). EROS: this appears as the name of a bishop of Arles at the commencement of the 5th century; Erotis (Perret, v. pl. 46); a martyr in Cappadocia, under Diocletian (Oct. xxvii.) was named Erotheides. HERCULES: (?) Herculanus (Perret, v. pl. 58); Eracles, Eraclia (*Act. S. V.* 77, 120); Heraclides (Ruinart, p. 121); ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ (*Act. S. V.* 77); Heraclius, m. (Oct. xxii.). HYGIEA: Hygias (? *Act. S. V.*). JANUS: Janus (Muratori, 387, 1); Janilla (*Ib.* 1886, 6). JUPITER: Jovina (*Act. S. V.* 120); Jovianus (Perret, v. pl. 27); Jovinus (Marini, 383); Jovita, m. (Feb. xv.); Olympius (*Act. S. V.* 106); Olympia (Cardinali, *Isc. Velit.* 203); Olympiades, m. (Apr. i. Dec. i.). *Jupiter Ammon:* Ammonius, Ammononia (*Martyrol. passim*). LEDA: Laeda (Boldetti, 379). LUCINA: Lucina (*Ib.* 428). MARS: Martia, m. (Jun. xxi.); Martianus (Boldetti, 487); Martialis, Martinus, Martina, *passim;* Martinianus (July ii.). MERCURY: Mercurius (*Act. S. V.* 82); Mercuria (*Ib.* 98); Mercurionus (*Ib.* 4); Mercurus (Fabretti, 551); Mercurialis (May xxiii.); Mercurilis (Mai, v. 393); Mercurianetis (De Rossi, i. 71); Mercurina (Le Blant, i. 74); Mercuriolus (Cancellieri, *Orsa e Simplic.* 18). HERMES: Ermes (Boldetti, 483); Ermogenes, (*Act. S. V.* 72); Ermogenia (*Ib.* 94); Hermes, many martyrs, Nov. ii., Mar. i. etc.; Hermogenes (Dec. x.; Sept. xi.). These last names were extremely common in the primitive church, and Martigny conjectures that their prevalence is to be ascribed to the occurrence of the name (Romans xvi. 14) as that of one of St. Paul's disciples. This supposition is hardly in harmony with what we have seen to be the practice of the church at that period. MINERVA: Minervia (Boldetti, 491); Minervinus (Dec. xxxi.); Minervus (Aug. xxv.). *Athene:* Athenodorus, martyr in Mesopotamia under Diocletian (Nov. xi.); Athenogenes, bishop of Sebaste, martyr in the same persecution (July xvi.). *Pallas:* Palladius (Osann. 539, 14) occurs also as the name of a hermit of Nitria, afterwards bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia. MUSAEUS: Museus (Perret, v. pl. 39). NEMESIS: Nemesis (Muratori, 1515, 9); Nemesius (Feb. xx.); Nemesianus (Sept. 10); Naemisina (De Rossi, i. 272); here, however, De Rossi observes, "Vox Emisina defunctae patriam significat, Emesam nempe celeberrimam Phoenices urbem." NEPTUNE: Posidonius (Le Blant, i. 339). NEREUS: Nereus saluted by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 15). The Roman martyrology gives (Feb. xvii.) the name of a martyr named Romulus. SATURN: Saturninus, extremely common in the primitive church (Marchi, p. 85; *Act. S. V.* 82); also name of the reputed founder of the church at Toulouse, sent by Fabianus, bishop of Rome; Saturnina (*Act. S. V.* 80). A brother of St. Ambrose bore the name of *Satyrus.* SILVANUS: African martyr (Feb. xviii.), bishop of Emessa m. (Feb. vi.), and many other martyrs. The Museum of the Lateran (*Inscript. class.* xviii. n. 17) contains a marble inscribed with the name URANIA: Oderico (*Syll. Vet. Inscript.* Romae, 1765) gives (261) the name of a Christian, derived from that of the muse of astronomy, Uranius. Boldetti (p. 477) gives the epitaph of a Christian female named VENUS, though Maury (*Croyances et Légend. de l'Antiquité,* 349) denies that the name can be found in the *Acta,* and endeavours to prove that the St. Venise of Gaul was really the Venus of antiquity accepted under Christian modes of veneration; we have also Venere (Marini, 452); Veneriosa (Le Blant, i. 117); Venerius (*Ib.* ii. 467), also a bishop of Milan and a hermit in the Island of Palms (May iv; Sept. xiii.); Venerigine (Oderico, 259). *Aphrodite,* Aphrodisias (*Act. S. V.* 97); Aphrodisius, m. at Alexandria (Apr. xxx.). In Egypt many Christians bore the names of the divinities of that country, though these often receive from writers or in inscriptions a Greek or Latin terminal,—*e.g.* Serapio from SERAPIS (Boldetti, 469); the *Acta* of some of the martyrs of the Thebaïs give us the names unmodified (Giorgi, *de Miracul. S. Coluthi*).

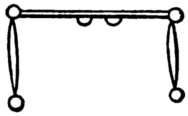
(β) *From religious rites, auguries, and omens.* Augurius (Marchi, 39); Augurinus (Le Blant, i. 341); Augustus (*ib.* 26); Auspicius (Le Blant, i. 342); Desiderius, m. (Mar. xxv.); Expectatus (Gazzera, *Iscr. del Piem.* 28); Faustinus (Marchi, 27); Faustus, m. (Aug. i.); Felix (*Act. S. V.* 129); Felicia (Perret, lxii. 62); Felicissimus (Passionei, 118); Felicitas (Perret, v. pl. 3); the derivatives of these in great number; Firmus, m. (Feb. xi.); Firma (Maffei, *Mus. Veron.* 281); Macarius, m. (Sept. 5), the Greek form is found on many marbles; Optatus (Perret, xv.); Profuturus (*ib.* xli.); Pretiosa (Wiseman, *Fabiola,* 264).

(γ) *From numbers.* Primus, Prima, Primenia (Fabretti, 579); Primenius (De Rossi, i. 206); Primigenius (Marini, 96); Secundus, m. (Jan. ix.); Secundilla, m. (Mar. vii.); Secundinus (Perret, 41); Tertius, conf. (Dec. vi.); Quartus,

disciple of the apostles (Nov. iii.); Quartinus (*Act. S. V.* 112); Quartina (Boldetti, 479); Quintilianus (De Rossi, i. 222); Quintus, m. (May x.); Sextus (Perret, lxii.); Septimus (*ib.* lxix.); Septimius (*ib.* xvii.); Octaviana (Marangoni, *Cose Gent.* 454); Octavia (Fabretti, 375); Octavius, m. (Nov. xx.); Octavianus (De Boissieu, *Suppl.* xiv.); Nonnosa (De Rossi, i. 205); Nonnosus (Le Blant, i. 110); Decia (Aringhi, ii. 262); Chylianus, martyr bishop (July viii.).

(δ) *From colours.* Albanus (June, xxi.); Albano (Marini, 266); Albina (Reines. 952); Candidus (Perret, xxxvi); Candida (De Rossi, i. 346); Candidiana (Doni, 539–70); Flavius (Bosio, 433); Fusca, v. m. (Feb. xiii.); Fusculus, m. (Sept. vi.); Nigrinus (Le Blant, i. 388); Rubicus (Passionei, 118); Rufus (Mai, v. 404).

(ε) *From animals.* Names of this class, already adopted by paganism, seem to have become more common among Christians; not improbably, as Martigny suggests, from a sentiment of humility. Aper (*Act. S. V.* 93); Aequitius (Oderico, 33); Agnes, v. m. (Jan. xxi.; Le Blant, ii. 455); Agnella (De Rossi, i. 277); Agnellus (Dec. xiv.); Aquila, m. (June xxiii.); Aquilinus, m. (May xvi.); Aquilius (Le Blant, i. 157); Asella (*Act. S. V.* 120); Asellus (Maffei, 281); Asellicete (Marini, 393); Asellicus (*ib.* 422); Asellianus (Boldetti, 487); Asellius (Marini, 293); Asinia (Lupi, *Severi martyris epitaph.* 102); Basiliscus, m. (Mar. iii.); Capra (Boldetti, 361); Capriola (*Act. S. V.* 85); Capriole (*ib.* 102); Caprioles (Perret, v. pl. 5); Castora (Maffei, 264); Castoria (De Rossi, i. 284); Castorius, (Gruter, 1050, 10); Castorinus (*Act. S. V.* 129); Castellus (Bosio, 106); Catalinus, m. (July, xv.); Catullina (*Act. S. V.* 131); Cerviola (Mai, v. 424); Cervinus (Lupi, *Severi m. epitaph.* 173); Cervonia (Marangoni, 460); Columba, m. (Sept. xvii.), Columbanus, etc.; Dracontius (Buonarr. *Vetri*, 169); Damalis is perhaps the true form of Damaris, a convert of St. Paul at Athens; Felicula (Fabretti, 549) and Faelicla; Formica (Muratori, 1872, 5); Leo (Passionei, 125); Leonilla, Leontia (Marini, 188); Leonteia (*ib. Arv.* 422); Leontius (De Boissieu, *Suppl.* iv.); Leoparda (De Rossi, i. 136); Leopardus (Perret, v. pl. 26); Lepusculus Leo, these two names of a child present themselves in singular contrast on a Roman marble of the year 401 (De Rossi, i. 226); Lupus, m. (Oct. xiv.); Lupercus (Perret, v. pl. 41); Lupicinus (Marini, *Arv.* 296); Lupicus (Boldetti, 398); Lupula (Le Blant, i. 396); Melissa (*Act. S. V.* 96); Merola (De Boissieu, 545); Merulus, m. (Jan. xvii.); Muscula (Perret, v. pl. 33 and 71); Onager (Boldetti, 428); Palumba (Muratori, 1919, 11); Palumbus (Boldetti, 413); Panteris (Perret, v. pl. 50); Pardales (De Rossi, i. 248); Pecus (Mai, v. 397); Pecorius (Lupi, 181); Porcaria (De Boissieu, 561); Porcella (Boldetti, 376); Porcus, Porcia (Boldetti, 449); Serpentia (*ib.* 482); Soricius (*Act. S. V.* 153); Taurus (Boldetti, 413); Taurinus (Perret, v. pl. 58); Tigris (Fabretti, ii. 287); Tigridina (Boldetti, 346); Tigridius (Le Blant, i. 26); Tigrinianus (Boldetti, 416); Tigrinus (Reines. xx. 398); Tigritis (De Rossi, i. 281); Tigrius, m. (Jan. xii.); Turdus (Boldetti, 400); Turtura (De Rossi, i. 423); Ursa (Boldetti, 429); Ursacius (Lami, *de Erudit. Apost.* 353); Ursicinus (Perret, v. pl. 36); Ursulus (Marini, *Alb.* 193); Ursula, v. m. (Oct. 21); Ursus (Boldetti, 308); Vitella (Bottari, ii. 127); Vitellianus (Maffei, 483). Many of these names owe their preservation to the fact of their having been borne by *martyrs.* A stone engraved by Macarius (*Hagiogl.* 200) gives us the name ΩΙΧΘΥCA from ἰχθύς, a fish (ΙΧΘΥC). As if to leave no doubt that the significance of the name was present to the minds of those to whom the bearer was known, we sometimes find, side by side, a figure of the animal delineated. Thus the name of Porcella is accompanied by a design of a young sow (Boldetti, 376); that of Dracontius (*ib.* 386) by that of a serpent; that of Onager (*ib.* 428) by that of an ass; that of Caprioles by that of a young goat; that of Turtura, by two turtles (Mai, v. 451); that of Aquilius, by two eagles (De Boissieu, 562). Over the tomb of a female Christian named Aquilina (Boldetti, 397) there is the representation of a flying eagle; while on the marble of Pontius Leo, in the corridor of the Vatican, there is the figure of a lion. Signs of another description are used in the same



way. The following is one which can only be explained thus: GENETHLIA IVGATI COIVGI IN PACE. This inscription is accompanied by a design (see woodcut) evidently intended for a yoke, in allusion to the name of the husband, Jugas.

(ζ) *Names relating to Agriculture.*—Agellus (De Boissieu, *Suppl.* xxiv.; Gazzera, 24); Agricia (De Boissieu, 552); Agricola, m. (Dec. iii.); Arator, bp. (Le Blant, ii. 467); Armentarius, bp. (Jan. xxx.); Cepasus, Cepasia (*Act. S. V.* 81, 112), the onion was considered a sacred plant by the Egyptians; Cepula (Marangoni, *Cose Gent.* 457); Cerealis (Boldetti, 399); Cicercula (Marini, *Arv.* 827); Citrasius (Boldetti, 407); Fabius (Perret, v. pl. 41); Fructuosus, m. (Jan. xxi.); Fructulus (Feb. xviii.); Frumentius, bp. (Oct. xxvii.); Georgius, saint and martyr, in the last persecution; Hortulanus, bp. in Africa (Nov. xxviii.); Laurinia, Laurentius (*Act. S. V.* 85); Olibio (*oliva*, Boldetti, 82); Oliva, vir (June iii.); Palmatius, m. (May x.); Pastor (Marini, *Arv.* 255); Piperusa (*ib.* 492); Piperion, m. at Alexandria (Mar. xi.); Rusticus, Rustica (Martyrol. *passim*); Silvanus, Silvana (De Boissieu, 138); Silvia (Le Blant, i. 363); Silbina (Boldetti, 492); Stercorius (Fabretti, 582); Stercoria (Marchi, tav. xv.); CΤΕΡΚΟΡΙ (Boldetti, 377); these last names are frequently to be met with on the tombs of Christians, but scarcely ever on those of pagans, and probably embody a sentiment similar to that expressed by St. Paul (1 Cor. iv. 13), and a sense of the public obloquy to which Christians were at this time exposed. Theresa, wife of Paulinus, the friend of Jerome; Tilia (*Act. S. V.* 91); Venantius (Le Blant, i. 117); Vindemialis (Maffei, 358 8); also m. bp. under Hunneric (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* ii. 3).

(η) *From Flowers.*—Amaranthus (Marangoni, 462); Balsamia (Oderico, 340); Corona, m. (May xiv.); Florus, m. (Dec. xxii.); Flora (De

Boissieu, 31); Florentius (Marini, *Arv.* 171); Florentina (Perret, v. pl. 54); Florentinus (*Act. S. V.* 125); Florida, Floris (*ib.* 85); Florius, m. (Oct. xxvii.); Flos, m. (Dec. xxxi.); Flosculus, bp. (Feb. ii.); a child martyr in the reign of Valerian bore the diminutive Flocellus; Laurinia (*Act. S. V.* 85); Liliosa, m. at Cordova (July xxvii.); Mellitus (*Act. S. V.* 100); Narcissus, m. (Sept. xvii); Rosa, v. (Sept. iv.); Rosarius (De Rossi, i. n. 930); Roseta (Marangoni, *Cose Gent.* 456); Rosius, conf. (Sept. i.); Rosula (Sept. xiv.).

(θ) *From Jewels.*—Chrysanthus, husband of St. Daria; Margaret (μαργαρίτης) vir. m. of Antioch; Sapphira, this entirely shunned by Christians; Smaragdus, m.

(ι) *From maritime or military life.*—Symbols and names of the former class were adopted by Christians in the first ages of the church, precedents being afforded by the New Testament. Armiger (Hübner, n. 7); Emerentiana, m.; Marinus (Bosio, 564); Marina (Maffei, 208); Maritimus (Fabretti, viii. 5); Maritima (Reines. xx. 443); Nabira, accompanied by the design of a ship (Boldetti, 373); Naucello (*ib.* 485); Nauticus (Aringhi, ii. 261); Navalis, m. (Dec. xvi.); Navicia (De Rossi, i. 40); Navigia, Navigius (Muratori, 1924, 1997); Nautico (Bosio, 506); Navicius (Doni, xx. 64); Pelagia (Bosio, 213). This name also occurs in an inscription given by Marangoni, "Pelagiae Restitutae Filiae" (*Act. S. V.* 107), with a fish between two anchors. Pelagio (Bosio, 507); Pelagius (Marchi, 163); Pelacianus (Fabretti, 549); Scutarius, bp. (Le Blant, i. 346); Sicarius, St. (*ib.* i. 49); Thalasia (*ib.* i. 147); Thalassus (Reines. xx. 395); Thalassiae (Spon, *Miscell.* 232); Talassobe (Bosio, 283).

(κ) *From Rivers.*—Cydnus (Boldetti, 392); Inachus (Fabretti, 548); Jordanis (Muratori, 1972); Nilus (*ib.*); Rodane, m. of Lyons; Rodanus (Mai, v. 401–8); Siquana, name of a female Christian whose *titulus* was discovered in the Quartier St. Just, at Lyons (De Boissieu, 567). The church of Evreux celebrates on Jan. xxii. a martyr of the name of Orontius, who suffered under Diocletian.

(λ) *From Countries and Cities.*—Afra, m. (May xxiv.); Africanus, m. (April x); Africa (Hübner, n. 71); Alexandria (Boldetti, 484); Araba, m. (Mar. xiii.); Ausonia, m. of Lyons; Barbara, m. of Heliopolis; Calcedonius (*Act. S. V.* 108); ΧΑΛΚΗΔΟΝΙϹ (Fabretti, 592); Creticus (Boldetti, 430); Cyprianus, bp. of Carthage, m. (Sept. xiv.); Daciana (Maffei, 179); Dalmatia (Le Blant, ii. 144); Dalmatius (D'Agincourt, iii. 10); Dardanius (Le Blant, i. 349); Galatia (Boldetti. 808); Garamantius, from a country in Libya (*Act. S. V.* 82); Germanus, St., opponent of Pelagius; Galla (Le Blant, i. 363); Graecinia (Boissieu, *Suppl.* 28); Heraclia (Lupi, ii.); Italia (Pellicia, *Polit. Eccl.* iv. 152); Laodicia (Mai, v. 437); Ligurius (Reines. cl. xx. 115); Libya, m. in Syria (June xv.); Lydia (Acts, xv. 19); Macedonia (Boldetti, 477); Macedonius (De Rossi, i. 500); Maura (Le Blant, i. 382); Mauritius (*ib.* ii. 45); Maurus, disciple of St. Benedict; Partenope (Perret, xx. 82); Pelusius, m. at Alexandria (Apr. vii.); Pausilippus, m. (Apr. xv.); Roma (Aringhi, ii. 169); Romanus (Passionei, 124); ΡΟΜΑΝΟϹ (Mus. Later. *Inscrip. class.* xviii. 9); Sabina, m. (Aug. xxix.); Sabinianus, m. (Jan. xxix.); Sabinus, m. (Jan. xxv. and Boldetti, 545); Sabinilla (Mai, v. 477); Sabinilius (De Rossi, i. 269); Samnius (Boldetti, 534); Salonice (*ib.* 419); Sebastianus, from Sebastos, the Greek equivalent for Augustus, probably prior to the assumption of the title by Diocletian and his colleague, but frequent in the Martyrology. Sepianus (Sept. xix.); Sidonia (Boldetti, 481); Tessalius (Boldetti, 413); Thessalonica, m. (Nov. 7); Tiburtius (Mamachi, ii. 230); Trajanus, bp. of Saintes (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Conf.* c. lix.): Transpadanus (Mai, v. 408); Troadius, m. at Neo-Caesarea in Pontus (Greg. Nyss. in *Act. Greg. Thaum.*); Tuscula (Boldetti, 436); Urbanus, greeted by St. Paul.

(μ) *From the Months.* Aprilis (Boldetti, 409, 420; Maffei, 288; Marini, *Arv.* 506); December (Marangoni, *Cose Gent.* 467); ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΟϹ (Perret, v. pl. 77); Decembrina (Boldetti, 389); Februarius (Le Blant, i. 324): Januaria (Marini, *Arv.* 170); Januaris (Boldetti, 55); Januarius (Gazzera, Append. ii.); Januarinus (Fabretti, 552); Julius (Marini, *Papiri.*, 301); Junia (Perret, v. pl. 40); Junianus (*ib.* v. pl. 32); Kalendius (Boldetti, 490); Marius (Marchi, 91); Martius (*ib.* 410); October (*Act. S. V.* 92).

(ν) *Implying physical qualities or defects.* Balbina (Perret, v. pl. 29); Capito, m. (July 21); Callistus, Callista (Oct. xiv.; Sept. ii.); Crispinus (Perret, vi. 158); Crispus, m. (Oct. xiv.); Currentius (Passionei, 116); Eucharius (Marini, *Alb.* 32); Eucharistus (Mai, v. 376); ΕΥΧΑΡΙϹΤΟϹ (Aringhi, i. 522); Eucharistianus (Boldetti, 382); Fronto, m. (April xvi.); Longina (Boldetti, 475); Pulcheria, v. m. (Sept. x.); Venustus (May vi.); Venustianus, m. (Dec. xxx.).

(ξ) *Implying mental or moral qualities* (very numerous). Agathon, m. (Dec. xvii.); Amandius (De Boissieu. 13); Amantius (Perret, v. p. 54); Amator (Hübner, n. 171); derivatives from *amo* seem to have been especially in favour with the Christians of Gaul. Angelica (Perret, v. pl. 23); Aristo (De Rossi, i. 166); Bona (Boldetti, 381); Bonifacius, m. under Diocletian (Ruinart, 284); Bonosus (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* i. 275); Bonusa (Perret, v. pl. 9); Benignus (Boldetti, 489); Candidus, Candida (Martyrol. *passim*); Candidiana (De Rossi, i. 44); Casta (Mai, v. 425); Castinus (*Act. S. V.* 82); Castus (Boldetti, 390); Clarus, St., first bp. of Nantes, 3rd century; Clemes (*Act. S. V.* 89); Clementianus (*ib.* 132); Concordia (Le Blant, i. 344); Constantia (Marini, *Alb.* 31); Constantius (*Act. S. V.* 96); Contumeliosus, with the adjunct Venerabilis (Le Blant, i. 177); Credula, m. (Ruinart, 201); Crescens, companion of St. Paul; Decentius (Boldetti, 345); Digna (*ib.* 492); Dignitas (*ib.* 410); Dignantius (Le Blant, i. 350); Dulcitia (Le Blant, ii. 58); Dulcitudo (Boldetti, 410); Eusebius (*ib.* 82); ΕΥϹΕΒΙΑ (*ib.* 71); Facundus (Perret, v. pl. 26); Firmus (*Act. S. V.* 133); Fortissima (Marini, 433); Fulgens, Fulgentius, and the diminutive Fulgentillia in Roman inscription of year 385 (De Rossi, i. 155); Gaudentius, m. (Ruinart, 201); Generose (Mamachi, iii. 243); Generosus, Generosa (Martyrol. *passim*); Grata, v. m. (May i.); Gratinianus, m. under Decius (June i.); Gratus, m. (Dec. v.); Hidonitas (Oderico, 349); Hilarius, bp. of Poitiers; Honorata (De Boissieu, 47); Honoratus, bp. of Milan (Feb. viii.); Hospitius (May xxi.); Ingenua (Steiner, 849); Innocentia (Boldetti, 79); Inno-

centina (Perret, v. pl. 37); Innocentius (*passim*); Justa, Justus (Marini, *Pap.* 244); Justina (Perret, v. pl. 53); Katharina, v. m. of Alexandria; Laetus (Le Blant, ii. 321); Luminusus for Luminosus (De Rossi, i. 499); Modestus, m.; Nobilis (De Boissieu, 534); Patiens, bp. of Lyons; Pretiosa (De Rossi, i. 213); Pudens, Pudentiana (Muratori, 1854); Probus, m.; Procopius, m. under Diocletian; Reverens (Oderico, 34); Sanctus, Sanctinus (Muratori, 1985, 12); Scholastica, sister of St. Benedict; Sedatus (Steiner, 830); Serenus (Bosio, 534); Severus (Marchi, 85); Simplicius (*ib.* 27); ΣΙΜΠΛΗΚΙΑ (*Act. S. V.* 71); Studentius (Muratori, 1907); Urbana (Hübner, n. 112); Venerandus (Marini, *Pap.* 332); Vera (Perret, v. pl. 62); Verus (*Act. S. V.* 85); Viricunda (Perret, v. p. 51); Vigilantius (Passionei, 125); Virissimus (Boldetti, 431).

(*o*) *Indicative of servile condition or extraction.* The sect to which Minucius Felix refers (c. 8; Migne, iii. 259) as "latebrosa et lucifugax natio," appears to have included many of the servile class, though, where the master himself became a convert to Christianity, their enfranchisement almost necessarily followed. Tertullian, in adducing examples to shew how ineffectual was the reformation of character that followed upon conversion to protect the Christian from the odium attaching to the name, takes as one of his instances the converted slave (*Apol.* c. 8; Migne, i. 281). [SLAVERY.]

Two martyrs bearing the name of Servus suffered under Hunneric in the 5th century; one at Carthage (Aug. xvii.), the other at Tibur (Dec. vii). In the Roman Martyrology we find Servilius (May xxiv.) Servilianus, a m. under Trajan (Apr. xx.), and Servulus, a m. at Adrumetum (Feb. xxi.). This last name also occurs on a Roman marble of the year 424 (De Rossi, i. 277). Other examples are Bernacle (Boldetti, 55); Bernacla (Fabretti, viii. 140) for Vernacla; Verna (Maffei, 358); Vernacia (*Act. S. V.* 95); Vernacla (Le Blant, i. 119); Vernacolo (Bosio, 408); Vernacula (Boldetti, 54); Serbulus (Reines. 987); Servilianus (Mai, v. 406); Servuli (Bosio, 213).

(*π*) *Diminutives*, expressive of endearment, and chiefly bestowed on females, are common to pagan and Christian usage. Augustula (Marchi, 30); Capriola (Perret, v. pl. 75); Castula (Doni, xx. 91); Catullina (*Act. S. V.* 131); Fabiola (De Rossi, i. 334), d. 452, consequently not the Fabiola praised by Jerome; Feliciola (Perret, v. pl. 67); Fornicula (Boldetti, 545); Fortunula (*Act. S. V.* 94); the tomb of a young female in the year 444 gives the diminutive Geminula (De Rossi, i. 313); Muscula (*ib.* 112); Rosula, m. (Sept. xiv.); Sanctula (Stein, 835); Sereuilla (Boldetti, 365); Silviola (De Rossi, i. 235).

Examples of abnormal forms of inflexion sometimes occur: as Julian*enis* for Julian*ae*, Zozi*menis* for Zosimae. We also find Irenetis, Ispetis, Leopardetis, etc. (Lupi, *Sever. m. Epitaph.* 157). These latter forms, however, occur as early as the commencement of the Empire, examples being found of the time of Claudius and even in that of Augustus (Caredoni, *Cimit.* 157).

(*ρ*) Names of *historical celebrity* frequently occur, especially in the *Acta Martyrum*: Agrippina an aged m. under Valerian (May xxiv.); Alexander (Martyrol. *passim*); Amphion, bp. in Cilicia, conf. under Maximin (June xii.); Amulius (Boldetti, 475); Annon, bp. of Cologne (Dec. iv.); Antigonius, m. at Rome (Feb. xxvii.); Antiochus, m. at Sebaste (July xv.); Antonius, *passim*; Apelles, one of the earliest converts (Romans xvi. 10); Arcadius (Jan. xii.); Archelaus (Mar. iv.); Augustus, m. in Nicomedia (May vii.); Cato (Le Blant, i. 334); Cesar (*ib.* i. 344); Cesarius (*ib.* i. 72); Cornelia (*ib.* i. 345); Darius, m. in Nicaea (Dec. ix.); Demetrius, *passim*; Democritus, m. (July xxxi.); Diocles, m. in Istria (May xxiv.); Diomedes, m. in Laodicea (Sept. xi.); Domitianus, deacon, m. at Ancyra (Dec. xxviii.); Epictetus, m. (Aug. xxii.); Fabius, m. at Caesarea (July xxxi.); Flavius, Flavia (May vii., Oct. v.); Hadrianus, m. at Caesarea (May v.); Heraclius, *passim*; Juliana, m.; Julianus (De Rossi, i. 500); Narses, m. in Persia under Sapor; Orestes, m. under Diocletian (Nov. ix.); Otacilia, wife of the emperor Philip; Patroclus (Le Blant, ii. 416); Peleus, bp. m. in Phoenicia, under Diocletian (Feb. xx.); Philadelphus, m. (May x.); Plato, m. at Ancyra (July xxii.); Plutarchus, m. (June xxviii.) Pompeius, bp. of Pavia (Dec. xiv.); Poppaea (Boldetti, 361); Ptolemaeus, soldier in Alexandria, m. (Dec. x.); Pyrus (Boldetti, 415); Satyrus (De Rossi, i. 198); Seleucus, m. (Feb. xvi.); Socrates, m. (Apr. xix.); Themistocles, m. in Lycia, under Decius (Dec. xxi.); Theodosius, m. (Mar. xxvi.); Thraseas, bp. m. at Smyrna (Oct. v.); Tiberius, m. under Diocletian, (Nov. x.); Timolaus, m. at Caesarea, under the same (Mar. xxiv.); Titus, disciple of St. Paul; also m. at Rome (Aug. xvi.); Valens, bp. m. (May xxi.); three martyrs bearing the names of three Roman emperors, Valerianus, Macrinus, and Gordianus, suffered at Nyon in Switzerland; but nothing is known respecting them, beyond the fact of their martyrdom. Varus, soldier, m. under Maximin (Oct. xix.); Vergilius (De Rossi, i. 195); Volusianus, bp. of Tours in the time of Childeric, son of Clovis (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 26).

B. NAMES OF CHRISTIAN ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE.

(*a*) *Those derived exclusively from Christian doctrine.*

Aeternalis, found on an ancient marble at Vienne, supposed by Martigny to be the only instance of this as a proper name; Hübner, however (n. 25) gives another example found at Emerita in Lusitania. Anastasia (Perret, v. pl. 61); Anastasius (Boldetti. 363); Athanasia, Athanasius (Martyrol. *passim*, but almost entirely confined to Italy); Christianus, Christela, m. (Oct. xxvii.); Christinus, Christophorus (July xxv.); Aquisita (*Act. S. V.* 123); Redempta (Lupi, 185; De Rossi, i. 156); ΡΕΔΕΜΠΤΑ (*Act. S. V.* 109); Redemptius (Vermiglioli, *Iscr. Perug.* 589); Redemptus (Lupi, *ib.* 110; Gazzera, 10; De Boissieu, Append. 10); Reparatus (Nicolai, 232). With reference to spiritual salvation: Salutia (Bosio, 532); Salvius (Jan. xi.); Soteris (*Act. S. V.* 91). With reference to Predestination: Prelecta (De Rossi, i. 597); ΡΕΚΕΠΤΟΣ, Receptus (Aringhi, iv. 37, p. 121). Referring to the new birth and adoption by baptism: Adepta (De Boissieu, 534); Renata (*Act. S. V.* 84); Restitutus (Boldetti, 399), this last being of frequent occurrence in the Martyrology. With reference to the spiritual life: Viventius (*Act. S. V.* 106); Vivianus (*ib.* 134; Vitalis (*ib.* 88); Vitalissimus (*ib.* 123); Zoe (*ib.* 129); ΖΩΤΙΚΕ (Osann. 441, 119); Refrigerius (De

Rossi, i. 88); Refrigeria (Boldetti, 286–7). Pnumulus, from πνεῦμα, expressive of divine inspiration, occurs on a marble from Lyons (De Boissieu, 582).

(β) *From Festivals and Rites of the Church.* Epiphana, m. under Diocletian (July xii.); Epiphanius (De Rossi, i. 287); the mother of the emperor Heraclius I. was called Epiphania (in later times the more common form of this name was Theophania): Natalis, Natalia, m. (July xxvii.); Natalis (Boldetti, 492); Pascasia (De Boissieu, 550); Pascasius (Giorgi, *de Mon. Cris.* 33); Pascasus (*Act. S. V.* 108); Pasqualina (Nicolai, *Basil.* di S. P. 230); Parasceves, m. (Mar. xx.); Eulogia (Buon. *Vetri*, tav. iii. 2); Sabbatius (Passionei, 135); Sabbatia (De Rossi, i. 87); Sabbatus (Boldetti, 490).

(γ) Martyrdom, from the veneration which it commanded, often induced Christians to adopt the names of the sufferers; while the generic term gave rise to the name Martyrius or Martyria (Lupi, 82; Gruter, mliii. 3; Marangoni, etc.). Martigny compares with this the widespread name of Toussaint (All Saints) in modern times.

(δ) *From Christian virtues.* Among these Agape and Irene, with their derivatives, are of especially frequent occurrence, the latter being often borne by the Eastern empresses. They are also common on the earliest monuments. In a fresco from the cemetery of St. Marcellin-et-Pierre (Bottari, 127) they appear to be employed with a figurative allusion to the heavenly feast therein depicted, but they are also to be found with unquestionable reference to individuals (Boldetti, 55; Ruinart, 348). The collection by Le Blant (i. 40) gives the epitaph of a Lyonnese merchant with the name of Agapus; so Agapetus (Perret, v. pl. 27 and 62); Agapenis (De Rossi, i. 99 and 209). A splendid sarcophagus in Boldetti (p. 466) gives us Aurelia Agapetilla. Sometimes the names of the three Christian virtues, Pistis, Elpis, Agape, are united in one family (De Rossi, ΙΧΘΥϹ 19). The Roman Martyrology (Aug. i.) records these names as those of three virgins who suffered under Hadrian. Passionei (118, 47) has the epitaph of a Christian lady named Fides. The first wife of Boethius was, according to tradition, a daughter of the consul Festus, and bore the name of Elpis. The bishop of the church at Lyons, in 426, was named Elpidius (*Brev. Lugd.* Sept. xi.). Other forms, such as Elpisura, Elpidephorus, are to be met with (Boldetti, 366). Ispes (Perret, v. pl. 32); Spesina (Cyprian, *Epist.* xxi., Migne, iv. 281; Vermiglioli, *Iscr. Peru*[illegible]. 587). Caritosa (Perret, v. pl. 77); Charitina, virg. m. under Diocletian (Oct. v.). From Irene we have Irenaeus, a name borne by many martyrs as well as by the famous bishop of Lyons. The church at Gaza in Palestine had a bishop named Irenion, whom it commemorates Dec. xvi. Brotherly love is expressed by names like Adelfius (De Boissieu, 597) and Adelphus (*Martyr. Gallic.* April xxviii.).

(ε) *Names of more general import dictated by pious sentiment.*

Adeodatus (Perret, i. pl. 31); Adeodata (De Rossi, i. 164); Ambrose, with allusion to the bread of life; Amphibalus (?), priest for whom St. Alban gave himself up to martyrdom; Angelica (Perret, v. pl. 31); Aromatia (Maffei, 279); Benedictus; Cyricus (*Act. S. V.* 89); Cyriacus, child m. in Seleucia; also (Marini, *Arv.* 266), with other names derived from Κύριος. Deicola (Jan. xviii.); Deogratias (*Kalend. Carth.* Ruinart, 532); Deusdedit (De Rossi, i. 406), and of frequent occurrence in the Martyrologies; Donatus, the grammarian, tutor of St. Jerome; Donata (Perret, v. pl. 21); Erasmus, m. under Diocletian; Evangelius (Perret, v. 19); Memoriolus (Le Blant, i. 107) (?), with reference to the phrase frequent in Christian epitaphs, *bonae memoriae;* Pientia (Fabretti, 579); Pius, the first pope of this name suffered under Antoninus; Sanctus, m. at Lyons; Sanctinus (De Rossi, i. 532); Sanctulus (Boldetti, 436); Sophia, first introduced from the dedication of the newly-erected church at Constantinople, was subsequently adopted by the niece of Justinian's consort; it afterwards became a favourite name with the imperial princesses, and spread widely among the Slavonic nations; Vera (Le Blant, ii. 234); Vitalis (De Rossi, i. 212).

Derivatives from Θεός are frequent; many, however, appear to have been transmitted from paganism. Theophilus was the name of a Greek poet of the Middle Comedy, and the individual addressed by St. Luke must evidently have been so called prior to his conversion to Christianity; one of the last high priests was also so named. Thekla, the feminine of Θεοκλῆς (also a pagan name), is said by tradition to have been a disciple of St. Paul at Ancona. In most of the pagan names of this class the word probably denotes merely a high degree of excellence. ΘΕΟΤΕΚΝΕ and ΘΕΟΚΤΙϹΤΕ (Marini, *Alb.* 98) are probably distinctively Christian; as also Theopistes, m. (Sept. xx.). The name of *Servus Dei* occurs on some of the marbles of the earlier centuries (*Act. S. V.* 132), and also as borne by two martyrs of Cordova (Jan. xiii.; Sept. vi.); but Boldetti, who at first took it for a proper name in the inscription on a tomb in the cemetery of St. Praetextatus, subsequently found the words impressed with a seal on the cement of a *loculus* in the cemetery of St. Agnes—a fact that would seem to imply that it was customary to stamp them on the tombs. *Ancilla Dei*, according to De Rossi (i. 133), was also a proper name; and an inscription of the year 366 gives us *Quod vult Deus* (*ib.* 99). This latter is not unfrequent in the earlier centuries, and was borne by a bishop of Carthage of the 5th century, and by a Donatist bishop, a contemporary of Augustine. Hübner (n. 2) gives the singular name *Deidomus.* A marble at Naples bears an inscription with the name *Habet Deus* (Fabretti, 757). The first Saxon archbishop was called *Deusdedit* (Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc.* iii. 99). [INSCRIPTIONS, i. 853a.]

(ζ) Names also occur, which, if not exclusively Christian, suggest their probable adoption from a conception of the Christian life as one of warfare: Bellator (*Act. S. V.* 93); Fortissima (Marini, 433); Gregory (γρηγορέω), the guardian or watchman of the church, often adopted by bishops; Victor (Boldetti, 807); Victora (Perret, v. pl. 47); Victoria (*Act. S. V.* 88); Victorianus (De Rossi, i. 195); Victoricus, m. (Dec. xi.); Victorina (Hübner, n. 8); Victricius bp. and conf. under Julian (Aug. viii); Victurus, m. in Africa (Dec. xviii.); Vincensa (Perret, v. pl. 26); Vincentius (De Rossi, i. 217; Hübner, n.

42); Vincentia (ΝΙΚΗ) (Reinesius, cl. xx. 221); Vittoria (Perret, v. pl. 3).

(η) Other names express the Christian joy and assurance in the midst of tribulation: Beatus (Perret, 59); Caelestinus (De Rossi, i. 72); Exillaratus (*ibid.* i. 533); Felix, Felicio (Marini, *Alb.* 110, 26); Felicissimus (*Act. S. V.* 91); Fidencius (Le Blant, ii. 15); Gaudentiolus (*ib.* i. 364); Gaudentius, Gaudiosus (Fabretti, iv. 46); Hilara (Marchi, 53); Hilaris, Hilaritas (Boldetti, 397, 407); Hilarius (Martyrol. *passim*); Hilarus (Marchi, 39); Ilarissus (Marini, *Arv.* 405); Iodocus (from *jocus*), an Armorican prince who settled as a hermit in Ponthieu, and gave his name to a monastery owned by Alcuin; Jubilator (Aringhi, ii. 175); Sozomen, the church historian; Sozomene (Le Blant, ii. 234); Tutus (*ib.* i. 204).

The designation *υἱοὶ φωτός* (1 Thess. v. 5) seems to have suggested many names. Boldetti (407) gives an inscription containing three derivatives from *lux*.

Luceio Lucello Florentio
Qui vixit Ann. xiiii. mens) iiii.
Dieb. xxviii. oris XS. Luceius
Rufinus Pater contra votum.

Towards the close of the 4th century, the name of Mary, preceded or followed by another, is occasionally to be met with. LIVIA MARIA IN PACE (De Rossi, i. 143); ΜΑΡΙΕ ΙΦΙΝΙ, Iphinae for Rufinae (*Act. S. V.* 77). It occurs, also, in two inscriptions given by Perret: MARIA IN PACE (v. c.) and MARIA FECIT FILIAE CIRICE (lxiii. 23). De Boissieu (p. 585) gives the epitaph of one *Maria Venerabilis*, a centenarian of Lyons in the 5th century. A marble of the cemetery of SS. Thruso et Saturninus (*Act. S. V.* 89) gives the name of Anna, but this is yet more rare.

The following are instances of apostolic names:—Andreas (Vermiglioli, 589); ΑΝΔΡΕΑϹ (Osann. 428, xliv.); Johannes (Marini, *Pap.* 251), Ruinart, *passim*; with the commencement of the 5th century the name becomes of more common occurrence (De Rossi, i. 278, 280). Paulus (*Act. S. V.* 105; De Rossi, i. 191); ΦΛΑΤΙΟϹ ΠΑΥΛΟϹ (*Act. S. V.* 73); Paula (*ib.* 106). Petrus (Marchi, 27; Hübner, n. 135a); ΠΕΤΡΟϹ (Osann. *ib.* xlvi.), with its derivatives Petrius (*Act. S. V.* 129); Petronia (Montfaucon, *Iter Ital.* 118); Thomas, extremely rare, occurs in the year 490 (De Rossi, i. 398; Hübner, n. 178). Osann. (485, xi.) gives us the derivation from Stephanus of ϹΤΕΦΑΝΙΝΟϹ.

Among names taken from the Old Testament, that of Susanna is not uncommon: SVSSANNA (De Rossi, i. 196); Rebecca is found in a Roman epitaph of the 4th century (De Rossi, *ib.* 96) REVECCAE INNOCENTI. Many names of martyrs are of this class: Moyses, at Alexandria (Feb. xiv.); Samuel and Daniel, in Mauritania (Oct. xiii.); Tobias, at Sebaste under Licinius (Nov. ii.).

The European races which remained unsubdued by the arms of the Empire, or but imperfectly subjugated, offer certain points of contrast which may be briefly noted. Among the Celts there is discernible, on the part of the early converts, a feeling of deeper reverence and humility in the adoption of sacred names. The prefixes of *Ceile* (the companion or vassal), *Cear* (the friend), *Cailleach* (the handmaiden), and *giolla*, the modern *gillie*, and *mael*, a disciple, denote nothing more than relations of reverent dependence. St. Michael was the object of widespread devotion; hence Cear Michael, now Carmichael. In many Irish families of the old Celtic blood *Gilla Christ* (Gilchrist) appears to have been a Christian name (Petrie and Stokes, p. 67). Gillespiug (Gillespie, *espiug* = *episcopus*) belonged to the line of Diarmid. The names of four northern proprietors in Domesday Book,—Ghilemicel, Ghilander, Ghillepetair, and Ghilebrid,—probably attest the presence of a Celtic element attracted by the illustrious foundation at Lindisfarne. The name of Mary, which gradually spread in the Latin church, after the 4th century (Northcote and Brownlow, *R. S.*, pp. 254–7) is wanting, a point illustrative possibly of the divergence between Celtic and Latin Christianity; it is not until the 12th century that we find the name of *Mailmaire*, "servant of Mary" (Petrie and Stokes, 59). Maelcolum (Malcolm) bears testimony to the veneration in which the memory of the apostle of Iona was held.

Among the Teutonic races on the continent we find ourselves on less firm ground. Many names compounded with that of the Supreme Being were assumed in purely pagan times, and it is often a matter for doubt whether the prefix that belongs to names of this character does not really denote a name of the numerous class commencing with *gund* (war), a class conceived in a very different spirit. Other names, again, like Theodoric, Theudebert, etc., offer a deceptive but unreal appearance of affinity to Greek Christian derivatives. Converts appear to have retained their names unchanged; Ereda (? Freda), Brinca or Bringa, Uviliaric, Trasaric, Sedaignuchus, occur as those of Gothic Christians (McCaul, *Christian Inscr.* p. 21); in the opinion of Schottel (*Teutsche Haubtsprache*, p. 1031) it was not until after the death of the emperor Friedrich II. (ann. 1250) that, under ecclesiastical influences, Germany began to admit a certain infusion of Latin elements in her nomenclature. Pott, however, recognises a Christian element in proper names like *Traugott*, *Dankegott*, *Gottlob* (? 'Deum lauda'), and in family names such as *Kennegott*, *Lebgott*, *Gottleber*, regarding them as originally imperatives, dictated by pious sentiment. To *Herr* and *Herrgott*, which some have derived from the pagan *Divus* (e.g., *Divus* Augustus, *Divus* Antiochus, etc., combined with the equivalent for *Θεός*), he attributes a like origin (*Die Personennamen*, pp. 94–98).

An interesting illustration of the importance of this subject will be found at p. 879, in the account there given of the name Veronica—an example of the manner in which a false etymology has sometimes in turn given rise to the fabrication of legend.

(Works of reference: besides the authorities quoted in the course of the article, Baconniere-Salverte, *Essai historique et philosophique sur les Noms d'Hommes, de Peuples et de Dieux*, trans l. by Mordaque, 1862; Petrie and Stokes, *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, 1872–4; Pott, A. F. *Die Personennamen, insbesondere die Familiennamen und ihre Entstehungsarten*, 1853.)

[J. B. M.]

## NAMES APPLIED TO CHRISTIANS.

[FAITHFUL.]

**NAMES, OBLATION OR RECITAL OF.** I. *The Offerers.*—It was a very early rule in the church, that when the bishop received any gifts for the poor, he should inform them "who the donor was, that they might pray for him by name." This precept was in the original text of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, being found in the Syriac recension as well as in the interpolated Greek (Bunsen, *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, ii. 133, 286). When converts were numerous this could hardly be carried out otherwise than by a public notice in church, and if this was done in the case of offerings for the poor, it would soon be done for other offerings. Such is the probable origin of the recital or "oblation" of the names of the offerers in the Liturgy. If a gift were brought on behalf of the sick or otherwise suffering, or of one deceased, then it was their name, not that of the person who brought it, which was offered. In any case the publication of the name was understood as a request for the prayers of the church on behalf of the person named.

St. Cyprian uses the phrase "nomen offerre" of the living, when, complaining of the too easy absolution granted to the lapsed, he says, "While the persecution still continues, ere the peace of the church itself is yet restored, they are admitted to communicate, and their name is offered" (*Ad Presbyt. Ep.* 16). When he forwarded a charitable collection to Numidia, he gave the bishops there the names of all the contributors, and of the other bishops, and of the priests, who had assisted in making it, "that they might bear them in mind in their petitions, and make a return for their good work in sacrifices and prayers" (PRECES, *Ad Januar. Ep.* 62). St. Jerome speaks more than once of this practice, which appears to have had its evils after the conversion of the empire: "The names of the offerers are now publicly recited, and the redemption of sins is turned into praise" (*Comment. in Jerem.* ii. i. 16); "The deacon recites in the churches the names of the offerers, 'She offers so much,' 'He has promised so much,' and they take pleasure in the applause of the people, while conscience is tormenting them" (*Comm. in Ezek.* vi. xviii. 5–9). When the benefaction was of an enduring kind, as the erection or endowment of a church, the name was recited at every celebration. Thus St. Chrysostom (*Hom.* xviii. *in Acta Apost.* 5), addressing the founder of a church, "Is it a small thing, tell me, for thy name to have a place perpetually in the holy oblations?" The council of Merida, 666, decreed that "the names of those by whom it is certain that churches have been built or who are declared, or who have been declared, to have given anything to the said holy churches, shall, if they are living in the body, be recited before the altar in the time of mass; but that, if they have departed or shall depart from this life, their names shall be recited with those of the faithful departed, in their order" (can. 19). The publication of the names of the dead, when an offering was made for them, is found in Africa in the 3rd century. Thus St. Cyprian, ordering that "no oblation should be made for the falling asleep" of one who had broken a law of the church, gives as the reason that one who had done so did "not deserve to be *named* at the altar in the prayer of the priests" (*Epist. ad Presbyt. Furnit.* 1). St. Augustine, speaking of the future punishment of heresiarchs, says, "In that day there will be none to recite the names of the chiefs of their madness at the altar" (*C. Parmen.* iii. 6.)

II. *Names constantly offered.*—The names of the offerers on a given occasion, and of the sufferers or the dead for whom oblations were made, would be published only once or a few times at the most; but there were other names, as those of the bishop, archbishop, &c., certain eminent teachers of the church, whether living or dead, and those of departed martyrs, confessors, &c., including the apostles and the Blessed Virgin, which were recited continually. These were inscribed in the DIPTYCHS. In Africa at least, the names of the priests seem also to have been recited from a written document. Thus St. Augustine, suggesting that the name of a suspected priest should "not be recited," says, "For what hurt does it do to one, that human ignorance will not have him recited from that tablet, if a guilty conscience does not blot him out from the book of the living?" (*Epist.* 78 *ad Cler.* § 4).

III. *When offered.*—At first the names of the living and of the dead were recited at the same part of the service. Thus in a Gothico-Gallican Collectio post Nomina: "Let us beseech God. . . . that He sanctify the names of the offerers and of the departed, which have been recited." (*Liturg. Gall.* 221). Again: "Let us commemorate the names of those who offer and of those who are at rest" (255). Similarly in Mozarabic Orationes post Nomina: "Offerentibus venia et defunctis requies condonetur" (*Miss. Moz.* Leslie, 17); "Nominibus sanctorum martyrum offerentiumque fidelium atque eorum qui ab hoc saeculo transierunt, a ministris jam sacri ordinis recensitis" (27); etc. That the names were all offered about the same time is also implied whenever petitions for the living and the dead occur in the same collect, as *Miss. Goth. u.s.* 191, 194, 201, &c.; *Miss. Gall. Vet.* 365, 571; *Miss. Moz. u. s.* 34, 43, 46, &c. In the Mozarabic Missal the Post Nomina follows the names of a long series of confessors: "*Let the presbyter say*, Our priests offer an oblation to the Lord God. . . . Making a commemoration of the most blessed apostles and martyrs, the glorious holy Virgin Mary. . . . Also for the spirits of those at rest, Hilary, Athanasius, Martin, Ambrose, Augustine," &c. (46 names). There is no direction for the recital of the names of the offerers or others, but after the Post Nomina, the following constant form, from which the practice appears, is said, "*Let the presbyter say*, For Thou art the life of the living, the health of the sick, and the rest of the faithful departed, for ever and ever" (Leslie, 4). So of the Post Nomina itself, St. Isidore, 610, says, "Effunditur pro offerentibus sive pro defunctis fidelibus" (*De Eccl. Off.* i. 15).

The later Roman rule and the reason for it were, as we learn from Pseudo-Innocent, as follows: "Thou mayest know of thyself, of thine own good sense, how superfluous it is for thee to mention the name of him whose oblation thou offerest to God (though nothing be hid from Him) previously; (that is), before the priest makes the prayers (PRECES), and by his petitions commends the oblations of those whose names are to

be recited. The oblations are therefore to be commended first, and then the names of those, whose oblations they are, to be given out: that they may be named in the holy mysteries [*i.e.*, in the Missa Fidelium, or anaphora], and not among the other forms [as in the secreta, or collectio post nomina] which we put before them, that by the mysteries themselves we may open the way for our subsequent prayers" (*Ep. ad Decent.* 2). Hence the origin of the *Commemoratio pro vivis* before the consecration, and the *Commemoratio pro defunctis* after it in the Roman canon. In both, the priest may still call up silently the names of any for whom he desires to pray (*Ritus Celebr.* viii. 3; ix. 2); but when the change was first made, the canon was still said, and therefore the names would be recited, aloud. See *Notitia Eucharistica*, ed. 2, p. 565. In the Vatican MS. of the Gregorian Sacramentary, printed by Rocca (*Opp.* Greg. V. 63; ed. 1615), the former commemoration runs as follows: "Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum, *Ill. et Ill.* et omnium circum astantium, quorum Tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio, qui Tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus." The Eligian codex resembles this (Ménard in *Opp.* Greg., ed. Ben. iii. 3). In the margin of the Othobonian, and in every vacant space about the pages, are many names of the living who sought the prayers of the church, especially of the sick, as well as of deceased persons (Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 73; ii. 2). One of the Cologne MSS., used by Pamelius, inserts after "tuarum," in the margin, "et eorum quorum nomina ad memorandum conscripsimus, ac super sanctum altare Tuum scripta adesse videntur" (*Rituale PP.* ii. 180). In the canon as given by Amalarius (*Eclogae de Off. Miss.* in fine) we have, after "tuarum," "*Illorum et Illarum* [Hic nomina vivorum memorentur, si volueris; sed non dominica die, nisi certis diebus], et omnium," etc. Sim. a Saltzburg Pontifical, cited by Martene (*Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. iv. viii. 15). The old Ambrosian canon here resembles the old Roman, but contains an additional clause which has been borrowed by the later Roman: "Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque Tuarum [Illorum] et omnium circum adstantium quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio, *pro quibus Tibi offerimus vel* qui Tibi offerunt," etc. (Murat. *u. s.* 133).

There is no Commemoratio pro Mortuis in the Gelasian canon (Murat. i. 697), nor in several copies of the Gregorian. Gerbert mentions three in which it is altogether wanting, and three others in which it has been supplied by a later hand (*Mon. Vet. Lit. Alemann.* i. 236). Only in one copy, it is believed, does a memorial of the dead occur in the canon both before and after the consecration; viz., in the Rhenaugen MS. of the 8th century (itself shewn to be a copy of an earlier) from a transcript of which Gerbert prints. The former of these commemorations, which immediately follows that for the living is as follows: "Memento etiam, Domine, et animarum famulorum famularumque tuarum fidelium Catholicorum in Christo quiescentium, qui nos praecesserunt, *illorum et illarum*, qui per eleemosynam et confessionem Tibi reddunt vota sua" (*ibid.* 233). The second memorial after the consecration, in this MS. is, "Memento etiam, Domine, et eorum nomina, qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis." With this agrees to the letter one Cologne MS., from which Pamelius prints (i. 182), the Romanising Frankish and Besançon Missals (Murat. ii. 694, 779), and the canon given by Amalarius, but the last named adds, "*Et recitantur nomina. Dein postquam recitata fuerint dicit*," etc. In others the prayer begins thus: "*Super Diptycha*" (*Cod. Vatic.* Rocca), "Memento etiam Domine famulorum (N. *Cod. Col.* 2; Pamel. *u. s.*) famularumque (N. *Cod. Col.* 2) Tuarum (*Ill.* Rocca and *Cod. Eliq.* u. s. 4; *Illorum et Illarum* (with several names in the margin), *Codex Vatic. Bibl.* Murat. ii. 4) qui nos . . . pacis." All these proceed thus, "Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur, per," etc.

The Council of Aix in 789, under the influence of Charlemagne, adopted the later rule of Rome as expressed by Pseudo-Innocent (can. 54; see also Conc. Francof. A.D. 794, can. 51).

The early Ambrosian canon did not commemorate the departed (Murat. *u.s.* 134), but an unvarying prayer, introduced at an unknown period, was said secretly after the oblations were set on the altar, but before the Offerend, Creed and Super Oblatum, in which both living and dead are prayed for: "Receive, holy Trinity, this oblation which we offer unto Thee . . . for the health and safety of Thy servants and handmaidens N., for whom we have promised to implore Thy clemency, and whose alms we have received, and of all faithful Christians, both living and departed" (Pamel. *u. s.* i. 298).

The liturgies of the East do not shew expressly where the names of offerers were published, but there is every reason to think that it was done when the diptychs were read. St. Mark thus refers to offerers in a prayer before the anaphora, which, following immediately the diptychs of the dead, intercedes for them and for the living also: "Receive, O God, on to Thy holy, supercelestial, and intellectual altar, the greatness of the heavens, through the ministry of Thy archangels, the thank-offerings of those that offer the sacrifices and oblations, of those who desire to offer much and little, secretly, and openly, and are not able; and of those who have this day offered the oblations" (Renaud. i. 150). In St. James these intercessions come after the consecration. As the offerers are mentioned immediately after the diptychs of the living (compare Assem. *Codex Lit.* v. 43 with 85), we infer that their names had also been recited at the same time. The clause in St. James is, "Vouchsafe also to remember, O Lord, them who have this day offered these oblations on Thy holy altar, and those for whom each has offered, or has in mind, and those whose names have been now read unto Thee" (*u. s.* 43). The diptychs of the dead follow. In St. Basil, which is derived from St. James, the diptychs of the living and dead are read before any of the intercessions are said. The following is the reference to the offerers: "Remember, O Lord, those who have offered these gifts unto Thee, and those for whom, and by whom, and on account of whom they have offered them" (Goar, 171). This is not preserved in St. Chrysostom, nor in the Armenian, which is also derived from St. Basil. Perhaps it was thought, when all oblations but those of bread

and wine had ceased, that the similar clause in the prayer of prothesis ("Remember those who have offered, and those for whom they have offered," Goar, 63), was sufficient. In St. James this prayer is said with the same intention at the great entrance (Assem. *u.s.* 17). In the Syriac rites derived from St. James the offerers are prayed for, as in that, when the diptychs are read *after* the consecration (Renaud. ii. 35, 149, 157, &c.). There is no prayer for them in the Nestorian liturgies, but the usual context comes after (*Theod.* Renaud. i. 620; *Nest.* 631), except in the Malabar (Raulin, 314), in which it comes before the consecration, though the diopatkeen (diptychs) were read even before the anaphora. In the Coptic St. Basil the deacon says, "Pray for —," apparently naming the offerers; and the priest, "pointing to the bread and wine," prays for "those who offer them, and those for whom they offer"(Ren. i. 17). This is *after* the consecration; and so the Greek Alexandrine Basil and Gregory (*Ibid.* 71, 108); but in the Coptic Gregory and Cyril and the Ethiopic (32, 42, 515), the intercessions, of which this is one, are said *before*.

IV. *Whose names were not offered.*—When an oblation was brought, the publication of the name necessarily depended on its acceptance or rejection. Thus the council of Illiberis in 313 forbids the names of energumens to be given out "with an oblation at the altar" (can. 19). On the rejection of oblations, see OBLATIONS, § III. On the exclusion of names of the living or dead for whom mention was claimed as a token of communion, see DIPTYCHS, § 2.

V. *By whom the names were recited.*—This was generally the office of the deacon, both in the east and west. We have seen it ascribed to him by St. Jerome. St. Isidore of Seville says, "To him also pertains the office of prayers [PRECES], the recitation of the names" (*ad Leudefr.* 8). Nor is this irreconcilable with the language of St. Cyprian, "Named at the altar of God in the prayer of the priests;" for we may suppose that in Africa, as in Gaul and Spain, the priest made express reference to the names published by the deacons immediately before. If there was an exception, they were rather published by the subdeacon than by the priest. Thus, in an ancient pontifical the MS. of which dates from the tenth century, "the subdeacons behind the altar name or recite the names of the living and dead" (at the "Memento," *Missa Ratoldi* in *Greg. Sacram.* App. *u.s.* 246). So by an old custom at Rheims, recorded as still existing about 965, the subdeacon daily recited at mass in the ear of the celebrant the names of all bishops of the diocese (Fulcuinus *de Abbat. Lobiens.* vii.; *Spicilegium* Dacher. vi. 551).

In the Greek Liturgy the deacon still reads the diptychs, and "makes memorials of whom he will of the dead and of the living" (*Euchol.* Goar, 78, 170). Compare the Armenian (Neale, *Introd. Hist. East. Ch.* 594–610). The deacon is ordered to say them in the margin of the Sicilian use of St. James, from which liturgy the foregoing are derived (Assem. v. 85, 86); in St. Mark (Renaud. i. 150), and the Egyptian liturgies, Coptic (Bas. 19), and Greek (Bas. 72, Greg. 112); the Syrian (*Ibid.* ii. 34–36, 137, 279–282); and the Nestorian (Badger, ii. 222). Only the Ethiopic, which is in other respects in confusion, assigns this duty to the priest.

VI. *Notices of the Names in the Collectio post Nomina.*—These are often of interest, *e.g.* "Nomina quorum sunt recitatione complexa, scribi jubeas in aeternitate" (*Miss. Goth.* in *Liturg. Gall.* 191); "Offerentium nomina recitata coelesti chirographo in libro vitae jubeas adscribi" (232, comp. 233, 273, 276, 286); "Quorum texuit recitatio praemissa sortem, inter electos jubeas adgregari" (207, 209); "Offerentum ac pausantum quae recitata sunt nomina, apostoli sui intercessione sanctificet" (221); "Quorum nomina ante altare sanctum recitata, aeterna quies suscipiat" (288, comp. *Sacr. Vet. Gall.* 334); "Nomina quae vocabulorum sunt pro aetatibus memorata, aeternitatis titulo jubeas praesignari" (234). The last appears to refer to the different ages in which the persons commemorated had lived. "Offerentium nuncupationem compertasque etiam dantium accipientiumque personas nota vocabulorum designatione monstravit [*sc.* diaconus]. Ad dilecta precum revertamur officia" (*Miss. Richenov.* Neale and Forbes, 16). This seems to imply a custom of mentioning also the name of the deacon to whose hands an oblation was committed. Many similar references to the nomina occur in the corresponding prayer of the Mozarabic missal (Leslie, 15, 27, 57, &c.).

The Roman, Greek, and Eastern methods of introducing a reference to the offerers in the prayers have been sufficiently illustrated in § III.

On the subject of this article refer to Gabr. Albaspinus, *Observationum Libri Duo*, i. 7; Lut. Par. 1623; Franc. de Berlendis, *de Oblationibus*, p. 1. § 12; ed. Lat. 1, Venet. 1743; Joan. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum* lib. II. viii. 7, xi. 3–5, xii. 2, 3, xiv. 1–4, with Sala's notes, Aug. Taur. 1753; Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. iv. 8, nn. 7–18, 23–25; Leslie, notes in *Missale Mixtum*, p. 538; Rom. 1755. Martene, *u.s.* n. 24, traces the practice in the west below the age of Charlemagne. [W. E. S.]

**NAMFASIUS**, hermit at Cahors, cir. A.D. 800; commemorated Nov. 21 (Mabill. *Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. iii. pt. 2, p. 405. Venet. 1734). [C. H.]

**NANTES, COUNCIL OF** (*Nannetense Concilium*). Because Flodoard, who was canon of Rheims in the tenth century, speaks of one of the bishops of Rheims, in the seventh, having repaired a church in that diocese, "by common consent of the whole council of the bishops of France, set forth at Nantes," it has been inferred that a council was held there A.D. 658; and because twenty canons were quoted in the ninth and following centuries, as though they had been passed at Nantes, it has been further inferred that these canons may have been the work of this council in the seventh. Whatever may be thought of the first supposition, internal evidence forbids this last (Mansi, xi. 59, and xviii. 165–74; comp. Delaland, *Suppl.* 69; also RHEIMS, COUNCILS OF.) [E. S. Ff.]

**NARBONNE, COUNCILS OF** (*Narbonensia Concilia*). (1.) A.D. 589, at which Nigetius, bishop of Narbonne, and six others, all subjects of king Reccared, were present, and fifteen canons passed, agreeably with what had been decreed at the third council of Toledo the same

year. By the first the clergy may not wear purple. The second orders the doxology to be repeated at the end of every psalm; or, when a psalm is divided, at the end of every such division. By the third the clergy may not stand gossiping in the streets. The fifth refers to the eighteenth canon of Chalcedon, as though it had been passed at Nicaea. By the eleventh, bishops may not ordain illiterate men. By the last, a superstitious way of keeping Thursday as a holiday is censured (Mansi, ix. 1013 sq.).

(2) Said to have been held A.D. 788, by order of the *Emperor Charles*, for determining the bounds of that diocese, which alone shews that the account given of it is in part spurious. But further, it purports to have been occasioned by the errors of Felix, bishop of Urgel, and yet he is set down among the subscribers to it. If it ever met, therefore, its records are deserving of no credit as they stand now (Mansi, xiii. 821 sq.). [E. S. Ff.]

**NARCISSUS** (1) Martyr, commemorated in Africa Jan. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr, with his brothers Argeus and Marcellinus, commemorated at Tomi Jan. 2 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*); Jan. 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Bishop of Gerona in Spain in the 4th century; martyr with his deacon Felix; commemorated March 18 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 621).

(4) (NORSOSES), Patriarch of Armenia, probably the 7th, sat in the second General Council; commemorated June 15 (*Cal. Armen.*).

(5) Martyr with Crescentio at Rome, commemorated Sept. 17 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. v. 476).

(6) Bishop of Jerusalem, commemorated Oct. 29 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(7) Mentioned by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 11); commemorated Oct. 31 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**NARNUS**, bishop and confessor at Bergomum, cir. A.D. 75; commemorated Aug. 27 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 8). [C. H.]

**NARSES.** [NERSAS.]

**NARSEUS**, martyr at Alexandria; commemorated July 15 (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

**NARTHALUS**, one of the twelve Scillitanian martyrs; commemorated at Carthage July 17 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*); also written Natalus and Narzalis (Usuard. *Mart.* and Var. Lect.). [ ]

**NARTHEX** (νάρθηξ, προναος, αὐλών, (qy. αὐλή) by Paul the Silentiary; στοὰ by Hesychius; *Paradisus*.) (1) The word first of all means the plant called giant-fennel, which was used as a cane; then it means a cane or staff, and even a surgeon's splint. In Christian ecclesiology it was used to designate the vestibule of a church. The reason of this application is given in a passage of Procopius of Caesarea (*circa* 527) in describing the church which the emperor Justinian built at Jerusalem in honour of the Blessed Virgin. "A great quantity of columns, immense in size and in colour resembling a flame of fire, support the church (τὸν νεὼ) on every side, some below and some above, and some about the cloisters (στοὰς) which surround the whole precinct (ἱερὸν), except on the side which is turned towards the east. Of which two stand before the door of the church (τοῦ νεὼ), very fine, and probably second to no columns in the world. Next there follows a kind of cloister (στοά τις) named after the narthex, I suppose, *from its not being made wide.*" (Procopius, *de Aedificiis*, lib. v. cap. 6, ed. Dindorf in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, vol. iii. p. 323, Bonn, 1838.) It is laid down by Hofmann (*Lex. Univ.* s. v.) that the length of the narthex was the whole width of the church.

Another etymology, unnoticed by Bingham and others, but exclusively relied on by the Etymologium Magnum, and the Lexicon of Zonaras, connects the word narthex with νέρθεν (παρὰ τὸ νέρθεν εἶναι τοῦ ναοῦ [al. lect. ἄμβωνος, ed. Gaisford]), because it was on a lower level than the body of the church (see a long note upon the subject by the commentator on the *Concordia Regularum* of St. Benedict of Anianum, temp. Charlemagne, ed. Migne, *Patrol. Cursus*, tom. 103, p. 1010). This however does not appear to be in accordance with the fact. For it will be seen lower down, that in some cases the narthex was the receptacle of the female part of the congregation, and that that receptacle was upon a higher, not a lower, level than the body of the church. [NAVE.]

The word is used sometimes of a part within the church, and sometimes of one without; but it always means a part of the church further from the altar than the part where the faithful were assembled. Hence it was a place for the catechumens. Near them the possessed (χειμαζόμενοι, Syn. Ancyr. Can. 17) seem anciently to have had their place, also in the narthex. The entrance from the narthex to the nave was, according to Beveridge, by the "beautiful gates" [DOORS, p. 573], near which, as the most honourable part of the narthex, the Audientes stood. The communication of the narthex with the outside was through the "great gates" (μεγάλαι πύλαι). The place of the Catechumeni in the narthex was near these last gates. The Energumens or possessed coming between the Catechumens and the Audientes.

A passage of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus shews distinctly that in his plan the narthex was within the gate of the church. He says that the Audientes were to do their part "within the gate (of the church) in the narthex," (ἔνδοθι τῆς πύλης ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι), *Epist. Canonica*, Can. xi. See a discussion of the several views in the commentary of Du Cange upon Paul the Silentiary, cap. 81.

Leo Allatius wrote a tract upon the narthex, in which he refutes the opinion that the narthex was in the porch, and shews that it was inside the church, near the door, and that it was the place where the Catechumens, the Energumens, and the Penitents were gathered.

Du Cange (*Gloss. Graec.* s. v. 986) points to a distinction (and possibly to some solution of the discrepancy amongst writers) between monastic and non-monastic churches; and he affirms that in the latter class, the narthex was outside, not inside, the church. In monastic churches, a distinction had to be made between the fraternity and the general public; and accordingly such churches were divided internally into three parts: (1) the Bema (Sacrarium) with the screen; (2) the ναὸς, for the monks, with rails separating

it from (3) the narthex for the non-monastic public. Du Cange quotes a MS. Life of St. Paul Latrensis, which says that his body was buried "in the choir of the church (ναοῦ); we have been accustomed to call the place a narthex." As to the distinction between monastic and non-monastic churches in the East, Magri (*Hierolexicon*, s. v.) gives a different account, which he says depends upon his own observation. The narthex, he says, in monastic churches serves for lay monks, and in secular churches for women. In the latter case it is fenced off by grilles and rails.

A search has been made in vain for any transcription of the Greek word by any of the earlier Latin writers. It appears to be always translated by *porticus*, *atrium*, or some kindred word. Bingham, indeed (*Antiq.* viii. cap. 4, s. 2), while he claims great antiquity for the thing, admits that the name itself is "not very ancient." But the passage quoted above from Gregory Thaumaturgus may be thought to shew that even the name was more ancient than Bingham imagined.

It is affirmed, indeed, by Hofmann (*Lexicon Univ.* s.v.) that the narthex was by the Latins called Paradisus. This, however, seems to be strictly the name for the cloistered court, which in some of the older basilicas stood in front of the entrance to the church proper. In the view of some writers narthex was the name appropriated to that side of the quadrangular cloister which abutted on the church wall. It is not till the 6th century (*Greg. Turon.* lib. 2, c. 21) that we find any trace of the font being placed in this part of the structure.

(2) The staff or sceptre which the Greek emperor carried in his hand at the altar-service of his coronation. [H. T. A.]

NARZALIS. [NARTHALUS.]

NASO (1) Martyr, commemorated at Rome, in the cemetery of Praetextatus, May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

(2) Martyr, commemorated at Cyprus July 12 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NATALE**, also *Natalis*, *dies natalis*, *natalitia*; γενέθλιον, ἡμέρα γενέθλιος. These words designate, in the language of the early church, the death-day of one of the faithful, regarded as a birth into eternal life. Even in the generation which immediately succeeded the apostles, we find the church saying of Polycarp, "we celebrate the birthday of his testimony or martyrdom (τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον)" (*Mart. Polycarpi*, c. 18); and at a somewhat later date, Tertullian tells us (*de Corona*, 3) "oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus," where the word *natalitia* seems to be used for the death-day, not of a martyr only, but of any of the faithful.

Pagi (on Baronius, ann. 67, n. 23) contends that the *natalis* of a martyr in the calendar is rarely his actual death-day, but commonly that of the translation of his relics, as in time of persecution the actual death-day could not generally be discovered. Muratori, on the contrary (*De SS. Martt. Natalitiis*) believes that the church took all possible pains to determine this very point. The writer of the *Acta S. Ignatii*, for instance, communicates to the faithful the very day of the saint's martyrdom, that they might hold an assembly on that day (*Acta Ign.* c. 6). Cyprian, too, (*Epist.* 37) required that the death-days of such of the faithful as died in prison should be communicated to him, in order that they might be commemorated by an oblation on that day. In this way were formed CALENDARS and MARTYROLOGIES. Calendars of this kind were also common among pagans. In the records, for instance, of the collegium of Lanuvium, published by Mommsen (*de Collegiis*, p. 112), we find the death-days which were to be celebrated by members of the collegium set down thus: "xiii. Kal. Sept. natali Caesenni Silvari patris," etc. Here we have the form adopted in the oldest Christian calendars (De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* i. 210). We have but to substitute some such name as "Callisti" for "Caesenni" and we have at once a Christian entry. [Compare MARTYR, pp. 1123, 1127.]

In inscriptions, *Natale* or *natalis* is very common.

To take two examples out of a multitude; the inscription SANCTIS MARTYRIBVS TIBVRTIO || BALERIANO ET MAXIMO QVORVM || NATALES [*natalis*] EST XVIII. KALENDAS MAIAS tells us that the death-day of the martyrs Tiburtius, Valerianus and Maximus was on the eighteenth day before the calends of May; and the inscription PARENTES FILIO MERCVRIO FECE||RVNT QVI VIXIT ANN. V. ET MESES VIII. || NATVS IN PACE IDVS FEBRV, that the child Mercurius was "born in peace"—*i.e.* died—on the ides of February (Mamachi, *Origines*, ii. 230; Marangoni, *Acta S. Vict.* p. 88). It was in accordance with this feeling that the anniversary of a Christian's death-day was celebrated with the rejoicing which generally accompanies a birthday [CELLA MEMORIAE]. It will be observed in the two inscriptions given above—and the same is the case with all inscriptions of that antiquity—that no year-date is given; it was sufficient to mark the day on which the annual commemoration was to be held.

The *natalia* of distinguished persons naturally soon came to be used themselves as dates. Thus in an inscription given by De Rossi, Studentia is said to have died on the *natale* of pope Marcellus (Jan. 16).

In process of time, the word *natalis* came to mean little more than an annual festival, and was applied to commemorations to which in the strict sense it was inapplicable; thus the *Kalendarium Bucherianum* (Ruinart, p. 617) has "VIII. Kal. Mart. Natale Petri de Cathedra," for the festival of the Chair of St. Peter. And the word was also not unfrequently used for the anniversary of the ordination of a bishop. It designated also, with a certain appropriateness, the anniversary festival of the foundation of a city.

The day of the Institution of the Lord's Supper is called *Natalis Calicis*, or *Dies Natalis Eucharistiae*. [MAUNDY THURSDAY, p. 1160.]

The *Natalis Domini* is the birthday of the Lord in the flesh [CHRISTMAS DAY, p. 356]; the entrance into the life of this world of ST. JOHN BAPTIST [p. 881] is also a festival.

(Probst, *Kirchliche Disciplin der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*, p. 127 ff.; Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v. Natale; Bingham's *Antiq.* iv. § vi. 15.) [C.]

**NATALIA**, martyr, with her husband Adrianus; commemorated at Nicomedia Aug. 26 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 266); Sept. 28 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*); Nathalia, Dec. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NATALIS** (1) Martyr, commemorated in the East Jan. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr, commemorated at Rome, in the Forum Simphronii, Feb. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Archbishop of Milan, A.D. 751; commemorated May 13 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 241.).

(4) Presbyter and confessor, third or eighth century; commemorated Aug. 21 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 409). [C. H.]

**NATALUS.** [NARTHALUS.]

**NATATORIA** or **NATATORIUM**, a word sometimes used to designate a baptismal font, κολυμβήθρα "in natatorio Sancti Martyris Barlaae" (*Hist. Miscell.* in Zenone, apud Ducange, *Gloss.*). In Sidonius Apollinaris it is found in its ordinary sense for a swimming bath. (*Epist.* lib. ii. Ep. 2). "Natatoria" is the translation of κολυμβήθρα Joh. ix. 7. Vulg. and Joh. v. 2. Vet. Lat. (Vulg. "piscina probatica"), and is so used by St. Ambrose (*de Myst.* c. iv. § 22). [E. V.]

**NATHALIA**, martyr, with Liliosa and others; commemorated Aug. 28 (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

**NATHANAEL** of Cana (St. John i.), commemorated Ap. 22 (Basil. *Menol.*); July 4 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C. H.]

**NATIVITY, THE (IN ART).** It has been remarked in a previous article (MARY, THE VIRGIN, IN ART) that while the Adoration of the Magi is one of the commonest subjects in early Christian art, the Nativity, with the contemporaneous gospel fact, the Adoration of the Shepherds, is one of the very rarest. Indeed it cannot be said to belong to pictorial art at all. It does not once appear in the innumerable catacomb frescoes. It is equally absent from the mosaics of the basilicas and churches. The only examples of the subject are sculptural, and must be looked for on minor works, such as sarcophagi, ivories, and gems, and even here it is by no means frequent.

The representations of this scene generally follow one type. We usually see the Divine Child wrapped in its swaddling bands as the central object, lying either in a basket-work manger, or on a tall stool, vested with hangings. The Babe is sometimes recumbent; but more usually the head and shoulders are raised without any support, in supposed allusion to Matt. viii. 20, Luke ix. 58. The star appears above. The virgin mother sometimes lies on a rude couch as a newly delivered woman, either above or below the Infant, on which she lays her right hand, sometimes sits by the manger. Joseph, when present, is seated at its foot, rapt in thought, his head resting on his hand. The ox and the ass, the traditional accompaniments of the nativity, in allusion to Isai. i. 3, Habak. iii. (cf. Baron. *Annot.* i. § 3; Tillemont, i. 423) appear either behind, or at the head and foot of the manger. The shepherds, with curved staves in their hands, stand by adoring.

The representations of the nativity on sarcophagi are rare. The pediment of that which forms the substructure of the pulpit of the basilica of St. Ambrose at Milan, offers an example. The divine Babe lies on a bed, unattended, the star resting on its head, while at its feet couch the ox and the ass (Allegranza, *Monum. di Milan*, p. 63, tav. v.; Martigny, *Dictionn.*



No. 1. Nativity. Sarcophagus under Pulpit, St. Ambrogio, Milan.

p. 89; woodcut No. 1). We find the same subject very rudely portrayed on a sarcophagus at Arles, figured by Millin (*Midi de la France*, pl. lxvi. No. 4). Christ here lies on a wicker-work cradle, to the left of which His mother is seated, and on the right stands one of the shepherds with his right arm extended, holding his pastoral staff in his left hand. The ox and ass are seen in the background. Joseph is absent. In a compartment below we find the three Magi, with Phrygian bonnets. The ox and ass are also represented in adoration on a sepulchral fragment assigned to A.D. 343, given by De Rossi (*Inscr. Christ. Rom.* i. p. 51, No. 73). Here the Infant lies on the ground, and we have two shepherds standing with hands outstretched in adoration. The scene is similarly represented on two Roman sarcophagi (Aringhi, i. p. 615, ii. 355; Bottari, tav. lxxxv. and cxciii.; Bosio, pp. 327, 589). The



No. 2. From a Sarcophagus. (Bosio, p. 287.)

former, of which we give a woodcut (No. 2), is a double subject; the left-hand half representing the Adoration of the Magi. It will be noticed that one of the shepherds kisses his hand in token of worship. On the sarcophagi it is not at all unusual to find, by a continuation of the two subjects, the accessories of the nativity, the ox and the ass, together with the swaddled babe and the manger, forming part of the Adoration of the Magi. (Bottari, tav. xxii., lxxxv., lxxxvi.; Aringhi, i. pp. 295, 617; Bosio, 63.)

The nativity is a somewhat frequent subject on ivories. The great collection of Gori (*Thesaur. vet. diptych.* vol. iii.) presents several examples. He gives the ivory sheath of a knife (tab. x.), on one side of which are carved scenes from the opening of the Gospel history—the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, and on the other side scenes from the Passion. The nativity follows the type given below (woodcut No. 3), only that the

Virgin lies on a higher couch than the child. In the background are two pensile lamps, and the star. An ivory tablet in the treasury of the cathedral of Milan (tab. xxxii) represents the same scene, the Virgin lying below; un-



No. 3. Gem from Vettori.

nimbed angels stand at the head and foot of the manger. Joseph sits in deep thought. In the foreground are placed a basin and flagon for water. It is inscribed H. ΓΕΝΗCIC. Another ivory from the Cospian Museum at Bologna (tab. xxxv.) corresponds with this in almost all its details, but the workmanship is very coarse (cf. tab. xxxix.). The treatment in the ivory given (tab. xi.) is somewhat different. The Virgin, half standing, half kneeling, supports her Child on the manger. Joseph sits meditating. Angels, unnimbed, stand by the manger, above which the star casts a trail of light, on which one of two shepherds below is gazing with elevated eyes, while his companion kneels, with his offering of a lamb standing by.

A gem engraved by Vettori (*Numm. Aen. Explic.* p. 37; Perret, *Catacombes*, tom. iv. pl. xvi. No. 84) furnishes a good example of the type described above (woodcut No. 3). Both angels and shepherds are absent. The moon appears as well as




No. 4. Nativity. Cameo from Venuti.

the star. The whole scene breathes a holy calm. Cut No. 4 gives one half of a much mutilated green cameo of the 6th century, representing the same type. It is engraved and described by Venuti (*Accadem. di Cortona*, tom. vii. p. 45, tav. ii. 14). The mutilated inscription below the subject refers to the lost half of the cameo, on which was cut the visitation, H υπαπαντε παρα μητρος χρηστου. (Martigny, art. *Nativité; Bergers, Adoration des; Boeuf et l'Ane.*)

[E. V.]

**NATIVITY.** [CHRISTMAS.]

**NAULIS.** [NAVALIS.]

**NAVALIS**, martyr with Valentinus and Agricola; commemorated at Ravenna Dec. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Naulis (Usuard. *Mart.*).

[C. H.]

**NAVE.** (Gr. ναός: εὐκτήριον τοῦ λαοῦ; Lat. *Navis, Capsum;* Fr. *Nef;* Ital. *Nave*, Germ. *Schiff, Langhaus.*) Authorities are not agreed upon the etymology of the word, some deriving it from (1) ναός, temple, which is the ordinary Greek term for what we should call "the body of the church;" and others from (2) navis, a ship. The fact that in several European languages (*e. g.* French and Italian), the corresponding word is used to designate both "ship," and "part of a church," may be thought to favour the latter hypothesis. As being distinct from the Sanctuary upon the one hand (the place for clergy), and from the Porch (the place for certain exceptional classes of people) upon the other, it was spoken of as the "quadrangular oratory of the people" (εὐκτήριον τοῦ λαοῦ τετράγωνον). As being the receptacle of the people, for whose salvation the church existed, it was no great stretch of fancy to speak of it under the figure of a ship. The Ark was at all times the Old Testament figure of the Church. The idea of the comparison between the church and a ship was elaborated very early. There is a long parallel in the so-called letter of Clement I. to James, the Lord's brother (Labbe, i. 86, 87), in which the laity are represented as the passengers occupying the body of the ship. The same idea is worked at length in the directions to bishops, given in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, lib. ii. cap. 57 (Labbe, i.), "And first let the house be oblong, turned towards the east, the Pastophoria on either side towards the east, *seeing it resembles a ship*" (ὅστις ἔοικε νηί). In the sixth century St. Gregory the Great casually (*Expos. Moralis in Job*, lib. xvii. cap. 14) connects the same imagery with the church as containing an audience whose safety had to be secured. The resemblance of nave to its Greek equivalent (ναός) may be nothing more than accidental. The earliest description of the architecture of a church which Christian literature presents is, according to Fleury (*Hist. Eccl.* vol. iii.), the account of the church at Tyre restored by its bishop, Paulinus (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. x. cap. 4). In this church, the nave was entered from the cloistered area outside by three doors, of which (as in many modern churches) the centre one far exceeded the other two both in size and in magnificence, for it was overlaid with brazen plates and divers carvings.

In the nave the place of the women was distinct from that of the men—it was on a different story (ὑπερῷον) of the structure, so that the women were not visible to the men. This design of making the women invisible gives colour to the opinion of some writers that the position of the women was at the lower end of the nave farthest from the sanctuary towards which the faces of the men would naturally be turned. (See a note of Billius upon the 19th oration of St. Gregory of Nazianzum. Works, vol. ii. p. 728, ed. Colon.) [GALLERY.]

In early days the right of asylum for criminals extended to the nave as well as to the altar of the church. See SANCTUARY.

In later days the nave has often been put to base purposes (*e. g.* buying and selling). A

search has been made in vain for any trace of similar desecration within the period embraced in this Dictionary; unless indeed such a prohibition as that in the 42nd of the African canons be taken as a proof that a habit was growing in Africa of converting the body of the church into a banqueting hall. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1070, ed. Paris.)

The plans of an early church that have been worked out from ancient writers by Goar and our own learned Bishop Beveridge differ from each other in several respects; but they both agree in assigning the nave as the place of the Ambo or Pulpit. Not only were the Scripture Lessons read from this pulpit, but it was sometimes (not always) used for preaching, so that some of St. Chrysostom's famous harangues were delivered from it. A phrase of Socrates the historian shews why the nave was chosen as the locality for it. He says (*Hist.* lib. vi. cap. 5, circa med.), that St. Chrysostom had been in the habit of preaching from this position, "for the sake of being completely heard."

Some idea of the size which a nave sometimes assumed in early days may be gathered from the description given by Evagrius Scholasticus of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, which was built by Justinian in the fifth century. "The length from the door opposite the sacred apse, wherein the function of the bloodless sacrifice is celebrated, up to the apse itself, is a hundred and ninety feet (this probably included a Narthex as well as a Nave); and the breadth from north to south is a hundred and fifteen feet." (Evagr. *Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 31.)

An early church, which is described to us is that built in the time of king Childeric over the sepulchre of St. Martin, at Tours, by Perpetuus, the fifth bishop of the see from St. Martin himself. Its total length was a hundred and sixty feet, its breadth sixty feet, and its height forty-five feet. Its nave had twenty windows and five doors. (Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* lib. ii. cap. 14.) Another church of the same period was that of Arverne. It was a hundred and fifty feet long, sixty feet wide, and fifty feet high. This church likewise had eight doors of which Mabillon (*De Liturgiâ Gallicanâ*, lib. i. cap. 8) concludes that five were in the nave, that is to say, three in the western façade, and one upon each side.

It is stated by Henke that the word Navis was first used to designate a part of a church by the Latin writers of the ninth and tenth centuries. He does not give the passages upon which he relies; but unless he refers to other passages than those which are given by Du Fresne, *s. v.* 'Navis,' or by Magri (Hierolexicon), it is perhaps open to question whether the date should not be placed still a little later. See his view in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, art. 'Baukunst,' p. 731, near the end. [H. T. A.]

**NAVICULA**, the vessel in which incense is placed for the supply of the THURIBLE, so called because it is often made in a shape resembling a boat. [C.]

**NAVITUS**, bishop and martyr, either at Treves or Tongres, perhaps in the third century; commemorated July 7 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 464). [C. H.]

**NAZARIUS** (1) Martyr, with Nabor, commemorated June 12 (Bed. *Mart.*); at Rome (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 516); at Milan (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*)

(2) Martyr, with Gervasius, Protasus, Celsus; commemorated at Milan June 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*); July 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Boll. (*Acta SS.* Jul. vi. 533); Oct. 14 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 271).

(3) Martyr, commemorated in Asia July 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr, commemorated in Africa July 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr, with the virgins Juliana and Agape; commemorated at Nicomedia Aug. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 341).

(6) Martyr, commemorated at Antioch Oct. 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NEARCHUS**, martyr in Armenia, cir. A.D. 260; commemorated Ap. 22 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 12). [C. H.]

**NEBRIDIUS**, bishop of Egara in Spain, in the sixth century; commemorated Feb. 9 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 301). [C. H.]

**NECROLOGIUM.** The book in which were entered the names of the dead for whom prayer was made in religious houses. It was a survival of the primitive DIPTYCHS, but admitted generally only the names of members of the house, of its benefactors, and those with whom the community had entered into a compact for mutual intercession.

This book had no settled name within our period, and afterwards it was variously called necrologium, obitarium, obituarium, liber obitarius (all late mediaeval), Kalendarium (as, *e.g.*, in a letter of communion between the monks of St. Remigius and those of St. Benignus, "We do for their dead as for our own; except that briefs are not sent, nor are they put in the kalendar among our own people," *Literae ad ineundam Suffragiorum Societatem*, v., in Mabill. *Anal. Vet.* 160, ed. 2; Anselm: "Tell us his name and the day of his death, that it may be written in our Kalendar," *Epist.* i. 21),—Liber Vitae (*e.g.*, Bertram, bishop of Mans, A.D. 616, made bequests to several churches, on condition that his name and the names of certain others should be "recited in the book of life in the said church," *Act. Pontif. Cenom.* c. 11, in Mabill. *Anal. Vet.* 257, 261, 263),—Martyrologium ("anniversario quod in nostro martyrologio scribitur," *Litterae*, iv. *u.s.*), which was common,—and Memoriale ("Postquam defuncti fuerint, post patres nostros defunctos in memoriali defunctorum scribantur," *Litterae*, iii. *u.s.*; "Fratrum Memoriale," Bernardi *Ordo Clun.* i. 27 in *Vet. Discipl. Mon.* Hergott, 208), or Liber Memorialis (in libro memoriali quemcumque vult (prior), facit notari," S. Wilhelmi *Constit. Hirsaug.* ii. 17, Hergott, *u.s.* 494).

In the *Disciplina Farfarensis* of Guido (ad calc.) may be seen formulae, under which names of different classes were entered. One direction runs thus: "In martyrologio taliter scribendi sunt monachi, vel amici. *Obierunt Adalgarius, Gerbertus nostrae congregationis monachus*, et *de-*

*positio Domni Conradi Regis*, et *Henrici Ducis*, *amicorum nostrorum. Ihdinus nostrae congr. monachus*, et sic de aliis." (Hergott, 132.)

Proofs are numerous of the use of necrologia, though not under a fixed name, within our period. Thus, according to Bede, a boy living in a monastery was told in a vision (about A.D. 686) to direct the monks, "quaerere in suis codicibus in quibus defunctorum annotata est depositio," for the day of St. Oswald's death, 642. The priest to whom he told this accordingly "searched for it in his year-book" (annali; *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 14.) Bede, who died in 735, to Eadfred, the bishop, and the monks of Lindisfarne: "When I am dead deign to pray and celebrate masses for the redemption of my soul, as for one of your own family and house, and to write my name among your own" (*Vita Cuthberti*, praef. 2). Boniface, in 752, writing to an abbat: "We pray that you will cause to be celebrated helpful prayers and masses for the souls of our brethren, fellow-labourers in the Lord, who have fallen asleep, whose names the bearer of this letter has made known to you" (*Epist.* 100, ed. Würdtwein). In 755, king Alhred promises Lullus of Mentz that he will, in return for prayers to be offered in his diocese for the king, his queen, and several of his friends and kin, undertake that prayers shall daily be offered in all the monasteries in his dominions for Lullus, and others whose names he had sent to the king. These names, he says, in general terms, would be committed "perpetuis literarum monumentis," from which we infer that no specific name for the monastic obituary was known to him (*Epist.* 108 inter *Epp.* Bonif., see also 115, 121, 127, 160, &c.)

From the expression "year-book," used by Bede, we might infer that generally the name of a deceased person was read out of the necrology once a year, viz., on the anniversary of their death. This is confirmed by documentary evidence; as *e.g.*, by the "Litterae Societatis" between two monasteries in France (*Acta O.S.B.* saec. II. 1093): "Nomina vero defunctorum fratrum Stabulensis coenobii Martyrologio Solemniacensi per singulos dies cum suorum fratrum anniversariis recitabuntur" (cited by Martene, *de Antiq. Monach. Rit.* i. v. 27). But other days might be fixed by special covenant or injunction. Thus Bertram of Mans (*u. s.* 263): "Nomen meum ac sacerdotes illorum (suprascriptorum locorum) in libro vitae jubeant ascribere, et per singulas festivitates recitari."

The names for the day were read from the necrology in the chapter of the monks after prime. They came after a lesson from the martyrology (properly so-called), and were followed by the psalm *De Profundis*, with a suitable prayer (Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* II. xiv. 2). De Moleon (Le Brun Desmarets) found this custom surviving among the canons of Notre Dame at Rouen, in the middle of the last century (*Voyages Liturgiques*, 282).

When the notice of a death was sent for entry in a necrologium, the document was called Breve or Brevis (*Litterae Societatis*, i. v. *u.s.*) or Liber Rotularis (Hariulfus, *Chronic.* Centulense, iii. 9, in *Spicil.* Dacher. ii. 316, ed. 2)

A special messenger was sent with the brief. When Rolfe (their abbat) died the monks of Centule are said to have sent a book roll to announce his departure "through the churches and places of the saints with whom he had entered into a fellowship of mutual prayers" (Hariulf, *u.s.*). The messenger who carried it was called breviger, brevigerulus, rotularius, rotuliger, rotliger, rotlifer, rolliger, rollifer (Ducange in vv.). At each monastery he received a written promise of prayers, which document was called titulus. This was sometimes in verse, an example of which may be seen in Ducange, under *Rollifer*. At length it was brought back to the house that sent it forth, and there kept. Such a brief, issued by the nuns of Lillechirch at Higham in Kent, accompanied by the tituli of no less than 363 religious houses, is preserved in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge. The following is one of the tituli:—"*Titulus Ecclesiae Sancti Augustini Cant.* Anima dominae Amphelisae priorissae de Lillechirch, et Animae omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace. Amen. Concedimus ei commune beneficium ecclesiae nostrae. Oramus pro vestris: orate pro nostris." The last two clauses, "Oramus," &c., are common to all the tituli. "Haeftenus supplies examples of these briefs in *Disquisitionum Monasticorum* tom. ii. p. 793" (Mabillon, *Observ.* in *Anal. Vet.* 160).

Short notices of this subject may be seen in the Annal. Benedict. (ad ann. 859), iii. 76; Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* ii. 14, § 2; Martene, *de Ant. Monach. Rit.* I. v. 22–33; Merati, *Novae Observat.* ad Gavanti *in Rubr. Breviar.* V. xxi. 6. Mabillon, *Observ.* in *Analect. Veteri*, 160; and Salig, *de Diptychis*, cap. xix., have treated it at somewhat greater length. [W. E. S.]

**NECROMANTIA** '*Barb.* Nigromantia' (νεκρομαντεία, νεκυομαντεία, νεκυία). There are two methods of divination by means of the dead, of which we read within the Christian era. The first was by the inspection of the viscera. Thus, Juvenal (vi. 551):—

> "Pectora pullorum mirabitur, exta catelli
> Interdum et pueri."

Dionysius, of Alexandria, affirms that Valerian, at the instance of an Egyptian archimage, "slew miserable boys, sacrificed the children of unhappy parents, and divided the newly born entrails" (Euseb. *Hist.* vii. 10). Eusebius relates that Maxentius "at one time opened the bodies of pregnant women, at another searched the viscera of newly born infants" (*De Vita Const.* i. 36; sim. *Hist.* viii. 14). Theodoret says that after the death of Julian, it was found that he had just before, in a heathen temple, drawn an omen for the battle from the liver of a woman, murdered for that purpose (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 26). Socrates also tells us that during the reign of Julian, the heathen at Athens, Alexandria, and in other places "sacrificed children, both male and female, and inspected their entrails" (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 13).

The second method was to raise the souls of the dead, and obtain direct answers from them. Of this we read much more frequently. Thus, Justin Martyr, A.D. 140, appeals to "necromancies and inspections of incorrupt boys and the calling of human souls," as a testimony to the consciousness of the soul after death (*Apol.* i. 18). In the *Recognitions* of Clement (perhaps

about A.D. 180) the writer, who speaks in the first person, represents himself as considering whether, in the search of truth, he shall go to Egypt, the chief seat of such studies, and by gifts induce a priest there "to bring up a soul from the lower regions, by that which they call necromancy" (i. 5; sim. *Hom. Clem.* i. 4; *De Gest. Petri*, 5). These "animarum suscitiones" were alleged as a counterpoise to the appearance of angels, as believed by Christians (*ibid.* viii. 53). Tertullian, citing the Greek historians, says that "the Nasamones endeavoured to obtain oracles of their own, by staying at the sepulchres of their fathers;" and that, "the Celts spend the night with the same object among the tombs of men of valour" (*De Anim.* 57). Constantius, in a law of 357, denounces those "qui manibus accitis audent ventilare" (*Codex Theod.* ix. xvi. *De Malef.* 5), where the last word is understood of the motions and gesticulations (beating the air) with which the necromancer accompanied his incantation. Ammianus relates that Maximin, a high official afterwards put to death by Gratian, was reputed to have in his service (about 368) a Sardinian, who was "exceedingly skilful in bringing up harmful spirits, and obtaining the presages of ghosts" (*Hist.* xxviii. 1). Prudentius, A.D. 405 (*c. Symm.* i. p. 249; ed. 1596):

> "Murmure nam magico tenues excire figuras,
> Atque sepulchrales scire incantare favillas,
> Vitâ itidem spoliare alios, ars noxia novit."

This kind of Necromancy, which was often called ψυχαγωγία, was thought to be most successful when the answer came from the soul of a person murdered for the purpose. Thus in the *Recognitions* of Clement already quoted, Simon Magus is made to state that his power depended on the aid he received from the soul of "an uncorrupted boy slain by violence," which he "called up and made to assist him by adjurations unutterable" (ii. 13; sim. iii. 44; *Hom. Clem.* ii. 26; *Gest. Petr.* 27). The soul immediately on death was supposed to have many new powers, and among them "prescience, on which account it was called up for the purposes of Necromancy" (*Recogn.* ii. 13). Tertullian, who recognises the practice (*Apol.* 23), says that a peculiar malignity, and, therefore, readiness to assist in evil, was ascribed to souls early and violently parted from the body (*De Animâ*, 57). St. Chrysostom speaks of a popular belief that many of the γόητες took and slew children that they might have their souls to help them afterwards" (*Hom.* 28, § 2, *in S. Matt.* viii. 29); and says that "many of the weaker sort thought that the souls of those who had died a violent death became demons" (*De Lazaro, Conc.* ii. 1). Ammianus says, that one Pollentianus, in the time of Valens (A.D. 371), having cut the foetus from the womb of a pregnant woman yet alive, and "having called up the Manes below, presumed to inquire about a change of government" (*Hist.* xxix. ii. 2). Here it is probably meant that this dreadful rite gave him power over other departed spirits, or over the infernal gods themselves. See St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 53.

When apparitions and responses were said to be granted to the necromancer, Christian writers were unanimous in replying that, supposing it to be true an evil spirit personated the soul invoked and deceived the magician. So the author of the *Recognitions* (iii. 49), Tertullian (daemones operantur sub obtentu earum, *De An.* 57), St. Chrysostom (*Hom.* 28, *in S. Matt.* § 2), and others.

From the 6th century downwards, the word necromancy appears to have been used vaguely to denote any pretended exercise of supernatural power. Thus Gregory of Tours, A.D. 575, speaking of one who affected to cure disease, says that he "sought to mock men by the delusion of necromantic device" (*Hist. Franc.* ix. 6). Adhelm, 709, says that St. Peter went through the provinces extirpating from the root the deadly wild vines of the Simonian Necromancy" (*De Laud. Virg.* 25). The same writer (*ibid.* 24) calls the "spirit of divination," of Acts xvi. 16, a "spirit of necromancy," and again (50) applies the term to arts by which the reason of a person was supposed to be affected. [W. E. S.]

**NECTARIUS** (1) Martyr, commemorated with Nicetus at Alexandria May 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*), both bishops of Vienne in the fourth century (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 9). The Bollandists also give Nectarius bishop of Vienne in the fourth century, commemorated Aug. 1 (Aug. i. 51).

(2) Bishop of Autun, confessor, in the third, fourth, or sixth century; commemorated Sept. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 59).

(3) Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 397; commemorated Oct. 11 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. v. 608).

(4) [NECTAVUS.] [C. H.]

**NECTAVUS**, martyr, commemorated in Pontus Aug. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Nectavus or Nectarius (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 536). [C. H.]

**NEEDFIRE.** [ST. JOHN BAPTIST, FIRE OF, p. 885.]

**NEMAUSIACUM CONCILIUM.** [NIMES.]

**NEMESIANUS**, martyr under Valerian, commemorated in Africa Sept. 10 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 483). [C. H.]

**NEMESIUS** (1) Martyr, with Potamius in Cyprus; commemorated Feb. 20 (Usuard. *Mart.*)

(2) One of the seven sons of Symphorosa, martyrs at Tibur; commemorated June 27 (Usuard. *Mart.*); July 21 (Bed. *Mart.*).

(3) Confessor, commemorated in Lieuvin, Aug. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. i. 46).

(4) Deacon, martyr at Rome, with his daughter Lucilla; commemorated Oct. 31 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr, commemorated at Nicomedia Nov. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Martyr, in Egypt, commemorated Dec. 19 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NEO** (1) Martyr, with Leonilla and Jonilla at Lingon, commemorated Jan. 17 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(2) Martyr, with Zeno, Eusebius, Vitalius; commemorated April 28 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(3) Martyr with Agia, Claudius, Asterius; commemorated in Cilicia, Aug. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*); in the city of Egea in Lycia (Usuard. *Mart.*); under Lysias praefect of Cilicia in the reign of Diocletian, Oct. 29 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(4) Martyr, with Nico and Heliodorus; commemorated Sept. 28 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**NEO-CAESAREA, COUNCILS OF** (NEO-CAESARIENSIA CONCILIA). Two are recorded. (1) A.D. 315, or some years later, as Hefele thinks (*Councils*, Eng. Tr. 223) from its fourteen canons, and there is no reason to think it passed more, containing nothing about the lapsed. Yet their case may have been passed over designedly, from having had so much space given to it at Ancyra. This, however, would bring it about midway between the councils of Ancyra and Nicaea, where it has always been placed. If the signatures appended to it in the Latin version of Isidore Mercator may be relied on, the Neo-Caesarea where it was held was in Pontus, and it was attended by several of the bishops who had previously met at Ancyra. By the first of its canons any priest marrying is to forfeit his order. The third is directed against all persons who have been several times married, yet couched in the spirit of the first of Laodicea. The seventh forbids priests attending second marriages. By the eleventh nobody may be ordained priest who is not thirty years old. By the thirteenth country presbyters are restricted in their ministrations, much as country bishops had been by the thirteenth Ancyran. (Mansi, ii. 539–52.)

(2) A.D. 358, or thereabouts, at which Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, was condemned. Other synods held in his case were Gangra and Melitene (Mansi, iii. 291). [E. S. Ff.]

**NEONILLA (1)** (NEONILA), grandmother of the martyrs Peusippus, Elasippus, Mesippus, martyr, commemorated Jan. 16 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Jan. 17 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(2) Martyr, with Terentius; commemorated Oct. 28 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 272). [C. H.]

**NEOPHYTE** (νεόφυτος). I. A newly baptized person was so called, as being newly engrafted on Christ (Zonar. *Comm. in Can.* 10, *Conc. Sard.*). The usage was suggested by the employment of the word in 1 Tim. iii. 6. St. Augustine, in the same context, says that the gifts and privileges mentioned in Heb. vi. 1, 2 are "eorum qui baptizantur initia" and "initia neophytorum" (*De Fide et Oper.* xi. § 17). Elsewhere he says that it is sanctioned by the custom of the church that "the eight days of the neophytes be distinguished from the rest; *i.e.*, that the eighth agree with the first" (*Epist.* 55, *ad Januar.* xvii. § 32). The eight days were those during which the newly baptized wore their white dress. [BAPTISM, §§ 60–63, vol. i. 163.] St. Augustine's words above cited are thus explained by Amalarius: "The eight offices, which are celebrated on account of the neophytes, are distinguished from the rest that follow down to Pentecost. The first has two lauds, *i.e.*, *Alleluia*, *Confitemini Domino*, and the tract, *Laudate Dominum, omnes gentes*. The eighth has two, *Alleluia*, *Haec dies* and *Laudate pueri Dominum*, which is not the case on any other sabbath from that day to Pentecost" (*De Eccl. Off.* i. 32; copied by Pseudo-Alcuin, *de Div. Off.* 21). Pellicia (*de Eccles. Politia*, I. i. 1, § 6, "Baptizatis τῶν Νεοφύτων nomen per integram Paschatis hebdomadem erat") and others appear to think that the baptized were not called neophytes (except with reference to an early ordination) beyond the first week. This is improbable in itself, and had it been so, it would not have been necessary to distinguish them during that period by the title of *albati* (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 11; Amalar. *u.s.* 29; Ps.-Alc. *u.s.*), or as *positi in albis* (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Mart.* 67), or the like. The contrary is also implied in the following canon: "Neophyti aliquamdiu a lautioribus epulis et spectaculis et conjugibus abstineant" (*Conc. Carth.* iv. A.D. 398, can. 86; Gratian, *de Consecr.* v. 12).

Neophytes were often called νεοφώτιστοι (recently illuminated). Balsamon explains the former word by the latter (*Comm. in Can.* 10 *Conc. Sard.*). The Catecheses Mystagogicae of Cyril of Jerusalem are addressed, πρὸς τοὺς νεοφωτίστους (p. 277, ed. Milles). They were called *infantes* for an obvious reason, "Infantes appellamini, quoniam regenerati estis, et novam vitam ingressi estis, et ad vitam aeternam renati estis" (August. *Serm.* 260). "Hodie Octavae dicuntur infantium. . . . Isti senes, juvenes, adolescentuli, omnes infantes" (*Serm.* 376, § 2, Domin. in Oct. Pasch.). In the Mozarabic rite, after the consecration of the water, the priest prays that those washed therewith "may be restored by a new infancy" (Leslie, 189). In the Roman prayer of consecration he says, "Omnes in unam pariat gratia mater infantiam;" after it "In verâ innocentiâ nova infantia renascatur" (*Sacram. Gelas.* Murat.; *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* i. 569, 570; *Greg.* ii. 63–5).

After their baptism the neophytes were conducted in their white dresses to the altar, about which they were stationed during the services o the following week, and where they received daily. Thus in a sermon preached at Easter, 355, (perhaps by St. Hilary), "Novi homines effecti, sanctum altare circumdant" (*Vet. Script. Coll. Ampliss.* Mart. et Dur. ix. 78, cited by Leslie, Notae ad Miss. Mozar. 533). St. Ambrose reminds a nun who had made her profession on Easter day, that she had "offered herself to be veiled at the altar of God, . . . among the shining lights of the neophytes, among the candidates (an allusion to their dress) of the heavenly kingdom" (*De Lapsu Virg.* v. § 19). The author *De Mysteriis* (ascribed to Ambrose): "His abluta plebs dives insignibus ad Christi contendit altare" (viii. § 43). But more fully Paulinus (*Epist.* xxxii. *ad Sever.* § 5):

> "Inde parens sacro ducit de fonte sacerdos
> Infantes niveos corpore, corde, habitu;
> Circumstansque rudes festis altaribus agnos
> Cruda salutiferis imbuit ora cibis."

Many epitaphs of persons who died while neophytes are extant, in which the fact is recorded. *E.g.* "Junius Bassus V.C. qui vixit annis xlii. men. ii. in ipsâ praefectura urbi neofitus iit ad Deum" (A.D. 359; Bottari, *Roma Sotterranea*, tav. xv.). See other examples of

males in Gruter's *Corpus Inscript.* p. 1051 n. 9 (aged 8 years), p. 1060 n. 3 (aged 11), in Bosio, *Roma Sott.* p. 433 (aged 6), &c. The following is the epitaph of a married woman, "Hoctavie conjuge neofite bisomus maritus fecit" (Grut. p. 1053 n. 7). Other instances of female neophytes occur in several collections, as, *e.g.*, in Gruter, p. 1054 n. 1 (3 years), p. 1057 n. 6 (a wife). The last is called "legitima neophyta." Does this mean that she died after the eight days, and so had fulfilled all the special observances imposed on neophytes? Sometimes they were said to have died *in albis*. For example, "Hic jacet puer nomene Valentiano qui vixit anno iii. et me ses et dies xvi. et in albis cum pace recessit" (Le Blant, *Inscript. Chrét. de la Gaule*, i. 476, who also refers to Fabretti, *Inscr. Antiq. Explic.* pp. 577, 735). It is reasonably inferred that such persons had, as a rule, received clinic baptism. [SICK, VISITATION OF THE.]

II. It frequently happened in the early ages that the fittest person for the office of bishop or priest in a vacant church was one who had not passed through the lower orders, or at least not through all of them. At first it is probable that laymen and inferior clerks were ordained priests and bishops freely in such cases; but at length the liberty became an occasion of ambition, and was restrained by the canons, in accordance with the injunction of St. Paul (1 Tim. iii. 6), from whom also the name of neophyte (in this use of it a term of reproach) was borrowed to describe the premature ruler of the church. The earliest prohibition occurs in the 80th of the so-called apostolic canons. "It is not right that one who has come out of paganism and been baptized, or who has left a sinful course of life, should forthwith be ordained a bishop. For it is unfit that one who has not yet given proof of himself should be a teacher of others; unless, indeed, this take place through the grace of God." The council of Nicaea, 325, premising that this "rule of the church" had been often broken, "either from necessity or because men urged it, so that they led men but lately come over to the faith from paganism, and in the catechumenate for a short time, to the spiritual laver, and further promoted them as soon as baptized, to the episcopate or presbyterate," decreed that such practices should be tolerated no longer (can. 2). The Arabic canons of Nicaea depose both the ordainer and the ordained in such a case (can. 12, vers. Ecchell. Hard. *Conc.* i. 480). The council of Sardica, 347, forbade any one to be made a bishop who had not before "served as reader and deacon and presbyter; . . . . for so he would with reason be regarded as a neophyte" (can. 10). The council of Laodicea, of uncertain date, but probably about 365: "Persons lately illuminated (*i.e.* baptized [BAPTISM, § 5; vol. i. p. 156]) must not be promoted in the hieratic order" (can. 3); which is thus rendered by Dionysius Exiguus, A.D. 533; "Non oportet neophytum promoveri ad ordinem sacerdotalem" (Hard. i. 782).

Gaul seems to have been notorious for offences against this law of the church. Gregory I. in 598 says to queen Brunichilda, "their office has there, as we have understood, come to be such an object of ambition, that bishops (sacerdotes), which is too grievous, are at once ordained out of laymen" (*Epist.* vii. Ind. ii. 115). Instances of this are found in Gregory of Tours: "Nicetius tamen ex laico, qui prius ab Chilperico rege praeceptum elicuerat, in ipsa urbe (Matiscensi) episcopatum adeptus est" (*Hist. Franc.* viii. 20). Again: "Laban, bishop of Eause, died this year, whom Desiderius succeeded from a layman, though the king had promised with an oath that he would never ordain a bishop out of the laity. Sed quid pectora humana non cogat auri sacra fames" (*ibid.* 22)?

The Apostolic canon, it will be observed, makes an exception in favour of those who, like Timothy (1 Tim. i. 18; iv. 14), were supposed to receive some divine attestation to their fitness. Cyprian, Athanasius, Nectarius, and Ambrose are instances. The first named had indeed been baptized and made deacon and priest in succession, but all in so short a time, that his biographer says of him "Judicio Dei et plebis favore ad officium sacerdotii, et episcopatus gradum (A.D. 248), adhuc neophytus, et ut putabatur, novellus electus est" (*Vita* auct. Pontio, *Opp.* Cypr. praef. 3, ed. Fell.). The council of Neocaesarea had in 315 forbidden even a priest to be ordained under thirty years of age (can. 11); yet only eleven years after that, the great Athanasius, in obedience, it was believed, to a divine intimation conveyed through his dying predecessor, who called out his name repeatedly with his last breath, was ordained bishop of Alexandria at the age of twenty-eight (Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 17). Nectarius was not baptized when, in 381, he was chosen to succeed Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople; but was then "initiated by baptism), and while yet clothed in the typical dress (of the neophytes) was declared bishop of Constantinople by the common voice of the synod," then assembled in that city (Sozom. vii. 8). Nor was St. Ambrose more than a catechumen, when (A.D. 574) the people of Milan insisted on his becoming their bishop; but, "being baptized, he is said to have filled all the ecclesiastical offices, and on the eighth day he was ordained with the greatest favour and joy of all" (*Vita* a Paulino conscr. § 9). Some twenty years later, referring to these circumstances and to his great unwillingness to accept the office, he says: "Nevertheless the bishops of the west approved my ordination by their judgment; those of the east by their example also. And yet a neophyte is forbidden to be ordained, lest he should be lifted up with pride;" but (he urges) if there be a suitable humility, the defect is healed, "ubi causa non haeret, vitium non imputatur" (*Epist.* 73 *ad Eccl. Vercell.* § 65). [W. E. S.]

**NEOPHYTUS (1)** Martyr under Diocletian at Nicaea; commemorated Jan. 20 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 297); Jan. 21 (Basil. *Menol.*).

**(2)** Bishop and confessor at Leontium in the 3rd century; commemorated Sept. 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 116). [C. H.]

**NEOPOLIS**, martyr with Saturninus; commemorated May 2 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NEOTERUS**, martyr, commemorated at Alexandria, Sept. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Neotherius (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

**NEPHODIOCTAE.** [TEMPESTARII.]

**NEPOTIANUS** (1) Martyr, commemorated at London Feb. 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr, commemorated in Asia May 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*); presbyter of Altinum (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. ii. 627).

(3) Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne in the 4th century, commemorated Oct. 22 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 613). [C. H.]

**NEREUS** (1) Martyr with Majulus and others; commemorated in Africa May 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr with his brother Achilleus, eunuchs; commemorated at Rome May 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 4); on the Via Ardeatina (Usuard. *Mart.*); in the cemetery of Praetextatus (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*); their natale, with that of Pancratius, on May 12, observed in the Sacramentary of Gelasius, their names (but not that of Pancratius) being mentioned in the collect (Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 646); a church at Rome, dedicated to them before the end of the 8th century (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. 123).

(3) Martyr, commemorated Aug. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr, commemorated Oct. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr, commemorated Nov. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NERSAS**, bishop, martyr with his disciple Josephus in Persia; commemorated Nov. 20 (Basil. *Menol.*); June 15 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 1050). [C. H.]

**NESTOR** (1) Martyr with Castor and Claudianus; commemorated in Pamphylia Feb. 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr with Alexander, Theo, and others; commemorated Feb. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*); a bishop, martyred under Decius at Perga in Pamphylia (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 627), but on Feb. 28, according to Basil. *Menol.* One of the same name coupled with bishop Tribimius under March 2 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. i. 127).

(3) Martyr with Arcadius, bishops, at Trimethus in Cyprus; commemorated March 7 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. i. 643). One of the same name and day in Thrace (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr, commemorated at Nicomedia Ap. 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Disciple of Demetrius; martyr at Thessalonica under Maximian; commemorated Oct. 26 (Basil. *Menol.*); Oct. 27 (Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 272). [C. H.]

**NESTORUS** (1) Martyr, commemorated at Alexandria May 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*); **NESTORIUS** (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. i. 461).

(2) Martyr, commemorated at Nicomedia Jun. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NESTREFELDENSE** or rather **ONESTREFELDENSE CONCILIUM**, A.D. 702, at which Wilfrid was condemned and excommunicated; the exact place is not known: it lay in the dominions of Ealdfrith, king of Northumbria (Mansi, xii. 157–63; and Stubbs's Wilkins, iii. 251–4). [E. S. Ff.]

**NEUMA.** [PNEUMA.]

**NEW MOON.** "Let not any one fear to take up any kind of work at the new moon; for God made the moon to regulate the times, and temper the darkness of the night" (Eligius, *de Rect. Cathol. Convers.* 5). The superstition to which St. Eloy here refers was extended by some who are condemned by St. Ambrose to the fifth day of the moon ("quintam esse fugiendam, nihilque in eâ inchoandum"; Ambr. *Epist.* 23, § 4; comp. Virg. *Georg.* i. 276), and for special purposes to the seventh and the ninth: "Septimâ lunâ instrumenta confici non debent, nonâ iterum lunâ servum emptum, ut puta, domum duci non oportet" (Hilar. Diacon. *Comm. in Ep. ad Gal.* iv. 10). Such superstitions were of purely pagan origin, Christians after the destruction of Jerusalem being under no temptation to observe the new moons of the Jews. "They are wont to blame us," says Hilary the deacon, A.D. 354, "because we despise their feast days, or because we do not observe the beginnings of the months, which they call neomeniae" (*Comm. in Ep. ad Coloss.* ii. 17). The observances peculiar to the Kalends of January throughout the Roman world must have been originally connected with the first day of the lunar month. [CIRCUMCISION; NEW YEAR'S DAY.] [W. E. S.]

**NEW YEAR'S DAY.** It was ruled by the Julian Reformation that the year should begin with the Calends of January, and such was thenceforth the popular usage. But this was not, for long time, accepted by the churches of East and West. The epoch of the ecclesiastical year, it was thought, was prescribed by the requirements of the Easter reckoning, in accordance with the law given by Moses that the Paschal month should be the first month of the year. Thus Anatolius, in the fragment of his *Paschal Canon* (A.D. 277) ap. Eus. *H. E.* vii. 32, gives as the epoch of his (Metonic) cycle, "New moon of first month in its first year, which falls on the 26 Phamenoth in the Egyptian reckoning, by Macedonian months is 22 Dystrus, *i.e.* Roman xi. kal. April" (= 22 March), and adds that "*the first month* is that of the Hebrews, in which the vernal equinox falls." Hence in Victorius, Dionysius Exiguus, Bede, *mensis primus* is often synonymous with *mensis paschalis*. In the East, as the Romanised Syrian Calendar made Xanthicus (= Nisan) identical with the Roman April, this month was taken as the first: and it is in terms of this reckoning that the *Constitut. Apost.* (v. 13), appoint that the Feast of the Nativity (*i.e.* 25th December) shall be kept in the *ninth* month; Epiphany (viz. 6th January) on the sixth of the *tenth* month; as again, *ibid.* 14, 17, Xanthicus and Dystrus are respectively *first* and *twelfth* month. Epiphanius also seems to follow this reckoning, when he says (*Haer.* lxx. c. 11) πρὸ ἰσημερίας οὐ πληρωθήσεται τὸ ἔτος. "the year must not end before the (vernal) equinox." But in the West, in accordance with the old Roman practice and the numerical names of the months (Quintilis—December—comp. Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 4, 7), March was taken as the first or paschal month; thus St. Leo and Gelasius speak of the ember seasons as fasts of the first, fourth, seventh and tenth months. As late as A.D. 755, a canon of a council in France (Mansi, *Coll. Conc.*

xii. 550) has, "mense primo, quod est, Martiis kalendis." In Italy this practice seems to have been only ecclesiastical, in France it was also civil; thus Gregory of Tours makes July the fifth, and December the tenth month, and from a contemporary writer *de Mirac. S. Marcellini*, Mabillon (*de Re diplomat.* ii. 23) has the words, "Ad mensem Martium qui apud nos primus sine dubio vocitatur." The successive continuators of the history of Gregory of Tours, Fredegar and others, keep to the same reckoning from 1st March. Yet here and there Gregory falls into the popular way of making the year begin with the first of January (Ideler, *Hdb.* 2, 327).

The Roman New Year's Day, Calends of January, was the one great festival universally kept throughout the empire, as Libanius testifies (*Opp.* i. 256, iv. 1050, Reiske); *μίαν δὲ οἶδα, κοινὴν ἁπάντων ὁπόσοι ζῶσιν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν· γίγνεται δὲ ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῦ μεν πεπαυμένου, τοῦ δὲ ἀρχομένου.* He, as a moralist, reprobates the riotous excesses and superstitions against which the church long kept up its protest. So early as the end of the 2nd century, Tertullian (*de Idololatr.* c. 14) has to lament the countenance given by Christians to the old practices at this season (nobis Saturnalia et Januariae et Brumae et Matronales frequentantur, munera commeant, strenae consonant, lusus, convivia constrepunt), which they excused to themselves as merely civil and social observances, nowise pagan superstitions. Petrus Chrysologus (c. 433), *Serm.* 155, protests similarly: "Dicit aliquis, non sunt haec sacrilegorum studia, vota sunt haec jocorum; et hoc esse novitatis laetitiam non vetustatis errorem, esse hoc anni principium, non gentilitatis offensam. Erras homo! non sunt haec ludicra, sunt crimina." How long and earnestly the protest against this conformity of Christians to these old-established customs was kept up by the church may be seen in Homilies of St. Chrysostom (A.D. 387), *in Kalendas*, t. i. 697, and *de Lazaro*, i. *ibid.* 707, in the opening of which he calls the feast of the Calends *ἑορτὴν σατανικήν*; Asterius Amasenus (cir. 400) *in Kalendas*, p. 55; St. Augustin, *Serm.* 198, *de Cal. Jan.* (t. v. 907). Maximus of Turin (A.D. 422) *Hom.* xvi. *de Circumcisione Domini*, p. 46; Caesarius of Arles (A.D. 502), *de Kal. Jan. Serm.* 129, 130, ap. St. Augustini, *Opp. Append.* t. v. 238 sqq.; Eligius of Limoges (A.D. 640), *Serm. de Rectitud. Cathol. Conversationes*, c. 5, ap. St. Augustini *Opp. Append.* t. vi. 267, c. (mostly a cento of passages from the homilies of Caesarius). The protest is enforced by the Concilium Quinisextum (Trullanum), A.D. 692, canon 62, *τὰς οὕτω λεγομένας Καλάνδας, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα Βότα* (*vota*), *καὶ τὰ καλούμενα Βρουμάλια* (*Brumalia*) . . . . *καθάπαξ ἐκ τῆς τῶν πιστῶν πολιτείας περιαιρεθῆναι βουλόμεθα, κ.τ.λ.* And down to the end of our period, the church (even after that the 1st of January as the Octave of the Nativity was entitled to rank as a festival, viz. of the Circumcision) confronted the heathen festivities with a three days' fast. Thus the second Council of Tours (A.D. 567) can. 17, enacts "triduum illud quo ad calcandam gentilium consuetudinem patres nostri statuerunt privatas in kalendis Januariis fieri litanias, ut in ecclesiis psallatur, et hora viii. in ipsis kalendis circumcisionis missa Deo propitio celebretur"; and Isidore of Seville (A.D. 595) *de div. Offic. Eccles.* i. 40, says that "jejunium Januariarum kalendarum propter errorem gentilitatis statuit ecclesia . . . per quod agnoscerent homines in tantum se prave agere ut pro eorum peccatis necesse sit omnibus ecclesiis jejunare." (Large extracts from most of the authorities cited may be seen in Rheinwald, *Die kirchliche Archäologie*, p. 223 sqq.)

When the 25th December had come to be generally received as the day of the Nativity [CHRISTMAS], the Calends of January acquired a Christian character, and Dionysius Exiguus dates the years of his era (our A.D.) *a Circumcisione Domini.* But the churches long shrank from making the New Year's Day of Christians the same with that of the heathen, and it was deemed preferable to commence the year *a Nativitate* (25th December), an epoch which continued in use far into the middle ages. Others, however, found it more suitable that the year should begin 25th March, which, if 25th December was the day of Christ's Nativity, would be the day of the Conception, the *θεία σάρκωσις*, the Incarnation. Hence the epoch *ab annunciatione*, or *a conceptione.* These two epochs were further recommended (in the astronomical point of view) by their supposed coincidence with the *bruma* (25th December) and the vernal equinox (25th March). But, according to an ancient Latin tradition, the Passion befell 25th March. St. Augustin, *de Trin.* iv. 5: "Octavo Kal. Apr. conceptus creditur Christus *quo et passus.* Natus traditur octavo kal. Dec." Hence, perhaps, the epoch *a resurrectione* (or *a passione*) *Christi*, was originally intended for the fixed date, 25th March. Bede relates (*de Temp. rat.* c. 45), that in Gaul, at first, this was kept as the day "quando Christi resurrectio fuisse tradebatur": and Zeno of Verona, cir. A.D. 360, *Serm.* 46, speaking of this as the day of the resurrection says, in his mystical way, "idem sui successor itemque decessor, longaeva semper aetate novellus, *anni parens* annique progenies, antecedit sequiturque tempora et saecula infinita." Certain it is, that the dating of the years of our Lord from Easter—the moveable feast—(inconvenient as it was, as so shifting from year to year, that any Julian day within the paschal limits, say 1st April, might fall twice in the same year or not at all[a]) prevailed far into the middle ages, in France down to the sixteenth century. In this reckoning, the first instant of the New Year was signalised by the consecration of the tapers in the night preceding Easter morning. (Du Cange, *s. v. Cereus Paschalis*, and Mabillon *de Re diplom.* ii. 23–6.) In Spain and Portugal the years were dated from the Annunciation down to the fourteenth century, in Germany down to the eleventh, then from the Nativity. Conversely, the English, in Bede's time, began the year with 25th December; after the thirteenth century, with the 25th March, which continued to be the legal civil reckoning down to 1752. In Italy, besides the ecclesiastical epoch, 1st March (see above), 25th March was the customary civil epoch, with this curious variation, viz. that in one reckoning (*Calculus Pisanus*) a given year of our Lord was made to begin on the 25th March

[a] To meet this inconvenience, it was usual to add to the month-day *ante pascha* or *post pascha.* If the date includes the year of the INDICTION, this generally removes all doubt.

*preceding*, and in the other (*C. Florentinus*) on the 25th March *following* the 1st January, from which, in the now received reckoning, the given year bears date.[b] The multiplicity and fluctuation of epochs (against which the Calendar of Charlemagne, commencing the year with 1st January, was an ineffectual protest) was a matter of sore perplexity to later historians: thus Gervase of Canterbury, early in the 13th century (*Hist. Anglicanae Script.* x. col. 1336) complains, "Chronicae scriptores ipsos Domini annos diversis modis et terminis numerant. . . . . . Quidam enim annos Domini incipiunt computare ab Annuntiatione, alii a Nativitate, quidam a Circumcisione, quidam vero *a Passione*. Cui ergo istorum magis credendum est?"

In the East the year, in various forms of the Julianized Macedonian Calendar, began 24th September, but in that "of the Greeks, *i.e.* Syrians," constantly used for the "year of the Greeks" = era of the Seleucidae, the year begins 1st October. But the "Indictions," from their first commencement at Constantinople, bore date from 1st September, and from the fifth century this came to be received as the first day of the year, not, however, at once superseding the older epoch, 24th September; while in Syria, the old Seleucidian epoch, 1st October, has continued in use to this day, except among Syrian Catholics, who use the 1st September. But the Syrian Evagrius, the historian (A.D. 594), who uses the "era of Antioch," dates its years from 1st September, the use of which epoch by Greek-writing Syrians, in place of the true Syrian epoch, 1st October, is to be explained by the influence of the Indictions in public acts and records (Ideler, i. p. 463 sqq.). The 1st September is the year-epoch of the Constantinopolitan mundane era, and as New Year's Day continued in Russia down to A.D. 1700, in Greece to 1821. For the Copts, Abyssinians, and Armenians using the Alexandrine Calendar, the year begins 29th August.

*Year-dating.* During the first centuries in the West, the only consecutive ERA [p. 622] was that *ab urbe condita*; the other notes of the current year were given by the reckoning from the accession of the reigning emperor, or more commonly by the names of the consuls of the 1st January (*coss. ordinarii*). From the beginning of the fourth century, as may be seen in Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, the latter note of time began to fail; no consuls being appointed, the year was marked *post consulatum* of the last named; thus, after A.D. 307, Constantio IX. et Constantino Coss., the notes are (308) Constantio X. et Maximiano VII.; (309) post consul. X. et VII.; (310) anno ii. p. c. X. et VII. If the given year had consuls (or a consul) it was named accordingly. Thus the first council of Toledo bears date *Stilicone Consule* (A.D.) 400. By a law of Constantine, A.D. 322, no constitution was valid without name of consuls and month-day. In 537, when the consulship was all but extinct, Justinian enlarged this law by prescribing that, in all instruments, first the year of the reigning Caesar, then the names of the consuls, and, lastly, *indiction*, month and day must be noted (*Cod. Theodos.* I. i. *Const.* 1; *Novella* xlvii.). [H. B.]

[b] This diversity continued down to 1749.

**NEW YEAR'S GIFTS.** The custom of making gifts on New Year's Day, with an appropriate wish, prevailed extensively in the Roman empire in the early days of Christianity. Many remains, such as medals, lamps, tesserae of metal or of earthenware, bear inscriptions testifying that they were designed for New Year's gifts, generally in some such form as: ANNVM NOVVM FAVSTVM FELICEM TIBI. Gori (*Thesaurus Dipt.* i. p. 202) figures a tessera of rock-crystal which was, as its inscription testifies (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* p. 286, 2nd edition), a New Year's gift to the emperor Commodus. It does not appear that any of those which have been described bear any words or symbols especially indicative of a Christian origin; there was in fact no reason why Christians should not adopt the simple inscriptions on articles manufactured for the general market.

The Christian fathers, however, censure the giving of *strenae*, together with other pagan customs which tended to give the kalends of January a licentious character (see Augustine, *Sermm.* 197, 198, and CIRCUMCISION, p. 394), and a council of Auxerre in A.D. 578 (c. 1) distinctly forbade Christians "strenas diabolicas observare." The objects given were probably sometimes tainted with paganism or indecency.

Another reason for disapproving of *strenae* is furnished by Maximus of Turin (*Hom.* v. in Mabillon, *Iter Ital.* ii. 18), who dwells on the injustice occasioned by the gifts given by the rich to persons in power, such as the poor could not emulate. The giving of New Year's gifts had become, he intimates, an onerous system of bribery and corruption.

Jerome (*in Ephes.* vi. 4) notices the practice of schoolboys giving *strenae* to their masters, and begs bishops and priests not to send their children to pagan schools, lest the revenues of the church should be offered to heathen teachers, and so perhaps ultimately aid in heathen worship or licentiousness. [C.]

**NICAEA, COUNCILS OF** (NICAENA CONCILIA). There were two councils held at Nicaea, the metropolis of Bithynia, both general; the first and the last to be received as general by the Eastern and Western churches alike; the first under Constantine I., and the second under Constantine VI.

(1.) The first met A.D. 325, in the consulship of Paulinus and Julianus, so far all are agreed, and there was a law published by Constantine, dated Nicaea, May 23 (x. Kal. Jun. in I. *Cod. Theod.* ii. 3, with Godfrey's note), shewing that he was there then. According to Socrates, who professes to have got his information from the chronological notices affixed to it in a work he calls the *Synodicon* of St. Athanasius, it met three days earlier, or May 20 (i. 13). It was going on when the emperor celebrated his 20th anniversary (July 25) according to Clinton, on which day he invited all the bishops present to a banquet, as we learn from Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* iii. 15). This covers the date prefixed to its creed in the acts of the fourth council; and it was closed some time subsequently to this—a note to the Cresconian collection says, just a month later, or August 25—by a speech from him (*Ib.* 21, comp. Pagi ad Baron., A.D. 325, n. 4). All the principal documents relating to it may

be seen in Mansi's *Concilia* or Beveridge's *Synodicon*, vol. ii. in each case. Of authentic and contemporary documents relating to it, indeed, there are but few; of apocryphal, a bewildering host. As it was the first of its kind, we cannot be surprised that its acts were not written down at the time, as was afterwards customary. There was no book kept of the acts of the first or even of the second council, as there was from the third onwards. Only what was agreed upon in common, was committed to writing, and subscribed to by all, as Eusebius says (*Vit.* c. iii. 14). In this limited class were comprehended only the creed, canons, and synodical letter. As Valesius well observes, had anything more been extant, St. Athanasius would never have been at the pains of recalling so many particulars of what passed in reply to his friend, but would have told him simply where he could find them recorded. The 'Copies of the Nicene Council' (*Ἴσα*), transmitted A.D. 419 to the African church from Constantinople, contained no more than its creed and canons. Its synodical letter is extant in Socrates and Theodoret (i. 9), as are two letters issued by the emperor at its close. His circulars in convening it have not been preserved; but if we may trust to what Eusebius tells us of their substance (*Vit. C.* iii. 10; and Vales. *ad l.*), his own letter to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse (*E. H.* x. 5) for assembling the council of Arles, may serve to illustrate their form. The letters of Eusebius to his own diocese, besides his life of the emperor, and of St. Athanasius to his friends and to the African bishops are first-class authorities also for what passed, as far as they go, though from opposite sides. What Socrates calls the 'Synodicon' of St. Athanasius is not now extant, and, being only mentioned and quoted by Socrates, cannot be placed on the same footing with his acknowledged works. For anything like certainty we must be content with what we can glean from these.

The emperor, Eusebius tells us, wrote flattering letters to the bishops everywhere, begging them to meet at Nicaea with all speed (*Vit. C.* iii. 6). St. Athanasius tells the Africans (l. 2) that bishops to the number of 318 came. The council has gone by the name of the 318 (*τιη*) Fathers ever since, though other accounts of its numbers had been current. It met in a church (*οἶκος εὐκτήριος*), one of the largest then known, and situated in the very midst of the palace (*Vit. C.* iii. 7 and 10), whither its members could adjourn easily, when the emperor desired their presence. A solitary plane-tree marks its site still; and within the village church of Is-nik is a rude picture commemorative of the event (Stanley's *E. C.* p. 121). But if we may trust the envoys of Gregory IX., they were received, A.D. 1233, in the actual church in which the event took place (Mansi, xxiii. 280 sq.). The causes which led to it were threefold; the heresy of Arius, the schism of Meletius, and the moot question of keeping Easter. The first of these was the newest and most absorbing of all; but who suggested the novel experiment of a general council for dealing with it? The council of Antioch, A.D. 272, at which its then bishop, Paul of Samosata, was deposed, had been the nearest approach to a general council in earlier times; and this had been preceded by a number of smaller meetings, as we learn from Eusebius (*E. H.* vii. 28), and so grew out of them in due course. But that of Nicaea, the same authority tells us (*Vit. C.* iii. 6), was the act of one man; and "God it was," says the emperor, "on whose suggestion I acted in summoning the bishops to meet in such numbers" (Soc. i. 9). It was "by the grace of God, and the piety of the emperor in assembling us out of different cities and provinces, that the great and holy synod came together," say they in recounting its issues (*ib.*). No two accounts of the same thing could be more consistent. Later writers insisted on supplementing them with a gloss of their own. Sulpitius Severus, indeed, argued from contemporary facts, when he talked of the council originating with Hosius of Cordova (ii. 40); the fathers of the sixth council argued from the usages of their own times simply, when they talked, in their prosphonetic address, of its having been assembled by pope Silvester *and* Constantine. Silvester, of course, concurred in assembling it, so far that he sent representatives thither, being unable, through old age, to attend in person. They who "filled his place" were *presbyters*, according to the same authority; and they subscribed second. Hosius, designating himself merely bishop of Cordova, subscribed first. He subscribed first at Sardica similarly. No less a witness than St. Athanasius attests this last (*Apol. c. Arian.* 49 sq.); and the 'Prisca versio' makes him head its list of subscribers at both. He was revered on both sides even then; he was in the highest favour of any bishop at court now; he must have been the oldest bishop, by far, present at either, if, as St. Athanasius says, he was 100 years old, and had been bishop more than sixty years, A.D. 357, when his lapse took place. Hence, the order in which bishops should sit at general councils being as yet undetermined by rule, he who was the most ancient would be placed first, as Eusebius expressly says had been done by Palmas (*E. H.* v. 23), and was a custom in Africa much later (*Can. Afric.* 86; comp. St. Aug. *Ep.* lix.); add to which, that Hosius had been a confessor under Maximinian, as he says himself. Persons talked of him, said the Arians —at least this is what St. Athanasius puts into their mouths—as one who presided at synods; whose letters were respected everywhere, who had formulated the Nicene Creed (*Ep. ad Sol.* § 43–5). Taking all these facts into consideration, it is difficult to conceive that Eusebius can mean any but Hosius when he tells us that the bishop who "sat first in the right row" delivered the opening speech (*Vit. C.* iii. 11); especially when it is remembered that Hosius had been the only bishop personally noticed by him in enumerating those present, only three chapters earlier, and also that the very next thing we are told, after this notice of him, is that the bishop of the reigning city was not present, but that his place was filled by his presbyters, who were the next to subscribe after Hosius. Again, there is proof positive from Eusebius of Hosius having acted for Constantine several times before (*E. H.* x. 6; *Vit. C.* ii. 63; comp. Soc. i. 7), but no contemporary proof whatever of his having ever acted for pope Silvester. If Eusebius had delivered the opening speech himself, he would not have left us to learn this from Sozomen, nor would

Socrates have passed it over in silence. Theodoret led the way in attributing it to Eustathius of Antioch, which is not surprising in one who was both a native and a suffragan of that see. In later times, a speech was invented for Eustathius, on his authority, which is still extant.

Up to the last quarter of the 5th century—notwithstanding all that had been written on the council by St. Athanasius, and other fathers, by the one Latin and three Greek ecclesiastical historians who followed Eusebius, all also that had been cited from it by the councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon, and other places—not a word had been said, or a hint dropped, of Hosius having represented anybody there but himself. A.D. 476, or thereabouts, the statement that pope Silvester was represented there by him, as well as by his own true presbyters, was adventured on by Gelasius of Cyzicus, a writer of the poorest credit, who makes Constantinople the seat of empire when the council met, and Rufinus, the historian, one of those present; and to this statement bishop Hefele gravely calls upon us to assent still (*Introd.* pp. 36–41 and 46).

The emperor, we learn from Eusebius, on entering, took up a central position in front of the first row, and for a time remained standing with the rest, who rose to receive him; afterwards, a chair of gold having been placed before him, he seated himself, at the request of the bishops, when all sat down likewise. The opening speech made to him on their part has not been preserved; his answer has. It was a short exhortation to peace, delivered in Latin, and interpreted into Greek as he spoke. When he had finished, he let the "*presidents* of the council"—in other words, the bishops—speak. As there were multitudes present besides bishops, there can be no more doubt that this is what Eusebius means here by that phrase, than that bishops frequently went by that name. Endless discussions between them ensued, the emperor acting the part of moderator all through, conversing with them in Greek, to display his familiarity with their own language, though he had previously spoken in Latin, and getting them to be of one mind and opinion on all the disputed points at last. They gave due proof of this in their creed and canons—Eusebius tells the faithful of his diocese—and St. Athanasius vouches for his account (*De Dec. Syn. Nic.* § 3 and the P.S.) how the creed was formed. First, the creed of his own church of Caesarea, and, therefore, probably that of the church of Jerusalem also, which he had received from his predecessors, had been taught as a catechumen, had taught and professed himself ever since, was recited before the emperor, and found substantially correct; then, some additions to it having been agreed upon, it was published in the name of the council. Both forms are given; but as all creeds had been oral, and not written hitherto, we must not suppose that the original form had never varied or received additions before. Besides, being about to be committed to writing for the first time, and used as a public document from that time forth, the natural thing would be that it should be revised previously. The only question in revising it that seems to have created any difficulty, was the introduction of the word 'Homoousios,' and this the emperor at length succeeded in getting accepted. No doubt it was on this point that Hosius and Eusebius measured influences with him, and the former prevailed, which no one else could have done, though the latter was too politic to resent his defeat. The emperor, he tells his people, put a sense on this word which he could admit; and it was, no doubt, for having got this word inserted, that St. Athanasius credits his rival with having formulated the creed itself. The new and the old creed agreed in this: that they commenced "We (*not* I) believe," and ended with a simple profession of belief in the Holy Ghost. To this, in the new one, was subjoined an anathema; but, instead of being commensurate with the creed, it was confined, as all subsequent anathemas of general councils were, to the maintainers of the particular heresy then condemned, in this case the Arian. All the bishops present subscribed to the new formula, says Socrates, except five; says Theodoret, except two; and these falling under the anathema subjoined to it, and refusing to condemn Arius, shared his exile, decreed by the emperor. The names of those who subscribed are not extant in Greek, except in the short list of Gelasius (Mansi, ii. 927), which is purely fictitious. No more than 228 names are preserved in any of the Latin lists, which also have an artificial appearance, being grouped in provinces, a classification which is at variance with all the Greek lists of every general council extant, whatever cardinal Pitra (*Spic. Sol.* i. 511) or bishop Hefele (p. 296) may say. The leading bishops known from other sources to have been present were Hosius of Cordova, Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, Alexander of Constantinople, Macarius of Jerusalem, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Eusebius of Caesarea, the historian; St. Athanasius, though one of the foremost there, was a deacon only then.

After the creed had been agreed upon, twenty canons on discipline were passed. Of their number there can be no dispute, founded, at least, on any document that is both ancient and authentic. The pretended letter of St. Athanasius to pope Mark, and the pretended eighty or eighty-four canons in Arabic, therefore, proclaim their fictitious character. But we must not conclude from the mere existence of the latter, and without further proof, with bishop Hefele, that the "Greek church" ever attributed "more than twenty canons" to this council, still less ever quoted other canons as Nicene, "by mistake," which were not Nicene, as popes Zosimus, Innocent, and Leo did (*ib.* 360–372).

The canon meriting attention most is the sixth, being the principal of those framed with reference to Meletius, whose case, the bishops in their synodical letter may be supposed to say, engaged them next after Arius. Meletius had ordained priests and deacons in dioceses outside his own, and consecrated bishops at his sole discretion (Hefele, § 40). The council deprived him of all power in consequence, but dealt more leniently with his followers; and to prevent any similar irregularities in future, passed its fourth, fifth, and sixth canons. Of these, the fourth orders that the consecration of a bishop should, in general, be the act of all (the bishops) of the province (in which the vacant see was situate); or, if that could not be, that the absent (bishops) should express their assent in writing, and three (bishops), not of the province necessarily, come

together in every case to lay hands on him; yet so that the ratification of all that took place should, in every province, be given to the metropolitan. In other words, so long as the bishops of the province were consenting parties, the consecrators no fewer than three, and the metropolitan confirmed their act, it was not indispensable that the consecrators, when circumstances would have made this inconvenient, should be of the same province. Such, at least, was the interpretation put upon it by the fathers of the second general council (Theodoret, *E. H.* v. 9, near the end). This canon, again, it will be seen at a glance, must refer to the same act throughout; that one act, namely, which bishops alone, who are the only persons mentioned here, could perform. Consequently, the interpretation given to it by the fathers of the second Nicene council, in their third canon, is irrelevant, and need not be noticed, except so far as this—viz. that the provincial bishops in consecrating a new bishop, confirmed his election, and their metropolitan, in approving of his consecration, confirmed both. But this is the only reference to his election which this canon contains. The fifth canon, similarly concerns another episcopal act relevant to this case. Meletius having been for his offences excommunicated by the bishops of his province, it is ordered that the canon interdicting any that have been excommunicated by some from being received by others (*Can. Apost.* 10), should rule cases of this kind; but that enquiry might always be made whether any persons had been excommunicated unfairly by their bishop, synods of all the bishops in each province are directed to be held twice a year, in the spring and autumn, for that purpose. The sixth canon is not merely concerned with episcopal acts alone, but with episcopal acts only between bishops and their metropolitan, in other words, with episcopal jurisdiction. Had it, therefore, been always designated by its proper title "bishops and their metropolitans"—the only persons named in it, and the latter the highest dignitaries known to the church as yet—its meaning would have remained clear. As it is, few subjects have provoked a wider or a wilder literature. Moreover, the first half of the canon enacts merely that what had long been customary with respect to such persons in every province, should become law, beginning with the province where this principle had been infringed; while the second half declares what was in future to be received as law on two points, which custom had not as yet expressly ruled. "This is plain to all, that if any become bishop without consent of his metropolitan, the great synod has defined that he ought not to be bishop. But should two or three, from simple contentiousness, oppose what has been agreed upon in common by all, and is in accordance with ecclesiastical law, and reasonable, let the vote of the majority prevail," that is, become law. Nobody disputes the meaning of this last half; nor, in fact, would the meaning of the first half have been questioned, had it not included Rome. "Let ancient customs prevail"—or become law—"in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis"—provinces then subject to the Augustal prefect, and in which Meletius had been creating disturbances—"so that the bishop of Alexandria should have the power (which he has by custom) over all these . . . and in like manner at Antioch, and in all other provinces, let the churches be maintained in their privileges." Nobody can dispute the meaning of this either, as it stands. Nobody can maintain that the bishops of Antioch and Alexandria were called patriarchs *then*, or that the jurisdiction they had then was co-extensive with what they had afterwards, when they *were* so called. "Since this is usual also for the bishop in the (capital) city, Rome." It is on this clause, standing parenthetically between what is decreed for the particular cases of Egypt and Antioch, and in consequence of the interpretation given to it by Rufinus, more particularly, that so much strife has been raised. Rufinus may rank low as a translator, yet, being a native of Aquileia, he cannot have been ignorant of Roman ways, nor, on the other hand, had he greatly misrepresented them, would his version have waited till the seventeenth century to be impeached. What is called the "Prisca versio Latina" cannot dispute, though it tries to disarm his paraphrase by a gloss of its own, his being "Ut apud Alexandriam et in urbe Roma vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille Aegypti, vel hic suburbicariarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat;" that of the "Prisca versio," which is undoubtedly the later of the two, by some fifty years according to Gieseler, § 91: "Antiqui moris est, ut urbis Romae episcopus habeat principatum, et suburbicaria loca, et omnem provinciam suam (al. sua) sollicitudine gubernet?" Moreover, the title given to it in this version runs as follows: "De primatu ecclesiae Romanae *vel aliarum civitatum episcopis.*" "Suburbicary churches" were the churches of the suburban or "suburbicary places," or "regions," over which the jurisdiction of the city praefect extended (Cave, *Ch. Govt.* iii. 2–3), embracing a circuit in every direction to the hundredth milestone. The bishop of Rome, therefore, stood at the head of the bishops of those churches in heathen times, and before the regular institution of metropolitans. This was one fact; afterwards it was a fact no less, that his jurisdiction *became* commensurate with that of the city vicar, and was spread over ten provinces: 1. Campania; 2 Tuscany, with Umbria; 3. Picenum; 4. Sicily, 5. Calabria, with Apulia; 6. Lucania, with the Bruttians; 7. Samnium; 8. Sardinia; 9. Corsica; 10. Valeria. These ten provinces the 'Prisca versio' calls "omnem provinciam suam;" which, accordingly, went no farther northwards than the gulf of Spezzia on the west coast, and the mouth of the Rubicon on the east, leaving the sees of Aquileia, Milan, and Ravenna, similar centres in their own neighbourhood of the seven northern provinces to which the jurisdiction of the vicar of Italy was then confined (Pancirol, *Notit. Dign.* ii. 2). The composition of the Roman synod at one time bore testimony to its original, at another to its extended limits; and now and then its dimensions were enlarged *exceptionally*, as will be pointed out under that head. [POPE; ROME, COUNCILS OF.]

The remaining canons need not occupy much space. Canons eight to fifteen relate to the lapsed principally—those that had concealed or abjured their faith to escape persecution. The Novatians, or Puritans, as they styled themselves, had incurred censure for refusing to communicate with those who had been twice married and also with the lapsed, even after

they had performed their penance. The manner of restoring all such was now settled; but the ordination of any whose crimes should have debarred them from the priesthood was declared invalid. To the dying, indeed, according to the old rule of the church, the Eucharist, or "last and most necessary *viaticum*," is not to be denied under any circumstances; but they are not to take rank with communicants proper should they recover. By the sixteenth, translations of the clergy from one diocese to another are forbidden. By the seventeenth, lenders on usury are to be struck off the rolls of the clergy. By the eighteenth, deacons are forbidden to usurp any functions that belong to priests, especially that of giving the Eucharist. By the nineteenth, it is decreed that all the clerical followers of Paul of Samosata, deaconesses included, must be re-baptized before they can be re-ordained. Deaconesses indeed, never having received imposition of hands, can only be treated as lay personages. That this is the true meaning of the phrase *ὅρος ἐκτέθειται*, viz. 'a decree has now been made,' is clear from the application of the words *ὅρος*, in canon seventeen, and *ὥρισεν*, in canon six. It has been a pure mistake, therefore, which bishop Hefele blindly follows, to understand it of some canon previously passed, whether at Arles or elsewhere. In the 'Prisca Versio' this enactment about deaconesses is reckoned a separate canon, making twenty-one in all. By the twentieth, all are directed to pray standing on Sundays, and the whole time between Easter and Pentecost.

The three first canons, having nothing to do with the causes which led to the council, may be considered here more conveniently than where they stand. The first decrees that such as have made themselves eunuchs may not be ordained, or, if ordained, must resign their post. The second that none should be raised to the office of priest or bishop, who had not been long baptized, or after full instruction; and even after ordination, should any crime be proved against a person, he must forfeit his place among the clergy. By the third, no bishop, priest or deacon, or clerk of any sort, may have living with him—*συνείσακτον*—as an inmate of his house, any woman less nearly related to him than a mother, sister, or aunt; or, in any case, such persons as are quite beyond suspicion. It used to be maintained that clerical celibacy was imposed by this canon; and in the same breath, that the story told by Socrates and Sozomen of the venerable bishop Paphnutius was a fiction. In fact, the marked omission in this canon of all reference to the wife amongst the female relatives of the clergy, is explained at once by his protest against any separation of man and wife.

On the Easter question there was no canon passed, but only the understanding entered into, which the bishops in their synodical letter, and the emperor in his circular, record—viz. "that all the brethren in the East, who formerly celebrated Easter with the Jews, will henceforth keep it agreeably with the Romans and ourselves, and all who from ancient time have kept Easter as we" (Soc. i. 9). In other words, that they would all celebrate the festival of the resurrection of our Lord always on the first day of the week, though never on the 14th day of the month Nisan, even when that day fell on a Sunday, but the Sunday after. [EASTER.]

The authority which this council obtained everywhere gave rise to continual tamperings with its decrees, or with its history from interested motives. Nine-tenths of such tamperings, at least, have been in the Latin interest; and if their origin cannot be brought home positively to the popes themselves, it cannot be denied that they have been foremost in using them. The interpolation of the sixth canon, as has been said, began with the legates of the first Leo. He himself originated another gloss upon it—viz. that it *decided* that of the three sees mentioned in it Rome had the first place, Alexandria the second, and Antioch the third. The Sardican canons were first cited as Nicene by popes Zosimus, Innocent, and the same Leo. The preface to the Nicene council in the Pseudo-Isidorian collection was penned in their interest. The seventy-first of the Arabian canons, according to one version of them (Mansi, ii. 1005), was framed in their interest. Pope Silvester, of course, learnt from his presbyters all to which his assent had been given through them, and received from them a copy of the synodical letter addressed to the church of Alexandria, for whose special benefit the council had met. But the council addressed no letter to him, nor received any letter from him in particular. Later ages invented three such letters, in which his confirmation of the acts of the council is asked and imparted, and they are still extant (*ib.* 719–22). As if this was not enough, a third Roman synod, in addition to a first and second, of still more ambitious purpose (*ib.* 551 and 615-32) was feigned to have been held, in which he anathematised all who dared to contravene the Nicene definition (*ib.* 1081). Pope Adrian I. is the first who quotes or refers to these documents. One more point may be mentioned, in conclusion, as having an interest for English readers—viz. that probably the earliest MS. of its kind extant ("cui nullum aliud simile invenire uspiam licuit," say the Ballerini themselves of it) is one preserved in the Bodleian archives (Justellus, 100-2), being a fine and nearly complete transcript of the old Latin, or pre-Dionysian, version of the Nicene and other canons, in three parts. It may be seen printed, but unfaithfully printed, in the *Bibl. Jur. Can. Vet.* i. 277 sq., by Voel and H. Justellus, or reprinted by the Ballerini, in their edition of St. Leo, iii. 478–563.

That this version was the 'Prisca translatio,' which, Dionysius Exiguus tells us, he had been asked to improve upon, is clear enough from internal evidence; and has long been accepted as such by the learned. But, according to Dr. Maassen (*Can. Recht*, § 8–11) this was by no means the earliest version of the Nicene decrees then extant in Latin: as he assumes there were Latin translations of them sent by St. Cyril of Alexandria and Atticus of Constantinople respectively to the African bishops in the 5th century, when appeals were being argued between them and Rome, and that even a contemporary translation of them was brought home by Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, from the Nicene council. It is true that we have Latin versions of them given in the Isidorian collection, and several MSS. of uncertain date, which are so headed: but even so, the statements made re-

specting them are vague and conflicting: and it might be shewn on similar evidence, that a Latin translation of these canons was supplied by the Nicene Fathers to Pope Silvester himself. Again, how comes it, if so many cut and dried versions of the Nicene canons were thus early made, that not one is ever cited *at length*, either in these versions or any other, by members of the African or of the Roman Church, or by any Western synod, in pre-Dionysian times: to say nothing of these versions being unknown to Dionysius himself, by whom the African code was first brought into notice? The fact is, Dionysius is an inconvenient authority for modern theories respecting the Sardican canons, which the Popes endeavoured to pass as Nicene, till the appearance of his collection, as will be shewn further on. [SARDICA, COUNCIL OF; comp. DICT. CHRIST. BIOG. art. 'Dionysius Exiguus.'] [E. S. Ff.]

NICAEA (2) the 2nd council of, the 7th and last general; being the last to be received as such finally by the Western churches in communion with Rome, and the Eastern churches in communion with Constantinople; as well as the only general council which has at times been condemned by both, exclusive of Rome. (Palmer, *On the Church*, iv. 10. 4.) Met in the 8th year of the empress Irene and her son Constantine, A.D. 787. It contrasts with the first council in that its acts are extant and fill a volume, to say nothing of their having been translated by Anastasius, the Roman librarian, and dedicated by him in a preface of singular interest to pope John VIII.; while those of the first were not even committed to writing.

To understand its decrees, some previous phases of the contest about images must be recalled. The emperor Leo III., surnamed the Isaurian, had taken a violent part against images and their defenders, which had been bitterly resented in his own capital, and still more by pope Gregory II., who challenged him in two fiery letters to attempt similar measures in Italy. The emperor replied by confiscating all the papal domains in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. His son and grandson following in his steps retained them. But his great-grandson was a minor, in dependence upon his mother, and she, yielding to the instances of the retiring patriarch Paul, and of the new patriarch Tarasius, took steps for reversing all that had been decreed against images in a council held under his grandfather Constantine, surnamed Copronymus, A.D. 754, and which then passed for the 7th council. She wrote, therefore, to pope Adrian I. in their joint names A.D. 784, inviting him to a council which she proposed assembling at Constantinople for that purpose; but her letter remained unanswered for two years. At length, A.D. 786, two presbyters arrived from Rome to be present at it on behalf of the pope. Even then, the council had no sooner met than it had to be closed on account of the disturbances to which it gave rise. The year following it was transferred to Nicaea, where its proceedings occupied no more than a month, as has been said. According to the lists given in Mansi, 260 bishops or their representatives attended its first action or session, and 310 subscribed to what was defined at its 7th and last. The first place was assigned to the legates of the pope, though presbyters. Tarasius, who had just been appointed patriarch, while yet a layman, by the civil power, sat second, and was the chief speaker throughout. Two presbyters, representing the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, who were kept away by the Saracens, sat next. The see of Jerusalem, being vacant, was not represented. The rest, with very few exceptions—and none farther west than Italy—came from the east. At the request of the bishops of Sicily, Tarasius opened proceedings in a short speech. The imperial letter, or *Sacra*, was then read, in which reference was made to his consecration, to the petition that had been made by him for a council, and to the steps which had been taken for assembling this. Lastly, several bishops who had attended the iconoclastic council under Copronymus, or been consecrated by those that had, on confessing their errors, and professing the faith of the six previous councils, were received.

At the second action, two letters from pope Adrian were read; one to the empress and her son, the other to Tarasius. The first begins with a faltering reference to the exaltation of the Roman see by the first emperor Constantine and his mother, together with his recovery from leprosy through pope Silvester, whose acts are then quoted in favour of images, supplemented by other authorities. Afterwards, if Anastasius, or rather the anonymous somebody who professes to record his words, is to be trusted, the pope commented on the consecration of Tarasius, and on his being styled oecumenical patriarch in passages which the Greeks suppressed, and concluded by protesting against the detention of his rights and patrimony, contrasting with it all the provinces and cities and provinces which he had just received in perpetuity from Charlemagne, besides what he had regained through him from the Lombards. But all this is suspicious, being only preserved in a Latin version, and in any case should be compared with a letter written to Charlemagne by the same pope nine years before (Cod. Carol. *Ep.* lx.), for the marked abstention from any reference to the contents of the papal archives in one, and the palmary reference to the donation of Constantine preserved there in the other. Even if genuine, the Greeks might well have suppressed this passage, no general council having ever been asked before to occupy itself with such subjects. The letter to Tarasius is said to have been similarly mutilated; but in this case the Latin version contains nothing of any sort which is not found in the Greek. The pope merely speaks in it of the synodical epistle received from Tarasius announcing his election and containing his profession. As this last was in entire harmony with the faith of the six previous councils, and had taken the right view of images, he would not insist on the twofold blots of his election—at least, if the patriarch will engage to do three things: (1) to get the pseudo-synod against images condemned; (2) to seek union with the Roman see to that extent as to make profession of his devotion to it as head of all the churches of God; (3) to get images restored by an imperial edict to their accustomed places in all the churches of the capital and throughout the

East, conformably with the tradition of the Roman church. Both letters were accepted enthusiastically by the council, and the bishops, in subscribing to them, declared them a standard of orthodoxy for what they contained.

In the third action, Gregory, bishop of Neo-Caesarea, recanted his former opinions, and was received. Then a copy of the synodical letter sent by Tarasius to his brother patriarchs having been read out, it was pronounced identical with what had been sent to the pope, whose answer to it they had just heard and accepted accordingly. Two points in it deserve some notice—1. It asserted procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father, through or by the Son. 2. It anathematised pope Honorius with other monothelite leaders by name, and their dogmas, as well as their followers. The reply to this letter from the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, and with it the synodical letter they had themselves received from the late patriarch of Jerusalem, on his election, followed. In the latter of these the Holy Ghost is said to proceed eternally from the Father: the teaching of the six previous councils is epitomised and professed: while pope Honorius is distinctly said to have been anathematised by the sixth. Both letters were declared in accordance with the profession of Tarasius, and subscribed to by all.

With the fourth action commenced the real work of the council. Passages from the Old and New Testament were read out favourable to visible representations of things absent or unseen. Passages from the fathers, mentioning images or pictures with approval followed. Several of these passages, indeed, were drawn from works of no credit; some from confessedly spurious works, as Cave points out (i. 650) forcibly. Still, the eighty-second Trullan canon, which they considered oecumenical, alone covers their decision in principle; and this again had been acted upon in the preceding century, when a picture of our Lord was borne before the apostle of England, as he entered Canterbury. Art, in general, might have been lost to the church had they decided otherwise. Finally, where they state their inferences (Mansi, xiii. 131) and say that they "honour such representations of holy persons and holy things, as leading to the perpetual remembrance of their prototypes," they assert nothing irrational; and even when they add, "as likewise making us sharers of their holiness," they may mean no more than "as exciting people to endeavour to be as good as they were."

The fifth action was occupied with details in the proceedings of the council against images under Copronymus, A.D. 754. First, the worthlessness of its authorities was exposed, and counter-authorities cited in condemnation of them. Next, volumes from which passages in favour of images had been torn out were displayed. Lastly, the reaction against images was traced back to the Saracens. At the 6th action, the refutation of the same council assumed a more formal shape. It was subdivided into six tomes or parts so arranged that in each of them Gregory, bishop of Neo-Caesarea, one of the recanting prelates, reads out portions of the acts of the pseudo-synod, and one of the deacons of the church of Constantinople their refutation.

The council met for its seventh action on Oct. 13, when Theodore, bishop of Taormina in Sicily, read out its definition. This, after a short preface, commenced with the creed, in the Constantinopolitan form only, and without the canon enforcing its exclusive use, which we find appended to it at the fourth, fifth, and sixth councils. Long afterwards it was pretended on the Latin side that the insertion of the "*Filioque*" was decreed at this council; the very thing it was blamed by the council of Frankfort for not having done. Next, it anathematised all the heretics by name, whom the six previous councils had condemned, including pope Honorius. Next, it declared for preserving all ecclesiastical traditions intact, one of which was the employment of symbolical representations. And thereupon it decreed, lastly, that images of our Lord, His mother and His saints, in colours, mosaic, or other material, might, like the cross, be freely placed on church walls and in tablets; on vessels and vestments used at divine service; in private houses or by the roadside, and have candles or incense burnt, according to custom before them, and be kissed and saluted with all reverence, saving only the worship (latria) which is due to God alone, deposing all bishops and clergy, and excommunicating all monks and laymen who maintained the contrary. [IMAGES.]

This, followed by corresponding acclamations and anathemas, a joint letter to the empress and her son from Tarasius and the assembled bishops, and a synodical letter to the faithful, terminated the more formal work of the council. Its members met for a supplemental or eighth session at the palace called Magnaura in the capital, Oct. 23, when the definition was again read out, this time in the hearing of the empress and her son, who were present, and twenty-two canons passed. Of these the first insists on the observance of the canons by all, but seems to point rather to dogma than discipline. If it is held to confirm all the canons of the six previous councils, it must, of course, be understood to confirm the Trullan or Quini-sext canons. The second ordains that no bishop shall be consecrated who has not a thorough knowledge of the Psalter, the canons, and Holy Scripture in general. The third declares all appointments of bishops by the civil power void, as being contrary to the canons. Thus Tarasius effectually barred his own case from becoming a precedent. The fourth and fifth are strong against simony. The sixth renews the rule that a provincial synod shall be held at least once a year. The seventh ordains that any bishop consecrating a church in future without relics of the saints shall be deposed. The eighth decrees against receiving any Jews who are not sincere converts. The ninth orders that all books against images should be brought to the residence of the patriarch at Constantinople, and there stowed away with all other heretical works. Any bishop, priest, or deacon concealing such books is to be deposed, and any monk or layman anathematised. The remaining thirteen, being of less consequence, may be passed over.

Anastasius is allowed to have translated these canons, whether he translated the proceedings of the eighth session or not, which some deny. The Latin version, which used to be thought anterior to his, omits them certainly. But if the titles given at the end of his preface are his, it is plain that he looked upon the eighth session as

one with the seventh, and such is, apparently, the view which Theophanes, who was present, takes of it in his Chronographia. The other pieces in connection with it, also given in Latin and Greek, are: 1. A complimentary speech addressed to the council by Epiphanius, deacon of the church of Catana, in Sicily. 2. A letter from Tarasius to pope Adrian, tersely describing the council, which "by placing a copy of the Gospels in its midst, constituted Christ its head, and by causing the letters of the pope to be read first in order, constituted him its eye." 3. A second, and still more remarkable letter from the same to the same, bristles with denunciations from Scripture, the canons, and the fathers, against simony, thus not merely throwing light upon the fourth and fifth canons passed at this council, but suggesting that they may have been as much needed just now for the West as the East. 4. A letter from the same to an anchoret dignitary, named John, announcing and expounding to him the decrees of the Council. The latter standing last in Mansi, which purports to have been addressed to the church of Alexandria by this council, was probably written to bring about its commemoration in a later age. It now stands for commemoration in the Greek Menology on Oct. 12, and is there said to have been attended by 367 fathers. For the letter written in defence of it by pope Adrian to Charlemagne, which Mansi prints last but one, see 'Council of Frankfort.' (Mansi, xii. 951 ad. f. and xiii. 1–820; Beveridge, Synod II. 165–9; Hefele, III. 410–57.) [E. S. Ff.]

**NICANDER** (1) Martyr in Egypt under Diocletian; commemorated Mar. 15 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. ii. 392). The Menology assigns to the same day the martyrdom of another Nicander, "sanctus apostolus."

(2) Martyr, commemorated in Africa June 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Usuard gives the name on the same day with Marcianus and Apollonius, in Egypt; and *Hieron. Mart.* calls him in the same connexion Nigrandus. Basil (*Menol.*) mentions Nicander with Martianus on this day.

(3) Martyr, with Quiriacus, Blastus, and others, commemorated at Rome June 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*); assigned to this day with Martianus in Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iii. 266.

(4) Bishop of Myra; commemorated Nov. 4 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 273).

(5) Martyr, with Hiero, Hesychius, and others; commemorated Nov. 7 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**NICANOR** (1) one of the seven deacons (Acts vi.), martyr at Cyprus; commemorated Jan. 10. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 601).

(2) Martyr with Martiana and Apollonius [cf. NICANDER (2)]; commemorated in Egypt Ap. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*); July 28 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 264). [C. H.]

**NICASIUS**, bishop, martyr, with his virgin sister Eutropia at Rheims; commemorated Dec. 14 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Surius, *de Prob. Sanct. Hist.* t. iv. Dec. 14, p. 264, ed. Colon. 1618). [C. H.]

**NICE**, martyr, A.D. 303; commemorated by the Greeks Ap. 25. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 361.) [C. H.]

**NICE** (Νίκη), a town so called in Thrace not far from Adrianople, where the Arians held a council, A.D. 359, Oct. 10, on their way home from Rimini, to publish the creed brought thither by Valens, in order that from the name which it would thus get it might be confounded with the Nicene. (Soc. ii. 37.) Instead of which it was condemned in the West, as soon as known. It betrayed its character by condemning the use of the word 'Homoousios'; besides which it contained "the descent into hell," which had not as yet appeared in any church creed. It is extant in Theodoret (*H. E.* ii. 21), and was repeated almost word for word at Constantinople the year following (Soc. ii. 41.) St. Hilary (Fragm. viii.) gives the fullest account of what took place. The sentence passed on Valens and Ursacius at Rimini was rescinded at the same time. (Mansi, iii. 309–314.) [E. S. Ff.]

**NICEAS** (NICETAS), bishop of Romatiana in Dacia; depositio June 22 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 243). [C. H.]

**NICEFORUS.** [NICEPHORUS.]

**NICENE CREED.** [CREED.]

**NICEPHORUS** (1) Martyr with Victorinus and five others; commemorated Jan. 31 (Basil. *Menol.*); NICOPHORUS, Feb. 25 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*); NICOFORUS, Feb. 25 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(2) Martyr at Antioch, under Valerian and Gallienus; commemorated Feb. 9 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 253; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 283).

(3) (NICEFORUS) Martyr, commemorated in Africa March 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr, commemorated April 5 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(5) Patriarch of Constantinople; commemorated June 2 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(6) Martyr with Antoninus, Germanus, and others; commemorated Nov. 13 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**NICETAS** (1) a bishop in Dacia; commemorated Jan. 7 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 365).

(2) Bishop of Apollonias, confessor in the Iconoclastic period; commemorated March 20 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 165).

(3) Bishop of Romatiana. [NICEAS.]

(4) Martyr with Aquilina, under Decius; commemorated July 24 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. v. 492).

(5) Martyr at Nicomedia, under Maximian it is said; commemorated at Venice Sept. 12 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 6).

(6) A Gothic martyr; commemorated Sept. 15 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 269; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. v. 38).

(7) "Our father," related to the empress Irene, confessor; commemorated Oct. 6 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**NICETIUS** (1) Martyr, commemorated at Nicomedia Jan. 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Bishop of Besançon in the 7th century; commemorated Feb. 8 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 168).

(3) Bishop of Lyon, A.D. 573; commemorated April 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. i. 95).

(4) Bishop of Treves. [NICETUS.] [C. H.]

**NICETUS** (1), Bishop, commemorated at Vienne (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*).

(2) Martyr, commemorated at Rome, on the Via Portuensis, July 29 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr, commemorated in Italy Aug. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Two martyrs of this name commemorated at Alexandria Sept. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr, commemorated at Treves, Oct. 1 *Hieron. Mart.*); NICETIUS (Surius, *de Prob. SS. Hist.* t. iv. Oct. i. p. 2, Colon. 1618; Mabill. *Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. i. p. 184, Venet. 1733).

(6) Martyr, commemorated Oct. 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NICIA** (1) Virgin martyr, commemorated Ap. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr, commemorated May 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NICO** (1) Bishop, "Holy Martyr," with 199 companions, A.D. 250, near Tauromenium; commemorated Mar. 23 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 255; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 442).

(2) Martyr, with Neo and Heliodorus; commemorated Sept. 28 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**NICODEMUS**, Jewish doctor (St. John iii.); inventio at Jerusalem Aug. 3 (Usuard. *Mart.*); *Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NICODEMUS.** Guénébault names a diptych of the 8th or 9th century, published by Paciaudi (*Antiquitates Christianae*, p. 349 and plate), in which Nicodemus is holding a small vase, fifth figure on the second leaf of the diptych. He is to found be in an Entombment




Nicodemus at the Entombment. (MSS. Bib. Nat., Paris.)

from a 9th century Greek MS., given by Rohault de Fleury (*L'Evangile*, vol. ii. pl. xci. fig. 1) from *Bibliothèque Nationale*, *Nouvelle MS.* 510, where he is pointed out by name (see woodcut). The writer cannot find any representation within our period of his visit to our Lord by night. [R. St. J. T.]

**NICOFORUS** (1), martyr with Victorinus, Victor and others; commemorated in Egypt Feb. 25 (Usuard. *Mart.*); NICOPHORUS, Feb. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [NICEPHORUS.]

(2) Martyr, with some of the same companions as preceding, and perhaps the same person; commemorated Feb. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Nicophorus (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 724).

(3) Martyr, commemorated March 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr, commemorated in Egypt, Ap. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NICOLAS**, bishop of Myra. [NICOLAUS.]

**NICOLAUS** (1) Anchoret, with Trannsin Sardinia, in the fourth century; commemorated June 21 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 84).

(2) Martyr, with Hieronymus at Brescia; commemorated July 6 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 285).

(3) Bishop of Myra in the time of Constantine; commemorated Dec. 6 (Basil. *Menol.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Surius, *de Prob. Sanct. Hist.* t. iv. Dec. p. 182, ed. Colon. 1618); NICOLAS, "wonder-worker" (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 276); same name and title, Dec. 7 (*Cal. Armen.*); NICOLAS, Ap. 10 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C. H.]

**NICOMEDES**, presbyter, martyr; natalis Sept. 15 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. v. 5); dedication of his church at Rome, June 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*); dedication on June 1 observed in Gregory's Sacramentary, his name being in the collect (Greg. Mag. *Lib. Sacr.* 104). One of this name for Sept. 15 at Tomi, and one for June 1 in Africa, mentioned in *Hieron. Mart.* [C. H.]

**NICOPHORUS** (1) Feb. 24, Feb. 28. [NICOFORUS.]

(2) Martyr; commemorated Mar. 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NICOPOLIS, COUNCIL OF**, A.D. 372, at the border-town, so-called, of Armenia Minor and Cappadocia. The bishop, Theodotus of Nicopolis, had invited St. Basil to be present, but when he came, owing to his having admitted Eustathius of Sebaste to communion, in his way thither, on terms unsatisfactory to Theodotus, he was not admitted, to his great annoyance. (*Ep.* 99; comp. Mansi, note, iii. 476.) [E. S. Ff.]

**NICOPOLITIANUS**, martyr with Styracius and Tobilas; commemorated Nov. 2 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**NICOSTRATUS** (1) Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia, Mar. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr, with Claudius, Castorius, and others; commemorated at Rome July 7 and Nov. 8 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet Rom. Mart.*: Bed. *Mart.*); Nov. 8 (Surius, *de Prob. Sanct. Hist.* t. iv. Nov. p. 212, ed. Colon. 1618). [C. H.]

**NIDD, COUNCIL OF**, A.D. 705: held on the banks of the Nidd, in Northumbria, by order of pope John VI., in the reign of Osred, at which Brihtwald, archbishop of Canterbury, was present, and the matter of Wilfrid, bishop of York, finally settled (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c. iii. 264–267, and Mansi, xii. 167–174). [E. S. Ff.]

**NIGASIUS**, presbyter, martyr, in the Vexin, probably cir. A.D. 286, with Quirinus and Pien-

tia; commemorated Oct. 11 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. v. 510). [C. H.]

**NIGRANDUS.** [NICANDER, June 5.]

**NILAMMON,** Egyptian recluse in fifth century; commemorated Jan. 6 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 326). [C. H.]

**NILUS** (1) Martyr, with Peleus and Helias; commemorated Sept. 19 (Basil. *Menol.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*); named in *Hieron. Mart.* on this day with Capileus and others.

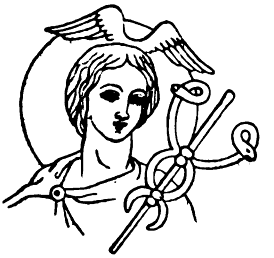
(2) "Our father;" commemorated Nov. 12 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**NIMBUS** (IN CHRISTIAN ART), a disc or plate, commonly golden, sometimes red, blue, or green, or banded like a rainbow, placed vertically behind the heads of persons of special dignity or sanctity as a symbol of honour. This disc is sometimes reduced to a mere ring, single or double, showing the background through. It is, as a rule, perfectly plain, except in the case of our Saviour, whose nimbus is commonly distinguished by a cross. The cross is sometimes, but rarely, depicted immediately above the Sacred Head, either just without or just within the circumference of the disc (as in the mosaics of the arch of the tribune at St. Maria Maggiore), but it is almost universally inscribed within the circle. After the eighth century living persons were, in Italy, distinguished by a square nimbus, which sometimes assumed the form of a scroll, partly unrolled.

The nimbus is undoubtedly of ethnic origin. It is the visible expression in art of the luminous nebula supposed to emanate from and to clothe a Divine Being. It originally invested the whole body. Thus Virgil describes Juno as "nimbo succincta" (*Aen.* x. 634). By degrees, however, it was restricted to the head, which was naturally regarded as the chief seat of this divine radiance. The heads of the statues of the gods (Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* 675; *Timon*, c. 51, 154), and of the emperors, after they began to claim divine honours, were decorated with a crown of rays, or brilliant circlet. Servius (*ad Aen.* ii. 615) defines the nimbus with which Pallas was distinguished at the destruction of Troy, as "fulgidum lumen, quo deorum capita cinguntur: sic enim pingi solent;" and again (*ibid.* iii. 587), "proprie nimbus est qui deorum vel imperantium capita quasi clara nebula ambire fingitur." We also find in the 'Panegyricus Maximiani,' which passes under the name of Mamertinus, "lux divinum verticem claro orbe complectens," associated with the trabeae and the fasces and the curule chair as symbols of imperial dignity. From the resemblance of the nimbus as commonly depicted to a circular plate of metal, it has been derived by some from the μηνίσκος of the Greeks, a metal disk placed above the heads of statues to prevent birds from settling on them, and polluting them (cf. interpr. ad Aristoph. *Aves*, v. 1114); but though similar in form and position the connection is probably only apparent, not real (Ciampini *Vet. Mon.* i. 112). Buonarruoti (*Osservaz.* p. 60) is of opinion that the nimbus was borrowed from the Egyptians, which is also the view of Pignorius (Ciampini, *u.s.* i. 112). Others hold that it was of Etruscan origin, and others again derive it from India, where it was certainly used to encircle the deities of the Hindu mythology (Didron, *Iconogr. Chrét.* pp. 43, 136); but from whatever quarter it was derived, the nimbus was regarded in the early ages of Christianity as a mere symbol of honour and dignity, and was not at all associated with divinity or special sanctity. In the East especially it was considered as an attribute of mere power, whether good or evil, and was used much more prodigally than in the West. Thus we find it assigned in Byzantine art to Satan (Didron, p. 163, fig. 46), and to the beast in the Apocalypse (*ib.* p. 165, fig. 47). In the West it may be seen encircling the bust of the emperor Claudius (Montfaucon, *Antiquité expliquée*, v. 162); the head of Trajan, and several medallions on the arch of Constantine, and of Antoninus Pius on the reverse of one of his medals (Oisell. *Thes. Numism.* tab. lxvii. 1). Herod is distinguished by the nimbus in the mosaics of St. Mary Major's at Rome, as are Justinian and Theodora in those of St. Vitalis, and Constantine Pogonatus, Heraclius and Tiberius at St. Apollinaris in Classe, and Justinian at St. Apollinaris in Urbe, at Ravenna; and Constantine and Charles the Great in those of the Lateran Triclinium (Agincourt, *Peinture*, xvi. 18). On medals the nimbus is frequently found surrounding the heads of the Christian emperors. We may instance Constantine the Great on the reverse of a great bronze of Crispus (Sanclemente, *Numm. Select.* iii. p. 182, fig. 1), the obverse of a gold coin of Constantine (Morelli, *Nov. Spec.* tab. vii. No. 1); and one of Fausta (*Ibid.* tab. iv. No. 4); Cavedoni, *Ricerche*, p. 53). Constans, Constantius and the later emperors are similarly distinguished. On the great shield of Theodosius he and his two sons have the nimbus. (Buonarruoti, *Osservazioni*, pp. 60 sq.). A silver shield discovered in the ancient bed of the Arve, near Geneva in 1721, figured by Montfaucon (*Antiq. Expliq.* xiv. p. xxviii. p. 51), representing Valentinian making gifts to his soldiers after a victory, shews the emperor with his head surrounded by a plain nimbus. The statues of the Merovingian kings which formerly decorated the chief portal of the abbey of St. Germain des Prés at Paris are also described as having their heads surmounted with this symbol of royal dignity (Mabillon, *Annal. Ord. Bened.* ann. 557, tom. i. p. 169).

In illuminated MSS. after the sixth century, the secular use of the nimbus is very frequent. It does not appear in a MS. of Genesis of the fourth or fifth century, in the Library at Vienna (Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. xix.); but Priam and Cassandra have it in the Vatican Virgil (Ciampini, *u. s.* 1, tab. xxxvi. 16, 17), and in a MS. of the book of Joshua of the seventh or eighth century from the same collection (No. 405), Joshua himself, as well as the cities of Jericho, Gibeon, &c., represented as females, is thus decorated. In the Alexandrine MS. and in a MS. Bible of St. Paul's at Rome, of the 8th or 9th century (Agincourt, *Peinture*, xxviii.–xxx.), not only sacred and quasi-sacred personages, *e.g.* Moses, Joshua, Eli, Samuel, Balaam, &c., but kings, such as Pharaoh and Ahab, bear it (Buonarruoti, *u. s.* p. 62). The case is the same in the Menologium of Basil of the tenth century, where the nimbus is given without distinction to the saints, and to the emperors, to Herod and other poten-

tates. Medea is nimbed on a patera mentioned by Muratori (ii. 21), and Circe in a fresco at Herculaneum, described by Didron (p. 150). The annexed woodcut of a nimbed head of Mercury, from a fragment of a bas-relief given by Montfaucon (*u. s.* i. part. 2, pl. ccxxiv.), representing the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and the twelve chief deities, the last all depicted with the nimbus.



Mercury with Circular Nimbus. (Didron.)

Familiar as the use of the nimbus was as a symbol of dignity or power, especially in the East, it was unknown as a distinctive mark of divinity or sanctity to the earlier ages of Christian art. As Didron remarks (*Iconogr. Chr.* p. 100), "the most ancient monuments in France and Italy present divine and sacred personages without the nimbus." The first five centuries offer few, if any, genuine examples. Didron indeed asserts (*ib.* p. 101), that "before the sixth century the Christian nimbus is not to be seen on authentic monuments." It is of the extremest rarity on Christian sarcophagi, and in the frescoes of the catacombs, excepting those of later date, and such (unfortunately a numerous class), as have been subjected to modern restoration. As there is no class of christian monuments which have come down to us in such unaltered state, there is none whose authority is so weighty as the sarcophagi. From these the nimbus is almost universally totally absent. There is not a single example of this symbol on any of the sarcophagi engraved by Bosio and Aringhi, or in those of the Lateran Museum. Not only the angels and holy personages, but Christ Himself is devoid of it. It is equally absent from the sarcophagi of Arles, Saint Maximin, and Marseilles. At Ravenna, however, there are two sarcophagi, both of the seventh century, which present our Lord nimbed; that of the exarch Isaac at St. Vitalis, A.D. 644, representing the adoration of the Magi (Appell. *Monuments of early Christian Art*, p. 27, No. 9), and one in the basilica of St. Apollinaris in Classe, on which we see a youthful, beardless figure of Christ enthroned between the apostles. He has a plain nimbus, but they are without any (*ibid.* p. 28, No. 10).

The testimony of the glass vessels discovered in the catacombs, belonging probably to the fourth century, is equally decisive as to the late introduction of the nimbus. There are a few examples in Garrucci's great collection in which Christ is nimbed (*Vetri Ornati*, tav. viii. 7, tav. xvi. 5, tav. xvii. 6, tav. xxiii. 7), but in the vast majority of instances He is destitute of it. Buonarruoti gives a very curious glass (*Osservaz.* xvii. 1), on which St. Stephen is represented sitting listening to the teaching of Christ, also seated, neither of them wearing the nimbus; but between them is a small figure of Christ in the act of benediction, which is nimbed. The reason of the distinction between these two figures of our Lord is evidently that the one is intended for Christ as a Teacher on earth, the other shews Him as seen by St. Stephen in vision from heaven. Other saintly personages are still less frequently thus distinguished. The apostles St. Peter and St. Paul are constantly without it in Garrucci's collection, and only once with it (tav. xiv. 6), where the character of the art is late. Among the multitudinous glasses on which female figures are depicted, that inscribed "Mara," which may perhaps be intended for the Blessed Virgin, has it (tav. ix. 11), and St. Agnes s also once nimbed (tav. xxii. 3).

Turning to another department of Christian art, the nimbus is found on Christian ivories of the sixth and subsequent centuries. Martigny refers to a diptych of the sixth century, in the treasury of the cathedral of Milan, on which various scenes of the gospel history are carved, our Lord always wearing the nimbus. The same ornament is also given to the Holy Lamb, and to the evangelistic symbols. (Bugati, *Memorie di San Celso*, in fin.)

The same distinction holds good in the catacomb frescoes. The immense majority of them do not exhibit the nimbus, even in the case of our Lord and His apostles. When found, the character of the painting points to a date subsequent to the fifth century, often to a considerably later period. In some cases, where it does appear, it is certainly due to the modern restorations by which the value of the evidence of the catacomb pictures has been so seriously damaged. To instance some of the more remarkable examples. The beautiful youthful head of Christ from the cemetery of St. Callistus is destitute of the nimbus (Aringhi, i. 561; JESUS CHRIST, REPRESENTATIONS OF, p. 875). The same is the case with all the figures in the fresco of Christ in the midst of His apostles with the *scrinium* before them (Aringhi, 529), and with the famous Virgin and Child from St. Agnes (*ibid.* ii. 208). [See MARY, VIRGIN, IN ART, p. 1150.] To discover a nimbed figure in the catacombs we must descend to a comparatively late date. It appears abundantly in the frescoes assigned to the second half of the ninth century which decorate the baptistery in the catacomb of St. Pontianus and the adjacent parts. In the fresco of the Baptism of Christ our Lord, the Baptist and the attendant angels have the entire nimbus (*ibid.* i. 381; DOVE, p. 576), which also encircles the heads of the saints Abdon and Sennen and their companions in the adjacent fresco, where Christ has the cruciform nimbus (see ABDON and SENNEN, p. 8; Aringhi, i. 383, 385). The fine head of Christ from the same catacomb (*ibid.* 379) is distinguished by a cruciform nimbus formed of pearls. A late fresco from St. Agnes shews us Christ seated between two apostles (Perret, tom. ii. pl. 4), and St. Peter between St. Praxedes and St. Pudentiana (*ib.* tom. iii. pl. xii.), and St. Pudentiana and her saints (*ib.* pl. xiii.) are similarly nimbed. Perret's plates present the Blessed Virgin twice with the nimbus (*ibid.* tom. iv. pl. xxi. 1, 17). No reliance can be placed on the appearance of the nimbus sur-

rounding the head of our Lord in the famous early picture preserved in the Vatican Library, or in that in the *Platonia* beneath St. Sebastian. They are in both cases modern additions. This unauthorised tampering with early monuments is severely condemned by Perret (tom. vi. p. 32).

Turning to the mosaics we find the nimbus equally rare in all the earlier examples. Where it does appear in works before the sixth century, it may usually be considered an unauthorised addition ("On a tant retouché les mosaïques," Didron, p. 33, note 2). As a token of sanctity it is at first generally limited to our Lord, and, somewhat later, to His attendant angels, though it still continues to be given to kings as a mark of secular power. Our Lord wears the cruciform nimbus on the arch of St. Sabina in Rome, A.D. 424, and on that of St. Paul, A.D. 441, where the nimbus is surrounded with rays. In the important mosaic pictures which decorate the arch of the tribune of St. Mary Major's, A.D. 440, Christ and the attendant angels, and, as has been already remarked, King Herod, are the only figures that wear the nimbus. The Virgin Mary is always without it. In the Ravenna baptistery, A.D. 430, our Lord and perhaps the Baptist are alone furnished with the nimbus. The case is the same in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, A.D. 450. The vaulted ceilings of the chapels of the Lateran Baptistery, A.D. 462, exhibit the Holy Lamb with the cruciform nimbus.

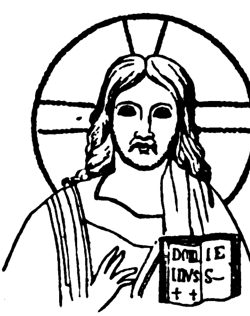
In the earliest mosaic pictures of the next century at Rome, those of the church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the only heads distinguished with the nimbus are those of Christ and the angels and the Holy Lamb. The church of St. Vitalis at Ravenna, A.D. 547, shews the gradual extension of the employment of the nimbus. It is given not merely to our Lord (Whose nimbus is cruciform) and the angels, but also to St. Vitalis, and to the evangelists and prophets on the walls of the sacrarium. Melchizedek as a priest wears the nimbus, but not Abel or Abraham. The nimb surrounding the heads of Justinian and Theodora has already been noticed (see for these the article CROWN, vol. i. p. 306 b). In the Arian baptistery at Ravenna, where the mosaics are a close copy of those in the orthodox baptistery, the later date is indicated by the nimbus being assigned to the apostles, as well as to Christ. In St. Apollinaris in Urbe, A.D. 566, every individual of the long procession of male and female saints on either side of the nave is thus distinguished. From this time onwards the use of the nimbus for holy personages became universal, the only distinction being that the nimbus of Christ was usually cruciform, that of other individuals plain.

The result of our examination of dated examples is that, as Didron has laid down, the nimbus, however frequent previously as a token of dignity, does not appear as a Christian emblem before the sixth century. That during and after the sixth century the nimbus was gradually adopted as a mark of sanctity, though not by any invariable law. That the seventh and two succeeding centuries witnessed the transition from the complete absence to the constant presence of the nimbus, the same monument presenting personages sometimes with and sometimes without it. (Didron, *Iconogr. Chrét.* pp. 101–102.) We see also that (setting aside the secular use of the nimbus) the image of our Lord was the first to be thus distinguished; that those of the angels attending upon Him were the next in succession ("lumen quod circa angelorum capita pingitur nimbus vocatur," Isidor. Hispal. *Orig.* lib. xix. c. 31); and that these were followed by the evangelists and their symbolical animals, then by the apostles, and that ultimately, towards the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century, this honour was extended to all saints. No superior dignity in this respect was originally accorded to the Virgin Mary, nor does any definite rule seem to have been followed. She is not marked by the nimbus in the fifth-century mosaics at St. Mary Major's, nor commonly in the representations of the adoration of the Magi. On the tomb of the exarch Isaac at Ravenna, A.D. 644, she is unnimbed, while the Holy Child has the nimbus, while in the mosaics of St. Apollinaris in Urbe of the preceding century, A.D. 566, both are thus distinguished. In the mosaics of the chapel of St. Venantius at the Lateran, A.D. 642, the Virgin as well as the sixteen apostles and saintly personages who stand on either side of her wear the nimbus. In some examples of Byzantine Art, however, the growth of the cultus of the Virgin is indicated by the nimbus being assigned to her while the apostles are without it. As examples of this distinction we may refer to the mosaic representing the Ascension on the cupola of St. Sophia at Salonica, of the 6th century; and an illumination of the same scene from the Zagba MS. of the Syrian Gospels in the Medicean Library at Florence, of which a cut is given, article ANGELS, I. 85. In early examples



No. 1. (From Martigny.)

there was frequently no distinction between the nimbus of the Saviour and that of the angels and





No. 2. Christ with Cruciform Nimbus; Cemetery of St. Pontianus.

the others to whom it was assigned. In each case it was a simple disk, or a ring surrounding

the head, allowing the ground to be seen through. Subsequently the Saviour was always distinguished by a cruciform nimbus, the field of the disk being divided into four quadrants by a cross, the sides of which are often concave. This cross, as well as the circumference of the disk, is not unfrequently formed of round beads or pearls, as in the annexed example from the catacomb of St. Pontianus. A further development was the inserting the letters A and Ω on the disk, with the addition sometimes of the Christian monogram. We give an example from



No. 3. (From Martigny.

the fifth-century mosaics of the chapel of St. Aquilinus, at Milan (No. 3). A later Greek development inscribed the three arms of the cross with the three letters forming ὁ ὢν (No. 4).



No. 4. Fresco; Thessaly; 14th cent. (From Didron.)

A nimbus of a triangular form, in allusion to the Trinity, was constantly given in later works of art to the Divine Being, this, however, is not found during the first ten centuries. In the mosaics of the cathedral of Capua, where the head of the Holy Dove is surrounded by a triangular nimbus, it is almost undoubtedly a modern alteration. (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. p. 168; Didron, p. 33, note 2.)

A nimbus of a square or rectangular shape, from the 9th century onwards, was the mark of a living person. Ciampini (*u. s.* ii. 14 b) expresses some doubts on this point, but the following passage from Paulus Diaconus in the life of St. Gregory is decisive, "circa verticem vero tabulae similitudinem, quod viventis insigne est, praeferentis, non coronam." Durandus also writes, "cum aliquis praelatus aut sanctus vivus pingitur, non in forma scuti rotundi, sed quadrati, corona ipsa depingitur." (*Div. Off.* lib. i. c. 3). This, instead of a thin tablet, sometimes assumes the form of a block of very substantial thickness. As examples we may cite the head of pope John I., A.D. 705–708 (Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. xvii. No. 6) and those of pope Paschal I., A.D. 807–824, on the mosaics of St. Maria in Dominica and St. Praxedes. [See Mosaics, fig. 14.] On the celebrated *palliotto* of the church of St. Ambrose, archbishop Agilbert, the donor, is represented with the quadrangular nimbus, offering the altar to St. Ambrose, whose nimbus is circular. (Ferrario, *Memorie di Sant' Ambrogio;* Agincourt, *Sculpt.* pl. xxvi. c. 15.) We find the square nimbus surrounding the heads of pope Leo III. and the emperors Charles the Great, and Constantine, in the mosaics of the Lateran Triclinium. Charles the Great also had a nimbus of the same form in a mosaic now destroyed at St. Susanna (Alemanni, *de Lateranensibus parietinis*, p. 12: Didron, pp. 34–83). Didron asserts that the square nimbus is not found anywhere save in Italy, and expresses his regret at its absence, as depriving works of art of this evidence of their date. Another singular variety of the nimbus is that which presents it in the form of a scroll partially unrolled at either end. Examples of this remarkable configuration, which seems only to be found in MSS. or in painted glass, are given by Agincourt from a Latin Pontificale of the 9th century in the Library of the Minerva at Rome (*Peinture*, pl. xxxvii., xxxviii). In each of the twelve compartments depicting various episcopal acts the bishop is distinguished by a nimbus of this form. (See cut No. 5.)



No. 5. Nimbus. Latin MSS. 9th century. (From Didron.)

The nimbus is given not only to divine and sacred personages, but also to allegorical animals. We may instance the Holy Lamb in the two chapels of the Lateran Baptistery, the apse of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, and the vaulted roof of St. Vitalis; the holy dove on the dossier of an episcopal throne (Bosio, p. 327); and the evangelistic symbols, as at St. Paul's and the chapel of St. John the Baptist at the Lateran. The phoenix, a favourite emblem of immortal life through death, has a stellate nimbus in the apses of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, and those of St. Praxedes and St. Cecilia, and on a coin of Faustina (Ciampini, tab. xxxvi. fig. 14). De Rossi furnishes other examples (*Rom. Sotter.* ii. p. 313).

The *aureole* (*aureola*, the golden reward of special holiness) may be defined as the nimb of the body, as the ordinary nimbus is that of the head. To adapt it to the shape of the body, the aureole is usually of an oval form, and often pointed at each end, of the shape known as the *Vesica piscis.* Its duration in Christian art was but brief. It appeared after the nimbus, and disappeared before it. A singular example is found in one of the wall mosaics of St. Mary Major's at Rome, where it assumes the character of a solid shield protecting the persons of Moses and Aaron from the stones hurled at them by the adherents of Korah and his companions. It is very often found encircling the form of the Deity, or of our Lord.

Authorities:—Agincourt, Seroux de, *l'Art par les Monuments*; Behmii *de Nimbis Sanctorum*; Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta*, vol. i. p. 114 sq.; Buonarruoti, *Osservazioni sopra vasi di vetro*, p. 60 sq.; Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*; Garrucci, *Vetri ornati*; Grimouard de St. Laurent, *Guide de l'Art Chrétien*; Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*; Martigny, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*; Munter, *Sinnbilder*, ii. pp. 20 ff.; Nicolai *de Nimbis Antiq.* [E. V.]

**NIMFIDUS** (NYMPHIUS), martyr with Saturninus at Alexandria; commemorated Sept. 5 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. ii. 527). [C. H.]

**NIMMIA**, martyr; commemorated at the city of Augustana Aug. 12 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NIMPODORA.** [NYMPHODORA.]

**NINA** (1), martyr; commemorated at Milan May 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Three martyrs; commemorated at Constantinople May 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Two martyrs; commemorated at Rome, in the cemetery of Praetextatus, May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated at Thessalonica June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Two martyrs; commemorated at Rome June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Enlightener of Georgia, with Mama, virgins; commemorated June 11 (*Cal. Armen.*).

(7) Martyr; commemorated in Africa Dec. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NINEVITE-FAST.** Gregory Bar-Hebraeus (quoted by Augusti, *H. B.* iii. 482 f., from Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* ii. 304) mentions, besides Wednesday and Friday, five famous fasts of the Syrians, of which the fifth is the Nineveh-fast; this fast, he says, the Eastern Syrians observe from the Monday in each of the three weeks before the great fast (Lent) to the Thursday morning; the western Syrians to the Saturday morning. The Abyssinian church observes a three days' Nineveh-fast in July (Herzog, *Real-Encycl.* i. 49). [C.]

**NINIANUS**, bishop, apostle of the Southern Picts at Candida Casa; commemorated Sept. 16 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. v. 318). [C. H.]

**NINNOCA**, virgin in Lesser Britain, in the eighth century; commemorated June 4 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 407). [C. H.]

**NISMES, COUNCIL OF** (NEMAUSENSE CONCILIUM). Held at Nismes in the lifetime of St. Martin, who declined attending it, but is said to have been informed by revelation of what passed there. Mansi makes a strange guess at its date (iii. 685, note). [E. S. Ff.]

**NIVARDUS**, archbishop of Rheims, cir. A.D. 273; commemorated Sept. 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 267). [C. H.]

**NOAH**, patriarch; commemorated Jan. 1 and Ap. 1 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C. H.]

**NOBILIS** (1), Ap. 25. [NUBILIS.]

(2) Martyr; commemorated Sept. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NOCTURN** (*Nocturnum officium, nocturnae vigiliae, nocturnus*). Each of the three divisions of the matin office is called a nocturn. Anciently in religious houses the night was divided into three portions, in each of which psalms were said, lauds following at dawn. Jerome (*Epist.* 22 *ad Eustochium*) laments that even in his time the zeal of religious persons had so far cooled that monks recited the three nocturns and lauds continuously. [HOURS OF PRAYER, p. 798; PSALMODY; VIGIL.] (Martene, *de Rit. Antiq.* iv. c. 7.) [C.]

**NÔDDER, COUNCIL OF**, A.D. 705: on the river Nodder, in Wilts, at which a charter, exhibited by Adhelm, the newly appointed bishop of Sherborne, was confirmed. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 276; Mansi, *ib.* 175.) [E. S. Ff.]

**NOEACIS, NONANNEANE.** Artificial words to fix the tonality of the respective notes of the chants or their endings in the memory of the chanter. The first of these belong to the Plagal modes, the other to the Authentic. The words themselves appear with some variations of form. [See MUSIC and EVOVAE.] [J. R. L.]

**NOEL.** A word formed from *Natalis*, the common French name for CHRISTMAS DAY [p. 356]. [C.]

**NOITBURGA**, virgin, in France, A.D. 690; commemorated Oct. 31 (Surius, *de Prob. Sanct. Hist.* Oct. p. 415, ed. Colon. 1618). [C. H.]

**NOLA.** [BELL.]

**NOMOCANON.** A Greek code of ecclesiastical laws. See CANON LAW, p. 266; CODEX CANONUM, p. 400. [C.]

**NONES.** [HOURS OF PRAYER, p. 797.]

**NONNA** (1), martyr; commemorated at Rome Ap. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated in Africa May 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated in Africa July 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

(4) Mother of St. Gregory Nazianzen, cir. A.D. 374; commemorated Aug. 5 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 78). [C. H.]

**NONNA.** [NUN.]

**NONNUS** (1), Martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia Mar. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Alexandria Mar. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr; commemorated in Pamphylia May 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr; commemorated at Milan July 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr; commemorated in portu urbis Romae July 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NON-RESIDENCE.** [RESIDENCE.]

**NOONDAY SERVICE.** [HOURS OF PRAYER.]

**NORUNT FIDELES, or INITIATI**, *ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι*, a formula of repeated recurrence

in the writings of the Fathers to indicate the sacred mysteries of the faith which were not to be openly published before the uninitiated. The frequency of the phrase is a valuable evidence of the "reserve" in religious teaching practised by the early Church, which indicated a doctrine of the faith with sufficient clearness to be intelligible to their Christian hearers without exposing it to the irreverent handling of those who were not yet admitted within the Christian pale. Casaubon writes of it (*Exercit. ad Baron.* xvi. No. 43, p. 490): "Quis ita hospes in patrum lectione cui sit ignota formula in mentione sacramentorum potissimum usitata, *ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι, norunt initiati?*" It is of repeated occurrence in the writings of Chrysostom, and is found, though less often, in St. Augustine. (Cf. Chrysost. *Homil. in Genes.* xlix. 11; Ps. cxl.; *Homil. in Matt.* lxxii.; *in Joann.* xv. xlvi. lxxxv.) [E. V.]

**NOSOCOMIUM.** [HOSPITALS.]

**NOSTRIANUS**, bishop and confessor at Naples; commemorated in the fifth century, Aug. 16 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 294). [C. H.]

**NOTARY.** I. Originally a shorthand writer. Isidore Hispalensis (*Etymol.* i. 22) says that Ennius invented 1100 characters (notas) for the purpose of abbreviating, so that they could readily be recorded, that the system was improved and added to by others, and that Seneca extended the number of characters to 5000. Socrates (*H. E.* vi. 4) says that the sermons of St. Chrysostom were preserved by such shorthand writers (ὀξύγραφοι). Augustine (*De Doct. Christ.* ii. 26) says that those who have learned short-hand (notae) are called "notarii." Again (*Epist.* 21, *Class.* iii. Migne, *Patrol.*) he says that the notaries of the church take down what is said, so that neither his own speech nor the acclamations of the people were lost. He also (*Epist.* 172, *Class.* iii.) complains of a great dearth of notaries who could write the Latin language, and (*Epist.* 152) speaks of four notaries being appointed on either side, in one of his conferences with the Donatists.

In this capacity they were officially employed in courts of justice. Augustine (*In Collat. Donat.* die ii, c. 3) represents the Donatists as pleading that they were ignorant of short-hand writing—'notas ignorare'—and the president of the court commanding that what the official notaries had taken down should be read to them. Sometimes also they appear to have been sent in a judicial capacity to take evidence or make a report. Thus Augustine (*Epist.* 128, *Class.* iii.) calls one Marcellinus a tribune and notary, and (*Epist.* 134, *Class.* iii.) speaks of certain Donatist clergy and fanatics being brought to trial after an official report previously made (praemissa notaria). In the acts of the council of Chalcedon (*Act* 9) mention is made of one Damascius, tribune and notary.

And also in the councils of the church. The 4th council of Toledo, A.D. 633 (c. 4), in ordering the proceedings to be observed at councils, mentions, amongst other officials, the notaries, whose duty it was to take down the proceedings and read them aloud if required. Archbishop Theodore, in his account of the council at Hertford, A.D. 670 (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 5) says that the decisions of the councils were written down from his dictation by the notary Titillus. Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 29) speaks of the ready-writers (ταχύγραφοι), who took down the controversy between Paul of Samosata, at the council of Antioch, A.D. 269, and Socrates (*H. E.* ii. 30) also mentions them as being present at the controversy between Basil and Photinus, at the council of Sirmium, A.D. 351.

II. But notaries were often simple secretaries. In this capacity they were attached to courts. Thus Socrates (*H. E.* vii. 23) says that John, who attempted to seize the empire after the death of Honorius, was previously the chief of the royal secretaries, *πρωτοστάτης ὑπογραφέων τῶν βασιλικῶν*. Charles the Great (*Capitul.* i. c. 3) provided that every bishop and abbat should have his own notary. In the life of John Damascene, by John the patriarch of Jerusalem, it is said that some of the royal notaries (*ὑπογραφέων*) were employed to forge the false accusation brought against him. Thus Proclus was notary (*ὑπογράφευς*) to Atticus (Soc. *H.E.* vii. 41), and Athanasius to Alexander of Alexandria (Soz. *H. E.* ii. 17). Part of their duty appears to have been to act as readers to their masters, and they seem to have entered on their office at a very early age. Ennodius says that Epiphanius of Ticino became a lector at eight years of age, and from that time discharged also the duties of a notary till his 16th year (*Vita Epiph. Ticin.* Migne, *Patrol.* vol. 62, p. 208). Evodius, writing to Augustine (August. *Epist.* 158, *Class.* iii.), speaking of a youth whom he had employed as reader and notary, says that he was indefatigable in note-taking, and was accustomed to read to him even during the hours of the night, adding that so diligent and careful was he that he began to regard him rather as a familiar friend than as merely a youth and a notary. The notaries belonging to the see of Rome appear to have held a more important position, and to have been sent on important missions, sometimes with extensive powers entrusted to them. Instances of this will be found in the letters of Gregory the Great; thus (*Epist.* viii. 26, Migne, *Patrol.*) we find him sending Pantaleon, the notary, to Apulia to inquire into an accusation brought against a bishop of Sipontum, with power to inflict punishment in case the accusation was proved. The first council of Braga, A.D. 563 (*Praefat.*), speaks of Juribius, a notary of the see of Rome, by whom Leo sent certain rescripts against the Priscillianists to the synod of Gallicia. Sometimes, too, they seemed to have signed the letters of the bishop of Rome (Greg. Mag. *Epist.* Appendix, Migne, *Patrol.* vol. 77, p. 11,345, § 1299).

III. In Rome were certain notaries called "notarii regionarii," to whom peculiar duties were allotted. Anastasius the librarian (*Vita S. Clementis*) speaks of seven notaries appointed to the seven regiones, whose office it was to collect and register the deeds of the martyrs, and (*Vit. S. Anteros*) says that the acts of the martyrs were diligently collected by notaries. Again (*Vita S. Fabiani*) he says that the districts were divided among the deacons, and that seven subdeacons were appointed to superintend the seven notaries, and (*Vita S. Julii*) that Julius I. ordered that the registers belonging to each church, "notitia quae pro fide ecclesiastica est," should

be collected for safe custody by the notaries, and that all deeds and records should be in the custody of the chief "Primicerius" of the notaries. They also discharged certain functions in connexion with the services of the church. Gregory the Great (*Liber Sacrament.* § 70) speaks of the lighting of two candles held by two notaries. Messianus Presbyter (*Vita Caesarii Arelat.* ii. c. 2, § 18, Migne, *Patrol.* v. 67, p. 1034) says that it was the duty of the notary to precede the bishop, carrying his pastoral staff.

IV. They do not appear to have been reckoned among the clergy. Socrates (*H. E.* vii. 41) narrates that Atticus made Proclus his notary, and, after he had made great progress, promoted him to the diaconate. Gregory the Great (*Epist.* iii. 34) speaks of a subdeacon who could not keep his vow of continency and therefore retired from his monastery, gave up his office as subdeacon, and performed the duties of a notary for the rest of his life. But it was reckoned one of the steps to the clerical office. Gelasius (*Decret.* c. 2) says that a monk, who wished to enter holy orders, should serve for three months as a lector, or notary, or defensor, after that he might be made an acolyte. But they seem occasionally to have retained their title, and probably their office, after ordination. In the acts of the council of Antioch, read out at the council of Chalcedon (*Act* 14) mention is made of one Tarianus, deacon and notary. The chapter of Sozomen (*H. E.* iv. 3) which relates the martyrdom of Martyrius, the subdeacon, and Marcian, the lector, is headed 'The Martyrdom of the Notaries,' and Nicephorus (*H. E.* ix. 30) distinctly says that they were notaries of Paul, the bishop of Constantinople. It is alleged, on the authority of a letter of Julius, that Martyrius was a deacon (Vales, *Not.* in Soz., *H. E.* iv. 3; Thomassin. *Ecclesiae Disciplina*). [P. O.]

**NOTHELMUS**, archbishop of Canterbury; commemorated Oct. 17 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 117). [C. H.]

**NOTITIA.** The word *notitia* is technically used for a sort of list or court-almanac of places and officials, and the earliest and most famous *notitiae* are of a purely civil character. The most famous of all is, of course, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, compiled in the time of Arcadius or Honorius, circa 400 A.D. (see Gibbon, ii. 303, note 72. Pancirolus and Böcking), which is a complete list of the provinces with their subdivisions, and of the whole official staff of the empire. This has been edited by Pancirolus, whose work has, however, been quite superseded by the editions of Böcking (2 vols. Bonn, 1839–1853) and Seeck (Berlin, 1876). This great *notitia* is of a purely civil character, and its interest for the student of Christian antiquities lies solely in its giving him a ready means of testing the closeness with which the local divisions and gradations of power in the church were modelled on those of the state. It is well known how the ecclesiastical archbishoprics and bishoprics followed the limits of the greater and lesser provincial governorships—the archbishop whose seat was at Narbonne for instance exercising spiritual jurisdiction exactly over the country which had formed the province of Gallia Narbonensis. [ORDERS, HOLY, III.] So towns in Asia Minor which had been *metropoles* in the old sense (for the civil sense of the word, cf. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 185) became *metropoles* in the new sense. Bingham has a lengthy discussion of this point. There is a good deal also to be gleaned from Marquardt's first volume; see especially pp. 216, 269. Boissière in his *L'Afrique Romaine* (Paris, 1878), p. 424, has some interesting remarks on the subject of the civil and ecclesiastical dioceses, from an unpublished lecture of Léon Renier. Besides the *Notitia Dignitatum* there is the important *Notitia Provinciarum et Civitatum Galliae*, compiled about the same time as the *Notitia Dignitatum* during the reign of Honorius (Marquardt, i. 129, note 3), or at all events some time between 386 and 450 A.D. (Brambach in *Rheinisches Museum*, xxiii. p. 262 sqq.; Riese, *Geographi Latini Minores*, p. xxxiii.). This notitia is also of a purely civil character. It is edited in Seeck's edition of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and in Riese's *Geog. Lat. Min.* (Heilbronn, 1878). The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, also edited by Seeck and Riese, gives the positions of the fourteen ecclesiae in Constantinople, but is otherwise purely civil.

The earliest undoubted ecclesiastical *notitia* that we possess is that of Leo Sapiens, A.D. 891. But there can be little doubt that such notitiae existed at a much earlier date, and the *Hieroclis Synecdemus*, or Hierocles' Travelling Companion, has distinct traces of an ecclesiastical character in it. This work was shewn by Wesseling to have been written before A.D. 535. The genitives of places which occur six times in the lists, and the genitive δήμου which occurs nine times, look as if they should be preceded by the word ἐπίσκοπος, as in an ordinary notitia. This is further confirmed by the occurrence of the definite article in one instance, ὁ Τιμβριάδων (Parthey, *Hieroclis Synecdemus et notitiae Graecae Episcopatuum*, Berlin, 1866, p. v. Hierocles is also edited in Fortia d'Urban's *Recueil des Itinéraires Anciens*, Paris, 1845, with the modern names subjoined. For some remarks on the personality of Hierocles, see Schelstrate's *Antiquitas Ecclesiae*, ii. 720). The notitia of Leo Sapiens is full for the East, but not equally perfect for the West. It has been edited many times. Carolus a S. Paulo for instance, in his *Geographia Sacra* (Amsterdam, 1704), prints it, in an imperfect form, along with other notitiae in an appendix; Beveridge prints it on p. 135 of his *annotationes in canones* at the end of the second volume of his *Synodikon*; Goar in his edition of Codinus (Venice, 1729), p. 287, foll., gives the notitiae from that of Leo to that of Andronicus Palaeologus; Schelstrate, ii. 632 (Rome, 1697), prints the chief civil and ecclesiastical notitiae; Bingham gives the notitia of Leo in the third volume of his *Christian Antiquities*; unfortunately he is extremely inaccurate (see Neale, *Holy Eastern Church*, vol. i. p. xii. of the preface). The critical edition, however, which so far will supersede all others, as well of Leo's notitia as of the other Eastern notitiae, is that in the work of Parthey above-mentioned. The later notitiae hardly come within the scope of this dictionary, but may be found in any of the works mentioned above, and best of all in Parthey. A useful introduction to the study of the notitiae would be to read the account which Fabricius (*Salutaris Lux Evangelii*, p. 342, foll. Hamburg, 1731)

gives of the contents and bibliography of each of the more important of them.

It is obvious that the notitiae are not the only sources from which a list of bishoprics could be compiled. The subscriptions to the councils are at least of equal importance. These can be obtained from any of the ordinary editions of the councils, such as that of Harduin or Mansi. The modern comprehensive book on the subject is Gams's *Series Episcoporum* (Ratisbon, 1873), a work of learning, but to be used with caution on account of a tendency to antedate the first establishments of bishoprics, and now and then to interpose a conjectural bishop. An attempt is made to give a complete notitia of the Christian world in Migne's *Première Encyclopédie Théologique* (Paris, 1862), vol. xxviii. p. 759. Other sources will be referred to in the following brief notes on the different parts of the Christian world taken separately.

1. *Spain.* All the old books bearing upon the subject, *e.g.* the editions of councils, &c., go upon the forged list of Wamba, which is greatly antedated, being put in the 7th, while it really belongs to the 12th century. A new critical edition of this list is shortly to be expected from the distinguished Spanish scholar Aureliano Fernandez Guerra. Meanwhile the materials for a judgment are to be found in Florez's admirable fourth volume which "contiene el orígen y progreso de los obispados . . . . y divisiones antiguas de sus Sillas." Florez was the first to throw doubt upon the supposed date of Wamba's list, and his opinion is now universally accepted. Gams's *Kirchengeschichte Spaniens* (Ratisbon, 1864) is the modern work on Spanish ecclesiastical history, written, however, it must be remembered, from the ultramontane point of view. Cortez y Lopez's *Diccionario geográfico-histórico de la España antigua* contains many facts, but should be read critically. Tejada y Ramiro's *Coleccion de Canones de la Iglesia Española* (Madrid, 1850), and Hübner's *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae* (Berlin, 1871), should be referred to.

2. *France.* The great authority is Sammarthan's *Gallia Christiana*, a huge work in many folios (Paris, 1715), a revised and enlarged edition of which is now being published by Piolin. The first volume appeared at Paris in 1870, and vols. 1–5, and 11–13 have so far appeared. Piolin's *Origines chrétiennes de la Gaule* (Paris, 1855) will be found valuable. Longnon's *Géographie de la Gaule au* VI^e^ *siècle* (Paris, 1878) would be useful in attempting to fix the localities and circumscriptions of doubtful sees. See also Le Blant's *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1856).

3. *England.* See Stubbs's *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* (Oxford, 1858). Reference may also be made to Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1869). Three volumes of this work have so far appeared. It will not be completed on the original plan, owing to Mr. Haddan's death.

4. *Italy.* Ughelli's *Italia Sacra* is the great authority. The second edition of this work, by Colet (Venice, 1717–1722) is a great improvement on the first. Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia* (Venice, 1844–1871), corrects Ughelli in many places, and adds later and more trustworthy information. But the work is very unequally done, and some of it must be accepted with caution.

5. *Asia Minor and the East generally.* Neale's *History of the Holy Eastern Church* contains a great deal of matter. See especially p. 72 of the first introductory volume, where a notitia of Constantinople, including the dioceses of Caesarea, Ephesus, Thrace, and Illyricum orientale is given. On p. 115 of the same volume there is a list of the sees of Egypt, and on p. 131 another of the ancient and modern sees of the diocese of Antioch. Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus* (Paris, 1740) is still however the great source of authority, except so far as he has in some points been superseded by Parthey's edition of the notitiae. Le Quien's conscientious accuracy in these matters is both rare and admirable. See an account of his life and labours by Neale in the preface to his Introduction, p. xii. The great work of Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Asie Mineure*, would have to be used if it was desired to compile a complete notitia. The *Synecdemus* of Hierocles, and the notitia of Leo Sapiens, will be found, as already mentioned, best edited in Parthey. Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des Römischen Reichs* (Leipsic, 1865), is full of matter. See especially his section on Egypt, ii. 454 foll., and the section on Syria, *passim.*

6. *Africa.* Schelstrate, ii. 652, makes out a notitia of Africa from the council of Carthage in 411. Sirmond in his *Opuscula* (Paris, 1675), vol. i. p. 207, gives a late notitia of Africa, which may be of service, if critically used. There is a study entitled *L'Afrique chrétienne* by Yanoski, in a volume of *L'Univers* (Paris, 1844) containing other studies by French writers on the history and antiquities of Africa. Léon Renier's *Inscriptions Romaines de l'Algérie* (Paris, 1855) contains a certain amount of Christian inscriptions, and would repay examination. Dupin's *Geographia Sacra Africae, seu Notitia Omnium Episcopatuum Ecclesiae Africanae*, is printed in the eleventh volume of Migne's *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* (Paris, 1845), p. 823. Kuhn, ii. 431 foll., collects a great deal of valuable material for Africa. [W. T. A.]

**NOVATUS**, brother of Timotheus presbyter; commemorated at Rome, June 20 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* June iv. 4). [C. H.]

**NOVENDIALE.** [MOURNING; OBSEQUIES.]

**NOVICE.**

1. *Introduction*; 2. *Reception of Novices*; 3. *Duration and Discipline of the Noviciate*; 4. *Rite of Admission*; 5. *Renunciation of Property*; 6. *Limitation of Age*; 7. *Disqualifications*; 8. *Cases of Retrogression, &c.*; 9. *Summary.*

1. As soon as the monastic life began to assume its coenobitic form, all persons desirous of admission into the community had to undergo a period of probation. During this time they were called "novitii," less commonly "incipientes," "ἀρχάριοι," "νεοπαγεῖς" (Alteserrae *Asceticon*, iv. 1), or "novelli" (*Reg. Mag.* c. 90; cf. Athanas. *Exhort. ad Spons. Christi*, where Adam is called "rudis et novellus"), all terms express-

ing inexperience in a vocation. They were called also "pulsantes" (Mabillon, *Praef.* saec. iii. i. 21), as knocking at the door to be let in; and sometimes in the East, ῥασοφόροι, a semi-barbarous word of the later empire, curiously descriptive of the intermediate state which they occupied, wearing the monk's tunic, by way of trial, under their ordinary outer robe, which they retained till formally admitted. They were also called "conversi" or converts. The "conversi" were distinct from those who were received into a monastery under age, "pueri oblati" or "nutriti." This use of "conversi" and "oblati" must not be confounded with the use of these words to designate lay-brothers (Mabillon, *Praef.* iii. i. 21; iv. iv. 59).

2. In instituting a noviciate for all who wished to become monks, the founders of monasticism followed, as usual, the precedent set by some ancient schools of philosophy. The Pythagoreans required a noviciate of five years (Maury, *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique*); the Druids, in some cases, one of twenty years (Thierry, *Histoire des Gaulois*). It was necessary as a safeguard for stability of purpose. On the one hand, none were to be rejected except for some insuperable impediment; on the other hand, none were to be lightly accepted, lest the community should be disgraced by the inconsistencies of its members. On the one side there was the gracious invitation of Him who says, "Come unto me all that labour and are heavy laden," and on the other there was the Psalmist's anxious misgiving, "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?" (Basil, *Reg.* c. 6). Thus Benedict of Monte Casino wisely orders that ingress into the monastery must not be too easy (Bened. *Reg.* c. 58), and three centuries later the great Frankish legislator repeats the injunction, adding that no one is to be forced to become a monk against his will (Car. Mag. *Capitular. Monast.* A.D. 789, c. 11). It was difficult to gain admittance into the monastery, because it was still more difficult, once there, to leave it. "Vestigia nulla retrorsum."

The would-be monk had to wait as a suppliant at the door of the monastery—by the rule of Pachomius of Tabennae and of other Egyptian ascetics of his age—seven days (*Reg.* c. 49; Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* c. 28; *Reg. Serap. Macar.* etc. c. 7): according to Cassian, ten days (*Instit.* iv. 3, 36; *Collat.* xx. 1); by the rule of Fructuosus (bishop of Bracara [Braga], in Portugal, in the 6th century), ten days (*Reg.* c. 21), afterwards modified to three days and nights (2[da] *Reg.* c. 4). He was to lie there prostrate, by the rules of Pachomius and Fructuosus, and, by the latter rule, fasting and praying, and the porter was to test his sincerity and patience by insults and revilings (Fruct. *ib.* cc. 4, 21). If ignorant of it, he was to be taught the Lord's Prayer (Pachom. *ib.*). He was also to be questioned about his motive for seeking admission, and in particular, lest he should prove to be a fugitive from justice, whether he had committed any crime which had made him liable to punishment (Pachom. *ib.*; Ferreoli *Reg.* c. 5; Fruct. *Reg.* cc. 4, 21). In course of time a less austere reception was accorded to postulants. Mabillon explains the passage in the Benedictine rule which orders them to wait a few days (five days, in his interpretation) at the gate ("ad portam," Bened. *Reg.* c. 34) to mean not outside the monastery, but in a cell specially set apart for this purpose within the cloister (Mabill. *Praef.* i. saec. iv. vii. 150).

3. Though allowed to enter the monastery, the postulant was still an alien there. At first he was placed in the strangers' cell or guest-chamber, "cella hospitum," near the gateway (Cass. *Inst.* iv. 7) for a year (Cass. *ib.*; Fruct. *Reg.* c. 21), or, according to the rule of Isidorus (bishop of Seville in the 7th century), for three months (Isid. *Reg.* c. 5). In Mabillon's exposition of the Benedictine rule, the postulant was to stay only two months in the strangers' cell before being transferred to the cell of the novices (Mabill. *Praef.* i. v. s.). Under the orders of the superintendent of the strangers, "custos hospitum," he was to be busily employed in menial offices for their comfort (Bened. *Reg.* c. 58; Fruct. *Reg.* c. 21). Thence he passed, after a shorter or longer sojourn according to the rules of the monastery, to the cell of the novices, sometimes called the "pulsatorium," or chamber of those who were still, as it were, knocking to be let in (Bened. *Reg.* v. s.; *Capitul. Aquisgr.* A.D. 780).

The period of probation varied in its duration and the severity of its discipline. It lasted three years by the rule of Pachomius (Pallad. *Hist. Laus.*) and by the code of Justinian (*Novell.* v. 2); but a latter decree makes this term of three years necessary for strangers only, that is, persons coming from a distance; only one year by the rules of Ferreolus (bishop of Uceta [Uzès], in Southern France in the 6th century) (*Reg.* c. 5), of Fructuosus (*Reg.* c. 21), and by the so-called rule of Magister (*Reg. Mag.* c. 90). The former allowed even a shorter term, five months, at the abbat's discretion (*v. s.*); and the latter even permitted the novice to reside in a cell not within but near the monastery (*v. s.*). Gregory the Great found some abbats in his time too facile in the admission of novices; to correct this laxity, he insisted on a probation of two years at least (*Epp.* x. 24), and in the case of men that had been soldiers, three (*ib.* viii. 5). Benedict had been content with a noviciate of one year (*Reg.* c. 58), of which, according to Mabillon, two months were to be passed in the "cella hospitum," and the remaining ten in the "cella novitiorum" (*Praef.* iv. vii. 150), but, according to Martene, all the year in the novices' chamber (*Reg. Comment.* c. 58). This was usually, but not always, on the east side of the cloister or quadrangle, between the gateway and the east end of the chapel, next to the room of correction, and facing the scholars' chamber, and the "scriptorium" or copyists' room on the west (Altes. *Ascet.* iv. 3, ix. 7). In some of the larger monasteries the novices had their own quadrangle, almost like a separate monastery, with their own refectory, dormitory, infirmary, and even, in rare instances, their own chapel; but this ceased with the decrease in the number of candidates for admission (*Reg. Bened. Comment.* c. 58).

All the time of his noviciate the aspirant for the cowl was under very strict tutelage. On entering the monastery, he was assigned to the guardianship of one of the older and more experienced of the brethren, who was to report of his behaviour to the abbat (Bened. *Reg.* c. 58; Basil. *Reg.* c. 15; Isidor. *Reg.* c. 4; Fruct. *Reg.* c. 21; *Reg. Magist.* c. 87; Gregor. Magn. *Epp.*

v. 49). As it would be hardly possible for each novice to have his own senior, it has been supposed that the older monk, spoken of in the rules, was either one of the decani or deans (Fruct. *Reg.* v. s.), or, more probably, the "master of the novices" [MAGISTER NOVITIORUM], whose special task it was to look after them (*Reg. Bened. Comment.* v. s.). They were never to stir out of their chamber without leave (Cass. *Inst.* iv. 10) They were never, on any pretext whatever, to go about the monastery at night without a light or without the "master" (*Reg. Bened. Comment.* c. 22). Even so trivial a fault as walking with the head up, instead of bent forward, was to be marked and corrected by "the master" (*ib.* c. 7). Slight allowance was made for their not being as yet inured to the severe discipline of the cloister. From "lauds" to "prime," when the older monks retired to their cells, the novices, with those monks who had not completed five years in the monastery, were to wait in their dormitory, learning psalms under the eye of the official for the week, or "hebdomadarius" (*ib.* c. 8). "Leave your bodies outside the gate all ye who enter the monastery" was the stern welcome of Bernard of Clairvaux to postulants (Altes. *Ascet.* iv. 1). In the same spirit one of the founders of monachism in the East enjoined on novices ignominious hardships of every kind, and the necessity of very frequent confessions to test their perseverance (Basil. *Reg.* c. 6). In the 11th century the docility and constancy of novices in England were sometimes tested by floggings (Hospinian, *Hist. Monach.* iii. c. 23).

Opportunities were given to the novice from time to time of reconsidering his determination. On first entering the monastery, before being stripped of the outer garments which he had worn in the world, he was questioned whether, indeed, renouncing all other things, he would obey implicitly his new rule of life (Pachom. *Reg.* c. 49). By the rule of Aurelian, bishop of Arles in the 7th century, he was to listen in the waiting-room, or "salutatorium," while the rule was read over to him (*Reg.* c. 1). He was then to be led into the chapter-house, where, after laying aside his arms, if he carried any, he was again to make a profession of his intention in presence of the father-abbat and the brethren. He might, if he pleased, send back a farewell message to the friends left behind (Mab. *Praeff.* iv. viii. 150). At the end of two months, again at the end of eight months, and once again at the end of the year, the "senior" to whose charge he had been committed was to read over the rule to him, bidding him go back at once to the world if he wished (Bened. *Reg.* c. 58). Finally, in the oratory or chapel, during divine service (Pachom. *Reg.* c. 49), after laying on the altar with his own hand his written petition for admission, and invoking the saints whose relics were there enshrined, in witness of his sincerity, he was formally admitted by the abbat into the order (Bened. *Reg.* v. s.; Mabill. *Praeff.* v. s.). If, as might often happen, he could not write, he was to put his mark to the petition in place of signature (Isidor. *Reg.* c. 5). He was to kneel before the abbat, repeating the verse, "Suscipe me," from the Psalter; and after admission, he was to prostrate himself at the feet of each of the brethren, kissing their hands and begging their prayers (*Reg. Bened. Comment.* c. 58; *Reg. Magist.* c. 88). His secular dress was to be laid by in a wardrobe in case of his ever unhappily needing it again by being expelled (*Reg. Bened. ib.*). Abbats were forbidden, under penalty of excommunication, to take any bribe for admission (*Conc. Nicaen. II.* A.D. 787, c. 19; *Capitul. Francofurt.* A.D. 794, c. 16). In the later developments of monachism, the consent of the brethren in chapter became necessary (Hospin. *Hist. Mon.* v. s.).

4. The monastic dress was not usually assumed till the noviciate was over (Cassian, *Instit.* iv. 5; Gregor. Magn. *Epp.* iv. 44). Originally, indeed, the dress of a monk differed little from that of ordinary people, except so far as it resembled the dress of the philosophers of the Roman empire, or was distinguished by a Quaker-like simplicity from the fashions of the day. When, however, the monastic life began to be organised more systematically, the dress became a not unimportant part of the rite of initiation. In the same way monks at first were only required to keep the hair short, as a protest against luxury and effeminacy; and the tonsure was for them a thing of later date (Bingham, *Orig. Eccles.* vii. iii.). By the rule, so-called, of "Magister," the novice becoming a monk was to receive the tonsure from the abbat's hands, while the brethren stood round singing psalms (*Reg. Magist.* c. 90). The congregation of Clugny, at a later period, ordered their novices to have the tonsure as well as all the monastic attire, with the exception of the hood or cowl. But this was a deviation from the old Benedictine rule, which reserved the tonsure with the outer robe for the expiration of the noviciate (Bened. *Reg.* cc. 55, 58; Mabill. *Acta Sanctor. O. S. B.* tom. i. p. 7, not. a).

5. The novice was in every instance required to divest himself absolutely of all his worldly possessions. He was to be examined very particularly on this point, lest by keeping back a single coin for himself he should incur the guilt of Ananias (Cass. *Inst.* iv. 4; Aurelian, *Reg.* c. 1). Even the clothes on his back ceased to be his own (Cass. *ib.* c. 5). But in the earliest and purest days of monachism, the monastery was not to be the gainer by the novice's liberality, but his own relatives or the poor (Cass. *ib.*; Fruct. *Reg.* c. 4). Afterwards he was allowed to choose how his property should be disposed of, provided always that he retained nothing for himself. By the rule of Aurelian he might give it away as he pleased (*Reg.* c. 1). By the rule of "Magister," the abbat was to exhort him to intrust his worldly goods to the monastery for the use of the poor, or, if he preferred it, for the common fund of the monastery (*Reg. Mag.* c. 87). There was a curious regulation of the monastery of Ternay in Burgundy (Mabill. *Ann. O. S. B.* i. 30, 71, 73), that property "in kind" was to be converted at once into money, in order, probably, to facilitate the distribution of it. Thus, if a novice brought a flock of sheep, the abbat was first to buy it for the monastery, or to sell it by the agency of the prior, and then to hand over the proceeds to the novice, to be applied by his direction (*Reg. Tarnat.* c. 5). It is easy to understand how, in course of time, as monasteries vied with one another in opulence and magnificence, they absorbed the larger share

of what a novice was renouncing. Once theirs, it was sacrilege to deprive them of it in any way. But these acquisitions were not always an unalloyed advantage. Sometimes a novice, presuming on his munificence, made himself troublesome to his brethren and his abbat (Fruct. *Reg.* c. 18). Sometimes, if faithless to his profession, he would reclaim his property by litigation or by arms (*ib.*). It was important, therefore, that, whatever he gave to the monastery, he should give by his own act and deed ("ipse suâ manu," *ib.*). And though none might so much as enter the monastery as a postulant, bringing with him anything of his own, the formal and complete renunciation of all that he had in the world was to be made, solemnly, publicly, in writing, before the abbat and chapter, at a later stage of his noviciate (*Reg. Mag.* c. 87). It was even provided in the rule just quoted that the abbat should record the names of the donor and of the subscribing witnesses in his own last will and testament, lest at any future time the validity of the gift should be called in question (*ib.* c. 89). In the case of a minor, his parents were to lay his hand, wrapped in the folds of the altar cloth, on the altar, and might either vow away his property from him absolutely, or reserve the life interest till he should come of age (*Bened. Reg. Comm.* c. 59). When old enough, the novice was bound to execute this promise of renunciation (Aurel. *Reg.* c. 46). By the rule of "Magister" the parents might either promise all the boy's fortune to the monastery or might divide it in three equal portions between the monastery, the poor, and his own relatives. In either case they swore on the Gospels to bequeath him nothing (*Reg. Mag.* c. 91).

6. The rules of disqualification for admission varied continually in different countries and at different periods, especially as to the limitations of age. The conflicting decrees of councils and popes on these points testify to the difficulty of a compromise between the conflicting claims of the home or the state on the one side and of asceticism on the other. Basil, in the East, without defining more precisely, allowed children to be received very young to be trained in the monastery (*Reg.* c. 15); but they might go back to their homes, if they wished, before being finally admitted. Once in the monastery, by Benedict's rule, they could not abandon their vocation (Mabill. *Annal.* iii. 37; cf. *Praeff. AA. O. S. B.*). Cassian speaks of young boys occasionally among the Egyptian monks (*Collat.* ii. 11). Gregory the Great forbade them to be received before eighteen years of age; but the prohibition has been explained as applying only to the islands in the Tuscan Sea, where the discipline was peculiarly trying (*Epp.* i. 50). The emperor Leo fixed sixteen as the limit (*Novell.* 6). The rule of Aurelianus, bishop of Arles in the 6th century, excludes children under ten or twelve as thoughtless and as requiring a nurse (*Reg.* c. 47). A canon to the same effect was passed by the Trullan council at Constantinople, A.D. 692 (*Conc. C. P.* iii. c. 40). Leo IX., towards the close of the 11th century, prohibited novices before they have arrived at years of discretion; Urban II., rather later, forbade them under twenty. After the beginning of the 9th century they were seldom admitted under seventeen years of age (Hospinian, *de Orig. Monach.* iii. 23). Boys intended for the priesthood were by a decree of the second council of Toledo, A.D. 531, to be trained in the house of the bishop till they were eighteen years old (*Conc. Tolet.* ii. c. 1).

7. There is the same uncertainty, and there are similar contradictions, as to the right of the parents to devote a child to the noviciate, and of a child to present himself without the consent of his parents. Basil, in the earliest days of monasticism, forbade children to be admitted unless brought by their parents (*Reg.* c. 15). At a later date the civil law not only discountenanced parents keeping back their children from the noviciate, but even allowed children to be admitted against or without the consent of their natural guardians (*Novell.* cxxiii. 41). Jerome, in a more than usually declamatory passage, upbraids Heliodorus for permitting his affection for his parents to keep him back from the life of a monk (Hieron. *Epp.* 14, § 2). The council of Gangra (Kiangari, in Anatolia), A.D. 525, a council not very favourably disposed to monasticism, condemned strongly sons retiring from the world without their parents' leave, anathematising all so doing (*Conc. Gangr.* c. 16). Alteserra contends, without, however, much shew of reason, that this and similar canons of the council of Gangra were intended only against monks tainted with heresy (*Asceticon*, iv. 1). But two councils during the 7th century in Spain, already distinguished among the countries of Europe by its monastic sympathies, decided that children under age were bound by the act of their parents devoting them to the monastery, and must abide by that promise, however unwillingly, in after years (*Conc. Tolet.* iv. A.D. 633, c. 49; *Conc. Tolet.* x. A.D. 656, c. 6). The former of these councils of Toledo, according to Bingham, is the first council that sanctions this perversion of parental responsibilities and of filial obedience (*Orig. Eccles.* vii. iii.). The latter enacts that up to ten years of age the child may be devoted by the parents; that on attaining that tender age the child has full power to devote himself, with or without their approval; and that, if parents have so much as tacitly allowed a child under ten to wear the monastic dress, he may never return to the world under penalty of excommunication (*v. s.*).

The marriage tie was another source of perplexity. Basil dissuades married persons from entering the monastic life, unless together, lest the husband or wife left alone in the world should be guilty of adultery (*Reg.* c. 12). Cassian, relating how Theonas, an Egyptian monk, persisted in becoming a monk in spite of his wife's entreaties, seems by his silence to disapprove (*Collat.* xxi. 8, 9). The council of Gangra, already quoted, condemns any such disregard of domestic duties on the part of wives or parents (*v. s.* cc. 14, 15). In the same spirit Gregory the Great cautions husbands against forsaking their wives even for the life of a monk (Gregor. M. *Epp.* vi. 48). But these salutary cautions were in practice too often neglected in the fervour of monastic propagandism.

The case of slaves was different. There the monastery was interposing to rescue men from degradation. Yet there, too, was danger of a

collision between the monastery and social obligations. Canons and decrees give an uncertain sound, and it could hardly be otherwise, on this point. The council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, and the council of Gangra, A.D. 525, forbade slaves to be admitted without their masters' leave (*Conc. Chalced.* c. 4; *Conc. Gangr.* c. 3). Justinian ordered them to be kept three years, and then allowed them, if not reclaimed, to become monks (*Novell.* cxxiii. 35; cf. Valentinian. III. *Novell.* xii.). Basil makes reference to Onesimus, the runaway slave, sent back to his owner by St. Paul (*Reg.* c. 11). The great Gregory has frequent occasion in his correspondence to advise on this knotty point. Slaves are not to be taken in rashly (Greg. M. *App. ad Epist. Decret.* v. 6), but if they behave well in the monastery, they may stay (*Epp.* v. 34); if not, they must be sent back to their masters (*ib.* ix. 37); a subdeacon, to whom Gregory is writing, is told to pay the money to redeem a slave longing to become a monk (*ib.* iii. 40). On the whole, without doubt, the influence of the monasteries was often exercised wisely as well as benevolently for the alleviation and gradual extinction of the evils of slavery. For example, a master desiring to become a monk, and bringing a slave with him, found within the walls of the monastery that he had with him "no longer a slave, but a brother in the Lord" (*Reg. Serapion.* c. 7; *Reg. Tarnat.* c. 5, &c.).

The profession of the monk clashed not infrequently with the duties of the citizen. By a decree of Valentinian and Valens, in the latter part of the 4th century, all persons in monasteries liable to serve in the local senates of the empire ("curiales")[a] were ordered either to return to public life or to sell their estates to others of a more public spirit (*Cod. Theod.* xii. 1; Bingh. *Orig. Eccles.* vii. iii.). The council of Chalcedon, in the same century, protested against monks serving in the army or navy (*Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, c. 7). Gregory wisely discouraged public officers from becoming monks, unless they had first passed their accounts, and so cleared themselves of their civic responsibilities (Greg. M. *Epp.* iii. 65; viii. 5). Again, the admission of criminals involved questions of some difficulty. There was, on the one hand, the danger of interrupting the course of justice, by preventing the sentence of the law from being carried into effect, and of bringing down on the monastery harbouring criminals the strong arm of the law, as well as the danger, which Dr. Arnold felt so keenly at Rugby, of the moral contagion that might spread itself from an evil example. On the other hand, it might fairly be asked, was not the reformation of offenders one great purpose of the monastery? Cassian speaks of reclaimed robbers and even murderers among the monks of Egypt in his day (*Collat.* iii. 5). The rule of Fructuosus provides that novices of this character may only be received where the abbat is a man of more than ordinary experience and gravity, and that they must always be subjected to a discipline of more than usual rigour (Fruct. *Reg.* c. 19). For a somewhat similar reason, as well as not to interfere with a sister institution, monks, by a decree of the council of Agde, in the 6th century, were not to be admitted from one monastery into another (*Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506, c. 58). Old age was sometimes a bar to admission, in the earlier days of monasticism. Cassian says of some who desired to become monks that they were too old to learn (*Instit.* iv. 30; cf. Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* cc. 20, 28). Poverty was never a disqualification. The poorest outcast, craving to be let in, with no possessions of any kind to renounce, either for the monastery or for the poor, had simply to vow, like the rest, that he would be obedient, and that he would never go away without leave of the abbat and of the brethren; if naked, he was to be clothed (*Reg. Magist.* c. 87). The following list of impediments to becoming a novice in some orders is given by Martene; but a good deal was always left to the discretion of the abbat and chapter. Immature age, heresy, schism, need of a dispensation, illegitimacy, debt, evil notoriety, gross wickedness, bodily infirmity, and, in case of a novice aspiring to the diaconate or priesthood, ignorance of Latin (*Reg. Bened. Comment.* c. 58).

8. In the earliest ages there was no vow of perpetuity, in so many words; only a tacit understanding on both sides that the novice would persevere in his vocation (Bingham, *Orig. Eccles.* vii. iii.). If, after making his profession, he turned back to the world, he was to forfeit what he had promised to the monastery, and was to be left to make his peace with God as he could (Justinian, *Novell.* v.). Short, however, of an irrevocable vow, everything was done to insure his perseverance. Should there, after all, be necessity for his expulsion, his old secular dress was to be given back to him (Bened. *Reg.* c. 58); and he was either to be ejected ignominiously in the daytime or allowed to steal away under the shadow of night (Cass. *Instit.* iv. 6). The mediaeval treatment of such offenders was more severe; they were to be immured for life (Hospinian, *de Orig. Monach.* ad loc. cit.; Bened. *Reg.*). During the noviciate egress was comparatively easy. After two months of it, the novice might, if he wished, depart in peace, with staff, wallet of provisions, and the abbat's benediction (*Reg. Mag.* c. 88). If, even at the last moment, just before solemnly assuming the monk's habit, he wished to retract, he was free to do so, but under sentence of penance for levity of purpose, and as a man still in God's sight dedicated to the life of a priest, if not to the higher life, as it was regarded, of a monk (Mabill. *Praef.* iv. vii. 150). A novice receding within the year was, by the rules of the Benedictine order of "Grandimontenses," never to be allowed to try again (*Reg. Comment.* c. 29).

Novices generally enjoyed, during this probation, the civil exemptions and immunities of monks (Alteser. *Ascet.on*, iv. 4). Degradation

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[a] The "curiales," or "curiae subjecti," may in some ways be compared to our aldermen or town-councilmen. When summoned to the office, they could not refuse and if they endeavoured to evade it, they were compelled to return. They were responsible for the full payment of the impost due from their locality. The office being burdensome was invested with some dignity as a compensation, but came notwithstanding to be regarded as a kind of servitude. (See Ortolan's *History of Common Law*, translated by Richard and Nasmyth, 1841. See particularly Justiniani *Codex*, i. iii. 12; xxxi. 38; vii. xxxix. 5.)

to the noviciate was sometimes a punishment for monks who were disobedient (Du Cange, *Glossar. Lat.* s. v.). Benedict ordered the younger monks, just out of their noviciate, to be corrected for their faults by extraordinary fastings (*Reg.* 30).

9. All these carefully devised regulations about novices shew that the founders and reformers of monastic orders regarded the noviciate, and rightly, as a very important part of their system. If the authority of the abbat was the keystone of the arch, the rigorous probation before becoming a monk was the cornerstone of the edifice. Thus the admission of a novice ("susceptio novitii") was one of the five principal duties of the abbat and chapter ("praecipua agenda monasterii"); the other four being the expulsion of renegades, the penances for misconduct, the acceptance of donations or bequests, and any proposition for changing any of the rules of the society (*Reg. Bened. Commentat.* c. 3). Benedict himself lays down the principle, that, while the discipline of novices must not go beyond their power of endurance, still, so far as it goes it must be adhered to strictly (*Reg. Prolog.*). It was a sagacious remark of Eutropius, a Spanish abbat (Serbitanus or Sirbitanus) towards the end of the 6th century, "we do not want quantity, but quality in our novices"—"non quantos [quot] sed quales" (Mabill. *Ann. O. S. B.* vii. 21). Yet the noviciate and the framing of regulations about it seem to have been left generally to the monastic bodies themselves. The canons of councils, though continually relating to the monks and monasteries, are comparatively silent about the noviciate. It was considered probably an integral part of the internal administration of the monasteries. It may be observed that, while in the commencement of monasticism the age for admission was earlier, and the probation longer, the inverse practice prevailed in course of time. Obviously the younger the novice, the greater the need of long and elaborate preparation.

[For *Literature*, see MONASTERY, p. 1229.]

[I. G. S.]

**NOVITIOLI.** A name sometimes given to catechumens, because, says Bingham (*Antiq.* X. i. 1), "they were just entering upon that state which made them soldiers of God and candidates of eternal life." [C.]

**NUBILIS** (NOBILIS), martyr; commemorated in Africa Ap. 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 361). [C. H.]

**NUCUS**, martyr. [MUCIUS, June 15.]

**NUDIPEDALIA.** A word used to describe walking barefoot in processions, and other functions of the church, as a sign of humiliation (Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 4). It was also a pagan form of supplication to the deities. (Tertull. *adv. Gentes*, c. 40.) [C.]

**NUMBERS, THE GOLDEN.** [EASTER, p. 593.]

**NUMERIANUS**, bishop and confessor at Treves, A.D. 657; commemorated July 5 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 231). [C. H.]

**NUMIDIA, COUNCIL OF.** A turbulent meeting of Donatists, held there A.D. 348, at some place unknown, to allay the storm raised by Macarius, who had been sent on thither for relief of the poor by the emperor Constans. (Mansi, iii. 143.) [E. S. Ff.]

**NUMIDICUS**, martyr with others in Africa in the third century; commemorated Aug. 9 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 410). [C. H.]

**NUMISMATICS.** [MONEY.]

**NUN.** 1. *The Name*; 2. *Pagan Precedents*; 3. *The Sacred Virgins*; 4. *Origin and Growth of Convents*; 5. *Age for Admission and Duration of Probation*; 6. *Perpetuity of Obligation*; 7. *Consecration of a Nun*; 8. *Conventual Rules*; 9. *Episcopal Control, &c.*; 10. *Occupations of Nuns*; 11. *Nuns and Monks.*

(1) Among the various designations used by ancient Christian writers for nuns, the most noticeable are these. "Nonna" (Hieron. *Epp.* 22 *ad Eustochium*), a term of filial reverence, signifying an aged woman, a mother, or nurse, just as the older monks were called "nonni" by their younger brethren (Bened. *Reg.* c. 63; cf. Bened. Anian. *Concord. Regul.* c. 70; Menard. *ad loc.*). The word is perhaps from Egypt, and occurs in the form of νόνις in some editions of Palladius. "Sanctimonialis," or "Castimonialis," expressing the holiness of the vocation; the latter syllables of these words become in later writers the substantive word "monialis." "Monastria," a less usual word, signifying seclusion from the world. "Sponsa Christi," or spouse of Christ. "Ancilla Dei," handmaid of God. "Velata," veiled. "Ascetica," ascetic (Alteser. *Asceticon.* III. ii.). The names "agapetae," beloved, and "sorores," sisters, degenerated into terms of reproach, as implying familiarity with monks (Bingh. *Orig. Eccles.* VI. ii. 13; cf. *Conc. Ancyr.* A.D. 314. c. 18).

(2) There were precedents in paganism for an institution of this kind. The Roman vestals held a very high place in the Roman constitution. Usually admitted very young, between the ages of six and ten, they were bound to fulfil a term of thirty years after admission; ten as novices, ten in the worship of the temple, ten as teachers of those who were to take their places. After the expiration of these thirty years, they were free to marry, but availed themselves of this liberty very rarely (Preller, *Les Dieux de l'ancienne Rome*). Among the Pythagoreans, also, women consecrating themselves to virginity might attain a very exalted rank in the hierarchy (Maury, *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce Antique*). Ambrose seeks a precedent in the sacred observances of the Jews (*De Virginibus*). But the passage in the book of Maccabees is a very slight foundation to build upon (II. Macc. iii. 19).

(3) In one sense the profession of a nun dates from an earlier period than the corresponding profession of a monk. Before the custom of addicting themselves for religious purposes to an unmarried life had made much progress in the Christian church among men, it was already in vogue among women. They had no public duties to renounce; it was easier for them to exchange their ordinary employments for those of charity and devotion; perhaps, too, they were

predisposed to understand the exhortations to purity, which are so prominent in the Gospel, as exhortations to virginity, and to take such words about marriage as those of St. Paul to the Corinthians in the most literal sense (1 Cor. vii. 35). The "sacred virgins," or "ecclesiastical virgins," were an important part of the organisation of the church in its first three centuries, and their names were enrolled on the list ("canon" or "matricula") of church officials (Bingham, *Origin. Eccles.* vii. 4; Hospinian, *de Orig. Monachatûs*, i. 10). The empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, shewed especial respect for these devoted women (Socrat. *Hist. Eccles.* i. 17). But these "asceticae" were not living together in communities, nor bound by vows (Cyprian, *Epp.* 4, 62; cf. *De Habitu Virg.*). Even so late as the close of the 4th century, a canon of the council of Carthage speaks of these virgins as dwelling with their parents (*Conc. Carthag.* III. A.D. 397, c. 33; Gregor. M. *Dialog.* ii. 7, 14). If orphans, they were to be placed by the bishop in a building set apart for them. Probably the persecutions of the "sacred virgins" by Julian (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 3), by that reaction which inevitably follows persecution, helped to make their vocation at once more popular and more systematic. Some of the Roman ladies, who were induced by Jerome's influence to devote themselves to it, continued in their homes. Others left their homes to give themselves more completely, as they believed, to a life of devotion (*Epp. ad Eustoch.*; *ad Demetriad.*; Ambrose, *Epp. ad Marcell.*). The civil law of the later empire exempted from the capitation tax (à plebeiae capitationis injuriâ) these ecclesiastical virgins, and grants them especial protection from insults, making it a capital offence to offer violence to any one of their number, or even to propose marriage to them (*Cod. Theodos.* xiii. x. 4, ix. xxv.; *Cod. Justinian.* I. iii. 5).

(4) Very early in the 5th century Palladius describes several communities of virgins living together in the Scetic desert, in Egypt, and in Tabennae, an island on the Nile. Some of these communities were apparently not under a very careful discipline. Dorotheus, the superintendent of one of them, used to sit at an upper window, looking down on the inmates, to stop their quarrellings (Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* cc. 34, 36, 38, 137). Chrysostom mentions crowds or associations of virgins (coetus virginum) in Egypt, in those days pre-eminently fertile in asceticism (*Homil. in Matt.* c. 8). Ruffinus speaks of them in Oxyrinchus (Behnesch) in Egypt. Ambrose says that they abounded in Alexandria, in the East, in Italy, and were esteemed very highly (*De Virginit.* 7, *De Virginibus*, 10, *De Lapsu Virg.*). Jerome complains that parents were apt then, as in later years, to get rid of their sickly or ill-favoured daughters in this way (Hieron. *Ep. ad Demetriad.*). Augustine mentions nuns, in buildings apart from monasteries, making woollen garments for the monks (*De Mor. Eccles.* c. 31). In his protests against the excesses of Donatists, he rebukes severely the indecent behaviour of the virgins, unworthy of the name, who accompanied the roving bands of the "Circumcelliones" (*Cont. Parmenian.* iii. 3; *De Bono Viduitat.* c. 15). In the last year of the 6th century the pope, Gregory the Great, attributes the preservation of Rome from the Lombards to the prayers of the nuns, about three thousand in number, within its walls (Gregor. M. *Epp.* vi. 42, vii. 26).

(5) At first, as was the case with monks, and especially in the East, youth was hardly considered a hindrance to self-dedication. Basil draws the line at sixteen or seventeen (*Reg.* c. 7; *Ep. ad Amphiloch.* c. 18). Asella and Paula devoted themselves, or were devoted, even earlier (Hieron. *Epp.*). Ambrose advises that it must not depend on the number of years, but on the maturity of character (*De Virginitate*, c. 7). The Council of Saragossa, in the close of the 4th century, and the Council of Agde, a little more than a century later, forbid the veil to be assumed before the age of forty (*Conc. Caesaraug.* A.D. 381, c. 8; *Conc. Agathens.* A.D. 506, c. 19); and the third Council of Carthage, about the same date as that of Saragossa, before twenty-five (*Conc. Carthag.* III. A.D. 397, c. 4). Gregory the Great writes that nuns may not be veiled before sixty years of age, but the profession might be made sooner (*Epp.* iv. 11; cf. Mabill. *Annal. O. S. B.* viii. 47). Charlemagne, in order to discourage the practice of taking the veil prematurely, re-enacted the old African canon already quoted, fixing twenty-five years f age as the earliest age for it (*Capitul.* A.D. 789, c. 46; A.D. 805, c. 14). The Council of Frankfort allows an earlier age in exceptional cases (*Conc. Francof.* A.D. 793, c. 46). The Council of Aachen, twenty-two years later, forbids young women to become nuns without the consent of their parents or guardians (*Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 817, c. 20). As to the length of time necessary for probation, a Council of Orleans in the 6th century, draws a distinction between convents where the inmates are to stay for ever, and those where they only sojourn for a time. In the latter case the probation is to last three years; in the former, one year is enough (*Conc. Aurelian.* V. A.D. 549, c. 19). [NOVICE.]

(6) From the first it was understood on all hands that a woman consecrating herself to the profession of virginity ought not to marry; and in accordance, as it was thought, with apostolic precepts (1 Cor. vii.; 1 Tit. ii.), anyone going back from this profession was gravely censured as falling from a higher vocation (*Conc. Ancyr.* A.D. 315, c. 19). But it was not till the Benedictine rule had been established in Europe that the vow of virginity was regarded as absolutely irrevocable.* At first in some cases, if not in all, the distinction was recognised between lawful wedlock and incontinency. In course of time the same stigma of infamy was branded on a nun marrying, as on one guilty of gross immorality, just as a monk was condemned alike for marriage and fornication. The Council of Elvira in Spain, early in the 4th century, allowed nuns forsaking their profession to be restored to communion, if penitent, after offending once, but not in case of the offence being repeated (*Conc. Eliberitan.* A.D. c. 324, c. 13). Basil ordered a penance of one or two years before restoration to communion; in his eyes, the marriage of one who is already the spouse of Christ is adultery (*Ep. ad Amphiloch.* c. 18). The Council of Valence, in Southern

* See H. C. Lea's *History of Celibacy*, Philadelphia, 1867.

France, about the same date, sentenced nuns marrying to a long, but not perpetual, excommunication (*Conc. Valent.* A.D. 374, c. 2). The Theodosian code allowed them to return to the world at any time before attaining forty years of age, especially if they had been compelled in the first instance by their parents to become nuns (*Cod. Theodos.* Nov. viii. et ix.). Pope Innocent I., in the commencement of the 5th century, forbids a nun after marrying or being seduced to be restored to communion, unless the partner in her transgression has retired into the cloister ("de saeculo recesserit," understood by Hospinian as if it were "decesserit") (Innoc. I. *Ep.* 2 *ad Victric. Rotomagens.*). Epiphanius draws very strongly the distinction, obliterated in later ages, between the marriage of a nun and profligacy; in the former case, after penance done, the ban of excommunication is to be taken off from her (Epiphan. *Haeres.* lxi.). Leo I., in the middle of the century, only allows nuns who have broken their vow before taking the veil to be received after penance to communion; for those who so offend after taking the veil there is no restoration (*Ep.* 90). Rather earlier in the century Augustine, with characteristic largeness of thought, admits that marriage in these cases, though very culpable, is not invalidated (*De Bono Viduitat.* 8, 9, 10). Jerome, as characteristically, writes more inexorably (*Ep.* ad Demetriad.). The Council of Chalcedon, prescribing a period of penance varying in duration according to the discretion of the bishop, recommends the offending sister to mercy (*Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, c. 16). The second Council of Arles, in the year following, re-enacts the decree, already cited, of the Council of Valence, adding the limitation, "if the offender is over twenty-five years of age" (*Conc. Arelat.* ii. A.D. 452, c. 33). The decree of the Council of Orange, a few years before this, is of the same purport (*Conc. Arausican.* A.D. 441, c. 28). A century later the sentences pronounced are more severe. The fifth Council of Orleans excommunicates both parties in the event of a nun marrying after her fourth year in the convent (*Conc. Aurelian.* V. A.D. 549, c. 19); and the Council of Mâcon makes this an excommunication for ever, except by special dispensation from the bishop in mortal sickness (*Conc. Matiscon.* A.D. c. 581, c. 12). The third Council of Paris pronounces anathema against any one presuming to tempt a nun to marry (*Conc. Paris,* A.D 557, c. 5). Gregory the Great censures in gravest terms the marriage of a nun, as a great wickedness (*Ep.* v. 24). Nuns otherwise breaking their vow of chastity he orders to be transferred to a stricter monastery for penance (*Epp.* iv. 9).

(7) The Consecration of a nun was a solemn rite, only to be administered by a bishop, or, at least, by his authorisation. The third Council of Carthage, in the end of the 4th century, forbade priests so to officiate, except by the bishop's order; the Council of Paris, under the successor of Charlemagne, forbade abbesses to usurp this function (*Conc. Carthag.* III. A.D. 390, c. 3; *Syn. Hippon.* A.D. 393, c. 34; *Syn. Carthag.* A.D. 419, c. 6; *Conc. Paris,* A.D. 825, cc. 41, 43). Ambrose, in the 4th century, cautions women against assuming the veil precipitately and without due consideration (*De Virginitate,* c. 7). His sister Marcellina was formally admitted in the great basilica of St. Peter at Rome by pope Liberius, and part of the ceremony was her receiving from his hands the robe of virginity (*Ep. ad Marcellin.*; Innoc. *Ep. ad Victr.* c. 13. He relates elsewhere how young women came to him at Milan from other parts of Italy and from other countries to be veiled (*De Virginibus,* i. c. 10; cf. *Conc. Carthag.* iv. A.D. 398). Hospinian (*De Orig. Monach.* u. s.) contends that there was no such ceremony before Constantine the Great, and that Tertullian (*De Virginibus Velandis*) speaks only of the modesty in dress and deportment which becomes Christian maidens generally. The favourite seasons for this ceremony were Epiphany, Easter, and the festivals of Apostles (Gelasius, *Ep.* 9, *ad Episc. Lucan.* c. 12). The veil was a sign of belonging to Christ alone (Athanas. *Exhortat. ad Spons. Dei*). The fillet or riband (vitta), with its gleam of purple or gold, represented the crown of victory (Optatus, *de Schismat. Donat.* vii. 4), and the tresses gathered up and tied together marked the difference between the bride of Christ and the bride of an earthly bridegroom with her tresses loosened according to the old Roman custom. The ring and bracelet, symbolic also of the betrothal to Christ, as well as the use of a special office for the occasion, were, Bingham argues, of a comparatively modern date (*Orig. Eccles.* VII. iv.). The Council of Gangra, while correcting several laxities of the day, condemned the practice of nuns dressing like monks (*Conc. Gangr.* A.D. 365, cc. 13, 30). The same council forbade nuns to have their heads shaven (*ib.* c. 17; cf. *Cod. Theodos.* XVI. ii. 27); and so decreed two Gallic councils in the 6th and 7th centuries (Mabill. *Annal. O. S. B.* vii. 52, xiii. 7). Ambrose and Optatus write to the same effect (Ambr. *de Laps. Virgin.* c. 8; Optat. *de Schismat. Donatist.* vi. 4). On the other hand, Jerome and Augustine imply that the custom in their experience was otherwise (Hieron. *Ep. ad Sabinian. August.*; *Ep.* 211). In Egypt and Syria the custom of shaving the head seems to have been adopted for cleanliness, nuns having infrequent opportunities of washing the head (Hieron. *u. s.*; cf. Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 10). The uncertainty of rule, and the diversity of practice on this point arose, perhaps, in part from the apostolic injunctions to the Christian women at Corinth (1 Cor. xi.) conflicting with the monastic tonsure; and partly from the twofold aspect of the vocation of a nun, as, on the one hand, pledged to virginity, and, on the other, betrothed to the Redeemer. Another objection against the tonsure of nuns in Europe was the circumstance that this was an ancient punishment for adulteresses among the Teutonic tribes.

(8) The rules of the conventual life for women resemble closely those for men (Mabill. *Annal. O. S. B.* i. 52). Scholastica, sister of the great Benedict, was esteemed in Europe the foundress of nunneries, according to the legendary tradition (Mabill. *Praeff.* I. iii.). The nuns were to obey their abbess implicitly (*e.g.* August. *Ep.* 211). By the rule of Caesarius, bishop of Arles, in the 6th century, they were never to go out of the convent; were to have

nothing of their own; were to be allowed the luxury of a bath only in sickness (Caesar. Arelat. *Reg.* cc. 1, 4, 29). The rule of Aurelian, his successor in the see, orders that they may never receive letters without the cognisance of the abbess, and that if anyone brings a maid with her into the convent, the servant, by the very act, becomes free and in all things her equal (Aurelian Arelat. *Reg.* cc. 4, 13). The rigorous rule called "Cujusdam," not unreasonably ascribed by some to Columba of Iona, prescribes for nuns continual silence, frequent confessions, a very spare diet, very hard labour, under penalty of excommunication (*Reg. Cujusd.* cc. 6, 9, 10, 12, 18, 19). The rule of Donatus, bishop of Besançon, in the middle of the 7th century, makes mention of female officers corresponding to the abbat, friar, hebdomadarius or septimanarius in a monastery; it allows wives, who have left their husbands, to be admitted (cf. *Syn. Carthag.* II. A.D. 309, c. 1); it forbids the nuns to keep anything under lock and key; it orders small delinquencies to be punished by slappings (Donat. Vesontionens. *Reg.* cc. 4, 5, 7, 11, 32, 67). Gregory the Great, in his life of Benedict of Nursia, gives a curious legend, how two nuns were punished grievously for their silly chatterings (Gregor. M. *Vit. S. Bened.* c. 23).

(9) Nunneries were generally, as might be anticipated, more amenable than monasteries to the control of their bishop. But the occurrence from time to time of a canon on this point shews that they, too, could sometimes be insubordinate (*e.g. Conc. Arelat.* A.D. 554, c. 5; *Conc. Forojul.* A.D. 791, c. 47; *Conc. Francofurt.* A.D. 793, c. 47; *Conc. Aquisgran.* A.D. 816, c. 68; *Conc. Paris*, A.D. 829, c. 13). Again, another council insists that they must account to their bishop for all immunities from episcopal dues (*Conc. Vernens.* A.D. 755, c. 20). Gregory blames a bishop for not having hindered a nun from leaving her convent (Gregor. M. *Epp.* ix. 114). He orders the bishops to install new abbesses; to prevent nunneries being founded without sufficient endowment; to keep lay-women out of them (*Epp.* iii. 9, iv. 4, v. 12, vii. 7). The power of abbesses, like that of abbats, was checked by certain limitations both from within and without. By the rule of Donatus the abbess must take counsel with her nuns (*u. s.* c. 2). By the decree of an English council in the 8th century the abbess is to be elected by the nuns, either from their own number or from elsewhere, with the advice of the bishop (*Conc. Chalcyth.* [Chelsea ?], A.D. 787, c. 5). Gregory the Great in his day disapproved of young abbesses, and of abbesses from another convent (*Epp.* iv. 11, vi. 12). By a council near Paris in the 8th century it is ordered that the bishop, as well as the abbess, may send a nun misbehaving herself to a penitentiary; that no abbess is to superintend more than one monastery, or to quit the precincts, except once a year when summoned by her sovereign; and that the abbess must do penance in the monastery for her faults by the bishop's direction (cum consilio episcopi, *Conc. Vernens.* A.D. 735, c. 6). Charlemagne enacted that the bishop must report to the Crown any abbess guilty of misconduct, in order that she might be deposed (*Conc. Francofurt.* A.D. 795, c. 47). Abbesses were forbidden, in the reign of his successor, to walk alone, and thus were placed in some degree under the surveillance of the sisterhood (*Conc. Mogunt'n.* ii. A.D. 847, c. 16). Charlemagne prohibited abbesses from laying hands on any one, or pronouncing the blessing (*Capitul. Carol. M.* A.D. 798, c. 76; *Conc. Francofurt.* A.D. 793, c. 46). Hospinian alleges that some abbesses claimed to ordain, but this can only be understood in the sense of admitting into minor orders or into the sisterhood (Hospinian, *u. s.*). Bingham states that abbesses are first mentioned as taking part in the proceedings of a synod at the Council of Becanfield (Becanceldae), in Kent, A.D. 694 (Bing. *Origin. Eccles.* VII. iii.; cf. Mabill. *Annal. O. S. B.* xviii. 28). In the feudal system abbesses were liable, like his other vassals, to the king's service, but by proxy, because of their sex and vow of seclusion. They of course exercised lordship over the fiefs belonging to their convents. In each province the convents were under the supreme authority of the abbess of the central convent of that order, just as the monasteries were subject to a "provincial" and "general" of the order.

(10) The routine in a nunnery corresponded very nearly with that of a monastery. There was the same periodical rotation, hour by hour, of sacred services, varied by work, chiefly manual, of one sort or another, with brief intervals at stated times for rest or refection. The usual occupation, in the way of working, was from the first in wool. Jerome, urging nuns to make their vocation real by strenuous diligence, advises them to have the wool ever in their hands (*Ep. ad Eustoch.*). The passage in Augustine's writings, where he speaks of them handing through the door of the convent the dresses which they have made for the aged monks waiting there with food for the nuns in exchange (August. *de Morib. Eccles.* c. 31), recalls the ancient epitaph on the Roman housewife in the simple days of the republic, "domi mansit, lanam fecit." But this primitive employment was apt to degenerate into a preference for fancy-work, which was discouraged as frivolous and vain, except when it was made useful, in ecclesiastical embroidery, &c., for the adornment of the sanctuary (Mabill. *Annal. O. S. B.* xvi. 24). The rule of Caesarius enjoins working in wool, but forbids fancy-work (*u. s.* cc. 14, 42). The rule of Aurelian orders the nuns all to learn reading and writing (literas discant omnes, *u. s.* c. 26). In the revival of education under Charlemagne, the nunneries did good service. Hitherto monastic schools had been used chiefly for training monks and clergy only. The great legislator extended the advantages of education to the laity also, instituting for them the "scholae exteriores," and leaving the "scholae interiores" for the others. The schools in the nunneries were already useful for girls in this larger sphere, the training of the young being naturally congenial to the nuns. Their course of lessons differed of course from the "trivium" and "quadrivium" of the monastic system, being confined to an elementary sort of catechism in religious knowledge, music, housework, and, more rarely, Latin (Alteser. *Ascetic.* v. 10; Herzog, *Kloster-Schulen*). Nuns were also employed frequently in transcribing and illuminating sacred books, and in the arts of

medicine and painting (Mabill. *Acta Sanctor. O. S. B.* i. p. 646; *Praeff.* ii. 3, iii. 4). Boniface, during his missionary labours in Germany, sent to his old home in England for a supply of nuns to assist in civilising and Christianising the wild hordes whom he was converting (Othlon. *Vit. S. Bonifacii*, c. 25; Mabill. *Praeff.* iii. 2, 4). Hospinian says that he made use of them not for teaching only, but also for the purpose of preaching (*u. s.*; cf. Mabill. *Praeff.* ii.).

(11) Great care was necessary from the first to prevent a too close proximity of nunneries and monasteries, as well as any intercourse between the nuns and the other sex generally. Augustine, Jerome, and other fathers of the church reiterate their cautions against these dangers. The Council of Ancyra forbade the consecrated virgins to associate with men even as sisters (*Conc. Ancyr.* A.D. 314, c. 18; cf. *Conc. Carth.* A.D. 312, c. 3). Justinian forbade women to enter the conventual buildings of men (*Novell.* cxxxiii.). In the 5th century canons were made strictly prohibiting any more monasteries to be founded for monks and nuns together, and ordering those already in existence to be partitioned between the sexes (Mabill. *Annal. O. S. B.* v. 23; cf. Herzog, *Kloster*). The rule of Caesarius allows no other man than the bishop, the clergy officiating, and the steward (provisor) of the convent to enter within its walls (*u. s.*). The nuns were to make their confession to the bishop through their abbess (Mabill. *Annal. O. S. B.* xii. 32). Some nuns were censured in the 6th century for having nursed through his illness a monk of the venerable age of 80 (Mabill. *u. s.*). The Council of Seville, a little later, forbids a nunnery to be placed too near the monastery to which it is attached for protection; enacts that this arrangement must have the sanction of the bishop or council; that no communication is to pass from the one establishment to the other, except through the abbat and abbess; and, while allowing the nuns to work with their fingers on dresses for the monks, and the monks to minister spiritually to the nuns, precludes all other intercourse whatever (*Conc. Hispal.* A.D. 619, c. 11). The letters of Gregory the Great abound with precautions and directions on this delicate subject. The person acting for the nunnery in its temporal affairs must always be either a monk or a cleric, of high repute and of long experience; he must save them all occasion for going out of the precincts; nuns are never on any pretext to lodge under the roof of a monastery. He denounces severely the custom of nuns being "commatres" with monks (Gregor. M. *Epp.* iv. 9, 42, viii. 21, 22). The danger, indeed, was one of constant recurrence, and required unceasing vigilance (*Syn. Carthag.* c. A.D. 346, cc. 3, 4; *Conc. Toletan.* I. A.D. 400, cc. 6, 9). The second council of Nicaea condemned the double or mixed monasteries already mentioned, and, even in cases of consanguinity, forbade a nun to see a monk, except in the presence of an abbess (*Conc. Nicaen.* ii. A.D. 787, c. 20). The council of Fréjus forbade the abbat of the protecting monastery to visit the nunnery without the bishop's leave (*Conc. Forisjul.* A.D. 794, c. 12). Still, in spite of every precaution, the insidious temptation baffled only too often the edicts of councils and reformers. In the 8th century nuns gained admission into monasteries on the ground of being necessary in sickness and similar emergencies, and secular women, on the same excuse, were harboured in convents (Mabill. *Praeff.* III. i.). In the monastery of St. Maurice (Agaunense), in the Valais, women were in the habit of frequenting the basilica or chapel of the monastery (Mabill. *Annal. O. S. B.* i. 74). In the 10th century the archbishop of Sens, in Champagne, destroyed the separate cells (aediculae), then becoming common, in which nuns lived apart from the restraints of the convent (Mabill. *O. S. B.* Praeff. V. vi.). The "canonicae" of the 8th and subsequent centuries differed from nuns in retaining more of their secular character. They were not bound by a vow of perpetuity; they repudiated the titles of monachae and matres; and, though engaged, like nuns, in the work of education, they confined their teaching chiefly to the children of the nobles [CANONICI; SCHOOLS]. The "widows," who devoted themselves to the service of the church from its earliest days, belong in many respects to the same category as the "sacred virgins." Like them, they were exempted by the Code of Theodosius from the ordinary capitation tax; but it was expressly provided that this exemption should only be granted to those widows whose advanced age and sobriety of demeanour gave a guarantee that they would not marry again (*Cod. Theodos.* u. s.). The so-called "Apostolical Constitutions," after saying that a widow does not receive the imposition of hands (οὐ χειροτονεῖται, cf. Gelasius, *Ep.* 9, c. 13) enact that only those may be admitted into the order who are altogether beyond suspicion of levity or inconstancy (*Apostol. Constitut.* viii. 25). Similar precautions occur repeatedly in later ages, for instance, in the decrees of the Council of Orange in the 5th century, and of the Frankish kingdom in the 9th century (*Conc. Arausican.* A.D. 441, c. 27; *Conc. Tolet.* x. cc. 4, 5; *Capitul.* A.D. 817, c. 21). [See ABBESS, ASCETICISM, BENEDICTINE RULE AND ORDER, CELIBACY, MONASTERY, NOVICE, &c.] For the *Literature*, see MONASTERY, p. 1229.

[I. G. S.]

**NUNC DIMITTIS.** [CANTICLE.]

**NUNCIUS**, confessor in the county of Namur, perhaps in the seventh century; commemorated Oct. 10 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. v. 124). [C. H.]

**NUNCTUS**, abbat and martyr, near Merida, cir. A.D. 580; commemorated Oct. 22 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 596). [C. H.]

**NUNILO**, martyr, with Elodia, virgins; commemorated at Huesca in Spain, Oct. 22 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NUNNUS**, a surname of Hippolytus, martyr; commemorated "in portu urbis Romae," Aug. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NUNTIUS.** [LEGATE.]

**NUPTIAL CONTRACT.** *Tabulae nuptiales* (Tertullian *ad Uxorem*, ii 3) were the "deeds" by which dowry was conferred in marriage. In many ancient representations of

wedded couples a scroll is represented either in the hand of one of the persons or in some part of the picture, which is commonly supposed to be the nuptial contract. See MARRIAGE, p. 1114. Two are sometimes found in representations on glass. (Buonarruoti, tav. xxiii. 3.) (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v. *Tabulae Nuptiales*). [C.]

**NUT.** In the symbolism of the Fathers the nut bears various interpretations, the essential idea being the same in all, viz., a hidden treasure concealed beneath an unpromising exterior. From this point of view it became a very appropriate emblem of Jesus Christ, in whom the Godhead was hidden beneath the veil of the manhood. We find it so employed by St. Augustine (*Sermm. de temp.; Dominic. ante Nativitatem*). In this passage he divides the nut into three parts, the husk, the shell, and the kernel, and finds something corresponding to each in the Person of the Saviour. First, he sees in them the Flesh, Bones, and Soul of Christ; and then refining still further, he regards the husk as the symbol of our Lord's Body; the kernel of the Deity within affording both food and light to the soul; and the shell of the wood of the Cross, which at the same time divides the outward and inward in man, and also by the wood of the Atonement unites the earthly and the heavenly. St. Augustine's friend and correspondent Paulinus of Nola expresses the same conceit in one of his poems (*Poema* xxvii. *In Nat. S. Felic.* ix. 277–287). He finds a deep mystery in Jacob's peeled rods, especially in the one which was of hazel (Gen. xxx. 37), on which he thus comments:—

> "In nuce Christus,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Virga nucis Christus quoniam in nucibus cibus intus
> Testa foris, et amara super viridi cute cortex.
> Cerne Deum nostro velatum corpore Christum,
> Qui fragilis carne est, verbo cibus, et cruce amarus.
> Dura superficies verbum crucis, et crucis esca est,
> Coelestem Christi claudens in carne medullam."

Another slightly different line of interpretation regarded the nut as the emblem of the Christian bearing about with him the divine Wisdom in a fleshy body. Thus St. Gregory the Great writes (*cap.* vi. *Cant.*): "Quid per nucem nisi perfectos quosque intelligimus, qui dum Divinam Sapientiam intra corpora sua retinent, quasi nucleum in fragili testa portant? Quid isti nisi nuces existunt, qui nuclei dulcedinem intus ferunt; exterius vero carnis utilitatem praetendunt?" We find a similar symbolism in Philo (*de Vit. Mos.* lib. iii.). Boldetti describes and gives a representation of a nut of amber found by him in a Christian tomb. It opened down the middle, and contained a cameo of the sacrifice of Isaac (*Osservaz.* p. 298; tav. 1, No. 10, 11; De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* vol. iii. p. 595). [E. V.]

**NYMPHAEUM**, a name for the fountain or cistern usually found in the centre of the atrium before the door of a church, called also "Cantharus" and "Phiala" (FOUNTAINS AT THE ENTRANCE OF CHURCHES, p. 685). Anastasius records that a "Nymphaeum," surrounded by a triple arcade, was erected by pope Hilary in front of the basilica of St. Cross in Rome (Anastas. 69). In Paciaudi (*de Sacr. Christian. Balneis*, p. 145 sq.) we find an account with an engraving of an oblong marble cistern, found near the site of Pisaurum, ornamented with symbolical bas-reliefs of the 7th century, which he considers to have been a "Nymphaeum" in the atrium of a church. The word is used for ordinary fountains and tanks by Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xv. p. 324), and Capitolinus (*in Gordiano*, iii.), "Opera Gordiani Romae nulla extant praeter quaedam nymphaea et balnea." Cedrenus and Zonaras (xiv. 1) used the word for a hall for the public celebration of marriages. Mabillon strangely interprets the passage from Anastasius of the place set apart for females. (Ducange, *Constantinop. Christiana*, lib. i. c. 26, p. 86 sq.). [E. V.]

**NYMPHIA**, male or female saint of Laodicea, martyr with Eubulus of Rome in the first century; commemorated Feb. 28 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 719). [C. H.]

**NYMPHODORA**, martyr, with Menodora and Metrodora; commemorated Sept. 10 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 265). [C. H.]

**NYMPODORA**, martyr; commemorated at Nicaea, Mar. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*); NIMPODORA (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**NYSSA, COUNCIL OF**, on the confines of Cappadocia, where a council was held A.D. 375, at the instigation of Demosthenes, the civil vicar, in which St. Gregory, brother of St. Basil and bishop of Nyssa, was condemned. (Basil, *Ep.* 237; Mansi, iii. 502.) [E. S. Ff.]

# O

**OAK, THE, SYNOD OF.** [CHALCEDON (1) p. 333.]

**OATHS** on formal and solemn occasions, or for the purpose of legal attestation, were not prohibited among the early Christians. There were considerable scruples, doubtless, in using them, and their use was regarded with jealousy by more than one of the great church writers. The ground of the aversion to them, as to other practices which have since been held to be generally lawful among Christian people, was the prevalence of idolatry. All adjurations in common use naturally invoked the name of a heathen deity, or were cast in some form which a Christian could not utter without a tacit compliance with heathenism. Tertullian has one passage (*De Idololat.* c. 11) where, after speaking of lying being the servant of covetousness, he proceeds: "Of false swearing I say nothing, since it is not lawful to swear at all"—a passage which would seem to forbid the use of an oath under any circumstances. It is manifest, however, that Tertullian is not discussing the lawfulness of oaths, but is repeating in a general way the prohibition of our Lord (St. Matt. v. 34) against introducing adjurations into common conversation. Nevertheless, the feeling of that age was strong against the indiscriminate use of oaths. Thus Clement of Alex-

andria (Stromat. vii. 8, p. 861, ed. Potter) says that no true Christian will ever perjure himself, for he will not even swear; it is an indignity for him to be put upon his oath. And even a century later, Lactantius (*Epitome*, c. 6) disapproves of the use of oaths on the same ground, lest from constraint or carelessness a man should slip into perjury. The unlawfulness of swearing was one of the views set forth by Pelagius. Augustine (*Ep.* clvii.) shewed, in reply, that there is scriptural ground for the lawfulness of an oath, but, in common with many of the fathers, he viewed its use with suspicion and disfavour.

2. Coming to the direct evidence that oaths were employed and sanctioned in the early church, Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 32) repudiates the charge that Christians could swear by the genius of Caesar, for the genii are nothing else than demons; but, he adds, they do swear by the emperor's safety; and he defends the oath, on the ground that in kings men reverence the appointment of God, and he holds that to be a great oath which involves the safety of what God hath willed. The same oath, "*ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ ἐυσεβεστάτου Αὐγούστου Κωνσταντίου*," is mentioned by Athanasius (*Ep. ad Monachos*, t. i. p. 866, ed. Colon.). Compare the oath of Joseph (Gen. xlii. 15), "By the life of Pharaoh" (*νὴ τὴν ὑγίειαν Φαραὼ*, Septuagint). This form of oath, which was probably adopted as an indirect answer to the charge of disloyalty, so freely cast at the early Christians, was evidently subject to abuse. So the fourth council of Carthage, A.D. 398, c. 61, orders a clergyman swearing by any creature (per creaturas) to be severely reprimanded, and, if obdurate, to be excommunicated. Athanasius required of Constantius (*Apolog. ad Constant.* t. i. p. 678) that his accusers should be put upon oath. In Vegetius, who lived at the close of the 4th century, there is a form (*Instit. rei Militar.* i. 5) of the oath required of Christian soldiers. They swear by God, by Christ, by the Holy Spirit, and by the majesty of the emperor. Other illustrations of the use of oaths, cited by Bingham, will be found in Aug. (*Ep.* cliv.) *ad Publi ol.*; Id. *Serm.* xxx. *De Verbis Apost.*; Greg. Naz. (*Ep.* ccxix.) *ad Theodor.*; Basil, in *Psalm.* xiv. t. i. p. 133; Hieron. in *Matt.* v. The laws of the Christian emperors contain frequent mention of oaths. Constantine confirms (*Cod. Theod.* IX. i. 4) a promise of reward to those who will inform against the corrupt practices of his ministers by the adjuration, "So may the Almighty be ever merciful to me, and keep me safe." One of the statutes of Arcadius (*Cod. Theod.* ii. ix. 8), shews that contracts were usually confirmed by an oath, either by the name of God or the emperor's safety. In the conference between the Catholics and Donatists in the time of Honorius (*Collat. Carthag.* die i. c. 5; Hard. *Conc.* i. 1052), the emperor's delegate swore to judge impartially "by the marvellous mystery of the Trinity, by the sacrament of the Incarnation, and by the emperor's safety." And indeed, whatever may have been the scruples of individual fathers, there can be no doubt that oaths were invariably required both in civil and criminal causes under the Christian emperors. Constantine laid down a general law (*Cod. Theod.* II. xxxix. 3) that all witnesses before a court were to bind themselves by an oath before giving evidence. The Justinian Code not only confirmed this law (*ibid.* IV. xx. 9), but added a clause to it (*ibid.* IV. lix. 1), that both plaintiff and defendant must swear upon the Gospels; the one, that he brought his action not for the purpose of calumny, but on legitimate grounds; the other, that he had a just defence. By a further enactment, the parties to a cause swore (Justin. *Novel.* cxxiv. 1) that no bribe had been or would be given to the judge or any other person. Nor was the obligation of an oath confined to lay causes. To check simony in cases of ecclesiastical preferment, the electors were required (Justin. *Novel.* cxxiii. 1) to take an oath that they did not select their nominee from any improper motive. Also, at the time of ordination, the candidate swore upon the Gospels (Justin. *Novel.* cxxxvii. 2) that he had given no money to the bishop ordaining him. Among the privileges of the bishops was an exemption from appearing in person to give evidence in the public courts. It is not quite clear whether the privilege, as originally conferred by Theodosius, extended so far as this. It was, however, distinctly granted by Justinian (*Novel.* cxxiii. 7); and the same law enacted, that whenever bishops were examined in private their testimony should be taken not upon oath, but upon their word in presence of the holy Gospels, as becomes priests. With the exception of some of the Spanish synods, scarcely any mention is found of oaths in decrees of councils. In the decree which concludes the acts of the fourth council of Toledo, A.D. 633, the oath of allegiance to kings is insisted upon; and the eighth council of Toledo, A.D. 653, c. 2, has a long dissertation on the sanctity of oaths, and insists upon the necessity of an oath in making treaties, in the reconciliation of friends, and in giving evidence; and adds, that if no evidence is forthcoming against an accused, then his oath is sufficient to establish his innocence.

3. Profane swearing was not in itself an offence subject to canonical punishment. It was a vice against which preachers frequently inveighed, but amendment was left to each one's conscience. (Tertull. *de Pudicit.* c. 19.) Its prevalence at Antioch called forth strong remonstrances from Chrysostom; and in one of his sermons (*Hom.* 22, *ad Pop. Ant.* t. i. p. 294) he threatened to exclude all swearers from partaking of the Holy Mysteries. A form of oath which the idolatrous adulation of the heathen emperors had brought into vogue was, "By the genius of Caesar," *τὴν καίσαρος τυχὴν*, Per genium Caesaris. It had such a hold upon the people that Tertullian declares (*Apolog.* c. 28) that men would more readily swear falsely by all the gods than by the single genius of Caesar. In the early centuries this oath was one of the tests of recantation. Polycarp was frequently asked by the proconsul (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 15) to swear by the fortune of Caesar. A similar temptation was put before some African martyrs: "Only swear by the genius of the king, and you will be safe." (*Acta Mart. Scyllitan.* ap. Baron. an. 202, n. 2.) And for a Christian to utter it was a recognised lapse into idolatry. (Tertull. *Apolog.* c. 32; Origen, *contr. Cels.* viii p. 421.) The form of an oath in common use is an indirect evidence of the soundness of doctrine.

Thus it was urged as a special charge against Donatus (Optatus, iii. p. 65) that he encouraged his followers in swearing by himself, or by the martyrs of his party. The oath of allegiance exacted by Justinian from governors of provinces is a fair indication of the development of the observance paid to the Virgin and to angels: "I swear by Almighty God, and His only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the Holy Spirit, and by Mary, the holy, glorious, and ever-Virgin Mother of God, and by the four Gospels which I hold in my hands, and by the holy archangels, Michael and Gabriel, to pay due allegiance," &c. (Cave, *Prim. Christian.* III. i. 212; Bingham, *Antiq.* XVI. vii. 4; Suicer, s. v. ὅρκος.)

4. Oaths of purgation entered largely into the administration of justice in the middle ages. The ordinary term expressing this oath was "sacramentum." "Juramentum, quod mutato nomine appellatur sacramentum, quia in eo id oculis fidei pervidetur, quod corporis oculis non conspicitur." (Hincmar, *de Divortio Lothar. et Tethberg*, interrog. 6.) The formality was technically called "purgatio canonica," that is to say, a mode of purging approved by the canons, as distinguished from "purgatio vulgaris," such as a duel, or hot iron, or any other ordeal, all of which the church discountenanced. In cases where the evidence was conclusive, an oath of purgation was of no avail; but in all petty causes, in which the evidence was conflicting or insufficient, or was not admitted by the judge, or in which the plaintiff or accuser was absent, the defendant was allowed to purge himself from the charge by a solemn oath. It is obvious that this right might open the road to perjury, but the oath was surrounded with such circumstances of awe and solemnity that it was believed that no one would dare to swear falsely, or that, if he did, the vengeance of God would overtake him. That such interpositions were held to have actually taken place at the shrines where the perjury had been committed, see Gregory of Tours, *Miracula*, i. 20, 33, 53; and the Life of St. Eloy by Audoen or Owen, bishop of Rouen, A.D. 640, cc. 56, 59, 77. If the cause was sufficiently grave, the accused or the defendant did not swear alone, *solâ manu suâ*, but others supported him in the oath, the number depending on the gravity of the case. These supporters were variously named. In the laws of the German and Frisian tribes (*Leg. Aleman.* vi. 2; *Leg. Frision.* i. 2, 6, 8) they are termed *sacramentales*. In the Capitularies of Charles the Great (iii. 58), *consacramentales*; and again (*ibid.* iii. 64) *juratores*; and (*ibid.* iv. 26) *conjuratores*. Care was taken that they should be people of good report, whose evidence would be trustworthy, and of the same rank and condition as the accused. So that if a priest was under the necessity of purging himself from a charge, his compurgators must be priests also. (*Capitular. Aquisgr.* A.D. 803, c. 7; *Capitular. Carol. Mag.* v. 34.) An old Welsh law has an enactment (*Leg. Hoëli boni Princip. Walliae*, c. 14), that if a woman is exposed to a charge which cannot be proved, she may clear herself by seven female compurgators, *septimâ manu mulierum expurgat*; if she is accused a second time, she will require fourteen; but if a third, and there is any probability in the charge, she will need fifty women to join with her in attesting her innocence. The *sacramentales* or *compurgatores* were selected partly by the accused, when they were termed *advocati*; partly by the plaintiff, in which case they were called *nominati* or *denominati*. *Nominati* also expressed the nominees of either side. When a person whose case was in dispute swore alone, he was said *jurare suâ manu*. If with one witness, *unicâ manu*, or *cum uno sacramentali*, or *in manu proximi*; and so with any number up to a hundred. The third council of Valence, A.D. 855, c. 13, has an instance of an oath, *septuagesimâ quartâ manu*. The *compurgatores* at the time of swearing were required to be fasting. (*Capitular. Aquisgr.* A.D. 787, c. 62.) The mode of conducting the formality is given in *Leg. Aleman.* vi. 7. The witnesses were to place their hands upon the chest containing the relics, and the principal in the cause alone was to utter the words, and lay his hand upon their hands, and swear that he had right on his side. To add solemnity to the oath, it was always to be taken in a church, either on the cross, or the altar, or the Gospels, or the relics. All the English Penitentials refer (Theodor. I. vi. 4; Bedae, v. 2; Egbert, vi. 2) to an oath thus taken, at the hand of a bishop, or on the altar, or on the cross. An instance of a father swearing, with his hands raised over the altar, to the innocence of his daughter, is given by Gregory of Tours. (*Hist.* iii. 33.) In the Capitulary of Charles the Great, v. 34, a suspected priest is ordered to purge himself with an oath taken on the Gospels in presence of the people. The practice, however, of requiring an oath from the clergy was not uniform. Thus, the council of Meaux, A.D. 845, c. 48, prohibited bishops from swearing *upon* any sacred object; it was sufficient, apparently, that the oath was taken in presence of the object. And, prior to this, the *Capitular. Episcop.* A.D. 801, c. 20, had appointed that a priest should not swear at all, but simply make his declaration with gravity and truth. And the *Institution. Eccles.* p. 92, apud Ducange, s. v. *Juramentum*, which bears the name of Egbert, puts a special valuation on the oaths of the clergy. In criminal cases the oath of a priest was worth that of 120 serfs; of a deacon, 60; of a monk, 30. In disputes about property the oath of a priest could transfer the land of one serf to the church. In swearing by the Gospels, the ordinary formality was to lay the hands upon the sacred volume, but sometimes the book was held. Thus Pelagius, afterwards pope, A.D. 555–560, when charged by the Roman people of factious conduct towards his predecessor Vigilius, ascended the pulpit of St. Peter's, holding the Gospels and the cross above his head, and swore that he was innocent. Oaths over the tombs and relics of saints were of frequent occurrence. One of the Capitularies (*Carol. Magn.* vi. 209) required all *sacramenta* to be administered in a church and over relics, invoking the name of God, and those saints whose remains were below. The hands were to be placed on the relic chest (*Leg. Aleman.* vi. 7), or on the tomb of the saint (Greg. Turon. *de Glor. Confess.* c. 93), or were to be extended towards the sacred spot. (Greg. Turon. *Miracul.* i. 20.) All these oaths, for the confirmation of which some sacred object was beheld or touched, were called corporal oaths, juramenta corporalia, ὅρκοι σωματικοί. For further varieties of such oaths, and details

of their use, see Ducange, s. v. *Juramentum*. They were sometimes mixed up with pagan superstitions. The fourth council of Orleans, A.D. 541, c. 16, condemns oaths taken on the head of a wild or domestic animal. And the council in Trullo, A.D. 692, c. 94, prohibits generally, ὅρκοι Ἑλληνικοί. [G. M.]

**OBADIAH**, prophet, commemorated Nov. 19. (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 274.) [C. H.]

**OBEDIENCE.** [DISCIPLINE; ORDERS, HOLY.]

**OBITUARY.** [NECROLOGIUM.]

**OBLATE**, (*oblata*, *oblatio*; *barb.* *oblada*, *oblagia*, *oblia*). "Oblata" is a late equivalent to "oblatio" (as proba=probatio, confessa=confessio, missa=missio, &c.). When oblatio was understood of the provision for the Eucharist it generally included both elements, *e.g.* "Populus dat oblationes suas; id est, panem et vinum" (*Ord. Rom.* ii. 6 in *Mus. Ital.* ii. 46); "Oblationem, i.e. panem et vinum, viri et foeminae ad missas offerunt" (*Allocutio Episc.* 89 in Regino; *de Eccl. Discipl.* ii. 5; so Amalarius, *de Eccl. Off.* iii. 19). The offering of bread alone was, however, also called "oblatio," as by Germanus of Paris, 555; "Dum sacerdos oblationem confrangeret" (*Expos. Missae Brev.* in Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. iv. 12, Ord. i.); in a Gregorian rubric in one ancient MS., "Offeruntur a populo oblationes et vinum;" and by Amalarius, "Cum oblatione calix Domini auferatur de altari" (*Ecloga*, 22). But "oblata" was the far more common form when the bread only was intended, and from the frequency of its use, when men spoke of sacramental bread, it came at length to be applied to smaller loaves or cakes of bread for ordinary uses. Thus a writer in the 9th century speaks of "rolls of bread which are commonly called oblatae" (Iso, *de Mirac. S. Othmari*, ii. 3, in Surius, Nov. 16). In Quinquagesima the monks of Clugny received at supper cakes "which by men of the Roman tongue are called *nebulae*, by our people *oblatas*" (*Consuet. Cluniac.* i. 49 in *Spicil.* Dach. i. 667, ed. 2). Similarly the customs of Evesham allowed in Lent a certain quantity of wheat from the granary "ad oblatas ad caenam," and half as much on Maundy Thursday (Dugdale, *Monast.* i. 149, ed. 2). At length, when the Eucharistic bread was made very small and thin, wafers for sealing were called *oblatae*, whence the French *oublie* and the Spanish *oblea*.

*Oblata* was more commonly applied to the unconsecrated loaf, *hostia* to the consecrated. Thus in the *Ordo Romanus*, before the consecration, "Pontifex . . . suscipit oblatas de manu presbyteri," "Archidiaconus suscipit oblatas Pontificis" (*Ord.* i. 15, &c.; Sim. § 48; *Ord.* ii. 9, 10, iii. 13, 14, v. 8, 10), while "hostia" [HOST] is only used after (as in i. 19, ii. 13; iii. 16), of the "fraction of the hosts." Yet until "hostia" entirely superseded it, "oblata" was also occasionally used of the consecrated element. Thus in the 8th century, when the usage was quite unsettled, "Pontifex autem tangit a latere calicem cum oblata," "Rumpit oblatam ex latere dextro" (*Ord. Rom.* i. 16, 19). Amalarius: "Fractio oblatarum" (*Ecloga*, 25).

For particulars respecting the preparation and the form of oblates, see ELEMENTS, vol. i. pp. 601–604. [W. E. S.]

**OBLATI** (MONASTICI). Like the terms "conversus" and "donatus," the word "oblatus" in connexion with the monastic system has several meanings, which must be carefully distinguished, as expressing different ideas belonging to different periods in the history of monasticism. In every sense the "oblati" were a link between the world and the monastery.

In the first instance the "oblati" were children brought by their parents to the monastery and there dedicated to the monastic life. In this sense the "oblati" were distinct from the "conversi," persons of mature age taking on themselves the vows. [CONVERSI; NOVICE.]

When monks, in course of time, ceased to be regarded as laymen, and began, by the very fact of their profession, to be ranked with the clergy, and as the original simplicity of the monastic life began to disappear, the need came to be felt of a class of persons in every monastery who should assist the monks in some of their more ordinary occupations, and so leave them more free for the services of their chapel and the meditations of their cells. At the same time these assistants were useful for purposes outside the walls of the monastery, and could be sent by the abbat or prior on various errands of a secular kind without the monks being disturbed from their devotions (Fructuosi *Reg.* c. 13; Isidori *Reg.* c. 20). In this sense the oblati were "lay-brothers," or, as Ménard explains (*Commentar.* ad Bened. Anian. *Concord. Regul.* lxx. 5), the servants or domestics of the monastery (servi vel famuli, *ib.*), receiving their food and a distinctive dress from the abbat, but not bound by the same vows as their brethren in the monastery (Du Cange, *Glossar. Lat.* s. v.). The third council of Arles (A.D. 455) speaks of a "lay multitude subject to the abbat, but not owing any subjection to the bishop of the diocese" (*Conc. Arelat.* iii. App.). Sometimes from humility a novice, it might be of high rank, of great learning, or already in sacred orders, chose to be admitted into a monastery on this humbler footing (Alteserrae *Asceticon*, iii. 5; Du Cange, *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.). Monasteries gradually enlarged their possessions; and the services of laymen were requisite not merely within the precincts, but to superintend and cultivate the land belonging to the monastery (Du Cange, *ib.*).

At a later period a class of "oblati" came into existence, not so closely attached to the monastic system of which they claimed to be members. In some cases persons, without assuming a distinctive dress, or residing within the monastic precincts, devoted their property to the monastery, reserving to themselves the life interest only; in others they bound themselves and their descendants to be its servants or retainers (Du Cange, *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.). Of course in cases such as these there was no probation. The promise itself sufficed. These "oblati" or "donati" are described by Alteserra as the associates and deputies of the monks (adjuvae et vicarii conversorum), or as their servants (servi monachorum), because they dedicated themselves and their possessions to the monastery without taking on themselves the outward garb either of a cleric or of a monk (Altes.

*Ascet.* iii. 5). If, however, the oblate assumed the dress, he then became entitled to enjoy the privileges and immunities of the order (*ib.*). These associates, having been objected to in some quarters, were formally approved by pope Urban II., A.D. 1091 (*ib.*). Single, and even married, women were sometimes admitted on these conditions (*ib.*). Mabillon speaks of these "oblati" or "donati" as not in any true sense monks (nequâquam monachi), though not uncommonly termed monks of the second order (monachi secundi ordinis). He quotes a passage from Alcuin, in the 8th century, about a number of lay brothers attached to monasteries (grex devotorum), but the term "oblatus" in this sense is of a later century (Mabill. *Ann. O. S. B.* xv. 49).

From an early period, indeed as soon as the monastic life began to command the reverence of secular potentates, these, in return for their benefactions, not infrequently sought and obtained admission into the fraternity, as outmembers, in order to have their names inscribed on the roll, and mentioned in the conventual prayers. Thus Maurus, a disciple of the great Benedict, received Theodebert, king of the Franks, into the monastery afterwards called "St. Maur sur le Loire" (monasterium Glannafoliense) in the close of the 6th century, 584. (A.D. 584, Mabill. *AA. O. S. B.* Vita Sti. Mauri, cc. 40, 50, 51.) Similarly, many kings, nobles, and prelates during the middle ages, for instance the German emperor Frederic II., and the Greek emperor Emanuel Comnenus, claimed the honours of monkhood, without formally subjecting themselves to its discipline. In some instances grandees were admitted as oblates during sickness, or at the point of death. (Altes. *Asceticon*, iii. 7.) [I. G. S.]

**OBLATION, THE** (*oblatio*, *sacrificium*, ἀναφορά, προσφορά, θυσία, προσαγωγή, προσκομιδή). Under this name the Eucharist, the Christian thank-offering, was understood at a very early period. Thus Irenaeus, 167, referring to its institution, says that Christ taught His disciples "the new oblation of the new covenant" (*Haer.* iv. 17, § 5). The sacrament is with him "The oblation of the church, which the Lord taught should be offered over the whole world" (18, § 7). The *Apostolical Canons* speak of "the time of the holy oblation" (c. 3. comp. 8).

I. In the mind of Christians of the first liturgical period there was a much closer connexion between the oblation of bread and wine and the commemorative sacrifice than would be likely to survive the expansion and rearrangement of the original form of the ANAPHORA. For the memorial of the sacrifice of Christ appears to have been made at first by the simple offering of the bread and cup by the priest with thanksgiving (Eucharist), the account of the institution, and the Lord's Prayer. This hypothesis satisfies all the phenomena. It explains language in the fathers (see CANON OF THE LITURGY, vol. i. p. 268) which otherwise would seem ambiguous or confused; it harmonises with the fact that in the Gallican liturgies, which have admitted no change since the 8th century, that which we should now call the canon consisted to the last of the narrative of the institution only; it accounts both for the statement of Gregory I. that the canon was the composition of a scholastic, and that it was the custom of the apostles to consecrate the host of oblation "ad ipsam solummodo orationem" (Dominicam) (*Epist.* vii. 64), and for those anticipatory references to the effect of consecration, which occur in the prayers of oblation of so many ancient liturgies. See after, OBLATIONS, § x.

II. *The Prayer of Commemorative Oblation.*—By the repetition of our Lord's words at the institution, the bread and wine were declared to be thenceforth His body that was wounded, and His blood that was shed on the cross. From this point, therefore, the liturgical rite became the complete representation of His sacrifice. This was expressed in a prayer (called by modern writers from one or the other of its two elements, the *Memorial* or the *Prayer of Oblation*), in which after mention of the atoning passion (if not also, as afterwards, of the great events that followed in its train), a verbal offering of the present eucharistic sacrifice was made with prayer for its acceptance and for remission of sins, and all other benefits of that sacrifice which was commemorated by it. See, for instance, the Liturgy of St. James, or of Jerusalem, in which the priest says, "We sinners, therefore, also bearing in mind His life-giving sufferings, salutary cross and death, and resurrection from the dead on the third day, and ascension into heaven and session on Thy right hand, the God and Father, and His second, glorious, and fearful coming .... do offer unto Thee, O Lord, this awful and unbloody sacrifice, praying that Thou deal not with us after our sins," &c. (Assem. *Codex Liturg.* v. 37). Similarly St. Chrysostom and St. Basil (*Euchol.* Goar, 77, 165); the Armenian has, "In behalf of all, and for all, we offer Thee Thine own of Thine own" (Neale, *Hist. East. Church, Introd.* 558). The form in St. Mark greatly resembles this (Renaud. *Coll. Liturg. Orient.* i. 156), as do those in the Egyptian liturgies of St. Basil and St. Gregory, both Coptic and Greek (*ibid.* 15, 31, 68, 105). The Coptic St. Cyril has no oblation, but the memorial of the death, &c. only (47). The Ethiopian oblation, though part of an office derived from the Coptic Jacobites, is peculiar in naming the elements, "Now also, O Lord, commemorating Thy death and resurrection, we offer unto Thee this bread and this cup," &c. (519). In all the Greek and Oriental liturgies, the prayer before us, whether beginning with the oblation or the memorial, starts from the words of institution, and is followed, properly, at once by the invocation (EPICLESIS).

It is probable that the oblation in connexion with the memorial was thought unnecessary by those who set the example of omitting it, because of the similar form which introduced the intercessions after the invocation.

In the West the prayer of oblation appeared sometimes as part of the canon, sometimes as a distinct form. It follows immediately the words of institution in the Gelasian and Gregorian canon: "Unde et memores, Domine, nos tui servi, sed et plebs tua sancta, Christi filii tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatae passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis, offerimus praeclarae majestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae" (Murat. *Liturg. Lat. Vet.* i. 697; ii. 4). Similarly in the Romanising

Missale Francorum and the Sacramentary of Besançon (*ibid.* ii. 694, 778). The Spanish and Gallican canons were very short, and the commemoration and oblation found their place in a prayer which came immediately after it, the *Post Pridie* of the Spanish and *Post Mysterium*, or *Post Secreta*, of the Gallican liturgies, which embraced the invocation as well. Very few, however, of those extant contain these three set forth with any distinctness, and some of those of later composition lose sight of them all. The following example from the Mozarabic Missal is complete: "Facimus, Domine, filii tui nostri Jesu Christi commemorationem, quod veniens ad nos humanam formam assumsit, quod pro hominibus quos creaverat redimendis passionem crucis perpessus est. . . . Per ipsum Te ergo, summe Pater, exposcimus, ut hanc tuae placationis hostiam, quam Tibi offerimus, e manibus nostris placatus accipias, eamque de caelis a sede placato vultu respiciens benedicas," &c. (*Miss. Moz.* Leslie, 15). From the Gothico-Gallican Missal we may select this: "Memores gloriosissimi Domini passionis et ab inferis resurrectionis, offerimus tibi, Domine, hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationalem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem salutarem, obsecrantes ut infundere digneris Spiritum tuum sanctum edentibus nobis, vitam aeternam requiemque perpetuam conlatura potantibus" (*Lit. Gall.* Mabill. 298). This collect is of great interest, as down to the word "calicem" inclusive it agrees with a quotation by Pseudo-Ambrose (*de Sacramentis*, iv. 6), who was probably a Gallican bishop, Ambrose of Cahors, of the age of Charlemagne (Oudin, *de Script. Eccl.* i. 1827). As the Gallican books were at that time being suppressed in favour of the Roman, we probably have in this prayer a part of the Roman canon above cited varied with a view to conform it to a familiar Gallican formulary. This is made more probable by the fact that the prayer in Pseudo-Ambrose continues to resemble the Roman canon from the point indicated, while it becomes wholly unlike the Gallican *Post Mysterium*. There is no express prayer of oblation in the old canon of Milan, which after the words of institution proceeds thus: "Haec facimus, haec celebramus, tua, Domine, praecepta servantes, et ad communionem inviolabilem hoc ipsum, quod corpus Domini, sumimus, mortem Dominicam nuntiamus. Tuum vero est, Omnipotens Pater, mittere nunc nobis unigenitum Filium tuum, quem inquaerentibus sponte misisti" (Murat. *Lit. Lat. Vet. Dissert.* i. 133).

[W. E. S.]

**OBLATIONS** (*oblationes, munera, dona, δῶρα, φροσφοραί*). The presentation of offerings of various kinds and under several names is recognised by the earliest Christian writers as one of the proper functions of bishops and priests. Thus, Clement of Rome, "It will be no small sin in us, if we cast out of the overseership (ἐπισκοπῆς) those who have offered the gifts blamelessly and holily" (*Epist. ad Cor.* 44). This passage may be illustrated from the so-called *Apostolical Constitutions* (viii. 5; see Bunsen, *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, ii. 379). Laymen were also said to offer. Here we need only quote a remark of Hilary the Deacon, who wrote about 360: "Quamvis enim proprio sacerdos fungatur officio, ille tamen offerre dicitur cujus nomine agit sacerdos. Ipsi enim imputatur cujus munera offeruntur" (*Quaest. ex Vet. Test.* 46; in App. 3 ad *Opp.* S. Aug. ed. Ben.). Hence, frequently in the Roman secretae, or prayers super oblata, such expressions as these, "Munera populi Tui" (Vig. S. Joh. Bapt.); "Oblationes famulorum famularumque Tuarum" (Dom. 7 post Pent.); "Oblationes populi Tui" (S. Jac. Ap. Nat.), &c.

The present article treats of the gifts or oblations above mentioned, and of the rules and usages that prevailed with regard to them. On the anthem sung during the reception of the altar oblations, see OFFERTORIUM.

I. *Oblations of Bread and Wine.*—A part of the oblation of the people from the first were bread and wine. Thus St. Irenaeus, 167, tells us that, as God "gave to the people (of the Jews) a precept that they should make oblations, . . . . so does He now will that we also should offer on the altar often, without ceasing" (*Haer.* iv. 18, § 6). The 3rd apostolical canon forbids bishops or priests to "offer on the altar" (with some exceptions named) "anything beyond what was appointed by the Lord to be offered at the sacrifice." The council of Carthage, 397, renewing this prohibition, adds, in explanation, "that is, bread and wine mixed with water" (can. 24; in *Cod. Afric.* 37). In the *Acta* of Theodotus, the martyr of Ancyra, 303, we read that the governor of Galatia ordered all bread and wine to be polluted by contact with things offered to idols, "so that not even to God, the Lord of all, could a pure oblation be presented" (Bolland, May 18, p. 152; Ruinart, *Acta Sinc. Mart.* vii. 298). Martin of Bracara, 569, in his collection from the Greek canons, inserts a prohibition like that of Carthage, but makes no exception: "It is not lawful for anything to be offered in the sanctuary but bread and wine and water" (55; *Conc.* Hard. iii. 397). The council of Mâcon, 585, finding the ancient rite neglected, "decreed that on every Lord's day an oblation of the altar should be offered by all, men and women, both of bread and wine" (can. 4; comp. Pseudo-Fabian, Hard. *Conc.* i. 1797). The council of Nantes, assigned by Pagi to the year 660, speaks of the "oblations which are offered by the people" for the sacrament, and "of the loaves which the faithful offer at the church," and directs their use (can. ix.). According to the Ordo Romanus, "the people give their offerings, that is, bread and wine" (Ord. ii. 6; *Mus. Ital.* ii. 46). So a rubric in the Gregorian Sacramentary printed by Pamelius: "After that the offertory is sung, and the oblations and wine are offered by the people" (*Liturgicon*, ii. 178). After the 8th century, at least, bishops inquired at their visitation, "if men and women offered an oblation, that is, bread and wine, at masses; and if the men did not, whether their wives did it for them, for themselves, and all belonging to them, as it is contained in the canon" (Regino, *de Discipl. Eccl.* ii. v. 89; see Conc. Matisc. A.D. 585, can. 4). Amalarius of Metz, 827: "The people make their oblations, i.e. bread and wine, after the order of Melchizedec" (*De Eccl. Off.* iii. 19).

II. *Similar Oblations offered for the Dead.*—(1) These were primitive, but the motive changed after the 3rd century. At first the eucharist was celebrated at the funeral, or at some other

time after the death of a person in full communion as an act of thanksgiving for his victory. Oblations were brought to these celebrations by the friends of the deceased; but we do not find that any thought of benefit to him from these offerings was then entertained. See for information connected with the subject of this section, OBSEQUIES, §§ xxix.–xxxv.

We must distinguish between these oblations, a part of which served to the celebration of the sacrament, and those which were designed for the feast of the commemoration. It is to the latter that St. Augustine refers, when he says, "Oblationes pro spiritibus dormientium quas vere aliquid adjuvare credendum est, super ipsas memorias non sint sumtuosae," &c. (*Epist.* 22 *ad Aurel.* 6). These were of the nature of alms, being given to the poor on behalf of the deceased. See OBSEQUIES, § xxvi.

(2) Among the prayers of oblation to be said privately at the offertory in the collection of eucharistic prayers known as the Missa Illyrici are three to be said "pro defunctis," and one both for living and dead. They begin thus, "Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam tibi offero pro anima," &c. (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. iv. 12, ord. 4). The MS. is not older than the 10th century, but the prayers may be earlier. None of them have been adopted for open use in the Missae Defunctorum of the church of Rome. The same prayer occurs in the Codex Ratoldi (who died 986), before the Super oblata (Ménard, in *Sacram. Greg. Opp.* Greg. Ben. iii. 486).

There was evidently at a somewhat early period a temptation to defraud the dead of their oblations. The council of Carthage, 398, implies that the surviving friends were sometimes guilty of this: "Let them who either refuse to the churches the oblations of the departed or give them with difficulty be excommunicated, as persons who starve the needy" (can. 95). The 4th canon of Vaison, 442, dwells on this crime at some length, and orders the offenders to be "cast out of the church as unbelievers." The 47th of the council of Arles, 452, adopts by name the decree of Vaison. See to the same effect Conc. Matiscon. 581, can. 4. It is probable that many of those who withheld the usual offerings were influenced by the teaching of Aërius, who rejected all prayer and offerings for the departed (Epiphan. *adv. Haer.* lxxv. 3).

(3) The very nature of the sacrament implies that many might be commemorated under one oblation. Yet we are told of some who doubted this (Walafr. Strabo, *de Reb. Eccl.* 22). A similar error seems to have required correction in the East; for a canon of Nicephorus of Constantinople declares that "he does not sin who offers one oblation for three persons" (can. 11; *Monum. Graec.* Cotel. iii. 446).

III. *From whom and for whom received.*—(1) Epiphanius, 368, tells us generally that the church "receives oblations from those who commit no injustice, and are not transgressors of the law, but live in righteousness" (*De Fide*, 24). The bishop was to decide on the fitness of an offerer. *Constit. Apost.* iv. 6: "It behoves the bishop to know whose oblations he ought to receive and whose not." Disqualifications for baptism would also be disqualifications for offering. Among these were the professions of the actor, charioteer, gladiator, racer, fencing-master, olympic, piper, harper, lyrist, dancer, astrologer, &c. (*Const. Ap.* viii. 32; *Coptic*, vi. 78; Tattam. 167).

The oblations of all non-communicants were rejected. "Bishops ought not to receive gifts from him who does not communicate" (*Conc. Illib.* 313, can. 28). In fact, with one exception, they were not present when the offerings were made (*Conc. Valent.* 524, can. 1). The consistentes [PENITENCE] formed the one exception. They were present, but could not offer.

Persons not in charity were forbidden to offer as well as to receive. See Optatus (*De Schism. Donat.* vi. 1); the council of Carthage, 398 (can. 93); the council of ~~Toledo, 675 (can. 4~~; and *Capit. Reg. Fr.* vii. 242); Gregory II. A.D. 715 (*Capitulare*, 11).

By the 94th canon of Carthage, 398, the priests are to reject the oblations of those who oppress the poor. It was for an act of tyranny that the offering of Valens at Caesarea, 393, was not received by St. Basil (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 43 and 52).

(2) With regard to the oblations of the dead, the general principle is thus stated by Leo, A.D. 440: "Horum causa Dei judicio reservanda est. . . Nos autem quibus viventibus non communicavimus, mortuis communicare non possumus" (*Epist.* ii. *ad Rust.* 8; comp. *Ep.* lxxxiii. *ad Theod.* 3). St. Cyprian ordered that "no oblations should be made for the falling asleep" of one who had, in contravention of the canons, made a presbyter his executor, and he says that this was in accordance with the practice of his predecessors (*Epist.* i. *ad Furnit.*). See OBSEQUIES, § xl.

IV. *The Sacramental Bread and Wine taken out of these Oblations.*—St. Cyprian, reproving a rich woman who brought no offering herself, says that she "took part of the sacrifice which a poor person offered" (*De Opere et Eleemos.*) St. Augustine: "The priest receives from thee that which he may offer for thee" (*Enarr. in Psalmos*, 129, § 7). St. Caesarius, 506: "Offer oblations to be consecrated on the altar. A man able to afford it ought to blush, if he has communicated from the oblation of another" (*Serm.* 66, § 2). In John the Deacon's *Life of Gregory the Great* is the story of a woman who was corrected by a miracle for smiling in disbelief, when she heard the oblation, which she recognised as made by herself, called "the body of the Lord" (ii. 41). In the Ordo Romanus of the 9th century, the archdeacon takes from the whole mass of oblations, "et ponit tantas (oblatas) super altare quantae possint populo sufficere" (*Ord.* iii. § 13; *Mus. Ital.* ii. 57). And somewhat later: "Accipiat (diaconus) ex ipsis oblatis quantum ei videtur; et ponat desuper altare" (v. 8; *ibid.* 67). Compare Pseudo-Clement, *Ep. ad Jacob.* in Hard. *Conc.* i. 50. Hincmar of Rheims, 852, provides for the use of those "oblates which are offered by the people, and are more than are required for the consecration" (*Capit.* i. c. 7).

V. *In what Vessels offered and received.*—In the West the bread was presented by the offerer in a fanon of white linen, and received in a vessel or cloth called offertorium (see FANON (3), vol. i. p. 661, and OFFERTORIUM, (2) (3)). The wine was brought in amulae [AMA, vol. i.

p. 71], and poured into a "calix major" [CHALICE, *ib.* p. 340]; whence, if the offerings were large, it was transferred, if necessary, to a SCYPHUS.

VI. *Where these Oblations were received.*—It is probable that at first all who offered bread and wine, and perhaps oblations of various other kinds, drew near to the altar and there presented their gifts to the deacons. Thus, in the East, Dionysius of Alexandria, A.D. 254, speaks of a layman "going to" and "standing at the table" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 9). The same writer implies that, except at certain times, even women "went up to the holy table" (*Epist. ad Basil.* 2). In the 4th century, however, we find a different rule. The council of Laodicea, probably in 365 (can. 19), after settling the time at which the laity shall "give the peace, and so the oblation be celebrated," adds, "And it is lawful for those in holy orders alone to enter the altar-place" (θυσιαστήριον; see Voigtius, *de Altaribus*, ii. 28). Another canon (44) of the same council forbids women to enter it. The council in Trullo, 691: "Let it not be permitted to any one whomsoever among the laity to go into the sacred altar-place" (can. 69). There was an exception, however, "in accordance with a very old tradition," in favour of the emperor, "when he should desire to offer gifts to the Creator" (*ibid.*). Evidence of the alleged tradition occurs in the story of Theodosius, 390, who at Constantinople not only "brought his gifts to the holy table," but was expected to remain within the inclosure (Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 18). Theodosius the Younger, in 431, says of himself: "We draw near to the most holy altar for the oblation of the gifts only" (*Edict.* Labb. *Conc.* iii. 1237). Turning to the West, we find Theodosius at Milan, 390, "when the time summoned to offer the gifts for the holy table, rising up and going on to the sacrarium" (τῶν ἀνακτόρων; Theodoret, *u. s.*). In France, in the 6th century, the laity communicated in the chancel, and therefore, we infer, offered there. Thus the council of Tours, 567: "Let the holy of holies be open to laymen and women, that they may pray there and communicate, as the custom is" (can. 4). Theodulf of Orleans, 797, says: "Let not women on any account draw near to the altar when the priest is celebrating mass, but stand in their places, and let the priest receive their oblations there to offer them to God" (*Capita ad Presbyt.* 6). Laymen are only cautioned lest they provoke the fate of Uzzah (*ibid.*). In the fifth book of the *Capitularies of the French Kings* (collected about 845) is a law, not traced to any earlier source, which orders that "notice shall be given to the people that they offer oblations to God every Lord's day, and that the said oblations will be received outside of the inclosure of the altar" (c. 371). Similarly, Herard of Tours, 858, cap. 72. At Rome, 730, at a pontifical mass, we find the oblations of the nobles received in the senatorium ("quod est locus principum"; *Ord. Rom.* iii. 12), those of the rest of the people in the body of the church, the receivers going first to the men's side and then to the women's (*Ord. Rom.* i. 13; comp. ii. 9; iii. 12; v. 8). The priests and deacons offered last, and "before the altar" (ii. 9). "They alone," says Amalarius, "approach the altar whose ministry is about the altar" (*Ecloga*, 19). Somewhat later the laity seem to have gone all to one place to present their offerings; for the revised *Ordo* says: "Let him (the bishop) be led by a presbyter and the archdeacon to the place where the oblations are offered by the faithful laity, whether men or women" (*Ord.* v. 9).

VII. *Prayer of the Offerer.*—It is to be supposed that a devout worshipper would always say a silent prayer when presenting his gift. In the collection known as the Missa Illyrici some short forms are suggested for use at this time (Martene, *Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. iv. 12, ord. iv.).

VIII. *By whom received from the Offerers.*—In general the oblations were taken, not by the celebrant, but by a deacon or sub-deacon, if present. None of the ministers of Basil, we are told, came forward to receive the oblations of Valens, because they did not know his mind about them (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 43, § 52); from which it is clear that it was at that time no part of the bishop's duty to take them even from the hand of the emperor. Isidore of Seville, A.D. 610: "The sub-deacons receive the oblations from the faithful in the temple of God" (*Etymol.* vii. xii. 23; *De Eccl. Off.* ii. 10; Amalar. *de Eccl. Off.* ii. 11; Raban. Maur. *de Instit. Cler.* i. 8; *Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 816, i. 6). In an "Allocutio ad Subdiaconum Ordinandum," in the missal of the Franks, it appears to be implied that the sub-deacon not only received the oblations, but separated at his discretion as much as would be required for the communicants (*Liturg. Gall.* Mabill. 303). Pseudo-Clement, in the 8th or 9th century, speaks of the "minister of the altar," *i.e.* in strictness, the deacon, as "taking the oblation of the holocaust from the offerers" (*Epist. ad Jacob.* Hard. *Conc.* i. 50). In a pontifical mass at Rome in the 8th century the oblations of bread offered by the nobles were received by the bishop himself, the archdeacon following to receive the AMULAE. The regionary sub-deacon took the loaves from the pontiff and gave them to another sub-deacon, by whom they were placed in a larger sheet of linen ("corporale, id est sindonem," *Ord. Rom.* ii. 9; "lineum pallium," v. 8) held by two acolytes. The amulae were emptied by the archdeacon into a flagon (scyphus) carried by an acolyte. The other offerings of bread were received by the bishop whose weekly turn it was, who himself put them into the sindon borne after him. A deacon takes the amulae, and pours their contents into a scyphus (*Ord. Rom.* i. § 13; comp. ii. 9; iii. 12; v. 8). But Remigius of Auxerre, A.D. 880, represents the *priest* as taking the oblations, though he supposes a deacon present: "Suscipit interim (while the offertory is being sung) sacerdos a populo oblata" (*De Celebr. Miss.* ad calc. Pseudo-Alcuin. *de Div. Off.*). So Ahyto of Bâle, 811, directs that, "when the oblates are offered by the women, they be received by the presbyters at the chancel screen, and so brought to the altar" (*Capitula* 16).

IX. *By whom set on the Altar.*—In the West this was the office of the deacon. Thus Isidore says that it belongs to the Levites "oblationes inferre et disponere" (*Epist. ad Leudefr.* 8; comp. *Etymol.* vii. xii. 23; *Conc. Aquisgr.* 816, i. 7); *i.e.* "inferunt oblationes in altaria, com-

ponunt mensam Domini" (*De Eccl. Off.* ii. 8). It was thought that the propriety of this usage was indicated by the fact that the first deacons were chosen to "serve tables" (*De Eccl. Off.* iii. 19). Rabanus says: "Levitae offerunt oblationes in altaria" (*De Instit. Cler.* i. 7; comp. with Isid. above). At Rome, in a pontifical mass in the 8th century, the archdeacon, receiving the oblates from the sub-deacons, set them on the altar. Then he takes the bishop's amula, and pours the contents through a strainer into a chalice, and similarly those of the deacons. The sub-deacon receives the water offered by the choir from the precentor, and "pours it crosswise into the chalice." Next, the bishop, going to the altar, takes the oblates from the presbyter of the week and the deacons. The archdeacon then takes the bishop's oblates from the oblationary (sub-deacon), and gives them to the bishop, who sets these on the altar himself. The archdeacon then takes the chalice from the regionary sub-deacon, and, putting the OFFERTORIUM through the handles, sets it on the altar near the bishop's oblates on the right (*Ord. Rom.* i. 14, 15; comp. ii. 9; iii. 14, 15; v. 8; vi. 9).

In the East this appears to have been generally the part of the celebrant. The Apostolical canons imply as much when they forbid bishops and presbyters to bring and set on the altar (προσφέρειν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον) anything but bread, wine, &c. (can. 3). The Clementine liturgy says: "Let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar" (*Constit. Apost.* viii. 12). The liturgy of St. James: "The priest bringing in the holy gifts says this prayer" (of oblation, Assem. *Codex Liturg.* v. 17). In the Syrian offices the celebrant "brings the eucharistic bread on to the altar" (*Liturg. Orient. Coll.* Renaud. ii. 3), and the same usage prevails among the Copts and Abyssinians (*ibid.* i. 185–188). The Nestorian rites vary (Badger's *Nestorians*, ii. 218; Neale, *Introd. Hist. East. Ch.* 436). In the later Greek liturgy, at the "great entrance" the deacon brings in the paten, the priest the chalice; but the latter sets both on the holy table (*Euchology.* Goar, 73).

X. *By whom presented to God.*—Deacons, as we have seen, might set the oblations on the altar, but only a bishop or priest could offer them to God. "Deacons have no authority to offer" (*Conc. Nic.* 325, can. 18). The principle was that "exordium ministerii a summo est sacerdote" (Pseudo-Ambr. *de Sacram.* iii. i. § 4); and as the power of the priest himself was derived, he could not delegate it. "Apart from the bishop," says Ignatius the martyr, "it is not lawful to baptize or to celebrate an agape," which included the eucharist (*Ad Smyrn.* 7), where the interpolator has, "or to offer, or to bring sacrifice, or to celebrate a feast." Hence priests were forbidden to "celebrate masses" in any diocese without the sanction of the bishops (*Conc. Vernense*, 755, can. 8). The bishop was the offerer by himself or by the priest, and therefore in the language of the earliest period a good bishop was one who "offered the gifts blamelessly and holily" (Clem. Rom. *Epist.* i. 44).

XI. *How offered by the Celebrant. Prayers of Oblation.*—At first "the whole of that action was accomplished in silence" (Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* ii. viii. § 2; Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. iv. vi. 16; and others). It must not be inferred, however, that the primitive church did not regard the action of the celebrant with respect to the unconsecrated gifts as a distinct offering of them to God. It only means that such an oblation was not verbally made when they were set on the altar, though implied in the long eucharistic prayer which immediately followed. St. Irenaeus expressly says that Christ, in instituting the sacrament, "taught the new oblation of the New Testament, which the church throughout the world offers to God who gives us aliments—the first-fruits of His gifts in the New Testament" (*c. Haer.* iv. 17, § 5). "This pure oblation the church alone offers to the Creator, offering it to Him of His own creature with thanksgiving" (*ibid.* 18, § 4). Hence it is evident that he who said the eucharistic prayer was believed to offer the elements to God. Such an oblation is assumed, though not expressed, in the long preface (the original εὐχαριστία) of the Clementine Liturgy. All other liturgies have a distinct prayer of oblation introduced, as we must suppose, at some later period. It is always said by the celebrant, and was probably at first only a clearer expression of an oblation of the good creatures of God then lying before him. This is evidently the meaning of the earlier and simpler forms; but the later, as will be seen, introduce thoughts which must appear entirely out of place. We will begin with those which are true to their original intention. In St. Mark, after the cry of the deacon, "Pray for the offerers," "the priest says the prayer of proposition," in which is the following petition, "Cause Thy face to shine upon this bread and on these cups which the all-holy table receives through the ministry of angels and attendance of archangels and service of the priesthood" (Renaud. i. 143). This is only a prayer for the acceptance of the gifts expressed in a lofty style, nor can we see more than this in St. James: "Thyself bless this offering" (πρόθεσιν; comp. Heb. ix. 2; Matt. xii. 4), "and receive it on to Thine altar above the heavens" (Assem. *u. s.*). In St. Basil's "prayer of oblation" (εὐχὴ προσκομιδῆς) the celebrant prays chiefly for himself that he may rightly fulfil his office, but also for the acceptance of the offerings, "Of Thy goodness, O Lord, receive these gifts from the hands of us sinners" (Goar, 164). In St. Chrysostom, however, which has long been the common liturgy of the Greeks, the prayer would be more suitable after the consecration, for it is an invocation [EPICLESIS], "that this our sacrifice may be acceptable unto Thee, and that the good spirit of Thy grace may make His abode on us, *and on these gifts*, and on all Thy people" (Goar, 74).

In all the Eastern liturgies of later revision there is the same tendency that we observe in St. Chrysostom, to anticipate the consecration, or to confound the previous oblation of the elements with that of the sacramental body and blood. Thus in the Armenian: "Do Thou to whom we bring this sacrifice accept this offering from us and make it the mystery of the body and blood of Thine only begotten Son, and grant unto us who are partakers of them that this bread and wine may be for the healing and pardoning of our sins" (Neale, *u. s.* 444).

In the West there was no unvarying verbal

oblation of the elements until after the 12th century (Microl. A.D. 1160, *De Eccl. Observ.* 11). Five have become of obligation since, viz. (1), "Suscipe, Sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus, hanc immaculatam hostiam," &c.; (2), "Offerimus Tibi," &c.; (3), "In spiritu humilitatis," &c. (which appear to be borrowed from Spain; *Miss. Mozar.* Leslie, 2, 232; see below); (4), "Veni Sanctificator," &c. (which is Gallican; Microl. *u. s.* 11; see below); and (5), "Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas," &c., which is both Ambrosian (Pamel. *Rituale PP.* i. 298) and Gallican (Microl. *u. s.*; see below). Long, however, before any of these prayers are known to have been even in private use, there was a variable collect in the sacramentaries, called in the Gelasian the *secreta* ("because it is said secretly"; Amal. *de Off. Eccl.* iii. 20); and in the Gregorian either secreta or oratio super oblata, in which the oblations were directly or indirectly offered. The following is an example from the so-called Leonian sacramentary: "We beseech Thee, O Lord, that the gifts of Thy people may be acceptable to Thee through the intercessions of the blessed apostles (SS. Peter and Paul); that as they are offered to Thy Name for their triumphs, so they may be perfected by their merits; through," &c. (Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 330).

During the whole office of oblation an anthem of three verses was sung; the first of which, called the OFFERTORY, was repeated between the second and the third until the offerings were all brought up, and the celebrant said "Orate" (*Ord. Rom.* ii. 9). "In offerendis revertuntur versus, dum offerenda repetitur" (Remig. Autiss. in Pseudo-Alcuin, *de Div. Off.* 40). See examples in *Antiphonarium Gregor.* (*Opp.* iii. 653 *et seq.*, ed. Ben.).

In the Milanese rite the celebrant says in a loud voice, "Receive, most merciful Father, this holy bread, this cup, wine mixed with water, that it may become the body, the blood, of Thine only begotten," &c. (Pamel. *u. s.* 297). This is followed by later prayers said secretly, and by a variable "Oratio super Oblata alta voce dicenda" (see MISSA VIII. (2) (c)), which corresponds, though said aloud, to the Roman secreta. In the Gallican liturgies, suppressed in the 8th century, there is no constant form of oblation; there was, however, a Collectio post Nomina corresponding to the secreta of Rome. See examples in Missa VIII. (3) (e). The Mozarabic priest says four distinct prayers of oblation: (1) over the bread and cup, "May this oblation . . . which we offer for our sins, be acceptable to Thy Majesty," &c.; (2) over the cup only, "We offer unto Thee, O Lord, this cup for the benediction of the blood of Thy Son," &c.; (3) setting the cup on the altar and placing the veil (filiolam) over it, he says, "We beseech Thee, O Lord, graciously to accept this oblation, and to pardon the sins of all the offerers for whom it is offered unto Thee, through," &c.; (4) "In spiritu humilitatis," &c. (Leslie, *u. s.*), of which "Veni . . . Sanctificator" (above) is in this liturgy a continuation. The *sacrificium* (the Mozarabic offertory) is then sung; some prayers of preparation follow, and the celebrant having said, "Offerunt Deo Domino sacerdotes nostri, Papa Romensis et reliqui, pro se," &c., and read the names of those commemorated, this part of the liturgy closes with the Oratio post Nomina (see Missa viii. (4) (d)).

We observe in many of these Latin prayers of oblation the same departure from their original intention that was noticed in several of the Eastern forms. Thus in the Roman Missal we have, "Receive this immaculate host[a] which I offer . . . for my numberless sins," &c. Similarly in a Mozarabic Post Nomina (Leslie, 39). For attempted explanations see Bona, *Rer. Lit.* ii. ix. 3; Le Brun, *Explic. de la Messe*, iii. vi. 2; Romsée, *Sens. Rit. Miss.* xiv. 5; and others. They amount to this: "Qu'en commençant à offrir le pain nous parlons déjà comme si nous offrions *cette hostie sans tache* qui est l'unique, dont l'offrande puisse nous laver de nos péchés" (Le Br.). Many Roman secretae contain a similar assumption (*Sacr. Greg.* ii. 46). Similar incongruities occur in Gallican collects Post Nomina (Miss. Goth. 191).

It may be conjectured that the foregoing anomalies first made their appearance when an attempt was made in an age of decaying learning and intelligence to simplify, by breaking up and rearranging, the prolonged eucharistia, which originally embraced both the oblation of the gifts when brought to the celebrant, and all that belonged to, and was connected with, the subsequent consecration.

XII. *The Remainder of the Consecrated Oblations.*—No uniform mode of disposing of them prevailed during any part of our period either in the East or West. For a considerable time a part was sent to the absent, and a part taken away by the communicants for daily use at home. [RESERVATION.] A part was also in some places, from the 6th to the 8th century inclusive, sent to other churches, as FERMENTUM. We have to speak here of the part that still remained when due provision had been made for these purposes. Evagrius, near the end of the 6th century, tells us that "it was an ancient custom in the royal city (Constantinople), whenever a large quantity of the holy particles of the undefiled body of Christ, our God, was left over, for uncorrupted boys of those that attended the school of the undermaster to be sent for to consume them" (*Eccl. Hist.* iv. 36). From the testimony of Nicephorus Callistus, who had himself, when a boy at that school, communicated in this manner, we learn that the custom survived till the earlier part of the 14th century, if not later (*Hist. Eccles.* xvii. 25). At Jerusalem, however, as we know from the authority of Hesychius the patriarch, 601, "whatever happened to be left unconsumed was given to the fire," as were the remains of the sacrifices mentioned in Exod. xii. 10 (*Explan. in Levit.* (viii. 32) ii.). In the West the council of Mâcon, 585, decreed that "whatever remains of the sacrifices shall be left in the sacrarium after the mass is ended, innocent children be brought to the church by him whose office it is on the Wednesday or Friday, and, a (subsequent) fast having been prescribed them [FASTING, § 8], receive the said remains sprinkled with wine"

[a] This phrase occurs with proper application in a Gallican Post Secreta, and, therefore, after the consecration: "Offerimus tibi, Domine, hanc immaculatam hostiam . . . Obsecrantes ut infundere digneris Spiritum tuum sanctum edentibus nobis," &c. (*Miss. Goth.* in *Lit. Gall.* 298.)

(can. 6). The following order occurs in one of the forged decretals about 830, but probably derived from an earlier document: "But if any shall remain, let them not be reserved till the morrow, but consumed by the care of the clerks, with fear and trembling. But let not those who consume the remains of the Lord's body that have been left in the sacrarium come together immediately to take common food," &c. (*Epist.* Clem. *ad Jac.*; Hard. *Conc.* i. 50; see the same as *Praecepta Petri* in S. Leon. *Opera*, ed. Baller. iii. 674). That this latter usage was widely spread in the West we may infer from the appearance of the above passage from Pseudo-Clemens in Regino (*de Eccl. Discipl.* i. 195; Burchard, *Decr.* v. 11; and Gratian, *Decr.* iii. *De Consecr.* ii. 23).

XIII. *Disposal of the Unconsecrated Surplus.*—The *Apostolical Constitutions* (both texts): "The eulogiae that are over and above in the mystic rites let the deacons distribute among the clergy, according to the discretion of the bishop or the presbyters — to the bishop, four parts; to a presbyter, three parts; to a deacon, two parts; and to the rest, subdeacons, or readers, or singers, or deaconesses, one part" (viii. 31; in the Coptic *Canons of the Apostles*, tr. Tattam, c. 75). They are here called eulogiae, because blessed through being offered. Theophilus of Alexandria, A.D. 385: "Let the clerks divide those things which are offered on account of the sacrifice (that remain) after those consumed for the use of the mysteries, and let not a catechumen eat or drink thereof, but rather the clerks and the faithful brethren with them" (can. 7; Hard. *Conc.* i. 2000). These oblations are spoken of under the name of eulogiae by Socrates, who says that Chrysanthus, the Novatian bishop at Constantinople, "received nothing from the churches, only taking two loaves of the eulogiae on the Lord's day" (*Eccl. Hist.* vii. 2). John Moschus, A.D. 630, relates the story of a monk who, being employed to distribute eulogiae, "which the deacons had set on the holy altar," happened to say over them the words of consecration, and thus, as it was afterwards revealed, unintentionally consecrated them (*Prat. Spirit.* 25).

We have less distinct information of the disposal of the superfluous oblations at an early period in the West. The earlier drafts of the Ordo Romanus tell us nothing; but from *Ordo* vi. (Mabill.) we learn that, after all the oblations of the clergy and people had been placed on the altar, fresh loaves were brought to the archdeacon, from which the bishop took what he thought proper for consecration, and then gave all the rest back to the archdeacon, "who gave them in charge to the custos of the church for safe keeping" (§ 9). This belongs to a period at which fewer communicated than during the 7th century. We are not told how these remains were employed, but it is probable that in the West the superfluous oblations of a festival served for the celebrations of other days; for we are told in the Life of St. Augustine, by Possidius, that he would sometimes in church admonish the faithful for "their neglect of the gazophylacium and secretarium, from which the things needful for the altar are brought in" (24). According to St. Ambrose, the custos was a deacon: "Haec quanti consilii sit prospicere, non ignoratis. Et ideo eligitur Levita qui sacrarium custodiat" (*De Off. Min.* i. 50, § 265). Gifts for the altar were put into the SACRARIUM or SECRETARIUM; those for the poor, the clergy, or the church, into the GAZOPHYLACIUM.

As the excess of bread and wine offered for the sacrament gradually decreased, so it ceased to form part of the ordinary provision for the clergy, and was distributed only as a token of communion, or blessed for the antidoron. [EULOGIAE.] This last application is expressly ordered by the council of Nantes, perhaps in 657 (can. 9; Hard. vi. 459), and after it by Hincmar, 852 (*Ad Presbyt.* 7).

XIV. *Other Altar Oblations.*—The third apostolical canon, as we have it, after forbidding anything but what Christ appointed to be offered on the altar (naming HONEY AND MILK [see vol. i. p. 783; Tertull. *de Cor. Mil.* 3; Id. *adv. Marc.* i. 14; Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* i. vi. 50, 51; Hieron. *adv. Lucif.* 8; Joan. Diac. *Epist. ad Senar.* (12) in *Mus. Ital.* i. 75; *Sacram. Leon.* in Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 318; Ratoldi *Pontif.* in Ménard, *Sacram. Greg.* n. 338; *Ordo Romanus* in Hittorp. 87; *Apost. Const. Copt.* ii. 46, Tattam's tr. 62; or Boetticher's in Bunsen's *Analecta Antenicaena*, ii. 468; *Ordo Bapt. Aethiop.* in Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. i. xv. 16], "sicera, birds, or any living things, or legumes"), adds, "except new grains or grapes in their season" [FRUITS, OFFERING OF]. The second book of the Coptic *Canons of the Apostles*, the Coptic form of the *Constitutions*, permits "the blessing of the grape, the fig, the pomegranate, the olive, the prune, the apple, the peach, the cherry, and the almond." Again: "It shall be that they shall offer flowers: let them offer a rose and the lily" (c. 54; Tattam's tr. p. 74; or Boetticher's, *u. s.* 471). The Greek canon proceeds: "But let it not be permitted to offer anything else upon the altar, in the time of the holy oblation, than oil for the lamp [OIL] and incense" (Beveridge, *Works*, xi. xxxix. Oxf. 1848). [INCENSE, Vol. I. pp. 830, 831.] Oil for another purpose—viz. for the unction after baptism—was offered at the altar in Africa before the probable date of the above canon. Thus St. Cyprian, 255, speaks of chrism as "the oil hallowed on the altar" (*Epist.* 70). Much later, in Pseudo-Dionysius, the bishop "takes the μύρον, and sets it on the holy altar" (*De Eccl. Hier.* iv. 2). According to the *Ordo Romanus*, however, this oil was brought "ante altare," and there consecrated (*Ord.* i. 31; app. 7).

XV. *Deeds of Gift, &c. laid on the Altar, or held before or over it.*—By a law of the Frank king Dagobert, A.D. 630, all free persons who gave aught "to the church for the ransom of their soul," "vills, lands, serfs, or any money," were to confirm the gift by an "epistle" under their own hand before six or more witnesses, who were to subscribe the deed. "And then let him place the said epistle on the altar, and so deliver the money itself in the presence of the priest who serves there" (*Capit. Reg. Franc.* Baluze, i. 95). Sim. *Lex Alamannorum*, eod. ann. (*ibid.* 57). In 803 Charlemagne received a petition from his states, in which they asked for greater security for gifts made to the church, on the ground that the donor "makes a writing of those things which he desires to give to God, and holds

the writing itself in his hand before or over (coram altari aut supra) the altar, saying to the priests and guardians of the place, 'I offer and dedicate to God all the things which are set down in this paper, for the remission of my sins, and of the sins of my parents and children' (*or for whatever he shall wish to make them over to God for*), for the service of God out of these things in sacrifices, and celebrations of masses, in prayers, lights, the maintenance of the poor and the clergy, and other forms of service to God, and of usefulness to this church." They were offered under expressed pain of sacrilege if the church were robbed of them (*Cap.* Baluz. *u. s.* i. 407; or in the collection of Benedict, vi. 370).

It was probably a very frequent custom to lay valuable gifts of any kind, of small size, on the altar, apart from the eucharistic service, with or without such a deed as is described above. Thus "a devout man" in the 6th century "placed on the altar of the church" of St. Nazaire, near Nantes, a belt most carefully wrought, of the purest gold, with all its furniture. He gave it "ad reficiendos pauperes," but with prayer for the aid of the martyr in his needs (Greg. Turon. *de Glor. Mart.* 61).

XVI. *Oblations not set on the Altar.*—"All things that are offered to God are without doubt also consecrated. And not only are the sacrifices which are consecrated to the Lord on the altar called *oblations of the faithful;* but whatever offerings are offered to Him by the faithful, whether consisting of serfs or arable lands, vineyards, woods, meadows, waters, or watercourses, furniture, books, utensils, stones, buildings, garments, woollen fabrics, cattle, pastures, parchments, movables and immovables, or whatsoever things are done to the praise of God, or can furnish supply and ornament to holy church and her priests, by whomsoever they are of free will offered to God and His church, these all undoubtedly are consecrated to God and belong to the right of the priests" (*Capit.* ii. Car. Magn. A.D. 814, c. 12; *Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 522; in Benedict's collection, vi. 407; *Cap.* Herardi, 65; Isaac Ling. vii. 7).

(*a*) *Charitable Gifts.*—Justin Martyr, in Samaria, A.D. 140, tells us that, when the Christians of his day met on the Sunday for prayer and the holy communion, "those who were prosperous, and wished to do it, gave each as he determined beforehand what he would, and that the collection was laid up with the presiding (elder), who personally relieved orphans and widows and those who were in distress from sickness or any other cause, and those in bonds and strangers sojourning among them, and in a word took care of all who were in any necessity" (*Apol.* i. 67). Tertullian at Carthage, A.D. 199: "Though there be a sort of (money) chest, the amount in it is not got together from payment as for a religion that is bought. Every person once a month, or when he will, and only if he will and be able, places therein a moderate gift; for no one is forced, but gives it of his own accord. These are, as it were, the deposits of piety; for therefrom are dispensed portions, not for feasts or drinking bouts, or thankless haunts of voracity, but for feeding and burying the needy, and for boys and girls destitute of means and of parents, and for the aged confined now to the house, also for the shipwrecked, and for any who become pensioners on their confession, in the mines or the islands, or in prisons, if only it be for the sake of the way of God" (*Apol.* 39). Caesarius of Arles, 502, considers it the part of a good Christian, "when he comes to church," to "offer according to his ability money or food for the poor" (*Serm.* 77, § 2; comp. *Serm.* 76, § 2). Similarly Pirminius, 750: "Quando ad ecclesiam convenitis, pauperibus secundum vires vestras aut argentum aut aliud aliquid porrigite" (*Scarapsus* in *Vetera Analecta*, Mabill. 72; ed. 2). Isidore of Seville, 595, says that it was part of the duty of the archdeacon to "receive the money collected from the communion" (*Ep. ad Leudefr.* 12).

The fourth apostolical canon, referring to the grapes and corn mentioned in the third, says, "But let every other fruit be sent away into the house (or chamber, οἶκον, the GAZOPHYLACIUM or Domus Ecclesiae, Possid. *Vita August.* 24), as first-fruits for the bishop and the presbyters, but not brought to the altar." In the *Life of St. Augustine* (*u. s.* see above § xiii.) a distinction is made between offerings for the gazophylacium and for the secretarium. We learn there also how the former were applied: "He was always mindful of his companions in poverty, and used to distribute to them from the same source as to himself and all his household, viz. from the revenues of the church, or even from the oblations of the faithful" (23). A feast for the poor was often the object of an oblation. Thus Paulinus, A.D. 405, relates (*Poema* xx. 317) how a pig was reared with this intention. Two other instances are mentioned by this author in the same poem (lines 67, 389).

(*b*) Offerings were also made for the furniture of the church, and of a lamb at Easter. [LAMB, OFFERING OF.]

XVII. *To whom the Oblations were intrusted.*—All oblations of whatever kind were given to the bishop in trust. "That which is collected," says Justin Martyr, "is laid up with him who presides" (*Apol.* 67). Among the earlier of the apostolical canons are two (39, 41) which place the whole property of the church from whatever source derived in the hands of the bishop in trust for the poor and the clergy, himself included. Hence the precept addressed to the bishops in the *Constitutions* (ii. 25): "Dispense the offerings to the orphans and widows and afflicted and strangers . . . giving their shares to all in want, and yourselves using the things of the Lord, but not devouring them alone; but sharing them with the needy, be ye without offence before God. . . . It is right for you, O bishops, to be nourished from the things brought into the church; but not to devour them." This is in the purer text also (Bunsen, *Analecta Antenicaena*, ii. 256). See further under PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH.

On the subject of oblations the reader may consult Franc. de Berlendis *De Oblationibus ad Altare*, enlarged Latin ed., after two in Italian, Venet. 1743; J. B. Thiers, *Sainteté de l'Offrande du Pain et du Vin aux Messes des Morts;* Par. 178; L. A. Muratorius, *Diss.* xvii. in S. Paulini Poemata, *De Votis Votivisque Christianorum Oblationibus* in his *Anecdota*, tom. i. Mediol. 1697; reprinted in his ed. of Paulinus, Veron. 1736; and by F. A. Zaccaria, with the Latin version of Cl. Fleury's *Disciplina Populi Dei*, tom.

iii. Diss. 29, Venet. 1761 and 1782; Jo. Mabillon in *Praef.* i. in Saec. iii. O. S. B. § vi. *Observ. Eccles.* nn. 51–63, reprinted by Zaccaria, *u. s.* tom. iii. Diss. 14; Gabr. Albaspinus, *De Vet. Eccl. Rit. Observ.* i. 5, Lut. Par. 1623; and ad calc. *Opp.* Optati, Par. 1679; Edm. Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. iv. vi. last ed. Antv. 1763; Alex. Aurel. Pelliccia, *De Christianae Ecclesiae Politia*, iii. 1, Neap. 1777, Colon. ad Rhen. 1829; Joach. Hildebrandus, *Primitivae Ecclesiae Offertorium pro Defunctis*, Helmst. 1667. [W. E. S.]

## OBSEQUIES OF THE DEAD.

—The heathen fear of evil, if the body were left unburied or neglected, was unknown to the Christian from the first. "All those things, that is to say, the arrangement of the funeral, the state attendance on the burial, the pomp of obsequies, are rather consolations of the living than advantages to the dead" (Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, i. 12; so *Serm.* 172, § 3, and *De Cur. pro Mort.* ii. § 4; comp. St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* iv. in Heb. § 5; see after, § viii.). But "not on that account are the bodies of the departed to be spurned and flung aside; and least of all those of the righteous and faithful, of which the Spirit has made use as organs and instruments for the performance of all good works" (*De Civ.* 13; *De Cur.* iii. § 5). It was inferred from various references in holy Scripture (Gen. xlvii. 30, l. 2, 24; Tob. ii. 9, xii. 12; &c.), and especially from the narrative of our Lord's burial, that "the bodies of the dead are subjects of the providence of God, to whom even such works of piety are well pleasing" (*De Civ. u. s.*). But the future resurrection of the body was the chief ground of present care for it; it could not be right, they thought, deliberately to destroy and dissipate that for which God designed a glorious future. Thus Prudentius, *Hymn. in Exeq. Defunct.* l. 45:—

> "Hinc maxima cura sepulcris
> Impenditur; hinc resolutos
> Honor ultimus accipit artus
> Et funeris ambitus ornat."

I. *The Laying-out of the Body.*—The first solemn circumstance was the formal composure of the whole body: "They put the hands together, close the eyes, put the head straight, draw down the feet (Pseudo-Chrysost. *de Job. Hom.* i. § 2). Dionysius of Alexandria, A.D. 254, says that during the plague the Christians of that city "took up the bodies of the saints (who died of it) in their arms and laps, closed their eyes and mouths, carried them on their shoulders, and laid them out," &c. (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 22.) St. Augustine closed his mother's eyes with his own hands (*Confess.* ix. 12, § 29). Pseudo-Epiphanius, apostrophising Joseph of Arimathea, says: "Dost thou then with thy fingers close, as becomes the dead, the eyes of Jesus, who, with His undefiled finger, opened the eye of the blind? And dost thou close the mouth of Him who opened the mouth of the dumb?" (*De Sepulcro Dom.* inter Opp. Epiph. iv. 17; ed. Dind.).

II. *The Washing.*—Rites followed which had long been common to all the more civilised races.

There is a reference to the washing in the case of Dorcas (Acts ix. 37); and the practice was so much a matter of course among Christians that we find Pseudo-Epiphanius (*u. s.*) and others assuming incidentally that the body of our Lord was so treated. Tertullian alludes to it when he says, "I can be stiff and pale after a bath when dead" (*Apol.* 42). Gregory Nazianzen asks those who delay their baptism, if they are "waiting that they may be washed when dead" (*De Bapt.* i. 648). The ceremonial importance of the action in France in the 6th century is evident from the frequency with which it is mentioned by Gregory of Tours, when we can discover no other reason for his noticing it (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 5; iv. 5; vii. 1; *De Glor. Conf.* 75; *Vitae Patr.* xiv. 4). See other examples of men, *Hist. Franc.* vi. 46; *De Glor. Conf.* 81; *Vitae PP.* x. 4 ("corpus sacerdos ablutum recondit in tumulo"); *ibid.* xiii. 3. Similarly of women, "Having been washed by other women, she was buried" (*De Glor. Conf.* 16). Miracles are said by Bede to have been wrought by the earth on which the water used in washing the body of St. Cuthbert had been thrown (*Vita S. Cuthb.*). To come to the end of our period, the body of Charlemagne is said to have been washed "more solemni" (Eginhard. in *Vita*, c. 9, § 36).

III. *The Beard, &c., cut.*—At one period there was a custom of shaving the head, at least in France. When the body of St. Eloy, who died about 665, was removed from its first resting-place, "his beard and hair, which had been shaved off according to custom at the time of his death, had grown in the tomb in a wonderful manner" (*Vita*, auct. Audoen. ii. 47; Dach. *Spicil.* ii. 116, ed. 1723). A later example occurs in the case of an Angevin bishop, who was buried "barbâ rasâ" (Gesta Gulielmi Maj. c. 1, in *Spicil.* Dach. ii. 160).

IV. *The Body anointed or embalmed.*—The next process was to "anoint" the body. This may have been often done with the simple oil, but more frequently, where it could be procured, with a precious unguent, *μύρον*, which might be, as Galen describes it, only medicated oil (*De Methodo Medendi*, xi. 16); but sometimes we are to understand that the body was embalmed with various antiseptic gums and spices. When the woman in Matt. xxvi. 7 poured ointment on our Lord's head, He accepted it as done in anticipation of His death, *πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι με*, "with a view to prepare me for burial" (ver. 12). After His death, Nicodemus (John xix. 39, 40) "brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound weight, and wound the body in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury." Afterwards the women who had followed Him from Galilee, probably in ignorance of what had been done, "prepared spices and ointments," *ἀρώματα καὶ μύρα*, for the same purpose (Luke xxiii. 56). This example would probably have suggested the custom among Christians, had they not inherited it from their Jewish and heathen forefathers.

Tertullian is alluding to this practice when he says, "The Sabaeans will know that merchandise of theirs, more in quantity and more costly, is lavished on the burial of Christians than on the censing of the gods" (*Apol.* 42). Again, "Let them look to it, if the same objects of trade, frankincense to wit, and other foreign things for sacrifice to idols, are likewise useful to men for medicinal pigments,—to us (Christians) also beside for a solace of burial" (*De Idol.* 11; see also *De Resurr. Carn.* 27). Clemens Alexandrinus,

A.D. 192, explaining a mystic interpretation of Matt. xxvi. 7, says incidentally, "For the dead are anointed" (μυρίζονται, Paedag. ii. 8, § 62). In the Octavius of Minutius Felix the heathen objector says, "Ye (Christians) reserve unguents for funerals" (c. 2). In the same century (290) we find a Roman governor threatening a martyr thus, "You imagine that some wretched women are going to embalm your body with spices and ointments? But what I am thinking of is how to destroy your remains" (*Acta Tarachi*, 7; in Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* 385). And many other instances are found.

A sweet odour has often been perceived on the opening of an ancient tomb (see CATACOMBS, Vol. I. p. 309). This arose, without any doubt, from the spices buried with the body, but superstition has regarded it as a proof of the sanctity of the person who occupied the tomb. This was an early opinion. Thus, when the tomb of St. Valerius was opened in 550, the sweet smell was taken to indicate that "a friend of God rested there" (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Conf.* 84). So at the discovery of the body of St. Mallosus, the bishop of Cologne, who was present, exclaimed, "I believe in Christ that He is revealing His martyr to me, seeing that this sweet odour has surrounded me" (*ibid.* 63). Compare also St. Jerome's *Life of Hilarion*, 46, where he speaks of the body of the saint as "tantis fragrante odoribus ut delibutum unguentis putares." When the tomb of Amantius was opened, an unspeakably sweet odour proceeding from it reached even the people in the porches and courts of the church (Fortunatus in *Vita S. Amant.* 11). See also *Epist.*; Luciani *de Revel. Stephani Mart.* § 9; Eugippus of St. Severin in *Res Gest. S. Sev.* Baron. *Ann.* vi. § 10, ad an. 488, &c. For a similar story from Constantinople, see Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* ix. 2. Evagrius supplies another from the East (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 3). But they were common everywhere.

V. *The Grave-clothes.*—The body was always clothed, often in linen only, but sometimes also in the best dress worn in daily life, or in the insignia of office. The custom was traditional, but it received a mystic interpretation, the new dress then put on being said to represent the garment of incorruption in which the body will be clothed when restored to life (Pseudo-Chrysost. *de Patientiâ*, ix. 808).

1. The body seems to have been generally *swathed* in linen (see CATACOMBS, p. 309), as might be expected from what we know of the custom of the Jews. Lazarus was "bound hand and foot with grave-clothes" (John xi. 44). "Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it (ἔδησαν) in linen clothes (ὀθονίοις) with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury" (*ibid.* xix. 40). St. Matthew (xxvii. 59) and St. Luke (xxiii. 53) say that Joseph "wrapped, or rolled, it in fine linen—ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτὸ σινδόνι" (καθαρᾷ, M.). St. Mark (xv. 46) says, ἐνείλησε τῇ σινδόνι. The custom had been brought from Egypt and retained, though the Jews did not embalm their dead. Words that express the notion of swathing are sometimes used at a later period. Thus the disciples of St. Anthony εἰλίξαντες his body—buried it (Athan. *Vita S. Anton.* 90). Similarly Dionysius of Alexandria speaks of the Christians of that city as περιστολαῖς κατακοσμοῦντες, in preparation for burial, the bodies of those stricken by the plague (*Hist. Eccl.* Euseb. vii. 22). In Latin authors the more common word is "obvolvere." In the above two instances the material is not mentioned, but we may assume that it was linen, the use of which was common everywhere, if not universal. To give examples, St. Jerome, speaking of a woman who had been unjustly put to death, says, "They wrap the bloody corpse in a linen cloth" (*Epist. ad Innoc.* 12). Sixtus III., A.D. 432, "with his own hands dressed" the body of his enemy, Bassus, "with linen clothes and spices" (Anast. Biblioth. *Vitae Pont.* No. 45). In Gregory of Tours we read of a nun who was buried "induta linteis mundis" (*Hist. Franc.* vi. 29), and of a bishop who in a vision was told to prepare for his burial by "getting him clean linen clothes" (ii. 5). The linen was sometimes waxed. Thus in one Life of St. Cuthbert we are told that his body was "in sindone cerata curatum" (*Vita*, iii. iv. 13; Bolland. Mart. 20). The body of St. Ansbert, archbishop of Rouen, A.D. 698, "magna fidei ambitione vestitum est, ac desuper linteis ceratis obvolutum" (Aigrad. in *Vita Ansb.* 9; Boll. Feb. 9). In a later instance we read of a "shirt (camisale) covered with wax" carefully put on the body of the deceased (St. Udalric), "lest the priestly apparel in which he was clad should be quickly destroyed by the earth" (*Vita S. Udalr.* xxvii. 83; Boll. July 4).

2. Among the Romans, while the private citizen was buried in a toga, those in office, even to the lowest vicomagister (Livy, xxxiv. 7), were buried in the dress proper to it. The analogous practice was to some extent adopted among Christians. In the *Acta* of Peter of Alexandria, martyred in 301, it seems implied that the linen in which he was wrapped was the dress in which he usually officiated (Migne, Ser. Gr. xviii. 464, 5). This is not a contemporary account; but if it be not historically true, it may be taken to shew the custom of the country a century and a half later. St. Cuthbert was "vestimenta sacerdotalia indutus" (Anon. *Vita*, *u. s.*). The same thing is related of an Irish bishop named Merolilanus (Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* iv. 48), and of Gebhard of Constance: "Sacerdotalibus, *ut moris est*, vestibus indutus" (*Vita*, i. 22; in Ménard, note 680 to *Sacram. Gregor.*). Of St. Ansbert we read: "As he had been wont to stand at the holy altars of Christ, so the brethren had taken care that he should be clothed" (Aigrad. *u. s.*). Hadrian I., A.D. 772, was "wrapped in his apostolical ornaments (infulis), as the custom is to bury a Roman bishop" (*Vita*, in *Mus. Ital.* i. 41). Observe also the instance of Udalric in the last paragraph. Charlemagne was clad in the imperial vestments, and "his face covered under the diadem with a napkin" (*Vita*, Auct., Monach. Engol.).

Under this head we may mention an order ascribed to Eutychian, A.D. 275, that no martyr should be buried "without a dalmatic or a purple collobium" (Anast. *Vit. Pont.* No. 28); such ornaments thus becoming the insignia of martyrdom.

3. A dress more or less costly to shew honour to the deceased, but with no other significance, is often mentioned. Thus when Marinus was martyred at Rome in the reign of

Gallienus, Astyrius, a senator, clothed the body "very richly" for the burial (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 16). The remains of Stratonica and Seleucus, A.D. 297, were covered with a silk cloth (S. E. Assemanus, *Acta SS. Martyrum*, ii. 121). St. Anthony wrapped the body of Paul, the first hermit, in a "pallium" which St. Athanasius had given him (Hieron. in *Vita Pauli*, § 14). St. Anthony himself, when dead, was wrapped in an old cloak which had also been the gift of Athanasius many years before (St. Ath. in *Vita S. Ant.* § 91). St. Gregory of Nyssa gives an elaborate account of the manner in which the body of his sister Macrina was prepared for the grave (A.D. 379). It was proposed to bury her in her ordinary dress, but her brother had provided a better. As this was not done to please human eyes, an old black mantle (ἱμάτιον) was thrown over all (*De Vita S. Macr.* ii. App. 200; Par. 1618). St. Jerome, addressing wealthy Christians, asks: "Why do ye wrap (obvolvitis) your dead in garments covered with gold?" (*Vita Pauli*, 17.) Of Paula the same father says: "What poor man died who was not wrapped in her garments?" (*Epist.* 108 *ad Eustoch.* § 5.) Several times Gregory of Tours mentions that persons of eminence were clothed before burial "dignis vestimentis" (*Hist. Fr.* iv. 37, 51; *De Glor. Conf.* 81; *Vitae Patrum*, xiv. 4, xx. 4). When Chilperic was slain, A.D. 584, a bishop covered his body for burial with "better garments" (*Hist. Fr.* vi. 46). The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus "to this day rest in the very place (where they were found), covered with clothes of silk or fine linen" (*Mirac.* i. 95).

4. In the 6th century we first hear of a strange abuse by its prohibition. The council of Auvergne, 533: "It is to be observed that the bodies of the dead be not wrapped in palls or divine services," *i.e.* cloths used for the service of the altar (can. 3); "Touching the covering of the Lord's body or the pall of the altar, let not the body of a priest, when carried to the tomb, be ever covered with it" (can. 7). The council of Auxerre, A.D. 578: "It is not permitted that the bodies of the dead be wrapped in the veil or in palls" (can. 12). The latter practice is also forbidden by Boniface of Mentz, 743 (can. 20). Nor was the East free from the same superstition. Pseudo-Athanasius, as quoted by John Damascene: "Fail not to burn oil and wax candles at the tomb, though the body be buried in an air," *i.e.* a eucharistic veil of the largest size (Damasc. *Orat. de iis qui in Fide dormierunt*, § 19).

5. It is probable that, however the body was dressed, a napkin always concealed the face, as in the scriptural examples (John xi. 44, xx. 7). Of St. Cuthbert we read, "Capite sudario circumdato" (Anon. *Vita*, iii. *u. s.*); of St. Ansbert, that "sudarium cerâ litum capiti ejus imponere vellent" (Aigrad. *u. s.*); and of Charlemagne, "Sudario sub diademate facies ejus operta" (Monach. Engol. *u. s.*).

6. The richness of the dress and ornaments sometimes buried with the dead was a temptation to thieves. This led to their being cut or torn and otherwise rendered useless before the body was left in the tomb. Thus St. Chrysostom: "A costly burial has often been the cause of the tomb being broken open, and of the body that was buried so carefully being cast out naked and graveless. . . . That this may not happen, many persons tear the fine linen clothes and fill them with many kinds of spices, that they may in two ways be made useless to those who are guilty of such outrage, and so commit them to the earth" (*Hom.* 85 *in S. Joan. Ev.* § 5). Examples of such robberies are not wanting. Thus when, in 585, a woman of high rank had been buried at Metz, "with great ornaments and much gold," some young men of her family "uncovered the tomb and took and carried off all the ornaments of the dead body that they could find" (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* viii. 21). When Hadrian I. was buried in the monastery of Nonantula, A.D. 795, some of the monks, thinking that the rich robes with which the body was covered would be better bestowed on their church, "went at night to his sepulchre, and having stripped him of his shining and glittering garments clad him in poorer" (*Vita Hadr.* in *Mus. Ital.* i. 41).

VI. *Bells tolled.*—We first hear of bells in connexion with death in the 7th century; but the notices are scanty. Bede relates that when St. Hilda died, in 673, a nun in a distant monastery founded by the saint, while in her dormitory at night, "suddenly heard in the air the well-known sound of the bell by which they were wont to be roused to prayers or called together when any one of them had been called out of this world" (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23). Here the custom was to toll the bell as soon as the death had taken place. The *Life of St. Boniface* seems to imply that, in the churches founded by him, the bell was tolled when the corpse was on the way to the grave. The inhabitants of the place, we are told, resisted the removal of his remains, A.D. 755, but suddenly "the bell of the church, touched by no human hand, was put in motion" (Willibaldus, *Vita S. Bonif.* c. xii. § 38; sim. Othlo in *Vita*, ii. § 25). This was accepted at once by all as an intimation that the body was to proceed to another place of rest. Sturmius, the founder under Boniface of the great monastery of Fulda, seeing himself in danger, A.D. 770, ordered all the bells of that house to be rung to assemble the monks to pray for him and to receive his last words (*Vita*, c. 25; *Acta Bened.* iv. 279). The second council of Cealchythe, A.D. 816, directs that "in every church throughout the parishes," on the death of the bishop, "the signal be immediately struck, and every congregation of the servants of God meet at the basilic" to sing psalms for his soul (can. 10).

VII. *Prayers and Psalms before the Funeral.*—The body of Constantine was watched day and night as it lay in the palace "in a golden coffin," covered with a purple cloth and surrounded by innumerable lights (Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv. 66); but we do not read of any religious rite performed at that time. Nor are any prayers or psalms mentioned at this stage in the case of St. Ambrose, though his body lay in state in the great church called by his name (Paulinus in *Vita S. Amb.* 48).

1. Yet Tertullian, about A.D. 195, speaks of prayer being made at this time: "Cum in pace dormisset, et morante adhuc sepulturâ, interim oratione presbyteri componeretur," &c. (*De Animâ*, 51). What this "prayer of the presbyter" was does not appear. In the Gelasian Sacramentary are four sets of prayer to be

used over the departed. The first group are headed, *Orat. post Obitum Hominis;* the second, *Orat. antequam ad Sepulcrum deferatur* (*Liturgia Lat. Vet.* Murat. i. 747, 9). In the Gregorian Sacramentary (*ibid.* ii. 213) we find prayers corresponding to the former of the above groups under the heading, *Orationes in Agenda Mortuorum quando Anima egreditur de Corpore.* After these prayers, psalms (not indicated; in the Vatican Codex, "psalmi congrui," *Opp.* S. Greg. v. 230, ed. 1615) are sung, and then "dicantur capitula" ("deinde Oratio Dominica et haec versuum capitella," *Cod. Vat. u. s.*): "In memoriâ," &c. (Ps. cxii. 6, P. B. v.) (after which *Cod. Vat.* gives "Anima ejus," &c., from Ps. xxv. 12); "Ne tradas bestiis animas," &c. (Ps. lxxiv. 20; see Vulg. lxxiii. 19); "Pretiosa," &c. (Ps. cxvi. 13), for which *Cod. Vat.* substitutes, "Redimet Dominus animas sanctorum suorum" (derived probably from Ps. xcvii. 10); "Non intres," &c. (Ps. cxliii. 2); "Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine" (derived from 2 Esdr. ii. 34; Vulg. 4, Esdr.). Two prayers follow in this book as given by Muratori, headed *Incipiunt Orationes post Lavationem Corporis* (215), which correspond to the second set in the Gelasian, as described above. In the *Apostolical Constitutions* (viii. 41) are prayers bearing a strong general resemblance in matter to the above Western forms, under the title, Προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων. They seem intended to be introduced by the deacon after the usual suffrages in any service of prayer with the words, "For our brethren who rest in Christ, let us pray." They might be said, apparently, at any time after the death.

The Gelasian prayers mentioned above are found, with some change and omission, in a very ancient MS. preserved at Rheims (printed by Ménard, *Sacram. Greg.* not. 68), in which they have the following heading: "Incipit *Officium pro Defunctis.* In primis cantatur Psalmus, *In exitu Israel*, cum antiphona, vel *alleluia.*" The book appears to have been written in the time of Charlemagne (Praef. x. *Opp.* Greg. iii. ed. Ben.), when the alleluia was generally in the West no longer thought suitable to a funeral office. It is still sung in the Greek offices (*Euchologion*, Goar, 526, 527, 531, 535, 553), and in that for priests with frequent repetitions (562, 563, 564, &c.).

2. Testimonies to the use of psalms before the funeral are much more frequent than to the prayers. When Monica died, "Evodius seized a psalter and began to chant the psalm *Misericordiam et judicium* (the 101st), the whole family responding" (Aug. *Conf.* ix. 12, § 31). Before the burial of Macrina there was "psalmody throughout the night, as at the vigil of a martyr's festival" (Greg. Nyss. *De Vitâ S. Macr.* ii. App. 200). St. Jerome tells us that at the death of Paula "not wailings and beatings in the breast were heard, as is the wont among men of this world, but numberless psalms in divers tongues" (*Epist.* 108 *ad Eust.* § 29). Even before Fabiola was dead, if we are to take St. Jerome's words to the letter, this chanting had begun: "Psalms sounded, and the alleluia echoing aloft shook the gilded ceilings of the temples" (*Ep.* 77 *ad Oceam.* § 11). Earlier in the same century the disciples of Pachomius (*cir.* 350), "having cared for his venerable body after the custom . . . as was meet, passed the whole night watching, singing psalms and hymns" (*Vita*, 53; Rosweyd, 138). The 6th century furnishes many instances; *e.g.* the body of Fulgentius, A.D. 553, placed in the oratory of a monastery, "invited both monks and clerks to watch together that whole night in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" (*Vita*, in fine; Surius, Jan. 1). St. Gall, A.D. 554, lay three days in a church, "constant singing of psalms going on" (Greg. Tur. *Vitae PP.* vi. 7). Similarly St. Salvius (about 560), (id. *Hist. Franc.* vii. 1); St. Aridius, 571 (*Vita S. Arid.* 34; inter *Opp.* Greg. Tur. 1303); and St. Radegund, 587 (Baudon. in *Vita*, 27).

VIII. *Mourning Habits.*—The feeling expressed in the foregoing extracts was carried so far that in many churches, if not in all, mourning-dresses of a dark colour were strongly discouraged. Practically this affected one sex only, at least among the Romans, for their women in mourning already, *i.e.* from the 1st century, "wore white garments and white head-dresses" (Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 26). Hence the condemnation of dark colours made a distinction between the Christian and the heathen man, but permitted none between the women. In the former case the principle created the difference; in the latter it was thought more important than the maintenance of it.

St. Cyprian is the earliest writer in whom the objection occurs: "Black garments are not to be assumed here, when they (who have gone before) have put on their robes of white" (*De Mortal.* 164, ed. Brem.). St. Basil tells one who exhibited such outward signs of grief that he resembled actors in a tragedy: "Like them thou thinkest that the outward condition of things should befit the mourner, a black dress and disordered hair, and darkness in the house, and dirt and dust, and a chant unpleasing to the ear, and that keeps the wound of grief ever fresh in the soul. Leave such things to them that are without hope" (*De Grat. Act.* ii. 363). St. Chrysostom condemns among other tokens of grief the custom of "covering ourselves with black garments" (*Hom.* iii. *in Ep. ad Phil.* § 4; comp. *Hom.* 62 *in S. Joan. Ev.* § 4). An unknown but very ancient author, whose tract is preserved in a MS. of the 7th century, asks: "Why do we dye our garments black, unless it is to prove that we are truly unbelieving, not only by our weeping but by our dress?" (*De Consol. Mort. Serm.* ii. c. 5; in App. *Opp.* Aug.) Nevertheless this rejection of a dark mourning-dress could hardly have been common among *men* in the West in the age of St. Augustine and St. Jerome, for the latter, writing in 404, claims praise for a Roman of high rank for having given up his mourning habit (lugubrem vestem) and resumed his white garments (candida vestimenta) at the end of forty days, after the loss of his wife and two daughters within a few days of each other (*Epist.* 118 *ad Julian.* 4). In France, when the elder son of Chilperic died, A.D. 580, there was "a great lamentation of all the people; for the men mourning, and the women clad in mourning habits, as the custom is at the obsequies of husbands, in such sort attended this funeral" (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 35). It may be doubted whether women in the East acted generally in the spirit of St. Chrysostom's advice even in the 4th century. Had they done so, it would

not have been mentioned that the mother of Gregory of Nazianzus wore a dress of shining white at the funeral of her son Caesarius (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* vii. 15). [MOURNING.]

IX. *The Bier and Coffin.*—The body was placed on a bier (feretrum, lectus, grabatum, sandapila, κλίνη, σκίμπους), sometimes in a coffin (arca, loculus, capulus, λάρναξ, σορός). There is reason, however, to think that the bier and coffin, by whatever word described, were generally one. The coffin was without a lid, and the face (at least) of the corpse was often exposed during the procession. At the funeral of St. Basil, A.D. 379, the people could see his face (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii. 80). The same thing is mentioned of his sister Macrina (Greg. Nyss. *de Vita Macr.* 201). When Honoratus of Arles was carried to the grave, A.D. 430, the people were able to kiss various parts of the body ("osculum aut ori aut quibuscunque membris impressit," Hilar. Arel. in *Vita Honor.* vii. 35). This was probably general among the Greeks, for it is their custom to this day, the face being painted to simulate life.

It is probable that in many cases the whole body was concealed at first by a loose pall, sometimes of rich material, of which we often read both in the East and West. A dalmatic was thrown over the bier at the funeral of the bishops of Rome, until Gregory I. ordered that for the future "the bier on which a Roman pontiff was carried to burial should be vested with no covering" (*Epist.* iv. 44). He desired to suppress the popular custom of tearing the dalmatic to pieces and preserving them as relics. Hilary of Arles says that the body of Honoratus, already mentioned, was "clothed on the bier by the great solicitude of faith, and almost stripped afterwards by a greater, when it was taken to the grave" (*Vita Honor.* vii. 35). When the empress Placilla, A.D. 385, was carried into the city before her burial, the body was covered "with gold and purple cloth" (Greg. Nyss. *Orat. Fun. de Placillâ*, ii. 960). Her daughter Pulcheria is by the same writer only said to have been "borne on a golden bier" (κλίνης, *In Fun. Pulch. Orat. ibid.* 948).

X. *The Bearers.*—Tertullian, 195, explaining Christian customs to the heathen, says that the offerings of the faithful provided among other things "for the burial of the poor" (*Apol.* 39). The council of Carthage, 398, decreed that the "penitents should carry the dead to the church and bury them" (can. 81). St. Augustine, speaking of his mother's funeral at Ostia, where she died on their way to Africa, says, "De more illis quorum officium erat funus curantibus" (*Confess.* ix. 31). Such officials, we infer, were to be found among Christians in every populous place. At Constantinople Constantine had already provided a large body of inferior clerks to whom this duty was committed. Their number was afterwards increased by Justinian. They were paid for their services out of a public fund, so that every burial might be free of charge. [See COPIATAE, DECANI, FOSSARII, PARABOLANI.] These prepared the grave, bore the corpse, and buried it. It is probable, however, from the number of instances on record, that relations and others often became bearers, not from necessity, but from a desire to shew honour to the deceased. The body of St. Basil was thus "borne aloft by the hands of holy men," Jan. 1, 379 (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii. 80). When his sister Macrina was buried in the same year, the bier was borne by her brother, Gregory of Nyssa, the bishop of the diocese, and two other eminent clergymen (*Vita Macr.* 201). St. Ambrose in the same year implies that he helped to carry his brother Satyrus to the grave (*De Excessu Sat.* i. 36). Paula at Bethlehem, 404, was "removed by the hands of bishops, who even put their shoulders to the bier" (Hieron. *Ep.* 108, § 29). Sidonius, 472, says of a lady of high rank "that she was taken up and borne to her abiding home like one asleep, by the hands of priests and relatives" (*Epist.* ii. 8). Fulgentius Ruspensis, A.D. 553, was taken "by the hands of priests" to the church in which he was buried (*Vita*, Surius, Jan. 1).

During our period monks and nuns were buried without the bounds of their monasteries (Martene, *de Ant. Mon. Rit.* v. x. 99), and the latter at least must often have employed the services of seculars as bearers.

XI. *Time of Burial.* — A Christian funeral took place by day whenever it was permitted. See BURIAL OF THE DEAD (3), p. 253. There was in France, at least, a feeling against burying on Sunday; for in a law forbidding servile works on that day in the Carlovingian code, we find the burial of the dead excepted, only "si forte necesse fuerit" (*Reg. Fr. Capit.* i. 75, vi. 380). Nevertheless St. Ambrose was buried at Milan on Easter Day (Paulinus in *Vita*, 48), and St. John of Naples in that city on the same day (Uranius, *De Obitu Paulini*, 11).

XII. *The Procession.*—Allusions to the triumphant character of the funeral procession as marked by the singing of psalms and hymns, the carrying of lights [see LIGHTS, CEREMONIAL USE OF, viii.], and palms, &c., are very frequent. The *Apostolical Constitutions*, probably compiled near the year 200, give this direction: "In the going forth of those who have fallen asleep, conduct them with singing of psalms, if they are faithful in the Lord, for 'precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints'" (vi. 30). Constantine, who died in 337, of the funeral of martyrs: "Nor is the sweet smell of frankincense desired, nor the funeral pyre, but pure light sufficient to light them that pray" (*Orat. ad Sanct. Coetum*, 12). St. Paul the first hermit was taken to his grave, A.D. 340, by St. Anthony, "singing hymns and psalms, after the Christian tradition" (Hieron. *Vita Pauli*, § 16). At the funeral of Macrina, "no small number of deacons and servants preceded the corpse in order on either side, all holding tapers of wax," while "from one end to the other of the procession psalms were sung in one part, as in the Hymn of the Three Children" (Greg. Nyss. *Vita Macr.* 201). At Constantinople Justinian, A.D. 554, made legal provision for the singing at all funerals (*Nov.* lix. 4). In France, 587, St. Radegund was carried to the grave with psalms and alleluias. (Baud. *Vita*, § 28.) In Spain, the council of Toledo, 589, ordered that the body should be conveyed to the tomb with psalm-singing only.

Incense was sometimes used after the first three or four centuries of our period. In the *Acta* (of late and uncertain date; see Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* note sur St.-Pierre Alex.) of St. Peter of Alexandria, 311, we read that the people

"carried palms the tokens of victory, while tapers blazed, hymns resounded, and incense flamed" (Migne, *Ser. Graec.* xviii. 465). Hilary of Arles, speaking of the funeral of Honoratus, his predecessor, A.D. 430: "We saw then, carried before his bier, spices and incense" (*Vita Honor.* vii. 35). At the funeral of St. Lupicinus in France, in the 6th century, there were "crosses and wax candles and the smell of sweet incense" (Greg. Tur. *Vitae PP.* xiii. 3). "Incense and lights" are also mentioned by Pseudo-Chrysostom (*de Pat.* i. tom. ix. 808).

Neither the Gelasian nor the Gregorian Sacramentary indicates the psalms used in the procession. We may, however, learn something of the Greek custom from St. Chrysostom: "Consider what thou sayest at that time, 'Turn again unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee' (Ps. cxvi. 7, P. B. v.); and again, 'I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me' (xxiii. 4); and again (xxxii. 8), 'Thou art a place to hide me in; Thou shalt preserve me from trouble'" (*Hom.* iv. *in Ep. ad Heb.* (ii. 15)).

XIII. *The Body buried.*—The church inherited from the first converts a repugnance to cremation, as doing violence to natural feeling. The heathen ascribed this abhorrence to a wrong motive, viz. a fear lest the body being dissipated should be incapable of resurrection. "Some," says Tertullian, "are of that opinion; they say that funerals ought not to be by fire for that reason, out of a needless care for the soul. But the reason of that pious custom of burial is different, not a pretence of care for the remains of the soul, but an aversion to cruelty even in regard to the body" (*De Animâ*, 51). In the Octavius of Minutius Felix (c. 2), the heathen interlocutor inveighs against the Christians as superstitiously "execrating funeral piles and condemning sepultures by means of fire." To this the Christian replies (c. 10): "We do not, as you suppose, fear any loss of burial (comp. St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, i. 12), but we observe the ancient and better (St. Aug. *u. s.* 13) custom of interment." The practice of cremation was extinct throughout the empire in the 5th century ("Urendi corpora defunctorum usus nostro saeculo nullus," Macrob. *Saturn.* vii. 7); but we infer from a prohibition of Charlemagne that it existed among the tribes of Germany at a much later period: "If any one shall cause the body of a deceased person to be consumed by flame according to the rite of the pagans, and shall reduce his bones to ashes, he shall be capitally punished" (*Capit. de Part. Saxon.* 7, in *Cap. Reg. Fr.* i. 252).

In Egypt there was a peculiar custom of preserving the dead above ground. "The Egyptians are wont . . . not to hide them under the earth, but to place them on litters and to keep them in their houses, thinking thereby to do honour to the departed." This statement is made, however, only in reference to "the bodies of the devout departed, and especially of the holy martyrs" (Athan. *Vita S. Anton.* § 90). The custom was earnestly opposed by St. Anthony, who ordered his own body to be buried in a secret place, that it might not be so treated (*ibid.*). The author of his Life is the only writer who mentions it.

XIV. *Place of Burial.*—For the earlier period, especially in the cities, see AREA, BURIAL, CATACOMBS, CEMETERY. Burial in churches was forbidden by a law of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, A.D. 381: "Let no one think that the abode of the apostles or martyrs is permitted to be used for the burial of bodies" (Justin. *Codex*, i. ii. 2). This law was admitted by Justinian into his code, A.D. 529. [CHURCHYARD, p. 391.]

Constantine and his Christian successors, and the bishops of Constantinople, are said by Sozomen (*Hist.* ii. 34; comp. Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv. 70) to have been buried in the Church of the Apostles in the city; but from St. Chrysostom it appears that this must be understood of the approach to the church. (*Hom.* xxvi. *in* 2 *Cor.* pr. fin.). St. Ambrose was buried, A.D. 397, in the church at Milan built by himself and called after him (Paulinus, *Vita S. Amb.* 48). Paula was interred at Jerusalem, 404, "subter ecclesiam et juxta specus Domini" (Hieron. *Epist.* 108, § 30); *i.e.*, as we conceive, under the church, but from without. Of the burial of Fulgentius of Ruspe in Africa in a church, we read: "He was the first bishop who was honoured by being laid in that basilica, where a strict ancient custom permitted no one, priest or laic, to be buried; but the great force of affection removed the obstacle of custom, the citizens universally demanding it" (*Vita* in Surius, Jan. 1 in fin.). Here the ground of the "custom" appears to have been forgotten. Queen Radegund in 587 requested of the bishops of the province that she might be buried in a church which she had begun to build (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ix. 42). The occasional practice is also attested by stories of sinners miraculously cast out of churches in which they had been interred. Such an event happened at Toulouse, according to Gregory of Tours (*Mirac.* i. 89), while Gregory of Rome places a similar occurrence at Milan (*Dial.* iv. 53). Another story of the last writer shews that two ladies had been buried in a church at Monte Cassino (*Dial.* ii. 23).

XV. *The Service in Church.*—The body was often taken to a church and a service held over it there, though it was to be buried elsewhere. Gregory of Nyssa, in his account of the funeral of Macrina, says: "When we stood within the building [of the Holy Martyrs, in which the bodies of her parents lay], setting down the bier, we first betook ourselves to prayer" (*Vita S. Macr.* 201). The body of St. Ambrose was taken to a church immediately after his death on the morning of Easter Eve. On Sunday at dawn, "after the celebration of the divine sacraments," it was removed to the church in which it was to be buried (Paulinus, *Vita*, 48). The language of St. Jerome, when he says that the alleluia of the people shook the roof of the temple at the funeral of Fabiola (*Epist.* 77, § 11), seems to imply an office of praise and thanksgiving in the church. Paula, before burial, was "placed in the middle of the church of the cave of the Saviour," and the joyful chanting of the procession, it is implied, continued there (Hieron. *Epist.* 108, § 29). Pseudo-Dionysius, in the East, tells us that if the deceased had been of the clergy, the body was set before the altar; if a layman, by the sacra-

rium at the priest's entrance (*De Eccl. Hier.* v. iii. 2). The foregoing testimonies make it probable that the body was always carried into the church when it was to be buried near it.

XVI. *The Composition of the Service.*—Psalms and hymns formed a considerable part of the service in the church and at the grave, but there were prescribed forms of prayer also, and lessons from Holy Scripture, at an early period. We read both of psalms sung and of prayers said in church at the funeral of Macrina (*Vita*, u. s.). Psalms with the alleluia were sung at that of Fabiola (Hieron. *u. s.*); and psalms in Greek, Latin, and Syriac at that of Paula (*Hier.* u. s.). The martyrs Epictetus and Astion were buried "in a meet and fit place, with hymns and psalms" (*Vita*, 20; Rosw. 219). Of other martyrs, Victor Vitensis says, "The remains of the blessed saints were buried with solemn hymns" (*Passio Septem Monach.*). The same writer represents a persecuted church asking, "Who will bury us when we die, with the solemn (*i.e.* customary) prayers?" (*De Persec. Vand.* ii.) Pseudo-Dionysius, speaking of the service in the church, says: "Then the priest celebrates a prayer of thanksgiving. Next, the ministers, having read the unfailing promises of our second resurrection set in the divine Scriptures, chant devoutly the songs of the oracles of psalms and hymns to the same end and intent. Then the chief minister dismisses the catechumens, and recites the names of the saints who have already gone to their rest, with whom he deems the person lately deceased worthy to be classed in public commemoration, and exhorts all to seek the happy end in Christ. Then the divine chief priest drawing near makes a most sacred prayer over him" (*De Eccl. Hier.* v. iii. 2).

The Gelasian Sacramentary gives prayers to be said "Ad Sepulcrum priusquam sepeliatur," and others, with a "Commendatio Animae," to be said "Post Sepulturam" (*Liturg. Lat. Vet.* Murat. i. 750–1). The corresponding prayers in the Gregorian are headed respectively "Orationes ante Sepulcrum, priusquam sepeliatur," and "Oratio post sepultum Corpus" (*ibid.* ii. 216). In both the "Commendatio" is the final prayer. We take the following from the Gregorian as an example: "We commend unto Thee, O Lord, the soul of Thy servant N., that being dead unto the world he may live unto Thee. And if by the frailty of worldly conversation he hath committed sins, do Thou by the pardon of Thy most merciful pity cleanse them away, through," &c. (*ibid.* ii. 218). At one time the whole of the service in the church and at the grave was called the Commendation; for the council of Carthage, 397, orders that where a funeral takes place in the afternoon, "the commendation shall be made by prayers only, if they who make it are found to have already broken their fast" (can. 29); *i.e.* the eucharist shall not form part of the commendation in that case. But only a few years later we find the word used of single forms of intercession (for the living, in can. 12 Conc. Milev. A.D. 416; comp. Conc. Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 13. See COMMENDATION), and it is the specific name expressly given to the last prayer at funerals in the Gelasian Sacramentary. By an order of Hincmar of Rheims, A.D. 845, the priest is to learn by heart "ordinem et preces in exequiis atque agendis defunctorum" (*Capit.* 4; Labb. *Conc.* viii. 569). It is evident, therefore, that at this time nothing was left to the discretion of the officiant.

We may add, with reference to the lessons, that some copies of the *Comes Hieronymi* (App. ad *Capit. Reg. Franc.* ii. 1351; see LECTIONARY) to the eucharistic lessons to be read "in Agenda Mortuorum" (*sic*) add nine "Lectiones Defunctorum" (see Amalarius, *de Eccl. Off.* iv. 42) from the Book of Job, to be read in the Officia Mortuorum. Of these some or all, we may suppose, would be read in the church or at the grave, when the eucharist was not celebrated. They are, Job vii. 19–21; x. 1–7; x. 8–12; xiii. 22–28; xiv. 1–6; xiv. 13–16; xvii. 1–15; xix. 20–24; xix. 25–27.

The early remains of the Greek church do not give us the same information respecting the prayers actually said in the church or at the grave within our period. The prayers in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, to which we have referred in § vii. 1, might be used with propriety at that time; but the rubric (viii. 40) shews that they were the special addition on occasion of a death to the ordinary daily service. Elsewhere (vi. 30) this book mentions lessons and psalms: "Assemble in the cemeteries, reading the sacred books and singing psalms on account of the martyrs who have fallen asleep, and of all saints from the beginning, and of our brethren who have fallen asleep in the Lord;" a direction which seems to apply both to the occasion of the funeral and to subsequent commemorations. In the East one of the Arabic canons of Nicaea, referring to the funeral of a bishop, says, "Let those things be read at the funeral which the doctors and holy spiritual fathers have ordained touching the prayer" (can. 65; Labbe, *Conc.* ii. 312).

For the discourse sometimes delivered at or after a funeral, see FUNERAL SERMON.

XVII. *The last Peace.*—Pseudo-Dionysius says that after the prayers the bishop kissed the corpse, after which all present did the same (*Eccl. Hier.* v. iii. 2). This was the kiss of peace, and a sign of communion unbroken by death; but it could never have been common. From a prohibition of the practice by the council of Auxerre, A.D. 578 (can. 12), we learn that there was some observance of it in France in the 6th century.

XVIII. *The last Unction.*—In a work ascribed to St. Chrysostom, in the imperial library at Vienna, it is said that we "ought to pour oil on the dead at their burial" (*Comment.* in *Biblioth. Caes.* Lambecii, VIII. xlv. 68). Pseudo-Dionysius says that after the kiss the bishop "poured oil on the departed, and then after offering a sacred prayer for all present laid the body away with other sacred bodies of the same (ecclesiastical) rank" (*Hier. Eccl.* v. iii. 2). Theodore of Canterbury, 668, says that "there was in the church of Rome a custom of carrying monks or religious men to a church when dead, and anointing their breasts with chrism, and there celebrating masses for them" (*Capit.* 90; Labbe, *Conc.* vi. 1877). These statements are worthy of note from the fact that in the Greek church of the present day either oil from the church lamps or a cinder from the thurible is put on the corpse immediately before burial (*Euchol.* Goar, 538). Pseudo-Dionysius gives a mystic reason for this unction. The unction at baptism, he says, "calls the

initiated to the sacred strife, but the oil now poured on the body shews that he who has fallen asleep has fought the sacred fight, and is perfected" (*ibid.*).

XIX. *The Eucharist given to the Dead.*—We meet with several traces of this profane superstition from the end of the 4th century downward. It was forbidden in Africa by the council of Carthage in 397: "It is decreed that the eucharist be not given to the bodies of the dead" (can. 6); by that of Auxerre, 578: "It is not lawful for the eucharist to be given to the dead" (can. 12); and by the council of Constantinople in 691 (can. 83). The canon of the last is, however, only a transcript of that of Carthage, and even repeats its argument: "It is written, Take, eat; but the bodies of the dead can neither take nor eat" (comp. St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* 40 *in Ep.* i. *ad Cor.* § 1). It is not intimated in these canons that the eucharist was placed between the lips of the corpse; and we infer probably, from other records, that it was placed on the breast,[a] especially as Balsamon (*Comm. in Can. C. P.* u. s.) suggests that the intention of the practice was to keep off evil spirits. St. Benedict is said to have ordered "the body of the Lord" to be placed on the breast of a corpse that had been cast out of its grave by invisible hands (Greg. M. *Dial.* ii. 24). An oblate was placed on the breast of St. Cuthbert (Amalar. *de Off. Eccl.* iv. 41). In the late and fabulous *Life of St. Basil* falsely ascribed to Amphilochius, the saint is said to have ordered a portion of the eucharist which he consecrated on a certain occasion to be reserved that it might be buried with him (*Opp.* Amphil. ed. Combefis. 176, 224). For the later history of the practice see *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 920; ed. 2.

This observance must have been more common, especially at Rome, than has been usually supposed, if modern antiquarians are right in thinking that the vessels tinged inside with red found in the loculi in the catacombs contained eucharistic wine (CATACOMBS, 308; but see GLASS, 730); but the age and paucity of the notices of the custom must be considered one objection to that opinion. It is probable that *intinction* was practised—*i.e.* that the bread was moistened with the wine. See SPOON, EUCHARISTIC.

XX. *How placed in the Grave.*—The position of the bodies found in the CATACOMBS (see Vol. I. p. 307) shews that their direction was considered unimportant for the first four centuries. At a later period we find evidence both in the East and West of the face being generally turned towards the rising sun. Thus Pseudo-Chrysostom: "We turn the coffin to the East, signifying thereby their resurrection" (*De Pat.* i. *u. s.*). See also the Vienna MS. before cited (Lambec. VIII. xlv. 68). Pseudo-Epiphanius (*de Sepult. Dom.*), apostrophising Joseph of Arimathea: "Dost thou bury towards the East the Dead One, who is ἡ ἀνατολὴ τῶν ἀνατολῶν?" The belief that our Lord had been so buried would be sufficient to induce a general practice. A similar testimony is given by Latin writers. Thus Arculfus, who visited the Holy Land in 679, says that the soles of the feet of the patriarchs were not turned as it is the custom for the soles of the buried to be turned in other parts of the world, viz. towards the east, but to the south, and their heads to the north (Adamn. *De Locis Sanctis*, ii. 10; *Acta S. O.S.B.* ii.). Bede says that the body of our Lord "had the head on the west," and therefore looking eastward (iv. *in S. Marci Ev.* c. 16).[b] The body was generally, but not always, laid on the back. Charlemagne was seated on a throne (Monach. Engol. in *Vita*).

XXI. *Bay-leaves, &c., in the Grave.*—The floor of the grave was sometimes strewed with evergreens. Thus when the body of Valerius was found in the 6th century "he had bay-leaves strewn under him" (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Conf.* 84). When certain bodies, supposed to be those of St. Simon and St. Jude, were translated from the ancient Vatican basilica in the 17th century, "there were found leaves of bay under their heads" (Casalius, *de Vet. Sacr. Christ. Rit.* 66, p. 266). Even in the 12th century John Beleth (copied by Durandus A.D. 1285, *Ration.* VII. xxxv. 38) says, "Let ivy or bay, which keep the greenness of their leaves for ever, be placed in the sarcophagus near the bodies, to express that they who die do not cease to live in Him" (*Div. Off. Explic.* 141).

XXII. *Instruments of suffering buried with Martyrs.*—St. Babylas, A.D. 250, according to St. Chrysostom, requested to be buried with the iron chains in which he had died (*De Babyla c. Julian*, 11). St. Ambrose, about 393, asserts that he found in the grave of Agricola at Bologna the cross and nails by which he had suffered in 303 (*Exhort. Virgin.* ii. 9). St. Sabine desired that the stone which was to be tied to him when thrown in the river should be buried with his body (Surius, March 13; not in the copy of Baluze, *Miscell.* i. 12; ed. Mansi). When the body of St. Daniel was found in 707, the nails by which he suffered were found with him (*Petr. Natal.* ii. 60, apud Franzen. *de Fun. Vet. Christ.* 181). For other objects found in tombs, see CATACOMBS, Vol. I. p. 314.

XXIII. *One not buried on another.*—This was forbidden by the council of Auxerre, 578: "Non licet mortuum super mortuum mittere" (can. 15), and by a law of Childeric about 744 (*Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 153), which was adopted by the compilers of the Carlovingian code (vi. 197). The reason of the prohibition is not given; but we may believe that it could not have been that assigned in an inscription given by Gruter: "Solus cur sim quaeris. Ut in die censorio sine impedimento facilius resurgam" (*Corp. Inscript.* mlii. 8).

XXIV. *Flowers on the Grave.*—St. Ambrose, 392, clearly alludes to a custom of decking the grave with flowers in his oration on the death of Valentinian: "I will not scatter his tomb with

[a] The words ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ in Pseudo-Amphilochius (*Vita S. Bas.*) are an interpolation. See Amphil. *Opera*, p. 224; Par. 1644.

[b] Isidore of Seville, *de Situ Corporum SS. Petri et Pauli*, has been cited to shew that Christians buried to the east in the 1st century. There is no work of Isidore's under that title, and the reference can only be to the tract once ascribed to him, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum* (App. 20; vii. 388, Rom. 1802), where we read in the account of St. Peter: "Sepultus in Vaticano ab urbe Roma ad orientem (forte, *occidentem*) tertio milliario" (§ 39). One MS. (*Isidoriana*, *ibid.* c. 107) says of St. Peter, "Ad Australem plagam est sepultus," and of St. Paul, "contra Orientalem plagam."

flowers, but will bedew his spirit with the odour of Christ. Let others scatter lilies from full baskets; our lily is Christ" (*De Obit. Valent.* 56). St. Jerome, in 397, addressing one who had lately become a widower: "Other husbands scatter over the tombs of their wives violets, roses, lilies, and purple flowers, and solace their heart's pain by these offices. Our Pammachius waters the holy ashes and venerable bones with the balsam of alms" (*Epist.* 66, § 5). Prudentius, A.D. 405, alludes to the same custom (*Peristephanon, Hymn* iii. prope fin.; *Cathem. Hymn.* vii. in fin.).

In Gregory of Tours (*de Glor. Mart.* 71) we read of sage-leaves scattered in the crypt of a basilic "in honour of the martyrs" buried there.

XXV. *Lights at the Grave.*—It is impossible to say when this practice began. The council of Elvira, about 305, ordered that "wax lights shall not be burnt in a cemetery in the daytime: for the spirits of the saints are not to be disquieted" (can. 34); the more probable sense of which is, that a needless blaze of light in the daytime would disturb the devotions of the faithful who frequented the cemetery for private prayer. See *Notitia Eucharistica*, 133 note; ed. 2. It is probable that these were in honour of martyrs only. The practice was apparently the same when Vigilantius wrote about 404: "We see under pretext of religion a custom introduced into the churches, after the fashion of the Gentiles, of burning masses of wax lights while the sun is still shining. . . . These people do a great honour to the most blessed martyrs, in conceiving them to receive light from worthless wax tapers, whom the Lamb, who is in the middle of the throne, lights with the full blaze of His majesty" (apud Hieron. *contra Vigilant.* § 4). Jerome ascribed the practice to women who had more zeal than knowledge, but at the same time defended it, "Hoc fit martyribus, et idcirco recipiendum est" (§ 8). At a later period we find lights left at the graves of others besides martyrs, and often renewed as at theirs. Thus when the mother of Aredius was buried, 570, "they placed a wax candle at her head" (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Conf.* 104). This is related incidentally; so that we infer a common practice. In the East Pseudo-Athanasius says: "Fail not to burn oil and wax at his tomb; for these things are acceptable to God, and they bring a great reward from Him" (apud Joan. Damasc. *Orat. de iis qui in Fide dormierunt*, § 19). See LIGHTS, THE CEREMONIAL USE OF, § ix.

XXVI. *Almsgiving at Funerals.*—The giving of alms both at the funeral and on days of commemoration was so strongly inculcated and strictly practised both in the East and West, that it is desirable to shew the grounds of it as well as to give testimonies to the fact; the more so because the reason more commonly alleged gave rise to momentous consequences in after-ages. The *Apostolical Constitutions*, about 200, appear to regard it as a simple act of piety to the deceased, to conciliate respect for his memory and to keep it alive among the people: "Of the things belonging to him, let there be given to the poor for a remembrance of him" (*εἰς ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ*, viii. 42). Before the end of the 4th century, however, we find St. Chrysostom insisting without hesitation on a very different reason: "I shew you another mode of honouring the dead than by costly graveclothes, . . . the vesture of almsgiving. This garment will rise again with him" (*Hom.* 85 *in Ev. S. Joan.* § 5). Elsewhere he urges the practice that the departed "may be clothed with greater glory. If he has died a sinner, that his sins may be loosed: if a righteous man, that there may be an addition to his recompense and reward" (*Hom.* 31 *in S. Matt. Ev.* ix. 23). Again, speaking of a sinner who has "offended God in many things," he says: "It is right to weep (for him), or rather not to weep only, for that does not profit him, but to do those things that may bring him some comfort,—to give alms, to wit, and make offerings" (*Hom.* 6[illegible] *in S. Joan. Ev.* § 5). A later Greek writer calls "the alms left to the poor by the departed dead sacrifices," but adds, "Nevertheless, if he was merciful in his lifetime, his good deeds in death are accepted of God" (*Quaest. ad Antioch.* 90 inter *Opp.* S. Athan.).

The same sentiment prevailed in the Latin church at least from the middle of the 4th century. St. Jerome, for example, A.D. 397, says decidedly of Pammachius, that he moistened the ashes of his wife with the balsam of alms (*Epist.* 66 *ad Pamm.* § 6). St. Augustine: "It is not to be doubted that the dead are helped . . . by the alms which are distributed on behalf of their spirits; so that the Lord deals more mercifully with them than their sins have deserved" (*Serm.* 172, c. 2; sim. *Enchirid.* 110, § 29; *De Dulcitii Quaest.* ii. 4, and *De Cura pro Mortuis*, 18, § 22). He explains, however, that alms after death only profit those who have so lived as to be capable of benefit from them (*Ench.* u. s. cited by himself in *De Dulc. Quaest.* u. s.; comp. *Serm.* u. s. and *De Cura*, u. s.; also Isidor. Hispal. *de Offic.* i. 18). Laws were at length founded on the practice. Thus a canon of the English council of Cealchythe, A.D. 816, orders that on the death of a bishop "a tenth of his substance shall be given for his soul's sake in alms to the poor, of his cattle and herds, of his sheep and swine, and also of his provision within door, and that every Englishman [of his] who has been made a slave in his days be set at liberty, that by this means he may deserve to receive the fruit of retribution for his labours and also forgiveness of sins" (can. 10; Johnson's tr.).

XXVII. *The Feast at the Funeral.*—The motives which led to the giving of alms at a funeral also gave rise to a custom of entertaining the poor at a feast, which was often repeated on days of commemoration. An early allusion occurs in the *Apostolical Constitutions*: "In the memoriae of the departed, feast when invited in an orderly manner and in the fear of God, that ye may be able to intercede for those who have departed" (viii. 44). Constantine, about 325, speaks of the "perfectly sober feasts celebrated by many" at the funerals of the faithful "for pity and relief of the needy and the assistance of exiles" (*Orat. ad Sanct. Coetum*, 12). "Why," asks St. Chrysostom, "dost thou invite the poor and call priests to pray? That the departed may come to rest, you say, that he may find the Judge merciful" (*Hom.* 31 *in S. Matt. Ev.* ix. 23). "If thou wert commemorating a son or a brother deceased, thou wouldst be conscience-stricken if thou didst not observe the custom and invite the

poor" (*Hom.* 27 *in* 1 *Cor.* xi. 25). Paulinus, A.D. 397, has left a description of the funeral feast given by Pammachius, on the death of his wife, to the poor of Rome in the church of St. Peter (*Epist.* xiii. 11).

It will be observed that Pseudo-Origen speaks as if the festival were of the same character, whether it celebrated the death of a martyr or of a private friend. The fact is that the festivity of a saint's day was at first nothing more than the repetition of his funeral feast on the anniversary of his death. [CELLA MEMORIAE.]

When Christianity became the religion of the people, such occasions naturally led to excess and other evils. "I know that there are many," says St. Augustine, "who eat and drink most luxuriously over the dead" (*De Mor. Eccl.* 34, § 75). On this account St. Ambrose suppressed the feasts of commemoration at Milan (Aug. *Conf.* v. 2); but it is uncertain whether his prohibition embraced that held at the funeral itself. St. Augustine, encouraged by the example, induced his bishop Aurelius to do the same at Hippo (*Epist.* 22 *ad Aurel.* i. § 6). With this advice of St. Augustine to his bishop we may connect a canon of the council of Carthage, 398, at which both were present: "Let those who either refuse to the churches the oblations of the dead or give them grudgingly be excommunicated as slayers of the needy" (can. 95). The last phrase occurs also in a canon of Vaison in France, 442, where the reason assigned is that "the faithful departing from the body are defrauded of the fulness of their desires, and the poor of the relief of alms and needful sustenance" (can. 4). Modern writers have called the feast of which we have now spoken "the funeral agape." We are not aware that it was ever so called by the ancients. Nor does it answer to the true notion of an agape. It was not a common meal to which many contributed and of which all partook as an act of communion. Whatever its motive, it was simply a provision for the poor by the rich mourner, and it does not appear that even the giver of the feast sat down to it with those whom he fed.

Though the festivities of saints' days originated in the funeral feast, they are more properly referred to another head.

XXVIII. *The Eucharist at Funerals.*—The eucharist was celebrated at funerals, but we cannot say that this was general, even when the ceremony took place in the morning. The persons in whose case it is mentioned were of eminence. The *Apostolical Constitutions*, referring to the obsequies of the dead, say: "Offer both in your churches and in the cemeteries the acceptable eucharist, the antitype of the kingly body of Christ" (vi. 30); but this would be satisfied by any subsequent celebration. The council of Carthage, A.D. 397, orders that "the sacraments of the altar be celebrated only by men fasting;" and as a consequence, that when the "commendation of any deceased persons, whether bishops or others, is to take place in the afternoon, it be celebrated with prayers only, if they who celebrate it are found to have already broken their fast" (can. 29). The natural inference is that a celebration at the time was not considered all-important. Nor was it likely to have been so considered, seeing that it formed part of the later rites of commemoration. The following are among the instances on record of a celebration at the funeral itself. Eusebius says that Constantine was at his funeral "deemed worthy of the mystic liturgy, and enjoyed the communion of holy prayers" (*Vita Const.* iv. 71). St. Augustine says in reference to his mother's burial, "Those prayers which we poured out to Thee, when the sacrifice of our ransom was offered for her, the body already placed near the tomb before its burial, as is the custom there," &c. (*Conf.* ix. 12, § 32). So at the funeral of St. Augustine himself: "The sacrifice for commendation of the burial of the body was offered to God, and he was buried" (Possid. in *Vita Aug.* 31). Similarly in the 6th century, St. Lupicinus was buried "celebratis missis" (Greg. Tur. *Vitae Patr.* 13).

St. Ambrose was carried from the church (where he lay in state) "after the celebration of the divine sacraments to the Ambrosian basilica, in which he was buried" (Paulinus, in *Vita S. Ambr.* 48). As this was on Easter Day, the celebration was not "pro defuncto," but his name would be inserted in the office for the day. "For this, handed down from the fathers, the whole church observes, that prayer be made for those who have died in the communion of the body and blood of Christ, when they are commemorated in their place at the sacrifice itself, and that it be also mentioned that it is offered for them" (Aug. *Serm.* 172, § 2). To this commemoration of the departed St. Cyprian refers when he says of an offender, "He does not deserve to be named at the altar in the prayer of the priest," which he otherwise expresses by saying that "that sacrifice should not be offered for his falling asleep" (*Epist.* i. p. 8). In accordance with this Cyril of Jerusalem says, "We pray for the holy fathers and bishops, and, in a word, for all who have gone to their rest among us, believing that a great benefit will result to the souls of those for whom the prayer is offered when the holy and awful sacrifice is set forth" (*Catech. Myst.* v. 6). This will receive illustration from later sections.

XXIX. *Commemorations.*—There were commemorations by prayer and eucharist at various periods after the death or burial. Thus the *Apostolical Constitutions*: "Let the *third* day of those departed to rest be celebrated in psalms and reading (of Scripture) and prayers, for the sake of Him who rose again on the third day; and the *ninth* for a remembrance of the surviving and the deceased; and the *fortieth* (some MSS. *thirtieth*), because the people thus bewailed Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 8), and the *anniversary* in remembrance of the person, and let there be given of his substance to the poor for a memorial of him" (viii. 42, the original text; sim. the Coptic *Constit.* 76, Tattam's tr. 146). St. Ambrose says that some observe the *third* and the *thirtieth*, others the *seventh* and the *fortieth* day after death (*De Obitu Theod.* 3). His oration on the death of Theodosius was delivered on the fortieth. His first *De Excessu Satyri* was preached at the funeral ("procedamus ad tumulum," sub fin. § 78); the second on the seventh day after the death (§ 2). In a story told by Palladius, 401, the fortieth day was being celebrated in a monastery on a certain occasion for one person, and the third for another at the same time (*Hist. Laus.* 26). An African bishop, writing to St. Augustine, says, in refer-

ence to the funeral of a friend, "For the space of three days we praised the Lord with hymns over his grave, and on the third day we offered the sacraments of redemption" (*Ep.* 158, inter *Epp.* Aug. § 2). Justinian in his laws recognises the days mentioned in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (*Coll.* ix. 16, xvi.; *Novell.* 133, c. 3). The rules laid down by Theodore of Canterbury, a Greek of Tarsus by birth, are especially interesting, from his history and position: "He ought to celebrate the masses of departed laymen thrice in the year, on the third day, the ninth day, and thirtieth day; because the Lord rose on the third day, and gave up the ghost at the ninth hour, and the sons of Israel bewailed Moses thirty days" (*Capit.* 37; Labbe, *Conc.* vi. 1876). "For a deceased monk mass is performed on the day of his burial, on the third day, and afterwards, if the abbot will; for a good layman three or seven masses are to be said, after fasting; for a penitent, on the thirtieth or seventh day; and his relations ought to fast, and offer an oblation on the altar on the fifth, as in Jesus, the son of Sirach, it is read, 'The children of Israel fasted for Saul;' and afterwards, if the presbyter will" (*ibid.* 19). Of "monks or religious men," he says that at Rome "a mass is performed for them on the first and third, and ninth and thirtieth day; and it is observed again at the end of the year, if they will" (*ibid.* 90, 1877). Amalarius, at the beginning of the 9th century, says, "We have it written in a certain sacramentary (comp. the Gelasian, iii. 105; Murat. i. 762) that the offices of the dead are to be celebrated on the third, the seventh, and the thirtieth day" (*De Eccl. Off.* iv. 42). It is naturally inferred from some of the foregoing authorities that these days were reckoned from the death; but at Rome, during the latter part of one period, at least, it seems to have been from the burial; for in the Gelasian Sacramentary, a commemorative missa has this title, "Missa in Depositione Defuncti tertii, septimi, xxx^mi dierum, vel annualem" (Murat. *u. s.*). So in the Gregorian Prefaces (Murat. ii. 355), "In die depositionis Defuncti tertio, et septimo, et trigesimo."

Although the ninth day was so widely observed, especially in the East, we find it rejected by St. Augustine, as recalling a heathen observance. He says that it has no precedent in Scripture: "Therefore they ought, as it seems to me, to be kept from this custom ("which they call among the Latins, *novemdial*," *ibid.*), if any Christians observe that number in the case of their dead, which belongs rather to the custom of the Gentiles" (*Quaest. in Gen.* 172).

XXX. *Annual Commemorations.*—The celebration at the year's end was recurrent from a very early period. Tertullian, A.D. 195, says, "We make oblations for the departed by way of birthday gifts on the anniversary" (*De Cor. Mil.* 3). St. Cyprian, 250, of certain martyrs: "We always, as ye remember, offer sacrifice for them, as often as we celebrate the passions and days of the martyrs by an annual commemoration" (*Epist.* 39, p. 77). Gregory Nazianzen thus apostrophises his deceased brother Caesarius: "Every year will we, at least those who are left alive, offer honours and rites of commemoration" (*Orat.* vii. § 17). It is probable that Monica had in mind this custom of a yearly commemorative celebration of the eucharist when she said, shortly before her death, "I ask no more than that, wherever ye are, ye will remember me at the altar of the Lord" (Aug. *Conf.* ix. 9).

XXXI. *Daily Masses for the Dead.*—In the 6th century we find masses said daily in the West on behalf of the departed: *e.g.* a widow of Lyons "celebrated masses every day, and offered an oblation pro memoria viri" (Greg. Turon. *de Glor. Conf.* 65). Gregory of Rome in his *Dialogues* (iv. 55) speaks of a priest who "for a whole week afflicted himself in tears, and daily offered the salutary host" for one deceased. He also relates of himself that he once ordered a priest "to offer sacrifice for thirty days consecutively" for the soul of a monk who had broken his rule (*ibid.*). It is, in all probability, owing to this statement of Gregory, that the practice of trentals (trigintale, trentale, trigintalium, trigintinarium, trentenarium, tricenarium, &c.) was said to have originated with him (Sala in Bona, *Rer. Lit.* i. xv. 4). We do not hear of it, however, as usual, until the 8th century. In 757, Lullus, archbishop of Mentz, writes to his presbyters: "We have sent you the names of the lord bishop of Rome (Stephen II., lately deceased), for whom let each one of you sing thirty masses et illos psalmos et jejunium (*probably corrupt*), according to our custom" (Ep. 107, inter *Epp.* Bonifacii, ed. Würdw.). In the 9th century, the faithful in France were commanded to keep fast and to make oblations for their kindred thirty days (*Capit. Reg. Fr.* vi. 198). Similarly Herard of Tours (can. 58): "Triginti diebus amici et parentes pro eis agant." This lengthened observance of thirty days was obviously suggested by Numb. xx. 29 and Deut. xxiv. 8. In Bede we read of a priest who offered masses frequently (saepius, crebras) for a brother supposed to be dead (*Hist. Eccl. Angl.* iv. 22). They do not appear to have been daily, nor is any period mentioned throughout which he offered them.

XXXII. *Where the Name of the Deceased was introduced.*—For several centuries there were no special prayers provided for use when the eucharist was celebrated on account of one departed: only the name was introduced at some appropriate part of the service. The council of Châlons-sur-Saône, 813, orders that "in every celebration of the mass the Lord be entreated for the spirits of the departed at a suitable place" (can. 39). At that place the names were mentioned. It varied, as at length fixed by custom, in the several liturgies. [DIPTYCHS; NAMES, OBLATION OF.]

XXXIII. *Missa Defuncti.*—We do not know when, at a celebration for the dead, a set of proper prayers (Missa pro Defuncto, Missa Defuncti) was substituted for the usual collects. For a long period "a mass for the dead differed [only] from an ordinary mass in being celebrated without Gloria, and Alleluia, and the kiss of peace" (Amal. *de Eccl. Off.* iii. 44). There is reason to think that the change began in France, for our earliest examples of a Missa Defuncti are thence. One occurs in the Besançon Sacramentary discovered at Bobio, consisting of a proper Praefatio (Gallican), Collectio, Post nomina, Ad pacem, and Contestatio (*Musaeum Ital.* i. 385). The MS. is of the 7th century. There is also a fragment of a Missa pro Defunctis

discovered by Niebuhr, and published by Bunsen, which the latter ascribes to Hilary of Poitiers, A.D. 350 (*Analecta Antenic.* iii. 263). Had it been so early, we should certainly have found similar forms in all the sacramentaries used in France, but there are none in the Gallico-Gothic, the Frankish, or old Gallican, the MSS. of which date from about 550 to about 800 (Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii. 513). There are several such missae in the Mozarabic Missal, but we can gather nothing to the purpose from this fact, as that liturgy was in use and receiving additions till the 11th century. Turning to Rome we find several such masses in the Gelasian Sacramentary (Murat. i. 752, &c.), the MS. of which is at least 1100 years old; but they could not have been in general use or much known when Amalarius wrote (827), for beside the remark quoted above he says expressly (*ibid.*), "Recordatio mortuorum nuncupative agitur ante *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*," *i.e.* in the canon. The MSS. of the Gregorian Sacramentary, in which similar forms are found (Murat. ii. 752), do not carry us with probability higher than the 8th century. The Gelasian Missa Defuncti contained a collect for the day, Secreta, Infra actionem, Post Commun. (*Greg.* Ad complendum), to which the Gregorian adds a proper preface (Murat. ii. 354 *et seq.*).

The name of the person for whom the oblation was made was inserted in each of the proper prayers of the Missa. Thus in the Besançon Sacramentary: "That Thou vouchsafe to take the soul of Thy servant N. (famoli Tui *ill.*) into the bosom of Abraham" (*Praef.*); "To take to Thyself the soul of Thy servant N." (coll.); "We pray Thee for the soul of Thy servant N." (Post nom.); "For the spirits of all the departed, but chiefly for the soul of this Thy servant N." (Ad pac.); "Do Thou, O Christ, receive the soul of Thy servant N." (Contest.) (*Mus. Ital.* i. 385).

These Missae pro Defunctis were in use in the church of Rome before prayer for acknowledged saints was given up in it. The Secreta for the feasts of St. Leo and St. Gregory was left with the following petition in it down to the 13th century (see Innocent III. *Decr. Const.* iii. 130): "Grant, O Lord, that this oblation may profit the soul of Thy servant Leo (*or* Gregory)" (Murat. ii. 25, 101).

The omission of the Alleluia which Amalarius (*u. s.*) seems to have thought universal in his time was, as we have seen, contrary to the feeling of the earlier church. Nor was this expression of joy ever quite disused even in the West. It is sung with the Officium or Introit of the Mozarabic *Missa Defuncti:* "Thou art my portion, O Lord. Alleluia." "In the land of the living. Alleluia," *bis* (*Miss. Moz.* Leslie, 456). Compare the *Officium pro Defunctis* mentioned at the end of § vii. 1.

The Antiphonary ascribed to Gregory I. supplies two sets of Antiphons for these Missae Defunctorum (Pamelius, *Rituale PP.* ii. 175), in which the chief point of interest is that one of them has the introit, "Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis" (from 2 Esdr. ii. 345; Vulg. 4 Esdr.), still in use. The former clause of it had been used earlier as a capitulum (see before, vii. 1).

XXXIV. *Abuse of Masses for the Dead.*—A dreadful crime to which these missae gave occasion is described as frequent by the council of Toledo in 694. Priests would say "missam pro requie defunctorum" for a living object of their hatred, in hope that it would cause his death, "ut . . . mortis ac perditionis incurrat periculum" (can. 5). It is difficult to believe that this was very common, though the council affirms that many priests ("plerique sacerdotum") were guilty of it. Gratian gives the canon in brief, but preserves this startling expression (II. xxvi. v. 13, § 1; *Quicunque sacerdotum*).

XXXV. *Mutual Compacts for Masses, &c.*—In the 8th century we begin to hear of agreements between priests that prayers and masses shall be said by the survivors for those of the number who should pre-decease them. In 752 we find Boniface making this proposal to the abbot Optatus: "We earnestly beseech you that there be the intimacy of brotherly charity between us, and that there be mutual prayers for the living, and that prayers and masses be celebrated for those who depart out of this world, when the names of the deceased shall be sent from either of us to the other" (*Ep.* 93). About the same time Cuthbert writes to Lullus: "The names of the brethren which thou hast sent to me are recorded with the names of the brethren of this monastery who sleep in Christ, so that I have given order to celebrate for them ninety masses, and more than that" (*Ep.* 127, inter *Epp.* Bonif.). As the writer speaks of the "amicitiae foedera" long existing between them, and entreats Lullus to continue to pray for him, and declares that he (Cuthbert) remembers him in his "daily prayers," we shall not be wrong in regarding this celebration of masses as another instance of the mutual engagements then becoming common. In 765 a number of bishops and abbots, met in council at Attigni-sur-Aisne, agreed that "every one of them . . . should, when any one of their number departed this life, say one hundred psalters, and their presbyters sing a hundred special masses for him; and that the bishop should himself perform thirty masses, unless prevented by sickness or any other hindrance, in which case he was to ask another bishop to sing them for him. Abbots, not bishops, were to ask bishops to perform thirty masses in their stead, and their presbyters were to perform one hundred masses, and their monks to remember to sing one hundred psalters" (Labb. *Conc.* vi. 1702). A similar compact was entered into by the bishops at Tousi or Savonières in 859 (see can. 13, Labb. viii. 678). [See NECROLOGIUM.]

XXXVI. *To whom Christian Rites were denied.*—Catechumens were not generally buried with the solemnities that we have described. St. Chrysostom, after a reference to those rites, says: "But this concerns those who have departed in the faith. Catechumens are not thought worthy of this consolation, but are deprived of every help of the kind, with one exception. What is that? We can give to the poor on their behalf, and that yields them a certain solace, for God wills that we should be benefited by one another" (*Hom.* iii. *in Ep. ad Philipp.* § 4; sim. *Hom.* xxiii. *in Ev. S. Joan*, § 3; lxxxv. 50; *Hom.* 21 *in Act.* App. 3, 4). This was the rule, but there must have been exceptions in the case of catechumens who suffered death for the faith, for their martyrdom was considered an effectual baptism in blood (see Bingham, x. ii. 20, and

MARTYR), and must therefore, we presume, have been held to entitle the sufferer to every Christian privilege after death. The inference is slightly strengthened by the fact that, when catechumens are related to have suffered with the baptized, no difference of treatment after death is noticed (see Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 4). We may believe the same of those who were prepared for baptism, but lost it through no fault of their own. "I conclude," says Augustine, "that not only suffering for the name of Christ can supply that which is wanting of baptism, but that faith and conversion of heart can also, if it so happen that in the difficulties of the time help is not forthcoming toward the celebration of the mystery of baptism" (*De Bapt. c. Don.* iv. 21, § 29). Valentinian was an instance. He was prepared, and earnestly desired to be baptized, but was cut off suddenly before he could receive the sacrament. We should infer from the language of St. Ambrose that he was buried with all the usual rites; for not only did he deliver a funeral oration on the occasion of his death, but in it he says, "Give the holy mysteries to his manes; let us pray for his rest with pious affection. Give the heavenly sacraments; let us wait on his soul with our oblations" (*De Obitu Valent.* 56).

In 563 the council of Braga decreed that "neither the commemoration of an oblation nor the office of psalm-singing should be bestowed on catechumens who had died without the redemption of baptism" (can. 17); and, with regard to suicides, that "no commemoration should be made for them in the oblation, and that their bodies should not be conducted to the grave with psalms" (can. 16). Both these rules, the council declares, had been violated through ignorance. It made the same order with reference to those who are "punished for their crimes" (can. 16). The council of Auxerre, 578, also forbids the oblation of suicides to be received (can. 17). Earlier than either, the council of Orleans, 533, says: "We judge that the oblation of the dead who have been cut off in any crime (*i.e.* probably, 'while under accusation for any offence'), ought to be received, provided that they are proved not to have brought death on themselves by their own hands" (can. 14). Eugenius II., A.D. 824, deprives nuns who persist to the last in breach of rule, of "Christian burial" (*Decr.* 3). He decrees the same against those who exhibit feats of strength at fairs, &c., though granting them "penance and the viaticum" (*ibid.* 7). The council of Mentz, 848, decrees that "the bodies of those who are hung on the gallows may be carried to church, and masses and oblations offered for them, if they have confessed their sins" (can. 27).

XXXVII. *Unreconciled Penitents.*—The Gregorian Sacramentary provides a "Missa pro Defunctis desiderantibus Poenitentiam et minime consequentibus" (Murat. ii. 219), to which this is prefixed: "If any one who asks for penance rubric shall be deprived of the power of speech while the priest is coming, it is determined that, if suitable witnesses have declared this, and he himself proves it by any gestures, the priest do all things in regard to the penitent according to the custom." The proper collects assume that he desired absolution, and pray that his death may not deprive him of the "fruit of penance which his will desired." See further on this, OBLATIONS, § iii. 2, from which it will be seen that the earlier discipline of the church of Rome was different.

Among writers on this subject are Jac. Gretser, *De Christianorum Funere*, Ingolst. 1611; J. B. Casalius, *De Funeribus Priscorum Christianorum* in his work *De Vet. Sacr. Christ. Rit.* c. 66, Rom. 1647; Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iii. 12–15; J. E. Franzenius, *De Funeribus Vet. Christian.* Helmst. 1709; Onuphr. Panvinius, *De Ritu sepel. Mort. apud Vet. Christianos*, last printed at Leipzig in 1717; F. Nicolai, *De Luctu Christianorum, sive de Ritibus ad Sepulturam pertinentibus*, Lugd. Bat. 1739; L. A. Muratorius, *De Veterum Christianorum Sepulcris* in *Anecdota*, i. Disq. 17; and *De Antiquis Christianorum Sepulcris* in *Anecdota Graeca*, Disq. iii., both reprinted by Zaccaria in his edition of Fleury's *Disciplina Populi Dei*, Venet. 1761 and 1782; where see also Filesacus, *Funus Vespertinum;* Hugo Menardus, Nota 680 in *Sacram. Gregor.* Paris, 1642, reprinted in *Opp.* Greg. III., ed. Ben.; Alex. Aurel. Pelliccia, *de Christianae Ecclesiae Politia*, iii. § ii. 4–6, Neap. 1777, Colon. ad Rhen. 1829; Mart. Gerbert, *Vetus Liturgia Alemannica*, Disq. Praev. xi. Monast. San-Blas. 1776. See also the *Report on Burial Rites* of the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation, 1877. [W. E. S.]

**OCEANUS.** (1), martyr with Theodorus, Amianus, Julianus; commemorated Sept. 4 (Basil, *Menol.*); the same or another, Sept. 18, at Nicomedia (Wright's *Ancient Syr. Mart.* in *Journal of S. Lit.* 1866, 429). [C. H.]

**OCTAVA**, sister, probably, of St. Laurentius; commemorated Aug. 17. (Usuard, *Mart.*) [C. H.]

**OCTAVAE INFANTIUM**, Low Sunday or the octave of Easter, otherwise called *Dominica in Albis*, so called because the white bands which were wrapped round the heads of the newly-baptized infants were then taken off. "Hodie Octavae dicuntur infantium, revelanda sunt capita eorum, quod est indicium libertatis" (August. *de Temp.* 160, § 1); and again, "vos qui baptizati estis et hodie completur sacramentum Octavarum vestrarum, infantes appellamini quia regenerati estis." (*Ibid. Serm.* 11, *de Diversis.*) [E. V.]

**OCTAVE OF A FESTIVAL.** (*Octava, Octavae.*) The eighth day, or space of eight days, after a festival, kept as a prolongation or repetition of the festival itself, *honoris causa.* It is a Western custom, apparently unknown in the Oriental church. [See APODOSIS.] In more recent times the number of festivals to which octaves are assigned has been largely multiplied; and the octaves are divided into four classes, according to their degrees of solemnity; but within the first eight centuries it would seem that only Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost had this distinction, together with the Epiphany in some localities, and perhaps the Feast of the Dedication of the Church, or of the Patron Saint.

Various reasons have been assigned for the custom. Different writers on ritual have found a ground for it in the Jewish observance of the eighth day for circumcision, to which indeed St. Augustine refers in speaking of the

octave of Easter as kept by the newly baptized, Octavae Infantium (*de Div. Temp.* cap. i.; *Ep.* lv. 32, 33, &c.), or in the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles for eight days, or in the Feast of the Dedication of the Temple by Solomon, and of the re-dedication under Zerubbabel; or, again (under the new covenant), in the appearance of our Lord on the eighth day from the Resurrection; and in the mystical value of the number eight, as a symbol of perfection and of rest.

But the first actual trace of the custom upon which we light is the Octave of Easter, during which the newly baptized continued to wear their white baptismal garments. Bede mentions the Octave of Pentecost. In a capitulary of Charlemagne we meet with the octaves of Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter; in can. 26 of the council of Mainz (A.D. 813) with those of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. The end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century was the period to which may be assigned the chief growth of this observance. In the treatise *De Eccles. Off.* of Amalarius, we hear only of the octaves of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost; but it says also (iv. 36): "Solemus octavas natalitiorum aliquorum Sanctorum celebrare, eorum scilicet, quorum festivitas apud nos clarior habetur, veluti est in octavis apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et caeterorum Sanctorum, quorum consuetudo diversarum Ecclesiarum octavas celebrat," clearly implying that the custom was growing up in different parts of the church, but that it had not yet become a matter of uniform obligation.

As to the liturgical observance of these days, from the fact that neither in the Gelasian nor Gregorian Sacramentary is any mass assigned for the days within the octave, but only for the octave itself, we may perhaps infer that at first the octave was merely, as it is still in the majority of cases, a repetition of the festival, and of its office on the day week, and that afterwards the intermediate days were filled up by similar repeated commemorations. This would only hold good, however, of the principal octaves. The various rules for determining the right precedence of offices, when other festivals fall within an octave, belong to a period later than our limits.

For the literature of the subject see under Festival, adding Grancolas, *Commentarius Historicus in Romanum Breviarium*, lib. i, cap. 45; Venetiis, 1734. [C. E. H.]

**OCTAVIUS**, martyr at Turin, with Solutor and Adventor; commemorated Nov. 20. (Usuard, *Mart.*) Octavus (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**ODE.** The name ᾠδή is given in the Greek Church—

(1) To the nine Canticles which are said at Lauds. [Canticle, p. 285.]

(2) To certain rhythmical compositions, often of considerable beauty, relating to the special commemoration of the day, which are said in the Greek matin office. See Canon of Odes, p. 277; Office, the Divine; Troparia. The arrangement of these odes, generally nine in each office, separated into three groups by a short litany after the third and sixth, resembles that of Lections in the Western offices; they may in fact be said to take the place of lections, which are not used in ordinary offices in the East. (Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, c. i. § 5, p. 125.) [C.]

**OECONOMUS** (1), the house steward, or manager of a household. Possidius (*Vita August.* c. 24) says that St. Augustine never used key or seal, but committed the whole management of his domestic affairs to the most able of his clergy, who transacted all the business of receipts and payments, and gave in an annual account. See also *Conc. Ilerd.* (c. 16) quoted below.

2. The treasurer of a particular church. Thus Cyriac, before his elevation to the patriarchate of Constantinople, was oeconomus of the great church in that city. (*Chronicon Paschale*, p. 378.)

3. A diocesan official, holding a distinct position and discharging a public duty in managing all property belonging to the see. Originally the business connected with the temporal affairs of the see appears to have been managed by the bishop and his chapter. The council of Antioch, A.D. 341 (c. 24, 25), speaks of the possibility of the revenues of the church being misapplied by the bishop and his presbyters, and decrees that all church property should be administered with the knowledge of the whole of the clergy, both priests and deacons, and a regular account kept of the property belonging to the church, in order to prevent waste on the one hand, and spoliation of the property of a deceased bishop on the other. Though the appointment of an oeconomus is not specially decreed in these canons, yet it seems to have been considered as implied in them, or at least originating from them. At the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (act. 9), the case was brought forward of Ibas, bishop of Edessa, who was charged with malversation of the property of the church, and who promises that for the future the revenues of the see shall be administered by an oeconomus chosen from the clergy, according to the decrees of the great council of Antioch. From the date indeed of this council the oeconomus is recognised in the decrees of councils as one of the officials necessarily existing in a diocese. The council of Gangra (c. 7, 8) forbids under pain of anathema that any one shall receive or dispense the revenues of the church except the bishop himself, or the officer appointed to the stewardship of benefactions (εἰς οἰκονομίαν εὐποιΐας). The council of Chalcedon, already quoted, after declaring (c. 26) that it had come to the knowledge of the council that certain bishops administered the property of the church without an oeconomus, provides that every diocese should have an oeconomus, chosen from the clergy belonging to it (ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου κλήρου), who should manage the property of the church under direction (κατὰ γνώμην) of the bishop, in order that no waste should be made of the property, and publicity given to the way in which it was employed. In case of the death of a bishop (c. 25) the oeconomus was to manage the property of the see during the vacancy. The same council (c. 2) mentions the oeconomus among the officials in whose appointment simony is forbidden. The council of Lerida, A.D. 523 (c. 16), while reprobating the custom that appears to have prevailed among the Spanish

clergy of plundering the property of a deceased bishop, orders that the bishop who has charge of the funeral shall provide that all things are fitly and carefully managed, and that the officer who has charge of his domestic affairs, associating with himself one or two clergy, should pay the stipends of the clergy belonging to the bishop's household, and take charge of the property of the see for the succeeding bishop. The council of Valentia, A.D. 524 (c. 2), after again reprobating the custom of plundering the house of a deceased bishop, enacts that at the death of a bishop the incumbent of the nearest see should make an inventory within eight days of the goods and property belonging to the diocese, and send it to the metropolitan, who should put a proper person in charge of such revenues, in order that the clergy should receive their proper stipends during the vacancy, and the property be handed over unimpaired to the succeeding bishop. [VACANCY.] It would appear from these canons that the office of oeconomus was unknown in the dioceses of Spain at the date of the councils by which they were made. But the second council of Seville, A.D. 618 (c. 9), after reciting that it had come to the knowledge of the council that certain bishops had oeconomi chosen from the laity, enacts that no bishop should administer the temporal affairs of his diocese except through an oeconomus chosen from among his clergy, according to the decree of the council of Chalcedon, giving as a reason that it is unbecoming that a layman should be the representative vicarius of a bishop, or sit in judgment on church matters; and that those who are associated with a bishop in the administration of affairs ought not to differ with him either in apparel or profession. From this canon it appears that the oeconomus possessed some jurisdiction in the adjustment of financial matters. Thus we are told (Theod. Lect. *H. E.* i.) that Marcian, a convert from the sect of the Cathari, whom Gennadius of Constantinople appointed as his oeconomus, at once ordained that all the offerings of the faithful in Constantinople should belong to the churches in which they were made, instead of being considered the property of the great church. The fourth council of Toledo, A.D. 633 (c. 48), referring to the decree of the council of Chalcedon, enacts that every bishop should select from the clergy of his diocese those officers whom the Greeks call "oeconomi;" that is, who, in stead (vice) of the bishop, manage the affairs of the church. The council of Meaux, A.D. 845 (c. 47), strictly forbids the clergy of the diocese, under any circumstances, to elect an oeconomus to manage the temporal affairs of the see without the assent of the bishop; if the bishop, through bodily infirmity, is incapable of acting, the archbishop is to select the oeconomus with the assent of the bishop. Another council, A.D. 876 (*Conc. Pontigo.* c. 14), enacts that at the death of a bishop the oeconomus shall be his executor, and guardian of the property of the see.

The laws of the French kings make frequent mention of the oeconomus and his duties. A capitulary of Charles the Great (ii. c. 9, ed. Baluz.) provides that the oeconomus shall be responsible for any injury sustained by the property of the see during his administration; and also mentions an archioeconomus, probably the head of the other oeconomi. Photius (*Syntag.* tit. x. 2) gives an edict of Justinian commanding oeconomi to settle the accounts of their sees once a year. If bishops do not appoint oeconomi, the archbishops are to do so (*Nomocan.* tit. x. c. i.).

Oeconomi appointed in accordance with these decrees are frequently mentioned in ecclesiastical writers. Socrates (*H. E.* vi. 7) says that Theophilus of Alexandria appointed two Egyptian monks to the stewardship of his church (οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας), adding that they thus discovered his greediness and rapacity, and were so disgusted that they deserted their posts and retired to the desert (see Vales. *Annot.* in loco). Gregory the Great (*Epist.* iii. 22, p. 640), in the case of the vacant see of Salona in Dalmatia, orders that the oeconomus who was in charge of the diocese at the death of the bishop should continue to manage the revenues, and give in his account to the next bishop. A precept of Hincmar, bishop of Rheims, addressed to Hedenulph, bishop of Laon (*Gall. Conc.* ii. p. 660), strictly forbids him to take money for the appointment of an oeconomus, whom he styles the dispenser of the property of the church ("facultatum ecclesiae dispensator"). In an epistle to the church of Laon (*Opp.* ii. p. 178), the same prelate declares that the oeconomus was the proper guardian of the property of the see at the death of the bishop. Liberatus (*Brev.* c. 16) speaks of a certain John, who was promoted from being an oeconomus to be presbyter of the church at Tabennesus, and afterwards became again oeconomus, having charge of the revenues of all the churches. The duties of the oeconomus are defined at length by Isidore of Seville (*Epist.* i.; *Bibl. Patr.* viii. p. 210) as comprising all business relating to the building of churches, the management of all law matters in which the church was concerned, the superintendence of all fields, vineyards, and all ecclesiastical possessions, the division of the revenues in due proportion among the clergy, the widows, and poor, and the allowance of food and clothing to the clergy and others belonging to the bishop's household. But all to be done under the authority and by the direction of the bishop.

From all this two things seem clear—that the oeconomus was to be one of the clergy, and to be appointed by the bishop. But a canon of Theophilus of Alexandria (c. 9, in Beveridge, *Pandect.* ii. 173) says that the oeconomus was chosen by the vote of all the clergy. (See Bingham, *Antiquities*, iii. 13, § 1.)

In later years the duties of the oeconomus appear to have been transferred to the treasurer, Thesaurarius. [P. O.]

**OECONOMUS** (MONASTIC), Cymr. MAER, Gael. MAOR, Irish MAER, MAOR, MOHR, and FERTIGHIS (*Four Mast.* A.D. 777, 782: Fep a man, and Tiġ a house), called also EQUONIMUS (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 780 sq.), was "custos monasterii," spenser or house steward, having charge of the internal secular affairs of the monastery, such even as providing the corn and wood (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 213, c. 44; 393, c. 6). In *Four Mast.* A.D. 777, he is called prior, and may have been local administrator of the subject monasteries, or vice-abbat in the parent house (Reeves, *S. Adamnan*, 65, 365). As the oeconomus

of the see had charge of the gifts of the faithful, and, at a later period, of the episcopal and cathedral estates (Du Cange, *Gloss.* iv. 696, 697), so the monastic oeconomus received the tributes due to the monastery; while again in Ireland the airchinneach, in Scotland the herenach, and on the Continent the advocatus ecclesiae, farmed the monastic termon or lands, as the abbat's deputy, maor, or steward, with a percentage of one-third for his labour. The tributes and fines, in Irish "cain," were of various kinds, according to the form of transgression; as the amounts must have been considerable, a person of probity was required, and the ancient canons required the persons so entrusted to belong to the clerical order (Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* iii. c. 12, § 1, 2). But in Ireland the oeconomus or maor had custody also, specially in later times, of the sacred relics and valuable property belonging to the monastery; as at Armagh, the "Book of Armagh," and patron's bell (Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 150, 370), and St. Patrick's crozier, called the "Baculus Jesu" (Bernardus, *Vit. S. Malach.* c. 5), and held an endowment of land attached to the office, which being hereditary has given a name to the family of Mac Moyre, and to the townland of Ballymire beside Armagh (Todd, *S. Patrick*, 170, 171; Petrie, *Round Towers*, 333–335; O'Conor, *Rev. Hib. Script.* i. Ep. Nunc. pp. lvii. lviii). In illustration of this, we find the steward, maor, and later the thane, as a regal officer collecting the royal dues from the crown lands, and presenting the royal tenantry at the annual hosting; while a still higher official, called the mormaor, or lord high steward, discharged a similar duty in the larger province, which afterwards became the earldom or county. (Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings*, i. 29 sq., 329, 330; O'Curry, *Lect. Man. Cust. Anc. Irish*, i. pp. ccxliv. ccxlv.) [J. G.]

**OECUMENICAL** (*οἰκουμενικός*) (1). The word "oecumenical," when applied to a council, designates one to which the bishops of the whole world have been summoned; or the decrees of which have at any rate been accepted by the whole church. Οἰκουμενικός is of course derived from *ἡ οἰκουμένη*, which, though frequently applied to that portion of the world which was organised under the Roman empire, is commonly used both in the LXX. and in the New Testament for the whole inhabited earth (Bleek, *Erklär. d. drei ersten Evangg.* i. 68; COUNCILS, p. 474). The councils within our period which are recognised as oecumenical are, the First of Nicaea (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), and Chalcedon (451); the Second (553) and Third (680) of Constantinople, and the Second of Nicaea (787).

(2) On the title "oecumenical bishop," or "oecumenical patriarch," applied to the bishop of Rome, see POPE. [C.]

**OFFA JUDICIALIS.** [ORDEAL, V.]

**OFFERENDA.** [OFFERTORIUM.]

**OFFERINGS.** [OBLATIONS.]

**OFFERTORIUM.** (1) *Offertorium, Antiphona ad Offertorium, Cantus Offertorii, Offerenda*, were names given to the anthem sung while the oblations were received. We learn from St. Augustine that in his time "a custom had sprung up at Carthage of saying at the altar hymns from the Book of Psalms, whether before the oblation, or when that which had been offered was being distributed to the people" (*Retract.* 11). The latter hymn or anthem was afterwards called the COMMUNIO: the former the *offertorium* or *offerenda* in Italy, and its derived churches; the *sonum*, or perhaps more correctly, *sonus*, in Gaul, and the *sacrificium* in Spain. Whether the practice originated at Carthage, or had been observed before elsewhere, is not known. Walafrid Strabo, A.D. 842, did not not know who added to the office "the offertory which is sung during the offering," or "the antiphon said at the communion;" but believed that "in old times the holy fathers offered and communicated in silence" (*de Reb. Eccl.* 22).

Isidore, A.D. 595, appears to be the first who uses the word *offertorium*: "Offertoria quae in sacrificiorum honore canuntur" (*u. s.*). "Offerenda" was later, but apparently as common for a long period. It is used by Amalarius, *de Eccles. Off.* iii. 39: "De offerenda *Vir erat in terra*," where he has "offertorium" also; by Remigius of Auxerre (*de Celebr. Missae*, ad calc; Pseudo-Alcuin, *de Div. Off.* cap. 40); John of Avranches (*Rit. Celebr. Miss.* in App. *Sacram. Gregor. Opp.* Greg. iii. 255); Pseudo-Alcuin, *de Div. Off.* 19.

This anthem is not prescribed in the earliest Ordo Romanus, about 730; but in the second, perhaps about A.D. 800, after the creed, which is also absent from the first, "the bishop salutes the people, saying, The Lord be with you. After that he says, Let us pray. Then the offertorium is sung, with verses" (*Mus. Ital.* ii. 46). When the oblations have been all received and offered, "the pontiff, bowing a little towards the altar, looks at the choir, and nods to them to be silent" (47). The verses and offerenda were repeated until the offering was over. Remigius (*u. s.*) says, "Sequitur deinde offerenda, quae inde hoc nomen accepit, quod tunc populus sua munera offerat. Sequuntur versus, a *vertendo* dicti, quod in offerenda revertantur, dum repetitur offerenda." The offertory is not mentioned in the Gelasian Sacramentary (Murat. *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* i. 695); nor in the Vatican Gregorian printed by Rocca (*Opp.* Greg. v. 63; Antv. 1615); but it appears in the copies edited by Muratori (*u. s.* ii. 1), Ménard (*Opp.* Greg. ed. Ben. iii. 1, 74, 244), and Pamelius (*Rituale SS. PP.* ii. 178).

The Antiphonarium ascribed to Gregory, but later, provides offertoria for every considerable day of the Christian year. Walafrid (*u. s.*) tells us that down to his time no offertory was sung on Easter eve, nor do we find any provided in the antiphonary of Gregory (Pamel. *u. s.* ii. 111).

The Milanese *Offerenda*, now called offertorium (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. iv. xii. ord. 3), was constructed like the Roman (Pamel. *u. s.* i. 298). It is now sung while the priest is censing the altar and oblations, after having said the secret prayers of oblation (Mart. *u. s.*; Le Brun, *Dissert.* iii. art. ii.).

Germanus of Paris, 555, speaks of the Gallican offertory under the name of *sonum*. It began when the FERMENTUM was brought in: "Nunc autem procedentem ad altarium corpus Christi non jam tubis inreprachensibilibus, sed

spiritalibus vocibus praeclara Christi magnalia dulci modilia psallet Ecclesia" (*sic; Expos. Brev.* c. De Sono). In France this took place, not as at Rome before the service began (*Ord. Rom.* i. 8, ii. 4), but just before the offerings were made; when, "lectâ passione (it was the feast of St. Polycarp) cum caeteris lectionibus, . . . . tempus ad sacrificium offerendum advenit, acceptâque turre diaconus in quâ mysterium dominici corporis habebatur, ferre coepit ad ostium" (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Mart.* 86). We do not know any extant example of the Gallican sonum.

The Goths of Spain called their offertory *sacrificium*; but probably not till after the 6th century, as Isidore uses the word *offertorium* both in his book *De Officiis* (i. 16) and his Epistle to Leudefred (§ 13). In the latter, however, he uses the phrase "sacrificii responsoria" (§ 5), which, probably meaning the responses at the offering, would be a step towards the later usage. "Sacrificium" is always used in the Mozarabic Missal (Leslie, pp. 3, 8, 11, 17, &c.). Once we have, "Dicat chorus sacrificium quod dicitur offertorium." (8); but we cannot tell the age of the rubric.

(2) *Offertorium* was also the name of a large dish, often of precious materials, in which the loaves [OBLATES] were received from the offerers at the celebration of the Eucharist. In the *Life of Benedict* of Anagni, A.D. 801, we are told that he procured "very large silver chalices, silver offertoria, and whatever he saw to be needful for the work of God" (Ardo, 5, § 25; comp. § 33 in Bolland. Feb. 12). [OFFERTORY DISH.]

(3) Sheets of fine linen or richer material employed to receive or cover the offerings of bread, were also called *offertoria*. According to the *Ordo Romanus* (about A.D. 730), the loaves, as they were received by the celebrant, were put into a fine linen cloth (*sindonem*), which was carried after him for the purpose (*Ord.* i. 12; ii. 9; in *Mus. Ital.* ii. 11, 47).

(4) A cloth in which the chalice was held by the minister, when he lifted or set it on the altar. When the chalice had two handles, it was passed through them. *Ordo Romanus*, i.: "Levat calicem archidiaconus de manu subdiaconi regionarii, et ponit eum super altare juxta oblatam pontificis, a dextris involutis ansis cum offertorio" (§ 15); again, "Levat cum offertorio calicem per ansas" (§ 16; similarly *Ord.* ii. §§ 9, 10). Such a cloth under the same name was also used with the vessel in which the water was offered: "Aqua etiam . . . ab imo diaconorum . . . cum offertorio serico offertur" (*Instit. Monast. Cisterc.*; Cassandri *Liturgica*, 22). St. William the Duke, about 812, gave to the church of Gellon, among other gifts, "chalices of gold and silver, with their offertories" (*Vita*, § 21; *Acta S. Ord. Ben. IV.* i. 82).

(5) From the following passage it would appear that in France, in the province of Rheims at least, *offertorium* also signified, either the amula in which the wine was presented, or the offering of wine itself, as *oblatio* and *oblata* signified the offering of bread: "Let him offer for an oblation . . . one oblate only, and an offertorium. But if he shall wish to offer more wine in a bottle or can, or more oblates, let him," &c. (Hincmari *Cap. ad Presbyt.* 16). Probably for such large offerings of wine it was that Adrian of Rome, 772, gave to the church of St. Adrian in that city "amulam offertoriam unam, pensantem libras sexaginta et septem" (Anastas. Biblioth. *Vitae Pont.* n. 97). The use of this phrase favours the supposition that the offertorium of Hincmar was an amula. Similarly, in the *Charta Cornutiana*, an ancient forgery purporting to belong to the year 471, but evidently much later, a "hamula oblatoria" is among the gifts ascribed to the benefactor of a church (Anastas. B. ed. Rom. 1728, iii. Proleg. 31).

[W. E. S.]

**OFFERTORY PLATES.** We are not without examples of large dishes of precious metal, which, often originally presented as votive offerings, have been used in the services of the church as offertory plates. A silver-gilt dish of Byzantine workmanship is mentioned by De Rossi as in the possession of Count Gregory Stroganoff, which was found in 1867 in the island of Berezovoy in Siberia. It is six inches in diameter and weighs 1½ lbs. It bears no inscription, but there are some rude letters on the dish which give no intelligible sense. The dish bears a relief in *repoussé* work, consisting of a cross planted on a small globe studded with stars, beneath which issue the four rivers of Paradise, and on either side stand two nimbed angels, holding a rod in their left hand, and elevating their right hand towards the cross in token of adoration. De Rossi regards it as the work of Byzantine goldsmiths of the 6th century (*Bulletin. di Archeol. Cristian.* 1871, p. 153, tav. ix. 1) [PATEN]. A votive silver dish, also of Byzantine workmanship, of the 5th or 6th century, probably the offering of a victorious general, discovered, together with some spoons, at Isola Rizza, near the river Adige, in the Veronese territory, is also described by De Rossi (*Bulletin. di Arch. Crist.* 1873, pp. 118 ff. 151 ff.; tav. x. i.). The basin or dish is 1 ft. 4 in. in diameter, and weighs 4½ lbs. The dish bears a military scene in *repoussé* work. A mounted warrior, helmeted and mailed, pierces a fallen enemy, vainly endeavouring to cover himself with his shield and defend himself with his dagger. Another lies dead at his feet on his shield. The spoons bore a cross dividing the words "*utere felix.*"

A third dish, also of silver and of Byzantine manufacture, very similar in design to that last described, was found in a tomb at Perugia, early in the last century, together with earrings, fibulas, rings, and other personal ornaments (Bianchini, *de Aur. et Argent. Cimel. in agro Perusino effoss.* Romae, 1717), which have since disappeared and have probably been melted down. It was the subject of an elaborate treatise by Fontanini (*Discus Argenteus Votivus Veterum Christianorum*, Romae, 1727). The dish represents a mounted soldier bareheaded in a cuirass, transfixing a barbarian with cloke, shield, and dagger. Round it runs the inscription: "*De Donis Dei et Domni Petri. Utere felix cum gaud'o.*" From this it has been reasonably gathered that this basin once formed part of the altar furniture of the Vatican, and vain attempts have been made to identify the persons represented. De Rossi, misunderstanding the force of the genitive, interprets the inscription as indicating a gift of the

Roman Pontiff in the name of St. Peter and the Church to a victorious general, and expresses his belief that this, as well as the Veronese basin, may have been presented to a captain of the Byzantine army of Belisarius or of Narses. But there is no doubt that *Dona Dei* in ecclesiastical Latin signifies gifts made to God, *i.e.* votive offerings. Fontanini gives (p. 32) an inscription over a side door of the church of St. Peter's at Bagnacavallo, c. 857: *De Donis Dei et Sancti Petri Apostoli, Johannes umilis Presbyter fecit.* The inscription on the golden cover of the Evangeliarium given by Queen Theodelinda to the church of Monza contains the same formula, and there is no doubt that the meaning is the same here. Mabillon (*Iter Ital.* p. 77) mentions a similar dish of bronze in the Museo Landi, which he designates, on very insufficient grounds, the shield of Belisarius, exhibiting Vitiges as a suppliant. All these dishes are of Byzantine workmanship, and belong to the same period, the 5th or 6th century. The British Museum contains an example of an offertory dish of Northern manufacture once belonging to the abbey of Chertsey, and dug up in its ruins at the beginning of this century, bearing an inscription in characters variously regarded as Runic, Russian, or "a fanciful manipulation of German black letter" (Eric Magnusson). This vessel is a flat circular dish of nearly pure copper with a very wide rim, on which the inscription, of which we give a cut, is engraved.



Inscription on Offertory Dish.

Its diameter is about 9⅜ inches, and its greatest depth 1¼ inches. Mr. John Mitchell Kemble (*Archaeolog.* 1843, vol. xxx. pp. 40–46) regarded it as a copy made in the 10th or 11th century of a Scandinavian alms-dish used in the monastery almost from the time of its foundation in the 7th century. He renders the inscription in Saxon words: GÆ-TEOH VRÆCKO, *i.e.* "Offer, sinner." Mr. G. Stephens (*Runic Monuments*, vol. i. p. 482), on the other hand, considers it to be an original work of the 9th century, which must have found its way by gift or otherwise from the North of England, to which the words of the inscription belong. On the authority of Russian scholars he denies the Sclavonic character of the inscription (on which see *Archaeolog.* vol. xliv. pp. 73, 74), which is engraved "in mixt Runic and Decorated uncials." Mr. Stephens remarks that "more than once Old English charters mention an 'offring disc' presented to some church or monastery," and adds that during his residence in Scandinavia he had come across many modern examples copied from ancient works, with pious inscriptions cut or painted on them. [E. V.]

**OFFICE, THE DIVINE** (Officium Divinum). This stated service of daily prayer has been called by various names: such as *Opus Dei* in the rule of St. Benedict, as though it were the special work to be performed by the clergy for and to God; or *Cursus*, from the course of the sun which determines the hours of prayer (St. Columbanus, *Reg.* cap. 47), so called also by Gregory of Tours, "exsurgente Abbate cum Monachis ad celebrandum *Cursum;*" and by St. Boniface, bishop of Mentz, who bids his clergy "speciales horas et *Cursum ecclesiae* custodiant."

We also meet with the following terms used in the same sense:—*Collecta* in the rule of St. Pachomius; also the Greek words *canon* or *synaxis.* Also *agenda* in the acts of various councils, as being one of the more important duties to be performed. The term *missa*, also, is sometimes applied to the office for the hours of prayer. "In conclusione *matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum*" (*Conc. Agath.*).

The name *breviary*, by which the Divine office, or rather the book containing it, was subsequently known, and which in common use took the place of all others, probably originated in the form of office, thus designated, being an abbreviation of a previously existing form [BREVIARY, p. 247].

The object of this article is to give an outline of the offices for the several hours of prayer, which together constitute the *Divine office*, as distinguished from the liturgy—of the *breviary*, in a word, as distinguished from the *missal.*

There is much obscurity as to the sources and original form of these offices. Hence many conjectures, some resting upon very slight hints. To pursue this most interesting inquiry with any fulness would far exceed the limits of an article, and we must content ourselves with the bare statement of results arrived at. It is sufficient for our purpose that the germ of the offices as they now exist may be traced to primitive, if not to Apostolic times.

But though in course of time the Eastern and Western forms of worship came to differ so much from each other, that in the opinion of a learned modern writer, the Oriental rites (*i.e.* of the daily office) are, as to their origin, "perfectly distinct from those of the Latin churches" (Palmer, *Orig. Lit.* vol. i. p. 218), it seems more probable that both the Greek and Latin offices were derived from the same source, and that the wide subsequent divergence is due to the different manner in which they were developed or added to, and largely to the different bent of the Greek and the Latin minds, and the different genius of the Greek and the Latin languages.[a] It is also probable that the germ of both Eastern and Western forms alike is to be found in the earliest Eastern forms.

This form appears to have consisted in the recitation of psalms, together with prayers and hymns, but with no lessons; and to have been designed for use during the night and in the early morning. SS. Basil and Chrysostom and others often speak of these services. The origin of these prayers has been traced with much probability to the "Eighteen prayers" used in the Jewish synagogue. [Archdeacon Freeman develops this theory with much ingenuity in his learned work *The Principles of Divine Service*, cap. i. sec. iii.] It may be permitted to say a few words on the origin and growth of the Western rites, and especially of the Roman. This has undoubtedly the

[a] No one, I venture to think, can study the Greek and Latin office books without being struck with this difference; and few, I would add, without feeling the wonderful beauty and fitness of the Latin language for purposes of devotion.

chief interest for Western Christians, as being the mould in which the devotions of the Western church have been cast for so many centuries. Though there were countless variations of national and local use in the early and mediaeval church, yet these variations were, after all, in matters of detail which did not touch the outline or substance of the office; and all the uses, with the two important exceptions of the Ambrosian and the Mozarabic, were closely modelled on the Roman pattern.

The earliest form of the Roman office appears to have consisted solely of the psalter, so distributed as to be recited once a week. At the end of the appointed number of psalms for the daily office *Pater noster* was said. This seems to have constituted the entire office, which contained no lessons, hymns, or collects. Traces of this custom may still be found in the title of the first part of the breviary, which is still called *psalterium*, though it now contains a great deal more than the psalter (indeed all the "ordinary" parts of the office, except the lessons and what is appointed with them, which are relegated to the *proprium de tempore*), and which is headed *Psalterium dispositum per hebdomadam;* and also in the fact that *Pater noster* is still recited at the end of the psalms of each nocturn.

Thus the author of the book *de Virginitate*, among the works of Athanasius, couples *Pater noster* with the psalms as forming a complete office; and Gregory of Tours (*Vit. Patr.* c. 5), when wishing to say that he had not yet recited his office, says he has not gone through his psalms: "Quod necdum Domino psalmorum decantationem debitam exsolvisset."

*Lessons* were in early times only read at the mass. So we find that of the early office books sent by Gregory the Great and others into Gaul, the missals alone contained any lessons. It will be seen, too, in the course of this article, that the nocturnal office [μεσονύκτιον or μεσονυκτικόν] of the Eastern church and the Mozarabic matins contain no lessons at the present time.

The first to introduce lessons into the nocturnal office appear to have been the monks, with the double object of thus obtaining variety in the office and occupation for themselves during the nocturnal watches. Thus St. Benedict in his order prescribed no lessons in the nocturnal office during the summer, when the nights are shorter; and when a question arose in the time of Charlemagne, why he had made this provision, Theodemarus, abbat of Monte Cassino, in a letter to the emperor, gives as the reason that before the time of St. Gregory the pope, it was not the custom at Rome to recite any lessons, and that that pontiff was the first to adopt them: "In Ecclesia Romana Sacras Scripturas legi mos non fuerit ante B. Greg. Pap." &c. [LECTION.]

Cassian, also, when describing the nocturnal office of the monks of Palestine, says only that after twelve[b] psalms they recited a prayer, and, *on Sunday only*, two lessons.

To this earliest form of office, *psalms* and *Pater noster*, the *Apostles' Creed* was added; and it is supposed that pope Damasus [A.D. 366–384] sanctioned an order of distribution of psalms, acting with the co-operation of St. Jerome, who is also reputed to have framed an order of lessons, known as *Comes Hieronymi*, or simply *Liber Comes* or *Liber Comitis*. [LECTIONARY.]

Whenever the lessons were finally made part of the office, it is clear that the course in which Scripture should be read was fixed definitely and by authority. For in all the variety of breviaries of the Roman type, however much the individual lessons may vary—and there are great variations—certain books are read in all at certain seasons; so that Isaiah is universally read in Advent, St. Paul's Epistles in the Epiphany season, Genesis and the rest of the Pentateuch from Septuagesima onwards, Jeremiah in Passiontide, the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles in Eastertide, and the historical, moral, and prophetical books from Trinity Sunday onwards. The Gospels were read at the Mass, and so do not appear in the course of daily reading. Indeed, so firmly has this sequence of books rooted itself into the mind of the church, that the modern French breviaries, which utterly revolutionised the order of saying the psalter, respected the course of Scripture reading, while often altering and lengthening the individual lessons.[c]

Gregory the Great added antiphons and responsories: and this, with the exception of minor enrichments, the date and origin of which it is often difficult to ascertain, brought the office to the degree of maturity which is sufficient for our present purpose, and, to the form in which it substantially exists and is used at the present day. Later modifications and revisions are beyond our scope.

We now proceed to give a skeleton of the offices themselves, beginning with those of the orthodox Eastern church. Details would be here unsuitable, and, unless entered into more fully than the space at command permits, would confuse what they were meant to elucidate.

The daily offices of the Greek church are contained in the HOROLOGIUM [p. 784]. They are arranged, beginning with the nocturnal office.

The following is the order of the offices:—

After a short introductory form of prayer to be said on rising from bed [ἐξαναστὰς τῆς κλίνης] follows:—

*The Office of the daily Midnight Service.*
[ἀκολουθία τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν μεσονυκτικοῦ.]
Introduction.

*If there be a Priest*, he says:—

"Blessed be our God, now and for ever and ever. Amen."

[εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. 'Αμήν.][d]

*If there be no Priest*, say:—

"By the prayers of our holy Fathers, O Lord Jesu Christ our God, have mercy upon us. Amen."

[δι' εὐχῶν τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων ἡμῶν, Κύριε 'Ιησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. 'Αμήν.]

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[b] It will be remembered that *twelve* is the number of psalms appointed for the nocturnal of ordinary days both in the Gregorian and Benedictine psalters.

[c] The reformed Church of England also respects this order in its Sunday lessons, which begin in Advent with Isaiah, at Septuagesima with Genesis, and which during the summer and autumn are taken from the historical and prophetical books.

[d] This formula is known in the books as ὁ εὐλογητός; and the priest is said ποιεῖν εὐλογητόν.

"Glory be to Thee, O our God, glory be to Thee."
[δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι.]

A short prayer to God the Holy Ghost for protection and purification, beginning:

Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε, Παράκλητε, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, κ.τ.λ.

and known as Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε.

"O Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Eternal, have mercy upon us."
[Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, Ἅγιος, Ἰσχυρὸς, Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, known as the τρισάγιον.]

*Three bowings of the head* [μετανοίας* τρεῖς] *Gloria Patri* [in its Eastern form, *i.e.* Δόξα Πατρὶ, καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ. καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. Often printed in the office books δόξα καὶ νῦν]. *A short prayer to the Holy Trinity* for pardon, and known from its opening words as Παναγία τριάς. *The Lord's Prayer*, with the Doxology. *Kyrie eleison twelve times. Glory. Both now.*

*The invitatory* in three clauses as follows:—

"O come let us worship and fall down before God our King.
O come let us worship and fall down before Christ our King and God.
O come let us worship and fall down before Christ Himself our King and God."
[Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν τῷ Βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν Θεῷ.
Δεῦτε προσ. . . . . . Χριστῷ τῷ Βασ. ἡμ. Θεῷ.
Δεῦτε προσ. . . . . αὐτῷ Χριστῷ, κ.τ.λ.]

*Three bowings of the head.*

After this introduction the office proceeds as follows:—

Ps. 50[f] [51]; Ps. 118 [119] (called the ἄμωμος), said in three divisions [στάσεις], each ending with *Glory; And now; three Alleluias*, and *three bowings of the head.* Then the [Nicene] (*i.e.* what is commonly called so, and so throughout the article) *Creed*, the *trisagion*, the *Most Holy Trinity*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and two *troparia* or hymns in rhythmical prose, suitable to midnight. Then a *theotokion* (or short hymn addressed to the Blessed Virgin, commemorative of the Incarnation); *Kyrie eleison forty times;* a prayer to Christ for grace and protection, and a few short ejaculatory prayers, the details of which vary with the day. From Sept. 22 to Palm Sunday a long prayer of St. Basil is said in this place.

At this point the *second watch*, or *nocturn*, may be considered to begin, and the office proceeds thus:—

*Invitatory* (as before). Pss. 120 [121], *Levavi;* 133 [134], *Ecce nunc; Glory. Both now. Alleluia. Trisagion, three bowings of the head; Most Holy Trinity; troparia;* a *theotokion; Kyrie eleison twelve times;* a *prayer* in commemoration of the departed; a short *ejaculatory prayer* to the Trinity, and one to the Theotokos.

Dismissal benediction.

The priest asks forgiveness from the people.[g]

A short *ectene* or *litany*, the response to each clause of which is *Kyrie eleison.*

The foregoing is the form of the midnight office [μεσονυκτικόν] for week days, Saturday excepted. On Saturday the office is the same up to the end of Ps. 50 [51]. Then follows:—

Pss. 64 [65], 65 [66], 66 [67], said in one *stasis*, followed by *Glory; Both now;* and *three Alleluias.*

Ps. 67 [68], said similarly as a second *stasis*, and Pss. 68 [69], 69 [70], said as a third.

*Troparia* and a longer prayer of the same nature as, though different from, those in the office for other days in the week.

The second portion of the office for Saturday, from the second occurrence of the Invitatory onwards, is the same as for other week days.

On Sundays the office is the same as on other days as far as the end of Ps. 50 [51]. Then follows the *triadic canon* (i.e. a canon having reference to the Trinity), and some *troparia* of similar import called *triadica* [τριαδικά]. Then the *trisagion* and other short formularies, including *Kyrie eleison* forty times; the *dismissal:* the whole concluding with the same *ectene* or *litany* as before.

*Lauds* [τὸ ὄρθρον]:—

*Blessed be*, &c. *Invitatory* (as at the nocturnal office).[h]

Pss. 19 [20], 20 [21];[i] *Glory; Both now; trisagion; Most Holy Trinity; the Lord's Prayer;* certain *troparia*, and a few responsory *petitions* for priest and people.

Then the six psalms following, known as the *Hexapsalmus*, prefaced by—

"Glory to God in the Highest, and on earth peace; good will towards men" [*said thrice*].
"Thou shalt open my lips, O Lord, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise" [*said twice*]:—

Pss. 3, 37 [38], 62 [63], 87 [88], 102 [103], 142 [143], each with its antiphon.

Twelve *Morning prayers* [ἑωθιναὶ εὐχαί] are said by the priest while the last three of these psalms are being recited. A few *stichoi* (nearly corresponding to our versicles), the *troparia* of the day, and the appointed portion or portions of *psalms* for the day (each portion being called a Cathisma [κάθισμα]).

Ps. 50 [51]. The *canon*, with the nine *odes*,[j] or only certain verses [στίχοι] from them, according to the day and the length of the *troparia* (or stanzas) of the canon. Then follow other *troparia*, or short hymns, under various names, but all of the same character.

*The lauds* [οἱ αἶνοι], *i.e.* Pss. 148, 149, 150.

*The great doxology* [*i.e.* Gloria in excelsis].

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[a] μετάνοιαι are divided into μετ. μικραί, *i.e.* inclinations of the head alone, what the Roman ceremonial calls "modica inclinatio," and μετ. μεγάλαι, which are made by bending the knee and prostration to the ground. When the word occurs, as in the text, without an epithet, μετ. μικραί are signified.

[f] Throughout this article the psalms are numbered according to the Greek and Latin versions, as they stand numbered in the office books. The number according to the English version, when it differs, is placed afterwards in brackets.

[g] This rite corresponds to the alternate *Confiteor* of the priest and people in the Roman offices. The priest is said in technical phrase λαβεῖν συγχώρησιν.

[h] This introduction is slightly varied during Lent.

[i] The distribution of Psalms will be given under PSALMODY; but for clearness, the fixed Psalms used in the daily offices are specified in this article.

[j] *I.e.* the Ode for the day. They are as follows: *Ode* 1, Song of Moses, Exod. xv.; *Ode* 2, Song of Moses, Deuter. xxxii.; *Ode* 3, Song of Hannah, 1 Sam. ii.; *Ode* 4, Song of Habakkuk, Hab. iii.; *Ode* 5, Song of Isaiah, Is. xxvi. 9; *Ode* 6, Song of Jonah, Jon. iii.; *Ode* 7, Song of the Three Children, Dan. iii. 1st part; *Ode* 8, Benedicite, Dan. iii.; *Ode* 9, Magnificat and Benedictus.

*Versicles* [στίχοι, chiefly from the Psalms, and corresponding to the Western *preces*].

*Litany*, &c.; *dismissal*.

This office, of which the foregoing is an outline, varies in detail on Sundays and certain other days. These variations are, for the sake of simplicity, omitted.

*The hours* [αἱ ὧραι]. *First hour* [k] :—

*Invitatory* (as before). Pss. 5, 89 [90], 100 [101], without antiphons.

A few *stichoi*, a *theotokion*, *trisagion* (*Most Holy Trinity*), *the Lord's Prayer*; a *theotokion* varying with the day of the week. A short prayer to Christ the true light, that He would shew the light of His countenance. *The dismissal*. [There are slight variations on Sundays and in Lent.]

The *mesorion of the first hour* :—

The *invitatory*. Pss. 45 [46], 91 [92], 92 [93]. *Trisagion*, *Most Holy Trinity*, *the Lord's Prayer*, two *troparia*, a *theotokion*, *Kyrie eleison forty times*; *Glory*; *Both now*; a *short hymn to the Theotokos*; *three great reverences*, i.e. *prostrations* [μετανοίας μεγάλας γ′]; and two prayers of St. Basil for protection and blessing during the day. *Glory*. *Both now*. *Dismissal*.

The *third*, *sixth*, and *ninth* hours, each with its *mesorion*, are of precisely the same form as the first, consisting, after the introduction, each of *three psalms*, *troparia*, &c., and ending with a prayer, so that it seems unnecessary to set them out. These parts are different for each hour. The *psalms* are :—

At the *third hour*, Pss. 16 [17], 24 [25], 50 [51]. At the *mesorion of the third hour*, Pss. 29 [30], 31 [32], 60 [61]. At the *sixth hour*, Pss. 53 [54], 54 [55], 90 [91]. At the *mesorion of the sixth hour*, Pss. 55 [56], 56 [57], 69 [70]. At the *ninth hour*, Pss. 83 [84], 84 [85], 85 [86]. At the *mesorion of the ninth hour*, Pss. 112 [113], 137 [138], 139 [140].

In addition to these hours, there is an office called *the typics* [τὰ τυπικά], which is said after the sixth or the ninth hour, according to the season of the year. Its origin is obscure. The office is as follows :—

Pss. 102 [103]. *Glory*, 145 [146]. *Both now*.

[In Lent [l] the psalms of the ninth hour are said instead of these.]

A short prayer to Christ for salvation.

*The blessings* [οἱ μακαρισμοί]. These are the blessings from the sermon on the mount [St. Matt. v. 3–12 (to *great is your reward in heaven*)], and are said with the clause, "*Remember us, O Lord, when Thou comest in Thy kingdom*," said as an antiphon at the beginning, and repeated after each blessing.

The *tersanctus* [m] thrice repeated, with a verse and Glory interposed between the first two repetitions; and *Both now* after the third.

*The Nicene Creed*, followed by a short prayer for pardon. *The Lord's Prayer*.

Then, if it be a *Sunday* or a saint's day, which is *festivated*, the *contakion* [n] of the day. If not, then first the *contakion* of the transfiguration, and afterwards that for the day of the week. These have reference on Monday *to the heavenly host* [τὰ ἀσώματα]; on Tuesday, *to the forerunner* [*i.e.* the Baptist, ὁ πρόδρομος]; on Wednesday and Friday, *to the cross*; on Thursday, *to the holy apostles*; on Saturday, *to the departed* [τὸ νεκρώσιμον]. Then one or two more short *troparia* of the usual type; the *trisagion*, &c.; a short *prayer* to the Holy Trinity: and the office ends with Ps. 33 [34]. The *office before meat* [ἀκολουθία τῆς τραπέζης] is used in monasteries, printed in this place in the *Horologium*; but it does not come within the scope of this article.

*Vespers* [τὸ ἑσπερινόν] :—

The priest begins, "*Blessed be our God*," &c. [ποιεῖ εὐλογητόν.] *The invitatory*; Ps. 103 [104], called the *prooemiac psalm* [τὸν προοιμιακὸν ψαλμόν].

The appointed *section* or *cathism* [κάθισμα] of the psalter. Pss. 140 [141], 141 [142], said as one psalm and called the Κύριε ἐκέκραξα from the opening words.

*Stichi* [στίχοι], *i.e.* versicles from the Psalms, and Ps. 116 [117]. The hymn "Joyful light" [φῶς ἱλαρόν].[o] The *prokeimenon* [προκείμενον] for the day. These vary with the day of the week, but are all of the same form. That for Sunday is :—

"Behold now praise the Lord, all ye servants of the Lord."

*Stichos*. "Ye that stand in the house of the Lord in the courts of the house of our God."

A *prayer* for protection, &c., during the night.

More *versicles from the Psalms*, called here *aposticha* [ἀπόστιχα]. Those for ordinary days are Ps. 122 [123], said in two *stichi*.

*Nunc dimittis*, *trisagion*, &c., and *dismissal*.

[In Lent and at certain other seasons there are variations in the concluding part of the office, which it is unnecessary to specify.]

The foregoing is the order of daily vespers as given in the Horology (9th ed. Venice). When there is a vigil, an abbreviated form, omitting the section from the psalms, &c. is said; and after compline, *great vespers* are said. These are an amplification of the ordinary form, and include sections from Scripture, and the rite known as a *lite* [λιτή], and on great days finishes with the *benediction of the loaves*. [See those articles.] To specify the variations would go beyond our limits.

*Compline* [ἀπόδειπνον] :—

There are two forms of compline: ἀπ. μέγα and ἀπ. μικρόν. Great compline is said in Lent; little compline at other seasons.

The order of *great compline* :—

This is an office of great length and interest, and may be considered as divided into three parts, each beginning with the invitatory. "*Blessed be our God*," &c., with the usual introduction and *invitatory*. In the first week in Lent the (so called) *great canon* is said. At other times the office begins thus :—

Pss. 4, 6, 12 [13]. Three *inclinations* and *Kyrie eleison* thrice. Pss. 24 [25], 30 [31], 90

[k] This hour is said continuously with lauds, and so begins at once with the invitatory. If said separately, it would be prefaced by the usual introduction.

[l] τῇ μεγάλῃ τεσσαρακοστῇ, the usual term for the fast before Easter, *i.e.* the Western Lent.

[m] By this is meant the "*Holy, Holy, Holy*" from the liturgy, as distinguished from the *trisagion*.

[n] *I.e.* a short hymn.

[o] This hymn is well known in its English translation. It is called in the Greek ἡ ἐπιλύχνιος εὐχαριστία, or ὕμνος τριαδικός. It is attributed by St. Basil (*de Spir. Sanct.* c. 29) to Athenogenes the Martyr, circ. A.D. 175. It appears to have been reduced to its present form by Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, circ. A.D. 629.

[91]. *Kyrie eleison* thrice. The following *stichi* said alternately by the choir:—

"God is with us, know ye nations, and be confounded,
For God is with us.
Give ear to the ends of the earth,
For God is with us."

[And so on for twenty clauses, with the same response after each, taken from Isaiah viii. and ix. and ending thus]:—

"Wonderful, Counsellor,
For God is with us.
The mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.
For God is with us.
The Father of the age to come,
For God is with us. *Glory*," &c.[p]

Then certain *troparia*, *the Nicene Creed*, *invocations* to the Theotokos and the saints.

Several other *troparia*, and a *prayer of St. Basil* for protection and purity.

*The invitatory* (thrice).

Pss. 50 [51], 101 [102]; *the prayer of Manasseh; troparia*, &c.; and a *short prayer* to the Holy Trinity.

*The invitatory* (thrice).

Pss. 69 [70], 142 [143].

*Gloria in excelsis* [called the Doxology] followed by versicles of precisely the same form as the Latin *preces*.

Ps. 150, with the clause, "*O Lord of Hosts, have mercy upon us*," said as an antiphon after each verse. More *troparia*, &c., among which occurs a *prayer* to the Saviour for protection during the night, beginning ὁ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, καὶ πάσῃ ὥρῃ, κ.τ.λ.

*A prayer to the Theotokos.*

Two *prayers to the Saviour*, one beginning καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν δέσποτα πρὸς ὕπνον ἀπιοῦσιν, κ.τ.λ.; the other, δέσποτα πολυέλεε, κ.τ.λ.: an *ectene* or *litany* of the usual form, and the office finishes with another prayer to the Saviour.

*Little compline* [ἀπόδειπνον μικρόν]:—

"Glory be to Thee, O our God, glory be to Thee."

A short *prayer to the Paraclete*.

The usual *introduction* and the *invitatory*.

Pss. 50 [51], 69 [70], 142 [143].

*Gloria in excelsis*, with the versicles following as at great compline.

The *Nicene Creed*, the *trisagion*, &c., the *troparia* of the day, *Kyr. el.* (forty times).

The *prayer to the Saviour*, ὁ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, as at great compline; a few short versicles.

Prayer to *the Theotokos*.

Prayer to *the Saviour*, καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν δέσποτα, both as at great compline; a few ejaculatory ascriptions of praise.

*The dismissal.*

The Western offices will not detain us long. Even those parts which are not intimately known to all are of a familiar type. They are also shorter than the Eastern, and arranged with much greater terseness and method. The Roman office is by far the most important and most widely used. The older English, French, German, and Scandinavian uses are of precisely the same form, and only differ in details, such as the calendars, commemorations of saints, order of lessons, responsories, &c.—variations which it would be at once hopeless and useless to attempt to point out, and the magnitude and importance of which have been much exaggerated. There are indeed few more striking evidences of the uniformity and organization of the Roman Church than the wide dissemination and reception of its offices into distant regions and different races, and the unanimity with which what was in essentials the same rite was observed. The only two notable exceptions are the Ambrosian and the Mozarabic offices, both of which are very different from the Roman, and of great beauty; but which were used within narrow limits, and so are of much smaller practical importance. They will be described.

The Roman hours are seven or eight in number, according as matins and lauds are counted as one or two, *i.e.*, Matins, lauds, prime (or the hour), the third, sixth, and ninth hours, vespers, compline. Taking them in order we have:

1. *Matins* (matutinum):—

These consist on Sundays and double feasts of three *nocturns*. On simple feasts and week days of one. Easter day and Pentecost with their octaves have only one nocturn with three psalms. The office for Sunday and feasts of nine lessons is as follows:

N.B. Before matins and all hours except compline is said secretly, *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*; and at the beginning of matins and prime, and at the end of compline, *the Apostles' Creed*.

Then with a loud voice—

"Domine labia mea aperies,
Et os meum annunciabitur laudem tuam.
Deus in adjutorium, &c.
Domine ad adjuvandum, &c.
Gloria; sicut; alleluia;"

except when alleluia is not said, *i.e.* from Septuagesima to Easter, when "*Laus tibi Domine rex aeternae gloriae*" is said instead.

*Invitatory*, and the invitatory psalm, 94 [95].

*Hymn* (varying with the day and season).

*In nocturn* i. *Psalms* as appointed [12 on Sundays, 3 on feasts]. *A verse and response. Pater noster*, short form of *absolution* (absolutio), *three lessons* from Scripture in course, each preceded by its *benediction*, and followed by its *responsory*.

*In nocturn* ii. *Three psalms*, each with its antiphon. *Verse and response. Pater noster, absolution. Three lessons* from the patristic writings, each with its *benediction* and *responsory*.

*In nocturn* iii. The same as in nocturn ii., the lessons being a commentary on the gospel of the day from some homily. Instead of the last responsory, *Te Deum* is said, except in Advent, and from Septuagesima to Easter, when it is only said on festivals. When *Te Deum* is not said, there is a *responsory* instead.

[On week days, and when the office is of *three lessons*, there is one nocturn only, containing twelve psalms under six antiphons.]

2. *Lauds*:—

*Deus in adjutorium*, &c. *Gloria*, &c. *Alleluia* or *Laus tibi Domine*, &c., according to the season, as at matins.

*Five psalms* [*i.e.* what is reckoned as such, said under five *antiphons* and five *Glorias*]. On

[p] It is impossible within reasonable limits to give more than the skeleton of this long and intricate office, even could more be attempted without sacrifice of clearness. The *troparia*, &c., are all of the ordinary form.

Sunday [except from Septuagesima to Easter] these are—

Pss. 92 [93], 99 [100], 62 [63], and 66 [67] (said as one), *Benedicite*, 148, 149, 150 (said as one).

On week days the psalms are[q] (1) 50 [51], (2) varies with the day of the week, (3) 62 [63] and 66 [67], (4) a canticle varying with the day of the week, (5) 148, 149, 150.

*Capitulum*, i.e. a verse from the Scriptures.[r] *Hymn* (varying with the day). *A verse and response. Benedictus. Collect for the day. Commemorations* (if any are said).

3. *Prime*:—

*Pater noster. Ave Maria. Credo. Deus in adjutorium*, &c. *Hymn*, "Jam lucis orto sidere."

*Four psalms* (on Sunday), 53 [54], 117 [118], 118 [119] (first four sections of eight verses said as two). On week days, 54 [54], a varying psalm, 118 [119] (the same as on Sunday). *The Athanasian Creed* (when the service is on the Sunday,[s] and on Trinity Sunday). *Capitulum.*

*Resp.* "Christe fili Dei vivi. Miserere nobis (bis).
V. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris. R. Miserere nobis.
V. Gloria, &c. R. Christe fili, &c. V. Exsurge Christe, adjuva nos. R. Et libera nos propter nomen tuum."

*Then follow* these *preces*, which are not said when the office is *double*, or within octaves. *Kyrie eleison* (ter), *Pater noster, Credo.*

*Preces* of the ordinary form of verse and response. Alternate *confiteor* and *misereatur* by priest and choir. A few more alternate versicles. Then, whether the office be double or not, the *Oratio*, "*Domine Deus Omnipotens*,"[t] &c.

V. *Benedicamus Domino.* R. *Deo gratias.*

*On week days* the Athanasian Creed is not said: in other respects the office is said as above. In Advent, Lent, and on certain other days, additional *preces* are said before the *confiteor*, from which point the office proceeds as usual.

4. *Terce*:—

*Pater, Ave. Deus in adjutorium. Hymn*, "Nunc sancte nobis Spiritus."

Six sections of eight verses of Ps. 118 [119], said in three, under one antiphon. *Capitulum. Responsio brevis. Collect for the day.*

5, 6. *Sext* and *none* are of precisely the same form, and require no separate remark. At *sext* the hymn is "Rector potens, verax Deus," and at *none* "Rerum tenax Deus vigor."

When *preces* are said at lauds, a short form of *preces* is said at *terce, sext*, and *none* immediately before the collect for the day.

7. *Vespers*:—

*Pater, Ave, Deus in adjutorium. Five psalms* as appointed, each with its antiphon. *Capitulum. Hymn* (varying with the day and season). *Verse and response.* That for ordinary Sunday and week days is

V. Dirigatur Domine oratio mea. R. Sicut incensum in conspectu tuo.

*Magnificat* (with its proper antiphon). *Collect for the day. Commemorations*, when said.

[q] See PSALMODY for details.

[r] That for ordinary Sundays is Rev. vii. 12, "Blessing," &c. That for ordinary week days, Rom. xiii. 12, "The night is far spent," &c.

[s] *I.e.* when a double feast, which takes precedence of an ordinary Sunday, does not fall on the day.

[t] The original of our third Collect at Morning Prayer.

When *preces* are said at lauds, they are also said at vespers after *magnificat.*

8. *Compline*:—

*Lector.* Jube Domne benedicere.
*Bened.* Noctem quietam, &c.
*Lectio brevis.* 1 Pet. v. 8.
V. Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.
R. Qui fecit coelum et terram.

*Pater, Confiteor*, &c., alternately, as at prime.

V. Converte nos Deus salutaris noster.
R. Et averte iram tuam a nobis.
Deus in adjutorium, &c.

Pss. 4, 30 [31], (1–6), 90 [91], 133 [134], said under one antiphon.

*Hymn*, "Te lucis ante terminum." *Capitulum* (Jerem. xiv. 9). *Responsio brevis. Nunc dimittis* (with its antiphon). *Kyrie eleison* (ter), *Pater, Credo*, and short *preces*. The *collect* "Visita quaesumus," &c. *Benediction.*

No notice has here been made of the short *capitular office* at the end of prime, or of the antiphons to the B.V.M., of which one is said daily after lauds and compline.

The Roman office here given in outline is the model on which the *secular* breviaries throughout the Roman obedience were formed. These were universally of the same form, though differing in many details, and local commemorations and usages. The Gregorian distribution of the psalter is always adopted.[u]

In the old English uses the hymns and antiphons at compline varied with the season; and every day after compline and lauds, except in double feasts and during certain octaves and in Christmas and Eastertides, a short form consisting of Ps. 122 [123], a few versicles, and a collect was said "pro pace ecclesiae." When this was said at lauds, a similar form for protection during the day was said after prime.

*The monastic office*, of which the Benedictine is the type, differs from the secular in many respects, the chief of which are the following:

(1) The Benedictine distribution of the psalter is used and not the Gregorian.

(2) On Sundays, and days with three nocturns. There are four lessons in each nocturn, there are six Psalms in both the first and second nocturns, and three canticles in the third, each with responsory. Those of the first nocturn are from Scripture; those of the second from the writings of the fathers, or from the lives of the saints; those of the third from patristic exposition of the gospel. *Te Deum* is said after (not instead of) the ninth responsory, and then follow the gospel and collect of the day.

(3) On week days, and days of three lessons, twelve psalms are said in two nocturns; six in each. In the first nocturn three lessons, mostly from Scripture, are read. In the second nocturn there are no lessons. In the weekday office of the Benedictine rites, from Easter to Nov. 1, no lessons are read, but only a *Lectio brevis*, varying with the day of the week.

(4) There are no *preces* in Lent, &c., at lauds and vespers.

(5) Ps. 30 [31], ver. 1–6, and *Nunc dimittis* are

[u] No account is taken of modern French and other breviaries, which do not come within the prescribed limits of time. These do not differ in form.

not said at compline, except on the three last days of the *Holy week*.

The *Ambrosian office*, which is still used in the diocese of Milan, except in the Swiss portion, which adheres to the Roman rite,[v] requires more detailed notice. Its origin and, still more, the steps by which it arrived at its final shape, are involved in much obscurity. It is undoubtedly of high antiquity, and originally framed by St. Ambrose. St. Simplician, who succeeded him as archbishop of Milan (A.D. 397), is said to have made many additions. It is probable that during the following century the office assumed its complete form as to its main features, and was afterwards gradually perfected in details. When St. Charles Borromeo became archbishop, he set to work to restore the ancient rites of the Milanese church, into which he complains that much had been introduced without authority from time to time by individual priests; and by comparison of the office, as he found it, with ancient documents and the "Ambrosian Institutes," and with the help of learned men, to bring it back as far as possible to the original form described by the most distinguished writers on the divine offices, and especially by his predecessor Theodorus.[w]

The *Ambrosian office* then, in its present form, which we are obliged to quote, owing to the uncertainty of earlier forms, is in outline as follows:—

*Matins* (Ad Matutinum):—

*Pater noster*. *Ave Maria* [secreto]. *Deus in adjutorium*, &c. *Domine ad adjuvandum*, &c. *Gloria*. *Sicut*. *Hymn*, "Aeterne rerum conditor" [said daily]. *Responsory* [varying with the day].

*The Song of the Three Children* ["Benedictus es," &c. vv. 29-34] with its antiphon. *Benedictus es Deus*. R. *Amen*.

[The foregoing is common to all matins.]

Then: *On Sundays* three *canticles* said in three nocturns, one in each, each with antiphon.

*In Noct*. i. *Song of Isaiah* [from chap. xxvi.] *De nocte vigilat*.

*In Noct*. ii. *Song of Hannah* [from 1 Sam. ii.].

*In Noct*. iii. *in Winter* (*i.e.* from the first Sunday in October till Palm Sunday) *the Song of Habakkuk* [Hab. iii.].

*In Noct*. iii. *in Summer* (*i.e.* from Easter till the last Sunday in September) *the Song of Jonah* [Jon. ii.].

[On Sundays no psalms are said at nocturns.]

*On week days*, the appointed section of the psalms, called a *decuria*, said in three nocturns [v. art. PSALMODY].

Then follow *three lessons*.

*On Sundays* from a homily on the Gospel.

*On week days* from the Holy Scriptures read in course.

Each lesson is prefaced by a *benediction*; and the first two are followed by a *response*, and the third by *Te Deum* when said. When not said, there is no third response.

[v] When Cardinal Gaisruch in the present century attempted to impose the Ambrosian Liturgy on this portion of the diocese, the public voice answered, "Either Romans or Lutherans."

[w] Archbishop of Milan, circ. A.D. 480. He wrote a commentary on the nocturnal and matutinal office of the Milanese church. See preface to the Ambrosian Breviary as edited by Cardinal Gaisruch, A.D. 1841.

The *benedictions* are more varied than in the Roman rite. The *responses*, on the contrary, are for the most part not so full or rich.

*Lauds*:—

The following is the order for Sundays and the more important festivals of saints:—

*Deus in adjutorium*, &c. *Benedictus*, with its proper antiphon.

[On Sundays in Advent, Christmas Day and its octave, and on the Epiphany, *Attende coelum* [Deut. xxxii.] is said instead of *Benedictus*.]

*Kyrie eleison* (ter).

An antiphon called *antiphona ad crucem*, proper to the day, and said five, or on some days seven times.

*The Song of Moses* ["*Cantemus Domino*," from Exod. xv.] with its proper antiphon, and prefaced by an unvarying *oratio secreta*.

*Benedicite* with antiphon and *oratio secreta*.

*A collect* (*oratio* 1$^{ma}$) [varying with the season].

Pss. 148, 149, 150, 116 [117] said under one antiphon. A *capitulum* and *antiphon* [both varying with the office]. A *direct*[x] *psalm* [varying with the day of the week]. *Hymn* [varying with the office]. *Kyrie eleison* (duodecies). *Psallenda*[y] i. and *completorium* i. *Oratio* ii. *responsorium in baptisterio*, *a Psalm of four verses* [varying with the day]. *Oratio* iii. *Psallenda* ii. and *completorium* ii. *Oratio* iv. [Commemorations, if any], and the office ends thus:—

V. Benedicat, et exaudiat nos Deus. R. Amen.
V. Procedamus in pace. R. In nomine Christi.
V. Benedicamus Domino. R. Deo gratias. *Pater noster*.
V. Sancta Trinitas nos semper salvet et benedicat. R. Amen.
V. Fidelium animae per Dei misericordiam requiescant in pace. R. Amen.[z]

*On week days* the office varies thus:—

Instead of *Cantemus Domino* and *Benedicite*, Ps. 50 [51] is said on all days but Saturday. Ps. 117 [118] is said on Saturday.

There are no *psallenda*. The *resp. in bapt.* and the *four verses of a psalm* are always said, and there are three collects instead of four.

There are variations in the arrangement of the details of the office at special seasons and on festivals.

*Prime*:—

*Pater noster*, &c., as at the beginning of all the hours. *Hymn*, "Jam lucis orto sidere." Pss. 53 [54], 118 [119] (four first sections of eight verses). *Epistolella*,[a] a few versicles and responses. *Athanasian creed* (called simply *symbolum*).

Then on Sundays and the higher class of festivals *three collects*, of which the first is the same as the corresponding Roman collect, and the office ends,—

V. Benedicamus Domino. R. Deo gratias.

Then the martyrology is read in choir.

On other days, after the *symbolum*, *preces* are

[x] So called because said straight through, and not antiphonally.

[y] These, and other similar names, are all antiphons of much the same character.

[z] This ending is common to all the hours.

[a] This corresponds exactly with the Roman *capitulum*.

said. These are of the same character as the Roman preces at *prime*, but longer, and the petitions are different, and they end with Ps. 50 [51].

*Terce*, *sext*, and *none* are in form exactly similar to the Roman offices for those hours. On ordinary week days short *preces* are said at each hour, the form containing a psalm. These are, at prime Ps. 50 [51], at sext 56 [57], at none 85 [86].

*Vespers* are said thus:—*Pater noster*, &c. An *antiphon* called *lucernarium* [proper for the office]. *Antiphona in choro* [proper]. *Hymn* [proper]. *Five psalms* with their antiphons. *Oratio*. *Magnificat* [with proper antiphon]. *Oratio*. *Psallenda* i. and *resp. in bapt.* (if said). *Oratio* iii. *Four-verse psalm*, with antiphon (if said). *Two completoria*. *Oratio* iv. *Psallenda* ii. and two more *completoria*. *Oratio* v. *Conclusion of office*.

The first two *orationes* are proper to the office; the other three *are fixed*.

*On week days*, after *Magnificat* the office continues as follows:—

*Oratio* ii. *Resp. in bapt.* *Oratio* iii. *Four-verse psalm with antiphon*. *A completorium*. *Oratio* iv. and *conclusion*.

The four collects on week days vary with the day of the week.

On *festivals two psalms* (or rather what are counted as two) are said at different points of the office, the arrangement of the component parts of which differs in some respects from the ferial arrangement. There are also certain variations at special seasons, as in Lent and Eastertide, into which it is not necessary to enter.

*Compline* closely resembles the Roman, though the materials are somewhat differently arranged. The office runs thus:—

*Pater*, *Ave*. *Converte nos*, &c. *Deus in adjutorium*, &c. *Hymn* ("Te lucis ante terminum"). Pss. 4, 30 [31] (1–6), 90 [91], 132 [133], 133 [134], 116 [117], said without an antiphon, and the last three under one *Gloria*. *Epistolella*. *Nunc dimittis*. *Antiphon* and *response*.

On ordinary week days *preces* of the usual form containing Psalm 12 [13]. *Two collects*,[b] "*Illumina quaesumus Domine*" and "*Visita quaesumus Domine*." *Conclusion*.

When *preces* are not said, the collects or orationes follow immediately the response after *Nunc dimittis*.

In Lent an additional hymn is said after the psalms.

The *Mozarabic* or Spanish office differs widely from all others. It is of high antiquity. The Spanish tradition would trace its origin to St. Peter, to disciples of whom and of St. Paul it assigns the introduction of Christianity into Spain,[c] and maintains that it should be called originally *Roman* and *Gothic*, after the conversion of Reccaredus, king of the Goths, to the Catholic faith, and the public abjuration of the Arian heresy in the third council of Toledo, A.D. 589. Subsequently St. Isidore, archbishop of Seville, and his brother Leander, who was a

[b] Our third collect at Evening Prayer, said at compline in the Sarum and other English offices. The Roman collect at compline is "Visita quaesumus Domine."

[c] *Vide* Preface to Mozarabic Breviary by Lorenzana.

friend of Gregory the Great, revised and expurgated the office, which had contracted many flaws, and it is hence often known as the *Isidorian* rite. At a later period Cardinal Ximenes, "quasi apis argumentosa," again revised the office and reduced it to its final form.

The opinion now generally accepted is that the Mozarabic rite is a variety of the so-called Gallican or Ephesine family, which professedly traces back to St. John. The groundwork of the office was probably introduced with Christianity into Spain. To enforce uniformity of use the Council of Gerona [A.D. 517] directed that the order of celebrating mass and the Divine office, which was used in the Metropolitan church of Tarragona, should be alone adopted throughout the province. Gregory VII. [A.D. 1073–1085] directed the use of the Spanish office to be abolished, and the Roman introduced in its place. After some resistance this was effected. Afterwards so strong a feeling was manifested at Toledo in favour of the national rite, that its use was sanctioned in seven of the old churches of Toledo, the Roman being adopted into the others. Cardinal Ximenes afterwards built and endowed the so-called Mozarabic chapel in Toledo cathedral for the maintenance of the rite.[d]

The hours are the same as the Roman, with the addition of *Aurora*, which is said when the office is of the week day [in feriis].[e]

All the hours begin as follows:—

*Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison*, *Kyrie eleison*. *Pater noster*. *Ave* (secreto).

*In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi lumen cum pace.* R. *Deo gratias.*
*Dominus vobiscum.* V. *Et cum*, &c.

*Matins*[f] [matutinum] proceed thus:—

*On Sundays*, *hymn*, "Aeterne rerum conditor," followed by a *prayer* (oratio), having reference to the contents of the hymn.

Pss. 3, 50 [51], 56 [56], each with its antiphon. *Oratio*.

Three *antiphons*,[g] each followed by an *oratio* [tres antiphonae cum suis orationibus]. *Responsory* with its *oratio*.

[d] The legend is familiar how the two books, the Roman and Mozarabic, contended by the ordeal of battle, a Frenchman being champion for the Roman Book (the Roman office had at that time been established in France), a native of Toledo for the Mozarabic. The Frenchman is said to have conquered. The result however was not taken as conclusive, and the books were submitted to the further ordeal of fire; whereupon the Roman leaped out of the fire, while the Mozarabic remained uninjured by the flames: "Romanus ex igne procedit; Gothicus sub flammis illaesus." The inference drawn was that the Roman book should be generally used throughout the kingdom, while the Mozarabic should be continued in use at head-quarters, *i.e.* in Toledo.

[e] The Mozarabic hours are said to have been originally twelve in number, the four rejected ones being *at the beginning of night*, "in principio noctis;" *before bed-time*, "ante lectum;" *at midnight*, "media noctis;" and *on rising from bed*, "in surrectione lecti."

[f] The office for the day begins, as in other rites, with vespers of the preceding evening; but in a short conspectus, such as alone is possible, it seems more convenient to begin with matins.

[g] The Mozarabic antiphons are broken into verse and response, after the manner of a Roman responsory. [See art. ANTIPHON.]

*On week days* there is no hymn and only one psalm, which is one of the three Sunday psalms, with its *oratio*. The remainder of the office is of the same form as that for Sunday.

*Lauds* begin at once with a varying *canticle* [on Sunday "Attende coelum," Deut. xxxii.]. *Benedictus* [so called, *i.e.* a compressed form of the Song of the Three Children] with its antiphon.

*Sono. Lauda.*[h] Pss. 148, 149, 150 [called the *Lauds*].

A lection called *prophetia*, though not necessarily from the Prophets. *Hymn* (varying). *Capitula* (here signifying a prayer). *Paternoster*, followed by the *embolismus*. *Lauda.*[i] *Benediction*[j]

A short form of *commemoration*, consisting of a verse and response, here called *lauda*, and a short prayer for protection and guidance through the day.

*Aurora* :—

This service is said when the office is of the week day (in feriis per totum annum). Pss. 69 [70], and the following sections of Ps. 118 [119]: *Beati immaculati*, *In quo corriget*, *Retribue servo tuo*, said under one antiphon. A *lauda*, *Pater noster* (with the embolismus), *a short form of intercessory prayers* (preces).

*Prime* :—

Pss. 66 [67], 144 [145] (said in two divisions), 112 [113], 118 [119] (*Adhaesit pavimento*, *Legem pone*, *Et veniat*), said under one antiphon.

*Responsory* (varying); a *short lesson* (Zachar. viii.) called *prophetia*; *second* (Rom. xiii.); a *lauda*.

*Hymn* ("Jam lucis orto sidere"), except in Eastertide, when the hymn is "Aurora lucis rutilat."

V. *Bonum est confiteri Domino.* R. *Et psallere nomini tuo altissime.*

Then follows, *on Sundays and festivals*, *Te Deum*, *Gloria in excelsis*, and the *Nicene Creed*[k] [called in the rubrics *symbolum apostolorum*].

*On week days* (in diebus ferialibus), *Benedictus es* (as at lauds), and Ps. 50 [51].

*Supplicatio* [in form a short bidding prayer] beginning "Oremus mundi," &c. *Capitula* [a prayer]. *Pater noster*, &c. *Benedictio*. These all *vary with the office*.

*Terce* :—

*Four psalms*, i.e. Pss. 94 [95], 118 [119] (*Memor esto*, *Portio mea*, *Bonitatem*), under one antiphon. *Responsory*. Two *short lections* (similar to those at prime). *Lauda*, *hymn*, *supplicatio*, *capitula*, *Pater noster*, &c. *Benedictio*. All the parts of the office except the psalms vary with the season.

*Sext* and *None* are of exactly the same form and require no remarks.

h There are varieties of antiphons, as has been explained in the article ANTIPHON. It is impossible to translate these technical terms.

i Of this there are two forms—a longer one used on Sundays, and a shorter on other days. *Pater noster* is said with the response "Amen" to each clause, except to *Panem nostrum*, to which the response is "*Quia Deus es.*"

j Mozarabic benedictions are in three clauses, each answered by "Amen." They vary with the day, and some are very beautiful.

k This is said in the Mozarabic rite in the plural: "*Credimus* in unum *Deum*," &c.

The psalms are: *at Sext*, Pss. 53 [54], 118 [119] (*Feci judicium*, *Mirabilia*, *Justus es Domine*). *At None*, Pss. 145 [146], 121 [122], 122 [123], 123 [124]. In Lent, and on certain other penitential days, the form of the office for these three hours is different, but offers no special peculiarity to call for explanation in this short survey.

*Vespers* :—

After the introduction, a *lauda*[l]; *antiphon*; another *lauda*. *Hymn*, *supplicatio*, *capitula*, *Pater noster*, &c. *Benedictio*, with its *oratio*. *Sonus* (or *sono*) [omitted "in feriis"], followed by another *lauda* with its *oratio*, and a short form of commemoration of the same form as that at lauds.

*Compline* :—Pss. 4, vv. 7, 8, 9; 133 [134]. A few *versicles* for protection and forgiveness. *Hymn*, "Sol angelorum respice." Ps. 90 [91], with its antiphon. More *versicles* from the psalms. *Hymn*, "Cultor Dei memento." *Supplicatio*, *capitula*, *Pater noster*, &c.; *benedictio*. At the end of the service a short form of commendation corresponding to the *commemoratio* at lauds and vespers.

On Saturdays and high festivals, "in diebus sabbatorum vel praecipuarum festivitatum," after the psalms[m] a *responsory* is said, followed by two *short lessons*, then a *hymn*, Ps. 50 [51] with a *versus*, said as an antiphon. *Kyrie eleison*, *Pater noster*, &c. Then on week days (in feriis) *miserationes*, which are short intercessory petitions in the form of litanies, with a constant response, so called because the opening words are "*Miserere*," or "*Deus miserere*," or "*Domine miserere*," and varying with the day of the week. Then a *capitulum*, *Pater noster*, and *benedictio*, and form of commendation as usual.

In the foregoing summary no notice has been taken of national or local variations of the main types of office, such as the old English uses (except in one point), or the ancient peculiarities of ritual in the churches of Lyons or Besançon, or any of the monastic variations from the normal Benedictine type. These, however interesting to liturgical students, are confined to points of detail. Neither does it come within the scope of this article to discuss or compare the contents of the several offices sketched in it. We may, however, draw attention to a few points which are obvious even from the skeletons given.

The Eastern offices, we thus see, are much longer and less methodically arranged than the Western. They contain also much less of Scripture; while the odes and canons which form so large a portion of the office, though often very beautiful and devotional, are much too prolix, and at times too rhapsodical to suit Western taste. The same may be said of the prayers.

The Western offices, on the other hand, are more clearly and compactly arranged. The hymns and collects are models of compressed thought and language. The antiphons and responses are for the most part taken from Scripture. Among the Western rites, the Roman is undoubtedly the most terse and pointed. The Ambrosian has many beauties, and is more varied

l This is taken from the Psalms, and is sometimes called *psalmus* or *vespertinum*: "*Psalmus* sive *vespertinum*, quod idem est."—*Regula S. Isidori.*

m This means after the second set of versicles from the Psalms, and immediately before the second hymn.

in its collects and its psalmody, but less so in its ordinary hymns. Both hymns and collects are of the same type as the Roman.

The Mozarabic Office has the greatest variety of canticles, hymns, and *preces*. Some of these, in the form of short litanies, are very beautiful. The responsories and other variable parts of the office, though very rich and suggestive, change so constantly as almost to produce a sense of want of repose. The prayers are of the Eastern type, usually longer and more diffuse than those of other Western Offices. [H. J. H.]

**OFFICIALIS LIBER** (*officiales libri*), a book or volumes containing the *officia divina*. The term is used with considerable latitude of application. Ménard, in his notes on the Gregorian Sacramentary (p. 147, ed. Paris, 1642), quoting Agobard, explains it as equivalent to "Antiphonarius;" but a reference to Agobard himself (*Liber de Correctione Antiphonarii*, cap. 19) will shew that he implies a threefold enumeration of the *libri officiales*, viz. the "Missal," the "Lectionary," and the "Antiphonary." Agobard was archbishop of Lyons, A.D. 814–840. This agrees with the use of the term by Amalarius (*de Eccles. Off.* lib. iv. cap. 29). In can. 22, C. Rotomag. it may refer to the antiphonary or the sacramentary. In can. 26, C. Tolet. iv., *libellus officialis* must be, as Ducange s. v. interprets it, *Manuale Sacramentorum*, a book which would include the minor offices, since the canon orders that parish priests were to be provided with one on their appointment, *ne per ignorantiam etiam ipsis divinis sacramentis offendant*; so, too, Binterim (vol. iv. p. 265). On the other hand, the treatise of Amalarius (*de Eccles. Officiis*) is said to be entitled in some MSS. *Liber Officialis*. [C. E. H.]

**OFFICIUM AD MISSAM.** The name of the introit in the Mozarabic liturgy. It was probably once current throughout the whole Gallican family of liturgies, if not more widely still; for, though Mabillon (*de Lit. Gallicana*, p. 36) gives "Antiphona" as the corresponding term in the Gallican liturgy, yet this is only a general name, like our "Anthem," and the similar term, *officium missae*, or simply *officium*, is found for the introit in the ancient office-books of the monastery of S. Germanus a Pratis at Paris (Bouillart, *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Germain des Prez, Recueil des Pièces Justificatives*, v^me^ partie, pp. 158–160, &c.), in the English uses of Sarum and York, and also, according to Sala (notes to *Bona, Rer. Liturg.* tom. i. p. 212), in the missals of the Carthusian, Carmelite, and Dominican orders. [C. E. H.]

**OIL, HOLY.** The later Greeks give this name especially to oil that is considered holy, because it has proceeded from or been in contact or juxtaposition with some sacred object (*Ordo Sacri Minist.* Philothei, in *Euch.* Goar, 10; see note 71, p. 34); though they still apply it to the oil of catechumens (Goar 361, 362) and the oil of the sick, τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον εἰς νοσοῦντας (*ib.* 428). Under this head we have to notice the Oil of the Cross, that of the Holy Places, the Oil of the Saints, and that taken as a remedy or safeguard from the church lamps.

THE OIL OF THE CROSS.—In the *Itinerarium*, doubtfully ascribed to Antoninus of Placentia, who lived in the 6th century, the writer, after describing the cross exhibited as that on which Christ died, in a cubiculum attached to the basilica of Constantine, on Golgotha, adds: "Oil to be blessed is brought there in *ampullae* of onyx stone; but when the wood of the cross has touched the ampullae, it soon boils over" (§ 20; Bolland. *Maii*, tom. ii. Prolegom.). We should infer from this that the "oil of the cross," of which we read much from the 6th century downward, was at first merely oil which had been in such contact with the cross. Perhaps we are not to understand more than this in the following instances: Cyril of Scythopolis, 555, records two cures effected by St. Sabas by means of the "oil of the holy cross" (*Sabae Vita*, 45, 63). He also sprinkled with it a hill haunted by evil spirits (27). St. Cyriac is said to have cured an insane person "with the oil of the cross of Christ" (*Vita*, Simeon Metaphr.; Migne, *Ser. Gr.* ii. 931). Spiridion is said to have gone to the emperor Constantius, when sick, with an earthenware vessel hung from his neck, "as is the custom with those who dwell in the holy city, when they purpose to carry oil of the divine cross" (*Vita*, 18; sim. Met. *u. s.* iii. 440). Eutychius, to prevent miscarriage, "anointed both man and wife with holy oil, both that of the precious cross" and that from an image (*Life* by Eustratius, vi. 45). He healed a demoniac by the same means (§ 55). In the West St. Gregory, at the end of the 6th century, acknowledges in one of his epistles, among other gifts from the East, some "oil of the holy cross ... which (quod) blesses by its touch" (*Epist.* vii. Ind. i. 34).

There is no indication of a belief in the foregoing writers that the oil itself was a miraculous production; but Adamnanus, A.D. 679, speaking of that which his informant Arculfus had seen at Constantinople, whither a portion of the cross was said to have been sent by Helena, says: "De nodis eorundem trinalium lignorum liquor quidam odorifer quasi in similitudinem olei expressus . . . cujus videlicet liquoris si etiam parvula stillula super aegrotantes imponatur, qualicumque languore vel morbo molestati, plenum recuperant sanitatem" (*Acta S. O. Ben.* 3, iii. 520; or Bede, *de Sanctis Locis*, 20).

The ampulla of Monza, figured in Vol. I. p. 78, appears from the inscription to have been made for the reception of oil of the cross. Gretser, *de Sancta Cruce*, lib. i., has a chapter (91) *De Oleo S. Crucis*, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 152; Ratisb. 1734. See also Baronius, *Annal.* ad ann. 598, § 23.

OIL OF THE HOLY PLACES.—(1) We learn from Paulinus Petricorius, A.D. 461, that it was the custom to set vessels of oil in the places hallowed by the birth, death, burial, and ascension of our Lord, under the belief that it would acquire from them a miraculous healing power (*De Vitâ S. Martini*, v. l. 110).

(2) The oil of the lamps that burned in the holy places was supposed to possess the same virtue. Thus the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus, speaking of the holy sepulchre: "The urn of the lamp which had been placed at His head at that time [of His burial] burns there day and night; out of which we took a blessing, and set it in order again" (c. 18; Bolland. *Maii*, tom. ii. in Prolegom.).

OIL OF THE SAINTS.—Theodoret of Cyrus, A.D. 423, thought that he heard an evil spirit addressing him one night, who among other things said, "Be assured that I should long ago have shot thee down, had I not seen a band of martyrs with James (the ascetic of Nimuza, who was still living) guarding thee." The narrator explains, "I understood that he called a band of martyrs the ampulla of the oil of the martyrs which, containing the blessing (εὐλογίαν) gathered from many martyrs, hung beside my bed" (*Historia Religiosa*, 21). The oil of the martyrs or saints was of five kinds: (1) That which was supposed to exude from their relics; (2) that which flowed miraculously from their tombs; (3) that which had acquired virtue from contact with, or nearness to, their relics or tombs; (4) oil that distilled from their icons; (5) oil from the lamps which burnt before their images or shrines.

(1) In the *Life of John the Almoner*, by Leontius of Cyprus, A.D. 590, we are told that "a sweet, health-giving unguent flowed from his precious relics" (c. 54), and the author adds that in Cyprus the same grace was given to many saints, "the sweetness of unguents flowing from their precious relics as from fountains" (c. 55). Justinian is said by Procopius to have been healed by oil that flowed from the relics of several saints (*De Aedif.* i. 7). Unguent (μύρα), which flowed from the bones of Glyceria, a martyr at Heraclea, had long run freely into a brazen basin. When a silver one, which without the knowledge of the donor had been used for magical purposes, was substituted, the oil ceased to flow (A.D. 583), nor did it run again until the unpolluted vessel was restored to its place (Theophylact. Simoc. *Historia*, i. 11). St. Myrops of Chios "collected the unguent (μύρα) that flowed from the relics of the holy martyrs and apostles" buried at Ephesus, "and healed the sick therewith." From this circumstance she even received her name (Bolland. July 13, ex *Synaxariis Graecis*).

(2) In the *Life of St. Sampson* (§ 23; Surius, June 27) we read that a healing oil used to flow from his tomb on the anniversary of a miracle performed by him. St. Bonitus "ordered the sick to be anointed with oil, which he had ordered to be raised for a blessing out of the tomb of St. Peter at Clusina in Tuscany" (*Vita S. Bon.* vi. 26; Bolland. Jan. 15, p. 1074). A dying woman was healed by the oil flowing from the tomb of St. Eloy (*Vita*, ii. 51; Surius, Dec. 1). The church of St. Mary trans Tiberium is said in the *Acta S. Quirini*, 8 (Boll. Jun. 4), "fundere oleum fundatoris."

In the East, SS. Andrew, Nicholas, Theodorus Stratelates (Goar, *u.s.* 452), and above all Demetrius, were noted for this miracle. See especially the *Analecta de Unguento seu Oleo e S. Demetrii Tumulo*, in the supplement to the works of Simeon Metaphrastes (iii. Migne, *Ser. Gr.* 116).

This substance was also called *manna*. Thus among the relics collected by Angilbertus at Centule was some of "the manna of St. John the Evangelist" (*Scriptum* S. Angil. 15, in Bolland. Feb. tom. iii. 103). See also *Menolog. Basil.* May 8, St. John Ev. as cited by Ducange, *Gloss. Graec.* v. μάννα. Gregory of Tours speaks of it as a dust, probably dust saturated with the supposed oil: "Cujus (S. Joan.) nunc sepulcrum manna in modum farinae hodieque eructat" (*De Mirac.* i. 30). But others speak of it as fluid (Duc. *Gloss. Lat.* in Manna).

(3) In the case of Demetrius, and many others, there is no ambiguity; the oil itself is supposed to be a miraculous product. But it is sometimes doubtful whether this is really meant. For there was a custom of placing oil in or near the tombs of the saints in the hope that it would derive virtue from their remains, or from the earth into which they were resolved. Thus Paulinus of Nola, A.D. 303, says of the tomb of St. Felix (*Natal.* 6, l. 38), that it was anointed. And again (*Nat.* 13, l. 590):—

> "Ista superficies tabulae gemino patet ore
> Praebens infusae subjecta foramina nardo,
> Quae cineris sancti veniens a sede reposta
> Sanctificat medicans arcana spiritus aura.'

From Paulinus Petricorius, quoted above, we learn that the practice was common in the 5th century. The tomb of St. Martin was especially famous for the oil that received virtue from it (Greg. Turon. *de Mirac. S. Mart.* i. 2; comp. ii. 32, 51; iii. 24; iv. 36; &c.). It is, we suppose, of oil thus sanctified at the Memoria of St. Stephen that St. Augustine speaks, when he relates the recovery of a boy from apparent death on being anointed "ejusdem martyris oleo" (*De Civit. Dei*, xxii. viii. 18). St. Chrysostom: "Not the bones of the martyrs only, but their tombs and coffins, pour forth abundant blessing. Take holy oil, and thou wilt never suffer the shipwreck of drunkenness" (*Hom. in Mart.* ii. 669). A magnate of Antioch, anointed with oil from the tomb of Euthymius, was at once healed (*Euthym. Vita*, 127; *Monum. Gr.* Cotel. ii. 309).

(4) There was an icon of the Blessed Virgin at Constantinople in the 7th century, from which oil was believed to flow continually. Of this Arculfus, the French bishop who went to the Holy Land in 690, declared himself to be an eyewitness (Adamnanus, *de Locis Sanctis*, iii. 5).

(5) Far more common are stories of healing by oil from a lamp burnt in honour of Christ or the saints. The following examples are from the East. The wounded hand of a Saracen was healed by oil from a lamp before the icon of St. George (*Mirac. S. Georg.* vi. 55; Boll. Apr. 23). St. Cyrus and St. John "appeared to a person suffering from gout, and bade him take a little oil in a small ampulla from the lamp that burnt before the image of the Saviour" in the greater tetrapyle at Alexandria, and anoint his feet with it (*Vitae SS. Cyr. et Joan.* § 2; Boll. Jan. 31: see also *Vita Euthymii*, 147, in Cotelerii *Monum. Gr.* ii. 325; *Vita Lucae Jun.* Combef. *Auctarium*, ii. 1012; *Vita Eudocimi* i. 9, Boll. July 30).

Similar stories are found in the Western writers. Thus Nicetius of Lyons, by means of "the oil of the lamp which burnt daily at his sepulchre, restored sight to the blind, drove demons from bodies possessed, restored soundness to shrunken limbs," &c. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iv. 37). An epileptic was cured by oil from the lamp that burnt night and day at the tomb of St. Severin (*Transl. S. Sev.* Auct. Joan. Diac. Boll. 8). It was revealed to a blind woman, that oil from the lamp of St. Geneviève would restore her sight, if the warden of the church

were to anoint her with it (*Mirac. S. Genof.* § 14). A week after she brought a blind man, who was healed in the same manner (*ibid.*). On the lamps at tombs see LIGHTS, sect. ix. p. 997.

Mabillon, in 1685, found in a private collection at Milan (*Iter Ital.* Ap. 28; *Mus. Ital.* i. 14) an "Index oleorum sacrorum quae Gregorius Magnus misit ad Theodelindam Reginam." The MS. bears the heading, "Notitia de olea (*sic*) Sanctorum Martyrum, qui Romae in corpore requiescunt." This he printed in 1705 in App. 3 to his tract, *De Cultu Ignotorum Sanctorum.* It may be seen also in the *Acta Martyrum Sincera* of Ruinart, p. 619, and in the *Anecdota Ambrosiana* of Muratori, ii. 191. It gives the name of above sixty saints, and claims many thousand more as contributing to the production of the sacred oil ("Sancti Cornili et multa milia (*sic*) Sanctorum"). One entry deserves to be cited from its singularity, "Oleo (*sic*) de sede ubi prius sedit Sanctus Petrus." Muratori (*u. s.*) has a disquisition bearing on the present subject.

OIL FROM THE CHURCH LAMPS USED IN HEALING.—St. Chrysostom, speaking of the ornaments of a church, says, "This table is far more honourable than that table (in your house), and this lamp than (your household) lamp: and they all know it, who, having in faith and at a happy time anointed themselves with (its) oil, have dispelled diseases" (*Hom.* 32 in S. Mat. Ev. § 6; vii. 373). From this we infer that oil from any church lamp was thus used, before the custom arose of setting lights before icons, and of taking the oil that fed them with a view to engage the intercession of the saint represented. We have an example in the life of Nilus the Younger, who invited a priest to his oratory, to pray over a sick person and "to anoint him with oil from the lamp." We are told that "in this manner he healed monks and laymen who were harassed by evil spirits, anointing them with oil by the hands of priests" (*Vita*, viii. 58, 59; Boll. Sept. 26). The practice is not extinct. In one "Office of Supplication" for the sick, printed by Goar, we have this rubric: "And he anoints him with holy oil from the lamp, saying this prayer." The heading of the prayer is, "A prayer on the unction of the sick with holy oil" (*Euchol.* 842). An instance in the West is related by Gregory of Tours (*de Mirac. S. Mart.* i. 18). In a cattle plague a person "went to the holy basilica, and took the oil of the lamps which hung from the arched roof," and anointed the animals affected with a good result. [W. E. S.]

OIL, RITUAL USES OF. (1) THE OIL OF THE CATECHUMENS, *Oleum Catechumenorum, Baptizandorum.*—There was a general custom from an early period of anointing catechumens once or oftener during their catechumenate with "exorcised" or "hallowed" oil. [UNCTION.] Forms for the benediction or exorcism of this oil are found in most of the ancient offices: *e.g.* "A thanksgiving (eucharist) touching the unction of the mystic oil" is ordered and sketched in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, vii. 42. As it was usual to anoint the possessed with a view to their deliverance from the power of Satan, and catechumens, as unbaptized, were considered his subjects, a similar rite would readily suggest itself as appropriate in their case.

(2) THE OIL OF CHRISM (see CHRISM).—This had a twofold use in connexion with baptism: (1) in the West, and at an early period in Egypt, it was employed by the priest immediately after baptism [BAPTISM]; and (2) it was used at confirmation both in the East and West. [UNCTION.]

(3) THE OIL OF THE SICK, *Oleum Infirmorum, Oleum pro Infirmis, Oleum pro populo*, εὐχέλαιον.—The use of oil with prayer for the sick was a tradition from the apostles. In our Lord's lifetime they "anointed with oil many that were diseased, and healed them" (Mark vi. 13). St. James prescribes its use to presbyters in general, "Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord" (James v. 14). There is abundant proof that the example and precept were followed. [SICK, VISITATION OF.]

Oil was blessed for the sick, not by the clergy only, but by laymen of great repute for sanctity. It was even done by women. Thus St. Monegund, about 570, on her death-bed "blessed oil and salt," which were afterwards given to the sick with good effect (*Vita*, § 9, in *Acta S. O. Ben.* i. 204; Greg. Tur. *Vitae Patr.* xix. 4). From the story of a nun who, having dreamt that St. Radegund her abbess, anointed her with oil, awoke healed, we may perhaps infer that it was her practice also (*Radeg. Vita*, i. 35, auct. Fortunato). In the West this office was restrained to the bishops at a somewhat early period. Pseudo-Innocent says that it was lawful for presbyters and others to apply "the oil of chrism" to the sick, but that it must be "made by the bishop" (*Epist.* i. 8). This was at Rome. The rule seems to have been enforced elsewhere much later. About 730, however, Boniface orders "all presbyters to obtain the oil of the sick from the bishop and have it by them" (*Statuta*, 29; ed. Würdw. 142; comp. *Capit. Reg. Fr.* vi. 179). The early Gallican church knew no such restriction; but Pepin, 744, seems to have borrowed it from Rome (cap. 4; in *Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 158). The council of Châlons, 813, decides that "the sick ought to be anointed by the presbyters with oil, which is blessed by the bishop" (can. 48).

This rule never obtained in the East. Thus Theodore of Canterbury, by birth of Tarsus, A.D. 668: "According to the Greeks it is lawful for presbyters . . . to make exorcised oil and chrism for the sick, if it be necessary" (*Capitulare* apud Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. vii. 3, § 7). Among them it is now generally consecrated as required by a sick person, either in their house or in the church, by seven priests, if they can be brought together, though one is sufficient (Metrophanes Critop. *Confessio*, 13; in Kimmel, *Monum. Fidei Orient.* ii. 153; Goar, *Euchol.* 408, 432). The Armenian rule in the 8th century was that the priest should bless the oil of the sick, "using proper prayers, as much as was needed for the occasion" (Joan. Cathol. can. 11, Mai, *u. s.*).

(4) OIL IN THE AGNUS DEI.—The *Ordo Romanus*, about 730, tells us that at Rome, on Easter-eve, the archdeacon, coming early to the church of St. John Lateran, "pours wax into a clean vessel of large size, and mixes oil with it in the same, and blesses the wax, and pours out thereof into the figure of lambs" (*Mus. Ital.* ii. 31). [AGNUS DEI, Vol. I. p. 44.] The same

*Ordo* says (32), "Similiter in suburbanis civitatibus de cera faciunt," where for "cera" Pseudo-Alcuin reads "oleo" (*De Div. Off.* 19).

(5) Oil, the Element in Baptism.—Turribius, bishop of Astorga in Spain, A.D. 447, in a letter to two other Spanish bishops, Idacius and Ceponius, speaking of the apocryphal books received by the Priscillianists, says: "That is especially to be noted and execrated in the so-called *Acts of St. Thomas*, that it says that he baptized not with water, as the preaching of the Lord directs, but with oil only, which practice those books of ours (*in the context*, libri canonici) do not admit, but which the Manicheans follow" (*Epist.* § 5; ad calc. *Epist.* xv. Leon. M. 130, ed. Ven. 1748).

The fact of Manichean baptism in oil will hardly be doubted by those who are aware that the practice was at least not unknown among the orthodox Christians of Persia. Our authority for this is the Menology of the Greek church in its account of the martyrs Dadas, Gobdelaas, and Kasdoa. (Lesson for Sept. 29; *Lib. Mens.* Venet. 1628.)

(6) Oil in the Eucharistic Bread.—For many ages the oblates of the Nestorians and Syrian Jacobites have been made with oil. Among the former the preparation of the dough, which is accompanied by prayer, is the subject of rubrical direction. It is to be made with "fine flour and salt and olive oil, and three drops of water" (*Officium Renovationis Fermenti;* Martene, *de Ant. Eccl.* i. iii. 7; sim. Badger, *Nestorians*, ii. 162; see also Le Brun, *Explication*, Diss. xi. 9).

(7) Oil in the Font.—From the second century downwards, the bishop consecrated the water of baptism by prayer, though the sacrament was considered valid without it. See Baptism, § 42, Vol. I. p. 159. That no oil or μύρον was at first used in this consecration, or poured into the water after it, we may infer from the silence of the earlier writers. Our first witness is Pseudo-Dionysius, who is generally supposed to have written about 520: "The chief priest pours the μύρον in lines forming a cross, into the purifying font of baptism" (*De Hierarch. Eccl.* iv. 10; comp. ii. 7). [Font, Benediction of, p. 680.]

The orders both of the East and West supply internal evidence of the fact, that the consecration of the water was originally considered complete without the infusion of the oil or chrism. This was a later ceremony added to the several offices at various and uncertain periods.

(8) Oil in Church Lamps.—The lights of a church were so costly that at an early period some stated provision for them, beyond the voluntary offerings of the faithful, became necessary. We might infer this from a tradition of Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius the Younger. It is said that "once on Easter Day going into the church (at Jerusalem) to celebrate the holy resurrection of Christ, she gave 10,000 sextarii of oil to be used for the lights" (Nicephorus Call. *Hist. Eccl.* xiv. 50). In a will ascribed to Perpetuus of Tours, about 470, we read: "From the revenues of those (estates aforenamed) let oil be furnished to light perpetually the tomb of the lord (domni) Martin" (App. ad *Opp.* Greg. Tur. 1318). Caesarius of Arles, 502: "Let those who are able present wax tapers, or oil to be put into the lamp" (*Serm.* 76, § 2). The council of Bracara, 572, directed that a third part of all the ordinary oblations of the people should be spent "pro luminariis ecclesiae" (can. 2). Gregory of Rome, in 603, gave lands and buildings to the church of St. Paul at Rome, with the proviso that all revenues therefrom should be spent on its lights (*Epist.* xii. 9). [W. E. S.]

**OLBIANUS**, bishop of Anea, in Asia, martyr under Maximian; commemorated May 4. (Basil, *Menol.;* Boll. *Acta SS.* Maii, i. 458); May 25 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Maii, vi. 101); May 29 (Basil. *Menol.*) [C. H.]

**OLD TESTAMENT** (in Art). The manner in which the Old Testament was generally employed in early Christian art indicates a conviction of the identity of the revelation contained in it with the fuller one made in the New Testament. The cycle of subjects selected from it for pictorial representation, and the mode in which they were intermingled with subjects from the Gospels, may be regarded as a visible exemplification of Augustine's words, "Novum Testamentum in vetere latet. Vetus Testamentum in novo patet." From the almost boundless wealth of persons and histories offering themselves to the pencil of the artist in the older books of the Bible, only those, as a rule, are chosen which the Christian consciousness regarded as typical of the great redemptive acts of Christ, or of the Sacraments of the Church. In the Western church, where alone any large remains of ecclesiastical art have been preserved to us, a rule was very speedily established in practice rigidly defining not only what subjects were suitable for employment in religious art, but the very form and arrangement in which they were to be represented. Hieratic types were prescribed for each of these chief symbolic events, from which, when once defined and accepted by the church, it was not permissible for an artist to diverge. So permanent was this formulated type, so unchanging the accessories, that a very small fragment of a fresco or a mosaic is frequently sufficient to enable us to determine its subject with perfect certainty. Instead of having the licence "quidlibet audendi," the ecclesiastical artist was confined within trammels so close that he became little more than the mechanical reproducer of authorised designs. It is needless here to repeat what has been already said [Fresco, Vol. I. pp. 690–701] of the typical character of early Christian art. It will be sufficient to indicate the subjects from the Old Testament which we find portrayed, and the type commonly followed. We would premise that we give art its widest meaning, including paintings, mosaics, the bas-reliefs of sarcophagi, gilt glasses, ivories, lamps, &c.

(1) *The Creation of Woman.*—The formation of Eve out of the side of Adam was an early-recognised and favourite symbol of the church, the spouse of Christ, proceeding from the pierced side of the Second Adam (Tertull. *de Anim.* c. 43). This is, however, only found represented on a few sarcophagi, and that not with sufficient clearness to render the identification unquestionable, though there can, we think, be little doubt of its correctness. The most remarkable example is on the upper left-hand corner (the spectator's left) of a sarcophagus of the 4th

century, discovered under the floor of St. Paul's without the walls of Rome, now in the Lateran Museum (Appell. *Monuments of Early Christian Art*, No. 5; Brownlow and Northcote, *Roma Sotteran.* pl. xix. p. 301; Westwood, *Sculp. of the Sarcoph.* p. 50). Dean Burgon enumerates eleven instances among the fifty-five sarcophagi in the Lateran Museum. Sometimes our Lord wields the wonder-working rod. An ivory of the 4th century, given by Gori (*Thes. Vet. Diptych.* vol. ii. p. 161; Agincourt, *Sculpt.* pl. xii. No. 1), represents unmistakably the extraction of Eve from Adam's side, with other subjects from the opening chapters of Genesis—the murder of Abel, &c.

(2) *The Fall.*—Few subjects are more frequent in every class of Christian art. Our first parents usually stand on either side of the tree of knowledge, round which the serpent twines, hiding their shame, sometimes with their hands alone, sometimes with fig-leaves. A lamp, figured by Agincourt (*Terres Cuites*, pl. xxiv. No. 2), represents Eve seeking for a veil at the moment that she takes the fatal fruit. On the Lateran sarcophagus already referred to the serpent offers the apple in his mouth. Our Lord, as a beardless young man, presents Adam with a bundle of ears of corn, and Eve with a lamb, the emblems of their future labours in tilling the ground and spinning wool. On the celebrated sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (Bosio, p. 45; Aringhi, vol. i. p. 277; Bottari, vol. i. pl. 15; Agincourt, *Sculpture*, pl. 6, nos. 5–11; Appell. p. 9; Parker, *Photogr.* 2997, *Sculpture*, pl. xiii.) the serpent is absent; Adam and Eve turn their backs to one another and to the tree, and the emblems of labour stand by their side. By a singular eccentricity, on a gilded glass given by Buonarruoti (*Vetri*, tom. i. fig. 2, and p. 8), Eve wears a necklace and bracelet of gold. Martigny (p. 16, b) refers in explanation of this to some Rabbinical writings, which assert that immediately after her fatal offence Eve was decked with every variety of female dress and ornaments. The subject is frequent in the catacomb frescoes both of Rome and Naples. (Bellermann, *Katakomben zu Neapel.* pl. 5; Appell. no. 23.) The expulsion from Eden occurs on a sarcophagus on the Lateran Museum (Parker, *Sculpture*, pl. xv.; see also Bottari, *Sculpture e Pitture*, tav. ii.).

(3) *Abel and Cain.*—The sacrifice of the lamb by Abel naturally offered itself to Christian typology as prefiguring the death of the Lamb of God, as well as the sacrifice of the Eucharist. In the latter reference Abel's offerings, "munera pueri tui justi Abel," occur in the canon of the Mass in connexion with the sacrifice of Abraham, and the bread and wine of Melchizedek. The subject is more frequent on sarcophagi than in wall decorations. We have, however, an example of the latter in the mosaics of the sanctuary of St. Vital's at Ravenna, where Abel stands alone, clad, shepherdlike, in a goat-skin, holding a lamb in his arms extended in prayer over a sacrificial table, on the other side of which Melchizedek is offering bread and wine, thus indicating the spiritual identity of the gifts with the Real Presence in the Eucharist. [MOSAICS, p. 1322.] On some sarcophagi Cain and Abel often appear together, making their respective offerings of a sheaf of corn or grapes and a lamb to the Deity, represented as an old man, seated (Bottari, tav. li.; cxxxvii., Bosio, p. 159).

(4) *Noah.*—The ark as a symbol of the church carried safely through the deluge of God's wrath, and Noah as a type of redeemed humanity admitted to the church by the waters of baptism, receiving from the dove, figuring the Holy Spirit, the olive branch of heavenly peace, is repeated constantly in all examples of early Christian art (cf. Tertull. *de Baptismo*, c. viii.). The countless representations of this one scene, depicted purely symbolically, without the slightest attempt at historical accuracy, evidence the strong hold it had on the early Christian mind. This was one of the subjects selected by St. Ambrose for the adornment of his Basilica at Milan. [FRESCO, Vol. I. p. 699, no. 10; DOVE, p. 575.]

(5) *Abraham's Sacrifice.*—The purely symbolical character of early Christian art is evidenced by the perpetual recurrence of this specially typical act, alone out of the whole of the incidents in the life of Abraham. It is one of the scenes which meet us everywhere. The primitive character of this type appears from a passage from St. Gregory Nyssen, quoted in the second Nicene council (act. iv.; Labbe, *Concil.* vii. 736), describing a picture which he says he never looked on without tears, in which the sacrifice of Isaac was represented just as we see it on the walls and ceilings and on the sarcophagi of the catacombs. St. Augustine speaks too of it as "tot locis pictum" (*Contr. Faustin.* lib. xxii. c. 72). It is needless to particularise the variety of costume found in different examples. In one instance Abraham is vested in the high priestly robes of the Jewish ritual (Bottari, tav. clxi.). The substituted ram appears hard by, sometimes struggling in the brambles (which were regarded as a type of our Lord's crown of thorns), sometimes standing free. Abraham's sacrifice appears in the mosaics of the sanctuary of St. Vital's at Ravenna, in conjunction with the reception of the three angels. The lunette containing these subjects corresponds to that containing the conjoined sacrifices of Abel and Melchizedek. The eucharistic and sacrificial reference of the whole series is evident.

(6) *Melchizedek.*—As already stated, the offering of bread and wine made by the royal priest to the father of the faithful, is one of the eucharistic subjects at St. Vital's. [EUCHARIST, p. 626.] This subject is also the first of the series of Old Testament representations in the name of St. Mary Major's at Rome.

(7) *Moses.*—There is no Old Testament history from which so many illustrations have been taken as that of the great deliverer and lawgiver of God's ancient people. The sacramental character of the passage of the Red Sea, the giving of the manna, and the water flowing from the smitten rock, having been so recognised by our Lord and His apostles, these events naturally took their place among the leading eucharistic types, and are found perpetually recurring in every variety of Christian art.

(*a*) The first of these symbolical incidents in the life of Moses is his loosing his sandals from his feet before the burning bush. The act was regarded by the fathers as typical of the duty of putting away all worldly thoughts and cares in approaching to the Divine Presence (cf. Ambros. *de Isaac*, c. 4; Greg. Naz. *Or.* xlii. tom. i. p. 689). This is

one of the most frequent subjects in the catacomb frescoes, and appears in early mosaics, as at St. Vital, Ravenna, and St. Catherine, Mount Sinai.

(*b*) *The Passage of the Red Sea.*—We do not find this subject so frequently represented as we might have expected from its universal recognition as a type of baptism. It is not found in paintings, only on sarcophagi. We may instance one from the Vatican cemetery (Bottari, tav. xl.; Agincourt, *Sculpture*, pl. viii. no. 1). The subject is represented with far greater detail and a larger number of figures on other sarcophagi (Bosio, p. 591; Bottari, tav. cxciv.; Millin, *Midi de la France*, pl. lxvii.). In the Museum of Aix is one discovered at Arles, which in addition to the Gathering of the Quails, and the striking of the Rock, represents the Exodus from Egypt and the overthrow of Pharaoh (Millin, *u. s.* pl. 9). Three sarcophagi at Arles, two in the museum, and one at St. Trophimus, also present the scene in detail, with the remarkable addition of the pillar of fire going before the Israelites.

(*c*) *Moses striking the Rock.*—This subject, so distinctly typifying the waters of baptism and the supplies of spiritual grace and strength flowing from the smitten rock, "which was Christ" (1 Cor. x. 4), meets us perpetually. It is seen constantly in the catacomb frescoes, and is seldom absent from the sarcophagi, where the thirsty crowd, generally wanting in the pictures, are eagerly drinking of the copious streams which are gushing from the rock struck by the miraculous rod. In close connexion with this subject there is almost always found on the sarcophagi a group of persons in flat caps, who seize an old and bearded man carrying a rod by either arm, and lead him off as a prisoner (Bosio, 103, 285, 287, 295, 425). This has been usually identified with the apprehension of St. Peter. Martigny considers that it is intended for the rebellion of the Israelites, which preceded the miraculous gift of water (Exod. xvii. 4). Probably there is an intentional combination of the two scenes, thus evidencing the complete identification of the two revelations in the mind of the early Christians, by whom Peter was regarded as the antitype of Moses, "the leader of the new Israel," as Prudentius calls him. This is also indicated by the marked resemblance the figure of Moses in this subject usually bears, in the general look of his hair and beard and the outline of his features, to the traditional type of St. Peter, and is still more strikingly brought out in some of the gilded glasses representing the striking of the Rock, where not only is the resemblance unmistakable, but all doubt is removed by the name PETRUS being superscribed. (See Brownlow and Northcote, *Rom. Sott.* fig. 33, p. 287; pl. xvii. no. 2; pp. 248, 265, 287, 303.)

(*d*) *The Manna and the Quails.*—The manna, as a symbol of the Living Bread that came down, might have been expected to appear more frequently than it does. Only one indubitable example is found among the catacomb pictures. This was discovered in 1863 in the cemetery of St. Cyriaca, and was described by De Rossi (*Bullettino*, Oct. 1863, p. 76; see MANNA, p. 1084). Dr. Appell cites another example from the sarcophagus of the abbess Eusebius in the museum at Marseilles, figured by Millin (pl. lviii. no. 2). He also mentions one example of the quails from the Arles sarcophagus in the museum at Aix, already spoken of. It is not at all improbable that the same combination of Old and New Testament symbolism spoken of in connexion with the striking of the rock has place also in this allied miracle, and that a large number of the pictures usually identified with the multiplication of the loaves and fishes in its closing scene, the gathering of the fragments, have also, as Martigny suggests (following Bosio's lead) a reference to the gathering of the manna in baskets. The venerable bearded personage represented has more resemblance to the type of Moses than that of Christ (Bosio, p. 251).

(*e*) *The giving of the Tables of the Law.*—This subject is found in juxtaposition with that of striking the rock on a very large number of the sarcophagi. Moses usually stands with his right foot on a rock, symbolizing Mount Sinai, and receives the tables from a hand emerging from a cloud (Bosio, pp. 363, 367, 589; Bottari, tav. xxvii.).

(8) *The Grapes of Eshcol.*—Dr. Appell mentions that a sarcophagus in the museum at Marseilles, traditionally said to have contained the bodies of two of St. Ursula's virgins, bears on its cover the parallel subjects of the two Israelite spies bearing a large bunch of grapes on a staff, and the miracle of turning the wate into wine at Cana (Millin, *u. s.* p. lix. no. 3; Dr Piper, De Caumont, *Bullet. Monument.* vol xxxi. pp. 553–559).

(9) *David.*—Singularly enough, this remark able type of Christ is only known to appear onc in the whole range of Christian art. This is i a fresco filling one of the compartments of th ceiling of a cubiculum in the catacomb o Ca listus (Bosio, p. 239; Bottari, tav. lxiii.; Aringhi i. 54). In his right hand the youth wields th loaded sling, and with his left raises the fold o his short girdled tunic, bearing a supply o. stones.

(10) *The Ascension of Elijah.*—This subject, at once a type of our Lord's ascension (Greg. Magn. *in Evang. Hom.* xxix. c. 6), and a proof of the rapture into heaven of the glorified bodies of the living saints (Iren. lib. v. c. 5), was a special favourite with the early Christians, who delighted to have it sculptured on their sarcophagi and painted in their burial vaults. Elijah is usually pourtrayed standing in a four-horse chariot, an almost exact reproduction of the triumphal cars of the Roman emperors carved on their arches and stamped on their coins. With his right hand he delivers his mantle to Elijah. Attendant figures of a diminutive size stand for the sons of the prophets, watching the prophet's ascent. In some instances the Jordan [p. 890] is personified by a river-god, with a crown of rushes, leaning on his arm (Appell, p. 34¹). The finest example is on a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum, figured by Brownlow and Northcote (fig. 30, p. 250), and Dr. Appell (*Monuments of Early Christian Art*, p. 22); see also Bosio, pp. 73, 77, 161, 257; Aringhi, tom. i. pp. 305, 309, 429; Bottari, tav. lii.; Allegranza, *Spiegazioni*, tom. v.; Perret, tom. iv. pl. xvi. no. 21.

(11) *Ezekiel's Vision of the Valley of Dry Bones.*—Striking as the symbolical force of this subject is as a foreshadowing of the Resurrection, it is of rare occurrence in early Christian art.

It appears on a few sarcophagi, and is always represented in the same manner. The prophet stands erect, holding his roll, extending his right hand towards a group of two naked men standing up, into whom the spirit of life has just been breathed, and a third, still inanimate, extended on the ground, by whose side are two human heads, one a mere skull, the other partially covered with flesh. (Bottari, tav. xxxviii. cxxxiv., cxcv.; Agincourt, *Sculpt.* pl. viii. no. 3; Bosio, pp. 95, 425; Parker, *Photogr.* 2921.)

(12) *Daniel.*—Daniel in the Lions' Den disputes for frequency of representation with Moses Striking the Rock, and the History of Jonah. It meets the eye everywhere, and always conforms to the same general type, with many minor modifications. The prophet is almost always entirely naked, standing, with his hands extended in prayer, between two lions. Habakkuk, according to the apocryphal addition, stands by, with the hand which has conveyed him through the air sometimes still grasping his hair, and offers the prophet a basketful of round bread cakes, decussated, exactly resembling our "hot cross buns" (Bosio, 155, 285). A fish is sometimes added, in evident allusion to Christ as the food of the soul, as in the very curious design, from a sarcophagus at Brescia, given by Dr. Appell (p. 31). In the earliest known example, in the cemetery of Domitilla (Brownlow and Northcote, p. 73, fig. 11), Daniel is clothed in a short tunic; but this is so exceptional that Le Blant (*Inscriptions Chrétiennes de Gaul*, tom. i. p. 493) is only able to produce five similar examples, and all of these of comparatively late date. Sometimes he wears a cincture (Bottari, tav. cxcv.). The apocryphal story of his destruction of the dragon with balls of pitch and hair is also sometimes depicted on sarcophagi. There is an example from the Vatican cemetery (Bosio, p. 57; Bottari, tav. xix.; Parker, *Photogr.* 2920). The woodcut given [DRAGON, p. 579] from this sarcophagus renders description needless. The position of the serpent twining round a tree sets historical truth at defiance. It is found on a sarcophagus at Verona (Maffei, *Ver. Illust.* pars iii. p. 54), and on one in the museum at Arles, and on a gilt glass published by Garrucci (*Vetri*, iii. 13), where Christ stands behind the prophet, who turns to him for succour before offering the food to the dragon who is issuing from a cavern.

(13) *The Three Children in the Furnace.*—This is another constantly recurring representation. Not so frequent is the preliminary scene, when they are required to worship the Golden Image. It is found in a fresco from the catacomb of St. Callistus (Bottari, tav. lxxviii.); and a sarcophagus from the Vatican cemetery (Bosio, 63) in connexion with the furnace scene. Nebuchadnezzar is seated in front of his statue, attended by his courtiers. Two of the youths are already in the furnace; one of them is helping in the third, who is being pushed forward by an officer. A fourth figure, "one like unto the Son of God," stands in the centre. It also occurs in a fresco from the cemetery of Callistus (Bosio, p. 279) and on a sarcophagus at St. Ambrogio at Milan (Allegranza, *Spiegaz.* tav. iv.; Appell, p. 33). The image is a bust, set on a pedestal; the Hebrew youths wear Phrygian bonnets and a short tunic. In the more usual subject of the furnace they also wear the bonnet and sometimes trousers, and stand erect with their arms extended in prayer [FRESCO, No. 12, p. 700; FURNACE, 704]; (Bottari, tav. lxi., xli., lxii., cxliii., cxcv., clxxxvi. 6; Bosio, pp. 63, 129). The furnace is sometimes wanting, and the youths stand among flames on the ground (Bosio, pp. 463, 495). There is one example in which there are only two youths. In one from St. Priscilla (Bottari, tav. clxxxi.; Bosio, p. 551) by a beautiful symbolism, a dove is depicted in the air above the heads of the youths carrying the olive branch of peace in her mouth.

(14) *Jonah.*—As a type of our Lord's Resurrection this prophet occurs constantly in the catacomb frescoes and on the sarcophagi, on lamps, diptychs, gilt glasses, and sepulchral slabs. Three scenes in his history are of constant recurrence, sometimes forming distinct pictures, as in the cemeteries of Callistus (Bosio, p. 225) and Marcellinus (pp. 377, 383), sometimes through exigencies of space ingeniously combined into one compendious scene (Bosio, pp. 289, 463). (a) Jonah being cast into the sea and swallowed up by the sea monster; (b) being vomited forth; (c) reclining under his gourd, to which a fourth is sometimes added, (d) deprived of the shade of his gourd and lamenting over the sparing of Nineveh (Bosio, *u. s.*). He is always absolutely naked. The "great fish" is an impossible monster of the dragon type, with a very long and narrow neck, and large head and ears and sometimes even horns, and an elongated sinuous tail. The gourd also is a plant totally unknown to nature, covered with dependent swelling pear-shaped fruit. Its trailing branches cover a trellis, beneath which the prophet lies supporting himself on one arm, with an aspect of chagrin. One of the most spirited representations of the history is on a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum, from the crypt of St. Peter's (Bosio, p. 103; Aringhi, vol. i. p. 335; Bottari, vol. i. tav. xlii.; Appell, p. 19; Parker, *Photogr.* 2905). In a sarcophagus from St. Lorenzo (Bosio, p. 411) the histories of Jonah and Noah are combined, and the dove is conveniently perched on the prow of the ship.

(15) *Job.*—Job, seated on a heap of ashes, or on a dunghill, visited by his friends and reproached by his wife, is found on Christian art monuments with some degree of frequency. It appears in the catacomb frescoes (Bosio, p. 307; Bottari, tav. cv.; Perret, tom. i., pl. xxv.; Bottari, tav. xci.) and on sarcophagi, though more frequently in southern France than in Italy. There are examples in the Museum of Arles and Lyons (Millin, *u. s.* pl. xlvii. 1). The best representation of the scene is on the tomb of Junius Bassus, A.D. 359 (left-hand corner of the lower tier). In a fresco given by Bottari (tav. xci.), and Bosio (p. 307), Job holds a potsherd with which he is scraping his leg.

(16) *Susanna.*—As a type of the church persecuted by the two older forms of religion—the Pagan and the Jewish—the history of Susanna is found on sarcophagi, but only rarely. It is more frequent on those of France than in Italy. The mode of representation is always the same. Susanna, veiled, is standing as an orante between the two elders. An additional symbolism is exhibited in some of the French monuments, where a serpent coiled round a tree is dashing his

tongue at some doves among its branches (Bosio, p. 83, no. 4; Bottari, tav. xxxii., lxxxi.; Buonarruoti, *Vetri*, p. 1; Millin, *u. s.* pl. lxv. 5, lxvi. 8, lxvii. 4). An allegorical picture given by Perret (vol. i. pt. lxxviii.) represents the story under the image of a lamb between two wild beasts, intended for wolves. The application is made certain by the words "SUSANNA" and "SENIORES" above them. [CHURCH, p. 389.]

(17) *Tobias.*—The fish caught by Tobias, whose gall drove away the evil spirit and cured blindness, was regarded by the early Christians as a distinct type of Christ (cf. August. *Serm.* iv. *de Petr. et Paul.*; Optat. lib. iii.). In a catacomb fresco we see him starting on his journey with the angel for his guide (Agincourt, *Peinture*, cl. vii. n. 3). The most frequent subject is his catching the fish. Once in the vault of a cubiculum of St. Callistus he is depicted quite naked, carrying the fish by a hook in his right hand, and his traveller's staff in his left (Bottari, tav. lxv.; Bosio, p. 243; Macarii *Hagioglypta*, p. 75). He is also naked, save a cincture, in another fresco (Perret, vol. iii. pl. xxvi.), in which he presents the fish to the angel. More generally, as on the gilt glasses, he is clothed in a short tunic, and has his right hand down the fish's throat (Buonarruoti, tav. ii. no. 2; Perret, vol. iv. pl. xxv. no. 33; Garrucci, *Vetri*, iii.; *Hagioglypt.* p. 76). A fresco from the cemetery of Priscilla, badly drawn and misunderstood by Bosio (p. 474), is decided by Garrucci (*Hagioglypt.* p. 76, note 2) to represent Tobias carrying the heart, liver, and gall of the fish, with his dog running before him. On a sarcophagus at Verona (Maffei, pars iii. p. 54) the dog is depicted fawning on old Tobit on his son's return.

This list includes all the subjects from the Old Testament embraced in the ordinary cycle of early Christian art. A few isolated subjects may be found here and there, not enumerated above, chiefly on ivories and other minor works of art, but they are quite exceptional, and it does not fall within the purpose of this article to dwell upon them. It will be seen that the leading principle of early Christian art is the unity of the two covenants, and the interpretation of the Old Testament by the New, and the exhibition of the New as the fulfilment of the Old. This principle had its most complete development in the system of parallelism, by which type and antitype were placed in such immediate juxtaposition that the eye could embrace both at once and observe their correspondence. It was not an unfrequent practice to devote one wall of the nave of a church to the Old Testament, and the opposite wall to the New. This is specially recommended in the letter of Nilus to Olympiodorus cited in the acts of the fourth session of the second Nicene council (Labbe, *Concil.* vii. 749). "Novi et Veteris Testamenti historiis hinc inde parietes templi repleri doctissimi pictoris operâ velim," the object being, as there stated, that the unlearned who were unable to read the Holy Scriptures might be instructed by the sight, and be excited to emulate the devotion and noble deeds thus depicted. The legates of pope Hadrian I. at the same council acknowledged that this was the received custom, and mentioned a basilica erected by a former pope John in which it was adopted, referring particularly to the pictures on opposite walls of the expulsion of Adam from Paradise, and the admission of the penitent thief (Labbe, *ibid.* 750). The basilicas erected by Paulinus at Nola contained the one subjects from the Old, the other from the New Testament. [FRESCO, p. 701.] In the same article is a list of the twenty-one scriptural paintings, all but four taken from the Old Testament, with which St. Ambrose decorated his basilica at Milan (*ibid.* p. 700). We have a remarkable example of the same principle of arrangement in England in the churches erected by Benedict Biscop at the end of the 7th century at Wearmouth and Jarrow. At St. Peter's, Wearmouth, the south wall was occupied with scenes from gospel history, the north with corresponding subjects from the apocalypse. At St. Paul's, Jarrow, the parallelism between the Old and New Testament was developed on the opposite walls, Isaac carrying the wood for his sacrifice, answering to our Lord bearing His cross, and the Brazen Serpent to the Crucifixion (Beda, *Vit. Abbatt.* c. 5, cc. 5, 88).

The very remarkable scenes of mosaic pictures from the Old Testament in the basilica of St. Mary Major's at Rome, stand completely isolated, and form a class by themselves. They are simply a series of scenes from the sacred narrative treated purely historically, without the slightest hint of symbolism. These pictures, which begin with the interview between Abraham and Melchizedek, and carry on the history through the lives of the succeeding patriarchs to the times of Moses and Joshua to the battle of Bethhoron, have been described in an earlier article, to which the reader may be referred (MOSAICS, p. 1327).

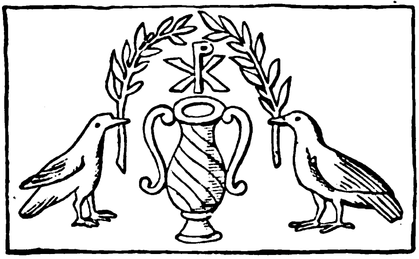
We shall not here enter on the very interesting series of Old Testament pictures contained in early Greek MSS., such as that in the Imperial Library at Vienna (Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. xix.) and the Book of Joshua in the Vatican (*ibid.* pl. xxviii.), which have been treated of in the article MINIATURE.

*Authorities.* — Appell (Dr.), *Monuments of Early Christian Art*; Aringhi, *Roma Sotterranea*; Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*; Bottari, *Sculture e Pitture*; Buonarruoti, *Osservazioni*; Burgon, *Letters from Rome*; Garrucci, *Arti Cristiane*; *Vetri ornati*; Macarius, *Hagioglypta*, ed. Garrucci; Martigny, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*; Millin, *Voyages*; Munter, *Sinnbilder der Alten Christen*; Parker (J. H.), *Archæology of Rome, Catacombs, Tombs, Mosaics*; Perret, *Les Catacombes de Rome*; De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*; Seroux d'Agincourt, *L'Histoire de l'Art*; St. John Tyrwhitt, *Art Teaching of the Primitive Church.* [E. V.]

**OLIVE.** This tree appears to be intended among those which surround the mystic Orpheus, or Orpheus-Shepherd. Bottari, tav. lxxviii. Also in tav. cxviii. and tav. cxxv. it accompanies the Good Shepherd; at least the trees represented are very like young olives or willows, and in cxxv. the olive is clearly drawn. Less attention seems to have been paid to St. Paul's allegory of the olive-tree of the church than might have been expected. The olive-branch is borne by Noah's dove* [DOVE], and the sepul-

chral dove of peace constantly bears it. See a well-marked branch in inscription 91 at p. 60, vol. i. of De Rossi's *Inscript. Christianae Urbis Romae.* See CROSS, Vol. I. p. 497, for the olive-wreath with the palm. That no certain representation, and only one problematical sketch, of a palm exists in the Utrecht Psalter, seems to disconnect that wonderful document altogether from Alexandria and Egypt. Trees and olive-crowns occur on some of the mixed or Gentile ornaments of the sarcophagi. See, however, Aringhi, i. 311, where a well-carved olive-crown is combined with the monogram; also Parker Phot. 2930, from Lateran Museum. The writer can find no reference in Art to Zechariah's vision of the two olive-trees and candlestick. The vine and palm are generally associated with the Mount of Olives. The great difficulty of representing an olive-tree so as to be easily recognized for what it is may be one reason why it is so seldom attempted. For 12th-century Byzantine olive, see Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. p. 177, and plate iv. vol. iii.

An example is given in the annexed woodcut of olive branches on a sepulchral slab, from Aringhi, *R. S.* t. ii. p. 644. He gives



Olive Branches. From a Sepulchral Stone. Aringhi, ii. p. 644.

various reasons for the symbolic use of the tree, but they are rather natural or secular than Scriptural; as for example, its fruitfulness, permanent leafage, &c. He does not mention any representations of the whole tree, only of its branches, as borne by Noah's dove, or the sepulchral dove signifying flight into Rest. There is an olive-tree on the celebrated casket of Brescia. (Westwood, *Early Christian Sculptures and Ivory Carvings*, p. 37.) It seems to the writer that the two trees placed on either side of the Shepherd (Bottari, cxiii. cxvi. cxviii. cxxii., all from the catacombs of SS. Marcellinus and Peter) are intended for olives, and that they may involve allusion to the Hebrew and Gentile church. [R. St. J. T.]

**OLYMPAS**, mentioned by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 15); commemorated Nov. 10. (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 274.) [C. H.]

**OLYMPIAS** (1), martyr, with Maximius, nobleman, at Cordula, in Persia, A.D. 251; commemorated April 15. (Bed. *Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 375.) [C. H.]

(2) Martyr in the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius; commemorated July 25. (Basil. *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 264.) [C. H.]

**OLYMPIUS**, martyr, commemorated on the Via Latina, at Rome, July 26. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

**OMENS.** It was to be expected that some at least of the superstitions of heathenism would survive in the church. In fact they did survive, and none more vigorously than the observation of omens and portents, which Christianity has never been able to extinguish. Chrysostom laments (*Hom. in Galat.* i. c. 7, p. 669, Montfaucon) the influence exercised upon the minds of Christians by ethnic superstitions, such as forecasts from chance sounds or expressions (κληδονισμοί), from the flight of birds (οἰωνισμοί), or from other signs (σύμβολα). And again (*Catechesis* ii. *ad Illumin.* p. 141) he inveighs strongly against certain superstitious practices of his time, and among them against omens. If, he says, when a man first leaves his door, he meets one who has but one eye, or is lame, he reckons this ominous of evil. This is part of the pomps of Satan; for it is not the meeting a man that makes the day evil, but the spending it in sin. . . . If a man meets a virgin he says, "this will be an unprofitable day with me;" but if he meets a harlot it will be a fortunate day. Augustine (*de Doctr. Chr.* ii. 20) stigmatises similar superstitions. An omen is drawn, he says, from the throbbing of some part of the body. If, when two friends are walking arm in arm, a stone, or a dog, or a child chance to come between them, they stamp the stone to pieces as a divider of their friendship; nay, they even beat the dog or the innocent child from the same superstition. A man returns to bed if he has sneezed while putting on his shoes; he returns to his house if he has stumbled on going out; he is terrified with the apprehension of future evil if the rats have gnawed his clothes: less wise than Cato, who, when the rats gnawed his boots, said that it was no marvel, but if the boots had gnawed the rats it might have been thought a portent. A kindred superstition is the observation of lucky and unlucky days or seasons against which the same father (*Enchiridion*, c. 79) also inveighs, as utterly unworthy of a Christian.

See further on this subject under PAGANISM, SURVIVAL OF, III. ii.

(Bingham's *Antiquities*, xvi. v. 8.) [C.]

**OMOPHORION** (ὠμοφόριον, ὠμόφορον). The omophorion, as its name implies, is an article of dress worn over the shoulders; and thus we find it as a part of the ordinary female dress. Thus Palladius tells of one Taor, a virgin, who never wished for a new dress, or omophorion, or sandals (*Hist. Lausiaca*, c. 138; Patr. Gr. xxxiv. 1237). The church at Balchernae was said to possess the omophorion of the Virgin Mary (Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, p. 241, ed. Bekker).

In its ecclesiastical sense, the word is used to describe an ornament worn by patriarchs, and also by bishops generally in the Greek church. This consists of a long band of woollen material, passing once round the neck, with the ends falling before and behind to the knees or lower, and on it are embroidered crosses. There seems little doubt that it has been a recognised vestment since the 6th century at latest. Thus Isidore of Pelusium, writing early in that century, after speaking of the ὀθόνη worn by

deacons, goes on to dwell on the woollen omophorion worn by bishops, the material being meant to suggest the notion of the lost sheep borne on the shoulders of the Good Shepherd. Therefore it is, he adds, that when in the service the book of the gospels is opened, the bishop lays aside his omophorion as in the presence of the chief Shepherd Himself (*Epist.* lib. i. 136; Patr. Gr. lxxviii. 272). These words of Isidore are copied almost verbatim by Germanus,[a] patriarch of Constantinople in the 8th century (*Hist. Eccles. et Mystica Theoria;* Patr. Gr. xcviii. 396; cf. also Symeon Thessal. *de Sacra Liturgia*, c. 82, *ib.* clv. 260). Another early example may be drawn from the life of Chrysostom by Palladius (c. 6; *Patrol. Gr.* xlvii. 23), where Theophilus of Alexandria is accused of ill-treating a monk named Ammonius, in that he ἐνειλεῖ . . . . τὸ ὠμοφόριον ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ οἰκείαις χερσί, and then beat him about the head.

Again, at the third general council of Constantinople (A.D. 680), in its eighth *Actio*, in which the heretic Macarius, bishop of Antioch, was on his trial, his views were at length received with cries of "Anathema! rightly let him be deposed from his bishopric, let him be stripped of the omophorion that encircles him" (Labbe, vi. 759). At the fourth general council of Constantinople (A.D. 870) the rule is laid down as to the wearing of the omophorion at the proper time and place by those qualified to wear it (τοὺς ὁρισθέντας ὠμοφορεῖν ἐπισκόπους: can. 14, Labbe, viii. 1376).

In the Byzantine historians, the omophorion is frequently referred to. One example will suffice:—Cedrenus (under twenty-first year of Constantine) tells us how Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, was strangled by the Arians with his own omophorion (vol. i. 529, ed. Bekker).

A confirmation of our statement as to the early use of the omophorion, may be derived from the fact that in the still existing ancient mosaics in the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, said to be of the 6th century, are figures of 4th century bishops wearing white vestments with omophoria, on which are coloured crosses (Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, p. lxxv.).

This being the case, we may at once dismiss the story told by Luitprand (*Relatio de Legatione Constant.* c. 62; *Patrol.* cxxxvi. 934), to the effect that even the patriarch of Constantinople only wore the omophorion (here called *pallium*) by permission of the pope ("scimus, immo videmus, Constantinopolitanum episcopum pallio non uti, nisi sancti patris nostri permissu,"), but that by means of bribes leave was obtained from the Roman usurper Albericus, in whose hands the then pope, John XI. (*ob.* A.D. 936), completely was, for the patriarch and his successors to wear this ornament, without any further permission being necessary. Hence, adds Luitprand, the custom of wearing the *pallium* spread from the patriarch of Constantinople to the bishops of the eastern church generally.

Into the question whether the omophorion properly belonged to a prelate of the rank of a patriarch or metropolitan, or merely marked the episcopal order, it is not our purpose to enter. The evidence we have brought forward seems to us to lead strongly to the latter conclusion. The point is discussed at length by Goar (*Euchologion*, p. 312); reference may also be made to Ducange's *Glossarium Graecum*, s. v. ὠμοφόριον. [R. S.]

[a] Ducange (*s. v.*) states that Germanus distinguishes between the omophorion worn by a patriarch or metropolitan and that worn by an ordinary bishop. The Greek of the passage is certainly somewhat peculiar, and may perhaps be corrupt, but it seems hardly possible to deduce the above inference from it:—τὸ ὠμοφόριον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κατὰ τὴν στολὴν τοῦ Ἀαρὼν ἥνπερ ἐφόρουν οἱ ἐν νόμῳ ἀρχιερεῖς σουδαρίοις μακροῖς τὸν εὐώνυμον ὦμον περιτίθεντες κατὰ τὸν ζύγον τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τὸ δὲ ὠμοφόριον ὃ περιβέβληται ὁ ἐπίσκοπος δηλοῖ τὴν τοῦ προβάτου δορὰν .... Surely the ἀρχιερεύς merely means a prelate (of whatever kind), as opposed to the priest (ἱερεύς), whose special vestments—sticharion, peritrachelion, girdle, and phenolion—Germanus had just mentioned; and then adds to these an ornament belonging to the higher rank of the ministry, with which he connects a double symbolism.

**ONESIMUS (1)**, disciple of St. Paul (Philem.); commemorated Feb. 15 (Basil. *Menol.; Cal. Aethiop.;* Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 253); Feb. 16 (Bed. *Mart.; Vet. Rom. Mart.;* Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 855).

(2) Martyr at Puteoli; commemorated May 10 (Basil. *Menol.*); July 31 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 175).

(3) Thaumaturgus, martyr at Caesarea in Palestine, under Diocletian; commemorated July 14. (Basil. *Menol.;* Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iii. 648.) [C. H.]

**ONESIPHORUS** (2 Tim i. 16), martyr with Porphyrius; commemorated July 16 (Basil. *Menol.*); Sept. 6 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. ii. 662); Nov. 9 (*Cal. Byzant.;* Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 274); Dec. 9 (Basil. *Menol.*) [C. H.]

**ONESTREFELD**, council of. [NESTREFELD, p. 1379.]

**ONOKOITES.** [CALUMNIES, p. 261.]

**ONUPHRIUS**, Egyptian anchoret, "our holy father," commemorated June 12 (Basil. *Menol.;* Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 527); ONYPHRIUS (*Cal. Byzant.;* Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 261). [C. H.]

**ONYPHRIUS**, anchoret with Tryphon, commemorated Jan. 24. (*Cal. Armen.*) [C. H.]

**OPTATUS (1)**, one of the eighteen martyrs of Saragossa, commemorated April 16. (Usuard. *Mart.*)

(2) Bishop, with presbyters Sanctinus and Memorius; commemorated at Auxerre, Aug. 31. (Usuard. *Mart.; Hieron. Mart.;* Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 680.) [C. H.]

**OR**, martyr with Orepses, priests; commemorated Aug. 23. (Basil. *Menol.*) [C. H.]

**ORACLES.** [PAGANISM.]

**ORANGE, COUNCILS OF** (ARAUSICANA CONCILIA). Two councils are recorded: the first as celebrated for its thirty canons on ecclesiastical discipline, as the second is for its twenty-five decrees on dogma. The first had St. Hilary of Arles for its president, was attended by St. Eucherius of Lyons on behalf

of his suffragans, by fourteen other bishops and the representative of a fifteenth who was absent, but no sees are given. It met Nov. 8, 441. Its first canon is remarkable, as permitting presbyters, if a bishop cannot be had, to sign with chrism and benediction heretics in a dying state desiring to be Catholics. The second, which in the Pseudo-Isidorian collection stands first, ordains that nobody that has received power to baptize should ever set out without chrism. Doubtful readings make the remaining clauses obscure, but the highest minister named in this connexion is not the bishop but the priest. The fifth forbids those who have taken sanctuary to be given up. The seventh threatens with ecclesiastical censures any person infringing on the liberties of those who had been formally manumitted in church. The words of the thirteenth are: "amentibus quaecunque pietatis sunt conferenda"; and the next three relate to the possessed by devils. The wording of the seventeenth, "cum capsâ et calix offerendus est; et admixtione eucharistiae consecrandus," is rightly called by Mabillon "obscurissimus" (*De Liturg. Gall.* i. 5, 19), though its first part is in keeping with our Sarum Missal (Bona, *Rer. Lit.* ii. 9, 2). Canons eighteen, nineteen, and twenty relate to the treatment of catechumens. Canon twenty-one is directed against two bishops ordaining a third. Canon twenty-two forbids the ordaining married men deacons unless they will undertake to live no longer as such. Canon twenty-six forbids the ordaining deaconesses under any circumstances. Canon twenty-seven indicates how the profession of widowhood is to be made. Canon twenty-eight directs that all of either sex relinquishing their vow of chastity shall be treated as offenders, and subjected to due penance. Canon twenty-nine decrees the observance by all, absent or present, of the canons which have been made; and also that no synod shall separate without fixing where the next is to meet. The last canon enacts that bishops incapacitated from discharging their episcopal duties through any physical ailment, shall not delegate them to presbyters, but get another bishop to undertake them (Mansi, vi. 4, 33–52). The second, A.D. 529, July 3, had St. Caesarius of Arles for its president, and was attended by thirteen other bishops, but no sees are given. And though its decrees are purely dogmatic, eight lay notables say of them in turn: "consensi et subscripsi," like the bishops. St Caesarius calls them "constitutionem nostram," in subscribing first. But it would be difficult to point out one that is not borrowed word for word from St. Augustine, or from those who followed him in controversy with the Pelagians or semi-Pelagians, against whose various errors they are directed. The first eight, for instance, form eight consecutive dogmas in the work of Gennadius (*De Eccl. Dogm.* 38–45); the thirteenth, nineteenth, twenty-first, and nine-tenths of the twenty-fifth, which is the longest of all, are from the same work (c. 46–51). The Sentences of Prosper, or excerpts by him from the writings of St. Augustine, supply most, if not all, of the remaining. (Mansi, viii. 711–24.) [E. S. Ff.]

**ORANTI.** The figures which bear this name, and are so frequently found in the catacomb frescoes, are generally to be described as male or female forms in the Eastern attitude of prayer. The former, of course, more frequently represent or symbolize some special personage or character. They are, for the most part, in a standing position, with the arms extended. In some instances, they may be taken as symbolizing the church of believers, but most frequently they appear to be portraits, or rather memorial pictures of the dead. The celebrated one in SS. Saturninus and Thrason—somewhat grand in form and conception, though grotesquely ill-drawn—is seen in its present state in Parker's photographs, 469 and 1470; also in Bottari, tav. 180. Others are on tav. 172, 183, and Aringhi, ii. pp. 76, 79, from SS. Marcellinus and Peter; from St. Agnes, p. 183, and Rohault de Fleury, pl. lxi.; but see *infra*. Female Orantes are often represented in rich garments, and profusely adorned with necklaces and other jewellery. See photographs 467, 475–6, 1751–2, 1775, 1777, and the mosaics of SS. Oranede and Pudentiana, 1481–2 in Parker. This Martigny (p. 356) rightly explains: "En décorant ainsi leur image, on avait bien moins pour but de retracer aux yeux ce qu'elles avaient été dans la vie, que d'expliquer allégoriquement la gloire dont elles jouissaient dans le ciel." [PARADISE.] Compare Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. p. 49, for similar treatment of the Blessed Virgin by Francia and Perugino, with comments. For the Virgin Mary as an Orante in the later pictures of the catacombs, see Mr. Hemans's Essay in the *Contemporary Review*, vol. iii. The late Mr. Wharton Marriott (*Evidence of the Catacombs*, p. 15) says that he can find, after careful examination, but one Orante, properly so called, in all the catacombs, which can, with any probability, be interpreted as referring to the Virgin Mary. [Compare MARY THE VIRGIN IN ART, p. 1150.]



Orante. Martigny.

For male Oranti, see Aringhi, *R. S.* t. i. p. 606, ii. p. 259. Birds, sometimes bearing the olive-branch, and typical of the flight away to rest, are in these and other instances added to the youthful figures. For the Orante, as a supposed "companion" to the Good Shepherd, see *Evidence of the Catacombs*, pp. 12, 13, 17, with references to Dr. Northcote and Bosio.

Martigny quotes (Tertullian, *de Orat.* xiii.)

that the Pagan custom in prayer was to raise both hands to heaven,' "duplices ad sidera palmas;" but Christians only extended the hands—"Ne ipsis quidem manibus sublimius elatis, sed temperate ac probe elatis" (see woodcut, p. 1463). [PRAYER.]

ORARIUM. (1) Besides its technical meaning of a stole, this word is used in the literal sense of a handkerchief, primarily, as the derivation shews, to wipe the face. Jerome, writing to Nepotianus, and dwelling on the proper mean to be shewn in dress, observes, "ridiculum et plenum dedecoris est, referto marsupio, quod sudarium orariumque non habeas gloriari" (*Epist.* 52, § 9, vol. i. 264). Ambrose uses the word for the napkin bound about the face of Lazarus (*de Excessu Fratris sui Satyri*, ii. 78; *Patrol.* xvi. 1396). For further references, see Greg. Turon. (*Hist. Franc.* vi. 17; *de Gloria Martyrum*, i. 93; *Patrol.* lxxi. 389, 787); Prudentius (*Peristeph.* i. 86). See also Ducange, *Glossarium*, s. v. [R. S.]

(2) See STOLE.

ORATION (FUNERAL). [FUNERAL ORATION; OBSEQUIES.]

ORATIO MISSAE. A part of the Mozarabic liturgy, following next after the offertory, which, though called *Oratio*, is not, strictly speaking, a prayer, for it is generally cast in the form of a short address or exhortation to the people, reminding them of the particular person or fact commemorated on the day. It is therefore one of the variable parts. Sometimes it is called simply "oratio." In the Gallican sacramentaries it is sometimes called "Praefatio Missae" (which must not be confounded with the Preface, commonly so designated), sometimes "Missa." It is a feature peculiar to this family of liturgies. [C. E. H.]

ORATORIUM (1). A stool, or possibly a cushion, on which to kneel at prayer, is so called in the earliest *Ordo Romanus*, supposed to have been compiled about 730. Thus, "The fourth in the choir precedes the pontiff, that he may set the oratorium before the altar" (§ 8; *Mus. Ital.* ii. 8; compare § 34; p. 22; § 35; p. 23; App. § 8; p. 35).

(2). We are told by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, A.D. 870, who may be taken as a good witness to things existing in his day, though we cannot depend on his account of their origin, that Hilary of Rome, A.D. 461, made three "oratories" in the baptistery of the basilica of Constantine, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, and the Holy Cross severally, "all of silver and precious stones," and that "in the oratory of the Holy Cross he made a CONFESSION, where he placed the wood of the Lord, with a golden cross gemmed, weighing 20 pounds." All three oratories had gates, the two former of brass with silver locks or bolts (argento clusas), the last of "purest silver" (*Vitae Pont.* n. 47). The oratories of the Baptist and evangelist also had confessions, but we are not told what was in them. We may assume, however, from the ordinary use of the confession, that they contained supposed relics of those saints; and this is confirmed by the fact that a supposed fragment of the true cross was put in the confession of the third. Several "oratoria" of the same materials, dedicated to SS. Thomas, Apollinaris, Sosius, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and to the Holy Cross, are said to have been given by Symmachus, A.D. 498, to the basilicas of St. Andrew and St. Peter. They all had confessions, and in the confession of the last was also "lignum Domini" (*ibid.* n. 52). Now here, we appear to have the description of a miniature chapel, *i.e.* of a shrine or tabernacle *at* which the people were invited to pray, on the same grounds as *in* a larger oratory, viz. its dedication, and possession of relics. Such larger oratories, with the entire bodies of martyrs or others under their confessio, were frequent in the large churches of Rome [see (3) below]; and the small fabrics of precious metal of which we have now treated, appear to have been made in imitation of them.

(3). *Oratoriolum, Oratoriolus, Oraculum*, *οἶκος εὐκτήριος, εὐκτήριον, προσευκτήριον.*

I. The Greek historians, though commonly using *ἐκκλησία*, often gave these descriptive names to churches. Thus Eusebius (*Hist.* x. 3; comp. *de Laud. Constant.* 17) says that, when peace was given to the church, "there were feasts of dedication in every city, and consecrations of newly-built oratories" (*προσευκτηρίων*), and that the emperor adorned the city named after him "with many oratories" (*εὐκτηρίοις*) (*de Vita Const.* iii. 48). Socrates (*Hist.* i. 18), that Constantine ordered "an oratory" (*οἶκον εὐκτήριον*) to be built under Abraham's oak, and "another church" (*ἑτέραν ἐκκλησίαν*) at Heliopolis (*ibid.*). We are not aware that the Latin "oratorium" was ever used, as *εὐκτήριον*, &c., were, to denote a church with full privileges.

II. A "memoria" or sepulchral chapel built over the remains or some relic of an eminent Christian, or it might be only to perpetuate his name and do him honour, but at the same time used for prayer, was called an oratory. The following are examples both from the East and West. Sozomen (*Hist.* ix. 2) tells us that an oratory (*οἶκος εὐκτήριος*) was constructed under ground, so as to enclose the remains of certain presbyters, and a house built over it in which was a secret descent to it. Theodoret says that "they built many enclosures for prayer (*σηκοὺς εὐκτηρίους*) to Marcian" (*Hist. Relig.* in Marc. iii.). They placed the abbat Thomas in a tomb, and "built a small oratory over him" (John Moschus, *Prat. Spirit.* 88). The foregoing, it will be observed, are instances in which the oratory has no immediate connexion with a church.

III. Many, however, belonging to the last century of our period, were so connected, being built either (1) within, or (2) on to the church itself, or (3) in close proximity to it.

(1) John VII. A.D. 705, "made an oratory of the holy mother of God inside the church of the blessed apostle Peter" (Anast. Biblioth. *Vitae Pont.* n. 87), before the altar, in which oratory he was himself buried. Gregory III., A.D. 731, "made an oratory within the same basilica, by the principal arch on the men's side," in which he deposited relics (*ibid.* n. 91). The same pope enlarged a basilica "in which there were previously diaconia and a small oratory" (*ibid.*). In the life of Hadrian, 772, we read that he

"made in the church of the blessed Peter, through the several oratories, silver canistra, twelve in number" (*ibid.* n. 97). In that of Leo III. 795, mention is made of "the oratory of St. Stephen in St. Peter, which is called the Greater" (*ibid.* 98).

For small shrines or tabernacles within a church, also called oratories, see (2).

(2) Many oratories were built against churches with an entrance into them, or placed within buildings (as porches, vestries, baptisteries) connected with churches. These were the early form of the side-chapel and chantry, afterwards so common (see Muratori, *Dissert.* xvii. in S. Paulini *Poemata*). Anastasius Bibliothecarius tells us that Sergius I., A.D. 687, restored all the cubicula round (in circuitu) the basilica of the blessed apostle St. Paul" (*Vitae Pont.* n. 85), and those attached "circumquaque" to St. Peter's (*ibid.*). That by "cubicula" we are to understand oratories is evident from the same author's account of Symmachus, A.D. 498; in which, after enumerating several "oratories" built by him, he immediately adds, "All which *cubicula* he built up complete from the foundation" (*ibid.* n. 52). St. Paulinus, too, A.D. 393, added "cubicula" to his church at Nola, "inserted in the longer walls of the basilica" (*Epist.* 32 § 12), which were intended, as he expressly says (*ibid.*), for the private use of persons "praying or meditating on the law of the Lord" (Ps. i. 2), as well as for memorials of the departed. Elsewhere (*Poema*, 27, l. 395; comp. 19, l. 478), he speaks of them; and of those whom the desire to pray had attracted to them. That these oratories opened into the church, appears from the fact that a thief, who had concealed himself in one of them, escaped when the door of the church was unlocked in the morning (*Poema* 19, l. 480).

(3) There is also frequent mention of oratories near a church, and belonging to it, but not part of the same structure. Such appears to have been one at Tours in the 6th century, viz. "Oratorium atrii beati Martini." (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Martyrum* 15.) At Rome in the 8th there was an oratory of St. Leo, "secus fores introitus Sanctae Petronillae." (Anast. Biblioth. *Vitae Pont.* n. 95.) Theodore, A.D. 642, built one "foris portam beati Pauli Apostoli" (*ibid.* n. 74). This position appears to have been common at Rome; for the earliest Ordo Romanus, in giving directions for striking the light on Maundy Thursday [See LIGHTS, CEREMONIAL USE OF, § v.] orders it to be done "in a place outside the basilica; but if they have no oratory there, then they strike it in the doorway there." (§ 32; *Mus. Ital.* ii. 21.)

IV. The name of "Oratory" was given to different parts of the interior of a church. Thus, in a law of Theodosius, the nave is called "the people's oratory" (εὐκτήριον τοῦ λαοῦ *Epist.* Theod. et Valentin. *Codex Theodos.* ix. 45; tan. 3, p. 366). Compare the expression τὸν εὐκτήριον ναόν, denoting a part, expressly distinguished from the bema and the narthex (*ibid.* l. 4; p. 364). In the West, the word has been used to denote the choir of a church. A bishop of Mans is said to have taken great pains in the construction of the "upper parts" of a new church, "oratorium scilicet quod chorum vocitant, sedemque pontificalem," &c. (*Act. Pontif. Cenom.* 34; Mabill. *Anal. Vet.* 312, ed. 1723).

V. (1) Every monastery, whether of men or women, had its oratory. Thus St. Augustine, writing in 423 to women: "Let no one do in the oratory anything but that for which it was made, and from which it has received its name." (*Epist.* 211, *ad Sanctimon.* § 7). Sim. in the *Regula ad Servos Dei*, adapted from this, § 3. Cassian about the same time, of the monks in the East: "He who at terce, sext, or none, has not come to prayer before the psalm which has begun is over, does not venture to enter further into the oratory" (*De Coenob. Inst.* iii. 7). In the rule of St. Benedict, A.D. 530, the word occurs frequently, *e.g.*, "Oratorium hoc sit, quod dicitur" (c. 52).

(2) The oratories in monasteries of women had no priests attached to them until the beginning of the 5th century, and the practice seems to have spread somewhat slowly. They were publicly professed in church, and attended it regularly in a body, a part, spoken of as enclosed, being assigned to them. These facts are proved by the following testimonies. St. Basil, *Epitimia in Canonicas*, 17; ii. 531; St. Ambrose, *de Lapsu Virg.* v. § 19; Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 138. St. Jerome, when describing (in 404) the life of those in the house founded by Paula, says that "only on the Lord's day did they go out to the church, by the side of which they dwelt" (*Epist.* 108, *ad Eustoch.* § 19). Elsewhere, in 414, he implies that members of a female community went "ad loca religionis," and says that he "knew some who kept at home on festivals because of the concourse of the people" and its attendant evils (*Ep.* 130, *ad Demetr.* § 19). On the other hand, the community to which St. Augustine writes in 423 (if the epistle be wholly from his hand), though not confined to their house (*Epist.* 211, *ad Sanctim.* § 10), had a priest who celebrated, we may presume, in the oratory which Augustine mentions (§ 7).

(3) The houses of charity so numerous in the early church [HOSPITALS] were all under the management of the clergy or attached to monasteries; and there is evidence that some, and a probability that many, of them had their own oratories. For example, it is recorded of Leo III., A.D. 795, that he gave certain ornaments to the "oratory of the holy mother of God in the xenodochium at Firmi" (Anast. B. *Vitae Pont.* n. 98; pp. 130, 6), to the oratories in three other xenodochia at Rome, dedicated severally to St. Lucy, St. Cyrus, and SS. Cosmas and Damian (*ibid.* 139), and to "the oratory of St. Peregrine, which is placed in the hospital of the Lord at Naumachia" (*ibid.*).

VI. (1) Chapels under the name of oratories were often attached to episcopal palaces. *E.g.*, in the *Life of John the Almoner* by Leontius (c. 38), we read, "Facit missas in oratorio suo" (Rosweyd, 199). Gregory the Great says of Cassius of Narni, that a little before his death "in episcopii oratorio missas fecit" (*Hom.* 37, *de Evang.*). Gregory of Tours, 573, consecrated "cellulam valde elegantem," which had been the buttery of his palace, for an oratory, and removed to it relics of SS. Martin, Saturnius, and Julian (*de Glor. Conf.* 20). It was "infra domum ecclesiasticam urbis Turonicae" (*Vitae PP.* ii. 3). Pope Theodore, 642, "fecit oratorium beato Silvestro intra episcopium Lateranense" (Anast. Biblioth. *Vitae Pont.* n. 74), *i.e.*, in the

palace which Constantine was said to have given to the see in the time of Melchiades (Labbe, *Conc.* i. 1530). See also *Liber Diurnus Rom. Pontif.* v. 10.

(2) Oratories (= domestic chapels) were common in or near the houses of the wealthy. By a law of Justinian they were to be devoted to prayer alone, "We forbid to all the inhabitants of this great city, and much more to all others under our rule, to have oratories (*εὐκτηρίους οἴκους*) in their houses, and to celebrate the sacred mysteries therein. . . . But if any simply think it right to have sacred chambers in their houses for the sake of prayer only, and nothing whatever pertaining to the sacred liturgy be performed there, we permit this to them" (*Novell.* 57). Compare the Carlovingian law: "He who has an oratory in his house may pray there. But let him not presume to celebrate the sacred masses therein without the license of the bishop of the place." The punishment was to be the confiscation of the house and excommunication (*Capit. Reg. Franc.* v. 383; comp. v. 102, and *Capit. Ingilheim.* 826, c. 6, &c.). The council *in Trullo*, 691, orders the clergy who serve in oratories in a house, to do it under the rule of the bishop (can. 31). Another canon (59) says, "Let not baptism be on any account celebrated in an oratory within a house." In the West, the council of Agde, 505 (can. 21), orders that "if any of the clergy chose to celebrate or attend masses on festivals (Easter, Christmas, &c., had been named) in the oratories (unless the bishop order or permit it), they be driven from communion." A canon of Theodulf of Orleans, 797, shews that this rule had been relaxed by time: "Let not the priests on any account celebrate masses in the oratories, except with such precaution before the second hour that the people be not withdrawn from the public celebrations" (can. 46; Labbe, *Conc.* vii. 1147). In another injunction of the same bishop the rule is extended to suburban monasteries and churches, and the early celebration permitted is to be "foribus reseratis" (*Additio altera*, Labbe, *u. s.* 1857), which here can only mean with doors closed (comp. *resserré*).

(3) Such oratories (often on the homesteads, or attached to the houses of the wealthy) were often unconsecrated, and still more frequently served by priests not submissive to authority. So early as 541 the fourth council of Orleans had to forbid the domini praediorum to "introduce strange clerks against the wish of the bishop" of the diocese to serve "in the oratories" (can. 7). The council of Châlons, about 650, states that the clergy who served the "oratories in the vills of the powerful" were not allowed by their patrons to submit to the archdeacons (can. 14). The council of Paris, 829 (i. 47), complains that masses were wont to be celebrated in gardens and houses, or at least in "aediculae," which they built near their houses." These are contrasted with "the basilicas dedicated to God," which their builders had forsaken. Presbyters were "compelled" to celebrate in them, and all this "in defiance of episcopal authority." Such an abuse naturally tended to degrade both the character and the position of the clergy. Agobard tells us that the "domestici sacerdotes" were employed as huntsmen and butlers, and in various other servile capacities (*De Privilegio et Jure Sacerdotii*, 11). To avert such evils, masses were absolutely forbidden by many authorities in all but dedicated churches, as in the *Excerptions* of Ecgbriht, 740 (can. 52); by Charlemagne in 769 (*Capit.* i. 14), and in 789 (*Capit.* iii. 9); by Theodulf of Orleans, 797 (*Capit.* 11); by a council of bishops held at some unknown place in France, 802 (can. 9; Labbe, *Conc.* vii. 1179); by the council of Châlons-sur-Saône, 813 (can. 49); and by the council of Aix, in 816. See also Jonas of Orleans, 821 (*Instit. Laic.* 11, in *Spicil.* Dach. i. 33), who speaks of the unconsecrated "aediculae" of the rich in terms which the council of Paris seems to have borrowed. We must suppose, however, that during the prevalence of heresy a breach of this rule would have been justified in the West, as we know that it was in the East. Thus, Theodore Studita says (*Epist.* i. 40, *ad Naucr.*), that in that case it was lawful "even to perform the liturgy in an oratory."

Another check was the law that all who built oratoria for more than private prayer should endow them. Gregory I. directed that an oratory built by a nobleman at Firmi should be consecrated, provided that "no human body had been buried there," and that there was a suitable endowment for the cardinal presbyter who was to serve it (*Epist.* x. 12). He permitted the consecration of another oratory outside the walls of the same city, "percepta primitus donatione legitimâ;" but ordered that in this case the mass should not be publicly celebrated at the consecration, and that a presbyter cardinalis should not be appointed to serve it, nor a baptistery built in connection with it (*Ep.* vii. 72). Similarly, Zachary of Rome, writing to Pipin about 743 (*Epist.* viii. 15). And these restrictions are made conditions in the form of mandate for consecration in the *Liber Diurnus* (v. 4). Charlemagne enacted generally, that "those who had or wished to have a consecrated oratory, should by the advice of the bishop make a grant out of their property in that same place" (A.D. 803, c. 21; *Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 401). See also Justinian, *Novella*, 123, § 18.

Much information on this subject may be found in J. B. Gatticus, *de Oratoriis Domesticis*, ed. 2, Rom. 1770; Josephus de Bonis, *de Oratoriis Publicis*, and Fortunatus a Brixia, *de Oratoriis Domesticis*, both printed by J. A. Assemani (Rome, 1766) as a supplement to the work of Gatticus; Z. B. Van Espen, *Jus Eccl. Univ.* ii. i. v. 8; J. M. Cavalieri, *Comment. in Rit. Congr. Decreta*, v. 4, Venet. 1758; and many others. But it should be mentioned that these writers are chiefly concerned with the later history and rights of oratories. [W. E. S.]

**ORATORY.** [PREACHING.]

**ORDEAL.** This article is limited to an account of some of the more notable forms of a superstition very prevalent among christian nations, not only in the first eight centuries, but long afterwards, viz., a belief that on the subjection of an accused person to some extraordinary physical test, supernatural intervention might be expected for the purpose of making known his guilt or his innocence. The pagan origin of one kind of ordeal is referred to under PAGANISM, SURVIVAL OF. The following are the more remarkable forms under which it continued

to exist, and even became more widely diffused after paganism had been overthrown.

Under the general denomination of JUDICIUM DEI we have

I. *The Duel*, a form especially prevalent among Teutonic nations. In the year A.D. 500, the code of laws promulgated at Lyons by Gondebald, the Arian king of Burgundy, and known as the *Loi Gombette*, gave legal sanction to this mode of ordeal. Barbarous as were the times, the preamble of the enactment relating to the subject implies a sense that such a law requires some justification, and this is found in the alleged fact that the morality of the community is at so low an ebb that it is a common practice for individuals to offer evidence on oath with respect to matters of which they have no certain knowledge, or even knowingly to perjure themselves. It is accordingly enacted (with reference apparently to an already existing institution analogous in some respects to the English *frithborh* of a later period) that whenever a cause of dispute shall have risen, and the party against whom judgment is given shall still deny his obligation to what is demanded of him or his commission of the alleged offence, by a sacramental oath[a] (*sacramentorum obligati ne negaverit*), the dispute shall be thus decided: if the party on the side of him to whom the sacramental form of oath has been proffered, shall refuse to make sacramental attestation (*noluerit sacramenta suscipere*), but, confident in the rightfulness of his cause, shall declare themselves able to convince his antagonist by arms, and those of the opposite party refuse to yield, it shall be lawful to decide the dispute by combat ("pugnandi licentia non negetur." It is, however, required that one of the witnesses, of those who had come prepared to make sacramental attestation, shall be a combatant ("Deo judicante confligat"); it being right, the law goes on to say, that if any man unhesitatingly affirms his knowledge of a matter in dispute, and proffers his sacramental oath in attestation, he should not hesitate also to fight. Then, if the witness on the side which has offered to take the oath ("testis partis ejus quaé obtulerit sacramentum") be vanquished, all the witnesses who had offered to do the same are required forthwith to pay a fine of 300 shillings; but if he who declined to take the oath should be slain, the party of the victor are to be indemnified, as to the mulct, out of the dead man's possessions ("de facultatibus ejus novigildi solutione pars victoris reddatur indemnis." Canciani, *Barbarorum Leges Antiquae*, iv. 25, 26).

This formal sanction of duelling confirmed the custom; and both among the Franks and the Lombards a similar recognition was extended to it by legislation. The code of Rotharis (A.D. 643), king of the latter nation, opposed it as one form of superstition to repress another, in directing that any man bringing the accusation of witchcraft against a freedwoman (calling her "striga, quod est maxa"), should be compelled to make good his charge in single fight,—"si perseveraverit, et dixerit se probare posse, tunc per Campionem caussa, id est per pugnam, ad *Dei judicium* decernatur" (Canciani, i. 79). The character of Luitprand, who reigned over the Lombards A.D. 713–735, is illustrated by his superiority to this superstition. He says that he hears that many are defeated in the duel, although theirs is notoriously the juster cause, but confesses his inability to repeal an "impious law," sanctioned by the custom of the race. The utmost he could do was to direct that the party defeated in conflict should not therewith lose his whole substance, but be allowed to make a composition,—"sicut antea fuerit lex componendi. Quia incerti sumus de *judicio Dei*; et multos audivimus per pugnam sine justa caussa suam caussam perdere. Sed propter consuetudinem gentis nostrae Longobardorum legem impiam vetare non possumus." *Luitprandi Leges*, iv. 65; ib. i. 127.

The advance of education and general enlightenment under Charles and his son Lewis, seems to have in no way checked this superstitious practice. In the year 809, at the council of Aachen, the same mode of proving his innocence is conceded to a criminal found guilty of a capital offence (Pertz. *Legg.* i. 155), and a distinct article (art. 25) of the same capitulary, forbids that any shall venture to call in question the validity of such a test, "ut omnes judicio Dei credant absque dubitatione" (*ibid* i. 157). A capitulary of the year 819 permits those accused of theft to vindicate their honour in a contest with their accuser, to be fought "scuto et fuste" (Baluze, i. 782). The single combat between counts Bera and Sanila, in the reign of Lewis the Pious, of which a minute description is given by Ermoldus Nigellus (book iii. v. 550–638), is perhaps the most notable instance to be met with at our period.

The voice of the most enlightened churchmen was not unfrequently, though vainly, raised against this kind of ordeal. "Purgation," or the formal proof of innocence, is described by ecclesiastical writers as of two kinds, "canonica" and "vulgaris"—the former being by "sacramentum et juramentum," that is by sacramental and simple oath, the latter by the duel, hot or cold water, &c.—methods to which Agobard refers as devices of men, "hominum adinventio," and which Ivo of Chartres denounces as a law for which no sanction can be claimed, "nulla sanctione fulta lex" (Migne, *Patrol.* clxii. 37). We learn from the former writer that Avitus, bishop of Vienne in the 6th century, in a conversation with king Gondebald, strongly condemned the duel as a method of deciding personal disputes. (Migne, civ. 125.)

But while the voice of the church appears to have been generally raised against the duel as a barbarous and inequitable test, inasmuch as superior physical powers, or skill in the use of weapons, thus became the real criterion of right and wrong, the religious superstition of the age favoured the resort to other methods, which appealed to the belief in the miraculous. One of the earliest instances of this kind[b] is that

[a] *I.e.* an oath to which it was supposed additional solemnity was imparted by the person to whom the oath was administered touching at the same time the relics of a saint or a cross (in later times a crucifix), or a copy of the Gospels.

[b] The different forms of ordeal referred to in connexion with the miracles of St. Alban in the 3rd century, *e.g.* ordeal by hot water, the trial of relics by fire, Bibliomancy, &c., probably point to the essentially unhistoric character of the whole tradition (see Hardy, *Introd. to Descript. Catalogue*, I. ii. p. xxxiv).

recorded by Gregory of Tours, of Simplicius, a bishop in the first half of the 4th century. Simplicius was accused of adultery, and both he and the woman implicated in the charge vindicated themselves by taking live coals in the folds of their garments, and holding them there for nearly an hour, their garments remaining uninjured (*de Gloria Conf.* c. 76; Migne, lxxi. 967). Among other and more common forms of ordeal was—

II. *The Ordeal of Hot or Cold Water.*—Both of these methods were sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority. Among the *Formulae Veteres Exorcismorum* (see Baluze, *Capit. Reg. Franc.* ii. 639; Bouquet, *Scriptores*, iv. 597), there is given a form of exorcism used on the employment of either test. In that of ordeal by hot water, the two parties in the dispute repaired to the neighbouring church; there they knelt down, while the priest recited a prescribed form of prayer. Mass was then celebrated, and the two presented their alms and received the holy communion, having previously been solemnly adjured if in any way participant in or cognizant of the alleged crime not to communicate. Then mass was performed, after which the priest proceeded to the appointed place of ordeal, bearing with him the gospels and the cross; he then chanted a short litany, and finally pronounced the following exorcism over the water before it was heated: "I exorcise thee, thou creature water in the name of God the Father Omnipotent, and in the name of Jesus Christ His Son, our Lord, that thou mayest become exorcised water, to put to flight all powers of the enemy and every phantasm of the devil; so that if this man, now about to put his hand in thee, be innocent of this fault of which he is accused, the compassion ["pietas"] of Almighty God shall deliver him. But if, which may God forbid, he be guilty, and shall have dared presumptuously to put his hand in thee, may the power of the same Almighty One condescend to declare this concerning him, so that all may fear and tremble before the holy and glorious name of our Lord, who lives and reigns ever One God throughout all ages." When the water had been raised to boiling heat, the accused recited the Lord's Prayer, made the sign of the cross, and then drew from the vessel containing the water a heavy stone, previously placed therein by the presiding judge.

The severity of this form of ordeal seems to have given it the preference in cases where the accused was of the servile class. In the year 816, a capitulary of Lewis the Pious directs that slaves accused of homicide shall submit to this test, in order that it may be made apparent whether they had designedly slain their victims, or done so only in self-defence. If the slave's hand exhibited marks of injury from the ordeal, he was to be put to death (Baluze, i. 177; see also 1251).

The method of procedure at the ordeal of cold water was similar; but here the difficulty was reversed; for while, in the former method, it consisted in escaping injury, in this it was almost impossible to obtain a conviction. The accused was only held guilty if he or she floated on the surface, the element having been previously adjured by the priest to refuse to receive him or her if really criminal (non suscipiat te aqua incredulum aut seductum). A deviation from this method is recorded by Gregory of Tours, on an occasion when a woman accused of adultery was flung into the Rhone, *with heavy stones fastened round her neck*; she, however, invoked the aid of St. Genesis, and was miraculously borne along on the surface of the current, and her innocence established (*de Gloria Mart.* c. 70; Migne, lxxi. 799). But the former method was undoubtedly the more common, though in the opinion of Le Brun (*Hist. critique*, p. 467), it was not recognised by law before the 9th century, when pope Eugenius II. gave his sanction to its employment (Migne, cxxix. 985–7). Lewis the Pious, on the other hand, in a capitulary of Aachen of the year 829, ordered it to be discontinued (Baluze, i. 668), though not, probably, with the view of abolishing a superstitious practice (for other forms of ordeal were still resorted to), but, as Muratori has pointed out, because it practically amounted to an evasion of justice.

III. *Judicium Crucis*, otherwise known as *Stare ad Crucem.*—In this mode of ordeal, the accused and his accuser lifted their arms to a horizontal position, so that the entire body of each represented the figure of a cross. Then some chapters from the Gospels, or a portion of the church services, were read aloud, and he who, from fatigue, was first compelled to let fall his arms was held to be defeated. Herchenrad, bishop of Paris in A.D. 771, having become involved in a dispute with a monastic body, offered to submit the question at issue to this test, and was victorious (Muratori, *Dissert.* in *Antiq. Ital. Medii Aevi*, vol. iii.).

A capitulary of Charles the Great of the year 799, directs that persons accused of perjury shall "stand cross-fashion" ("stent ad crucem," Pertz, *Legg.* i. 37). Another of the year 803, directs that if the prosecutor of a freeman who is unable to pay a fine, refuses to receive the "sacramenta" of twelve men in evidence of such inability, then the dispute shall be settled either "by the cross" or by a duel fought with clubs and shields (Baluze, i. 397). Similarly, in the year 806 a decree of the same emperor enjoins that in disputes respecting boundaries, "the will of God and the truth of the matter" shall be ascertained "judicio crucis" (*ibid.* i. 444). [MORTIFICATION, p. 1320.]

IV. *The Ordeal of Hot Iron.*—This consisted either in drawing a bar of iron from a furnace with the naked hand, or in walking over heated ploughshares with naked feet—modes denoted by the expressions, "judicium calefacere," "judicium portare," where *judicium* is equal to *ferrum*. It is prescribed as a method of self-vindication from the charge of manslaughter in the code of Luitprand, king of the Lombards, "et si negaverit ipsum occidisse ad novem vomeres ignitos ad *Judicium Dei* examinatos accedat" (Canciani, i. 162). A capitulary of Charles the Great, of the year 803, enacts in the case of a man who is accused of having slain a neighbour in defence of his own freedom, but denies the deed, that he shall pass over (accedat) nine fiery ploughshares, to be tested "judicio Dei" (Baluze, i. 389). According to Milman, this mode of ordeal was especially reserved for accused persons of august rank; and he mentions as individuals by whom it was undergone "one of Charlemagne's wives, our own queen Emma, the empress Cunegunda" (*Lat. Christianity*, bk. iii. c. 5).

V. *The Ordeal of Swallowing Food.*—It was believed that bread and cheese, administered with due prescribed solemnities to an accused person, would infallibly choke him if he knowingly perjured himself (Muratori, *u. s.*).

The most remarkable and elaborate protest against this superstition, in all its forms, was undoubtedly that contained in a treatise by Agobard, bishop of Lyons in the 9th century, who, about the year 830, composed a treatise *contra damnabilem opinionem putantium divini judicii veritatem igne, vel aquis, vel conflictu armorum patefieri* (Migne, civ. 250). This remonstrance produced no small effect in its own day; and Palgrave (*Hist. Normandy and England*, i. 241) ascribes the prohibition of the water-ordeal at the synod of Worms, A.D. 1076, to its influence. Agobard relied mainly on Scripture for his arguments. He was, however, opposed by Hincmar, who in his manifesto (*de Divortio Lotharii et Tetbergae*) upheld the system, especially the water-ordeal. He maintained, that where faith was really present in the hearts of those who conducted or submitted to these tests, the result was an infallible declaration of the divine will; only doubt and vacillation would deprive it of its efficacy (Migne, cxxvi. 171).

The belief had, indeed, taken too strong a hold of the church to be readily dispelled by mere argument; and in England, nearly a century later, we find the forms II. and IV. referred to and sanctioned with considerable circumstantiality. The language, however, is calculated to suggest that, either through fraud or connivance, these tests had been often successfully evaded, and that the physical injury likely to be sustained was but trifling (Brompton, *Chronicon*; in Twysden, *Scriptores*, p. 856). Even so late as the 11th century, these practices still prevailed in the church. Ivo, of Chartres, when writing to Hildebert, bishop of Mans, respecting an accusation brought against one Gislandus, a priest, deems it necessary to give special instructions that none of the above tests shall be resorted to (Migne, clxii. 37). Compare MISSA (10), p. 1200.

*Authorities.* — Lebrun, *Histoire critique des Pratiques superstitieuses*. par un Prêtre de l'Oratoire, Paris, 1702; Muratori, *Dissertatio de Judicio Dei* in *Antiq. Italiae Medii Aevi*, vol. iii.; Du Cange, s. v.; Baluze, &c. [J. B. M.]

## ORDERS, HOLY.



I. NAMES FOR ORDERS AND COLLECTIVE NAMES FOR THE CLERGY.—1. *Ordo.*—This is the earliest and most general Latin word; first found in Tertull. *de Exhort. Cast.* c. 7, "differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiae auctoritas," usually with a defining epithet; o. ecclesiasticus, Tertull. *de Monog.* c. 11; *de Idol.* c. 7; 1 Conc. Carth. c. 1; o. clericalis, *e.g.* S. Leon. M. *Epist.* 6 (4), c. 3, vol. i. p. 620; Hraban. Maur. *de Instit. Cler.* i. 2; o. sacer, *e.g.* S. Leon. M. *Epist.* 4 (3), vol. i. p. 612; S. Greg. M. *Epist.* iv. 26. The word ordo in this sense was probably transferred from Roman civil life, in which it was the ordinary designation of the governing body of both a municipality and a *collegium*. (*a*) Of the senate of a provincial town, o. mutinensis, Tac. *Hist.* ii. 52; o. Berytiorum, Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure*, No. 1847 *a*; o. splendidissimus Thagastensium, Renier, *Inscr. Rom. d'Algérie*, No. 2902, and frequently in the Corpus Juris, e.g. *Dig.* 50, 9, 3. Even so late as the end of the 6th century Gregory the Great, writing to the civil as well as to the ecclesiastical authorities of Ariminum, uses "ordo" for the former, "clerus" for the latter (*Epist.* i. 58); so also at Naples (id. *Epist.* ii. 6). (*b*) Of the officers of a *collegium*, e.g. Orelli-Henzen, No. 4054 (=Grut. 1077), No. 4115 (=Grut. 391, 1). (It is uncertain whether the addition of "sacer" to "ordo" is meant to distinguish the ecclesiastical from the civil use of the word, or whether it was not simply a continuation of a civil use, *e.g.* ἡ ἱερὰ σύγκλητος of

the Roman senate, C. I. No. 2715; ἱερὰ σύνοδος of a meeting of theatrical artists, Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure*, No. 1619.) But it became more common, especially in later times, to use *ordines* in the plural: ordines ecclesiastici, Tertull. *de Exhort. Cast.* c. 13; o. sacri, probably first in Conc. Rom. A.D. 465, c. 3; S. Greg. M. *Moral.* lib. xxiii. c. 25, p. 756, *Hom. in Evang.* lib. ii. hom. 39, c. 6, p. 1648, and frequently afterwards. (For the later restriction of the phrase to bishops, presbyters, and deacons [and sub-deacons], see below.) In this sense "ordo" and "ordines" were used not of church officers only, but (cf. κλῆρος below) of any "estate" of men or women in the church. S. Hieron. *in Esai.* lib. v. c. 19, 18, speaks of "fideles" and "catechumeni" as forming two of the five "ecclesiae ordines." S. Greg. M. *Moral.* lib. xxxii. c. 20, p. 1065, says that the church consists of three orders, "conjugatorum, videlicet, continentium, atque rectorum"; id. *Hom. in Ezech.* lib. ii. hom. 4, c. 5, p. 1344, speaks of the same three orders as "praedicantium, continentium, atque bonorum conjugum," cf. *ibid.* lib. ii. hom. 7, c. 3, p. 1378; so, much later, Hrabanus Maurus, *de Instit. Cleric.* lib. i. c. 2: "tres sunt ordines in ecclesia laicorum, clericorum, et monachorum." In earlier times, Optatus, *de Schism. Donat.* lib. ii. c. 46, had avoided the ambiguous use of ordo by the use of a less technical phrase: "quatuor *genera capitum* in ecclesia, episcoporum, presbyterorum, diaconorum, et fidelium;" so in later times, intermediate between the earlier phrase, "ordo martyrum, virginum," &c., and the subsequent "omnes martyres, virgines," &c., is "*chorus* martyrum, virginum," &c.

2. Κλῆρος, κληρικοί, *clerus, clerici*.—(*a*) Κλῆρος is first found in the plural = ordines in the sense spoken of in the preceding paragraph, in 1 Peter v. 3, where τῶν κλήρων is evidently identical with τοῦ ποιμνίου. Hence, even so comparatively late as the beginning of the 5th century, laymen, as well as church officers, are spoken of as constituting a κλῆρος (λαϊκὸς κλῆρος, Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* c. 20, Migne, *P. G.* vol. xxxiv. 1059 = λαικὸν τάγμα, Conc. Nicaen. c. 5). Probably its first use in the singular of the collective body of church officers is in Clem. Alex. *Quis div. salv.* c. 42, p. 948, ed. Pott. (= Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 23), of St. John at Ephesus: Tertull. *de Monog.* c. 12. Afterwards frequent in both Greek and Latin, *e.g.* in the fathers, S. Cypr. *Epist.* 2, vol. ii. p. 224; S. Petr. Alex. *Epist. Canon.* c. 10, S. Basil. *Epist.* 240 (192); in canon law, *e.g.* Conc. Illib. A.D. 306, c. 80; 1 Conc. Carth. c. 6; Conc. Nicaen. c. 1, 14; in the *Const. Apost.* e.g. ii. 43; in civil law, *e.g.* Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 3, c. 40 (39), 9. Of the clerical office in the abstract, probably first in Origen, *Hom. in Hierem.* 11, c. 3, vol. iii. p. 189. In the plural of the clergy of different churches, Hippol. *Ref. Haeres.* ix. 12, ed. Duncker, p. 460; S. August. *Enarr. in Ps.* lxvii. c. 19, vol. iv. p. 824. Occasionally distinguished from ordo, S. Greg. M. *Epist.* i. 58, 68; and also combined with it, 1 Conc. Arelat. c. 13, "omnis aecclesiastici ordinis clerus," Karlomanni, *Capit. Liftin.* A.D. 743, § 1, ap. Pertz, M. H. G. *Legum*, vol. i. p. 18. The original meaning of κλῆρος in this sense, though mistaken by mediaeval writers, hardly admits of dispute. The word was the ordinary Hellenistic designation of a rank or class; it is so used (1) in non-ecclesiastical late Greek, *e.g.* Epict. *Diss.* i. 18, 21; Lucian, *Hermot.* c. 40; Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions*, No. 1257; (2) in Judaeo-Christian Greek, *e.g.* Test. xii. Patr. *Levi*, 8; *Orac. Sibyll.* vii. 138; (3) in early patristic Greek, *e.g.* S. Iren. *adv. Haer.* i. 27, 1; iii. 3, 3; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 1, p. 650, ed. Pott.; Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1 (letter of the churches of Vienne and Lyons). There is a trace, but not more than a trace, of the use of the word in reference to the governing body of a θίασος, or Greek religious association; but there is no room in modern philology for the quaint fancy of Jerome that the clergy derive their collective name from Deut. x. 9, xviii. 2; Ps. xvi. 5, lxxiii. 26: "propterea vocantur clerici vel quia de sorte Domini vel quia ipse Dominus sors, id est, pars clericorum est" (S. Hieron. *Epist.* 52 (2) *ad Nepot.* c. 5; cf. S. Ambros. *de Fuga Saec.* ii. 17, vol. i. p. 420), or for that of Augustine: "et cleros et clericos hinc appellatos puto . . . quia Matthias sorte electus est" (S. August. *Enarr. in Ps.* lxvii. c. 19, vol. iv. p. 824). The prevalence of these explanations in later times is probably due to their having been copied by Isidore of Seville, *de Eccles. Off.* ii. 1, 1, and thence into most mediaeval textbooks. (*b*) Κληρικοί, *clerici*, probably first in S. Cypr. *Epist.* 40, c. 3, vol. ii. p. 334; *Epist.* 66, c. 2, vol. ii. p. 399; S. Alex. Alexandr. *Deposit. Arii* (Migne, *P. G.* vol. xviii. 581, and in the Benedictine edition of S. Athanas. vol. i. p. 313); Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 2, 2 (a law of Constantine in A.D. 319), which gives the earliest definition of the word, "qui divino cultui ministeria religionis impendunt, id est, qui clerici appellantur"; S. August. *Enarr. in Ps.* lxvii. c. 19, vol. iv. p. 824, whence probably Isid. Hispal. *de Eccles. Off.* ii. 1, 1: "omnes qui in ecclesiastici ministerii gradibus ordinati sunt generaliter clerici nominantur." But sometimes, especially before κληρικός had become established, periphrases were used to designate the members of the κλῆρος, e.g. οἱ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, *Epist. Caii*, ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28; Conc. Nicaen. c. 3; οἱ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ καταριθμούμενοι, Conc. Chalc. c. 2; οἱ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ καταλεγόμενοι, Conc. Trull. c. 3, 27; οἱ ἐν κλήρῳ κατειλεγμένοι, Conc. Chalc. c. 3; οἱ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου, Conc. Ancyr. c. 3; οἱ ἀπὸ κλήρου, S. Petr. Alex. *Serm. de Poenit.* c. 10, Pitra, *Jur. Eccl. Gr.* vol. i. p. 556.

3. τάξις, τάγμα (= Latin *ordo*; cf. Vitruv. i. 2), Conc. Ancyr. A.D. 314, c. 14; Conc. Neocaes. c. 1; Justin. *Novell.* 6, c. 5, usually with a defining epithet, ἡ ἱερατικὴ τ. (τὸ ἱερ. τάγμα), Conc. Laod. c. 3; Justin. *Cod.* tit. i. lib. 3, 47 (46); Socrat. *H. E.* vi. 18, vii. 7; Sozom. *H. E.* i. 23; ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ τ. Conc. Laod. c. 24; Conc. Chalc. c. 6. Also used, like *ordo* and κλῆρος, of any class or rank of persons in the church, *e.g.* of laymen, Conc. Nicaen. c. 5; Conc. Constantin. c. 6; of monks (ἀσκητῶν), Conc. Laod. c. 24; of catechumens, Conc. Neocaes. c. 5; cf. the Pfaffian fragment of Hippolytus in Gallandi, vol. ii. p. 488, where the seven θεῖα τάγματα are prophets, apostles, martyrs, priests, ascetics, holy men, just men.

4. βαθμός, *gradus*, possibly used from the first in a metaphorical sense, but more probably with reference to the platforms on which the several ranks stood or sat in church; first in 1 Tim. iii.

13; *β. τοῦ κλήρου*, Epist. Synod. Sardic. ap. S. Athanas. *Apol. c. Arian.* c. 37, vol. i. p. 123; *β. πρεσβυτέρου*, S. Greg. Nazianz. *Epist.* 8 (11), vol. ii. p. 8; Conc. Chalc. c. 29; *β. διακονίας*, S. Greg. Nyss. *de Vita S. Macrin.* ap. Migne, *P. G.* vol. xlvi. p. 988; *β. ἱερατείας*, Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 3, 53 (52); *β. ἐπισκοπῆς*, Conc. Ephes. c. 1; Conc. Sardic. c. 5; Conc. Chalc. c. 2; apparently of all orders from readers upwards, Conc. Sardic. c. 10, but of the higher orders only in S. Basil. *Epist.* 3 *ad Amphiloch.* c. 51, p. 325; *εἴτε ἐν βαθμῷ τυγχάνοιεν εἴτε καὶ ἀχειροθέτῳ ὑπηρεσίᾳ προσκαρτέροιεν*; cf. Justin. *Novell.* 123, c. 4, *οἱουδήποτε τάγματος ἢ βαθμοῦ*, where there may be a similar distinction. *Gradus* is also sometimes used in distinction from *ordo*, S. Leon. M. *Epist.* 1 (6), vol. i. p. 593: "nec in presbyteratus *gradu*, nec in diaconatus *ordine*, nec in subsequenti *officio* clericorum"; 4 Conc. Brac. A.D. 675, c. 7: "qui gradus jam ecclesiasticos meruerunt, id est, presbyteri abbates sive levitae" (are as a rule to be exempted from corporal punishment); but elsewhere "gradus ordinum," Conc. Taurin. A.D. 401, c. 8, or "sacrati gradus," Conc. Rom. A.D. 465, c. 2, or "clericatus gradus," Can. Eccl. Afric. c. 27, or "sacratissimi ordines clericorum," S. Siric. *Epist. ad Himer.* c. 7, are used of any of the ranks of the clergy.

5. Among other equivalent words which were in use may be mentioned *σχῆμα*, Justin. *Novell.* 3, 1; Conc. Nicaen. c. 8 (*al. τάγμα*); *ἀξίωμα*, Const. Apost. ii. 28, viii. 1; Conc. Nicaen. c. 8; Conc. Trull. c. 7; *ἀξία*, Conc. Chalc. c. 2; Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 3, 42 (41), c. 9; sacri honores, 8 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 653, c. 7.

6. Several collective names for the clergy are based upon the fact that a list or roll of the clergy was kept in each church; hence *οἱ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ καταριθμούμενοι*, Conc. Chalc. c. 2; *οἱ ἐν κλήρῳ καταλεγόμενοι*, id. c. 3; Conc. Trull. c. 3, 27; *οἱ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι*, Conc. Nicaen. c. 16; *οἱ ἐν ἱερατικῷ καταλεγόμενοι τάγματι*, Conc. Trull. c. 11, 24; *οἱ ἐν ἱερατικῷ καταλόγῳ*, id. c. 5; rarely, *κανονικοί*, S. Cyrill. Hieros. *Procatech.* c. 4, p. 4; S. Basil. *Epist.* 1 *ad Amphiloch.* c. 6, where, however, it is probably feminine, though interpreted by Balsamon and Zonaras as masculine (so Pitra, *Jur. Eccl. Gr.* vol. i. p. 614).

II. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CLERGY (*i.e.* grades and divisions of orders).—It is clear from the use of the designations *οἱ προϊστάμενοι* (1 Thess. v. 12), *οἱ ἡγούμενοι* (Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24), *οἱ προηγούμενοι* (Clem. R. i. 2, 1; Herm. *Vis.* 3, 9), and also from the use of *κλῆρος* and *ordo* in the singular, which has been pointed out above, that a distinction was drawn in the earliest period between the governing body of a church and its ordinary members. What were the elements of that governing body, and how far the distinction which was thus created corresponded to the later distinction between clergy and laity, are questions of too great intricacy and uncertainty to be properly discussed here. But side by side with the use of *κλῆρος* and *ordo* in the singular, which almost passed away with the civil organization from which it was derived, is found, also in early times, their use in the plural to designate, not the governing body, but all "estates" of men or women in the church. In the *κατάλογος*, or list of members of each church, as in the corresponding lists of the Greek and Roman associations, with which the early churches had much in common, the members were arranged in groups; each of these groups was a *κλῆρος* or "ordo"; the number of such groups was not rigidly defined, and the variety which exists in the lists which have come down to us makes it extremely difficult to lay down any general propositions concerning them. The enumeration of orders in the *Apostolical Constitutions* is probably a relic of such a list. It specifies bishop, presbyters, deacons, readers, singers, doorkeepers, deaconesses, widows, virgins, orphans [laymen] (*C. A.* ii. 25; viii. 10, 12), but elsewhere there is a shorter enumeration of clerks, virgins, widows [laymen] (iii. 15; cf. viii. 29). The difficulty of determining which of the classes thus enumerated corresponded to the clergy of a later age is increased by the fact that sometimes the members of the *clerus* seem to have been regarded as identical with the persons whose names were inscribed on the *canon*, a word which was in ordinary use under the empire, in reference to fixed payments and allowances of provisions (Conc. Nicaen. c. 3, *οἱ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ* apparently = ibid. c. 16, *οἱ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι*; so in S. Epiphan. *c. Haeres.* iii. 1, 1, p. 812, *εἴ τινα γὰρ εἶδε τῶν φιλοχρηματούντων τοῦ κλήρου ἢ ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἢ ἕτερόν τινα τοῦ κανόνος*).[a] Of the classes who were thus included in a common list with the church officers, those which survived longest were those of widows and virgins. When the distinction between clergy and laity began to be more sharply drawn, these classes remained for some time on the border-line; and it is an indication of the conservative character of forms of public prayer that the ancient enumeration of orders survived in the missals long after it had ceased to be recognized in conciliar decrees, or by ecclesiastical writers. For example, in bishop Leofric's Exeter missal, in the Bodleian library (A.D. 969), the "ordines" include bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, doorkeepers, *confessors*, *virgins*, *widows*,

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[a] As the word has been very frequently misunderstood, it may be advisable to trace its several meanings with undoubted instances of their occurrence: it denoted (*a*) the fixed sum paid by the perpetual occupier of a *fundus emphyteuticus*, *Cod. Theod.* 5, 13, 30; 11, 16, 13; (*b*) the fixed contribution of corn or other produce paid by a province to Rome, hence, *e.g.*, "Canon Aegypti," Vopisc. *Vit. Firm.* c. 5; (*c*) the total amount thus contributed and available for distribution in fixed rations among the Roman populace, hence "canon urbis Romae," "canon urbicarius," *Cod. Theod.* 14, 15, 2, 6; cf. Novell. Majorian. tit. 7, c. 16, ed. Haenel, *Novell. Constit.* p. 320; Lamprid, *Vit. Elagab.* c. 27; Spart. *Vit. Sever.* c. 8; Bulenger, *de Vectig. Rom.* ap. Graev. *Thes.* vol. viii. 894; Falconer, *ad C. Datum Epist.* ap. eund. vol. iv. 1490; Kuhn, *Städt. u. bürgerl. Verfassung des Röm. Reichs*, i. p. 274 *sqq.* Hence the double enactment of *Conc. Nicaen.* c. 16, *καθαιρήσεται τοῦ κλήρου καὶ ἀλλότριος τοῦ κανόνος ἔσται*, *i.e.* he will lose not only his rank but his allowance: hence also the importance attached to *ἐπιστολαὶ κανονικαί*, *i.e.* letters which entitled the bearer to a fixed allowance in the church to which he travelled. That a similar connotation came to attach itself to the word *κατάλογος* is clear from Justin. *Novell.* tit. 3, 2, where the emperor deprecates the formation of *δευτέρους καταλόγους* by ordaining more than the fixed number for a church, and providing for those so ordained in some extraordinary way.

and all the people of God (fol. 108). But in the meantime, though not uniformly throughout christendom, the distinction between those who held office and those who did not had become sharply accentuated. Between them came those who had taken monastic vows (μᾶλλον τῷ λαῷ παρὰ τοὺς ἱερατικοὺς πλησιάζοντες, S. Dionys. Areop. *Epist.* viii. *ad Demophil.* p. 599), the τάγμα τῶν ἀσκητῶν, Conc. Laod. c. 24, or τάγμα τῶν μοναζόντων, S. Basil. *Epist. Canon.* ii. *ad Amphiloch.* c. 19. Into this class were merged, not only the ancient orders of widows and virgins, but also that of deaconesses; the former became simple nuns, the latter were more usually abbesses. Hence there came to be only three orders or estates—the "ordo clericalis," the "ordo monachorum," and the "ordo laicorum" (Hrabanus Maurus, *de Instit. Cleric.* lib. i. c. 2; cf. Hugo de S. Vict. *de Sacram.* lib. ii. pars 3, c. 14). It may be added that the distinction between monks and clerks was apparently always recognized in the West, *e.g.* S. Hieron. *Epist.* 125 (4) *ad Rusticum*, vol. i. p. 944, "ita vive in monasterio ut clericus esse merearis," and usually in the East, *e.g.* S. Cyrill. Alexand. *Epist. ad Episc. Lib.* c. 4; S. Athanas. *Epist. ad Dracont.* c. 9, vol. i. p. 211; but not always in the East, e.g. *Schol. in Nomocan.* tit. 1, c. 31, ed. Rallé and Potlé, Athens, 1852, vol. i. p. 71; Balsamon, in Conc. Carth. c. 35, vol. i. p. 357, though elsewhere Balsamon includes among clerks only those monks who had received episcopal ordination, in Conc. Carth. c. 6, vol. i. p. 119; in Conc. Trull. c. 77, vol. i. p. 247.

But even if the term "orders" be limited, as it will be limited in what follows, to the "ordo clericalis" in its later sense, there is great diversity of use in regard to the persons whom it denotes. No two periods and no two churches altogether agree as to the grades into which the clergy were to be divided, or as to the offices which created a difference of grade in distinction from those which were merely differences of function between persons of the same grade. A complete account of this diversity of use would be considerably beyond our present limits; but the following incomplete account will give the leading facts in regard to (1) the grades which were at various times recognised, (2) the groups into which those grades were divided.

(1) *Grades of Orders* (gradus ordinum, Conc. Taurin. A.D. 401, c. 8).—1. *Bishops, presbyters, deacons.*—Without here entering into the question of the primitive distinction between bishops and presbyters [see PRIEST], there is no doubt that from the end of the 2nd century these three grades were generally if not universally found, and even so late as the 4th century they are sometimes treated as comprising all the clergy; *e.g.* in the synodical letter of the council of Antioch in reference to Paul of Samosata, Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 30, "bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, and the churches of God;" so S. Cyrill. Hieros. *Catech.* 16, 22, p. 256, bishops, presbyters, deacons [monks, virgins, laymen], and even much later Suidas, p. 2120 *c*, defines κλῆρος as τὸ σύστημα τῶν διακόνων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων. (The later tendency to treat bishops as not being a separate order, but as constituting with presbyters the "ordo sacerdotum," Conc. Trident. sess. xxiii. c. 2; *Catech. Rom.* ii. 7, 26, may be either a survival from the earlier time in which, whatever may have been the distinction between them, bishops and presbyters together formed the "ordo ecclesiasticus," or an exaltation of the conception of the priesthood; the latter seems to be the view of a 15th century pontifical in the library of St. Geneviève at Paris (B. B. l. 50, fol. xiv.), "episcopatus non est ordo sed sacerdotii culmen et apex atque tronus dignitatis.") 2. The earliest addition to these three grades (there is no certain evidence of its primitive coexistence with them) appears to have been that of *readers*. The four grades of bishop, presbyter, deacon, and reader form the nucleus of every organization in both East and West, and they are sometimes the only grades which are recognized, *e.g.* Tertull. *de Praescript. Haeret.* c. 41; Διατ. Κλήμεντος, ap. Lagarde, *Jur. Eccl. Reliq.* p. 74, Pitra, *Jur. Eccl. Gr.* vol. i. p. 84; Conc. Sardic. c. 10; S. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* xlii. c. 11, p. 756; Conc. Ephes. *Act* i. cap. 23. The only churches which have preserved the order of bishops without retaining that of readers are probably those of England and Abyssinia (Ludolf, *Historia Aethiopica*, Append. pp. 306, 320). 3. The complex character of the duties of deacons caused them to be divided, and a new order of assistant-deacons (ὑποδιάκονοι, subdiaconi; ὑπηρέται, ministri) was recognised; among the earliest instances of such a recognition are S. Cypr. *Epist.* 24, vol. ii. p. 287; Const. Apost. viii. 11, 12, 20; Conc. Illib. c. 30; Neocaes. c. 10; Laod. c. 22, 43; Sozom. *H. E.* i. 23; Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 2, 7. The five grades of bishop, presbyter, deacon, subdeacon, and reader are apparently the only grades recognized in S. Joann. Damasc. *Dial. c. Manich.* c. 3, vol. i. p. 431; S. Sym. Thessal. *de Sacr. Ordin.* c. 156, p. 138 (but id. *de Divino Templo*, c. 26, 27, 30, p. 275, omits subdeacons); they became the ordinary grades of the Greek, Coptic, and Nestorian churches (see Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. c. 8, 1; Denzinger, *Rit. Orient.* vol. i. pp. 118, 122; but the Scholiast in Rallé and Potlé's edition of the Councils, vol. i. p. 71, states that the current practice agreed with the Nomocanon in also recognizing the order of singers; the Copts and Nestorians also subdivided the higher orders as mentioned below). 4. Sometimes the order of readers was subdivided so as to make a separate order of *singers*, Justin. *Novell.* 123, c. 19; Nomocanon, tit. i. c. 31; the subdivision has remained in the Syrian churches, both Jacobite and Maronite, who, however, also subdivide the higher orders as mentioned below. Sometimes when singers are recognized the order of subdeacons is omitted, Const. Apost. viii. 10, and some MSS. of Can. Apost. 69. 5. Sometimes *doorkeepers* were added as a separate order, Justin. *Novell.* 3 praef.; but *ibid.* c. 1, § 1, doorkeepers are distinguished from clerks; similarly in Const. Apost. ii. 25 doorkeepers are mentioned, whereas *ibid.* viii. 10, they are omitted; so in the Nestorian canons of the patriarch John, circ. A.D. 900, ap. Ebedjesu, *Tract.* vi. cap. 6, can. 11, ap. Mai, *Scriptt. Vett.* vol. x. p. 117: "de omnibus ordinibus, sacerdotum et clericorum atque ostiariorum." They are also mentioned in the canons of the Alexandrian church, wrongly attributed to St. Athanasius, but are not recognized in the later Alexandrian (Coptic) ordinals, nor in other eastern churches. 6. Sometimes *exorcists* are added,

the eight orders of bishop, presbyter, deacon, subdeacon, exorcist, reader, singer, doorkeeper, being enumerated, Conc. Laod. c. 24. They are mentioned as members of the *clerus* by St. Cyprian, *Epist.* 16; but they are apparently excluded in Const. Apost. viii. 25, and though sometimes mentioned, *e.g.* by Greg. Barhebraeus, Nomocan. c. 7, § 8, they never had any general recognition as a separate order in the East. (*a*) From this list sometimes singers are omitted, Cod. Theodos. lib. 16, tit. 2, 24 (a law of Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian in A.D. 377 = Cod. Justin. lib. 1, tit. 3, 6, where some editions insert "acoluthos," against MSS. authority, apparently to make the list tally with the later Roman lists); so Nomocanon, tit. 1, c. 31. (*b*) Sometimes doorkeepers as well as singers are omitted, so apparently Conc. Antioch. A.D. 341, c. 10 (which is one of the few recognitions of exorcists in Eastern canons); this is the case even in some of those Western ordinals which give a ritual for the ordination of doorkeepers, viz. those which quote the decretal of Zosimus (Hinschius, *Decret. Pseudo-Isid.* p. 553), in which only six orders are specified. 7. Sometimes *acolyths* are added to the orders enumerated above, S. Cyprian. *Epist.* 28, 3; possibly Cod. Theodos. lib. 16, tit. 2, c. 10; Isid. Hispal. *Etym.* 7, 2, 2, but when this is the case singers are commonly omitted. This is the earliest Roman list, being found in the 3rd century in the account which Cornelius gives, ap. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43; it is not found in the East, nor until the 8th century is it common in the West, one of the rare instances of its occurrence being in a Gallican inscription of A.D. 517, given by Le Blant, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, No. 30; probably also *ibid.* No. 617, A.D. 445, assuming that "sequentibus" is a translation of ἀκολούθοις. But it came at last to be the usual list of the western canonists, *e.g.* Capit. Hadrian. c. 72; Yves of Chartres, *Serm.* 2, vol. ii. p. 263; Alcuin, *de Div. Offic.* c. 34; Hraban of Mainz, *de Cleric. Instit.* c. 4 (where, however, readers and singers appear to be identified), and Hugh of St. Victor, *de Sacram.* lib. ii. p. 3, c. 5, ap. Migne, *P. L.* vol. clxxvi. p. 425. It was adopted in later times by the council of Trent, *sess.* xxiii. c. 2, with the exception that bishops and presbyters are classed together as "sacerdotes." But Innocent III., though recognizing acolyths, excludes exorcists and readers, thus giving the six orders of bishop, presbyter, deacon, subdeacon, acolyth, and singer, which he regards as the Christian counterpart of the Levitical orders "pontifices, sacerdotes, levitas, nathinaeos, janitores, et psaltas" (Innoc. III. *de Sacro Altaris Ministerio*, i. 1, Migne, *P. L.* vol. ccxvii. p. 775). 8. In some Oriental churches there are grades which in the west either do not exist or are not ranked as grades but as functions: (*a*) *chorepiscopi* are distinctly ranked as co-ordinate with the other grades of clerks in Conc. Chalc. c. 2; Cod. Justin. lib. 1, tit. 3, 40 (39), § 9; Gennadius, *Epist. Encycl.* in Act. Conc. Constan. A.D. 459, Mansi, vii. 911, Pitra, vol. ii. 184; and among the Jacobite Syrians, the Maronites (both of whom have a separate form of ordination for chorepiscopi), and, according to George of Arbela, the Nestorians. (*b*) *Periodeutae* are also ranked as a separate order in Cod. Justin. *l. c.*, probably in Conc. Laod. c. 57 (cf. Hefele, *Councils*, E. T. vol. ii. p. 321), among the Syrians both Jacobite and Maronite, and, according to Ebedjesu, *Tract.* vi. c. 1, ap. Mai, *Script. Vet.* vol. x. p. 106, among the Nestorians (but in regard to the eastern status of both chorepiscopi and periodeutae, see Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, vol. i. pp. 121 sqq.). (*c*) *Archdeacons* are reckoned as a separate order among the Copts, Jacobites, Maronites, and Nestorians. (*d*) The Copts also recognise an order corresponding to the archpresbyters or protopresbyters of the Latin and Greek churches, whom they call Igumeni [ἡγούμενοι, properly used of abbats or archimandrites, Denzinger, i. 117]. (*e*) The Nestorians recognise an order of officers to whom they give the name *Scuthara*, who are a special grade of singers, Denzinger, i. 124. 9. The oriental churches also recognise grades of the episcopate; the Copts have bishops, archbishops (= metropolitans), and a patriarch, for each of whom there is a distinct form of ordination, Denzinger, i. 116, ii. 33; the Jacobites and Maronites have bishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs; the Nestorians, according to Ebedjesu, have bishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs, but according to George of Arbela there is properly a distinction between patriarchs and *catholici* [CATHOLICUS, Vol. I. p. 321]. The western church has also sometimes recognised differences of grade in the episcopate. Isid. Hispal. *Etym.* vii. 12, 2, recognises bishops, archbishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs. Hrabanus Maurus identifies archbishops and metropolitans, *de Cleric. Instit.* c. 5. But the council of Trent made these grades to be with "priests simply so called," *i.e.* presbyters, grades not of the episcopate but of the priesthood, *Catech. Rom.* 2, 7, 26. 10. From the 6th century it appears to have become the custom, especially in the Gallican churches, to confer upon persons the privileges and immunities of the clergy by giving them the tonsure without admitting them to any special office in the church; such persons were called *clerici*, but it is admitted by canonists and by the council of Trent that they were not an "ordo" (Catalani, *ad Pontif. Rom.* pars i. tit. iii.). 11. Several other classes of church officers appear at various times to have been recognised as members of the clerus, *e. g.* (*a*) *copiatae*, Cod. Theodos. lib. xiii. tit. 1, 1 (but distinguished from clerici, *ibid.* lib. xvi. tit. 2, 15), S. Epiphan. *Expos. Fid.* c. 21, p. 1104 [COPIATAE, DECANI, FOSSARII]: (*b*) *custodes martyrum* mentioned apparently as co-ordinate with deacons in the Liber Pontif. *Vit. S. Silvestr.* = *Synod. Gest. S. Silvestr.* c. vii. Migne, *P. L.* vol. viii. 802, in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, Hinschius, p. 450: (*c*) *custodes sacrorum*, Isid. Hispal. *de Divin. Off.* 2, 9: (*d*) **κοπιῶντες**, Ps.-Ignat. *Epist. ad Antioch.* c. 12; (*e*) **θέωροι**, Balsam. *in Conc. Trull.* c. 77, vol. i. p. 247: (*f*) **ἑρμηνευταὶ γλώσσης εἰς γλῶσσαν**, S. Epiphan. *Expos. Fid.* c. 21, p. 1104.

It is possible that mystical reasons had something to do with the elimination of some of these classes from the list of grades which came ultimately to be received by theologians in the West; the seven orders were the seven manifestations of the work of the Holy Spirit, *e.g.* Yves of Chartres says that "sancta ecclesia septiformis gratiae est munere decorata" (D. Ivon. Carnot. *Serm.* 2, ii. p. 263); so Hugh of S. Victor: "septem spiritualium officiorum gradus proinde in sancta ecclesia secundum septiformem gratiam distributi sunt" (Hugon. de S. Vict. *de Sacram.* lib.

ii. pars 3, c. 5). But Innocent III. *de Sacro Altaris Minister.* lib. i. c. 1, Migne, P. L. vol. ccxvii. p. 775, finds an equally valid mystical reason for *six* orders, "senarius enim numerus est perfectus;" and still later canonists agree with Isidore in reckoning *nine*, adding clerks and bishops to the seven grades which were ordinarily received by theologians (Catalani, note to the *Pontificale Romanum*, pars 1, tit. 2); so in the Maronite pontifical, Morin, *de Sacr. Ordin.* pars ii. p. 406). Alcuin (Albinus Flaccus) reckons eight orders, by making bishops distinct from presbyters, assigning the mystical reason that the gates of the temple in Ezekiel's vision had each eight steps (Albin. Flacc. *de Divin. Off.* 33; Ezek. xl. 31, 34, 37). The same number, without the reason, is given by Hrabanus Maurus, *de Instit. Cleric.* 1, 4, and in St. Dunstan's and the Jumiéges pontificals.

(2) *Groups of Grades of Orders.*—The several *ordines* tended to combine into groups; but the groups varied widely under different circumstances.

1. Sometimes the bishop was regarded as standing apart from the other officers of the church. This distinction, which is important in relation to the history of the episcopate, shews itself from the fourth century onwards in the restriction of the use of *κλῆρος* and *κληρικοί* to those who were not bishops. This may not have been universally or invariably the case, as many passages, *e.g.* in the *Apostolical Canons*, may be interpreted in either way; but the following instances are clear: in the Canon Law, Conc. Ephes. c. 6, *εἰ μὲν ἐπίσκοποι εἶεν ἢ κληρικοί*; Conc. Chalc. c. 3, *μὴ ἐπίσκοπον, μὴ κληρικόν*; 1 Conc. Carth. c. 9, 11; Conc. Trull. c. 17; in the Civil Law, Cod. Theodos. 16, 2, 11 (A.D. 354), antistites et clerici; id. 16, 2, 32 (A.D. 398); episcopi et clerici; Cod. Justin. lib. 1, tit. 3, 39 (38), *τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἢ τοὺς κληρικούς*; id. *Novell.* 6, c. 8 (A.D. 535), 123, c. 6; in the Fathers, *e.g.* S. Cyrill. Alex. *Epist.* 1, x. p. 4; id. *Ep.* 2, x. p. 20; S. Leon. M. *Epist.* 167, 1, i. p. 1420; Theodoret, *H. E.* 2, 7, p. 851; in inscriptions, *e.g.* at Corycus in Cilicia, *θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ [τοῦ εὐ]αγοῦ[ς κ]λήρου*; Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure*, No. 1421 = *C. I. G.* 8619; so in Suid. p. 2120, c. *κλῆρος τὸ σύστημα τῶν διακόνων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων.*

2. Sometimes the higher orders, both collectively and in the abstract, are designated by words connoting sacredness or priesthood; *ἱερατεῖον*, Conc. Antioch. A.D. 341, c. 3; *εἴ τις πρ. ἢ διακ. ἢ ὅλως τῶν τοῦ ἱερατείου τις.* S. Athanas. *Epist. Encycl.* 1, i. p. 88; id. *Epist. ad Rufin.* i. p. 769, *τῷ ἱερατείῳ καὶ τῷ λαῷ τῷ ὑπὸ σέ.* S. Basil. *Epist.* 198 (263), iii. p. 289. *Ἱερατεία*, Cod. Just. lib. 1, tit. 3, 53 (52), A.D. 532; id. *Novell.* 6, c. 7. *Ἱερωσύνη*, S. Epiphan. *adv. Haer.* 2, 1, 48, 9, i. p. 410; Sozomen, *H.E.* ii. 34; S. Basil. *Epist.* 188 (Canonic. 1), § 14, iii. p. 275—all in the abstract of the office; in the concrete, S. Maxim. Conf. *Epist.* 21, ap. Migne, *P. G.* xci. p. 604. *Ἱερατικοί*, Conc. Laod. c. 24, 27; S. Basil. *Epist.* 237 (264) iii. p. 365 = *τὸ ἱερατικὸν πλήρωμα*, id. *Epist.* 240 (192), § 3, iii. p. 370. So Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. ii. 44: "quicunque cujuscunque gradus sacerdotio fulciuntur vel clericatus honore censentur." The distinction between various grades of orders which was thus created was by no means uniform. (i.) In the East—*a.* Sometimes bishops and presbyters were classed together in distinction to deacons and other clerks, *e.g.* Auct. Vit. Spiridionis ap. Haenel, *Corp. Leg. ante Justin. lat.* p. 209, "omnibus qui sunt partium ecclesiasticarum, sacerdotibus inquam et diaconis." Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 3, 10 (law of Arcadius and Honorius, A.D. 398), "sacerdotes et ministri"; S. Sym. Thessal. *de Divino Templo*, c. 26, 27, p. 275. *b.* Sometimes deacons were included among those who had sacred or priestly rank, *e.g.* Conc. Laod. c. 24; *ἱερατικοὺς ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρων ἕως διακόνων*; S. Basil. *Epist.* 237 (264), vol. ii. p. 365. *c.* Sometimes subdeacons appear to have been also included, *e.g.* Conc. Antioch. A.D. 341, c. 3; by implication, S. Epiphan. *Expos. Fid.* c. 21, vol. i. p. 1104; so according to Balsamon, who may, however, be simply stating the practice of his own day, Conc. Trull. c. 77, which makes the tripartite division *ἱερατικοὺς ἢ κληρικοὺς ἢ ἀσκητάς.* But in the East as in the West subdeacons were for several centuries on the border-line; they had sometimes the privileges of the higher, sometimes those of the lower, division of the clergy. (ii.) In the West a distinction was ultimately drawn between "ordines" and "sacri ordines"; the latter were for some time regarded as consisting of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, but the earliest canonical restriction of the phrase to these three orders is probably Conc. Benevent. A.D. 1091 (Mansi, vol. xx. p. 738), which is the authority quoted by Gratian, pars i. dist. 60, 4. But the earlier use of "sacri ordines" for all classes of church officers is occasionally found even after the limitation had become ordinarily fixed, (*e.g.* in a Reims pontifical, no. 179 (162), fol. 109, "sacri ordines" are distinguished not from minor orders but from the orders of virgins or widows). The modern inclusion of the subdiaconate among "holy orders" dates from the 12th century. It is expressly excluded by Hugh of St. Victor, *de Sacram.* lib. ii. pars 3, c. 13. Peter the Singer, A.D. 1197, speaks of the inclusion as a recent institution *Verb. Abbrev.* c. 60; Migne, P. L. vol. ccv. 184, and about the same time Innocent III. says that "hodie" a subdeacon is in holy orders and may be elected bishop (*Epist.* x. 164; Migne, P. L. vol. ccxv. 1257); Durand (*Rationale*, ii. c. 8), ascribes the inclusion to Innocent III. himself. (Cf. Morin, *de Sacr. Ordin.* pars iii. exercit. 12, c. 5; Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. c. 8, art. 2.) Earlier traces of this elevation of the subdiaconate are S. August. *Serm.* 356, *de Diversis*, c. 2, vol. v. p. 1575; Can. Eccles. Afric. c. 25; Conc. Gerund. A.D. 583, c. 1; 2 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 531, c. 3; on the other hand in most Oriental churches subdeacons still retain their primitive place, and do not enter into the sanctuary.

3. Sometimes bishops, presbyters, and deacons were classed together, without express reference to their sacred or priestly character, as forming a higher class of clergy; the existence of this distinction in early times is made apparent, without being expressly stated, by differences in discipline, *e.g.* in Can. Apost. 42, 43, 54, 55; afterwards it came to be commonly expressed, *e.g.* 1 Conc. Matiscon. A.D. 581, c. 11; Episcopi, presbyteri, vel universi honoratiores clerici; Joann. Diac. *Vit. S. Greg. M.* i. 31; hence "inferiores clerici," Cod. Eccles. Afric. c. 28; "inferioris ordinis clerici," S. Augustin. *Epist.* 43 (162), c.

8; Alcuin (Albinus Flaccus), *de Divin. Off.* c. 33, "tres superiores gradus;" Amalarius of Metz, *de Eccl. Off.* 2, 6, where "inferiores ordines" are "ordines subjecti diacono et presbytero." Sometimes the reference to relative superiority or inferiority is omitted, but bishops, presbyters, and deacons specially enumerated, and the other orders are summed up as "clerici," *e.g.* Can. Apost. 4, 8, 16; Conc. Nicaen. c. 3, Antioch, c. 2, 3 Chalc. c. 6, 3 Carth. 9, 15; will of Perpetuus of Tours, A.D. 474, in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, vol. iii. p. 303; Karlomanni *Capit. Liftin.* A.D. 740, ap. Pertz, M. G H. *Legum.* vol. i. p. 18. The line was afterwards drawn at subdeacons (one of the earliest instances of which is in the *Leges Wisigothorum*, lib. ii. tit. 1, c. 18), but it was not until the 13th century that the subdiaconate was ordinarily ranked among "majores ordines;" from that time "sacri ordines" are identical with "majores ordines," and included bishops, presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons, "minores ordines" including acolyths, exorcists, readers, and doorkeepers. The distinction does not exist in Oriental churches.

(3) *Succession of, and intervals between, grades of orders.*—There is no evidence of the existence in the earliest period of any rule against the appointment of a layman to any office whatever in the church, still less is there any evidence to shew that a clerk who had begun in a lower grade had to pass by any regular steps of succession to a higher. There are instances (1) of bishops who had never been presbyters [BISHOP, Vol. I. p. 219], to the examples given in which place may be added the case of Paulinianus in S. Hieron. *Epist.* 82 (62), vol. i. p. 518: the cases mentioned in S. Leon. M. *Epist.* 14, *ad Anastas.* c. 6, vol. i. p. 688; S. Greg. Magn. *Epist.* ix. 109, vol. ii. p. 1014: the case of St. Caesarius of Arles, *Vit.* c. 1, Migne, P. L. vol. lxvii. 1005: the very late instance of a bishop of Lyons, in A.D. 841, in Pertz, *M. G. H. Script.* i. p. 110, Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* vol. i. 68; and of John, bishop of Constance, mentioned in Walafrid Strabo, *Vit. S. Gall.* lib. i. c. 23, Migne, P. L. cxiv. 998, Greith, *Altirische Kirche*, p. 382: the complaint of pope Celestin, *Epist. ad Episc. Gall.* c. 3: and the Brehon law that when a bishop "stumbled," *i.e.* committed adultery, the reader shall be installed in the bishopric, *Senchus Mor*, ed. Hancock, p. 59: see also Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* vol. ii. p. cviii.; Denzinger, *Rit. Orient.* vol. i. p. 146: and for evidence that some popes never passed through the presbyterate, Mabillon, l. c. p. cxix. The case of Photius, who was accused and ultimately deposed because, among other reasons, he had not passed through the lower grades, can only be mentioned here; the weakness of the Latin attack upon him is shewn in the writings which contain it, especially Nicolas I. *Epist.* 12, 13, Migne, P. L. vol. cxix., Mansi, vol. xv.: Ratramn. of Corbey, *Lib. contr. Graec.* iv. c. 8, Migne, P. L. cxxi. 334, D'Achery, *Spicil.* vol. i.; Aeneas of Paris, *adv. Graec.* c. 210, Migne, P. L. vol. cxxi., D'Achery, *Spicil.* vol. i.; Photius's letter in defence will be found in Migne, P. G. vol. cii., *Epist.* i. 2. (2) Of presbyters who had never been deacons (*e.g.* St. Cyprian, according to Pontius, *Vit. S. Cypr.* c. 3; St. Augustine, according to Possidius, *Vit. S. August.* c. 4; probably St. Basil as St. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* 43, c. 27, vol. i. p. 792, mentions only his being reader, presbyter, bishop: Cosmas mentioned in S. Greg. Magn. *Epist.* xiii. 28, vol. ii. p. 1237: the case is also contemplated in the Canon Law, Gratian, *Decret.* i. dist. 74, c. 9, = Ivo, *Decret.* vi. c. 106). (3) Of deacons who had never been subdeacons (*e.g.* St. Chrysostom in Socrates, *H. E.* 7, 3, p. 313; the subdiaconate is not mentioned in the enumeration of necessary grades in Conc. Sardic. c. 10, and it is not even now necessary among the Jacobite Syrians, Denzinger, *Rit. Orient.* vol. ii. p. 82).

But although these instances are important as shewing not only that the rules which were laid down from time to time were limitations of an earlier freedom, but also that ordinations *per saltum*, as they were afterwards called, were regarded as canonically valid, yet they must probably be considered as exceptions to a prevailing tendency. As early as the Pastoral Epistles promotion to a higher grade is held out as an inducement to "use the office well" (1 Tim. iii. 13), and a person who had only recently been converted is made ineligible for the office of a "bishop" (μὴ νεόφυτον, 1 Tim. iii. 6). This latter regulation had evidently come to be disregarded at the beginning of the 4th century, and the council of Nicaea, c. 2, in re-enacting it extended it to all clerks (the meaning of the difficult Greek text of the canon is probably best expressed by Rufinus, *H. E.* 2, 6, "ne quis nuper assumptus de vita vel conversatione Gentili, accepto baptismo, antequam cautius examinetur, clericus fiat;" so in effect Dionysius Exiguus, but Hefele *ad loc.* takes a slightly different view). But in the course of the same century there are traces of the growth of a tendency to appoint no one to a higher office until he had passed through the lower. The tendency was probably fostered by the civil law in regard to appointments, "ut gradatim honores deferantur," Modestin. in the *Dig.* 50, 4, 11, quoting a letter of Antoninus Pius; "gerendorum honorum non promiscua facultas est, sed ordo certus huic rei adhibitus est," Callistratus in the *Dig.* 50, 4, 14, § 5. This tendency finds its first authorized expression in Conc. Sardic. c. 10, which however deals with the special case of a wealthy man or lawyer (πλούσιός τις ἢ σχολαστικός) being elected to a bishopric, and requires such a man to pass *gradatim* through the offices of reader, deacon, and presbyter. Gregory Nazianzen is less definite. He lays down as a general rule that a man should fill a lower office in the church before filling the highest office (*Orat.* 2, *Apolog.* § 111, vol. i. p. 62, sometimes interpreted that he should be a reader before being a presbyter). The first writer who speaks of passing "per solitos gradus" is Jerome (*Epist.* 60 (3), ad Heliodorum, vol. i. p. 337). Leo the Great discourages the omission of the lower grades, but does not disallow it (*Epist.* 12, vol. i. p. 674), whereas Gregory the Great speaks of the omission as "grave nimis" (*Epist.* ix. 109, vol. ii. p. 1014, writing to Brunhild; cf. *ibid.* ix. 106, vol. ii. p. 1009, "ordinate ad ordines accedendum est").

When the rule had been fairly established, there still arose cases in which it created a difficulty. In such cases the rule was at once observed and evaded by accumulating ordina-

tions, *i.e.* a person was admitted to successive grades on the same day or at short intervals. Early instances of this practice are that of Wulfad, in whose favour Charles the Bald wrote, *Epist. Caroli R. in Conc. Suession.* A.D. 866; Mansi, vol. xv. p. 708, and that of a bishop of Salerno mentioned by Leo Marsicanus, *Chron. Casin.* ii. 98; Migne, P. L. vol. clxxiii. One edition of the Roman pontifical (that which was published by Albertus Castellanus at Venice in 1520 and dedicated to Leo X.) makes provision for the case of a pope who was elected either as a layman or in minor orders, "accipiet primam tonsuram et minores ordines, ut alii inferiores," with this difference, that he is to be vested from the first in mitre and rochet, and to receive the instruments of the several orders at his faldstool. But even when grades were not accumulated, it was not until the 8th century that ordinations *per saltum* began to be considered invalid or to be punished by deposition.

One of the earliest instances is in the Frankfort capitulary of A.D. 789, which deposes a bishop Gaerbod, who admits that he had not been ordained presbyter or deacon (Capit. Francofurt. § 10, ap. Pertz, M. H. G. *Legum*, vol. i. p. 73). Of later instances the mediaeval canonists furnish an abundant crop, *e.g.* Innocent III. *Epist.* vii. 192. A presbyter who has not been ordained deacon is allowed to retain his orders, but has to go through the ceremony of being ordained deacon, id. *Epist.* viii. 118; a deacon who does not know whether he received minor orders or not, is required to receive them "ad cautelam," id. *Epist.* x. 146; a deacon who has knowingly passed over the subdiaconate is sent to a monastery for a time.

The question what grades were necessary resolves itself into two questions—(i.) what was the first grade, (ii.) what were the necessary subsequent grades. (i.) The inference to be drawn from recorded historical examples is that, as a rule, those who dedicated themselves to the service of the church began as readers. An indication of this is found as early as the time of Cyprian (*Epist.* 33, vol. ii. p. 319, of the ordination of Aurelius; but the use of "placuit" shews at the same time that there was no existing rule on the subject). In the following century Basil (according to S. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* 43, c. 27, vol. i. p. 792) and Chrysostom (according to Socrat. *H. E.* vii. 3; Pallad. *Vit. S. Chrys.* c. 5) both began as readers. In the 5th century there are the instances of Felix of Nola (Paulin. *Poem. XV. de S. Felice*, v. 108; Migne, P. L. vol. lxi. 470), and of John of Châlons (Sidon. Apollin. *Epist.* iv. 25). The same inference as to the custom of beginning as readers follows (1) from the constant practice of the Greek church; (2) from the earliest papal decretals on the subject, those of Siricius, Zosimus, and Gelasius, which are quoted below; (3) from Conc. Milev. A.D. 416 (cf. S. August. *Epist.* 63 (240), vol. ii. p. 231), 2 Conc. Nicaen. c. 14. The earliest indication of the practice of beginning as a doorkeeper is probably that which is indicated by Paulinus of Nola *Epist.* 1 (6) *ad Sever.* c. 11; Migne, P. L. vol. lxi. 158 (although this may shew rather his own humility, than the prevalence of a custom); but in the 9th century the rule was laid down which has been the rule of Western canon law ever since that every clerk must pass through that grade (Silvest. *Epist.* c. 7; Caii *Epist.* c. 6; both adopted by the Pseudo-Isidore from the *Liber Pontificalis*, see below). Martin of Tours began as an exorcist (Sulp. Sever. *Vit. S. Martin.* c. 5), and Gregory the Great speaks of a monk who began as a subdeacon (*Epist.* 13, 28, vol. ii. p. 1237).

It must also be noted that there was a counter tendency to that which ultimately prevailed; it was probably not until the clerical office became a regular profession that promotion from one grade to another became an ordinary rule; persons who were well fitted for particular offices sometimes remained in them to the end of their lives. Ambrose (*de Offic. Ministr.* i. 44) writes as though division of labour were recognized in the church, and as though it were a function of the bishop to find out the office for which each person was best qualified. As instances of the prevalence of this view we find an acolyte of eighty-five years of age (Le Blant, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, no. 36) a deacon of fifty-eight (*ibid.* no. 430), a subdeacon of thirty-two (De Rossi, *Inscr. Christianae Urbis Romanae*, no. 743, A.D. 448).

(ii.) The definition of the particular grades through which a clerk must pass, and of the time which he must spend in each grade, belongs to the period of the Isidorian and Pseudo-Isidorian decretals. The uncertainty which prevailed, even after those decretals had been formally incorporated into canon law, is shewn by the great variety of readings which exist in the various MSS. of the decretals. 1. The earliest of them is probably that of Siricius, *Epist. ad Eumer.* c. 10 (= Gratian, *Decret.* i. dist. 77, c. 3; Ivo Carnot, *Decret.* 6, c. 91), which, according to the text given by Hinschius, *Decret. Pseudo-Isid.* p. 520, allows a person to be ordained reader in early youth; then from puberty until thirty years of age he is to be acolyte *or* subdeacon; five years afterwards he is to be deacon, but no definite period is prescribed before he can become presbyter or bishop; if, however, a person is not ordained in early youth, he must be reader or exorcist for two years after his baptism, acolyte, and subdeacon for five years in all; there is no other prescription of time; but other texts give an interval of five years between a deacon and a presbyter, and of ten years between a presbyter and a bishop. 2. The decretal of Zosimus, which is probably next in order of antiquity (*Epist. ad Hesych.* c. 3 = Gratian, *Decret.* i. dist. 77, c. 2; Migne, P. L. vol. xx. p. 672; Hinschius, p. 553) provides that if any one has been ordained in infancy he must remain as a reader until he is twenty years of age; if he is ordained later in life, he must be either reader or exorcist for five years after baptism; in any case he must be either acolyte (Egbert's Pontifical has "catholicus") or subdeacon for four years, and deacon for five years. No other limits are prescribed. This rule seems to have been widely recognized after the 8th century, since it is found in the Gelasian sacramentary, and in the pontificals of Egbert, St. Dunstan, Jumièges, Noyon, Cahors, Vatican ap. Muratori. 3. The *Liber Pontificalis* supplied the canon law with two other decretals: (1) in the *Vita Caii* (= Caii *Epist.* c. 6; Gratian, *Decret.* i. dist. 77, c. 1; Migne, P. L. vol. v.

190; Hinschius, p. 218) Caius is said to have laid down a rule that a bishop must have passed through the seven orders of doorkeeper, reader, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon and presbyter; (2) in the *Vita Silvest.* p. 35 (Migne, P. L. vol. viii. 802, and vol. cxxvii. 1514, Hinschius, p. 450, whose text is followed here), that pope is said to have established the rule that a bishop must have been first doorkeeper, then reader, and then exorcist for whatever time his bishop may have determined; then acolyte for five years, subdeacon five years, *custos martyrum* five years [deacon five years, in some MSS.], presbyter three years.

But it would be difficult to shew that the intervals thus prescribed were even generally observed. No doubt the rule came to prevail that the conferring of each of the lower grades must precede the conferring any of the higher; but the ideal of the decretals, according to which a clerk must remain long enough in each grade to prove his efficiency in it, was probably seldom realised, except in the case of those who were devoted to the service of the church from infancy. In the case of those who sought admission to holy orders in later life, the only interval of time which maintained itself throughout, and from which a dispensation was very rarely given, was that of a year between the first admission to orders and the presbyterate. The Sarum Pontifical bewails the degeneracy of the times which left so short an interval between the "status laicalis" and the "status presbyterii supremus" (ap. Maskell, *Mon. Ritual.* vol. iii. p. 158); but it is probably the case that the adoption of this particular interval was due to the custom which grew up in some parts of Spain and Gaul in the 6th century of requiring an "annua conversio," *i.e.* a year's seclusion from secular life before admission to major orders (3 Conc. Arelat. A.D. 524, c. 2; 3 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 6; 5 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 549, c. 9); this again was connected with, and perhaps grew out of, the rule that a monk must spend a year in minor orders and the diaconate before being ordained presbyter (S. Gelas. *Epist.* 9 *ad Episc. Lucan.* c. 2; Gratian, *Decret.* i. dist. 77, c. 9; Hinschius, p. 650). At first this year was divided into definite periods; Gelasius directs that a person must spend three months in each of the four offices of reader (or "notarius" or "defensor"), acolyte, subdeacon, and deacon (*ibid.*). But afterwards the conferring of minor orders became a mere form and a clerk could pass through all grades up to the diaconate on one and the same day (but according to Roman canonists, only the pope could grant a dispensation for accumulating major orders on the same day; see Catalani, *ad Pontif. Rom.* pars 1, tit. 2, §§ 4, 6).

In the East the primitive custom of appointing a layman to any church office lingered longer; the custom of *interstitia* is almost unknown. The limitations are rather limitations of age than of interval; for example Ebed Jesu, *Tract.* vi. c. 4, 2; ap. Mai, *Scriptt. Vett. Nov. Coll.* vol. x. p. 112, lays down the rule that boys are not to receive imposition of hands, but are only to be appointed readers; when they have reached adolescence they may become subdeacons; at the age of eighteen they may become deacons, at twenty-five presbyters; but even after a succession of grades had become established a person who had attained the requisite age might be admitted to more than one grade on the same day; among the Nestorians such an accumulation of grades became the usual rule (see the ritual in Denzinger, *Rit. Orient.* vol. ii. p. 227). This is in conformity with the later Western practice, which allowed a layman to be appointed to any office whatever, but compelled him to go through the ordination ceremonies of all the lower grades. (See above for the case of a layman elected pope.)

III. EXTERNAL ORGANISATION OF THE CLERGY. —In apostolic and sub-apostolic times there is no evidence of the existence of any other than the internal organization which has been described above. Each church has its officers, but each church was independent and complete in itself. There were friendly relations between one church and another; there was an interchange of letters and of hospitality; but there does not appear to have been any organized combination for common purposes, and still less any subordination of the officers of one church to the officers of another. But in the course of the 2nd century begin to appear the outlines of a system which has done more than anything else to shape the subsequent history of Christendom. First of all the clergy of neighbouring churches, and ultimately the clergy of the greater part of the Christian world, came to be associated in a single organization.

Into the causes which produced a tendency to organization it is not to the present purpose to enter. But the shape which the organization took cannot be understood without a reference to the influences which produced it. Those influences flowed chiefly from the system of administration which prevailed in the empire. Just as the internal organization of the church reflected the main features of the civil policy and religious associations of the time, so did its external organization follow the lines which were already marked in contemporary life.

This is seen in the following respects especially:

(1.) Every year deputies (*σύνεδροι, legati*) from the several towns of a province met together in a provincial council (*κοινόν, concilium*). The objects of these councils were various and their powers extensive. They had a common fund from which they could build temples or erect statues; they decided as to the boundaries of the territories of cities; they had the right of communicating directly with the emperor in regard to the civil and judicial administration of the province. From them came the first beginnings of ecclesiastical organization in similar assemblies or "councils" of the clergy. Such councils began in Greece and Asia Minor, where the civil councils are known to have been exceptionally active (Tertull. *de Jejun.* c. 13, "aguntur per Graecias illa certis in locis concilia ex universis ecclesiis;" cf. Euseb. *H. E.* 5, 16, quoting probably Apollinaris of Hierapolis: τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πιστῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολλαχῇ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τοῦτο [sc. against the Montanists] συνελθόντων); in the time of Cyprian they were beginning to be a regular institution in North Africa, and from that time onwards they became permanent factors in church history [see COUNCILS, Vol. I. p. 473 sqq.]. Their importance in

regard to the organization of the clergy is that, following the example of the civil councils, the ecclesiastical councils kept to the lines marked out by the civil government, and that consequently instead of the organization for ecclesiastical purposes being determined by proximity of place or similarity of origin, it was determined by the lines of demarcation of the Roman provinces. Those provinces became ecclesiastical units, and their chief cities became centres of ecclesiastical administration. (For the facts in relation to the civil councils, see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, bd. i. pp. 365–377; id. in *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, 1872, pp. 200–214; Duruy, *Histoire des Romains*, vol. v. pp. 213-219; Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des Institutions Politiques de l'Ancienne France*, vol. i. p. 107 sqq.)

(2.) In the civil councils the president was an officer whose functions were to a great extent religious, and who bore the name of *Sacerdos provinciae* (Cod. Theodos. 12, 1, 46, 75, 174), or ἀρχιερεύς (*C. I. G.* 3487, and elsewhere). To him the other priests of the province were subordinate, and in some cases he appointed them. (Julian, *Epist.* 49, 63; Eunap. 57, ed. Boisson. cf. Marquardt, l. c. p. 368). When the ecclesiastical councils came to be established, their president not only received the same or an equivalent name, ἀρχιερεύς, ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, *summus sacerdos*, but he was also invested with the right of confirming both the appointment and in certain cases the acts of the other bishops of the province. In the East this office fell to the bishop of the metropolis, who was hence also called ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως or *metropolitanus*; but in Africa, and probably also at first in Gaul and Spain, it fell to the bishop who was senior in date of appointment [see PRIMATE].

(3.) Within the limits of the great provinces were smaller organizations. The provinces were subdivided into districts, partly for fiscal, partly for commercial, but chiefly for judicial purposes. These were known as *conventus*, *conventus juridici*, *jurisdictiones*, διοικήσεις (a use of the word which must be kept distinct from its use to denote the larger divisions of the empire under Diocletian). Each of them had its centre of administration, its "county-town" with its *basilica* or "county-hall." It was in these centres that Christian communities were first formed, and the area of the juridical *conventus* or "diocese" became naturally the area of the ecclesiastical organization. The jurisdiction of the bishop and presbyters was concurrent with that of the civil authority, and the seat of jurisdiction, which was also the place of meeting, was under the Christian emperors, the *basilica* of the civil magistrate. At first of course there were many districts in which the Christian community was not large enough to warrant the formation of any organization; where this was the case, a neighbouring bishop was charged with the oversight of such communities, until in process of time, and usually through the intervention of the provincial council, they were large enough to have bishops of their own; but even in the 5th and 6th centuries the sphere of a bishop's jurisdiction is sometimes spoken of in the plural, Sulp. Sever. *Dial.* 2, 3, "dum dioceses visitat;" cf. Sidon. Apollinar. *Epist.* 7, 6, p. 183; 4 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 36. (For an account of the civil *conventus* or *dioceses*. see Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.* Bd. i. p. 341; the early history of ecclesiastical dioceses has yet to be written.)

Such were the three chief respects in which the ecclesiastical organization followed the lines of the civil organization; in the association of churches according to provinces, in the formation of an intra-provincial hierarchy with a metropolitan or primate at its head, and in the recognition of the bishop of a city as having jurisdiction over the district of which the city was the centre, the church adapted but did not materially transform leading elements of contemporary civil life.

How close the correspondence was between the ecclesiastical and the civil organization can be shewn from many instances in both east and west. The most interesting case in the west is that of Gaul. According to the *Notitia Provinciarum et Dignitatum* (circ. A.D. 400), Gaul was divided into two civil dioceses: (1) D. Galliarum; (2) D. Viennensis. The former was subdivided into ten provinces, viz. Belgica prima et secunda, Germania prima et secunda, Maxima Sequanorum, Lugdunensis prima, secunda, tertia, quarta (= L. Senonia), Alpes Graiae et Poeninae. (The Veronese MS., which gives the division under Diocletian, divides Lugdunensis into two instead of four divisions, thus shewing that the subdivision took place in the 4th century; cf. Mommsen, *Abhandlungen der Berlin. Academ.* 1862, p. 492.) The latter was subdivided into seven provinces, viz. Viennensis, Narbonensis prima et secunda, Novem Populi, Aquitania prima et secunda, Alpes maritimae. Not only was the civil metropolis of each province an episcopal see, but in all cases except two (Elusa and Ebrodunum) the see has remained until modern times, and in almost all cases the metropolitan character of the see has also remained, the bishops being styled *arch*bishops to the present day. For example, the metropolis of Belgica Prima was Augusta Treverorum = Trier, a bishop of which see was present at 1 Conc. Arelat. in 314; that of Belgica Secunda was Durocortorum Remorum = Reims, a bishop of which see was also present at 1 Conc. Arelat.; that of Germania Prima was Moguntiacum = Mainz; that of Germania Secunda, Colonia Agrippina = Köln; that of Maxima Sequanorum, Vesontio = Besançon, of which see a bishop existed as early as the time of St. Irenaeus. It is also remarkable that of the towns (civitates) which are mentioned in each province as being towns of importance, almost every one had a bishop. For example in the Provincia Viennensis twelve such towns are mentioned (besides the metropolis Vienna), viz. civitas Genavensium = Geneva, civ. Gratianopolis = Grenoble, civ. Deensium (= Ad Deam Vocontiorum of the Peutinger Table = civ. Dea Vocontiorum of the Jerusalem Itinerary) = Die, civ. Valentinorum = Valence, civ. Tricastinorum (= Senomago of the Peutinger Table) = S. Paul-trois-Châteaux: civ. Vasisusium (= Vasio of Pliny) = Vaison, civ. Arausicorum (= Arusione of the Peutinger Table) = Orange, civ. Cabellicorum = Cavaillon (for the name of this town there is a various reading in the Notitia, viz. civ. Carpentoratensium = Carpentras, of which a bishop is mentioned in 483), civ. Avenuicorum (= Avennione of the Peutinger Table) = Avignon: civ. Arelatensium (in some MSS.

metrop. civ. Araelatensis = Arelato of the Peutinger Table) = Arles, civ. Massiliensium = Marseilles, civ. Albensium ("nunc Vivaria") = Viviers. Every one of these towns had a bishop in Roman times. The same was the case, with hardly an exception, in the other provinces. France preserves in its bishoprics to the present day the outlines of the Roman administration. On the other hand, England is an example of a country in which, the Roman organization having almost entirely passed away before the final organization of the church began, the dioceses were for the most part formed out of the Saxon kingdoms (see Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, vol. i. p. 224): and similarly in Ireland, "the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop was coextensive with the temporal sway of the chieftain" (Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, p. 303).

Within the skeleton thus furnished several other tendencies operated which arose within the church itself.

1. There arose a tendency to attach a clerk to a particular church, and to give local limits to the exercise of his functions. In the earliest ages there is presumptive evidence that a member of the *ordo* of one church might freely pass to another. It did not of course follow that he thereby became a member of the *ordo* of the other church. But the fact of his holding office elsewhere was recognised, and he enjoyed a certain precedence. Sometimes also he was placed on the clergy-roll, and he might thus be on the roll of several churches at once. An ambitious or a disaffected clerk was able in this way to pass easily from a narrower to a wider sphere, or to rid himself of the supervision of a too *exigeant* superior. But this came at last to be prohibited, except with the full consent of all who were concerned. The final prohibition was indeed the result of a long struggle, nor is there any enactment of canon law, except those relating to marriage, which required to be so frequently repeated. The earliest existing enactment in the east is Conc. Nicaen. c. 16 (which however refers to an earlier canon, possibly that which is preserved in Can. Apost. 15), which provides that no one who is on the clergy-roll of any church shall leave it under penalty of excommunication; and that any ordination in one church of a clerk who is on the roll of another church, without the consent of his proper bishop, shall be invalid. These enactments were repeated, with additions, by 1 Conc. Antioch. c. 3, Conc. Sardic. c. 15, Conc. Chalc. c. 10, after which no further regulation on the subject became necessary in the east for two centuries and a half, when the Trullan Council recognized the fact of the non-observance of the earlier canons, and repeated them (c. 17). In Africa similar regulations were made by the councils of Carthage, and were incorporated in the African code (1 Conc. Carth. c. 5; 3 Conc. Carth. c. 21, 44; Cod. Eccles. Afric. c. 54). But the struggle to evade them seems to have been stronger in Gaul and Spain; they were first made at Arles in 314 (1 Conc. Arelat. c. 21); they were renewed ten times in the 5th and 6th centuries, and three times in the 7th century; at Orange in 441 (Conc. Arausic. c. 8), at Arles in 451 (2 Conc. Arelat. c. 13), at Tours in 461 (1 Conc. Turon. c. 9), at Vannes in 465 (Conc. Venet. c. 10), at Valentia in 524 (?) (Conc. Valent. c. 6), at Arles in 524 (4 Conc. Arelat. c. 4), at Clermont in 535 (Conc. Arvern. c. 11), at Orleans in 549 (5 Conc. Aurelian. c. 5), at Arles in 554 (5 Conc. Arelat. c. 7), at Braga in 563 (2 Conc. Brac. c. 8), at Toledo in 633 (4 Conc. Tolet. c. 53), at Châlons in 650 (Conc. Cabillon. c. 13), at Toledo again in 683 (13 Conc. Tolet. c. 11); and they were sanctioned by a capitulary of Pippin in 753 (Capit. Vernense duplex, c. 12, ap. Pertz, 1, 26). In England they were recognized by the Legatine Synods in 787, c. 6 (Haddan and Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 447), and by Egbert of York (Dial. Egbert Eborac. c. 7, 9, *ibid.* pp. 402 sqq.). Afterwards they passed into the body of canon law (see Gratian. *Dist.* 70; D. Ivon. Carnot. *Decret.* 6, 26; Hugon. de S. Vict. *de Sacram.* 2, 3, 22), nor has there been any serious subsequent attempt to destroy the relation of lord and vassal which they established between a bishop and the other members of the *ordo ecclesiasticus*.

2. A second tendency, which arose in the course of the 3rd century, and which ran *pari passu* with that which has just been described, took the double form of giving local limits to a bishop's powers, and of subordinating him either to the provincial council, or to a single superior. (*a*) Probably the first express recognition of this local limitation is in the letter of the four Egyptian bishops, Hesychius, Pachomius, Theodorus, and Phileas, to Meletius of Alexandria, in A.D. 303–5, which was published from a Latin version at Verona, by Maffei, *Opusc. Eccles.* ii. p. 253, and republished by Pitra, *Jur. Eccl. Gr.* vol. i. p. 1. A few years later the council of Antioch expressly limits the exercise of a bishop's powers to his own province or *ἐπαρχία* (which may possibly be used as in Conc. Nicaen. c. 6 = *διοίκησις*); he could not for the future pass into another province for the purpose of making ordinations, except on the written invitation of the metropolitan and bishops of that province (Conc. Antioch. A.D. 341, c. 13); the council of Constantinople, forty years later, renews the enactment (c 2, *ἀκλήτους δὲ ἐπισκόπους ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπὶ χειροτονίαις ἤ τισιν ἄλλαις οἰκονομίαις ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς*), but makes an explicit exception in regard to nations outside the Roman organization (*ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἔθνεσι*). In those parts of the West in which the meshes of that organization were closer, the relation of one bishop to another were still more sharply defined. Where, as in Gaul at the beginning of the 4th century, there was a bishop for every *civitas*, *i.e.* for the centre of every circle of civil jurisdiction, it was provided that each bishop should be confined to his own circle, and should not exercise authority in the circle of his neighbour (1 Conc. Arelat. A.D. 314, c. 17, "ut nullus episcopus alium episcopum conculcet," 1 Turon. A.D. 461, c. 9, excommunicates those who transgress the "terminos a patribus constitutos;" 1 Lugd. A.D. 517, c. 5; 1 Arvern. A.D. 535, c. 10). But, on the other hand, as a proof of the intimate connexion between civil and ecclesiastical organization, where, as in Ireland, the imperial system of administration did not prevail, the bishops preserved their original status; they were the officers not of districts but of single congregations; they moved about almost as

they pleased; dioceses in the ordinary sense did not exist until the synod of Rath-Bresail in 1141 (see Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, append. pp. 135, 139). (*b*) It is also probable that in the earliest times, a bishop or a community had the power of appointing any baptized person to office without regard to the place of his baptism or to his being already on the clergy-roll of another church. But while on the one hand, as we have already seen, the councils gradually came to prohibit a member of one church from taking office in another, on the other hand they restrained bishops from ordaining such persons, partly by making such ordinations null, and partly by subjecting offending bishops to the penalty of suspension and excommunication. (*c*) It is also probable that in the earliest times each bishop was independent of his colleagues; the several shepherds of the flock of Christ were amenable, not to any earthly superior but to Christ Himself: "singulis pastoribus portio sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus" (St. Cyprian, *Epist.* 55, *de Cornel.* c. 14, vol. ii. p. 821). But in the course of the 4th century there grew up the tendency, which was probably reflected from the great contemporary development of the hierarchical system in the empire, to subordinate bishop to bishop and church to church. The details of this subordination grew out of the extension to the ecclesiastical sphere of the civil system of provincial councils and provincial high priests; but the spirit which led to that extension grew up within the church itself.

3. A third tendency, which arose in the East from the gradual decay of the population, and in the West from the necessity of consolidating an organization, which had interwoven itself with the civil administration, and round which a complex growth of material interests had clustered, was the tendency to limit the number of towns in which bishops were appointed. The number of bishops in early times, in both East and West, was very large. From the small province of Asia Proconsularis, which formed but a tenth part of the Dioecesis Asiana, thirty-two bishops were present at the council of Ephesus in 431. In the provinces which made up the Dioecesis Africae, 470 bishoprics are known by name before the Vandal invasion; and possibly there may have been some truth in the retort of Petilianus to the reproach of Alypius, that the Donatists had bishops in villages and on estates, "immo vero ubi habes sane et sine populis habes" (*Collat. Carthag.* i. 181, ap. Gallandi *Bibl. Patr.* vol. v. p. 620; for the details here given in respect to Africa, cf. Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 463; Kuhn, *Städt. u. bürgerl. Verfassung des Röm. Reichs*, Bd. ii. p. 436). In Ireland the number of bishops cannot be certainly ascertained, but must have been large; the *Annals of the Four Masters*, ad ann. 493, speak of St. Patrick as having ordained 700 bishops and 3000 priests; and Aengus the Culdee, in the 9th century, speaks of no less than 141 places in the island, in each of which there were or had been seven contemporary bishops (Todd, *St. Patrick*, pp. 32, 35; Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, app. A. p. 123 sqq. where several other references are given). In the East, no doubt the gradual diminution in the number of bishoprics arose from the decay of the population, but in the West it was the result of policy. The power of the bishops was thereby increased. This is expressly stated by Leo the Great, who contends that bishops should not be appointed "in quibuslibet locis neque in quibuslibet castellis .... ne quod sanctorum Patrum divinitus inspirata decreta vetuerunt viculis et possessionibus vel obscuris et solitariis municipiis tribuatur sacerdotale fastigium et honor cui debent excellentiora committi, ipsa sui numerositate vilescat" (S. Leon. Magn. *Ep.* 12, c. 12, I. p. 667). In the century that followed the conversion of Chlodwig, a different policy was no doubt followed within the Frankish domain. A large number of new bishoprics then, for the first time, appear in history, and the lines of the Roman organization are broken. But this foundation of new sees lasted only for a time. There is no record of any new foundation between that of Montpellier in 585 and St. Brieux in 848. On the contrary, it became necessary to re-enact the provision of the civil law: "ut episcopi debeant per singulas civitates esse" (Pippini *Capit. Vern.* A.D. 755, cf. Pertz, i. p. 24); but this does not appear to have amounted to more than the affirmation of a principle, and was modified by the *Capit. Francofurt.* A.D. 794, c. 22, which repeated the Sardican canon. The exigencies of the case were met by the combination with the existing system of an order of bishops, who were not tied to a particular city. Such an order had existed in the *chorepiscopi* of the East, and under that name it was revived in France. These chorepiscopi went from parish to parish, performing especially such episcopal acts as confirmation, and the consecration of the chrism and admission to minor orders; but they do not seem to have had either jurisdiction or power of ordaining presbyters (Hrabani Mauri *de Instit. Cler.* i. 5: ordinati sunt chorepiscopi propter pauperum curam qui in agris et villis consistunt, ne eis solatium confirmationis deesset: Pippini *Capit. Vermer.* A.D. 753, c. 14; Pertz, i. p. 22, where they are probably meant by "episcopis ambulantibus per patrias"). But they were found to give rise to many difficulties, and in the 9th century a determined and ultimately successful attempt was made to abolish them. (The history of the struggle, which is of especial interest in connexion with the origin of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, will be found on Weizsäcker, *Der Kampf gegen den Chorepiscopat des fränkischen Reichs im neunten Jahrhundert*, Tübingen, 1859; see also an article by the same writer in von Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift* for 1860, pp. 42 sqq., and by van Noorden in the same journal for 1862, pp. 311 sqq.) A new form of organization had been gradually developing itself during the two previous centuries, and it now became both extended and firmly established. The old Roman organization still to a great extent survived. The old Roman *civitates* were still bishops' sees; the limits of the old Roman *conventus* were still for the most part the limits of the jurisdiction of the bishops of those sees. But the importance of those towns in relation to their neigh-

bours had in many cases seriously diminished; and the districts of which they were the centres were full, not of *pagani*, but of Christians who required clergy, and of clergy who required supervision. Hence the dioceses were subdivided, not as they would have been in earlier times into new dioceses, but into districts in each of which an archpresbyter had a modified jurisdiction over the presbyters and other clergy. [ARCHPRESBYTERS, Vol. I. p. 139; it may be added that the idea probably came from the Eastern church, where we find the functions of archpresbyter (= πρωτοπρεσβύτερος) united with those of a περιοδευτής, or itinerant bishop, *Corpus Insc. Graec.* No. 8822, at Abrostola in Phrygia.] This was supplemented by occasionally sending the ecclesiastical officer who stood in the closest personal relation to the bishop, viz. the archdeacon, as a special delegate to enquire into the condition of the clergy and parishes on the bishop's behalf. Not only did such a delegation become in time a *delegatio perpetua*, but also in the case of some large dioceses, several of the districts under the jurisdiction of an archpresbyter were united together and placed permanently under the jurisdiction of an archdeacon. The detailed account of this last arrangement falls outside our limits; but it is necessary to mention it as forming the last important link in the series of changes by which the simple system of the early church was transformed into the elaborate diocesan organization of mediaeval and modern times. (See Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, Bd. iii. p. 364; Gréa, *Essai historique sur les Archidiacres* in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 3me série, t. ii. pp. 39, 215; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Bd. ii. p. 610.)

IV. ADMISSION TO ORDERS.—1. *Qualifications:* —The fact that in the first ages of the church a person was almost invariably appointed to office in the city in which he lived, and by the community among which he had been baptized, prevented the necessity of minute enactments in regard to qualifications for orders. It was more a matter of common understanding than of ecclesiastical rule that no one should be appointed who had been known to lead an immoral life, or whose fitness for office had not been ascertained by experience. The election was practically free. The assembly which made it was not bound by any regulations except those which it laid down for itself. The points which were looked at were the internal qualifications of character rather than the external qualifications of age or status. Upon these internal qualifications all the earliest exhortations turn. The Pastoral Epistles, 1 Tim. iii. 1–12; Titus i. 6–9, mention no others; the almost contemporary epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians c. 5, 6, exhort that deacons be "blameless, not slanderers, not double-tongued, not fond of money, temperate in all things, compassionate, careful, walking in the truth of the Lord;" the Clementines, *e.g.* Epist. Clem. ad Jacob. c. 2, and the earlier books of the Apostolic Constitutions, *e.g.* ii. 1 sqq., direct that a bishop, at the time of his ordination, shall be tested as to his having brought up his children in the admonition of the Lord, whether he is blameless in regard to the needs of this life, given to hospitality, and apt to minister; the ordinances of Clement (Διατ. Κλήμ., Lagarde, *Juris Eccl. Reliq.* p. 74 sqq.; Pitra, *Jur. Eccl. Gr.* vol. i. p. 77 sqq.) direct that testimony shall be given whether he "have a good report from the heathen, whether he be without fault, fond of the poor, sober, not a drunkard, not a fornicator, not overreaching or abusive, or a respecter of persons, or the like: it were well that he were wifeless, but if not, let him be the husband of one wife, capable of discipline, able to interpret the scriptures; and, even if unlearned, gentle, and abounding in love towards all." But this free right of election came gradually to be restricted. With the increase in the number of churches, with the loosening of the bands of close fellowship, which had bound together the members of the churches in the face of the common danger of persecution, and with the multiplication of the links which bound one church to another, the original system was found to be too indefinite. The communities were too large and too scattered to know the habits and character of each individual member, and the functions which their officers had to fulfil became too important and too complicated to be entrusted to any one without close inquiry. Stress began to be laid upon the necessity of examination before appointment, and definite rules had to be agreed upon. With the existence of such an examination the inhabitants of the Roman municipalities were already familiar, and it is probable that the ecclesiastical communities followed in this as in other details of their organization the analogy of the civil communities. No one could be elected to the civil "Ordo" without being previously examined as to his possession of certain qualifications: he must be free-born, of a certain age, unconvicted of any crime, and possessed of sufficient property to discharge the duties of his office. The examination into these qualifications immediately preceded the election, and the duty of making it fell on the presiding officer (see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. p. 497); the chief authorities are the Lex Julia Municipalis, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* No. 206, and the Lex Malacitana, a bronze found at Malaga in 1851, which gives more minute details than were previously known, and which has been published by Mommsen in the *Abhandlungen der kön. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaft*, Bd. 3, and, in a separate treatise, *Die Stadtrechte der lateinischen Gemeinden Salpensa u. Malaca*, Leipzig, 1855; also by Giraud, Paris, 1856 and 1868; in the *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* ii. 1964, and by Orelli-Henzen, No. 7421). In the same way the possession of certain positive qualifications and the absence of certain disqualifications were made conditions precedent to the admission to the "Ordo ecclesiasticus," and the presiding officer was charged with the duty of seeing that such conditions were fulfilled. But it is obvious that under such an arrangement the qualifications insisted upon must be such as to admit of an external test; and it was natural that, when once external tests began to be imposed, they should tend to become more complex and more rigid. The earliest of such tests arose out of the early controversies as to the marriage of the clergy. The only impediments to admission to orders which are expressly mentioned in the Apostolical

canons are digamy, and marriage with two sisters, or with a niece, or with one who was not a virgin (c. 17, 18, 19). In subsequent lists of qualifications and disqualifications such impediments occupy so large a place that the lists themselves furnish the best contemporary evidence of the state of feeling on the subject. Three such lists in three successive centuries may be taken as typical, and, for the sake of more exact comparison will best be given in their original form. 1. In the 6th century the rules of admission to orders were settled by the civil law. Justinian (*Novell.* 123, c. 12) enacts as follows:—Κληρικοὺς οὐκ ἄλλως χειροτονεῖσθαι συγχωροῦμεν εἰ μὴ γράμματα ἴσασι καὶ ὀρθὴν πίστιν καὶ βίον σεμνὸν ἔχουσι καὶ οὐδὲ παλλακὴν οὐδὲ φυσικοὺς ἔσχον ἢ ἔχουσι παῖδας ἀλλ' ἢ σωφρόνως βιοῦντας ἢ γαμετὴν νόμιμον καὶ αὐτὴν μίαν καὶ πρώτην ἐσχηκότας καὶ μηδὲ χήραν μηδὲ διαζευχθεῖσαν ἀνδρός. (Compare the disqualifications mentioned by S. Greg. M. *Epist.* 4, 26, *ad. Januar.* vol. ii. p. 704; id. *Epist.* 2, 37, *ad Joann.* vol. ii. p. 600). 2. A century later than Justinian, the fourth council of Toledo, A.D. 633, which was held under Isidore of Seville, sums up as follows the canonical disqualifications which were recognised in the West at that time: "Qui in aliquo crimine detecti sunt, qui scelera aliqua per publicam poenitentiam admisisse confessi sunt, qui in haeresim lapsi sunt, qui in haeresi baptizati aut rebaptizati esse noscuntur, qui semetipsos absciderunt aut naturali defectu membrorum aut decisione aliquid minus habere noscuntur, qui secundae uxoris conjunctionem sortiti sunt, aut numerosa conjugia frequentaverunt, qui viduam aut marito relictam duxerunt, aut corruptarum mariti fuerunt, qui concubinas ad fornicationes habuerunt, qui servili conditioni obnoxii sunt, qui ignoti sunt, qui neophyti sunt, vel laici sunt, qui saeculari militiae dediti sunt, qui curiae nexibus obligati sunt, qui inscii literarum sunt, qui nondum ad triginta annos pervenerunt, qui per gradus ecclesiasticos non accesserunt, qui ambitu honorem quaerunt, qui muneribus honorem obtinere moliuntur, qui a decessoribus in sacerdotium eliguntur." (The last few phrases evidently apply not to all clerks, but only to presbyters or bishops.) 3. A century later (circ. A.D. 750), Egbert of York gives a similar list, but with important additions and omissions: "Hujusmodi tunc ordinatio episcopi, presbiteri vel diaconi rata esse dicitur; si nullo gravi facinore probatur infectus, si secundam non habuit [uxorem] nec a marito relictam; si poenitentiam publicam non gessit nec ulla corporis parte vitiatus apparet: si servilis aut ex origine non est conditionis obnoxius; si curiae probatur nexibus absolutus, si adsecutus est litteras; hunc elegimus ad sacerdotium promoveri. Pro his vero criminibus nullum licet ordinari sed promotos quosque dicimus deponendos; idola scilicet adorantes; per aruspices [et divinos atque] incantatores captivos se diabolo tradentes; fidem suam falso testimonio expugnantes; homicidiis vel fornicationibus contaminatos; furta perpetrantes; sacrum veritatis nomen perjurii temeritate violantes." (Egberti Eborac. *Dial.* c. 15, ap. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. iii. p. 402; Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 85.)

We proceed to give in detail the various qualifications and disqualifications for orders which were laid down between the 4th and the 9th centuries, grouping them as—I. Personal. II. Civil; III. Ecclesiastical; IV. Literary.

I. *Personal Qualifications.*—1. A clerk must be sound of limb, Conc. Rom. A.D. 465, c. 3; 3 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 6; 4 Conc. Tolet. c. 19; especially he must not have mutilated himself with a view to living in chastity, Conc. Nicaen. c. 1 (cf. Socrat. *H. E.* 2, 26; Theodor. *H. E.* 2, 24); Can. Apost. c. 22; 2 Conc. Arelat. c. 7. At the same time it was held in early times that the Levitical regulations (Levit. xxi. 17 sqq.) did not strictly apply to the Christian church, and when the monk Ammonius tried to disqualify himself for ordination by cutting off his ear his mutilation was held to be no bar (Pallad. *Hist. Lausiac.* c. 12, Migne, P. G. vol. xxxiv. 1032; Sozomen, *H. E.* 6, 30); but when in later times the Levitical analogy was strictly applied, the loss of any part of any member was held to be a disqualification, and Innocent III. (*Epist.* x. 124) gives a special dispensation to one whose finger had been cut off against his will (the canonists based their rule on a pseudo-decretal of Innocent I. Hinschius, p. 533; Regino Prumiens. *de Eccles. Discipl.* lib. i. 410; Burchard, lib. ii. c. 14; Migne, P. L. vol. cxxxii. p. 272). Some later Roman pontificals (quoted by Catalani, *ad Pontif. Rom.* p. 1, tit. 2) require the examiners to feel (palpare), as well as diligently to observe the persons of candidates, and even to require them to take off their shoes, lest there should be a deformity in their feet. 2. (1) A presbyter must be at least thirty years of age. This rule, which was based on a reference to the age at which our Lord began his ministry, was first laid down by Conc. Neocaes. A.D. 314, c. 11; but it does not appear to have been universally accepted, inasmuch as Jerome has to defend upon general grounds the ordination of his brother, Paulinianus, at that age (S. Hieron. *Epist.* 82 (62) *ad Theoph.* vol. i. p. 518). But it was recognised by a Syrian council, A.D. 405 (?), c. 24 (Mansi, vol. vii. 1181), by several Western councils, 4 Conc. Arelat. A.D. 524, c. 1, 3 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 6, 4 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 20, and by the Trullan council, c. 14. It is also recognised in the civil law, Justin. *Novell.* 123, c. 13, and in the Carolingian capitularies, *Capit. Francofurt.* A.D. 794, c. 49 ap. Pertz, M. H. G. *Legum*, vol. i. p. 75. Bishops were sometimes ordained at an earlier age, but until the 8th century there is probably no instance of such an ordination of a presbyter. The instances even then belong to the outlying provinces of Christendom. Bede, in his history of the monastery of Wearmouth (Migne, P. L. vol. xciv. 729), clearly implies that Ceolfrid was ordained presbyter at the age of twenty-seven; and pope Zachary gives permission to Boniface, "the apostle of Germany," in 751, to ordain presbyters, in cases of emergency, at the age of twenty-five (S. Zachar. *Epist.* 13, ap. Migne, P. L. vol. lxxxix. 952; Gratian, pars i. dist. 78, c. 5). On the other hand, some canonists allowed of no exception to the rule which made thirty the minimum age, Burchard. Wormat. *Decret.* ii. c. 9, Ivon. Carnot. *Decret.* vi. c. 30, *Panorm.* iii. 29; so the Conc. Melfit. A.D. 1089, c. 4. But the rule was ultimately relaxed, and the council of Ravenna, A.D. 1314, c. 2, fixed the age at twenty-five; so *Stat. Eccles. Culurc. et*

*Ruth.* ap. Martene et Durand, *Anecd.* vol. iv. p. 718, and the modern Roman pontifical. The Nestorian canons of Ebedjesu also allow ordinanation to the presbyterate at the age of twenty-five (Tract. vi. c. 4, can. 2, ap. Mai, *Script. Vet.* vol. x. p. 112). (2) The age of deacons was originally fixed at twenty-five; so Cod. Eccles. Afric. c. 16 (but one version of 3 Conc. Carth. c. 4, which is in other respects identical with this canon, adds the proviso, "nisi primum divinis scripturis instructi vel ab infantia eruditi propter fidei professionem vel assertionem"); so with the Gallican and Spanish councils, Conc. Agath. A.D. 506, c. 16, 4 Conc. Arelat. c. 1 (but the vigorous bishop Caesarius, who presided at this council and subscribed its acts, is said by his biographers never to have ordained a deacon under thirty, *Vit. S. Caesar. Arelat.* 1, 43, Migne, P. L. vol. lxvii. 1022), 4 Conc. Tolet. c. 20; so also with the Trullan council, c. 14, and in the civil law, Justin. *Novell.* 123, c. 13 (the later Roman use fixed it at twenty-four, Pontific. Roman. p. 1, tit. 2, 2). (3) The age of a subdeacon does not appear to have been fixed by any canon in the West earlier than 2 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 531, c. 1 (where, however, it is only an inference that the age mentioned applies to *all* subdeacons), and in the East earlier than Conc. Trull. A.D. 692, c. 15; in both cases the age mentioned is twenty. Justinian fixed it at twenty-five (*Novell.* 123, c. 13), but the later civil law agrees with the canon law (Leo *Constit.* 16 and 75). But it is clear that there was in subsequent times considerable variety of usage. Hugh of St. Victor, *de Sacram.* 2, 3, 21, makes fourteen the limit; the council of Melfi in 1089, c. 4, Mansi, xx. 723, makes fourteen or fifteen. In the Gesta Abbat. S. Trudon. lib. viii. c. 2, Migne, P. L. clxxiii. p. 113, Rudolph becomes subdeacon at eighteen, which is the age fixed by the statutes of Cahors and Rodez in 1289, Martene and Durand, *Anecd.* vol. iv. p. 718. The council of Ravenna, A.D. 1314, c. 2, Mansi, vol. xxv. 537, makes sixteen the limit; but the almost contemporaneous Conc. Vienn. under Clement V. in 1311, makes twenty-two, and this age was adopted by the council of Trent, and remains in the present Roman ordinal. (4) There is no canonical limit of age for minor orders. The civil law fixes the minimum age for a reader at eighteen (Justin. *Novell.* 123, c. 13), but it is clear that ordination might canonically take place at a much earlier age. There had already arisen in the West, and there soon afterwards arose in the East, the custom of dedicating children to the service of the church in their earliest years; hence the text of the Nomocanon, which incorporates the regulation of Justinian, varies in good MSS. between the ages of eight, eighteen, and twenty; and the Scholiast *ad loc.* finds it impossible to reconcile any of these readings with the practice of his day which allowed ordinations to the lectorate at the age of five or six. The letter of Siricius (Hinschius, p. 522, Migne, P. L. vol. xiii. 1142; quoted by the canonists, Gratian, pars i. dist. 77, 3, Ivon. Carnot. *Decret.* 6, 91) directs that "whoever has devoted himself to the service of the church ought from his infancy, before the age of puberty, to be baptized and associated with the ministry of readers." The letter of Zosimus (Hinschius, p. 553, Migne, P. L. vol. xx. 672; quoted by Gratian, pars i. dist. 77, 2) directs that "if any one has given his name from infancy to the ministry of the church, let him remain among the readers until the age of twenty." In Gaul the council of Vaison in 529, c. 1, in Africa the third council of Carthage, c. 19, and in Spain the second council of Toledo in 589, c. 1, provide for the case of readers marrying when they attain to puberty; and the fact of early ordinations is proved by historical examples, *e.g.* Sidon. Apollin. *Epist.* iv. 25, p. 126; S. Paulin. Nolan. *Poem. XV. de S. Felice*, v. 108; Anastas. *Liber. Pontif.* de S. Eugenio I. p. 134, "clericus a cunabulis"; and an extant inscription at Viviers to a reader who died at the age of thirteen, ap. Le Blant, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, No. 484. The later mediaeval practice, which was adopted by the council of Trent, was not to confer the tonsure before the age of seven.

II. *Civil Qualifications.*—1. In regard to the admission of slaves to orders both the canon and the civil law varied at different times: in the East the only early regulation is *Can. Apost.* 82, which allows slaves to be ordained only when they have been manumitted; this agrees with the civil law, Justin, *Cod. I.* 3, 37 (36), *Novell.* 123, 17. In the West the earliest regulation is that of Conc. Illiber. A.D. 305, c. 8, which disallows the ordination even of a freedman whose *patronus* was *in saeculo*; but 1 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 400, c. 10 allows such ordination with the patron's consent. In the fifth century Leo the Great, writing to the bishops of Campania, objects to the ordination of slaves as inconsistent with the dignity of the clerical office, but is at the same time a witness to the occurrence of such ordinations." (S. Leon. M. *Epist.* 4 (3) *ad Epist. Campan.* i. p. 612; for the meaning of "originali," cf. St. August. *de Civit. Dei*, 10, 1, "conditionem debent genitali solo propter agriculturam sub dominio possessorum.") In Gaul it would appear that ordination was at one time held to involve manumission, for 1 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 511, c. 8, enacts that if a bishop knowingly ordains a slave without the consent of his master he must pay "duplex satisfactio;" if he has done it ignorantly, then those who "testimonium perhibent aut eum supplicaverint ordinari" are to pay such satisfaction; (this seems to imply that part of the "testimonium" which was required before ordination was that the candidate was free.) In a council held in the same city a quarter of a century later, there is a definite exclusion of both slaves and serfs: aut nullus servilibus colonariisque conditionibus obligatus juxta statuta sedis apostolicae ad honores ecclesiasticos admittatur, nisi prius aut testamento aut per tabulas legitime constiterit absolutum (3 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 26;) but eleven years later this rule was relaxed, and a slave might be ordained with his master's consent, or, if ordained without such consent, "is qui ordinatus est, benedictione servata, honestum ordini domino suo impendat obsequium," *i.e.* he might continue to be a clerk without ceasing to be a slave; it is, however, also provided that the bishop might, if the master preferred, give him two slaves in place of the one who had been ordained (5 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 549, c. 6). In Ireland the canons of St. Patrick, which are probably at least a century later than the foregoing

councils, clearly imply that a clerk might be a slave; c. 7 provides for the excommunication of a clerk who is negligent in coming to prayers: "nisi forte jugo servitutis sit detentus." But in England Egbert of York, about the same period, expressly disallows the ordination of slaves, at least to the diaconate (Egberti Eborac. *Dial.* c. 15, ap. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, &c.* iii. p. 402). The Carolingian rule was equally strict; if a slave was ordained without first obtaining his liberty he must lose his orders and go back to his master (Capit. Hludowici I. Aquisgran. general. A.D. 817, c. 6, ap. Pertz, i. p. 207, cf. Capit. Francofurt. A.D. 794, c. 30; Pertz, vii. p. 79; Capit. Ticin. A.D. 801, c. 22; Pertz, i. p. 86).

2. The privileges and IMMUNITIES [p. 822] which Constantine at first conferred upon the clergy caused so many rich men to seek refuge from the burdens of taxation by taking office in the church that it speedily became necessary to enact that no person whose fortune placed him in the rank of those upon whom the weight of public burdens fell should be allowed to become a clerk; the first law on the subject has not been preserved, but the continuation of it which enacts that it shall not be retrospective is found in Cod. Theodos. 16, 2, 3, A.D. 320. It was re-enacted by Constantius in 361, Cod. Theodos. 8, 4, 7 = Cod. Justin, 1, 3, 4; and again, in effect, by Honorius and Arcadius in 398, Cod. Theodos. 16, 2, 32; fifty years later a law of Theodosius and Valentinian allowed ordained persons who were liable to municipal duties to discharge those duties by deputy, Cod. Justin. 1, 3, 21; but Justinian found it necessary absolutely to prohibit the ordination of such persons: θεσπίζομεν μηδένα παντελῶς μήτε βουλευτὴν μήτε ταξεώτην ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον τοῦ λοιποῦ γίνεσθαι (Cod. Justin. 1, 3, 53 (52); so, also, id. *Novell.* 6, c. 4; 123, c. 15). The necessity for such a provision appears even from ecclesiastical writers, *e.g.* Basil speaks of τῶν πλείστων φόβῳ τῆς στρατολογίας εἰσποιούντων ἑαυτοὺς τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ (S. Basil, *Epist.* 54 (181); Migne, *P. G.* 32, 400; cf. Joann. Diac. *Vit. S. Gregor. M.* 2, 15, vol. i. p. 49); and the rule itself was accepted, *e.g.*, by Gregory the Great, *Epist.* 4, 26, *ad Januar.* vol. ii. p. 704, "videndum ne obnoxius curiae [*i.e.* liable to serve on a municipal senate] compellatur post sacrum ordinem ad actionem publicam redire"; and by 4 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 19; Egbert. Eborac. *Dial.* c. 15. The Frankish kings enacted that no freeman should be ordained without the permission of the king or his officer: 1 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 511 (shortly before the death of Chlodwig), c. 4, enacts "ut nullus saecularium ad clericatus officium praesumatur nisi aut cum regis jussione aut cum judicis voluntate"; in the following century another Frankish council, Conc. Remens. circ. A.D. 625, repeats the enactment; and among the *Formulae Marculphi* is a letter from a king giving such a permission (*Formulae Marculphi*, 1, 19, ap. Migne, *P. L.* vol. lxxxvii. p. 712). Several instances are found in the biographies of the same century, *e.g.* Sulpice of Bourges (*Notit. in S. Sulpit.* c. 8; Migne, *P. L.* vol. lxxx. p. 577); Ouen of Rouen (*Vit. S. Audoën.* ap. Sur. 24 Aug.). Charles the Great found it necessary again to renew the enactment (Capit. duplex in Theod. Villa, A.D. 805, c. 15; Pertz, 1, p. 134); but it is not found out of the Frankish domain.

III. *Ecclesiastical Qualifications.*—1. Baptism. It was so invariably assumed that any one who was advanced to office in the church had already been made a member of the church by baptism that the enactment of a canon on the subject was unnecessary. At Alexandria a catechumen might be a reader or singer, but the custom is mentioned as exceptional by Socrates, *H. E.* 5, 22, and, moreover, readers and singers were sometimes not reckoned in the *clerus* at all. In the middle of the 3rd century Cornelius of Rome expresses a doubt whether clinic baptism was sufficient in the case of Novatian, inasmuch as it had not been followed by confirmation (Euseb. *H. E.* 6, 43); and early in the following century the council of Neocaesarea, c. 12, is disposed, except in special cases (εἰ μὴ τάχα διὰ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ [*i.e.*, of the baptized person] σπουδὴν καὶ πίστιν καὶ διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων), to disallow altogether the ordination of those who had received clinic baptism. But the non-renewal of the enactment (except in 6 Conc. Paris. A.D. 829, c. 8, Mansi, 14, 542, which extends it to all irregular baptisms) makes it probable that it was construed rather in the spirit of its exceptions than in that of its main provision. The case of a presbyter being ordained before being baptized was so rare that no provision is made for it in any canon of the first eight centuries. The general case of uncertain or defective baptism is sometimes mentioned in ecclesiastical writers, *e.g.* S. Dionys. Alexand. *Ep. ad Xystum* ap. Euseb. *H. E.* 7, 9; S. Leon. Magn. *Ep.* 66 (35) *ad Neon. Ravenn.* p. 1407; id. *Ep.* 67 (2) *ad Rustic. Narbon.* c. 17, 18, p. 1427; but the special case of an unbaptized presbyter is first mentioned in Abp. Theodore's Penitential at the end of the 8th century, who apparently deals with two contingencies: *a.* If the presbyter has been ordained through ignorance on the part of his ordainer that he has not been baptized, the ordination is invalid, the baptisms performed by the supposed presbyter are also invalid, and he himself must be baptized, but cannot be reordained (*Poenit.* 1, 9, 12; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. iii.). *b.* If a presbyter is ordained under the belief that he has been baptized, and then discovers that he has not, he may be both baptized and reordained, but persons baptized by him must be rebaptized (id. 2, 2, 13). In the following century a capitulary of Pippin, which mentions a similar case, does not specify what is to be done with the presbyter, but allows his baptisms provided that the Holy Trinity was invoked at the time (Capit. Compendiense, A.D. 757, c. 12; Pertz, *Legum*, vol. i. p. 28). As the imposition of hands was an integral part of baptism, it must be held to be implied in the general regulations as to baptism; the explicit mention of it as a condition of ordination is much later. (But it is sometimes supposed to be meant in Conc. Nicaen. c. 8, which requires returning Cathari to be χειροθετουμένους; so Hefele *ad loc.* and Catalani ad Pontific. Roman. p. 1. tit. 2, 3; but Gratian, 8, 1, 7, and others understand ordination, not confirmation, to be meant.)

2. There was a further rule that ordination was not to follow too closely upon baptism; the Pauline μὴ νεόφυτον (1 Tim. iii, 7) expresses

both the ordinary rule and the ordinary practice. During the early years of Christianity it was obviously important that before a person was advanced to office in a church, and especially to an office which involved disciplinary control, sufficient opportunity should be given for the observation and testing of his character. The leading early canon on the subject is that of the council of Nicaea, c. 2, which refers to an otherwise unknown earlier canon (perhaps that which is embodied in Can. Apost. 80), and speaks of its having been frequently broken. The drift of the canon is clear, although there is some doubt as to the exact interpretation of the text. Rufinus, *H. E.* 2, 6, sums it up thus, "ne quis nuper assumptus de vita vel conversatione Gentili, accepto baptismo, antequam cautius examinetur, clericus fiat"; so also the later canonists, *e.g.* Gratian, 1, dist. 48 (see Hefele, *Councils*, E. T. vol. i.). It was repeated in effect in the same century by Conc. Laod. c. 3; but although it continued to be valid, as is seen from *e.g.* S. Leon. M. *Epist.* 12, c. 4, i. p. 663, 4 Conc. Tolet. c. 19, yet the necessity for it practically ceased to exist when the great mass of the population came to be of Christian parentage and to have received baptism in infancy. Gregory the Great interprets the Pauline injunction as having in his time a different meaning from that which it had in the earlier ages of the church; he applies it not to first ordination, but to subsequent promotion, and paraphrases it by "ordinate ergo ad ordines accedendum est" (S. Greg. M. *Epist.* ix. 106, vol ii. p. 1009). But two centuries after the council of Nicaea the spirit of the canon was revived in another form in Spain and Gaul. A period of probation was imposed before even one who had been a Christian all his life could be admitted, if not to minor orders, at least to the diaconate. 4 Conc. Arelat. A.D. 524, c. 2, 3 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 6, 5 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 549, c. 9, enact that no one is to be ordained "nisi post annuam conversionem," *i.e.* except after a year's withdrawal from secular pursuits and devotion to a religious life. 3 Conc. Brac. A.D. 563, c. 20, enacts, what is not expressly stated in the Gallican canons, that this year is to be spent in minor orders "[nisi] . . . in officio lectorati vel subdiaconati disciplinam ecclesiasticam discat." But there is no evidence of the existence of these regulations outside the limits of Gaul and Spain, and their absence from the list of disqualifications in 4 Conc. Tolet. c. 19 (see above) is presumptive evidence of their not having been permanent even within those limits.

3. It was an early and apparently a universal rule that no one who had ever forfeited his position as a full member of the church, by 'professing penitence,' should be admitted to office. Before the age of councils the rule is mentioned by Origen (*c. Cels.* 3, c. 51, i. p. 482, ed. Delarue), and Augustine gives the reason for it, "ne forsitan etiam detectis criminibus spe honoris ecclesiastici animus intumescens superbe ageret poenitentiam, severissime placuit ut post actam de crimine damnabili poenitentiam nemo sit clericus ut desperatione temporalis altitudinis medicina major et verior esset humilitatis" (S. Augustin. *Epist.* 185 (50), c. 10, ii. p. 812). The Roman rule admitted of no exceptions: Conc. Rom. A.D. 465, c. 3; S. Siric. *Epist.* 1, c. 14; Hinschius, p. 522; Migne, P. L. vol. xiii. 1145; so also the Gallican rule, Conc. Agath. A.D. 506, c. 43; Epaon. A.D. 517, c. 3; 4 Arelat. A.D. 524, c. 3; 3 Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 6; so also the African rule, *Stat. Eccles. Antiq.* c. 68; so also the early Pontificals, quoting the decretal of Zosimus, Pontif. Ecgb., S. Dunstan, Noviom., Sacram. Gelas. But the Spanish rule admitted of exceptions. 1 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 435, c. 2, makes the proviso "nisi tantum [si] necessitas aut usus exegerit inter ostiarios deputetur vel inter lectores"; and two later councils, Conc. Gerund. A.D. 517, c. 9, 4 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 633. c. 54, allow the ordination of persons who made a general profession of penitence in extreme sickness, "nulla manifesta scelera confitentes sed tantum peccatores se praedicantes," and who afterwards recovered. (At the same time there is a treatise of Catalani, printed as a note to 10 Conc. Tolet. in his edition of De Aguirre's *Concilia Hispaniae*, vol. iv. pp. 163–194, "De disciplina antiquae ecclesiae speciatim Hispanicae circa lapsos in peccatum carnis post baptismum ne ordinentur nec administrent ordines jam susceptos.")

4. It was enacted, with a frequency which indicates that the rule was often broken, that no one should be ordained out of the church to which he belonged (i.e. probably, the church in which he had been baptized, but the question is not easy of determination: see the discussion of it in Hallier *de Sacris Electionibus*, pp. 605, sqq.), or promoted to a higher grade out of the church in which he was first ordained. Violations of this rule rendered the ordination invalid (ἄκυρος ἔσται ἡ χειροτονία), according to Conc. Nicaen. c. 16; Antioch. c. 24; Sardic. c. 15, 2 Arelat. A.D. 451, c. 13; 5 Arelat. A.D. 554, c. 7; 1 Turon. A.D. 461, c. 9, 10 (which, however, has the proviso, "nisi satisfactione quae ad pacem pertinent componantur"). Conc. Chalc. c. 10 excommunicates both the ordaining bishop and the ordained clerk until the latter returns to his own church; 5 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 549, c. 5, suspends the ordaining bishop for three months, and the ordained clerk during the pleasure of his proper bishop. The rule is also found, but without any express penalty for the violation of it, in Africa, 3 Conc. Carth. c. 21, 44 = Cod. Eccles. Afric. c. 54; in Gaul, Conc. Arausic. A.D. 441, c. 8; Venet. A.D. 465, c. 10; Arvern. A.D. 535, c. 11; in Spain, Conc. Illib. A.D. 305, c. 24; Valent. A.D. 524 (546), c. 6; 2 Brac. A.D. 563, c. 8; in the Capit. Hadrian. A.D. 785, c. 18; and in the Carolingian capitularies, e.g. Karoli Magni *Capit.* A.D. 779, c. 2; Capit. in Papia, A.D. 789, c. 3; Pertz, i. p. 70. The regulation probably arose in the first instance from the desirability of a man's being ordained among those who could bear witness to his innocency of life and soundness in the faith (so expressly Conc. Illib. c. 24), but it was kept up in later times chiefly in the interests of ecclesiastical organization. (For the origin of the system of dimissory letters, see DIMISSORY LETTERS, Vol. I. p. 558.)

5. The regulations in regard to the marriage of candidates for orders were governed by the Pauline injunction, μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρες (1 Tim. iii. 2, 12; Tit. i. 6). As to the interpretation of that injunction, there appears to have been a consensus of opinion; it excluded those who, having

lost one wife, had married another. But two questions arose: firstly, whether the rule applied in the case in which the first wife had been married before baptism; secondly, whether the rule applied to others than presbyters and deacons. On these questions there were varieties of opinion; as to the first, the Eastern rule seems to have been that only marriages after baptism were to be reckoned; so Can. Apost. 17, ὁ δυσὶ γάμοις συμπλακεὶς μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, Conc. Trull. c. 3; cf. Balsam. *ad loc.* This limitation of the rule is defended at length by Jerome, *Ep.* 69 (83) *ad Ocean.* i. p. 411, but herein Jerome stands almost alone among Western writers. (At the same time it may be noted that Jerome's general view of digamy was of the strictest; cf. *Epist.* 123 (11), c. 6, i. p. 904). The Western rule rigidly excluded from the priesthood all who had married a second wife, whether the first marriage had taken place before or after baptism; so S. Ambros. *de Off. Ministr.* i. 50, ii. p. 66; S. Augustin. *de Bono Conjug.* c. 18; Migne, 6, p. p. 387; S. Leon. *Epist.* 5, c. 3, vol. i. p. 617; Innocent. I. *Epist. ad Victric.* Hinschius, p. 530; Migne, P. L. vol. xx. 474; Zosim. *Epist. ad Hesych.* Hinschius, p. 553, quoted (sometimes as a decretal of Innocent I.) in the pontificals of Ecgbert, St. Dunstan, Cahors, Jumiéges, Vatic. ap. Muratori, and in the Gelasian sacramentary; and the later canonists, e. l. Gratian, 1, dist. 26, 3; D. Ivon. *Decret.* i. 292. (It is probable that the exceptions mentioned by Tertull. *de Exhort. Cast.* c. 7 [Montanist], and Hippol. *Philosophum*, 9, 12, refer to violations not of the rule in general, but of this stricter interpretation of it.) The attempt to extend the rule to all clerks was not altogether successful, and the fluctuations of opinion which are marked in the successive enactments are worthy of study. The following are the more important enactments which bear upon the *admission* of married persons to orders; for a more general account of the regulations which affected persons already in orders, see CELIBACY, DIGAMY. (1) No one who had married a second wife could become a clerk: Can. Apost. 17; 1 Conc. Valen. A.D. 374 (?), c. 1; Rom. A.D. 465, c. 2; Gerund. A.D. 517, c. 8 (which excludes any one who, after the death of his wife, "aliam cujuscunque conditionis cognoverit mulierem"); 4 Arelat. A.D. 524, c. 3 (which speaks of the necessity which had arisen for imposing a severer penalty for the violation of the rule); 3 Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 6; *Stat. Eccles. Antiq.* c. 69; 4 Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 19; Rom. A.D. 743, c. 11; Poenit. Theod. i. 9, 10; and in the civil law, Justin. *Novell.* 123, c. 12 (but apparently limited to presbyters and deacons in id. *Novell.* 6, 5). (2) No one in a similar case could be a deacon or presbyter: Origen *in Luc. Hom.* 17, iii. p. 953, ed. Delarue; Justin. *Novell.* 6, 5; 123, 14; Conc. Epaon. A.D. 517, c. 2. (3) No one who had married one who had been herself married before, whether widow or *divorcée*, could be ordained: Can. Apost. c. 17; 1 Conc. Valent. A.D. 374, c. 1; Rom. A.D. 465, c. 2; 3 Aurel. c. 6; 4 Arelat. c. 3; Epaon. c. 2; *Stat. Eccles. Ant.* c. 69; Conc. Rom. A.D. 743, 11; Zosim. *Epist. ad Hesych.*; Poenit. Theod. i. 9, 10; Egbert. Eborac. *Dial.* c. 15; Conc. Trull. c. 3. (4) No one could be ordained who had married two sisters (Can. Apost. 19), or his niece (id.), or an actress, or slave, or courtesan (id. 18. Conc. Trull. c. 3), or who had a concubine (Can. Apost. 19; 4 Conc. Tol. c. 19; Trull. c. 3; Poenit. Theod. i. 9, 6), or whose wife had been guilty of adultery (Conc. Neocaes. c. 8; cf. S. Basil. *Epist. Canon.* iii. c. 69). (5) The earliest positive prohibition of the ordination of all married persons is 2 Conc. Arelat. c. 2, "assumi aliquem ad sacerdotium non posse in conjugii vinculo constitutum nisi fuerit praemissa conversio" [*i.e.* renunciation of married and secular life], but the date and authority of this council are both very uncertain.

6. Some other ecclesiastical disqualifications appear to have been of a local or temporary nature. (1) Can. Apost. 79, Conc. Arausic. A.D. 441, 3 Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 6, 11 Tolet. c. 13, enact that no one who had been possessed by an evil spirit could be ordained (cf. the story told by Gregory the Great in his life of St. Benedict of the youth who was exorcised by St. Benedict, and told never to enter holy orders; on his attempting to do so, the evil spirit returned: St. Greg. *Dial.* 2, c. 16; Migne, P. L. vol. lxvi. p. 164). (2) 1 Conc. Carth. c. 8 enacts that no one can be ordained until he has rendered his accounts as *procurator*, *actor*, or *tutor pupillorum*, in order to secure his entire disentanglement from secular business. (3) The *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* exclude "seditionarios, usuarios, et injuriarum suarum ultores" (cf. St. Basil, *Epist.* 188 [canonica prima], c. 14, p. 275). (4) In England the Dialogue of Egbert gives an indication of the mixed character of the English church in the middle of the 8th century by expressly excluding "idola adorantes, per aruspices [et divinos atque] incantatores captivos se diabolo tradentes" (Egbert. Eborac. *Dial.* c. 15; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 402; Wilkins, i. 82). (5) Illegitimacy was first made a bar by the synod of Meaux, A.D. 845, c. 64, but even then there was the exception, "nisi ecclesiae utilitas vel necessitas vel meritorum praerogative aliter exegerit"; but the question was an open one for some time afterwards, as is shewn by the discussion between Roscelin and Theobald d'Estampes, whether the son of a priest, as being necessarily born "ex lapsu carnis," could be ordained (Theobald's argument against the exclusion of such persons is given in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, vol. iii. p. 448). In the East a canon of Nicephorus, sometimes printed as an addition to the canons of Chalcedon, Pitra, *Spicileg. Solesm.* vol. iv. 465, id. *Jur. Eccl. Gr.* vol. i. p. 536, vol. ii. p. 328, expressly allows the ordination of the offspring of concubinage, digamy, or even fornication; but the Western rule was severer, and it further ranked as illegitimate the children of heretics and slaves (cf. Catalani *ad Pontif. Roman.* p. 1, tit. 2, 1, §§ 5, 18).

7. Of later regulations, the most important was that which required every candidate for orders to have a fixed source of income, or *title.*[a]

[a] The meaning of the word *titulus*, like that of *canon*, in its ecclesiastical sense, has been so often misunderstood that it is advisable to mention the chief facts in regard to its use. It is a technical term of Roman law where, from its original use in relation to taxable real property, it came to be used of taxable property, and of property yielding revenue, in general: Cod. Theodos. lib. xi. tit. 26, 1 = Cod. Justin. lib. x. tit. 30. 1 (a law of A.D. 389), "*in eodem titulo et in eodem modo* ad solven-

In the earliest period, when each church had its own bishop, and parish was synonymous with diocese, appointment to office was, from the nature of the case, appointment to a particular office in a particular church. This primitive practice of appointments seems to have been first departed from in the 5th century; but the departure from it was strongly condemned by the council of Chalcedon, c. 6, which enacted that the ordination of those who were ἀπολύτως χειροτονουμένους and not ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κώμης ἢ μαρτυρίῳ ἢ μοναστηρίῳ should be invalid. For three centuries after the enactment of this canon there appears to be no necessity for re-enacting it; but it reappears in the Dialogue of Egbert, c. 9 (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c. vol. iii.) and in the Carolingian Capitularies, *e.g. Karoli Capit. Eccles.* A.D. 789, c. 25; Pertz, vol. i. 58; Capit. Francofurt. A.D. 794, c. 28, ap. Pertz, vol. i. p. 74, "ut non absolute ordinentur," Capit. Excerpt. A.D. 806, c. 7, Pertz, vol. i. 147. In the meantime it had become the custom at all ordinations to major orders to designate the particular church which the ordinand was to serve, and from which he was to derive his income. This is the case in the Pontificals of Ecgbert, St. Dunstan, Vatican ap. Muratori, Rodrad, Rouen, Reims, Noyon, Ratold, and the Gelasian Sacramentary (but the omission in the Missale Francorum and the Cod. Maffeianus is to be noted). But there does not appear to be any direct canonical requirement of a titulus earlier than the end of the 11th century: Conc. Placent. A.D. 1095, c. 15, "decernimus ut sine titulo facta ordinatio irrita habeatur"; at the same time Urban II., under whom this council was held, in writing to the bishop of Toul, leaves it to his discretion to allow such ordinations or not (Append. ad Epist. Urbani Papae II. No. xvii. ap. Mansi, vol. xx. 676).

IV. *Literary Qualifications.*—It both follows from and confirms the general view of the nature of the clerical office in the primitive church that literary qualifications were viewed as subordinate and non-essential. The Pastoral Epistles require that a bishop shall be "apt to teach" (διδακτικός, 1 Tim. iii. 2, which is paraphrased in Const. Apost. 7, 31, into δυναμένους διδάσκειν τὸν λόγον τῆς εὐσεβείας), but early Christian literature distinctly contemplates the existence of an unlettered bishop (Διατ. Κλήμ. 16 (18), παιδείας μέτοχος, δυνάμενος τὰς γραφὰς ἑρμηνεύειν· εἰ δὲ ἀγράμματος, πραῢς ὑπάρχων καὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ εἰς πάντας περισσευέτω). For the first four centuries there are no conciliar or other regulations requiring knowledge of letters as a qualification for orders; and Jerome expressly mentions that, in his time, "judicio Domini et populorum suffragio in sacerdotium simplices [*i.e.* illiterate persons] eligi; saltem illud habeant ut postquam sacerdotes fuerint ordinati discant legem Dei ut possint docere quod didicerint et augeant scientiam magis quam opes" (S. Hieron. *Comment. in Aggae*, c. 2, v. 11, vi. p. 761). But in the 5th century the altered position of the clergy in reference to the laity, the formation of a liturgy, and the growing tendency to lay stress on formulae, rendered it necessary to lay a stress which had not been laid before on the possession of certain rudiments of education. A Syrian synod in 405 (?) (Mansi, vii. 1181), c. 26, enacts that not even a subdeacon is to be ordained until he is not only otherwise instructed in doctrine, but can say the Psalter; and the Roman council of 465 (?), c. 3, enacts that "inscii quoque litterarum . . . . ad sacros ordines aspirare non audeant." But the first well-established enactments are those of the civil law. Justin. *Novell.* 6, 4, A.D. 535, enacts that clerks must be γραμμάτων ἐπιστήμονες, at any rate presbyters and deacons; so *Novell.* 123, c. 12, of clerks without reservation. From the 7th century onwards, and in the later canonists, knowledge of letters, the degree and kind, however, rarely specified, is made an indispensable qualification: 4 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 19; 8 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 653, c. 8, which specifies the requisite knowledge to be that of "totum psalterium vel canticorum usualium et hymnorum sive baptizandi supplementum"; in England, Dial. Egbert. Eborac. c. 15; among the Culdees of Scotland and Ireland, "Prose Rule of the Céli Dé," in Reeves' *The Culdees of the British Islands*, p. 95; in the Frankish kingdom, Capit. Francofurt. A.D. 794, c. 20, Pertz, i. 73; in the canonists, Gratian. p. 1, dist. 24, c. 5 = D. Ivon. Carnot. *Panorm.* 3, c. 21 = ejusd. *Decret.* 6, c. 21; Burchard Wormat. *Decret.* 2, 18. The further regulations, themselves also comparatively rare, which specially apply to the higher orders, corroborate the inference that the knowledge of letters which was requisite for admission to the lower orders must at first have been extremely small. 2 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 533, c. 16, enacts that no one can be ordained presbyter or deacon "sine litteris vel si baptizandi ordinem nesciat." Conc. Narbon. A.D. 589 enacts that no bishop is to ordain an illiterate person presbyter or deacon; if such persons have been already ordained, they must be compelled to learn; if any one will not learn, he must lose his stipend. If he is still obstinate, he must be relegated to a monastery "quia non potest aedificare populum." Gregory the Great, about the same time, objects to Rusticus, a deacon who was candidate for the bishopric of Ancona, that he was reported not to know the Psalter, and suggests that the bishop to whom he is writing

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dum protinus urgeatur in quo alterum perperam fecerit debitorem," where Cujacius, *ad loc.* Cod. Justin., explains the words in italics, "in eodem tit. puta in auro vel in argento et in eodem modo id est eadem quantitate": Cod. Theodos. lib. xii. tit. 9, 3 = Cod. Justin. lib. x. tit. 73, 3; lib. xi. tit. 64, 5 (a law of A.D. 399), "sciant judices nihil sibi ex privatae rei canone vel eo quod ex iisdem titulis exegerint ad necessitates alias transferre licere"; Cod. Theodos. lib. xii. tit. 28, 12, "per universos," i.e. districts yielding taxable revenues; *ibid.* lib. xi. tit. 2, 4, tit. 12, 2, "annonarius titulus," i.e. a district yielding taxable corn cf. "canonici tituli," *ibid.* lib. xiv. tit. 16, 3, "frumentarii tituli": *ibid.* lib. xi. tit. 1, 36, "canonici tituli." Hence the use in the *Liber Pontificalis* of the districts, i.e. parishes into which Rome was divided for ecclesiastical purposes, and each of which had its proper revenues: e.g. *Vit. S. Marcell.* p. 31, xxv. "titulos in urbe Roma constituit quasi dioeceses propter baptismum et poenitentiam multorum qui convertebantur ex paganis et propter sepulturas martyrum": cf. *ibid. Vit. S. Evarist.* p. 6; *Vit. S. Leon.* p. 26. Hence the mediaeval meaning of ecclesiastical income, e.g. 3 Conc. Lateran. A.D. 1179, c. 5, "Episcopus si aliquem sine certo titulo de quo necessaria vitae percipiat in diaconum vel presbyterum ordinaverit"; Synod. Exon. A.D. 1287, c. 8, "Caveant ad sacros ordines promovendi ut titulum habeant sufficientem"; Sarum Pontifical ap. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* vol. iii. p. 156, "Nullus sine vero titulo vel cujus titulus ad non titulum est redactus."

should find out "quantos psalmos minus teneat" (S. Greg. Magn. *Epist.* 14, 11, vol. ii. p. 1269). No doubt Gregory's personal influence did much to raise the ordinary standard of attainment; and two centuries after his time his own works were ranked with the Gospels, the Epistles, and the apostolical canons, as constituting the proper objects of a priest's study: Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, *praef.*; 3 Conc. Turon. A.D. 813, c. 3; 2 Conc. Cabillon. A.D. 813, c. 1, and elsewhere. So also a knowledge of the calendar was required, *e. g.* by Hincmar, *Capit. Synod.* c. 8, A.D. 852. How much knowledge of Scripture was required in the 9th century is shewn by the selection of passages which was framed, in order that candidates might learn it by heart, by Prudentius of Troyes (S. Prudent. Trec. *Florilegium*, ap. Trombelli *Vet. Patr. Opp.* Bonon. 1753, from a MS. furnished by Bianchini).

In the East the standard of attainment seems to have fallen very low. 2 Conc. Nicaen. A.D. 787, c. 2, found it necessary to make an explicit regulation that every one who was advanced to the office of a bishop must know the psalter and be able to read the Scriptures and the canons. Still later, the Nestorian canons of Ebedjesu (*Tract.* vi. c. 4, can. 3, ap. Mai *Script. Vett.* vol. x. p. 12) enact that no one must be ordained *city* deacon who does not know the lessons and epistles, but a country deacon may in cases of emergency be allowed who knows only some of the psalter. The implication is that in neither case was it required that he should be able to read, but only that he should know the prescribed portions by heart.

2. *Mode of Testing Qualifications. Examination.*—It has already been pointed out that the ecclesiastical followed the analogy of the civil organization in requiring definite qualifications in its officers; it is also probable that the same analogy was followed in regard to the mode of testing those qualifications. At the time of election to office, either before votes were recorded or before the election was declared, the returning officer of an ecclesiastical as of a civil community enquired *viva voce* whether the necessary conditions had been fulfilled. This enquiry was made not of the person elected, but of those who voted for him, or who presented him for admission. It was an enquiry almost entirely into moral fitness. The reason which Cyprian gives for making ecclesiastical appointments in the common assembly of the church is that "in the presence of the people the crimes of the bad and the merits of the good may alike be disclosed, and that the ordination may be regular and legitimate which has been tested by the vote and judgment of all" ("omnium suffragio et judicio examinata," S. Cyprian, *Epist.* 68, 3, vol. i. p. 1026). In another passage, Cyprian appears to distinguish between the testimony which was given by the clergy and the vote which was given by the people (id. inter *Epist.* S. Cornel. 10 vol. i. p. 770). This testimony is distinctly described by Basil as the result of previous enquiry and examination (*Epist.* 54 (181) *ad Chorepisc.* Migne, *P. G.* vol. xxxii. 400); and the giving of it formed a feature in almost all rituals of ordination. But whereas in the earliest period the enquiry of the bishop was addressed to and the testimony given by the whole body of the clergy of a church, in the ensuing period two or more deacons presented and bore testimony to a deacon, two or more presbyters to a presbyter. Afterwards the practice which was peculiar to Rome in the time of Jerome (S. Hieron. *Epist.* 146 (85) *ad Evang.*) became almost universal in the West. The clergy were represented by the archdeacon who, as the chief officer of the external discipline and activity of the church, would be most likely to be cognisant of the current reputation of any of its members. (The exceptions to this practice are comparatively few in the West; the Salzburg and Cambrai pontificals and Codex Maffeianus direct a presbyter to be presented by two presbyters, and the bishop's questions are addressed to the bystanders, which may mean of all the clergy in the sanctuary.) So important was this function of the archdeacon that Balsamon (Rallé and Potlé, Συνταγ. καν. vol. iv. p. 480) expresses a doubt whether a deacon could be ordained without it. But this public examination tended to become a mere form, and was found to be insufficient. Popular testimony was apt to be partial. The bishop himself was required to take more active steps to ascertain that the ordained was worthy. Chrysostom (*Hom. in parab. de dec. mill. talent.*, Op. ed. Migne, vol. iii. p. 23) warns his fellow bishops that this is one of the things for which they will have to give an account. Justinian (*Novell.* 137, c. 1) speaks of the scandal which had arisen from clerks having been ordained without due examination. The third council of Carthage, c. 22, and the third of Braga, A.D. 572, c. 3, both lay stress on such examination in addition to the requirement of testimony ("oportet non per gratiam munerum sed per diligentem prius discussionem, deinde per multorum testimonium clericos ordinare"). In order that such an examination might be more effective, Gregory the Great advised Adeodatus to associate with himself "graves expertosque viros" (*Epist.* iii. 49, vol. ii. p. 660); and this became ultimately the general practice throughout the West. The mediaeval rule was based by the canonists (Gratian, pars 1, dist. 24, c. 5; Ivo Carnot. *Panorm.* 3, c. 21, *Decret.* 6, c. 21; Burchard Wormat. 2, c. 1) on a canon of an otherwise unknown council (Conc. Nannetense, *al.* Manetense, said to have been held in A.D. 895, in the pontificate of Formosus), which, as it to a great extent governs the modern Roman, and also the English, practice, may be quoted here: "Quando episcopus ordinationes facere disponit omnes qui ad sacrum ministerium accedere volunt feria quarta ante ipsam ordinationem evocandi sunt ad civitatem una cum [archi]presbyteris qui eos repraesentare debent; et tunc episcopus a latere suo eligere debet sacerdotes et alios prudentes viros gnaros divinae legis et exercitatos in ecclesiasticis sanctionibus qui ordinandorum vitam, genus, patriam, aetatem, institutionem, locum ubi educati sunt, si bene sunt literati, si instructi in lege Domini, diligenter investigent; ante omnia si fidem catholicam firmiter teneant et verbis simplicibus asserere queant . . . Ita per tres continuos dies diligenter examinentur et sic sabbato qui probati inventi sunt episcopo repraesententur." This examination was in some dioceses supplemented, in the case of a presbyter, by a further public examination at the time of ordination in regard to his willingness to be ordained, and to be obedient to his bishop (so the Mainz and Soissons pontificals, published by Martene; one of the Corbey pontificals, published by Morin: and Hittorp, *Ordo*

*Romanus*, p. 93); the former of these questions of examination was probably intended to guard against the ordinations of persons against their will (as in the case of Paulinus, S. Hieron. *Epist.* 51, 60, vol. i. p. 241, or of Bassianus, *Acta Conc Chalc.* xi. ap. Mansi, vol. vii. p. 278), the latter to secure the often contested rights of bishops over parochial clergy [PARISH].

There was a further test, which was, however, rather negative than positive, in the appeal to the people at the time of ordination. It is probable [see ORDINATION] that originally all appointments to ecclesiastical office were made by popular election; subsequently names were proposed by the clergy or by the bishop, and although the form of a popular election still remained, yet the part of the people was confined to the exclamation ἄξιος, "dignus est"; ultimately that which survived was the appeal of the bishop to the people that, if any one knew any reason why the person elected should not be ordained, he should come forth and declare it. A novel of Justinian (*Novell.* 123, c. 14, and, in effect, 137, c. 3) regulates the procedure in case of an objection appearing; but the canon law appears only to provide for the general case of a bishop knowingly, or after warning, ordaining an unqualified person (*e.g.* 3 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 6). It is probable that a person who made an objection which he did not succeed in substantiating was liable to the penalty of excommunication which followed all false accusations of clerks (Conc. Illib. c. 75, Agath. c. 31), and also that an objector must himself be a faithful member of the church and of irreproachable character (3 Conc. Carth. c. 8; Conc. Chalc. c. 21); hence the clause, which still remains in the Roman pontifical, in the appeal of the bishop to the people, "si quis &c. . . *verum memor sit conditionis suae.*" But that the checks thus imposed on groundless accusations were not intended to crush enquiry is shewn by the fact that, when the extension of the area of dioceses, and the multiplication of parishes within the limits of a single diocese, made the appeal to the people in the cathedral church at the time of ordination less effective than it had originally been, an additional test was imposed by making a previous appeal to the people of the parish in which the ordinand lived.

Ultimately there were four, and in some cases five, tests which every ordinand had to satisfy. 1. He must have the testimony of the presbyter of his parish. This was originally given *viva voce* at the time of ordination, and the presbyter or archpresbyter presented the ordinand personally to the bishop ("qui eos repraesentare debent," in the Conc. Nannet. quoted above); afterwards it was given in writing, and the archdeacon presented and bore testimony to all ordinands alike, both those of whom he had personal knowledge and those who had the testimony of other presbyters. 2. He must produce evidence that his intention had been publicly declared in the parish in which he lived, and that no objector had come forward. 3. He must not have been objected to, or, if objected to, must have been cleared from the objection at the time of ordination. 4. He must have been personally tested by the bishop, assisted by other competent persons. (It is possible that the testimony of the archdeacon in the modern English ordinal may partly refer to this examination; but the fact that the Conc. Nannet., which forms the canonical authority for the practice, does not mention the archdeacon, shews that originally the examination by the bishop and the enquiry by the archdeacon were distinct. The earliest mention of the archdeacon in connexion with this examination is in late pontificals: e.g. *Cod. Vat.* No. 4744.) 5. The public examination by the bishop, which forms part of the modern English ordinal, is an extension, apparently without early precedent, of the examination mentioned above, into an ordinand's willingness to be ordained and to obey his diocesan. In the Roman pontifical it follows ordination, and is treated not as an examination, but as a contract (*Pontif. Rom.* pars i. tit. 12, §§ 29, 30).

V. CIVIL STATUS, MANNER OF LIFE, AND DISCIPLINE OF PERSONS IN HOLY ORDERS.—(i.) *Civil Status:* 1. In the pre-Constantinian period of church history the officers of the church had, of course, no distinct civil status. They were liable to the same burdens as all other citizens, whether Christian or pagan; they had to take their places among the *decuriones*, to act as trustees, and to serve in the army. Nor is there any strong presumption that the discharge of such functions, except where it involved the recognition of the State religion, was exceptionally distasteful. The sentiment of the incompatibility of church offices with active civil life first appears in North Africa. In the busy commercial towns of that thriving district the Christian communities were numerous, and the work which devolved upon their officers was consequently considerable. At the same time such officers were among the most intelligent and most trustworthy citizens. They were consequently in demand for civil offices of trust. But when thus "saeculo obstricti" (Tertull. *de Praescript. haeret.* c. 41) their attention was liable to be distracted, and the administration of ecclesiastical affairs to suffer. Such employments, so far as they were voluntarily undertaken and not imposed by the civil power, were therefore discouraged. In addition to this, the analogy between the Christian ministry and the Jewish priesthood was beginning to assert itself in practice, and the frequent outbreaks of persecution made the antithesis between the church and the world exceptionally strong. The writings of Cyprian contain frequent protests against the combination of church office with civil life: he inveighs against commercial bishops (*De Lapsis*, c. 6): he claims for church officers that they ought "nonnisi altari et sacrificiis deservire et precibus atque orationibus vacare" (*Epist.* 66 (1), vol. ii. p. 397); and consequently since Geminius Victor had named Faustinus, a presbyter, as his executor, he inflicts upon the former a posthumous punishment, "non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesia frequentetur" (*ibid.*).

2. But from the time of the recognition of Christianity by the Empire, several powerful causes contributed to foster the nascent tendency to separate church officers into a class distinct, both civilly and socially, from the ordinary members of the Christian communities.

(*a*) The first of these causes was the concession to clerks of the immunities from public burdens which had been enjoyed by certain

classes of heathen priests, and which continued to be enjoyed by some of the liberal professions. [IMMUNITIES, Vol. I. p. 882.]

But although the existence of these immunities operated powerfully to give clerks a distinct status, and although the enactment of frequent safeguards against their abuse shews that they were largely acted upon, and although, moreover, it was unlikely that anyone who could claim exemption from public burdens would voluntarily undertake them, still it is clear that the concession did not act as a prohibition, and that church officers were still entangled with civil affairs and engaged in commercial pursuits. There is a wide difference between exemption from, and ineligibility for, the discharge of civil functions: the empire granted the former, the church came to impose the latter. But it was not until the Council of Chalcedon that the holding of civil office, or the administration of secular business, became an offence against ecclesiastical law; and it was not until eighty years after that council that the civil law finally prohibited any of the higher municipal officers from being elected presbyters or bishops (Cod. Justin. i. 3, 53 (52), A.D. 532; cf. also Justin. *Novell.* 123, c. 15).

(*b*) A second important and concurrent cause was that clerks came to be in certain cases exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of law. The granting of this exemption was of itself a recognition of clerks as a distinct class, and the continued existence of it naturally tended to increase the class feeling. The date of the earliest concession is not certain: Haenel, *Corpus Legum ante Justinianum latarum*, p. 204, gathers from Sozom. *H. E.* i. 9, Niceph. Call. *H. E.* vii. 46, S. Ambros. *Epist.* ii. 13, that it was made by Constantine about A.D. 331. But it is not clear that either Constantine or his immediate successors did more than recognise the validity of church discipline; *i.e.* of the voluntary jurisdiction to which the members of Christian societies had submitted themselves.

(*c*) A third cause was that after the time of Constantine the funds of the churches no longer consisted wholly of voluntary and temporary offerings. The churches could inherit and hold property (law of Constantine in 321, Cod. Theodos. xvi. 2, 4). The provincial governors were required to furnish annual provision not only to clerks but also to widows and virgins on the church-roll (Inc. Auct. *de Constant.* ap. Haenel, *Corpus Legum ante Justin. lat.* p. 196; the regulation was repealed by Julian but restored by his successor, Sozom. *H. E.* v. 5; Theodoret. iv. 4). A fixed proportion of the land revenues of every city was assigned to the churches and clergy (Sozom. *H. E.* i. 8; Niceph. Call. vii. 46: cf. Euseb. *H. E.* x. 6; *Vit. Const.* iv. 28). The rich endowments of pagan temples were transferred in some cases to the newly-recognised religion: for example, Constantine gave the church of Alexandria the revenues of the temple of the Sun (Sozom. v. 7); and Theodosius gave the same church the wealth of the temple of Serapis (*id.* v. 16). It is true that these endowments did not in the fourth century reach all the clergy: for example, Basil speaks of his clergy as gaining their livelihood by sedentary handicrafts (τὰς ἑδραίας τῶν τεχνῶν, *Epist.* 198 (263)), and of a fellow-presbyter, before his elevation to the episcopate, as working for him (κάμνει οὐ μετρίως ἡμῖν ὑπηρετῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον, *Epist.* 36 (228)). But the fact of church officers being raised, especially in the great centres of population, such as Constantinople and Alexandria, above the necessity of work, and of their being thus withdrawn from some of the most intimate associations of ordinary life, must have contributed, probably more than any other single cause, to isolate them from the rest of the community.

The result of these and other co-operating influences was that by the close of the fifth century the officers of the Christian church enjoyed a unique position among the citizens of the Empire. Exempt, to a great extent, from public burdens, fenced round with special privileges even in civil procedure, and endowed with revenues which the State had given them special facilities for holding, they became not merely civilly distinct, but the most powerful class in the civilised world. In the East their status remained practically what the early emperors had made it until the final fall of the Eastern empire. But in the West, it was not maintained without a struggle. For example, the law of Valens and Valentinian (Cod. Theodos. xvi. 2, 23) had recognised the jurisdiction of local synods in all ecclesiastical causes: this enactment was repeated, though without its subsequent extensions, in the Visigothic Code; but it is clear from the "interpretatio," and from all the "epitomes," that it was understood to apply only to disputes "inter clericos" (cf. the texts in Haenel, *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, p. 246). Even when under the Carolingians the Eastern canon law began to be recognised in the West, and to be quoted in Capitularies, it is extremely doubtful whether such a recognition amounted to a re-enactment, and whether the claims of clerks to such a separate civil status as involved separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction were ever allowed. (For the discussion of the question see Dove, *de jurisdictionis ecclesiasticae apud Germanos Gallosque progressu*, Berlin, 1855; Boretius, *die Capitularien im Langobardenreich*, Halle, 1864; Sohm, *die geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit im fränkischen Reich*, in the *Zeitschrift f. Kirchenrecht*, vol. ix. pp. 193 sqq.)

(ii.) *Manner of Life.*—The distinction between clergy and laity was of slow growth, and the result of many co-operating causes. Even in divine service it was not strongly defined: in social life it hardly existed at all. Like the successors of the non-juring bishops in the eighteenth century, or like the earlier preachers of the Wesleyan Methodists, the officers of the early Christian communities worked at trades, kept shops, took part in municipal affairs, and wore the dress of ordinary citizens. (See, for examples, Funk, *Handel und Gewerbe im Christl. Alterthum*, in the *Theol. Quartalschrift*, vol. lviii. 1876, pp. 371 sqq.; COMMERCE, Vol. I. p. 411.) There was no sense of incongruity in their doing so. The Apostolical Constitutions repeat with emphasis the apostolical injunction, "That if any man would not work, neither should he eat" (2 Thess. iii. 10), and appeal to the example of the Apostles themselves as fishermen, tentmakers, and tillers of the ground. But since every church was, as every Jewish synagogue had come to be after the virtual fusion of syna-

gogues and synedria, a court of discipline; and since the chief function of the officers of the church, as officers of discipline, was to maintain in the Christian churches a higher standard of morality than prevailed in the heathen world, there was from the first the feeling that those who judged others should, in the respects of which they took judicial cognizance, themselves be blameless. The apostolic admonition to Timothy was of universal application, "Be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity" (1 Tim. iv. 12). If a church officer failed in these respects, it was competent for the church of which he was an officer to remove him. (This is clearly implied in Clem. Rom. i. 44.) But this was obviously an inconvenient form of procedure, especially when the list of offences was undefined; and it was gradually supplanted by the elaborate system of synods, provincial, diocesan, and œcumenical, which has been described above. The general regulations which these synods laid down, present, as far as they have been preserved, an accurate picture not only of the ideal but also of the actual state of the clergy in various parts of Christendom. They are in some cases extremely minute. They probably grew in most instances out of individual cases which arose, the decisions in such cases being framed as general rules for future guidance. They were for the most part only valid in the province or diocese in which they were framed; and valuable as they are in enabling us to arrive at the state of opinion at a particular time in a particular country, they must not be regarded as having had, at least in the first instance, the character of general laws. In later times, when a large number of these decisions and regulations were collected together by Dionysius Exiguus, Ferrandus, and others; and in still later times, when these earlier collections were amalgamated with other elements into a corpus of canon law, the decisions of local councils received an authority which they had not at first possessed: but for the purposes of church history and church antiquities, it is of great importance to bear in mind in each case the circumstances of their origin and the limits of their validity. If these necessary limitations be borne in mind, it will be found that during the first four centuries the ecclesiastical regulations which affected the social life of church officers were comparatively few in number. In the East the most important of such regulations were that clerks should not take usury (Conc. Nicaen. c. 17, Laod. c. 4, Can. Apost. 44); that they should not be present at the immoral masquerades of banquets or marriages (Laod. c. 54); that they should not bathe with women (Laod. c. 30); that they should not dine at club dinners (συμπόσια ἐκ συμβολῆς, Laod. c. 55); or enter a tavern except on a journey (Laod. c. 24, Can. Apost. 54). In North Africa the regulations are mainly to the same effect: clerks must not take usury (1 Carth. c. 13; 3 Carth. c. 16); or go to taverns (3 Carth. c. 27, = Cod. Eccles. Afric. c. 40); nor may even their sons exhibit or witness secular games (3 Carth. c. 11). (The minute regulations of the *Statt. Eccl. Antiq.*, frequently cited as 4 Conc. Carth., especially c. 45-63, almost certainly belong to a later period.) In Gaul and Spain the enactments against taking usury are found in four councils of this period—Illib. c. 20; 1 Arelat. c. 12; 2 Arelat. c. 14; 1 Turon. c. 13. The fact that clerks had not yet ceased to trade is indicated by the enactment that bishops, presbyters, and deacons were not to trade out of their provinces nor go about the country in search of the most profitable markets (Illib. c. 18). But although the regulations were neither numerous nor stringent, there is no doubt that by the end of the fifth century the officers of the church, throughout the greater part of Christendom, had become a class socially as well as civilly distinct from its ordinary members. The theory of the church was more conservative than its practice. The form of the primitive "canon," or church-roll, still remained. The various ranks still shaded off into one another. The "order" of the laity still held its place side by side by the "orders" of presbyters, deacons, readers, and widows. But the later conception of the clergy had been formed, and was beginning to express itself. The social distinction between church officers and ordinary members was accentuated by two circumstances, which, though slight in themselves, and in the first instance rather effects than causes, helped materially to increase it: the one was the adoption of a peculiar dress, the other was the adoption of a peculiar mode of wearing the hair (*a*) The first of these had shewn itself at th beginning of the fifth century, but only in tl form of a tendency to wear garments of a more sober hue than was customary. Jerome discourages it: "vestes pullas aeque devita ut candidas" (S. Hieron. *Epist.* 52 (2) *ad Nepot.* § 9). It was succeeded by a tendency to preserve the older forms of dress, instead of following the changes of fashion; and ultimately, chiefly under the influence of the monasteries and the canonical rule, the "habitus laicorum" (Pippin. *Capit. Suession.* § 3, A.D. 744; Pertz, *Legum*, i. p. 21) was absolutely forbidden [see DRESS, Vol. I. p. 582]. (*b*) The second mark of distinction was slow in its growth, but strong in its influence. At first all that was insisted upon was that the hair should not be worn long or elaborately dressed; consequently the earlier references to the subject—*e.g.* Sidon. Apollin. *Epist.* viii. 9; Arator, *Epist. ad Parthen.* 69, 70, ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. lxviii. 251—do not prove that what was afterwards known as the TONSURE actually existed. But in the latter part of the sixth century the tonsure appears to have become definitely established as a mark of separation between clergy and laity: this is clear from Greg. Turon. *Lib. de Gloria Confessor.* c. 32, p. 92; id. *Vit. Patr.* c. 17, p. 1233; and from the fact that Gregory the Great defends its use on scriptural grounds (*Reg. Pastoral.* pars 2, c. 7; id. *Epist.* lib. i. 25, p. 514, quoting Ezek. xliv. 20: but it may be remarked, as an indication of the later origin of the practice, that Jerome in writing upon that passage of Ezekiel makes no mention of it, the words which are found in most editions being confessedly interpolated: S. Hieron. *in Ezech.* lib. xiii. c. 44, vol. v. p. 547).

In the meantime the inner life and discipline of the class which was thus being formed was largely influenced by the growth and wide extension of monasticism. This influence is especially shewn in the tendency to live in community.

This tendency to live in community has some-

times been traced to much earlier times. But although there are indications that in primitive times all who were on the church-roll, whether as officers, widows, virgins, or poor, shared a common fund and a common meal; there are no indications that they *lived* together, until in the fourth century church officers began to form a distinct class. The system which afterwards prevailed appears to have originated with Eusebius of Vercelli, † 371, who "gathered together all the clerks into the fold of a single habitation, that those whose purpose in religion was one and undivided might have a common life and a common refection" (S. Maxim. *Serm.* 23, ap. Muratori, *Anecd. Lat.* vol. iv., Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. lvii.; see also S. Ambros. *Epist.* lxiii. c. 66, 82, vol. ii. pars 1, p. 1038; Ps.-Ambros. *Serm.* 56, vol. ii. pars 2, p. 468, ascribed, perhaps correctly, to S. Maximus, ap. Muratori, *l. c.*, and Migne, vol. lvii. p. 886); and probably from the example thus set by Eusebius and strongly approved by Ambrose, it was established by Augustine in his own diocese in North Africa, expressly on the monastic principle of the renunciation of private property by those who thus lived together, and who are hence called "monasterium clericorum" (S. Augustin. *Serm.* 355 = *de divers.* 49, Op. ed. Migne, Patr. Lat., vol. v. p. 1570; see also the following sermon). In the course of the next three centuries it seems to have become the prevailing system of clerical life throughout the greater part of the West. The city clergy lived together under the eye of the bishop; they dined at a common table; they even slept together in a common chamber (4 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 23, makes special provision for the case of aged or infirm bishops, priests, or deacons, who required separate cells). The country presbyters in the same way were each at the head of a "domus ecclesiae," in which, as the tendency grew up to dedicate boys to the service of the church in their earliest years, they educated such boys and trained them for the higher orders. Those who so lived together, whether in the cathedral city or in the country parishes, appear to have been called "canonici," and to have had their definite portions of the offerings which were made to their respective churches. Occasionally we find that a special endowment was made for the support of their common table (S. Greg. Turon. *H. F.* x. 16, p. 535 of Baudin, bp. of Tours in the time of Clothair I., "hic instituit mensam canonicorum;" cf. the will of a bishop of Le Mans circ. A.D. 615, ap. Mabillon, *Vett. Anal.* i. 254). But as the system became general, it was found that neither the ecclesiastical canons nor the personal control of the bishop were sufficient to prevent a laxity of life among those who thus lived together; the "canonici" contrasted unfavourably with the monks who lived under the stern *régime* of St. Benedict. Consequently it was found advisable to frame a rule of life for "canonici" as well as for monks, and from the middle of the eighth century almost all Western clergy became "canonici regulares" [see CANONICI, Vol. I. p. 282; to which may be added the important dissertation of Muratori, *de Canonicis*, in his *Antiquit. Ital.* vol. v. p. 183 sqq.; and a note to one of the canons of the English Legatine Synods in Haddan and Stubbs, vol. i. p. 461, which however admits of some question]. The ideal of this canonical life, or "vita communis," is found not only in the formal rules of Chrodegang (Mansi, vol. xiv. 313, Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. lxxxix. 1097; and in its longer form, Harzheim, *Concil. Germ.* vol. i. 96; D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, vol. i. 565), or of Amalarius (Harzheim, *l. c.*, Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. cv. 815), but also in the letter of Pope Urban in the Pseudo-Isidorian additions to the Decretals (Hinschius, p. 143). But unfortunately it has its darker side: the penitential books of the eighth and ninth centuries, even if it be allowed that some of the offences there mentioned are rather imaginary than actual, shew that at any rate in Northern Europe the standard of clerical life had been rather lowered than raised by its dissociation from the common life of the Christian world.

(iii.) *Discipline.*—There is no evidence of the existence in the earliest period of any special discipline for church officers. The distinction between the law of life which was current among the mass of men, and that which was binding on Christians, existed for all members of the church alike; and although exceptional qualities were required in a church officer, whatever might lawfully be done by any Christian might also lawfully be done by him. Neither in the Pastoral Epistles, nor in any other of the earliest records of ecclesiastical organization, is there any trace of the exceptional rules for church officers which distinguish later canons. But the exercise of the ordinary discipline is surrounded in their case with special safeguards: "Against an elder receive not an accusation but before one or two witnesses" (1 Tim. v. 9).

But with the gradual separation of church officers from the rest of the community there came also to be rules of discipline which were specially applicable to them. These rules may be conveniently considered under two heads: A. Punishable offences; B. Punishments. On most points separate articles will be found elsewhere, and therefore what is given here will chiefly be by way of summary.

A. Punishable offences may be divided into three classes:—(1) Offences relating to marriage and sexual morality, (2) offences relating to ecclesiastical organization and divine service, (3) offences relating to social life.

(1) *Offences relating to Marriage and Sexual Morality.*—It is especially important to bear in mind, in the case of these offences, what has been said above as to the originally local and temporary character of most of the regulations which exist. The drift of opinion in favour of celibacy was by no means uniform in either its direction or its rate of motion. (*a*) In regard to the marriage of ordained persons, the following are the chief disciplinary regulations:—Conc. Ancyr. c. 10, enacts that deacons who marry after ordination without having expressly stipulated for liberty to do so at the time of their ordination are to be deposed; Conc. Neoc. c. 1, enacts that a presbyter who marries after ordination is to be deposed; the Apostolical Canons go farther, and say that no clerk can marry after ordination, except readers and singers only (C. A. 26); the Apostolical Constitutions, vi. 17, extend the exception to subdeacons (ὑπηρέτας) and doorkeepers (but, on the other hand, Conc. Chalc. c. 14, speaks of the exception of readers and singers

as a custom of some provinces, ἐπαρχίαι, only). These enactments were confirmed by the civil law. A law of Justinian in 530 (Cod. Justin. i. 3, 45) goes so far as to make the children of such marriages, including those of subdeacons, illegitimate; and a novel of the same emperor (*Novell.* 123, c. 14) subjects the offending clerk to a farther civil penalty (but this penalty was afterwards modified, on the ground of its being too severe, by the Emperor Leo, *Const.* 79 in *Corp. Jur. Civ.* iii. p. 814). The leading Western canon on the subject is 8 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 653, c. 7, which enacts that anyone who after ordination either marries or becomes a layman must be deprived of his dignity and secluded for the rest of his life in a monastery; but the existence of an earlier Western canon is indicated by 2 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 533, c. 8, which enacts that a deacon who marries in captivity is to be deposed upon his return: 9 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 655, c. 10, makes the children of such marriages slaves of the church of which their fathers were officers. (*b*) If a person was ordained who was already married, the Apostolical Canons, c. 5, forbid him to put away his wife (προφάσει εὐλαβείας); and Conc. Gangr. c. 4, anathematizes those who refused to receive the communion from a married presbyter. But Epiphanius, ii. 59, 4, speaks of a canon to the opposite effect, which, however, he admits not to be observed: Socrates, *H. E.* v. 22, notes, on the other hand, that although there was no positive enactment, many clergy did abstain from their wives, and that in Thessaly a clerk was excommunicated who did not so abstain. A distinction in this respect was afterwards drawn in the East, which with some modifications has remained until modern times, between presbyters and bishops. Justinian enacted in 531 that no person could be made bishop who did not practise married continence (Cod. Justin. i. 3, 48, cf. Conc. Trull. xii. 13; and see CELIBACY, Vol. I. p. 324). In the West, Conc. Illib. A.D. 313, commands all married clerks to abstain and not to beget children under pain of deprivation; so also the doubtful addition to 1 Conc. Arelat. c. 29: 2 Carth. c. 3 = Cod. Eccles. Afric. c. 2, gives the prohibition without specifying a penalty: 5 Carth. c. 3 = Cod. Eccles. Afric. c. 25, makes the enactment apply to subdeacons and upwards, but not to inferior clerks: 1 Tolet. A.D. 398, assigns the milder penalty of non-promotion; so also 1 Turon. A.D. 441, c. 2; but 1 Araus. A.D. 441, c. 23, Agath. A.D. 506, c. 9, Arvern. A.D. 535, c. 13, revert to the penalty of deposition in the case of priests and deacons: Gerund. A.D. 517, c. 6, 3 Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 2, 5 Aurel. A.D. 549, c. 4 (but not 4 Aurel. A.D. 541, c. 17), Autissiod. A.D. 578, c. 20, and apparently 2 Matisc. A.D. 581, c. 11, 3 Lugd. A.D. 583, c. 1 (all Gallican councils, and all belonging to the century which succeeded the baptism of Chlodwig), include subdeacons in the same penalty. This inclusion of subdeacons is also mentioned by Leo the Great (*Epist.* 167 *ad Rustic.* c. 3; *Epist.* 14 *ad Anastas.* c. 3), and its adoption in Gaul seems to be due to Roman influence, as Gregory the Great (*Epist.* i. 44, vol. ii. p. 538) speaks of it as a "mos Romanus" which had recently been imposed on Sicily. The Decretals follow in the same track (S. Siric. *ad Eumer.* c. 7, Hinschius, p. 521; S. Innocent I. *ad Victoric.* c. 9, *ad Exsuper.* c. 1, *ad Maxim. et Sever.*, Hinschius, pp. 530, 531, 544): so also, with strong emphasis upon the enactment, in the Pseudo-Isidorian *Epist. Clement.* ii. c. 46, Hinschius, p. 48. 2 Conc. Turon. A.D. 567, c. 19, throws upon the rural arch-presbyters (*i.e.* the later rural deans) the duty of seeing that the other clergy of their districts observe the rule: in case of a breach of it, not only is the offender himself to be suspended, but the arch-presbyter who has neglected to guard against a breach of it is himself to be secluded, and fed on bread and water for a month. (*c*) In cases where marriage was allowed, digamy in any of its forms was strictly prohibited. In the East the Apostolical Canons (c. 17–19) refuse to allow anyone who has married (1) two wives after baptism, (2) a widow or divorcée, to be on the clergy list (cf. Const. Apost. vi. 17; Justin. *Novell.* vi. c. 5). But the regulations seem to have fallen into disuse, inasmuch as at the time of the Trullan Council special legislation had again become necessary, and the analogy of the Western church was expressly followed (Conc. Trull. c. 2). In the West there were numerous enactments on the subject:—(i.) 1 Conc. Valent. A.D. 374, c. 1, disallows digamists for the future, but does not interfere with those who were already ordained: 1 Tol. A.D. 398, c. 4, degrades a digamous subdeacon to the rank of a reader or doorkeeper, and deposes a trigamist: Araus. A.D. 441, c. 25, will not allow a digamist to rise higher than the subdiaconate: Agath. A.D. 506, c. 1, will not allow a digamous presbyter or deacon to exercise his functions; so Epaon. A.D. 517, c. 2. (ii.) The wife of anyone who is allowed to marry must be a virgin. 1 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 398, c. 3, enacts that a reader who marries a widow cannot rise higher than the subdiaconate: 1 Turon. A.D. 461, c. 4, enacts that he must in such a case hold the lowest place on the clergy list: Agath. A.D. 506, c. 1, in compassion to those presbyters and deacons who had broken the rule, does not depose them from their office, but will not allow them to minister; but 2 Hispal. A.D. 619, c. 4, deposes deacons in a similar case without hope of restoration: 4 Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 44, orders clerks who have so offended to be separated from their wives. So also in the Decretals: S. Siric. *ad Eumer.* c. 11, Hinschius, p. 522; S. Innocent. *ad Victoric.* c. 4, *ad Felic.* c. 2, *ad Ruf. et Euseb.* c. 1, Hinschius, pp. 530, 533, 549. That it became not only the law but the usage in the West is a fair inference from the fact that the pseudo-Isidore does not even mention it in the spurious part of his collection. (*d*) Sexual immorality was at all times punished severely; but the canons are few in number, because the gravity of the offence was so universally recognised as to render the repetition of positive enactments unnecessary: the leading Eastern canons are Conc. Neoc. c. 1, Can. Apost. 25; but Conc. Trull. c. 4, is a remarkable indication of later Eastern usage, inasmuch as it seems to imply that a lesser punishment than deposition had come to be the rule when the woman with whom a clerk committed sin was other than a nun. The earliest Western canon is that of Elvira, c. 19, which inflicts on adulterous bishops, presbyters, and deacons the severe penalty of perpetual excommunication: much later, the Carolingian Capitularies punish an offending

presbyter with scourging and two years' imprisonment on bread and water (Karlomanni *Capit.* A.D. 742, c. 6; Pertz, vol. i. p. 18); but the British churches were more lenient. In the sixth century an offending presbyter or deacon was punished with three years' penitence (Gildae *praef. de poenit.* c. 1; Haddan and Stubbs, vol. i. p. 113). Theodore's Penitential, i. 9, 1, revives the Apostolical Canon which deposes but does not excommunicate a clerk; cf. Poenit. Egb. v. 1–22, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 418. (*e*) In some cases the purity of the clerical order was further guarded by punishing clerks for the incontinence of their wives: Conc. Illib. c. 65, enacts that a clerk must put away an offending wife or be himself perpetually excommunicated; Neoc. c. 8, enacts that he must either put her away or cease to exercise his office; 1 Tolet. c. 7, empowers clerks to imprison their erring wives, and to reduce them to penitence by salutary fasting. See also the canon of Photius in reference to presbyters and deacons whose wives had been abused by barbarians, ap. Mai, *Scriptt. Vett.* vol. i. p. 364.

(2) *Offences relating to Ecclesiastical Organization and Divine Service.*—These may be divided according as they are connected with (*a*) the growth of the diocesan system, (*b*) the growth of the parochial system, (*c*) the establishment of ecclesiastical courts, (*d*) ordination, (*e*) divine service.

(*a*) It was not without a struggle that dioceses, in the modern sense of the term, were formed, and that the church officers of a particular district or province came to be regarded as an organic unity. The former of these results was chiefly due, as has been pointed out above, to the establishment of the system of synods; the latter was chiefly due to the regulations that a clerk could not be on the roll of two churches at once, and that he could not be transferred from the roll of one church to the roll of another without the consent of his former superior. The earliest enactment to this effect is Conc. Nicaen. c. 16, which laid down the rule that if any bishop appointed to office in his own church a clerk belonging to another church, the appointment (χειροτονία) should be invalid. But the fact that the rule required to be re-enacted again and again shews that it did not easily establish itself: a few years after the Council of Nicaea, the Council of Antioch (c. 3) repeated it, with the addition that the bishop who received another's clerk against his will should be liable to be punished by the synod: Can. Apost. 15 punishes a bishop in a similar case with excommunication; so Conc. Chalc. c. 20. Later on in the East, Conc. Trull. c. 17, after reciting the frequency of violations of the rule, enacts that for the future no bishop shall receive another's clerk without a dimissory letter under pain of deprivation. Still later the Nestorian synod of Patriarch John (Ebedjesu, *Tract.* vi. cap. 6, can. 8, ap. Mai, *Scriptt. Vett.* vol. x. p. 116) punishes clerks who so passed from one diocese to another with a year's suspension, and subsequent degradation to the lowest place in their order. In the West, 1 Conc. Arelat. c. 21, deposes presbyters and deacons who transfer themselves to another church: 1 Tolet. c. 12, excommunicates them, unless they are refugees from a heretical to an orthodox church: Milev. c. 15 = Cod. Eccl. Afric. c. 90 (which probably arose out of the case of Timotheus, who had been a reader of Augustine's, but was promoted to the subdiaconate at Subsana, S. August. *Epist.* 63 (240), Op. vol. ii. p. 231), enacted that no one should abandon the church in which he had been ordained reader: Valent. c. 5, excommunicates and deposes presbyters and deacons who do not adhere to the place assigned to them by the bishop who ordained them; 2 Hispal. c. 3, deals with the case of a clerk who, having been dedicated to the service of the church at Italica, near Seville, had fled to Cordova, and regards such clerks as being on the footing of "coloni agrorum:" 1 Turon. c. 11, 2 Arelat. c. 13, *Statt. Eccl. Antiq.* c. 27, allow a clerk to migrate with the consent of his bishop: so Conc. Hertford, c. 3, ap. Haddan and Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 119.

(*b*) It was apparently an early, if not a primitive rule, that the presbyters and deacons of a church could not ordinarily act without the bishop of that church. In the next stage of organization it was enacted that a presbyter or deacon could not detach himself from the church of which he was presbyter or deacon and set up an altar of his own (Conc. Antioch. c. 5). The next step was to provide for the cases in which monasteries or other ecclesiastical institutions were established in a city of which there was a bishop: Conc. Chalc. c. 8, following what it states to be an older tradition, subjects all such institutions to the bishop of the city; Trull. c. 31, 2 Nicaen. c. 10, do the same for private chapels. In the West, 4 Aurel. A.D. 541, c. 7, requires the clerks of "oratoria domini praediorum" to have the consent of the bishop; but the Capitularies, by repeating the rule that "all presbyters who are in a diocese (parochia) must be under the jurisdiction (potestas) of the bishop of that diocese, and must not baptize or celebrate mass without his sanction," seem to imply that the rule had been broken (Pippini *Capit. Vern. dupl.* c. 8; Pertz, vol. i. p. 26). The regulation that a presbyter could only celebrate the Eucharist in a place consecrated by the bishop is first found in 2 Conc. Carth. c. 9; but it does not appear to have been universally recognised, since it required re-enactment at a late date, viz. in the Liber Pontificalis, *Vit. Siric.* c. 2 = *Decret. Synod. Silvestr.* c. 9, in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, Hinschius, p. 450; cf. Atton. II. Vercell. *Capit.* c. 7, ap. D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, vol. i. p. 403.

(*c*) A third class of offences consists of those which grew out of the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts. The exercise of discipline by the church in ecclesiastical matters must be distinguished from its exercise of jurisdiction in civil or criminal matters. The former was inherent in the original constitution of the Christian communities; the latter was of the nature of voluntary contract. The history of both is intricate, and has yet to be fully written; it must be sufficient to mention here that while the State constantly recognised the ecclesiastical courts as courts of arbitration, and was ready to enforce their sentences when both parties had agreed to be bound by those sentences, the church on its part endeavoured in the West to compel clerks to resort in all cases to its own courts rather than to the ordinary civil courts. This is seen especially in 3 Conc. Carth. c. 9 =

Cod. Eccl. Afric. c. 15, which deposes clerks who resort to secular tribunals in criminal cases, and condemns them to lose their cause in civil cases: so in effect, Conc. Milev. c. 19 = Cod. Eccles. Afric. c. 104, Agath. c. 8, 3 Tol. c. 13; and in the Capitularies, Pippini *Capit. Vern. dupl.* c. 18, Pertz, vol. i. p. 26. In addition to, and also in distinction from, both forms of judicial authority, the bishops came to have an independent and extra-judicial authority, which also was enforced by ecclesiastical penalties. Conc. Agath. c. 2, enacts that clerks who neglected their duty were to be corrected by their bishop; if they pertinaciously disregarded such correction, they were to be struck off the roll and deprived of their pay. Forty years later, Conc. Valent. c. 6, suspends and excommunicates clerks in similar circumstances: still later in the same century Conc. Narb. c. 10, renews the enactment. It is not clear that any of these enactments apply to presbyters, but it is probable that they so strengthened the position of the bishops of the West as to lead them to claim a similar jurisdiction over presbyters. 2 Conc. Hispal. A.D. 619, c. 6, held under Isidore of Seville, restores a presbyter who had been deposed by the sole authority of his bishop, and refers to "priscorum patrum synodalem sententiam" to shew that "episcopus sacerdotibus ac ministris [*i.e.*, deacons] solus honorem dare potest, auferre solus non potest:" cf. *Statt. Eccl. Ant.* c. 23.

(*d*) *Offences relating to Ordination.*—The offences which consisted in ordination out of the proper diocese have been mentioned above under (*a*). The chief other offence was ordination for money, *i.e.* simony. This was prohibited in the East by the Apostolical Canons, c. 28, under penalty of excommunication of both ordainer and ordained, by Conc. Chalc. c. 2, Trull. c. 22, 2 Nicaen. c. 5: in the West by 2 Aurel. A.D. 533, c. 4; 6 Tolet. A.D. 638, c. 4; Cabill. A.D. 650, c. 16; 4 Brac. A.D. 675, c. 8. (Of its prevalence in France at this period there are many indications besides the repetition of conciliar enactments, *e.g.* in the Life of S. Eligius, lib. ii. c. 1, ap. D'Achery, *Spicil.* vol. ii. p. 90, and in the Life of S. Romanus, ap. Martene et Durand, *Anecd.* vol. iv. p. 1654.) It was also prohibited by the civil law: a law of Leo and Anthemius, in 469 (Cod. Just. 1, 3, 31), punishes it with civil "infamia" as well as loss of the office; a law of Glycerius and Leo (Haenel, *Corpus Legum ante Just. lat.* 1226, p. 260, from Cod. Vat. Reg. 1997) mentions and reprehends the practice of giving notes of hand to be paid out of the proceeds of the office; cf. Justin. *Novell.* 56 and 123, c. 16, for the practice, which had grown up but which tended to be simoniacal, of giving presents to the clergy of a church at the time of ordination.

(*e*) *Offences relating to Divine Service and the Religious Life.*—i. The Apostolical Constitutions (2, 59) enjoin all the faithful, laity as well as clergy, to go to church twice every day, and the Apostolical Canons (c. 8) and Conc. Antioch. (c. 2) enact that clerks, if present, must communicate; but it appears from the civil law that clerks were rather negligent in this respect (Cod. Justin. 1, 3, 42 (41), 10; 1, 3, 52 (51)); and a century and a half later the Trullan Council thought it sufficient to punish a clerk or layman who, not being hindered from attending, absented himself from divine service for three successive Sundays. The Spanish rule, as given in 1 Conc. Tolet. c. 5, was that any clerk who was in the neighbourhood of a church must go to the daily sacrifice. The Gallican rule, as given in Conc. Venet. A.D. 465 (?), c. 14, punished with seven days' excommunication clerks who were without good excuse absent from the morning office. The Irish rule, as given in the Canons of St. Patrick, c. 7, was that a clerk who did not go morning and evening "ad collectas," was to be excommunicated, unless he were detained by the obligations of servitude ("jugo servitutis"). The North African rule was, that unless a clerk were present at vespers he should lose his pay (*Statt. Eccles. Antiq.* c. 49). ii. The regulations which relate to the conduct of divine service are not numerous. The Apostolical Canons (c. 3) depose a bishop or presbyter who offers upon the altar milk or honey, or birds or vegetables; or (c. 59) a clerk who reads pseudepigrapha as though they were sacred books; 3 Conc. Brac. A.D. 572, c. 10, excommunicates priests who celebrate mass without a stole on both shoulders; 13 Tolet. A.D. 683, c. 7, deposes clerks who in pique or quarrel strip the altar of its vestments or put out the church lights; Conc. Rom. A.D. 743, c. 13, under Pope Zachary, excommunicates bishops, presbyters, and deacons who celebrate mass with a staff or with covered head; the Nestorian canons of Ebedjesu (*Tract.* vi. can. 6, c. 2) punish a clerk who officiates without his boots. iii. It was enacted that clerks must not join in divine service with deposed clerks, or heretics, or Jews (Can. Apost. c. 11, 45, 65); or fast on the Lord's day (*ib.* c. 64); or fail to keep Lent (*ib.* c. 69); or eat flesh with the blood in it (*ib.* c. 63).

(3) The enactments which related to the social life of the clergy during the first four centuries have been for the most part mentioned above under (ii.). The following belong to later centuries:—In the East the Trullan Council made a series of enactments which, being for the most part repetitions of earlier enactments, shew that such earlier enactments had fallen into neglect. It provided that clerks should not be the lessors of taverns, c. 9; that they should not take usury, c. 10; that they should not wear unbecoming dress, c. 27; that they should not play with dice, c. 50; nor be concerned in stage-plays and stage-dancing, c. 50; nor keep brothels, c. 86. In North Africa it was enacted that they should wear a becoming dress (*Statt. Eccles. Antiq.* c. 45); that they should not waste time in walking about the streets (*ib.* c. 47); and that they should not sing songs at a banquet (*ib.* c. 62): on the other hand, they were quite at liberty to procure their livelihood by handicraft or agriculture (*ib.* c. 51–53). In the provincial councils of Gaul and Spain it was enacted that clerks who were engaged in trade must not sell dearer than other people (Conc. Tarrac. A.D. 516, c. 1), or drive hard bargains (3 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 27); that clerks must not live with secular persons without the permission of the bishop (2 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 533, c. 9); that they must not frequent banquets at which love-songs were sung (Conc. Venet. A.D. 465, c. 11; Agath. A.D. 506, c. 39); nor sing or dance at banquets (Conc. Autissiod. A.D. 578 (?), c. 40); nor be drunk (Conc. Venet. c. 13, Agath. c. 41); nor bear arms (Conc.

Ilerd. A.D. 523, c. 1); nor keep hunting dogs or hawks (Conc. Epaon. A.D. 517, c. 4: cf. Conc. Forojul. A.D. 798, c. 6; Capit. Generale, A.D. 789, c.15, Pertz, vol. i. p. 69, which adds "jesters" to the list of prohibitions; Hettonis Basil. *Capit.* 11). In Ireland almost the only social regulation which is contained in the Canons of St. Patrick is that if a clerk becomes surety for a "gentile," and "quod mirum non est," if the gentile cheats the clerk, the clerk must pay his bond, or if he fights the gentile instead, must be excommunicated (Can. S. Patric. c. 8); the later collection of Irish canons repeats the enactments of the *Statt. Eccles. Antiq.* (see Wasserschleben, *die Irische Kanonensammlung*, p. 33, &c.). In England the penitentials of Bede, Egbert, and Theodore combine to afford conclusive evidence that the chief social offence against which provision had to be made was drunkenness: there is, perhaps, no more degrading picture of the state of the clergy at any period of the history of the church than that which these penitentials present (*e.g.*, Poenit. Theodor. i. 1, 4, ap. Wasserschleben, *Bussordnung der abendl. Kirch.* p. 182 sqq., and Haddan and Stubbs, vol. i.).

B. The punishments by which the observance of disciplinary rules was enforced were various; the most important were the several forms of excommunication, degradation, and deposition.

(1) *Excommunication.*—(*a*) *Temporary:* The simplest mode of enforcing obedience was to suspend a clerk from all the privileges of church membership so long as he was recalcitrant (ἀφορίζεσθαι, Can. Apost. *passim*; ἀκοινώνητος εἶναι, Conc. Nicaen. c. 16; "a communione alienus haberi," 2 Conc. Arelat. c. 3, 1 Turon. c. 3). This did not in early times imply more than that the offending clerk could not remain with the faithful to participate in the communion, and that he consequently lost his share in the offerings. It was a corollary of this sentence that he could not exercise his office (hence Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* vol. ii. p. 7, explains the phrase "archiparaphonista [*i.e.*, archicantor] a pontifice excommunicabitur," by "ab officio suspendetur"). Sometimes the period during which a clerk should remain excommunicated was expressed in the canon: *e.g.* a year (Conc. Epaon. A.D. 517, c. 15; 2 Turon. A.D. 567, c. 19; Narbon. A.D. 589, c. 10); three months (11 Tolet. A.D. 675, c. 8). But more commonly the time was not specified, it being understood that submission would be followed by re-admission to full status. The Apostolical Canons, however, contain a stipulation that the bishop who re-admits a clerk must be the same bishop, if still living, who had excommunicated him (C. A. 28, where Balsamon adds that even if the bishop had died, his place in this respect could only be taken by his successor, or the metropolitan, or the patriarch). In time, and especially in the West, this form of punishment became more severe than it had originally been. A canon of the fifth (?) century, which claims for itself the authority of earlier canons, separates an excommunicated clerk not only from communion but also from all Christian society ("a totius populi colloquio atque convivio") until he submits: so also in the Canons of St. Patrick, c. 28; and even more stringently in the Capitularies (Pippini *Capit. Vern. dupl.* A.D. 755, c. 9, Pertz, vol. i. p. 26 = Conc. Vern., Mansi, xii. 577; *Capit. Ticin.* A.D. 801, c. 17, Pertz, vol. i. p. 85). (*b*) *Permanent:* For some offences a clerk was permanently ejected from church membership (ἐξωθεῖσθαι τέλεον καὶ ἄγεσθαι εἰς μετάνοιαν, Conc. Neoc. c. 1; ῥίπτεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, Laod. c. 36; παντάπασιν ἐκκόπτεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, Can. Apost. 28). This involved complete loss of status; re-admission was only possible through the door of formal and public penitence. Even this was in some cases denied (hence 1 Conc. Araus. A.D. 441, c. 4, "poenitentiam desiderantibus clericis non negandum"), and in the earliest of Western provincial councils the door was shut by express enactment of the canon itself ("nec in fine [sc. in articulo mortis] accipere communionem," Conc. Illib. c. 2, 19: but it may be noted that this severe form of sentence does not appear to have been repeated by later councils).

(2) *Suspension and Degradation.*—Of these there were several forms and degrees: (*a*) a presbyter might be suspended from the function of offering the Eucharistic sacrifice, but not from other functions (Conc. Neoc. c. 1); (*b*) a clerk might be suspended from the exercise of the functions of his office, but retain his rank (Conc. Agath. A.D. 506, c. 43; Epaon. A.D. 517, c. 2; Trull. c. 26: so also S. Basil, *Epist.* ii. *ad Amphiloch.* c. 27, id. *Epist.* iii. *ad Amphiloch.* c. 70); (*c*) a clerk might lose his seniority and be placed last on the clergy roll (1 Conc. Turon. A.D. 461, c. 4; Trull. c. 7; 2 Nicaen. c. 5); (*d*) a clerk might be degraded to a lower order (1 Conc. Tolet. c. 4); (*e*) a clerk might be cut off from the hope of promotion (Conc. Tauron. A.D. 401, c. 8; 1 Tolet. c. 1; 1 Araus. c. 24; Andegav. A.D. 461, c. 2; Ilerd. c. 1, 5; *Statt. Eccl. Ant.* c. 54; so also S. Basil, *Epist.* iii. *ad Amphiloch.* c. 69); (*f*) a clerk might be deprived of his stipend (3 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 7; Narb. A.D. 589, c. 11, 13). (This, which was probably one of the chief effects of excommunication in early times, was retained as a separate and minor punishment, when excommunication came to carry with it greater penalties.)

(3) *Deposition.*—This was sometimes more and sometimes less than excommunication. In the earliest times it does not seem to have involved more than the reducing of an officer to the ranks in the army. This is implied in the phrases by which deposition is designated: πεπαῦσθαι τῆς τάξεως, Conc. Ancyr. c. 10, 14; καθαιρεῖσθαι τῆς τάξεως, Neoc. 1; καθ. τοῦ κλήρου, Nicaen. c. 17; καθ. τῆς λειτουργίας, 1 Antioch. c. 3; καθαιρεῖσθαι absolutely, Ephes. c. 4, Can. Apost. *passim*; ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ βάθμου, Ephes. c. 2, Chalc. c. 27; ἀλλότριος τῆς ἀξίας εἶναι, Chalc. c. 2; ἔξω τοῦ κλήρου καθίστασθαι, Cod. Justin. 1, 3, 40 (39), 10; "amoveri," Conc. Illib. c. 30; "ab ordine cleri amoveri," 1 Arelat. c. 13; "degradari," Conc. Illib. c. 20; "ab officio degradari," *Statt. Eccl. Ant.* c. 56; "deponi," Illib. c. 51; "a clero deponi," *Statt. Eccl. Ant.* c. 68; "ab ecclesiastico removeri officio," Cod. Eccl. Afric. c. 25; "locum amittere," 2 Conc. Carth. c. 8; "ab imposito officio repelli," 1 Araus. c. 16; "honore proprio privari," Milev. c. 19. The person so removed from office was for the future a layman: his place in church was no longer on the raised steps or seats; he had no longer a voice in the administration of discipline; and he had no longer the larger share of the offerings which fell to the several grades of officers. This

is sometimes expressly stated: *e.g.*, Justin. *Novell.* vi. 5, τὸ λοιπὸν ἰδιώτης ἔστω; S. Basil, *Epist.* i. *ad Amphiloch.* c. 3, εἰς τὸν λαϊκῶν ἀπωσθεὶς τόπον; Conc. Trull. c. 21, ἐν τῷ τῶν λαϊκῶν ἀπωθούμενοι τόπῳ; 3 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 2, "laica communione contentus ab officio deponatur;" 2 Turon. A.D. 667, c. 19, "depositus ab omni officio clericali inter laicos se observare cognoscat" (but with permission to sit among the readers in the choir). There is no trace of the recognition in early canon law of the opinion which afterwards came to prevail, that a person so deposed was still *in posse* what he had been before; and that the repeal of the sentence of deposition would restore him at once to all the privileges and powers of his lost place. On the contrary, even so late as the seventh century, and even in cases where the deposition was found to be unjust, re-ordination was necessary ("non potest esse quod fuerat nisi gradus amissos recipiat coram altario," 4 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 28). One of the earliest instances of the later opinion is in the *Capit. Vernense* of Pippin, A.D. 753, Pertz, vol. i. p. 23, which allows a degraded presbyter to baptize in cases of extreme emergency. The addition of excommunication to deposition was in early times a separate and cumulative punishment; the Apostolical Canons, c. 24, maintain that the former is sufficient without the latter, even in cases of theft or perjury, on the ground that a man must not be punished twice for the same offence. They allow them to be combined only in the case of simony (c. 28; the interpretation of c. 64, which apparently visits with the same double punishment those who associate with Jews and heretics, is not certain: cf. Balsamon and Zonaras *ad loc.*).

(4) *Other Punishments.*—(*a*) In the sixth century, when the practice of appointing very young persons to minor orders began to prevail, it was sometimes enacted that "juniores clerici" who transgressed the canons should be whipped (Conc. Epaon. A.D. 517, c. 15; 1 Matisc. A.D. 581, c. 8; Narbon. A.D. 589, c. 13; 11 Tolet. A.D. 675, c. 8). The fourth Council of Braga, which is of the same date as the last-mentioned council, goes so far as to allow presbyters to be scourged for grave offences, but discourages the practice which some bishops seem to have had of beating their clergy themselves. So also in the following century a presbyter who commits a sin of the flesh is to be scourged, "flagellatus et scorticatus," before being imprisoned (Karloman. *Capit.* A.D. 742, c. 6; Pertz, vol. i. p. 17). The civil law recognises the same mode of punishment for clerks below the grade of deacons (Justin. *Novell.* 123, c. 20; cf. *Cod.* 1, 3, 8). (*b*) When the monastic system began to prevail, clerks were sometimes punished by being secluded in a monastery: *e.g.*, Conc. Epaon. A.D. 517, c. 22; 3 Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 7; 4 Tol. A.D. 633, c. 29, 45; 8 Tol. A.D. 653, c. 7. So also in the civil law: Justin. *Novell.* c. 11, substitutes this punishment for that of banishment, which had been imposed nearly a century and a half earlier by a law of Arcadius and Honorius (Cod. Theodos. xvi. 2, 35). It was sometimes further enacted that clerks who were thus secluded should be confined in solitary cells and fed on bread and water (2 Conc. Turon. A.D. 567, c. 19; 1 Matisc. A.D. 581, c. 8), and that they should be subject to the abbat (Narbon. A.D. 589, c. 6). [E. H.]

**ORDERS** (MONASTIC). [MONASTERY, p. 1229.]

**ORDINAL.** It is proposed in the present article to give a brief account of the books which contain the early forms of ordination in both East and West. There is no ancient term for such books. The most usual Western term is *Pontificale;* but on the one hand, the word does not appear until the close of the middle ages, and on the other hand, it is too wide for the present purpose, inasmuch as the books so designated contain not only forms of ordination, but also forms for all offices, *e.g.* the consecration of churches, in which the presence of a bishop had come to be required. For *Pontificale* Sicard of Cremona in the 12th century (Mai, *Spic. Rom.* vol. vi. p. 583, Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. ccxv.) substitutes *Mitrale*, but this latter word does not seem to have obtained general currency. *Ordinale* was in earlier use, but with a different meaning. Ralph Higden (*Polychronicon*, lib. 7, c. 3) speaks of a "librum ordinalem ecclesiastici officii quem consuetudinarium vocant," as belonging to Osmund of Salisbury circ. A.D. 1077; but in the *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*, ed. Riley, p. 58, "ordinalibus, consuetudinariis, missalibus" are enumerated separately among the books given to the abbey by abbat Paul, A.D. 1077–1093; an *ordinarius liber* or *ordinarium* is mentioned in a charter of St. Wulfran's church at Abbeville in A.D. 1208; it was a book of directions, specifying "quid et quando et quomodo cantandum sit vel legendum, chorus regendus, campanae pulsandae, luminare accendendum," &c. But it has been supposed that there were different *ordinaria* for the several classes of ministers, and that the *ordinarium episcopals* was the same as the *pontificale*. In the absence, therefore, of any precise ancient term, the information in question has been placed under the present heading, as being more expressive than any other to modern English readers.

I. *Western Ordinals.*—It is not possible in the present state of knowledge to lay down many general propositions in respect to early Western ordinals. The earlier MSS. of those which are known to exist do not appear to have been carefully examined by any scholar of eminence since the time of Muratori, and some of those which have been published, and which are mentioned below as belonging to a certain date, are found on examination to be composite MSS., *i.e.* MSS. of clearly distinguishable and sometimes widely separated dates, which have accidentally been bound up together. Consequently, almost all facts in relation to ordination which are assigned to certain dates on the authority of printed editions of the several MSS. are liable to correction. It is, moreover, probable that many MSS. remain still unexamined, and that much light may be thrown upon early ecclesiastical usages by fresh discoveries. The following accounts will be confined to those which have been printed: nor even in the case of those which have been specially examined for the purposes of this work will there be any discussion, which must necessarily be elaborate and lengthy, of their origin or approximate date. But even with this limitation it is clear that the printed ordinals belong to several distinct types, and that the type which ultimately survived, and which, being retained in the

mediaeval service-books, has come down to modern times in the Roman and Anglican ordinals, was not the earliest even of those which still remain.

1. Among the earliest of the remaining types is that which is printed by Mabillon (*Museum Italicum*, vol. ii. 85) as *Ordo Romanus* viii. It contains short forms for the ordination of acolytes, subdeacons, deacons and presbyters, and a longer form for the ordination of a bishop.

2. Another type of great antiquity, but whether earlier or later than the preceding is not at present clear, is that which was first printed by Hittorp, *de Divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Officiis*, Cologne, 1568, p. 88, col. 1 and part of col. 2. This is distinctively Roman, as is shewn by the direction that the pope and clergy are to go in procession from the church of St. Adrian to that of St. Maria in Praesepe. It is important, as separating election from admission to office (*i.e.* ordination in its later sense) by an interval of two days. It gives no form of either prayer or benediction, and it is confined to presbyters and deacons. It was printed again by Mabillon from a St. Gall MS. (*Mus. Ital.* vol. ii.) as *Ordo Romanus* ix. and by Martene (*de Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* vol. ii.) from a MS. of the Benedictine Abbey of the Trinity at Vendome, also as *Ordo* ix.; both these editors add to what Hittorp had published an order for the benediction of a bishop; and Mabillon, not Martene, gives an order respecting the four seasons, which is not in accordance with the preceding part of the MS., and is probably a remnant of a distinct rite; this last part is also printed from MSS. at Zurich and Einsiedeln by Gerbert (*Monum. Liturg. Alemann.* vol. ii. 38; cf. id. *Liturg. Alemann. disquis. V.* c. 4, vol. ii. 494).

3. Another type of great antiquity, and one which is possibly earlier than either of the two preceding, is that which occurs as a preface or preliminary rubric to the ritual of the ordination of deacons and presbyters in some of the later ordinals (for which see below), viz. Sacram. Gelas. i. c. 20, Missale Francorum, Cod. Maff. ap. Muratori, Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Rodrad, Catalani, *Ord.* ii. It is remarkable as giving no forms of benediction, nor any mention of vestments, and for the retention of the primitive custom of making the oblations to the bishop himself at the Eucharist, and receiving them back from him when consecrated.

4. The older MSS. of the sacramentaries contain prayers which might have been combined with any of the rituals hitherto mentioned.

(*a*) That which is known as the Leonine Sacramentary contains prayers without rubrical directions, to be used in (1) the consecration of a bishop, (2) the benediction of a deacon, (3) the consecration of a presbyter. The Veronese MS. which contains the sacramentary is assigned to the 10th century. The authorship of the sacramentary is absolutely uncertain; various conjectures will be found (1) in the preface to the original edition of the work by Bianchini in his edition of Anastasius, vol. iv. Rome, 1735 (whose ascription of it to Leo the Great was withdrawn later in life according to Gerbert, *Vet. Liturg. Alem.* vol. i. p. 80); (2) in Muratori's *Dissertatio de Rebus liturgicis*, c. iii. prefixed to his edition of it in his *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, vol. i. The text will be found not only in the above-mentioned volumes of Bianchini and Muratori, but also in the Ballerini edition of St. Leo M. vol. ii. p. 110 sqq. (reprinted in Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. lx. p. 113 sqq.).

(*b*) The older MSS. of that which is known as the Gregorian Sacramentary also contain prayers, without a ritual, to be used at the ordination of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The chief of these older MSS. are (1) one in the Imperial Library at Vienna (No. 1815. 5; formerly Theol. 149), which is described by Lambecius (*Bibl. Caesar.* t. ii. c. 5, p. 299) (who supposed, but wrongly, that it was the copy which Hadrian I. presented to Charles the Great), and by Denis (*Codd. MSS. Theol. B. P.* t. i. pars iii. p. 3032); (2) a Vatican codex, which, with a collation of (3) a codex in the Ottoboni Library, was printed by Muratori (*Lit. Rom. Vet.* vol. ii.), in which edition the several prayers will be found on pp. 882, 918, 1064.

(*c*) The MS. which was published by Cardinal Tomasi in 1680 from a MS. of Queen Christina of Sweden, and which since, though its ascription to Gelasius is generally repudiated, has been known as the Gelasian Sacramentary, contains two sets of directions and prayers for ordinations: the one (lib. i. c. 20–23) corresponds to some extent with the Leonine Sacramentary, the other (lib. i. c. 95–99) with the ordinals mentioned below. The text will be found in Tomasi (reprinted in Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, vol. i. p. 208), in Muratori (*Liturg. Rom. Vet.* vol. ii.); and in Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. lxxiv.

5. The type which ultimately prevailed and which, after the analogy of the sacramentary to which it is usually appended, may be called the Gregorian, is more elaborate, and therefore probably later than the types mentioned above. The most important of the MSS. which have been published, and which can therefore be compared together without great difficulty, are the following: (1) *Missale Francorum*: a MS. found by Morin in the library of A. Petau at Paris, afterwards bought by queen Christina of Sweden, and now in the Vatican. It is supposed by Morin, on internal evidence, to have been written for the use of the church of Poitiers, and is ascribed by him to the 6th century, between A.D. 511 and 560. Mabillon, who first gave it the name by which it is now known, thinks that it represents the prevalent Frankish ritual, but ascribes it to the 7th century; either date places it earlier than the MS. of any existing Western ordinal, although the type which it embodies is probably later than several of those which have been mentioned above. It contains the ritual for the ordination of doorkeeper, acolyte, reader, exorcist, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, bishop, virgin and widow. The text is given in Morin, *de Sacris Ecclesiae Ordinationibus*, p. 261; Mabillon, *Liturg. Gall.* lib. iii. p. 301; Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, vol. iii. p. 439. (2) *Codex Remensis*: a MS. formerly belonging to the abbey of St. Remigius at Reims, printed by Morin, p. 290. (3) *Codex S. Eligii*: a MS. probably of the 9th century, once in the abbey of Corbey; in Morin's time in the library of St. Germain-aux-Prés, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (No. 12,051). This MS. forms the basis of Ménard's text (Paris, 1642), and also of the Benedictine text (S. Greg. M. *Op.* vol. iv.), of

the Gregorian Sacramentary; the portion which contains the ordinal is printed by Morin, p. 270; for an account of its date see Ménard's preface, and Muratori, *de Rebus Liturg.* c. v. in his *Litury. Rom. Vet.* vol. i. p. 110. (4) *Pontificale Egberti:* which represents the English use, probably of the 8th century, and was published from a Paris MS. of the 10th century by the Surtees Society in 1853 (edited by Mr. Greenwell). (5) *Codex Rodradi:* a MS. formerly belonging to the abbey of Corbey, dated A.D. 853, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (No. 12,050); it is compiled with great care, and its compiler gives evidence in his preface of having possessed a critical spirit, which was in advance of his time, and which gives the MS. a high value; it is printed by Morin, p. 278. (6) *Codices Vaticani:* many MSS. are mentioned in the catalogues, but only three are known to have been published, (*a*) one of no specified date by Rocca in S. Greg. M. *Op.* vol. vii. Rome, 1593, and again by Morin, p. 275; (*b*) one of the 10th century by Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 26; (*c*) one of much later date by Catalani, *Pontificale Romanum*, append. ad p. 1, tit. 12, *Ord.* iii. (7) *Pontificale S. Dunstani:* an English MS. of the 10th century, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, published by Martene, *Ord.* iii. (8) *Codex Coloniensis:* of the 9th century, now in the Cathedral Library at Cologne (No. cxxxvii.), which formed the basis of the edition of Pamelius, *Missale SS. Patrum Latinorum, sive Liturgicon Latinum*, Cologne, 1571. (9) *Codex Gemmatensis* or *Lanaletensis:* a MS. ascribed by Montfaucon to the 7th or 8th century, apparently of English origin, afterwards belonging to the *Monasterium Lanaletense* (*i.e.* Llan Alet, near St. Malo, in Brittany); cf. Mabillon, *Ann. Benedict.* tom. iv. p. 461, afterwards belonging to the abbey of Jumiéges, but now in the public library at Rouen (No. A 27); published by Martene together with the *Pontif. S. Dunst.*, with which it agrees almost entirely; see Gage, *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. p. 235, who gives an account of it, and ascribes it at the earliest to the end of the 10th century. (10) *Codex Rotomagensis:* commonly known as archbishop Robert's pontifical; now at Rouen, but of English origin; sometimes ascribed to the 8th century, but supposed by Gage, *Archaeologia*, vol. xxiv., to have been written for Aethelgar, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 989; see Frere, *Bibliothèque de la Ville de Rouen*, p. 50; published by Morin, p. 282. (11) *Codex Gellonensis:* ascribed to the 8th century; formerly belonging to the Benedictine abbey of St. Guillem du Désert, afterwards to St. Germain-aux-Prés at Paris, but now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (No. 12,048); published by Martene, *Ord.* iv. (12) *Codex Ratoldi:* so called because of its mention of the abbat Ratold, †986; formerly at Corbey, but now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (No. 12,052); published by Morin, p. 298. (13) *Codices Noviodunenses:* i.e. of Noyon in Picardy; (*a*) three MSS. ascribed to the 8th century and published by Martene, *Ord.* iv.; (*b*) a MS. sometimes known as *Codex Radboldi*, ascribed to the 9th century and published by Martene, *Ord.* vi.; (*c*) a MS. of the 13th century, published by Martene, *Ord.* xv. (14) *Codex Suessionensis:* a Soissons MS. of the 11th century, published by Martene, *Ord.* vii. (15) *Codex Caturicensis*, i.e. of Cahors: ascribed to the 8th century, and published by Martene, *Ord.* v. (16) *Codex Bisuntinus:* formerly at Besançon, but now at Tours (Montfaucon, vol. ii. p. 1274); it is ascribed to the 11th century, and is published by Martene, *Ord.* x. (17) *Codices Beccenses:* two MSS. formerly belonging to the abbey of Le Bec, in Normandy; both of the 12th century; published by Martene, *Ord.* xi. xii. (18) *Codex Senonensis:* a Sens MS. of the time of Louis the Pious; published by Morin, p. 294. (19) *Codex Bellovacensis:* a Beauvais MS., written about A.D. 1000 and published by Morin, p. 327. (20) *Codex S. Victoris:* a MS. of the 12th century, formerly belonging to the abbey of St. Victor at Paris; published by Morin, p. 329. (21) *Codices Moguntini:* (*a*) a Mainz MS. of the 13th century, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; published by Martene, *Ord.* xvi.; (*b*) a Mainz MS. ascribed by Morin to the same period, but differing from the former in important particulars; partly published by Morin, p. 336. (22) *Codex Salisburgensis:* a Salzburg MS. ascribed to the 11th century, published by Martene, *Ord.* viii. (23) *Codex Maffeianus:* an early and important MS., the history of which is not known; published by Muratori, vol iii. p. 45. (24) *Codex Caietanus:* a MS. which agrees in many points with the preceding; supposed by Morin to be an Italian, not Roman, ordinal of about the 10th century, and published by him, p. 313. (25) *Codex Landolfi:* so called from its having belonged to a bishop of Capua of that name in the 9th century; published by Catalani, *Pontificale Romanum*, append. ad p. i. tit. 12, *Ord.* i. (26) *Codex Barensis:* a MS. probably of the 13th century, giving the use of the joint diocese of Bari and Canusium; published by Catalani, *ibid. Ord.* ii. (27) *English Ordinals.* Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. iii. contains an edition of the ordinal according to the use of Sarum from a Cambridge MS. of the 15th century (according to Maskell, *ibid.* vol. i. p. 1, but of the 13th century according to the Cambridge catalogue, No. 1347) with a collation of the Winchester *Pontifical* (also at Camb. Univ. Library, No. 921) of the 12th century, the Bangor *Pontifical* (at Bangor) of the 14th century, and bishop Lacey's Exeter *Pontifical* of the 14th century (since published separately by Mr. Barnes, Exeter, 1847). The only other English ordinals which are known to the present writer to have been published are (1) Cardinal Bainbridge's York *Pontifical*, in the Cambridge University Library, which was edited by Dr. Henderson for the Surtees Society in 1875; (2) a Sarum *Pontifical* of the 11th century in the British Museum (Tiberius, c. i.), published by Mr. Chambers, *Divine Worship in England in the XIII. XIV. and XIX. Centuries*, London, 1878.

Of unpublished and uncollated *Pontificals* there are many; some are mentioned in the list given by Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca Ritualis*, vol. i. p. 164; but the catalogues of most great libraries supply instances of others. The most important of unpublished English *Pontificals* is probably that which is contained in Leofric's Exeter *Missal* in the Bodleian Library, a MS. of various dates, one part of it containing the date A.D. 969.

II. *Eastern Ordinals:* i. *Greek.*—The earliest

Greek ordinal, the date of which is extremely obscure, but which probably represents a primitive type, is that which is contained in the eighth book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and which prescribes the ritual for the ordination of bishops, presbyters, deacons, deaconesses, subdeacons, and readers. (The best modern texts are those of Lagarde, *Const. Apost.* Leipzig, 1862, and of Pitra, *Jur. Eccl. Graecorum Hist. et Mon.* vol. i. pp. 45–75.)

ii. Next in importance is the ritual which is given, interwoven with a mystical explanation, by St. Dionysius Areopagita *de ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, c. v., which should be compared with the scholia of St. Maximus, and the paraphrase of George Pachymeres, both of which are usually printed with it. (The text will be found in Migne, Patr. Graec. vol. ii.; and Morin, *de Sacr. Ordin.* p. 52.)

iii. The later ordinals seem to have taken their final shape in the course of the 8th and 9th centuries; they have not yet been thoroughly investigated, but the differences between the MSS. which have hitherto been collated are considerably less than those which are found between the *Pontificals* of the Gregorian type in the Western church. The chief MSS. are the following: (1) *Codex Barberini*, of the 9th century, formerly in St. Mark's Library at Florence; printed by Morin, vol. i. p. 64; J. A. Asseman, *Cod. Liturg. Eccles. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 103. (2) *Codex Bessarion:* of the 10th century, given by a Cretan presbyter to cardinal Julian at the council of Florence; afterwards in possession of cardinal Bessarion, who gave it to the monastery of Crypta Ferrata, near Rome, of which he was abbat; printed by Morin, i. p. 74, J. A. Asseman, vol. xi. p. 125. (3) *Codex Paris:* not earlier than the 14th century; in the Bibliothèque Nationale; printed by Morin, vol. i. p. 83; J. A. Asseman, vol. xi. p. 147. (4) *Codex S. Andr. Vall.:* of uncertain date, in the library of the church of St. Andrea Vallensis at Rome; printed by Morin, vol. i. p. 91, J. A. Asseman, vol. xi. p. 166. (5) *Codices Vat.:* one of the 12th century, containing the offices for the ordination of reader, singer, subdeacon, deacon, deaconess, the other containing those for presbyter, bishop, abbat; printed by Morin, vol. i. p. 97, J. A. Asseman, vol. xi. p. 179. (6) *Codex Leo Allat.:* of much more recent date, and possibly more Syrian than Greek; printed by Morin, vol. i. p. 104, J. A. Asseman, vol. xi. p. 196. The other editions of the ordinals are less precise in stating the MSS. authorities upon which they are based; the chief of them are Habert's Ἀρχιερατικόν, *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Graecae*, Paris, 1643, and Goar's Εὐχολόγιον, sive *Rituale Graecorum*, Paris, 1647 (the notes to which are valuable). A convenient edition for general reference, but useless for scientific inquiry, is that which is contained in Daniel's *Codex Liturgicus*, vol. iv. fasc. ii. Leipzig, 1853.

iv. *Coptic.*—The Coptic ordinal, which may be presumed to retain the chief traditions of the later church of Alexandria, was first published in its present form by Gabriel, son of Tarik, patriarch of Alexandria, in 1141. It has been printed in the West from several different MSS. which do not materially differ: (1) The greater part of it was first translated into Latin by father Kircher, from a MS. which was sent to the Propaganda, and published by Bartold Nihulius at Cologne in 1653, in the Συμμικτά of Leo Allatius; this was reprinted by Morin, *de Sacr. Ordin.* (2) The offices for the ordination of a bishop, metropolitan, and patriarch, which had been omitted by Kircher, were printed by Renaudot, *Liturg. Oriental.* vol. i. from a Paris MS. and the office for a patriarch also from Ebnassal, *Epitome Canonum*, A.D. 1239, and from Abulbireat *Lampas tenebrarum*, saec. xiv. (3) A later version from other Paris MSS. is given by Vansleb, *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1677, p. 4, sect. 2. (4) J. S. Asseman translated the offices for a reader, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop from a Vatican MS., and published them in his *Dissertazione dell' nazione dei Copti*, &c. 1733, which was reprinted by Mai, *Script. Vet.* vol. v. pars ii. § 5. An orthodox Copt. Raphael Tuki, published in 1761, under the auspices of the Propaganda, an edition of both the euchologion and the pontifical from MSS. which he found at Rome; a Latin version of this is published, with a collation of other editions, in Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, vol. ii. Würtzburg, 1864.

iii. *Jacobite.*—The ordinal of the Jacobite Syrians, which probably retains the main features of that of the church of Antioch, is said to have been arranged by Michael the Great about A.D. 1190. It has been published in three forms, between which there are considerable differences. (1) By Morin in Syriac and Latin; (2) by Renaudot, *Perpétuité de la Foi de l'Église Catholique* from a MS. in the Grand Ducal Library at Florence. (3) It is also found as a collation with the Nestorian ordinal in J. S. Asseman, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. iii. p. 2. Probably older than any of these ordinals in their present form are the canonical directions which are given by Gregory Abulfaradsch (Bar-Hebraeus), who in the 13th century formed a collection of canons, a Latin version of which by J. A. Asseman is published in Mai, *Script. Vett. Nov. Coll.* vol. x. pars ii.

iv. *Maronite.*—The Maronite ordinal so nearly resembles the Jacobite ordinal as to have been sometimes identified with it. It was first printed by Morin, but imperfectly, inasmuch as the MS. which he used was a *Diaconicon* and not a full *Pontifical*. It has since been fully printed (1) by J. A. Asseman, *Cod. Liturg.* vol. ix. x. from a collation of ancient MSS. supplied by a Maronite patriarch; (2) by Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, vol. ii., who has reprinted Asseman's text, with the addition of a collation of some important materials which had been left in MS. by Renaudot.

v. *Nestorian.*—The Nestorian ordinal ascribes to itself a higher antiquity than any of the other Oriental ordinals. It bears the names of the patriarchs Marabas I. †552, and Jesujab †660 of Cyprian, bishop of Nisibis, fl. 767, and of Gabriel, metropolitan of Bussorah, circ. 884. It has been printed (1) by Morin from a Vatican MS. in both Syriac and Latin, the Latin version being however to some extent untrustworthy; (2) by J. S. Asseman, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. iii. p. 2, from the same and other Vatican MSS., but with an amended Latin version; (3) by J. A. Asseman, *Cod. Liturg.* vol. xiii.; (4) by G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*,

London, 1852, from MSS. which differ in many, but comparatively unimportant, points from those which were used by the two Assemans; (5) by Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, vol. ii., who has reprinted both the text of the Assemans and that of Badger. [E. H.]

**ORDINARY OF THE MASS.** The definition of *ordinarium* (*-ius*) is *liber continens ordinem divini officii*. In reference to the Mass this would imply the fixed framework of the service into which the variable parts, proper to the day or season, are fitted, and by popular usage is taken to mean the whole of the service, except the canon. [C. E. H.]

## ORDINATION.



### I. *Names for Ordination.*

The Greek and Latin words which were used to express either the whole or part of the series of processes which in English are commonly grouped together under the word ordination, are so numerous and so significant as to throw considerable light upon the conception which was entertained as to the nature of the processes themselves. It is therefore necessary to treat of them with some minuteness of detail. i. Some of them are words which were in ordinary use to denote civil elections or appointments; ii. Others are ordinary words for promotion to dignity; iii. Others express only the fact that a person was ranked in the κλῆρος or *ordo*; iv. Others connote a special sacredness in the office itself, and the performance of sacred rites in admission to it.

i. Words denoting appointment or election: (1) χειροτονεῖν (χειροτονία): this word is used (*a*) in the New Testament, Acts xiv. 23, χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐκκλησίαν πρεσβυτέρους: 2 Cor. viii. 19 (of Titus), χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν; (*b*) in sub-apostolic Greek, St. Ignat. *ad Philad.* c. 10; (*c*) in the Clementines, Clement. *Epist. ad Jacob.* c. 2; (*d*) in the Apostolical Constitutions, *e.g.* 2, 2, 27; 7, 46; and the Apostolical Canons, *e.g.* 2, 36; (*e*) in the Canon Law, *e.g.* Conc. Ancyr. A.D. 314, c. 13: Neocaes. A.D. 315, c. 3: Nicaen. A.D. 325, c. 16, 19: Antioch, A.D. 341, c. 2; (*f*) in the Civil Law, *e.g. Cod. Justin.* 1, 3, 42 (41), § 9; *Novell. Justin.* 6, c. 4. Its meaning was originally "to elect," but it came afterwards to mean, even in classical Greek, simply "to appoint to office," without itself indicating the particular mode of appointment (cf. Schömann, *de Comitiis*, p. 122). That the latter was its ordinary meaning in Hellenistic Greek, and consequently in the first ages of church history, is clear from a large number of instances: *e.g.* in Josephus, *Ant.* 6, 13, 9, it is used of the appointment of David as king by God, *id.* 13, 2, 2, of the appointment of Jonathan as high priest by Alexander: in Philo, 2, 76, it is used of the appointment of Joseph as governor by Pharaoh: in Lucian, *de morte Peregrini*, c. 41, of the appointment of ambassadors: in inscriptions, *e.g.* Le Bas et Waddington, No. 42, of the appointment of municipal officers; and so also of civil appointments in ecclesiastical writers, *e.g.* in Sozomen, *H. E.* 7, 24, of the appointment of Arcadius as Augustus by Theodosius; in Isidore of Pelusium, *Epist.* 2, 264, of the appointment of military officers. In later times a new connotation appears, of which there is no early trace; it was used of the stretching out of the bishop's hands in the rite of imposition of hands. But the 12th century canonist who affirms this to be the contemporary meaning, admits also that the word was used in earlier times in reference to election (Zonaras, *ad Can. Apost.* 1). About a century later the earlier meaning so completely passed away, that Balsamon in his commentary on the same passage of the Apostolical Canons, contradicts Zonaras by denying its existence. (For the ultimate identification of χειροτονεῖν and χειροθετεῖν, see below.) (2), καθιστάνειν (κατάστασις): this is the most common word. It is first found in Clem. R. 1, 42 (of the Apostles), καθίσταναν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν . . . . εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ δ., and it is afterwards found in all classes of ecclesiastical literature: *e.g.* Clement. *Hom.* 3, 64: Διατ. Κλήμ., 17; St. Iren. *adv. Haer.* 3, 2, 3: Conc. Ancyr. c. 10, 18, Nicaen. c. 4, Sardic. c. 11, 15, Laod. c. 11, Chalc. c. 2: Const. Apost. 2, 1: Euseb. *H. E* 2, 1: Socrat. *H. E.* 1, 9: S. Athanas. *Hist. Arian.* c. 75, p. 308. It is the ordinary classical and Hellenistic word for appointment, without any religious or ecclesiastical connotation. (3), προχειρίζεσθαι (προχείρισις): *e.g.* Const. Apost. 6, 23, εἰς ἱερωσύνην: *id.* 7, 31, ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους: Conc. Nicaen.

c. 10; Socrat. *H. E.* 1, 9; 2, 6; 7, 2; Euseb. *H. E.* 2, 1: *Cod. Justin.* 1, 3, 48 (47). The word is common in later classical Greek in the sense of "to elect," *e.g.* Polyb. 3, 97, 2: 6, 58, 4. Lucian, *Toxar.* c. 10; and this is sometimes its meaning in ecclesiastical Greek: but its more usual meaning in ecclesiastical Greek is "to propose a name for election," as is clearly shewn, *e.g.* by Socrat. *H. E.* 1, 9: προχειρίζεσθαι ἢ ὑποβάλλειν ὀνόματα (in the synodical letter of the council of Nicaea), *id.* 2, 6, where it is co-ordinated with σπεύδειν = "favere": in later Greek this became its ordinary meaning, *e.g.* Nicetas Paphlag. *Vit. S. Ignat. Constant.* ap. Migne, *P. G.* vol. cv. 501, says "many having been proposed for election (προχειριζομένων), but some having failed of their object for one reason, some for another": cf. the notes of H. Valois to Euseb. *Vit. Constant.* iii. c. 62, and of Hase to Leo Diaconus, *Hist.* vi. 6. An instance of its use in this sense in secular Greek occurs in an inscription at Corycus in Cilicia, ap. Le Bas et Waddington, No. 1421. (4) προβάλλεσθαι: *e.g.* Conc. Chalc. c. 2; Socrat. *H. E.* 2, 37, 42: 5, 8, 21: 6, 11: in its classical sense of "to propose a name for election," and hence almost identical with προχειρίζεσθαι. (5) ὁρίζεσθαι: 1 Conc. Antioch. c. 17: probably from its use in the New Testament, *e.g.* Acts, 17, 31. (6) *constituere*: *e.g.* St. Cypr. *Epist.* 24: 49: 65, 3: in clerico ministerio constitui, *id.* 66; probably, as in classical Latin, *e.g.* Cic. *pro Deiot.* c. 9, Suet. *Tib.* c. 65, equivalent to καθιστάνειν, and equally colourless in its meaning: but co-ordinated with *eligere* in S. Hieron. *Dial. c. Lucif.* c. 9.

ii. Words implying promotion to dignity: (1) προελθεῖν: Const. Apost. 6, 17; Conc. Trull. c. 6. (2) προάγεσθαι: Conc. Ancyr. c. 12, Nicaen. c. 1, Laod. c. 26, Trull. c. 6. (3) ἀναβαίνειν: Cod. Justin. 1, 3, 53 (52): cf. Socrat. *H. E.* 1, 9, προσαναβαίνειν εἰς τὴν τιμήν. (4) *promoveri*: ad clerum, Conc. Illib. A.D. 305, c. 80: ad ordines, 3 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 538, c. 6. (5) *conscendere*: ad gradum presbyterii, Cod. Lugd. 269, ap. Haenel *Corp. Legum ante Justin. lat.* p. 238. (6) *praesumi, provehi, praeferri*; 1 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 511, c. 4; Cassian, *Collat.* 4, 1, ap. Migne, *P. L.* vol. xlix. 585.

iii. Words implying place in the κλῆρος, or ordo: (1) κληροῦσθαι: S. Iren. 3, 2, 3; Euseb. *H. E.* 5, 28; Socrat. *H. E.* 1, 8. (2) ἐν κλήρῳ τάττεσθαι, κατατάττεσθαι, Const. Apost. 8, 3; Conc. Trull. c. 38. (3) ἐναριθμεῖσθαι: τῷ τάγματι τῶν ἱερατικῶν S. Basil. *Epist.* 54 (181), ap. Migne, P. G. xxxii. 400. (4) καταλέγεσθαι: *i. e.* to be assigned a place in the κατάλογος (Conc. Chalc. c. 7; cf. 1 Tim. v. 9). (5) *ordinare* (ordinatio): found in almost all writers from Tertullian onwards: *e. g.* Tertull. *de Praescr. Haeret.* c. 41; Clement. *Recogn.* 3, 65; 6, 15; S. Cypr. *Epist.* 33; 68, 3; S. Ambros. *Epist.* 63, 65; Conc. Illib. A.D. 305, c. 30; 1 Arelat. A.D. 314, c. 2; 1 Carth. c. 8; 1 Tolet. c. 2; and the Civil Law, *passim*. The earlier classical meaning of the word had already been narrowed in its civil use, from administration in general to the appointment of magistrates: *e. g.* Suet. *Dom.* c. 4; *Vespas.* c. 23; so, as late as Carolingian times, *e. g.* in the Capit. Langobard. A.D. 782, § 2, ap. Pertz, *Legum*, vol. i. p. 42. The secular use which comes nearest its ecclesiastical use is in the army, where "ordinati" = "qui ordinem adepti sunt, id est, centuriones facti" (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* ed. Mommsen, vol. iii. no. 830). It was used of the appointment, not only of clergy, but also of monks and abbats; *e. g.* Poenit. Theod. 2, 3, 3, in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, &c.*, vol. iii.

iv. Words denoting admission to office, and especially to sacred office. (1) χειροθετεῖν (χειροθεσία): first found in Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 1, 5, p. 104, ed. Pott; and Origen *in Matth.* vol. iii. p. 660, ed. Delarue, of Christ putting His hands on the young children: so, also, in a general sense, in *Doctrin. Orient.* c. 32, ap. Clem. Alex. ed. Pott, p. 964. Its earliest uses in reference to the clergy are probably Conc. Neocaes. c. 9, Nicaen. c. 8, 19, 1 Antioch. c. 17, Const. Apost. 2, 32; frequently afterwards. But it is difficult to determine accurately the time at which χειροθετεῖσθαι came into general use in reference to ordination, because the texts of the MSS., especially of writers and councils of the 4th century, vary so much between χειροτονία and χειροθεσία as to make the determination of the reading, in the present state of criticism as applied to patristic Greek, a matter of great uncertainty. Instances of such variations will be found in the MSS. of Conc. Antioch. c. 21; St. Basil, *Epist* 217 (3) *ad Amphiloch.* c. 51, p. 325; Conc. Chalc. c. 15. No doubt, after χειροθεσία was once introduced, χειροτονία tended to be identified with it, as is clear from a comparison of Isidore of Pelusium, *Epist.* 1, 26 with id. *Epist.* 2, 71, where the two words are used interchangeably of the same person in reference to the same thing. That the earlier meaning of χειροτονία still survived, is clear from its use a few years afterwards in Theodoret; *e. g. Quaest. in 3 Reg.* c. 8, int. 27, of God's appointment of Solomon; id. *in Epist. ad Rom.* c. 4, v. 17, of the appointment of Abraham as πατέρα πάντων; but that the original distinction between the words was afterwards completely lost, is shewn by the somewhat clumsy attempt of Symeon of Thessalonica to invent a new one (*de Sacr. Ordin.* c. 156, p. 138). It need hardly be pointed out that the identification of the two words is of great significance in regard to the history of the conception of ordination. (2) ἱερᾶσθαι (Sozom. *H. E.* 1, 23), or ἱεροῦσθαι, whence the designation of those who are in major orders as οἱ ἱερωμένοι (sometimes written ἱερώμενοι); *e. g.* Justin. *Nov.* 3, 2, 1; Socrat. *H. E.* 1, 11. The use of the word in the sense "to be ordained," as well as in its classical sense, "to serve as a priest," is made certain by its use in the active in an inscription ap. Richter, *Griech. u. Lat. Inschriften*, ed. Francke, p. 134, cf. ib. p. 138.

(3) *consecrari* (consecratio): S. Ambros. *Epist.* 63, § 59, vol. ii. p. 1037, of Aaron and Eleazar, probably as a translation of ἁγιάζειν; of Christian bishops, presbyters, and deacons, S. Leon. Magn. *Epist.* 6 (4), c. 6, vol. i. p. 620; of an abbess, Poenit. Theod. 2, 3, 4, ed. Haddan and Stubbs; of a virgin, *ib.* 2, 3, 8; *Can. Eccles. Afric.* c. 16; *Statt. Eccl. Ant.* c. 11. (4) *benedici* (benedictio): levitica, Conc. Araus. A.D. 441, c. 23; 5 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 549, c. 6; Conc. Autissiod. A.D. 578, c. 20, 2 Conc. Caesaraugust. A.D. 592, c. 1; of a widow or virgin, Poenit. Theod. 2, 3, 7.

II. *Nature of Ordination.*

It is evident, from the foregoing enumeration of facts, that most of the phrases which were in use in the earlier period to denote appointment to office in the church, were also in use to denote appointment to office, or promotion to dignity, in the empire. It may reasonably be inferred that they had in the former case meanings analogous to those which they had in the latter; and since the evidence which exists in regard to the former is abundant, whereas that which exists in regard to the latter is scanty, the one may fairly be used to throw light upon the other. In the absence of any convenient manual to which reference could be made, it is necessary to mention here the leading facts which have been established in regard to it.

1. The most common mode of appointment to office in the earlier empire, as under the republic, was that of popular election. The form of such an election was preserved long after the substance had disappeared; and it was preserved in the provinces after it had practically ceased to exist at Rome. In the case of two provincial towns of Baetica, Salpensa and Malaca, bronze tablets containing the original regulations for election have been preserved. They are especially important in relation to the present subject, as shewing (1) the conditions which were imposed as to the eligibility of candidates, (2) the importance of the presiding officer. That officer had the function of examining the candidates in set form, before votes were recorded: he could refuse to take account of votes which were given for a candidate who did not satisfy him: he could, in default of other candidates, himself nominate candidates, and declare them to be duly elected: and, as at Rome, the election was only complete when he formally announced it (renunciavit). Hence, an officer who was really elected by popular vote was technically said to be made (creatus) by the presiding officer. (See on the whole subject, Mommsen, *Die Stadtrechte der latinischen Gemeinden Salpensa und Malaca*, Leipzig, 1855, and also in the *Abhandlungen der König. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.* bd. 3; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, bd. 1, pp. 464–474, where references will be found to a large number of other authorities.)

2. Gradually free election by the people, subject only to the veto of the presiding officer in the case of legal ineligibility on the part of a candidate, was superseded by election by the senate, subject only to a formal approval on the part of the people. This became the case at Rome so early as the time of Tiberius (Tacit. *Ann.* i. 15), and by the 4th century had become the prevailing, though not the universal, rule throughout the empire (Ulpian. *Dig.* 4, 1, 3, 4; *Cod. Theodos.* 11, 30, 53: 12, 6, 20; *Cod. Just.* 7, 62, 2: 10, 31, 46, make popular election invalid; but from *Cod. Theod.* 12, 5, 1 it may be gathered that popular election was still the rule in Africa, since the magistrates are cautioned to procure the election of suitable persons: this is also to be inferred from Renier, *Inscriptions d'Algérie*, no. 4070, where a municipal officer specially mentions his election by the *Ordo*, as though it were exceptional). The continuance of the formal appeal to the people is shewn so late as the end of the 3rd century, in the account of the election of the emperor Tacitus (Vopisc. *Tacit.* c. 7). Of course under the imperial régime the part which the senate played in the actual selection of candidates tended to become no more free than the part of the people; but the important fact is that the form of election by the senate remained until late times, and that even after the disintegration of the empire the greater civil appointments were made, not directly by constitutive nomination, but indirectly through the form of "*commendatio*" (cf. the letters of Theodoric to the senate, ap. Cassiodor. *Variar.* e.g. lib. 5, Epp. 22, 41).

3. From the earliest times the chief officers of state had possessed and exercised the right, which must be carefully distinguished from the right of *commendatio*, of nominating certain of their subordinates without the necessity of even a formal submission of the names to either the senate or the people. The right had been jealously guarded, and in some cases restricted, but it had never passed away, and the emperors were able to make, especially in the provinces, a large number of direct appointments without violating any constitutional forms. It is recorded among the many virtues of Alexander Severus that he voluntarily limited his own privilege in this respect by consulting the people before making any important provincial appointment, "hortans populum ut si quis quid haberet criminis probaret manifestis rebus;" and it is interesting to note that, although himself a heathen, he adduces as a reason for the course which he pursued the example of appointments in the Christian church (Lamprid. *Alex. Sever.* c. 45. On the general question of appointment by superior officers, see Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, bd. i. pp. 181–192, bd. ii. pp. 860–873).

The facts which exist in reference to early ecclesiastical appointments corroborate in a striking manner the general presumption that, since the same words were used for them as for civil appointments, the same modes of appointment prevailed.

1. Of the existence of appointment by popular election some proofs have been given elsewhere. [BISHOP, Vol. I. p. 213; ELECTION, p. 599.] But as in the Roman municipalities, so also in the Christian churches, popular election, though a condition of appointment, did not of itself constitute appointment. Just as a civil appointment was not valid until the officer who presided at the election had accepted and declared it, so it was also in the case of ecclesiastical appointments. "The seven" were chosen by the church, but they were appointed by the apostles; the word used of the former is ἐξελέξαντο, of the latter, καταστήσομεν (Acts vi. 3, 5). This distinction, which has been often ignored, is of great significance. Nor is it the only point of analogy between civil and ecclesiastical elections. Just as, on the one hand, popular elections were not constitutive, so, on the other hand, they were not absolutely free. Checks of two kinds existed—(1) conditions were imposed on the eligibility of candidates, and means were taken to ascertain that these conditions were complied with; (2) the approval of other persons or bodies was required to make the election valid. The operation of the former of these checks

resulted in the gradual establishment of a complicated series of qualifications, and of a system of examination, with a view to test qualifications. [ORDERS, HOLY: iv. *Qualifications for: Examination for.*] The operation of the second check was shewn in the gradual narrowing of the function of the laity from election to express or tacit approval. Just as in the empire, the senate at Rome, or the curia in a municipality, came to interfere in popular elections, and ultimately to render them nugatory; so *pari passu* in the church, appointment by election passed into appointment by co-optation, and ultimately into appointment by nomination of either the bishop or the civil power.

2. The second mode of appointment which existed in the empire thus tended to become the prevailing mode in the church. It had no doubt existed in the earliest times, for Clement of Rome speaks of the successors of the apostles as having been appointed by other distinguished men with the consent of the whole church (ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης, *Epist.* 1 *ad Cor.* c. 44); but its employment seems to have been local and limited. The function which Cyprian assigns to the African and Spanish clergy in ecclesiastical appointments, is that of consenting or giving testimony, not that of nominating or appointing (cf. especially *Epist.* 68, 3, i. p. 1026, which is important because it expressly applies to the appointment of deacons as well as of bishops); and it is clear from the case of Cornelius that this was the case also at Rome (id. *Epist.* 10, i. p. 770). But in the 4th century it is clear from the synodical letter of the council of Nicaea to the church of Alexandria, that in that church the right of the people to elect was limited by the right of the clergy to propose names (προχειρίζεσθαι ἢ ὑποβάλλειν ὀνόματα). The council punishes the Melitian clergy (who had supported Arius) by depriving them of that right, but allows them to succeed to the vacancies caused by death among the orthodox clergy, provided that they are found worthy, that the people elect them, and that the bishop of Alexandria votes for them and confirms the election (Socrat. *H. E.* 1, 9; Sozom. *H. E.* 1, 24). It was probably this right of proposing names for election which in the case of the clergy of the Christian churches, as beyond question in the case of the Roman municipalities, resulted in the virtual election by the clergy, subject only to approval, by acclamation or by silence, on the part of the people. The fourth canon of the same council has sometimes been interpreted as being a formal substitution of co-optation for popular election in the case of bishops (cf. Hefele, *Councils*, E. T. vol. i. p. 384; Van Espen, *Jus Eccles.* p. 1 tit. 13, n. 10); and in the course of the next quarter of a century the council of Laodicaea (c. 13) expressly enacted that the elections of those who are to be appointed to the priesthood (by which Zonaras and Balsamon understand the presbyterate, Aristenus the episcopate) are not to be entrusted to popular assemblies (τοῖς ὄχλοις). At the beginning of the following century, Theophilus of Alexandria gives the election to the clergy (πᾶν τὸ ἱερατεῖον), the approval of the candidates (δοκιμάζειν) and their formal appointment (χειροτονεῖν) to the bishop. The part of the people consists, as in later times, only in their bearing public testimony at the time of appointment (S. Theophil. Alexandr. can. 6; Migne, *P. G.* vol. lxv. 40). The existence of this mode of election at the time, probably somewhat later, when the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions was written, is clear from the mention of a presbyter as having been advanced to his rank "by the vote and decision (ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει) of the whole clerus" (Const. Apost. viii. 15; cf. the expression in the same book, c. 4, "nominated and approved," ὀνομασθέντος καὶ ἀρέσαντος).

3. The third mode of appointment which existed in the empire existed also in the church, but to a more limited extent. Some officers were appointed by the mere nomination of a superior officer. An archdeacon was appointed by bishop, a singer by a presbyter. But the number of such officers was small; the original democratical constitution of the church shewed itself in the jealous limitation of such appointments. In all but a few cases the nominations were in the form of a "commendatio;" they were subject to the approval of either the clergy or the people, or both. And just as under the empire, this form of nomination was frequently in the form of a letter or a speech, setting forth the virtues of the person to be appointed, so it was also in the church. An interesting example of such a speech is that which Sidonius Apollinaris made at the election of a bishop of Bourges, and which he has himself recorded. It concludes by giving the form of nomination: "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti Simplicius est quem provinciae nostrae metropolitanum civitatis vestrae summum sacerdotem fieri debere pronuntio," and by asking the people to signify their assent. (Sidon. Apollin. *Epist.* 7. 9, p. 190.)

As the organisation of the Roman empire became gradually weaker, while that of the church grew stronger and more centralized; as the power and importance of the episcopate increased and that of the presbyterate diminished; and as, moreover, a new group of ideas clustered round the primitive conception of the clerical office, the whole system of appointments to office underwent significant modifications. But in the altered types which tended to prevail in the East and West respectively, the old elements were still present, though in varying degrees, and these elements have been so far ignored and overlaid in subsequent times, that it is important to shew in detail the extent to which they once existed.

i. There was always, in the case at least of those which had been from the beginning the chief grades of ecclesiastical office, viz. those of bishop, presbyter, deacon, and reader, either the reality or the semblance of an *election*. To a few offices, *e.g.* those of archpresbyter, archdeacon, acolyte, and doorkeeper, the bishop could probably appoint *proprio motu*. But in the other cases he was only the executive officer of the community. He was in the position of the returning officer at an election to civil office in the empire. He had the right of rejecting unworthy candidates, in certain cases the right of proposing candidates, and in all cases the right of *renunciatio* or declaration of election. But the church, *i.e.* either the clergy and laity acting together, or the clergy alone, or the laity alone has always exer-

cised on the one hand the right of presenting persons for appointment, on the other the right of veto. Both these rights are survivals of the older right of election by direct vote. That older right was gradually limited and nullified by the operation of a regulation which had been introduced as a safeguard. In the course of the 4th century it had become the rule that no ecclesiastical election was valid unless the bishop or bishops had voted with the majority.[a] In the election of a bishop the votes of at least three neighbouring bishops were required; in the election of a presbyter the vote of the bishop of the church in which the election took place was sufficient. (That this is the true interpretation of the second apostolical canon is admitted by both Zonaras and Aristenus, who explain χειροτονεῖν by ψηφίζειν. Balsamon's view, which is based on the later practice, is contradicted not only by historical facts, but by his own interpretation of *Conc. Laod.* c. 13, which he makes to refer to presbyters as well as to bishops.) It is easy to see how this regulation operated in course of time to throw the election practically into the hands of the bishops; the bishops came thus to fulfil a double function, they both elected, subject, as will be shewn below, to testimony and to veto, and admitted to office. But it is important to note that between these two functions there was a recognised difference. In two of the oldest Western ordinals the election, as represented by the summons to objectors to come forward, and the "advocatio" or call to office, take place on Wednesday and Friday, the imposition of hands and the benediction take place on the following Saturday. (Hittorp, *Ord. Rom.* i. p. 88; Mabillon, *Ord. Rom.* ix. p. 90.) In later ordinals the separate elements are combined in a single service; but even in them there is a clear distinction between the declaration of election ("eligimus" &c., see below) and the subsequent "benedictio" or "consecratio."

But since election, except in the case of bishops (for which see BISHOP, Vol. I. pp. 213, sqq.), became in later times a mere form, it will be advisable here to shew briefly the extent to which it existed. For this purpose we shall take the unimpeachable testimony of the ordinals of both the Eastern and Western churches, in preference to collecting historical examples, or citing more or less rhetorical passages from ecclesiastical writers.

(*a*) *Election of Presbyters.*—In almost all Western ordinals the bishop begins the office for the ordination of presbyters by announcing the fact of their election to the people: "By the help of our Lord God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, we elect N. to the order of the presbyterate. . . ." (Cod. Vat. ap. Murat. vol. iii. p. 31; Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Noviom. Caturic. Suession. S. Elig. Becc. Corb. i.; Hittorp, *Ord. Rom. Vet.* ii. p. 91; Catalani, *Ord.* ii.)[b] That this formula was regarded, even until comparatively recent times, as the declaration of an actual election, is shewn by the fact, that when a presbyter was appointed by the pope's mandate it was omitted. (*Caeremoniale Ambrosianum*, published by order of S. Carlo Borromeo, p. 69, ed. Milan, 1619.) The later English ordinals are more explicit than other Western ordinals in recognising the two factors of the electoral body, "electi sunt *a nobis et clericis huic sanctae sedi famulantibus*" (Sarum, Exeter, and Winchester ordinals in Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* vol. iii. pp. 155, 160); and this explicit recognition is preserved in the modern Roman pontifical, where the bishop addresses the presbyters-elect as "quos ad nostrum adjutorium *fratrum nostrorum arbitrium* consecrandos elegit" (Pontif. Rom. p. 1, tit. 12, § 5). No doubt election became a fiction; how or when it began to become so is uncertain. Historical references to it occasionally appear in comparatively late writers, *e.g.* Venantius Fortunatus (?) in the Life of Medard of Noyon (c. 3, Migne, P. L. vol. lxxxviii. p. 536) says "presbyterii officium electus excepit, probatus obtinuit," and it is clear that it was the rule at the time when the *Liber Diurnus* was compiled, inasmuch as that book contains a formula for a papal precept requiring a bishop to proceed to the ordination of a presbyter without election ("sine suffragatione;" *Lib. Diurn. Rom. Pontif.* c. 5, tit. 1, ed. Garnier, p. 91). In the subsequent address to the people, asking for their prayers, the election is attributed to the grace of God, the assumption being made, as *e.g.* in Acts i. 24, 26, that election is an indication not so much of human choice as of the divine will; so Sacram. Leon. Pontif. Ecgb.; Catalani, *Ord.* i. In the later Eastern ordinals this is almost the only trace of election which has survived; *e.g.* in the Maronite ordinal, according to Asseman and Renaudot, ap. Denzinger ii. p. 151; in the Nestorian, according to both Asseman and Badger, ap. Denzinger, ii. p. 236, 267; in the Coptic, according to Kircher and Vansleb (but not according to Asseman) ap. Denzinger ii. p. 12. But that this is only part of the earlier Eastern practice is shewn by the fact that the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions (c. 15), which is peculiarly Eastern in its character, speaks of a presbyter, in the formula for his ordination, as having been elected by the vote of the whole clergy.

(*b*) *Election of Deacons.* In the earliest ordinal of the Gregorian type, the *Missale Francorum*, the deacons are expressly stated to be elected by the clergy, and the assent of the people is requested. The election is claimed as a special privilege of the "sacerdotes," but the bishop desires to know whether the people judge the ordinand to be worthy: "et si vestra apud meam concordat electio, testimonium quod vultis vocibus adprobate." After the prayer which follows, the bishop adds "commune votum [the word in its mediaeval sense is equivalent to the Greek ψῆφος, the English 'vote;' see Ducange, s.v.] communis prosequatur oratio." In almost all the later western ordinals, the bishop begins the office for the ordination of deacons with the same formula, *mutatis mutandis*, as in the case of presbyters, declaring their election; so *e.g.* Cod. Vat. ap. Muratori, Pontif. S. Dunst. Noviom. Caturic. Suession. Becc. S. Elig. Hittorp *Ord. Rom.* ii. p. 91; so also in the modern Pontif. Rom. p. i. tit. ii. § 3.

[a] The principle which this involves was known to the civil law, which may possibly have borrowed it from the Christian practice: Julian enacted that no one should become a public teacher or a physician without a "decretum curialium, *optimorum conspirante consilio*." *Cod. Theodos.* 13. 3. 5 = *Cod. Justin.* 10. 52. 7.

[b] For an account of the ordinals and other authorities which are thus designated here and throughout the present article, see ORDINAL.

And although in that declaration of election the co-operation of the church is not expressly mentioned, it is clearly implied in the formula which follows it, as it follows the corresponding declaration in the *Missale Francorum*, "*commune votum* communis oratio prosequatur" (so Cod. Maff., Pont. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Noviom. Caturic. Suession. Becc. Mogunt. Corb. i., Hittorp *Ord. Rom.* ii.; Catalani, *Ord.* ii. iii. and in the modern Pontif. Rom. p. i. tit. ii. § 5).

(*c*) *Election of Subdeacons.* It is not certain whether during the first nine centuries subdeacons were elected in the same way as presbyters and deacons, or whether they were, as subordinate officers of the church, appointed by the bishop. The doubt is chiefly caused by the variety of reading in the earliest Western ordinals in the general formula of declaration of election which has been already mentioned. Some of them insert the word "subdiaconii," others omit it. The insertion of the word can be easily accounted for, at the period to which most of the ordinals belong, by the struggle of the subdiaconate to be ranked among major orders; the omission is difficult to explain if subdeacons, like deacons and presbyters, had been elected from the beginning. It may be added that the modern Roman Pontifical speaks of them in the litany which precedes this ordination as "electos" (p. i. tit. 10, § 7).

(*d*) *Election of Readers.* The most remarkable example of the conservation of the primitive practice of election is in the case of readers. All the ancient Western ordinals mention it, and almost all refer the election, not to the bishop, but to the "fratres," *i.e.* probably to the body of the clergy, "eligunt te fratres tui ut sis lector in domo Dei tui," so Miss. Francorum, Sacram. Gelas. c. 96, Cod. Vat. ap. Murat. Cod. Maff. Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Noviom. Caturic. Bisunt. Becc. Mogunt.; English ordinals ap. Maskell; Catalani, *Ordo*, i. (corrupted to "diligunt" in id. *Ord.* ii. iii.) Hittorp *Ord. Rom.* ii. p. 89 (so also the Cambray Pontifical and one Noyon Pontifical) has "elegerunt," which is important as making it clear that the bishop's office was rather ministerial than co-operative.

ii. There was always the *testimony* of the church to the fitness of the candidate. It was necessary to have, not merely "suffragia," but "testimonia." This had been insisted upon from the earliest times. The pastoral Epistles require a bishop to have "a good report of them which are without" (1 Tim. iii. 7; see S. Chrysost. *ad loc.*) Cyprian speaks of Cornelius as having been made bishop "de clericorum paene omnium testimonio," as well as "de plebe quae tunc adfuit suffragio" (S. Cypr. *Epist.* 10. i. p. 770); and he apologises for having ordained Aurelius as a reader in his retirement on the ground of exceptional merit, "exspectanda non sunt testimonia humana cum praecedunt divina suffragia" (id. *Epist.* 33. ii. p. 320). The eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions enacts, that after a person has been elected bishop, and presented for ordination, and formally identified as being the person elected, the further question must be put "whether he is attested by all as being worthy" (Const. Apost. 8, 4). So also Leo the Great lays down the rule, "exspectarentur certe vota civium, testimonia populorum; quaereretur honoratorum arbitrium, electio clericorum" (S. Leon. Magn. *Epist.* 10. *ad Episc. per prov. Vienn.* i. p. 637, cf. *ibid.* p. 639). And it was one of the accusations against Chrysostom at the synod of the Oak, that he had ordained persons "without testimony" (ἀμαρτύρως Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 59, p. 17). The Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua, c. 22, require the "civium conniventia et testimonium," and 3 Conc. Brac. A.D. 572, c. 3, requires "multorum testimonium."

The ordinals continued the primitive requirement, and through them it has descended to modern times. It is almost always twofold, being a requirement of the separate testimony of the clergy and of the people; and since each of these requirements had its own form, it will be convenient to describe them separately.

(a) *Testimony of the Clergy.*—The Greek ordinal is apparently the only one which has preserved the primitive custom of asking for the *viva voce* testimony of the assembled clergy. The Western ordinals were framed in their present form after the archdeacon had become the officer who stood at the head of the clergy and next to the bishop. Consequently the voice of the clergy is expressed through the archdeacon. When he comes forward in the name of the church ("postulat sancta mater ecclesia Catholica ut hunc praesentem [subdiaconum] ad onus [diaconii] ordinetis"), the bishop asks "scisne illum dignum esse?" to which the archdeacon replies, "quantum humana fragilitas nosse sinit, et scio et testificor ipsum dignum esse ad hujus onus officii." This is the formula (1) in the case of presbyters and deacons (Cod. Maff. ap. Murat. vol. iii. p. 62; Pontif. S. Dunst. Corb. i. Mogunt.; English ordinals ap. Maskell; Catalani, *Ord.* ii. iii. and in the modern Roman Pontifical, p. 1. tit. 12, § 3): but in Hittorp *Ord. Rom.* ii. p. 93, the enquiry is made of the *presbyters* who present the candidate. (2) In the case of subdeacons the corresponding formula does not appear in the existing ordinals (unless it be implied in the general formula which is given in Hittorp *Ord. Rom.* ii. p. 88), and its disappearance tends to confirm the doubt which has been expressed above, whether subdeacons were elected by the church and not rather appointed by the bishop. (3) In the case of readers and other minor orders, Hittorp's *Ordo Romanus*, ii. p. 88, preserves a formula which resembles that of the modern English ordinal: the bishop says, "vide ut natura, scientia, et moribus tales per te introducantur, immo per nos tales in domo Domini ordinentur personae per quas diabolus pellatur et clerus Domino nostro multiplicetur."

In later times the testimony of the clergy, signified through the archdeacon, had to be supplemented by the testimony of the parish priest and the schoolmaster of the candidate. The former was sufficient as long as the persons to be appointed were members of the church of the city in which the ordination took place, or had been trained under the eye of the archdeacon in the *diaconium*. But after the area of dioceses had become extended, and youths were entrusted to the care of parish priests (2 Conc. Vasens. A.D. 529, c. 1), the testimony of the latter was required, perhaps originally in place of, but afterwards in addition to, that of the archdeacon. A still later regulation required the further testimony of the master of the school at which the candidate had

been educated. (Both these requirements are retained in the modern Roman Pontifical, p. 1, tit. 2, § 4, following Conc. Trident. Sess. xxiii. c. 5.)

(b) *Testimony of the Laity.*—The Western ordinals agree in requiring the testimony of the laity to the fitness of anyone who is appointed presbyter or deacon. The primitive rule seems to have been to consult the laity three days before the appointment was consummated by admission to office; so Mabillon, *Ordo* ix. ap. *Mus. Ital.* vol. ii. p. 90; Hittorp, *Ord. Rom.* i. p. 88. But the later, and perhaps also occasionally the earlier, practice was to require the testimony to be given at the time of admission. The testimony was sometimes positive and sometimes negative. In the earliest of the later ordinals, the *Missale Francorum* (so Hittorp *Ord. Rom.* ii.) the bishop charges the people not to be silent, but to say openly what they think about the actions, character, and merits of those who are to be ordained presbyters, and requires them "electionem vestram publica voce profiteri." (It is remarkable that the same formula, with but slight changes of phrase, is preserved in the modern Roman pontifical, p. 1, tit. 12, § 4.) Nor does he proceed with the ordination until the testimony has been given: (it may be inferred from the analogous form at the ordination of bishops that the answer was expressed by "Dignus"). But the majority of ordinals require only negative testimony: they prescribe that an appeal shall be made to the people at the time of the declaration of election, and in continuation of the formula "By the help of our Lord God. . . ." (see above, under "Election of Presbyters.") "If anyone has anything against these men, let him in God's name, and for God's sake, come forth with boldness and say it." This is the prescribed form in the case of presbyters and deacons, in Cod. Vat. ap. Murat.; Pontif. Ecgb. St. Dunst. Noviom. Caturic. Suession. Becc. Mogunt.; Catalani, *Ord.* ii. iii., English ordinals ap. Maskell. In the case of readers, whose office, as being in primitive times the first step above the laity, had to be guarded with special care, the ordinals enact that the bishop is to address the people, "setting forth their faith and life;" so Sacram. Gelas., Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., Cod. Maff., Pontif. Ecgb. Rem. Rodrad., Catalani, *Ord.* ii.

In later times it became a rule of the Western church that this testimony of the people should be asked for, not only at the time, and in the church of ordination, but also in the church in which the ordained resided, and that the parish priest should testify to having so asked for it. But the rule was not embodied in a canon earlier than the council of Trent, sess. 23, c. 5, and the fourth (provincial) council of Milan under St. Carlo Borromeo.

iii. There was also a declaration of appointment, corresponding to the civil *renunciatio*. In the Western church this was almost the only relic of the primitive election, and the form of declaration has been given above as an indication of the existence of election. But all the Eastern churches agree in giving considerable prominence to this element in ordination. 1. They all have a formula corresponding to the western formula, "By the help of our Lord God . . . " but different in its form, inasmuch as what in the one is regarded as the act of the church, is in the other regarded as the act of divine grace: *ἡ θεία χάρις ἡ πάντοτε τὰ ἀσθενῆ θεραπεύουσα καὶ τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληροῦσα προχειρίζεται τὸν δεῖνα τὸν θεοφιλέστατον [διάκονον] εἰς πρεσβύτερον.* The primitive character of this formula is proved by its being found, with unimportant variations, not only in all MSS. of the Greek ordinals, but also in all Oriental ordinals, for both presbyters and deacons. 2. All except the Greek ordinals have a much more elaborate formula, by which not only the appointment but also the admission of the newly ordained person is said to be complete. The Coptic formula in the ordination of a presbyter may be taken as typical. The bishop says, "We call thee into the holy church of God;" the archdeacon thereupon makes proclamation, "N. presbyter at the holy altar of the holy catholic and apostolic church of God of the Christian city M.;" the bishop confirms the archdeacon's words: "We call thee, N., presbyter of the aforesaid holy altar, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." This is, with unimportant variations, the formula for both presbyters and deacons, among Copts, Jacobites, Maronites, and Nestorians, (for the rituals in detail, see Denzinger, vol. ii. pp. 9, 13, 67, 71, 73, 86, 91, 127, 232). It is remarkable that the Greek ordinals preserve no trace of it; but it is important to note, that a trace of it exists in Hittorp, *Ord. Rom.* i., Mabillon, *Ord. Rom.* ix., where, after describing the consultation of the laity three days before final admission to office, it is said that the ordinands are called up, from the lower level of the laity to the raised floor of the sanctuary ("advocantur sursum et statuuntur in siuistra parte altaris, usque dum pontifex missam compleat").

What, if any thing, besides this public declaration of appointment, was necessary in the earliest period to constitute the person appointed a church officer, is not always clear. Under the civil regime, which was reflected in so many ways upon the ecclesiastical organization, *renunciatio* was followed, either immediately or after a defined interval, by performance of the duties of the office. A Roman *consul designatus* dressed himself in his official dress, went in state to the Capitol, took his seat on the curule chair, and held a formal meeting of the senate; by doing this he became consul *de facto;* the whole process was a *usurpatio juris;* the ceremonies and forms with which it was accompanied were no more of the essence of the process than were its accompanying festivities of the essence of a Roman consensual marriage (Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, Bd. i. p. 503). In a similar way in the early church the declaration of appointment to office was followed by the public performance of the duties of that office. Even to the present day, in the chief Western rituals the newly-ordained deacon performs the deacon's function of reading the Gospel; in the Roman ritual the presbyter not only takes his place in the presbytery, but is "concelebrant" with the bishop, *i.e.*, he is associated with him in the celebration of the eucharist: in the Greek ritual, the reader performs his proper function of reading, and the subdeacon, who in early times was a kind of under-servant, washes the bishop's

**hands.** But between the *renunciatio* and this first public performance of duties, certain ceremonies came to intervene. To these ceremonies the canonists and theologians of the middle ages attached great importance, and the canonists and theologians of later times have for the most part assumed them to be essential. But in the period with which the present work mainly deals, they held a very different place from that which has since been assigned to them.

### III. *Rites of Ordination.*

The ceremonies which were interposed between appointment to office and the *usurpatio juris*, or public entrance upon office, were mainly of two kinds—(*a*) prayer, accompanied in most cases by imposition of hands; (*b*), the formal delivery of the insignia and instruments of office. (*a*) It was both natural and fitting that any appointment should be accompanied by prayer, and prayer accordingly is found to accompany almost all appointments from the earliest beginning of ecclesiastical records. The significance of the rite is clearly expressed by St. Augustine: "quid aliud est manuum impositio quam oratio super hominem" (*de bapt. c. Donat.* 3, 16); and even the ultra-mysticism of Dionysius Areopagita finds no other meaning in it than that of fatherly sheltering and subjection to God (*De Eccles. Hier.* 5, 3, 3). But there had been from the first a connexion between the imposition of hands and the χαρίσματα, or "spiritual gifts;" and under the influence of the sacerdotal ideas of the 4th century this connexion became so strong that Basil, speaking of some schismatics, says: παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἔσχον τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν εἶχον τὸ χάρισμα τὸ πνευματικόν (S. Basil, *Epist. ad Amphiloch.* 188 (canonica i.) vol. iv. p. 270). This led to a restriction of the rite of imposition of hands to the higher orders of clergy. It ceased to be part of the ceremony of admitting deaconesses (hence the great variety of interpretations of Conc. Nicaen. c. 19; cf. Van Espen and Hefele, *ad loc.*), or subdeacons (except among the Armenians), or readers (except among the Nestorians). And at last, in the 12th century, the theory of the connexion of the rite with the gift of the Holy Ghost was so firmly impressed upon Western Christendom, that some ordinals put into the bishop's mouth at the time of imposition the words which have been retained in the English ordinal, "Receive the Holy Ghost;" (see below in the account of the ritual of the ordination of a presbyter; for a long series of patristic references see Morin, pars iii. p. 141).

(*b*) The history of the rites of delivering to the persons ordained the insignia and instruments of their office is less clear, but their origin is obvious. 1. The ceremony of admission to office was followed by the performance of the duties of the office. It was natural that the presiding officer should formally deliver to the newly ordained person the INSTRUMENTA [p. 862] of such a performance. A reader had to read: the book was delivered to him, and he read. A subdeacon had to wash the bishop's hands: a pitcher and towel were delivered to him. A deacon had, in southern countries, to drive away insects from the oblations upon the altar: a fan was delivered to him. [FLABELLUM.] The delivery of the eucharistic vessels to a presbyter is probably of late date; it is not found in the oldest Western ordinals (see below, *Ordination of Presbyters*, § 12); and it was probably limited in the first instance to the cases in which a presbyter was ordained, not to presbyterial rank in the cathedral, but to take charge of an outlying church; it was thus part of the ceremonies not so much of ordination as of institution or induction. But it must be noted, that almost all writers on the subject call attention to the much smaller stress which was laid upon these rites in the East than in the West. In the latter the opinion came to prevail in the schools, that the physical contact of the instruments by the ordinand was of the essence of the sacrament (S. Thom. Aq. *Summa*, pars iii. qu. 34, art. 5); whereas in the former (*a*) the instruments were delivered after the ordination was finished, (*b*) no formula of delivery was prescribed (see Catalani, *ad Pontif. Rom.* p. i. tit. 5, § 3; Morin, *de Sacr. Ordin.* pars iii. exerc. ii.). 2. The delivery of vestments is sometimes traced back historically to the time of Gregory Nazianzen, who says that when ordained bishop he was vested by his ordainers in a long tunic or alb (τὸν ποδήρη) and a mitre (τὴν κίδαριν, S. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* x. *in seipsum*, vol. i. p. 241). But the extreme scantiness of subsequent allusions to such a rite, and the absence of any mention of it, not only in the Apostolical Constitutions, but also in Dionysius Areopagita, tend to shew that, even if it existed, little stress was laid upon it. Its significance was originally the same as that of the vesting of one who was newly baptized. Nor was it the only point of close analogy between the ceremonies of baptism and those of ordination. The vesting in vestments, which became so important a part of the ordination ceremony in both East and West, and of which the details will be found below, is apparently of much later origin. The first certain mention of it is in 4 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 28, and it is absent from several of the most ancient Western ordinals. It grew up with the growth of a distinction between clerical and lay dress; its use can be traced in several instances to the influence of the regular upon the secular clergy; and its significance was determined by the mystical ideas which gradually attached themselves to the vestments which were worn at the celebration of the eucharist.

We now proceed to give an outline of the ritual which was observed in both the election on appointment and the admission of the several orders below the order of bishop [for which see vol. i. p. 221]. It has been necessary to append in the case of the Western rituals, the precise evidence which exists for the antiquity of the several rites: for in no department of Christian antiquities has there been a stronger tendency to assume that rites which prevailed in the 13th century prevailed also in the 8th, and that rites which prevailed in the 8th century are part of primitive Christianity. In the case of the Eastern rituals, references only are given to the authorities in which they will be found, because in the present state of knowledge on the subject it is impossible to determine with even approximate accuracy which of the several rites are ancient, and which are of later growth.

1. OSTIARIUS. *Western Rites.*—(Statt. Eccl. Ant. c. 9; Sacram. Gelas. i. 95, Amalarius, *de*

*Eccl. Off.* lib. i. 7; all Western ordinals of the Gregorian type; but not Mabillon, *Ord.* viii. ix.) The majority of ordinals direct that the candidate shall be instructed by the archdeacon in his duties (so Sacram. Gelas., but not Anglo-Norman ordinals, except the Rouen Pontifical, nor Catalani, *Ord.* i., nor the Cambrai and Mainz Pontificals). At the suggestion of the archdeacon (not mentioned in Catalani, *Ord.* i.) the bishop is to give to the candidate the keys of the church (Sacram. Gelas., Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Noviom. Caturic. Suession. Bisunt. Rem. add "from the altar") saying, "So act as one who is to give account to God for the things which are opened by these keys." The deacon (Pontif. Corb. Rem. Radbod. Bisunt., St. Elig. Becc.), or the archdeacon (Cod. Maff., Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Bisunt., English ordinals ap. Maskell) delivers to him the door of the church (this is not mentioned by Sacram. Gelas., nor in Cod. Vat. ap. Murat.; but the Soissons Pontifical, the Cod. Radbod., and a Tours Pontifical mentioned by Martene, vol. ii. p. 18, not only mention it, but add a formula, apparently borrowed from the description of the office of the ostiarius in Isid. Hisp. *de Eccl. Off.* ii. 14, Hraban. Maur. *de Instit. Cleric.* i. 12, to the effect that the power is thereby delivered of admitting the good and rejecting the bad). A preface and form of benediction usually follow, without any rubric as to the point of the service at which they are to be used. In Cod. Radbod. they are placed before the delivery of the keys, which is probably their proper place. Some of the later ordinals, *e.g.* those of Mainz and Cambrai (see also the Pontif. Roman.) add, that after touching the keys the ostiarius is to go and ring the bell. When bells came into general use in churches, it naturally became the duty of the ostiarius to attend to them, for the preface, which probably belongs to an earlier time, implies that it was his duty to mark the "distinctionem certarum horarum, ad invocandum nomen Domini," *i. e.* the canonical hours of prayer.

2. Reader. I. *Western Rites.*—(Statt. Eccl. Antiq. c. 8; Sacram. Gelas. i. 96. Isid. Hispal. *de Eccl. Off.* ii. 11; Hrab. Maur. *de Instit. Cleric.* i. 11; and all ordinals of the Gregorian type.) The bishop is to make an address to the people, setting forth the faith, and life, and ability of the person ordained; he is then to deliver him the book out of which he will have to read (so Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., Codd. Maff. Rem. Rodrad. et al.: "codicem apicum divinorum;" Isid. Hisp., Albin. Flacc., Hrab. Maur.: "codicem Esaiae prophetae;" Cod. Ratold.: "lectionarium;" Pont. Mogunt., English ordinals: "lectionarium prophetiarum;" Cod. Colbert. = Martene, *Ord.* xvii.), saying, "Take, and be a reader of the Word of God, destined, if thou fulfil thine office faithfully and usefully, to have part with those who have ministered the Word of God" (so all Codd., omitted in Missale Franc. only). The bishop then makes the declaration of election ("pronuntiatio," Cod. Maff., "electio fratrum," Pontif. Bisunt.): "Thy brethren elect thee" ("have elected" Pontif. Camerac. Noviom., Hittorp, *Ord. Rom.* ii.) to be a reader in the house of thy God; and recognize thy office and fulfil it, for God is able to give thee abundant grace" (so almost all Codd., omitted in Pontif. Radbod., Suession., Salisb., Bangor., Sarum.). Then follows in all ordinals a prayer for God's blessing on the newly-ordained reader.

II. *Eastern Rites.*—1. *Greek.* The Apostolical Constitutions (viii. c. 21) direct that a reader shall be ordained (προχειρίσαι) by imposition of hands, with a prayer that God will give him the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Prophecy. The later Greek rituals will be found in the Euchologium ed. Goar, p. 233, ed. Daniel, vol. iv. p. 547; Codd. Bessar. Barber. Paris. Vat. Allat. ed. Morin, p. 71 sqq., ed. J. A. Asseman, vol. xi. p. 120 sqq.; Sym. Thessal. *de Div. Ordin.* c. 158 ap. Migne, P. G. vol. clv. p. 366.

2. The *Coptic* are found in the Apostolical Constitutions in Coptic, ed. Tattam, c. 35; Morin, p. 505; Mai, *Script. Vet.* vol. v. pars ii. p. 209; Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 2); the *Jacobite* in Greg. Barhebraeus, *Nomocan.* viii. 8; Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 66; the *Maronite* in Morin, p. 388; J. A. Asseman, vol. ix. p. 20; Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 115; the *Nestorian* in Morin, p. 442; J. S. Asseman, vol. iii. pars ii. p. 793; J. A. Asseman, vol. xiii. p. 1; Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 227, with a collation of the rituals given by Badger, p. 262.

3. Singer. I. *Western Rites.*—(Statt. Eccl. Ant. c. 10; Cod. Maff., Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Caturic. Rotom.; Catalani, *Ord.* ii.; Hittorp. *Ord. Rom.*; Isid. Hisp. *de Eccl. Off.* 2, 12; Hraban. Maur. *de Inst. Cler.* 1, 11; but omitted from many ordinals.) "A psalmist—*i. e.* a singer—after having been instructed by the archdeacon, can undertake the office of singing without the cognizance of the bishop, at the sole bidding of a presbyter, the presbyter saying to him, 'See that what thou singest with thy mouth thou believest with thine heart, and that what thou believest in thine heart thou approvest in deed.'" (In addition to this form, the pontificals of Ecgbert and St. Dunstan insert the words "sive psalmistarum" in the preface to the benediction of a reader, from which it may, perhaps, be inferred that when a singer was ordained by a bishop, the same form was used as for a reader, as was the case in the Greek church.)

II. *Eastern Rites.*—1. *Greek.* (In most MSS. of the later Greek ordinals there is no distinction between the ordination of a singer and that of a reader; but there is a separate ritual in Cod. Leo Allat. ap. Morin, p. 104; J. A. Asseman, vol. xi. p. 196.)

2. The *Coptic* is found in Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie*, p. 4, sect. 2, c. 7, Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 63: not in Kircher, Morin, or Asseman; the *Jacobite* in Renaudot, ap. Denzinger, vol. ii. 66, not in Morin; the *Maronite* in Morin, p. 384; J. A. Asseman, vol. ix. p. 231; Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 108. The *Nestorians* have no special ritual for the ordination of a singer.

4. Exorcist. *Western Rites.*—(Statt. Eccl. Antiq. c. 7; Sacram. Gelas. i. c. 96, and all ordinals of the Gregorian type; Isid. Hisp. *de Eccl. Off.* 2, 13; Hraban. Maur. *de Inst. Cler.* 1, 10; Amalarius, *de Eccl. Off.* 1, 9.) Some ordinals direct that the bishop, sitting with his mitre on his head, shall declare the duties of an exorcist (so Cod. Maff.; Pontif. Mogunt. Winton. Sarum. Exon.). All ordinals direct that the person ordained shall receive from the bishop a book of exorcisms, the bishop saying, "Take and commit to memory, and have power of

imposition of hands upon one possessed, whether catechumen or baptized." A preface and prayer for God's blessing on the exorcist follow. (The Soissons pontifical makes this precede the delivery of the book, which is probably the right order.)

5. ACOLYTE. *Western Rites.*—(Statt. Eccl. Antiq. c. 6; Sacram. Gelas. i. c. 95, and all ordinals of the Gregorian type; Mabillon, *Ord. Rom.* viii. in *Mus. Ital.* vol. ii. p. 85, reprinted in Migne, P. L. vol. lxxviii. p. 999.) The ancient ritual which is given by Mabillon directs only (1) that the clerk shall be vested in a chasuble and stole; (2) that the bishop shall put a bag over the chasuble (*i. e.* a bag for receiving and carrying the eucharistic offerings); (3) and that the bishop shall pray, "By the intercession of the blessed, and glorious, and ever-virgin Mary, and the blessed apostle Peter, may God save, and guard, and protect thee. Amen." The ritual of all other ordinals is as follows:—1. The bishop, sitting mitred in his chair, is to mention the duties of an acolyte (so Cod. Maff., Pont. Mogunt., and English ordinals ap. Maskell, except Pont. Bangor.; but the majority of ordinals merely direct that the bishop (or archdeacon, Missal. Franc.) shall previously instruct the person ordained in his duties. 2. The archdeacon (Sacram. Gelas., Statt. Eccl. Ant., Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., Missale Franc., Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Corb. i. Rodrad. Rotom. Rem.; see also Amalarius, *de Eccl. Off.* 2, 10) or the bishop (Cod. Maff., Cod. Turon. ap. Martene, vol. ii. p. 19, Pontif. Bisunt. Camerac., Mogunt., English ordinals ap. Maskell, Catalani, *Ord.* i.) is to deliver to him a candlestick and candle. Some ordinals give no form of words (so Sacram. Gelas., Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., Missale Franc., Pontif. Rotom. Rem. Rodrad. Ecgb. S. Dunst.). Others give the form, "Take the candlestick and candle, and know that thou art charged with lighting the lights of the church" (so Cod. Maff., Pont. Bisunt. Mogunt., English ordinals ap. Maskell). Others give the form, "Take this bearer (gestatorium) of light that by it ye may have power to chase away the darkness of the adversaries, and faithfully to find the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into this world" (so Pontif. Corb. i. Ratold. Suession.). A further direction is sometimes given that the bishop is to say the words, the archdeacon to deliver the candlestick (so Pontif. Salisb. Camerac.). 3. The acolyte is then to receive an empty pitcher from the bishop (so Pontif. Bisunt. Camerac. Mogunt. Exon. Winton.), or from the archdeacon (Pontif. Sarum.: other ordinals do not say from whom—*e. g.* Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., Cod. Maff., Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Noviom. Becc., Catal. *Ord.* i.) with the words, "Receive this pitcher to pour out wine at the Eucharist of the Blood of Christ" (so Sacram. Gelas., Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., Missal. Franc., Pontif. Ecgb. Corb. i. Rem. S. Dunst. Ratold. Noviom.; "and water" is added in Cod. Maff., Pontif. Salisb. English ordinals ap. Mask., and sometimes in the following prayer, though not in this address, *e. g.* Catalani, *Ord.* i.). 4. A preface follows in many ordinals (not in Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., nor in Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Ratold. Noviom. Salisb. Bisunt.), and a prayer for blessing in all (except Sacram. Gelas.); but the forms of prayer vary, some ordinals giving one prayer (so Missale Franc.), some two (so *e. g.* Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Ratold. Noviom.), some three (so *e. g.* Cod. Maff., Pontif. Mogunt., and English ordinals ap. Mask.).

6. SUBDEACON. I. *Western Rites.*—Statt. Eccl. Antiq. c. 5; Sacram. Gelas. i. c. 96, and all ordinals of the Gregorian type; Isidor. Hisp. *de Div. Off.* 2, 10; Amalarius, 1, 11; Hrab. Maur. 1, 8; Mabillon, *Ordo Rom.* viii. in *Mus. Ital.* vol. ii. p. 85, reprinted in Migne, P. L. vol. lxxviii. p. 1001). The ancient ritual given by Mabillon directs that the person to be ordained shall be brought forward (apparently vested in a chasuble) and that he shall swear on the Holy Gospels that he is not guilty of any of the four classes of carnal sins (*i.e.* sodomy, adultery, deuterogamy, sin with a consecrated virgin); when he has done so the archdeacon or the bishop shall give him the holy cup, and say over him the same prayer as over an acolyte (see above). The ritual of the later ordinals is as follows: 1. The bishop, sitting mitred in his chair, declares the duties of subdeacons (Cod. Maff. and English ordinals ap. Maskell, except Pontif. Winton., which directs that the candidate shall previously have been instructed in his duties by the bishop; not in the majority of ordinals). 2. The bishop shall deliver to the person to be ordained an empty paten and chalice. 3. The archdeacon shall deliver to him an empty (Pontif. Sarum says "full") pitcher, a basin, and a towel. 4. The bishop shall say, "See of what the ministry is delivered to thee: if hitherto thou hast been tardy at church, henceforth thou must be busy; if hitherto sleepy, henceforth thou must be wakeful; if hitherto drunken, henceforth thou must be sober; if hitherto immodest, henceforth thou must be chaste. . . ." (This address is not found in Sacram. Gelas., Cod. Vat. ap. Murat.; in Catalani *Ord.* i. it is in later writing; it is placed *before* the delivery of the chalice and paten in Missal. Franc., Pontif. Rodrad. Rem. Senon. Ratold. Ecgb. Noviom.; it is placed *after* the delivery, but without any express rubric as to the point at which it should be spoken, in Cod. Maff., Pontif. S. Elig. Rotom. S. Dunst. Radbod. Salisb. Bisunt. Becc. Camerac.; it is expressly placed after the delivery in Pontif. Mogunt.) 5. Then follows a preface and prayer of benediction (so all ordinals, except Pontif. Radbod., which places these *before* the delivery of the paten and chalice). Three other rites are sometimes found; (a) the bishop gives the subdeacon a maniple; so Cod. Maff., which gives the formula of delivery, "Take the maniple, by which is designated the fruit of good works;" so, with a different formula, Pontif. Suession.; so also, without a formula, Pont. Ecgb. and the later English ordinals, but not the intermediate English ordinals, viz. the Rouen, St. Dunstan's, and Winchester Pontificals; (b) the bishop vests the subdeacon in a tunic (Pontif. Camerac. Mogunt.; Catalani *Ord.* ii.; English ordinals ap. Maskell, except the Winchester Pontifical); in the Exeter Pontifical only the subdeacon who is to read the epistle is vested in a tunic; (c) the bishop delivers to the subdeacon the book of the Epistles; the earliest mention of this is in an Arles Pontifical of the 13th century (Martene, *de Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* vol. ii. p. 20), nor is it found in any of the sacramentaries or ordinals to which reference has been made in this article.

II. *Eastern Rites.*—1. *Greek.* The *Apostolical*

*Constitutions* (viii. c. 20) direct that in ordaining a subdeacon the bishop shall lay his hands upon him, and pray that God will give him grace worthily to handle the eucharistic vessels. The directions of the later Greek rituals are to be found in the Euchologium (ed. Goar, p. 244, ed. Daniel, vol. iv. p. 550; Codd. Bessa. Barber. Paris. Vat. Allat. ed. Morin, p. 71 sqq., ed. J. A. Asseman, vol. xi. p. 118 sqq.; Sym. Thessal. *de Sacr. Ordin.* c. 162, ap. Migne, P. G. vol. clv. p. 367).

2. The *Coptic* in Morin, p. 505, J. A. Asseman ap. Mai, vol. v. pars ii. p. 210; Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 4; the *Jacobite* in Greg. Barhebraeus, vii. 8, ap. Mai, vol. x. pars ii. p. 52; Denzinger, vol. ii. pp. 67, 79; the *Maronite* in Morin, p. 392; J. A. Asseman, vol. ix. p. 34; Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 121; the *Nestorian* in Morin, p. 444; J. S. Asseman, vol. iii. pars ii. p. 801; J. A. Asseman, vol. xiii. p. 9; Denzinger, vol. ii. pp. 229, 263.

7. Deacon. I. *Western Rites*—(Sacram. Leon. ed. Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* vol. i. p. 686, ed. Ballerin. p. 112; Sacram. Gregor., Codd. Vat. i. Othobon. ap. Muratori, vol. ii. p. 1066; these two sacramentaries contain preface and prayers only, without rubrical directions, and both agree; Sacram. Gelas. l. c. 20, 22, has a short ritual and prayers, which correspond with those of the other two sacramentaries; Sacram. Gelas. l. c. 95, has a short canon, = Statt. Eccl. Ant. c. 3; the full ritual is found in the other ordinals of the Gregorian type, *e.g.* Cod. Rem. ed. Morin, *de Sacr. Ord.* pars ii. p. 290; Cod. Vat. ii. ed. Murat. vol. iii. p. 33; Cod. Maff. *ibid.* p. 55; and in the editions of Menard, p. 235, Benedict. p. 223 = Migne, P. L. vol. lxxviii. p. 221; another ritual is given in Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* vol. ii. p. 85.) i. The oldest ritual is probably that which occurs as a preliminary rubric in Sacram. Gelas. i. c. 20, Missale Franc., Cod. Maff., Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Rodrad., Catalani *Ord.* ii. Hittorp, *Ord.* i.; it is in entire harmony with primitive customs, and the ceremonies and prayers which follow it must be regarded as later expansions of it. (This is rendered almost certain by the form of the rubric in the Rouen Pontifical.) The bishop declares the election in the form given below; then follows a litany; when it is concluded, all rise from their knees, and the persons elected go up to the bishop's chair; the bishop gives a blessing upon their office; they then go down, and stand in the proper place of their order ("hac, sc. litania, expleta ascendunt ad sedem pontificis et benedicit eos ad quod vocati sunt, et descendunt et stant in ordine suo"). Afterwards the newly ordained deacons are to give their offerings (sc. of bread and wine) into the hand of the bishop, and to receive them back from him consecrated. (This important relic of the primitive communion is given in Pontif. S. Dunst., Cod. Maff., and Catalani *Ord.* ii. in the case of deacons; see below for its place in the ordination of presbyters.) ii. A probably less ancient ritual is that of Mabillon's *Ordo* viii. The subdeacon who is to be promoted to the diaconate stands, vested in a chasuble, a white tunic, sc. dalmatic, and holding a stole in his hand, before the steps of the altar; after the epistle (which is taken from 1 Tim. iii. 8) and the gradual he is divested of the chasuble, and the bishop having said a preface, a litany is said, all being prostrate. After the litany the bishop says the prayer of consecration; the new deacon kisses the bishop and priests, and vested in his dalmatic stands at the bishop's right hand. iii. The later ordinals, with the exceptions of Mabillon, *Ord.* ix., Hittorp, *Ord.* i., as noted above, combine in one service the declaration of election and the admission to office, but at the same time preserve a clear distinction between them. (a.) *Declaration of Election.*—Several ordinals preserve the form of presentation by the archdeacon: "Our holy mother the Catholic church demands that thou shouldest ordain this present subdeacon to the burden of the diaconate;" the bishop asks, "Dost thou know him to be worthy?" the archdeacon replies, "As far as human frailty allows, I both know and testify that he is worthy of the burden of this office;" then the bishop says, "By the help of our Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ we elect this person to the order of the diaconate." This is the form in Codd. Maff. S. Dunst. Suess. Corb. Ratold, and in the modern Pontif. Rom.; Pontif. Vat. ap. Murat. Ecgb. Noviom. Catur. Becc. Rodrad. Rotom. Rem. Senon. omit the form of presentation, but give that of election; the Mainz and later English pontificals (except Pontif. Bangor.) give this form at the beginning of the ritual of a general ordination, and apparently for all orders; the words are slightly different. The Winchester Pontifical introduces an address to the ordinands between the presentation and the election. (b.) *Admission to Office.*—(The order of the several ceremonies is not certain; that of Cod. Maff., which is almost identical with that of the modern Pontif. Rom., will be followed here.) 1. The bishop, standing, addreses the people, "Let the common vote be followed by a common prayer . . .;" this address is said in Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., Missale Franc., Pontif. Petav. Rotom. Rem. Ratold. S. Dunst. Noviom. Becc. to be "ad consummandum diaconum" (or "diaconatus officium"); it is more commonly placed, but without any rubrical directions, after the prayer of benediction; but the Cambrai Pontifical and the modern Roman Pontifical agree with the Cod. Maff.; the Mainz Pontifical places it after the first imposition of hands; the later English pontificals, except Pontif. Winton. omit it. 2. The preface follows, *i. e.* a short "bidding prayer" which is nearly the same in all ordinals, but which in Sacram. Leon. Gelas., Codd. Vat. et al., is broken up into a preface and a prayer. 3. Then follows the prayer of benediction: "Adesto quaesumus omnipotens Deus, honorum dator, ordinum distributor, officiorumque dispositor . . . super hos famulos tuos quaesumus, Domine, placatus intende; quos tuis sacris servituros in officium diaconii suppliciter dedicamus . . . emitte in eos, quaesumus, Domine, Spiritum Sanctum quo in opus ministerii fideliter exequendi munere septiformis tuae gratiae roborentur . . ." This prayer is found with slight variations in Sacram. Leon. Gelas. and all Codd. of Sacram. Gregor. including Codd. Othobon. Vindob. and in all the ordinals. 4. The bishop lays his hand upon the deacon's head. (α) The bishop does this alone, no mention being made of priests in Missale Francorum, Pontif. Corb. Rem. Ratold. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Radbod. Salisburg. Bisunt. (β) The bishop alone lays his hand on the deacon's head, but the other priests touch the bishop's hand, or touch the deacon's

head near the bishop's hand, in Sacram. Gelas. i. c. 95, Pontif. Rotom. Catur. Becc. Noviom. i. ii.; cf. also Amalarius 2, 12, Durandus, *Rational.* 2, 9, 14. (γ) The bishop lays *both* hands on the deacon's head in Cod. Maff., Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Noviom. Mogunt. (δ) The point of the service at which this is to be done is not specified in Sacram. Gelas., Missale Franc., Pontif. Rotom. Rem. Ratold. Catur. Salisburg. Bisunt. Becc. Radbod. Noviom. i. ii. (ε) It takes place at the utterance of the words "emitte in eos . . ." in the prayer of benediction, in Cod. Maff. (ζ) It takes place before the preface, and the bishop in laying on his hands says, "Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te et virtus Altissimi sine peccato custodiat te in nomine Domine," in Cod. Mogunt. only; or he says "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum," in the later English ordinals ap. Maskell (but not the Winchester Pontifical) and some later French ordinals ap. Martene, ii. p. 21, no authority being earlier than the 13th century. (η) It takes place after the vesting in the stole and before the preface, in Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. 5. The bishop vests the deacon with a stole upon his left shoulder; this ceremony is, however, not mentioned, either expressly or by implication, in the majority of early ordinals, viz. in Sacram. Gelas., Missale Franc., Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., Pontif. Rem. Rodrad. Senon. Noviom. i. Radbod.; its place in the ritual is (α) sometimes at the beginning, Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst.; (β) sometimes after the benediction, Pontif. Rotom. Caturic. Becc. Noviom. ii. Mogunt. English ordinals ap. Mask.; (γ) sometimes not specified, Pontif. Corb. Ratold. Bisunt. The formulae with which it was accompanied vary: (α) "Receive a white stole from the hand of the Lord . . ." Codd. Maff., Pont. Mogunt. (as an alternative form); (β) "Receive the yoke of the Lord, for His yoke is easy and His burden light," Cod. Suession.; (γ) "By this sign we humbly impose on thee the office of a deacon, that thou mayest be a support of the divine table, as it were a pillar of its columns, and that thou mayest serve blamelessly as a herald of the Heavenly King," Pontif. Corb. Ratold. Bisunt. Winton.; (δ) "Receive the stole, fulfil thy ministry, for God is able to give thee an increase of grace," Pontif. Salisburg. Camerac. Noviom. ii. Mogunt.; in English ordinals ap. Maskell, "In the name of the Holy Trinity receive the stole of immortality, fulfil," &c.; (ε) a much longer form is given in Pontif. S. Dunst. Catur. Becc. and Winton, "In the name of the Holy Trinity and One God, receive the stole which the Lord has prepared for thy receiving through the service of our humility and through our hands, by which thou mayest know that the burden of the Lord God is laid on thy shoulders, and that thou art bound to humility and to the administration of the church, and by which thy brethren may learn that thou hast been ordained a minister of God . . .;" (ζ) no form is given in Pontif. Ecgb. 6. The bishop delivers a book of the Gospels to the deacon, with the words "Receive the power of reading the Gospel in the church of God, as well for the living as for the dead" (Cod. Maff., Pontif. Radbod. Suession. Becc. Catalani *Ord.* ii., later English ordinals ap. Mask.), or with the words "Receive this volume of the Gospels, and read and understand, and deliver to others, and do thou fulfil it in deed" (Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Becc.) This ceremony is not found in Sacram. Gelas. or in any of the early ordinals except that of Ecgbert. Martene, vol. ii. p. 21, says that it was for a long time peculiar to the English church. 7. The bishop vests the deacon in a dalmatic, saying, "The Lord clothe thee with a vestment of salvation, and wrap thee in a garment of gladness, through Jesus Christ our Lord," Cod. Maff., Pontif. Salisb. Sarum. Bangor. This ceremony is not found in any early ordinal; the Besançon Pontifical limits its use to those who come to be ordained from monasteries; and Martene, vol. ii. p. 22, says that it was not used in the case of seculars until about the 12th century. The Bangor and Exeter Pontificals limit its use to the deacon who was about to read the Gospel. 8. The bishop kisses the new deacon, Cod. Maff., Pontif. Salisburg. Bisunt. 9. The hands of the deacon are anointed with the holy oil and chrism, and with a benediction; this rite is only found in English or Norman ordinals, viz., Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Becc. Rotom., but not in the later English ordinals, ed. Maskell. 10. The newly ordained deacon, or if there be more than one, either one appointed by the bishop (English ordinals), or the last ordained (Pontif. Mogunt.) reads the Gospel: this custom is not mentioned by any ordinals except those just specified, but its early existence is not only in accordance with the analogy of other ordination rituals, but is also indicated by its mention in Mabillon's *Ordo* ix.

II. *Eastern Rites.*—1. *Greek.* The Apostolical Constitutions (viii. c. 16) direct that in ordaining a deacon the bishop shall lay his hands upon him in the presence of the whole presbytery and the deacons, and shall pray that God will lift up the light of His countenance upon His servant who is ordained (προχειριζόμενον) to the diaconate, and grant that ministering acceptably in his office he may be deemed worthy of a higher degree. Another ritual is given in S. Dionys. Areop. *de Eccl. Hierarch.* 5, 2, p. 236. The later rituals are to be found in the Euchologium, ed. Goar, p. 249, ed. Daniel, vol. iv. p. 552; Codd. Bessar. Barber. Paris. Vat. Allat. ed. Morin, p. 68 sqq., ed. J. A. Asseman, vol. xi. pp. 111 sqq.; Sym. Thessal. *de Sacr. Ordin.* c. 169, ap. Migne, P. G. vol. clv. pp. 372 sqq.

2. The *Coptic* forms are found in Morin, p. 506; J. A. Asseman, ap. Mai, vol. v. pars ii. p. 212; Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 7; the *Jacobite* in Morin, p. 479, Gregory Barhebr. ap. Mai, vol. x. pars ii. p. 48; Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 82; the *Maronite* in Morin, p. 396; J. A. Asseman, vol. ix. p. 54; Renaudot ap. Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 128; the *Nestorian* in Morin, p. 445; J. S. Asseman, vol. iii. pars ii. p. 806; J. A. Asseman, vol. xiii. p. 12; Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 229; Badger, vol. ii. p. 325.

3. Presbyter. I. *Western Rites.*—(Sacram. Leon. ed. Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* vol. i. p. 687, ed. Ballerin. p. 113, and Sacram. Gregor. Codd Vat. i. Othobon. ap. Muratori, vol. ii. p. 1064, contain prayers only, without a ritual; Sacram. Gelas. i. c. 20 contains a short ritual and prayers, *id.* c. 95 a canon = Statt. Eccl. Ant. c. 3; the full ritual is found in all other ordinals of the Gregorian type, *e.g.* Cod. Vat. ap. Murat. vol. iii. p. 36, Cod. Rem. ap. Morin, p. 290, and in the editions of Menard, p. 237,

Benedict. p. 224 = Migne, P. L. vol. lxxviii. p. 224; other rituals are given in Mabillon, Mus. Ital. vol. ii. pp. 86, 90; Hittorp, *Ord. Rom.* pp. 88, 93.) i. The earliest ritual which has been preserved is that which, as mentioned above in the account of the ordination of a deacon, is given as a preliminary rubric in the Missale Francorum, Sacram. Gelas., and other early ordinals. The ordinands are presented to the bishop, who, after receiving the testimony of the presenter, declares the election in the form given below, "By the help of our Lord God," &c. A litany is then said; when it is finished all rise, and the persons elected go up to the bishop's chair; the bishop gives a blessing upon their office; they then go down and stand in the proper place of their order. The gospel is then read, and afterwards the newly-ordained presbyters give their offerings (sc. of bread and wine) into the hand of the bishop, and receive them back from him consecrated. (This last important rite is found in Pontif. Corb. Suession. Camerac., Cod. Maff., Catalani, *Ord.* ii.; see below, § 16.) ii. Mabillon's *Ordo Romanus* viii. gives the following directions: "The archdeacon holding him leads him to the steps of the altar, divests him of the dalmatic, and so vests him in a chasuble, and leads him again to the bishop. And there, saying over him another prayer, he consecrates him presbyter, giving a kiss to the bishop or to the other priests, and stands in the rank of presbyters, and *Alleluia* is said, or the tract and gospel." iii. The majority of ordinals combine in one service, as in the case of deacons, the declaration of election and the admission to office.

*a. Declaration of Election:* 1. Two deacons conduct the ordinand, vested as a deacon, to the presbyters; then two presbyters receive and conduct him to the bishop's chair (Cod. Maff., Pontif. Salisb. Camerac.; but instead of presentation, the Mainz Pontificals require the ordinands to be summoned, "Let those who are to be ordained presbyters to the title of St. N. come forward;" the Besançon Pontifical adds the name of the priest who witnesses to and presents him).

2. A deacon (Cod. Maff.) or the archdeacon (Pontif. S. Elig. Ratold. S. Dunst. Suession. Salisburg. Noviom. Mogunt.) or the priest who presents (Cod. Bisunt.) addresses the bishop, "Our holy mother, the catholic church, demands that thou shouldst ordain this present deacon to the burden of the presbyterate." The bishop asks, "Dost thou know him to be worthy?" The presenter replies, "As far as human frailty allows, I both know and testify that he is worthy of the burden of this office" (Pontif. Mogunt. S. Dunst. S. Elig. Catalani, *Ord.* ii. iii.; Hittorp, *Ord.* ii.; cf. S. Hieron. *Epist.* 146 (85); but Cod. Maff. uses the plural, "*Illis* attestantibus").

3. The bishop then addresses the people, and asks their testimony. Sacram. Gelas., Pontif. Rodrad. Rotom. Senon. Ecgb. Caturic. simply say "data oratione;" but Pontif. Rem. Noviom. Vat. ap. Murat. add the form of address, which concludes by asking the people openly to give their testimony ("ideo electionem vestram debetis publica voce profiteri"). Apparently in the place of this address to the people, the Salzburg, Soissons, Cambrai, and Mainz pontificals have a public examination of the ordinand: "Dost thou wish to receive the degree of the presbyterate in the name of the Lord? Dost thou wish, as far as thou art able, and human frailty permits thee, to remain in that degree? Dost thou wish to be obedient to thy bishop to whose diocese thou art to be ordained, in all things lawful, according to the canonical statutes?" (Cod. Maff. is singular in having no mention of either the address or the examination.)

4. The bishop then makes the declaration of election: "By the help of our Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ we elect this person to the order of the presbyterate. If any one has anything against him, in God's behalf and for God's sake, let him come boldly forth and say it. But, nevertheless, let him be mindful of his condition." (The retention of this form "si quis" . . . after the request for direct testimony, is probably a relic of the earlier practice, which is found in Mabillon, *Ordo* ix., where the form is appended, not to the declaration of election, but to the announcement by the reader of the intention to elect four days previously to the actual admission.)

5. The bishop proceeds: "Let the common vote be followed by a common prayer" . . . whereupon a litany is said (so Cod. Maff.).

6. The bishop lays his hand (both hands, Pontif. Mogunt.) upon the head of the ordinand, and all the presbyters who are present place their hands near the hands of the bishop (so all Codd. except the Mainz Pontifical, which implies that they do it *after* the bishop). (*a*) Some ordinals direct that while this is being done the prayers following shall be said (Cod. Maff.). (*b*) The Mainz Pontifical directs that the bishop shall say, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and may the power of the Highest keep thee without sin." (*c*) The later English ordinals ap. Maskell direct that the bishop shall say nothing. (*d*) A Toulouse Pontifical of uncertain date, quoted by Morin, *de Sacr. Ordin.* pars ii. p. 340 (cf. *ib.* pars iii. p. 135), says that in some churches the bishop said, "Receive the Holy Ghost; whosesoever sins ye remit," &c. This is added in the Exeter, Bangor, and Sarum pontificals as a separate rite immediately before the post-communion. It is found also in Catalani, *Ordo* ii., where it is placed after the delivery of the paten and chalice, and where the words are in the plural. It is found also in the same place, written by a later hand, in the margin of the Cod. Maff., where the words are first given in the singular, and then in the plural ("quo singulis facto ad ultimum dicat in generali, Accipite," &c.). But no mention of the rite is found in the earlier English ordinals, or in any ordinal earlier than the 12th century, or in any of the great liturgical writers of the middle age, Amalarius, Hrabanus of Mainz, Ivo of Chartres, or Hugo of St. Victor. Nor was there any canonical authority for its use until the council of Trent. 7. The prayers which follow are alike, with only verbal variations, in all ordinals (including the Leonine and Gelasian sacramentaries). 8. The bishop then says the preface (or "consummatio presbyteri"). "Let us make a common prayer, brethren, that these who are elected for the help and advantage of your salvation may receive the benediction of the presbyterate. . . ." The prayer of benediction follows, "Sanctificationum omnium Auctor cujus

vera consecratio, cujus plena benedictio est: tu, Domine, super hos famulos tuos quos presbyterii honore dedicamus manum tuae benedictionis infunde..." (Sacram. Gelas., Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., Pontif. Ecgb. Rem. Noviom. S. Dunst. Catur. Rotom. Ratold. Winton. Mogunt.; the benediction is found without the preface in Cod. Maff. and in the Besançon, Sarum, and Exeter Pontificals.) Both forms are placed (1) as here, immediately after the prayer of consecration, in the earliest ordinals, *i.e.* Missale Franc., Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., Pontif. Ecgb. Rem. Noviom.; (2) after the vesting in the chasuble and before the anointing of the hands, Pontif. Camerac. Noviom. ii. Mogunt.; and without the preface, Cod. Maff.; (3) after both the vesting and the anointing, Pontif. S. Dunst. Catur. Becc. Some ordinals omit the mention of either form, so Pontif. S. Elig. Radbod. Rodrad. Thuan. and Sacram. Leon.

9. T e bishop then turns the stole, which has hitherto been worn over the left shoulder only, over the right shoulder, saying, "Receive the yoke of the Lord, for His yoke is easy, and His burden light" (Pontif. Maff. Salisb. Camerac. Mogunt., English ordinals ap. Mask.); in Pontif. Ecgb. this rite takes place apparently at the beginning of the ritual, or as in Pontif. S. Dunst. Caturic. Rotom. *before* the prayer of consecration. The formula in Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. is, "The Lord put the stole of justice round thy neck, and the Lord keep thy mind from all taint of sin." In Mabillon, *Ord.* ix., after the benediction, the archdeacon takes the stoles from the tomb of St. Peter, where they had been placed the day before, and vests the new presbyters in them. Many of the earliest ordinals omit the mention of this rite; sc. Sacram. Gelas., Missale Franc., Codd. Vat. ap. Murat. S. Elig. Rodrad. Rem.; Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* vol. iii. p. 208, thinks that it was a remnant of the primitive use of the British church, and that it was thence introduced into France and other countries.

10. The bishop then vests the presbyter in the chasuble; this rite is omitted in Sacram. Gelas., Missale Franc., Pontif. Rodrad. Radbod., but the mention of it in both Mabillon's ancient ordinals (*Ord.* viii. ix.) as well as in the ordinals mentioned below, leaves little doubt as to its antiquity. Some ordinals, as has been just mentioned, place it before the "consummatio presbyteri;' and its place in relation to the anointing of the hands also varies, most ordinals placing it in the order which is followed here; but Pontif. S. Dunst. Rotom. Caturic. Becc. place it *before* the anointing. The formulae with which the rite was accompanied vary: *a.* Pontif. Bisunt. "The Lord clothe thee with the garment of innocency;" *b.* Pontif. Suess. Salisb. Mogunt. Sarum. "Receive the priestly vestment by which is betokened charity; God is able to give thee an increase of grace;" *c.* Cod. Maff., Pontif. Exon., combine the two preceding formulae, Pontif. Camerac. gives them as alternatives; *d.* Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., Pontif. S. Elig. Rem. Rotom. S. Dunst. Noviom. Becc. Thuan. "The benediction of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, descend upon thee, and mayest thou be blessed in the order of the priesthood, and mayest thou offer pleasing victims to Almighty God for the sins and offences of the people." (This form of benediction is elsewhere placed at the end of the ritual, before the kiss of peace; so Cod. Maff., Pontif. Camerac. Suess. Salisburg. Winton.; its use at this point serves to shew that at one time the vesting in the chasuble was the last of the rites of ordination.)

11. The bishop then anoints the presbyter's hands with the chrism, or oil and chrism, or oil of the catechumens, with a prayer that "whatsoever they blessed might be blessed, whatsoever they sanctified might remain sanctified." (*a.*) This rite is found in almost all ordinals; but not in Sacram. Leon. or in Codd. Vat. Othob. of Sacram. Gregor. or in Pontif. Rodrad: it is mentioned by two French liturgical writers of the 9th century, Amalarius of Metz, †837, *de Eccl. Off.* 2, 13, and Theodulphus of Orleans †821, *Capit. ad Presb.* i., Migne, P. L. vol. cv. p 193; the earliest canonist who speaks of it is Burchard of Worms (†1025), *Decret.* xx. c. 55, Migne, P. L. vol. cxl. p. 629, but the recognised body of canon law distinctly disallows it, quoting a response of pope Nicholas I. to the archbishop of Bourges in 864, who says that it is not a custom of the Roman church and that he has never heard of its being practised in the Christian church (Gratian, *Decret.* 23, c. 12, Migne, P. L. vol. clxxxvii. p. 134, Ivo. Carnot. *Decret.* 6. 121); this must be held conclusive, at any rate as to its not being a general practice in the 9th century; but afterwards it no doubt became general, for Innocent III. insists upon it, and objects to the Greeks for their omission of it (Innocent III. *Epist.* lib. 7. 121; Migne, P. L. vol. ccv. 407). It is important to note that even the Pseudo-Isidorian authorities for the rite (*Epist.* Anacleti, c. 18, ap. Hinschius *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, p. 75; *Epist.* Clement. iii. c. 58, *ibid.* p. 53, to which may be added the spurious *Comment. in lib. I. Regum*, ascribed to Gregory the Great, lib. 4, c. 5; Migne, P. L. vol. lxxix. 278) refer only to bishops; at the same time they clearly shew that the origin of the rite was the growing tendency to institute an analogy of ceremonies between the Old and the New Testament. (*b.*) Several ordinals direct that the hands shall be blessed before being anointed, and give a form of benediction for the purpose; Pontif. Ratold. S. Elig. Rotom. Caturic. Becc. (*c.*) The Mainz Pontifical directs that while the rite of anointing is going on the hymn "Veni Sancte Spiritus" shall be sung, and also, if the number of persons ordained require it, the hymn "Veni Creator;" in the Soissons Pontifical the hymn "Veni Creator" is apparently sung immediately after the anointing; and in the English ordinals ap. Maskell, except the Winchester Pontifical, immediately *before* it. There is no mention of either hymn in other ordinals. (*d.*) In addition to the anointing of the hands, a group of English and Norman pontificals direct the anointing of the head; so Pontif. Ecgb. S. Dunst. Caturic. Rotom. Becc., but not elsewhere.

12. The anointing is followed by the delivery of the "patenam cum oblatis et calicem cum vino" (Pontif. Mogunt. has "calicem pro sacramento praeparatum, superposita hostia") with the words "Receive power to offer sacrifice to God and to celebrate mass, as well for the living as for the dead;" so Cod. Maff., Pontif. Radbod. Salisb. Bisunt. Camerac. Mogunt., English ordinals ap. Maskell, Catalani *Ord.* ii.; but there is no mention of the rite in the oldest ordinals *e.g.* in Missale Franc., Pontif. Rem. Ecgb., Cod. Vat. ap. Murat.; nor in Isidore or Amalarius; nor is it implied in 4 Conc. Tol. c. 27. It probably arose

from the practice of which a record is preserved in the directions which are given in Mabillon's *Ordo* ix. for the ordination of a parish priest at Rome. After the conclusion of the whole service ("expletis omnibus, missa rite completa"), the pope is to give to the new presbyter the priestly vestments, and the instruments of the mass, gold or silver, wine, corn, and oil, with which a procession is made to his parish, both the pope and the people accompanying him.

13. One ordinal, Cod. Maff., directs that if the presbyter is a "presbyter cardinalis," *i.e.* a parish priest, the pope shall give him a ring, saying, "To the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Apostles Peter and Paul, we commit to you the church N., with its clergy and people;" this is probably the earliest form of institution.

14. The benediction follows in Codd. Maff. &c.; see above, § 10; the Sarum, Exeter, and Bangor Pontificals place it at the end of the whole office, after the communion; the Winchester Pontifical places it here.

15. The newly-ordained presbyter then gives the kiss of peace to the bishop, and to all the clergy who are present, Codd. Maff. Suession. Camerac.; the Mainz Pontif. places this rite before the benediction, and directs that the bishop shall go round to each of the newly-ordained presbyters, saying, "Pax tibi, frater, ora pro me:" the English ordinals, except Pontif. Winton., also place it immediately before the benediction, but transfer both rites to the post-communion office.

16. The communion office then proceeds: a deacon reads the Gospel: the newly-ordained presbyters make their offerings to the bishop, and receive them back from him consecrated: so Pontif. Suession. Camerac., Cod. Maff. ap. Muratori, vol. iii. p. 56, directs this generally in the case of both presbyter and deacon, but *ibid.* p. 68, where the ritual is of cardinal presbyters, in the later Roman sense, it directs specially that they shall offer two lighted tapers, two loaves, and two bottles (amphorae) of wine, and omits the clause which follows in the earlier rubric, "et ab eo consecratas accipiant." Mabillon's *Ordo* ix. directs that from these oblations the "novitii presbyteri" shall communicate for eight ensuing days. The rite is an important relic of the primitive communion, in which the bread and wine were offered to the bishop, then blessed by him, and then distributed. The rite itself fell into disuse, but one of its effects survived in the rule which is mentioned in the Soissons Pontifical, and which prevailed in some dioceses, that a presbyter should keep the bread which was consecrated at the time of his ordination for forty days, taking a portion of it every day. The rite probably survived also in the rubric of the later ordinals, that the newly consecrated presbyters should receive the host from the hands of the consecrating bishop.

17. A still more important relic of the primitive communion survived, and possibly survives still, in the theory that in this celebration the newly-ordained presbyters were "concelebrant" with the bishop. The only other instance of the survival of the same rite is that which is mentioned by Innocent III., *de Sacramentis*, c. 25, Migne, P. L. vol. ccxvii. 873, of the cardinal presbyters at Rome being celebrant with the pope; and it is to be noted that the significance of the rite was appreciated by mediaeval canonists, *e.g.*, Durandus *in* iv. *Sent.* dist. 13, qu. 3, who, in spite of the statement of Innocent III., denied its existence. The elements of the historical consideration of the question will be found in Morin *de Sacr. Ordin.* pars iii. exercit. 8, p. 158; Catalani *in Pontif. Rom.* p. 1, tit. 12, § 17.

II. *Eastern Rites.*—1. *Greek.* i. The rite which is described in the Apostolical Constitutions is simply this: "In ordaining a presbyter, O bishop, put thy hand upon his head, the presbytery and the deacons standing by thee, and in praying say, . . ." (then follows a prayer that he who "by the vote and election of all the clergy has been advanced to the presbyterate" may be filled with the spirit of grace and counsel; with this prayer the ritual ends). ii. Dionysius Areopagita says that the ordinand "bends both knees before the holy altar, and has the hand of the hierarch upon his head, and in this way is consecrated by the hierarch with the invocations which make him a priest (ταῖς ἱεροποιοῖς ἐπικλήσεσι ἁγιάζεται)." Then, as in the case of deacons, follows the sign of the cross, the sacred proclamation of election (ἀνάῤῥησις), and the consummating salutation. iii. The later rituals will be found in the Euchologium, ed. Goar, p. 292; ed. Daniel, vol. iv. p. 556; Codd. Bessar. Barber. Paris. Vat. Allat. ed. Morin, p. 66, sqq.; ed. J. A. Asseman. vol. xi. p. 108, sqq.; Sym. Thessal. *de Sacr. Ordin.* c. 179, ed. Migne, P. G. vol. clv. 386).

2. The *Coptic* forms are found in Morin, p. 507; J. A. Asseman, ap. Mai, vol. v. pars ii. p. 213; Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 11; the *Jacobite* in Morin, p. 482; Renaudot ap. Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 71; Greg. Barhebr. vii. 5, ap. Mai, vol. x. pars ii. p. 48; the *Maronite* in Morin, p. 404; J. A. Asseman, vol. ix. p. 112; Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 148; the *Nestorian* in Morin, p. 452; J. S. Asseman, vol. iii. pars ii. p. 813; J. A. Asseman, vol. xiii. p. 12; Denzinger, vol. ii. p. 233.

9. Other Orders and Officers.—Other rites of ordination, which it has not been thought necessary to give in detail here, will be found as follows:—I. Abbat.—1. *Latin:* Cod. Maff. ap. Muratori, vol. iii. p. 100; Hittorp. *Ord. Rom.* p. 139. 2. *Greek:* Morin, pp. 72, 82, 103, 117. 3. *Coptic:* Denzinger, ii. 16. 4. *Nestorian and Jacobite:* J. S. Asseman, *Bibl. Orient.* vol. iii. pars 2, p. 916. II. Abbess.—1. *Latin:* Cod. Maff. ap. Muratori, vol. iii. p. 100; Hittorp, p. 146. 2. *Jacobite:* Greg. Barhebr. *Nomocan.* ap. Mai, *Script. Vet.* x. 51; Denzinger, ii. 71. III. Archdeacon (not in Western ordinals).—1. *Greek:* Morin, p. 115, from Cod. Leo Allat., so also Goar, p. 284. 2. *Coptic:* Morin, p. 508. 3. *Jacobite:* Denzinger, ii. 70. 4. *Maronite:* Morin, p. 402; J. A. Asseman, vol. ix. pp. lxxxii. 97, 269; Denzinger, ii. 142. 5. *Nestorian:* J. S. Asseman, vol. iii. 2, 842; Denzinger, ii. 257. IV. Arch-Presbyter (not in Western ordinals).—1. *Greek:* Morin, p. 113, from Cod. Leo Allat., so also Goar, p. 287. 2. *Coptic:* Denzinger, ii. 16. 3. *Maronite:* Morin, p. 410; J. A. Asseman, vol. ix. pp. lxxxvi. 279. V. Chorepiscopus (not in Latin or Greek ordinals).—1. *Jacobite:* Denzinger, ii. 74. 2. *Maronite:* Morin, p. 415; J. A. Asseman, vol. ix. pp. lxxxvii. 204, 221, 285; Denzinger, ii. 178, 184. 3. *Nestorian:* J. S.

Asseman, iii. 2, 835; J. A. Asseman, xiii. 210; Denzinger, ii. 260. VI. CLERK (*i.e.* the first tonsure).—1. *Latin:* Rouen Pontifical and Cod. Ratoldi ap. Morin, and J. A. Asseman; Salzburg. Bec. Mainz pontificals, ap. Martene; English pontificals, ap. Maskell, iii. p. 144; Sacram. Gregor. ap. Murat. ii. p. 783. 2. *Greek:* Cod. Barberini, ap. Morin, p. 91. VII. DEACONESS.—1. *Latin:* Sacram. Gregor. ed. Murat. ii. p. 918. 2. *Greek:* Const. Apost. viii. 18; Morin, pp. 69, 99; Goar, p. 262. 3. *Jacobite:* Greg. Barhebr. vii. 7, ap. Mai x. 51; Denzinger, ii. 71. 4. *Nestorian:* J. A. Asseman, vol. xiii. p. 218; Denzinger, ii. 261. VIII. MONK.—1. *Latin:* Cod. Maff. ap. Muratori, iii. 101; Hittorp, p. 137. 2. *Greek:* Morin, p. 72; Goar, pp. 468, 473. 3. *Jacobite:* Greg. Barhebr. ap. Mai, x. 60. 4. *Nestorian:* J. S. Asseman, iii. 2, 900. IX. NUN.—1. *Latin:* Sacr. Gelas. ap. Murat. ii. 222; Sacr. Gregor. id. ii. 786; Cod. Maff. id. iii. 103; Missale Francorum, id. iii. 460; Hittorp, pp. 141, 148. X. PERIODEUTES—1. *Jacobite* same as for Chorepiscopus, see above). 2. *Maronite:* J. A. Asseman, vol. ix. pp. lxxxiv. 167; Denzinger, ii. 165. 3. *Nestorian* (same as for Chorepiscopus, see above). XI. WIDOW.—1. *Latin:* Sacr. Gelas. ap. Muratori, ii. 380; Cod. Maff. id. iii. 107; Missale Francorum, id. iii. 464; Missale Gallicum, id. iii. 507; Hittorp, p. 149.

## IV. *Time and place of Ordination.*

I. TIME OF ORDINATION.—(1) *Season of Ordination:* There is no evidence of the existence in the earliest period of any fixed rule as to the season of the year at which appointments to ecclesiastical office might take place, and there is strong reason to believe that entrance upon office followed immediately upon appointment. The non-existence of any such rule is rendered almost certain (*a*) by the fact that when in the Western church in later times a rule was laid down it became necessary to invent an early authority (the decretal of Gelasius) in order to support it; (*b*) by the fact that in the Greek church, even to the present day, ordinations may take place at any time (except that in Lent they are limited to Saturdays and Sundays).

Several limitations of the season of ordination gradually arose in the Western church, and the rule which ultimately became established by the canon law was neither the earliest nor the only one.

1. Zeno of Verona († 380) speaks of Easter (*i.e.* probably Easter Day and Easter Eve) as being a special time for the promotion of clerks (ministri), and the reconciliation of penitents (S. Zenon. Veron. lib. 2, tract 50, ap. Migne, P. L. vol. xi. p. 506).

2. Leo the Great (*Epist.* ix. (xi.) *ad Diosc. Alexand.* vol. i. p. 628) has a passage which has given rise to some controversy. He says that ordinations to the priesthood or the diaconate ought not to take place on any chance day, but "post diem sabbati ejus noctis quae in prima sabbatis lucescit:" (*a*) According to one view, these words are to be understood as allowing ordinations only at Easter (*i.e.* on Easter Eve and Easter Day). In support of this view is the fact, that Leo only allowed baptisms to be celebrated at Easter and Pentecost (*Epist.* xvi. c. 3, i. p. 719). (*b*) According to another view, the words allow ordinations on Saturday night, or on the morning of any Lord's Day. This view is rendered almost certain by another passage, in which Leo, writing to Anastasius of Thessalonica, objects to the practice of limiting the restriction to the Lord's Day to the ordination of bishops, and of ordaining presbyters and deacons on any day (*Epist.* vi. (iv.) i. p. 610). A further corroboration of this view is the complaint which, in writing to the emperor Marcian, he makes against Anatolius; it is, that the latter had ordained a presbyter on a Friday; but nothing whatever is said about the limitation of ordinations to a particular season. (*Epist.* iii. *ad Marcian. Imp.* i. p. 1185. On the whole question see the notes of Quesnel, and the Ballerini to the passage of Leo first quoted above; and also Quesnel, *Dissert.* vi. *de jejunio sabbati*, reprinted by the Ballerini in their edition of Leo, vol. ii. p. 1069, and by Migne, P. L. vol. lv. p. 627.)

3. The ordinary practice of the bishops of Rome, which however does not appear to have been erected into a rule, and which probably grew up in the period intervening between Leo the Great and the establishment of the four seasons, was to hold ordinations in December (see Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Liber Pontificalis*, passim, but especially Bianchini's ed. vol. iii. § 72; Amalarius *de Div. Off.* 2, 1; but Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* vol. ii. p. ciii, Catalani, *Com. in Pontif. Rom.* pars i. tit. ii. § 12, mention various exceptions to the practice).

4. Out of the rule or usage that both ordainers and ordained must fast at the time of ordination, arose the usage which appears to have become a rule in the course of the 8th century, that ordinations must take place at the Ember seasons, *i.e.* at the fasts in the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months. The rule is given in the majority of ordinals in the form "mensis primi, quarti, septimi, decimi, sabbatorum die in xii. lectionibus;" so Sacram. Gelas., Pontif. Rem. S. Dunst. Rodrad. Vat. ap. Murat. Elsewhere the particular weeks are specified, as being the first week of the first month, the second of the fourth, the third of the seventh, the fourth of the tenth; so Pontif. Egb., Hraban. Maur. *de Instit. Cler.* ii. 24; Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 34, quoted as an authority by Gratian, *Dist.* 76, c. 2; Mabillon's *Ordo* ix. agrees with the preceding, except that it specifies the Saturday before Christmas; so Amalarius, *de Eccl. Off.* 2, 1. But although it became customary to speak of four seasons only, it is clear that ordinations in Lent were not limited to a single Saturday. In probably the oldest existing MS. which contains the rule (Fragm. Cod. Vat. ap. Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 17) any time "a quinquagesima incipiente usque quinto decimo die ante pascha," appears to be allowed; and the Pseudo-Isidorian decretal, upon which subsequent usage made the rule to rest, specifies the Saturdays at the beginning and in the middle of Lent (S. Gelas. i. *Epist.* ix. *ad Episc. per Lucan.* c. 13 = Decret. General. ap. Hinschius, *Decret. Pseudo-Isid.* p. 652; cf. Gratian, *Dist.* 75, 7; D. Ivon. Carnot, *Decret.* 6, 74). It is, however, clear, that even after the general reception of this decretal there was some variety of usage; and the rule which ultimately prevailed, and which is recognised in the modern Roman Pontifical, appears to combine the rule

of the four seasons with the earlier rule of holding ordinations at Easter.

The earliest certain instance of the observance of the four seasons as times of ordination, is in Paul the Deacon's account of Chrodegang of Metz (circ. 766) as having ordained presbyters, "as is the custom of the Roman church, on the Saturdays at the four seasons" (Paul. Diacon. *de Ordine Episc. Metens.* ap. Migne, P. L. vol. xcv. p. 710); but they had been previously recognised by the Roman Council of 743, c. 11, under pope Zachary; and not long afterwards the Frankish capitularies gave them a civil sanction (Statt. Rhispac. et Frising. A.D. 799, c. 7, ap. Pertz, *Legum*, vol. i. p. 78).

It may be convenient to add, that the modern Roman rule allows (*a*) the tonsure to be conferred at any time, (*b*) minor orders on any Sunday or double festival, (*c*) major orders at the times stated in the above-mentioned decretal of Alexander III.

(2) *Day of Ordination.*—It may be gathered from what has been said above, that even before ordination came to be restricted to certain seasons of the year they were limited in the Western church to a certain day of the week. It is antecedently probable that the more important appointments and admissions to church offices would take place on Sundays, and there is therefore reason to suppose that the Greek practice, to which Leo the Great (see above) bears witness, of ordaining bishops on Sundays, is primitive. It is difficult to trace the origin of a similar limitation in the case of presbyters and deacons. But it is in entire harmony with the general view of the nature of ordination which has been given above, that the evening of Saturday rather than Sunday should have been the customary time. The performance of the sacred functions to which they were called immediately succeeded their appointment and recognition. If the functions themselves were performed early on Sunday morning, the appointment and recognition of the officers would naturally take place on Saturday evening. Hence the Western rule, which is embodied in the Gelasian expression "die Sabbati circa vesperam."

(3) *Place of Ordinations in Divine Service.*—Inasmuch as admissions to ecclesiastical office in primitive times consisted in a public recognition of the officer who had been elected or appointed, followed by a performance of the duties of his office, it was natural that such admissions should take place under circumstances which admitted of such performance.

In the Western church it seems to have been customary that admissions to major orders should take place during divine service; but not even the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals give any authority for the custom, and according to Hallier, *de Sacr. Elect.* p. 969, later canonists sometimes inserted the words "intra missam" into a letter of the Pseudo-Anacletus in order to obtain the appearance of such authority. The custom is, however, assumed by the ordinals, all of which (but not the Missal. Franc.) direct that the declaration of election to major orders shall be made immediately after the introit ("postquam Antiphonam ad Introitum dixerint"); so Sacram. Gelas. Cod. Vat. ap. Murat., Pontif. Rem. Ratold. S. Dunst. S. Elig. Senon. Noviom. Caturic. Salisb. Rotom. The place of the ceremonies of admission is less precisely defined: (1) The oldest rubric (see above, *Ordination of Deacons*, i.) appears to make the benediction follow immediately upon the litany which follows the declaration of election. (2) Mabillon's *Ordo*, viii. and almost all ordinals place the ceremonies of ordination between the epistle and gospel, before the Alleluia or Tract. (3) The Sarum Pontifical expressly places the ordination of subdeacons before the epistle, which the new subdeacon reads. (4) The Pontif. Ratold. Casanat. are apparently alone in placing all ordinations before the epistle. The majority of ordinals give no directions as to the time of admission to minor orders. The Pontif. S. Elig. places them "post communionem," the Sarum Pontifical during the lessons, before the mass proper begins.

In the Greek church there are early indications that the celebration of the Eucharist immediately followed admission to major orders, *e. g.* Clement. *Recogn.* 6, 15; Dionys. Areop. *de Eccl. Hier.* 6, 3, 5; although even so late as the beginning of the 9th century it is not spoken of as though it were a universal rule; *e. g.* by S. Theodor. Stud. *Epist.* lib. 2, 101. But all MSS. of the ordinals agree in making ordinations to the lectorate and subdiaconate take place outside the liturgy, and in making ordinations to major orders take place at a definite point in the liturgy. The ordination of deacons is placed after the oblation and the opening of the doors; that of presbyters after the cherubic hymn.

In the other Eastern churches there is less uniformity of usage. The Nestorian Ordinal expressly provides for the case of ordinations (except those of bishops) which are not accompanied by a celebration of the Liturgy. The Coptic ordinal places all ordinations, except to the episcopate, immediately before the preface of the anaphora. The Jacobite and Maronite ordinals place ordinations after the consecration of the elements. (For a more precise account see Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, vol. i. p. 144.)

II. Place of Ordination.—There does not appear to have been in the earliest times any rule as to the place in which ordination, in the sense of appointment, might be made. From the nature of the case, when appointments were made by popular suffrage, they were made in a popular assembly; hence Origen (*Hom. in Levit.* 6, c. 3, vol. ii. p. 216) argues from the public appointments of priests by Moses. But when they were made by the bishop or the *Ordo*, they were necessarily, in some cases, made under circumstances which did not admit of the gathering of an assembly in a definite place. As, for example, when, with the tacit consent of the people and the other members of the *Ordo*, Cyprian, and those who were with him, appointed Aurelius and Celerinus (S. Cypr. *Epist.* 33, 34, vol. ii. p. 320, 324). The stress which Cyprian elsewhere lays on the necessity of ordinations being made in public (id. *Epist.* 68, 3, vol. i. p. 1026 = Synodal letter of the council of Carthage to the clergy and people in Spain), shews that the freedom which existed as to the place of appointment was in danger of being abused, but it shews also that such freedom existed. The only conciliar regulation on the

subject, which is found in the first five centuries, is that of the Conc. Laod. c. 5, which enacts that χειροτόνιαι (*i.e.* appointments, according to both Balsamon and Zonaras) should not take place in the presence of ἀκροώμενοι (prob. = catechumens, but according to Hefele, *Councils*, E. T. vol. ii. p. 301 = the class of penitents so named. See vol. i. p. 151, AUDIENTES). The reason for this rule was, that the faults of persons were freely canvassed on such occasions; and that it was inexpedient that any, except full members of the church, should take part in the election. When special buildings came to be set apart for assembly and worship, ordination naturally took place in them; and Gregory Nazianzen is indignant because the ordination of Maximus the Cynic, which was begun in a church, was finished in a private house (S. Greg. Nazianz. *Poem. de vit. sua* v. 909; cf. Greg. Presb. *Vit. S. Greg. Nazianz.* Migne, P. G. vol. xxxv. p. 282). But the point was not the sacredness of a church, but its publicity; even Theophilus of Alexandria does not do more than insist that ordinations shall not be made in secret (λαθραίως), and that when the church is at peace they shall consequently be made in church (S. Theophil. Alex. can. 7, ap. Pitra, i. 648).

The earliest regulation as to ordinations in the sense of admission to office, and the earliest positive enactment as to ordinations in any sense, is that of the civil law. Justinian (*Novell.* 6, c. i. 9, and c. 4, A.D. 535) enacts that admissions to ecclesiastical office must take place in the presence of all the people as a guarantee of the purity of the election. The absence of an earlier regulation, whether ecclesiastical or civil, is shewn by the fact that the later canonists were compelled to invent one; *i.e.* they inserted the word *manifeste* in Conc. Chalc. c. 6 (Gratian, *Decret.* 1, Dist. 70; D. Ivon. Carnot. *Panorm.* 3, 27). Of the very doubtful Syrian council, which is sometimes assigned to A.D. 405, and of which the canons are printed by Mansi, vol. vii. 1181, no account need be taken. When ordinations came to take place in a church, it was natural that they should, as a rule, take place in the cathedral church. At the same time there has never been any rule limiting them to the cathedral church.

In later times, when the ceremonies of admission to holy orders were interwoven with the liturgy, it was enacted that they should take place, not merely in a church, but before the altar. There is a probability that this had come to be the rule in the early part of the 7th century, inasmuch as 4 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 28, in providing for the readmission to office of a clerk who had been unjustly deposed, provides that the ceremonies of his original ordination shall be repeated, and this is to take place "coram altario." But the first direct enactment to this effect is that of the ordinals, which are probably at least a century later.

The rule of the modern Roman Pontifical is, that the tonsure and minor orders may be conferred in any place whatever ("quocunque loco," "ubicumque," Pontit. Rom. pars 1, tit. 2, §§ 13, 14); but the ritual assumes throughout that the place will be a church. Ordinations to holy orders must take place either in the cathedral, or, if any other place in the diocese, in the "ecclesia dignior" of the place (*ib.* § 22).

### V. *Minister of Ordination.*

In the earliest period of church history when, as has been shewn above, the important element in ordination was not the act of admission to office but the act of appointment to it, the question as to who could ordain is practically identical with the question which has been already answered, as to who could take part in an appointment. The presumption is that, at least in the three primitive offices of presbyter, deacon, and reader, the whole church acted together. There was always a nomination, an election, an approval, and a declaration of election. The two latter of these functions, in the church as in the empire, devolved on the presiding officer, who, in the church, as also in the empire, frequently added to them the further function of nomination or "commendatio." But when, in course of time, a church ceased to be a complete, self-contained and organic unity, and had outlying churches dependent upon it, or was itself merged in a larger organization, and when greater importance came to be attached to the recognition by a church of its newly-appointed officer, and to the prayer for blessing upon his office, there grew up an abundant crop of questions, partly as to the limits of the rights of dependent churches to make appointments without reference to the mother church, and partly as to the limits of the rights of independent churches to act without reference to the general confederation of churches, and partly as to the unity or the plurality of the channels through which divine grace flowed, some of which questions are still unsolved, and many of which have, at various times, been the cause not only of theological controversy but of political disturbance. It is, of course, impossible here to do more than indicate the chief facts which must be taken into consideration in any general view of the subject; and, for the sake of clearness, the word *ordainer* will be used in its narrower sense of one who can admit to ecclesiastical office, whether the person admitted be appointed by himself or by others.

1. *Ordainers of Presbyters.*—i. The earliest evidence is presumably that of 1 Tim. iv. 14, where the giving of the "gift" (χάρισμα) to Timothy, is said to have been accompanied with (μετά) the "laying on of hands of the presbytery." But the evidence is ambiguous, inasmuch as it is uncertain (1) what was the precise office which Timothy filled; (2) whether the presbytery acted alone, or whether the presence of an apostle or other president is assumed, though it is not mentioned. ii. Early patristic evidence is for the most part ambiguous, on account of the ambiguity of the terms employed; *e.g.* in Firmilian's letter to Cyprian (S. Cyprian. *Epist.* 75, 7, vol. i. p. 1161), "majores natu qui et baptizandi et manum imponendi et ordinandi possident potestatem," where manum imponendi may possibly refer only to confirmation after baptism, and ordinandi only to election. iii. That the bishop and presbyters acted together is rendered probable, partly by the general character of the relations between bishops and presbyters [PRIEST], and partly by the fact that the Western church, which in many similar respects has been more

conservative of ancient usages than the Eastern, has to this day retained the co-operation of bishops and presbyters in the ceremony of imposition of hands (see above: *Ordination of Presbyters*). iv. That the bishop could in certain cases act alone, is a probable but not a proved hypothesis. Its probability chiefly arises from the fact that in the Apostolical Constitutions, and in all eastern ordinals, though the clergy, and especially the archdeacon, as the representative of the clergy, have a place in the ritual, the bishop alone imposes his hands. v. Whether presbyters could act alone is a keenly disputed, but as yet unsolved question: (*a*) The case of Ischyras, who was ordained presbyter by the presbyter Colluthus of Alexandria, and whose ordination was subsequently disallowed, would hardly have been possible if the point had previously been ruled in the negative by competent authority. (For the detail of the controversy, see the letter of the Mareotic clergy to the synod of Tyre, ap. S. Athanas. *Apol. c. Arian.* c. 75, vol. i. p. 152): (*b*) The early canon (Conc. Ancyr. c. 14) which forbids chorepiscopi to ordain (χειροτονεῖν) presbyters or deacons, also forbids city presbyters to do so, except by commission from the bishop; assuming that ordination is here used in its later sense, the canon is a clear admission that presbyters are disqualified from ordaining presbyters, not by any defect inherent in their office, but on the ground which is assigned by the Apostolical Constitutions, of church order (αὔτη γάρ ἐστι τάξις ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ ἁρμονία. C. A. 3, 11). It is interesting to compare with this the statement of the great antiquarian and canonist of the West in the seventh century: "sola propter auctoritatem summo sacerdoti ordinatio et consecratio reservata est, ne a multis ecclesiae disciplina vendicata concordiam solveret, scandala generaret" (Isidor. Hispal. *de Eccl. Off.* 2, 7): (*c*) In later times presbyters were no doubt disqualified, and so far did the notion of their disqualification go, that 2 Conc. Hispal. A.D. 619, c. 5, disallows the ordination of certain presbyters upon whom a bishop had laid his hands, but to whom, at the same time, a presbyter and not the bishop had given the benediction. In this respect even the dispensing power of the pope was regarded as being limited: he could commission a presbyter to confer minor but not major orders, "qui habent immediatam relationem ad corpus Christi" (St. Thom. Aquin. *in IV. Sent.* dist. 25, qu. 1, art. 1 = *Summa Theol.* suppl. in p. iii. qu. 38, art. 1). vi. The question of the right of chorepiscopi to ordain presbyters is also one of great difficulty: (*a*) In the fourth century chorepiscopi are found only in the East, and were probably no more than the parish priests of rural parishes; they were the first attempt at ecclesiastical organization in the direction which afterwards resulted in the parochial system; their rights in respect of ordination, which may, however, in this case mean only appointment, are strictly defined by Conc. Ancyr. A.D. 314, c. 8, 1 Conc. Antioch. A.D. 341, c, 10, which give them an original right of ordaining readers, subdeacons, and exorcists, but only a deputed right of ordaining presbyters and deacons. (*b*) The origin and status of the French chorepiscopi of the 8th and 9th centuries is much more obscure; and the question of their right to ordain was probably the chief cause of the forgery of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals. The genuine writings of Isidore (*de Eccl. Off.* lib. 2, 6) repeat the rule of the council of Ancyra, and allow chorepiscopi to ordain presbyters with the consent of the city bishop on whom they depend. But in the 9th century there appears to have been on the one hand a claim on the part of certain chorepiscopi to dispense with the necessity of such consent, and on the other hand a contention that not even with such consent could they ordain either presbyters or deacons. The controversy is one of great interest, because it involves the whole question of the validity of non-episcopal ordination; but the points involved are too intricate, and the literature too extensive, to be more than mentioned here. (The elements of the controversy will be found in the spurious letters of Damasus, *de vana corepiscoporum superstitione vitanda*, ap. Hinschius, *Decret. Pseudo-Isidor.* p. 509, of Leo the Great, *ibid.* p. 628 (printed also among St. Leo's works as *Epist.* 88, *ad Germaniae et Galliae Episc.*, on which see Quesnel's dissertation, which is reprinted by both the Ballerini and Migne), and of John III. *ibid.* p. 715; in the letter of Leo III. in answer to Charles the Great's mission of Arno of Salzburg, ap. Caroli Magn. *Capit.* tit. iv. ed. Mansi, xiii. p. 1059; in the treatise of Hrabanus Maurus, *Opusc.* ii. ed. Migne, *P. L.* vol. cx. p. 1195, Labbe, *Concil.* Append. ad vol. viii.; in the letter of Nicholas I. to the archbishop of Bourges (S. Nicol. *Epist.* append. i. ep. 19, 1, ap. Mansi, vol. xv. 390, Migne, vol. cxix. p. 884); and in a number of synodical decrees or capitularies, the most important of which is that of the council of Meaux, A.D. 845, c. 44 (Mansi, vol. xiv. p. 829). The controversy has been reviewed by most writers on the clerical office, *e.g.* by Morin, *de Sacr. Ordin.* pars iii. exercit. 4, and by Natalis Alexander, *Append. ad diss. de Episcop. super Presb. Eminentia.* The best account of its history is in Weizsäcker, *Der Kampf gegen den Chorepiscopat des fränkischen Reichs*, Tübingen, 1859. The ultimate result of the controversy was, that in the Western church chorepiscopi ceased to exist except in name, and that the city bishops finally established their claim to be the sole channel through which the spiritual status of presbyters could be conferred.

2. *Ordainers of Deacons.*—What has been said above as to the competency of others than bishops to ordain presbyters, applies also, for the most part, to the case of deacons. The special closeness of the connexion between the episcopate and the diaconate gave an especially strong claim to the former to admit the latter to office. The case of Felicissimus, who was made ("constituit") deacon by Novatus (S. Cyprian, *Epist.* 49, vol. i. p. 728), shews that the appointment, which, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, may be held to include the admission, of a deacon by a presbyter, though viewed with great disfavour, was not regarded as invalid; but the whole tendency of ecclesiastical discipline was opposed to such ordinations, and mediaeval canonists held that not even a papal dispensation could authorise them.

3. *Ordainers of Minor Orders.*—i. The right

of city or diocesan bishops to admit to minor orders is undisputed. ii. That chorepiscopi could admit as well as appoint to minor orders, is a probable inference from Conc. Ancyr. c. 14, and Conc. Antioch. c. 10. It was allowed in the later controversies to which reference has been made above. iii. That presbyters can admit to minor orders of their own mere motion is uniformly denied; but that they can do so by commission is as uniformly asserted; *e. g.* by Gelasius, *Epist. ad Episc. Lucan.* c. 8 = *Decret. General.* ap. Hinschius, p. 651; see S. Thom. Aquin. *Summa*, suppl. in p. iii. qu. 38, art. 1, and Hallier, *de Sacr. Elect. et Ordin.* p. 568. iv. Abbats, provided (*a*) that they are presbyters; (*b*) that they have received episcopal benediction as abbats, can ordain readers in their own abbey according to 2 Conc. Nicaen. c. 14—a regulation which was adopted in Western canon law. (Gratian, *Decret.* p. i. dist. 69, c. 1; Ivo, *Decret.* p. 5, c. 376, 1; see also Innocent III. *Epist.* ann. xiii. 127, Migne, P. L. vol. ccxvi. 314.)

4. *Ordainers of Clerks.*—The Apostolical Constitutions, dealing probably with the period in which each church was complete in itself, do not allow presbyters to ordain even clerks (*C. A.* 3, 20). But in the West, when the parochial system established itself, and the rectors of rural parishes came to have a sphere of work and authority which was in many respects independent of the bishop, presbyters stood in a very different relation to the lower orders of clergy. In the 7th century they were not only allowed to admit clerks, but encouraged to do so (Conc. Emerit. A.D. 666, c. 18); and almost all the ordinals of the Gregorian type agree with *Statt. Eccl. Ant.* c. 10 in enacting that a singer may enter upon his office "absque scientia episcopi, sola jussione presbyteri."

### VI. *Re-ordination.*

It is probable that in the earliest period each church defined for itself, in individual cases, the conditions upon which a person who had forfeited his office should be restored to it, or upon which the officer of another church should have his status recognised. It is also probable that, although the honorary rank which was frequently given sometimes became substantive, the state of things which is forbidden by *Can. Apost.* c. 68, once actually existed, and that an officer of one church who sought office in another had to undergo a second election and a second admission to office. When the age of councils began, the rules which were laid down, either for a group of churches or for the catholic church throughout the world, ordinarily specified the penalty which was incurred by a violation of them. The chief of these penalties were, a declaration of invalidity (ἄκυρος ἔστω ἡ χειροτονία), and a requirement to cease from office (πεπαύσθω ὁ τοιοῦτος τοῦ κλήρου, καθαιρείσθω). The offences to which they were affixed were chiefly, (*a*) violation of rules of ecclesiastical organisation, by having been ordained out of the proper church, or by other than the proper bishop: (*b*) simoniacal ordination; (*c*) ordination while in a state of lapse or heresy. [For a detailed account of the several offences, see ORDERS, HOLY: *Qualifications for: Discipline of.*] A person who was so deposed, or whose ordination was so declared to be null, could not become a church officer again without again going through the processes which he had gone through incompletely in the first instance: for example, Conc. Nicaen. c. 8 enacts that returning Cathari shall receive imposition of hands: *id.* c. 19 enacts that returning Paulianists must be both rebaptized and re-elected (ἀναβαπτισθέντες χειροτονείσθωσαν). This continued to be the practice of the church. For example, when some of the Arian clergy wished to return to the catholic faith, it was enacted that they might be admitted to office by the bishop "cum impositae manus benedictione" (1 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 511, c. 10; Conc. Caesaraug. A.D. 592, c. 1): so in the following century, of those who were ordained "a Scottorum vel Britonum episcopis," who held schismatical views on the questions of tonsure and Easter (Poenit. Theodor. ii. 9, 1, ap. Haddan and Stubbs, vol. iii.): and so also in the following century, of those who were ordained by "episcopi ambulantes" (Pippin, *Capit. Vermer.* A.D. 753, § 14, ap. Pertz, *Legum*, vol. i. p. 23); and for those who had been unjustly degraded 4 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 28, prescribes the ritual of reordination.

But early in the history of the church, there had resulted from the Donatist controversy a belief in the minds of many theologians that the grace which was conferred at ordination, like that which was conferred at baptism, was inalienable; and that, in spite of lapse, the one as well as the other remained till death, and might, moreover, be communicated to others. This belief is expressed with some emphasis by St. Augustine: *e.g. de Baptismo c. Donat.* i. 1, vol. ix. p. 109; *contra Epist. Parmen.* ii. 28, vol. ix. p. 70, and is either stated or implied in *Cod. Eccles. Afric.* i. 27 (on which see Schelstrat ap. Van Espen, *in loc.*); *id.* c. 48; 5 Conc. Carth. c. 11; and it was again strongly asserted by Gregory the Great, *Epist.* ii. 46 *ad Joann. Ravenn.*; see also S. Leo Magn. *Epist.* 18 (14) *ad Januar.* p. 731. An isolated but important factor in the discussion is the existence of a Galatian inscription of A.D. 461, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* No. 9259, which gives a record of one who was *twice* presbyter (δὶς γενόμενος πρεσβύτερος).

### VII. *Literature.*

The literature of ordination is extensive, but the following will be found to be the most important references: 1. The early authorities and ordinals, for which see ORDINAL. 2. The early mediaeval antiquarians, Isidore of Seville (*de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*), Albinus Flaccus (Alcuin) (*de Divinis Officiis*), Amalarius (*de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*), Hrabanus Maurus (*de Institutione Clericorum*) (which four treatises, with others, will be found printed together in Hittorp. *de Divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Officiis*, Cologne, 1568). 3. The French liturgical writers of the 17th century: Hallier (*de Sacris Electionibus et Ordinationibus*), Paris, 1636; Morin (*de Sacris Ecclesiae Ordinationibus*), Paris, 1655; Thomassin (*Ancienne et Nouvelle Discipline de l'Eglise*), ed. i. Paris, 1677; Martene (*de Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*), ed. i. Rouen, 1700 (quoted above from the Bassano edition of 1788), to which may be added Catalani's notes to his edition of the *Pontificale Romanum*, Rome, 1751 (reprinted at Paris in 1851).

[For *Qualifications for Ordination*, *Examination* (in the later sense), *Intervals between Grades of Orders* (Interstitia), *Title*, see under ORDERS, HOLY.] [E. H.]

ORDO. A directory for the due performance of any sacred rite. An ordo might (1) contain directions only, or (2) it might give the prayers also. [LITURGICAL BOOKS, p. 1008.]

For several centuries the prayers in the sacramentaries were not accompanied by sufficient directions for their proper use. The rubrics in the liturgies of St. James and St. Mark are very few and brief compared with those of the present Greek office. The same difference is observable when we compare the Gelasian Sacramentary and the earlier copies of the Gregorian with the later copies of the latter; and so again when we compare the old Gallican missals, disused from the 8th century, with the Hispano-Gothic, which was in use, and undergoing changes, down to the end of the eleventh. This paucity of directions would cause great inconvenience, especially when ceremonies were multiplied to the degree of which St. Augustine complains (*Ep.* 55, *ad Januar.* 19, § 35), and a supplementary book of instructions in ceremonial would be found equally necessary with that from which the prayers were learnt. In the West this want was met by the compilation of a book to which, before long, the conventional name of *Ordo* attached itself. In Gaul, in the 8th century, each priest was required to describe his own practice in writing, and to present this "libellus ordinis" to the bishop in Lent for his approbation, "rationem et ordinem ministerii sui, sive de baptismo, sive de fide catholica, sive de precibus et ordine missarum" (*Capit.* Karlomanni, A.D. 742, in Baluz. *Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 824). In the same age, about 730, as it is supposed, appeared the "libellus ordinis Romani," or "Ordo Romanus," a directory for the use of the bishops of Rome and its suburbicarian dioceses (*Ord. Rom.* i. § 28; *Mus. Ital.* ii. 17) in the first instance, but which became, in time, so far as it could, a guide to all the priests who used the Roman offices. Mabillon has printed three libelli *de Missa Pontificali* (*Ord.* i. ii. iii. *u. s.* 1-60), which may be called three editions, differing little in age, of the same directory; two others, *de Missa Episcopali* (v. vi. 64–76), which, from the celebrant being called episcopus as frequently as pontifex and from other indications, appear to be intended for the use of any bishop; one "Ordo Scrutinii ad electos, qualiter debeat celebrari" (vii. 77–84); and two concerning the ordination of the clergy (viii. ix. 85–94) [ORDINAL]; all of which were, in the judgment of the editor, "written before the 9th or 10th century" (*Comment. Praev.* ix.). One of the libelli *de Missa Episcopali* above-mentioned, speaks of the strictly Roman book from which it was derived as *Romanus Ordo* (*O.* vi. 8, p. 73); and under this name a directory authorised by Rome was adopted in Gaul towards the end of the 8th century: "Unusquisque presbyter missam ordine Romano cum sandaliis celebret" (*Capitularia Reg. Franc.* v. 371). Penitents were to be reconciled, "sicut in sacramentario, et in Ordine Romano, continetur" (*ibid.* vii. 202, and *Canones* Isaaci Ling. i. 35). Amalarius of Metz, about 820, wrote a commentary on parts of *Ordo* ii. (*Mus. Ital.* ii. 42–51) under the title of "Eglogae in Ordinem Romanum," first printed by Baluze (*Capit. Reg. Fr.* ii. 1352); then by Mabillon (*u. s.* p. 549), in the body of which he also names the libellus absolutely "Romanus Ordo." He also frequently refers to this, and to the apparently earlier form of it, *Ordo* i. (*u. s.* 3–40) in his work *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, There it is "Libellus Romanus" (i. 17; iii. 27), "Libellus Romani Ordinis" (i. 30), or "Libellus qui continet Romanum Ordinem" (i. 21). In his treatise, *De Antiphonario*, he again calls it simply "Romanus Ordo" (c. 52). There also he recognizes the existence of more than one such directory: "Scripta quae continent per diversos libellos Ordinem Romanum" (*ibid.*).

That the Ordo Romanus was later than the sacramentary, and ancillary to it, is evident from a reference to the latter in *Ordo* i. On Wednesday in holy week the bishop "dicit orationes solemnes, sicut in sacramentorum (libro) continetur" (c. 28, p. 19). But at length many of the directions of the Ordo were incorporated with the sacramentary, and thus became "rubrics." Compare, for example, the rubrics peculiar to Codex Eligianus, from which Ménard prints (*Opp.* S. Greg. tom. iii. 62, 64, Wednesday in holy week; 65, Maundy Thursday, &c.) with *Ord. Rom.* i. § 28, 30, &c. The earliest Ordo was at least re-written after the time of Charlemagne, whom it thus mentions: "Sabbato tempore Adriani institutum est, ut flecteretur pro Carolo rege" (24, comp. § 28). Usher supposes that it was originally compiled about 730 (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* in v. *Ordo Rom.*).

(2) An office of prayer, with its rubrics, was also called *Ordo*. Thus in the Besançon sacramentary of the 7th century, "Incipit Ordo Baptismi" (*Mus. Ital.* i. 323); in a Roman sacramentary of the 9th, "Ordo vero qualiter catacizantur (*sic*) est ita" (*Cod. Gellon.* in Marten. *Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. i. 18; *Ord.* 6); "Ordo ad infirmum caticuminum (*sic*) faciendum vel baptizandum" (ibid. *Ord.* 7); "Incipit Ordo ad poenitentiam dandam" (*Ex eod. cod.* u. s. i. vi. 7; *Ord.* 6), etc. *Ratio* was sometimes used in the same sense; as, "Incipit Ratio ad dandam poenitentiam" (*ibid.* i. vi. 3, *Ord.* 2; sim. *Ord.* 10), "Ratio qualiter Domus Dei consecrandus est" (*Pontificale* Ecgberhti, 26; ed. Surtees Soc.).

*Literature.*—In 1561, George Cassander printed at Cologne four ancient "Libelli Ordinis Romani;" A. "Ordo Processionis ad Ecclesiam sive Missam secundum Romanos;" B. "Ordo Processionis quando Episcopus festivis diebus Missam celebrare voluerit," &c.; C. "In nomine Domini incipit Liber de Romano Ordine, qualiter celebrandum sit Officium Missae;" D. "Incipit Ordo Ecclesiasticus Romanae Ecclesiae, vel qualiter Missa celebratur." In 1568, Melchior Hittorp reprinted these at Cologne in his collection of tracts, *De Divinis Eccl. Cath. Officiis*, in the order, as compared with that of Cassander, A, B, D, C. To these he added a very long "Ordo Romanus Antiquus de reliquis Anni totius Officiis ac Ministeriis," compiled from several "libelli ordinis" of very different dates, as it appears, probably by Bernold of Constance, A.D. 1066, which was republished from another MS. with considerable variations by Martin Gerbert, *Monum. Vet. Liturgiae Alemannicae*, P. III. p. 186, typis San. Blas. 1777. The libelli of Cassander reappeared in the *Mus. Ital.* of Mabillon, with two others

within our time, if we mistake not, and many later. His order is that of the apparent dates; D (much enlarged); A; C; iv. "Fragmentum Vet. Ord. Rom. Missa Pontificali" (complete at the end of Amalarius, *Eglogae*, Baluz. *Cap. Reg. Fr.* ii. 1365; whence Mabill. *u. s.* 559 and 61); v. "Ordo Rom. *u. s.* de Missa Episcopali (primus);" B. L. A. Muratori has transcribed the earliest of these (Mabill. i. Cass. D) into his *Liturgia Romana Vetus* (tom. ii. p. 973) from Mabillon. Gerbert also gives D (the first part of Mab. i.) in his *Monum.* u. s. p. 144, from a MS. of the 9th century. [W. E. S.]

**OREMUS** (δεηθῶμεν). This is the signal, or invitation, to the people to join in spirit in the prayer which is to follow. In the West, except in Spain and perhaps Gaul, both the invitation and the prayer were uttered by the priest, who was said respectively *orationem indicere* and *dare*. In the East it belonged to the deacon's office to "bid" the prayers; and the earlier and full form, of which the Clementine Liturgy and that of St. James give several examples, consisted in the deacon announcing the topics of prayer to the people clause by clause, while they responded Κύριε ἐλέησον, or some corresponding ejaculation, at the close of which the priest summed up the petitions in a collect. It is possibly a trace of a similar custom that we find in the Gelasian Sacramentary for certain days (*e.g.* lib. i. 41, Ordo *de feria vi. passione Domini*) such directions as these: "Sacerdos dicit *Oremus*, et adnuntiat diaconus *Flectamus genua*. Et post paululum dicit *Levate*. Et dat orationem." Similarly, Ordo Romanus I. (Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* tom. ii. p. 22, &c.). That in Africa the priest bade the prayers may be inferred from St. Aug. *Ep.* 217, *ad Vitalem*, § 2 (Migne, tom. ii. 978), where he says "quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei orare pro incredulis," &c. In Spain and Gaul it appears that the deacon gave the invitation, while the priest pronounced the prayer (cf. Isid. Hispal. *de Eccles. Off.* lib. ii. cap. 8: "Ipsi (sc. diaconi) clara voce in modum praeconis admonent cunctos, sive in orando, sive in flectendo genua, sive in psallendo, sive in lectionibus audiendo"; and immediately afterwards "illi (sacerdoti) orare, huic (diacono) psallere mandatur." The sermon attributed to Caesarius of Arles, among the *Sermones Supposit.* of St. Augustine, tom. v. app. *Serm.* 286, §§ 1, 7, suggests the same conclusion. [PRAECO; PROSPHONESIS.]

In the present Mozarabic Liturgy, "Oremus" is only said twice, viz. before the "Agyos," and before the *Capitulum*, which introduces the Lord's Prayer.

It is worth while to notice the occurrence of the word in the Roman Missal, just before the offertory, where no spoken prayer follows it. This probably marks the place of some variable prayer, answering (it may be) to the Ambrosian *Oratio super sindonem*, which has become disused. (See Pseudo-Alcuin *de Div. Off.* cap. 'de Celebratione Missae,' and Amal. *de Eccles. Off.* lib. iii. cap. 19.)

The ordinary use of the word in any of the offices is to mark the beginning of a set prayer, to be said by the priest aloud, in which the people only concur by the concluding "Amen," in contradistinction to some other form of prayer, *e.g.* by versicles and responses, or some other act of worship.

*Authorities.*—Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. ii. cap. v. § 11; Du Cange, s.v.; Zaccaria, *Onomasticon Rituale*, s.v. [C. E. H.]

**ORENTIUS (1)**, martyr, with six brothers, soldiers, under Galerius; commemorated June 24. (Basil. *Menol.*; *Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 859.) [C. H.]

**(2)** "Of the number of the ancient confessors," with Secundus, at Antioch, Nov. 15. (Wright's *Ant. Syr. Mart.*).

**OREPSES**, presbyter, martyr with Or; commemorated Aug. 23. (Basil. *Menol.*) [C. H.]

**ORESTES (1)**, martyr, under Diocletian; commemorated Nov. 9. (Basil. *Menol.*)

**(2)** Martyr with Eustratius and others; commemorated Dec. 13. (Basil. *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 277.) [C. H.]

**ORGAN.** The name "organum" was at first not restricted to a particular instrument, but appears to have nearly become so by St. Augustine's time. Commenting on Psalm cl. he says: "Nam cum organum vocabulum graecum sit, ut dixi, generale omnibus musicis instrumentis, hoc cui folles adhibentur alio Graeci nomine appellant. Ut autem organum dicatur, magis Latina et ea vulgaris est consuetudo." And—"Quamvis jam obtinuerit consuetudo ut organa proprie dicantur ea quae inflantur follibus." So from his enarr. on Psalm lvi. (our 57th), "non solum illud organum dicitur quod grande est et inflatur follibus, sed quicquid aptatur ad cantilenam," we also learn that organs were of considerable size. In the same comment he applies the term "organum" to the cithara and the psalterium.

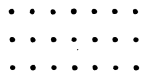
For a full account of the history of this instrument the reader must be referred to Dr. Rimbault's portion of Hopkins and Rimbault's excellent work on this subject. There it is conclusively proved that the first epoch which distinguishes the antique organ from the mediaeval one, viz., the invention of the keyboard, is very nearly synchronous with that which distinguishes antique from mediaeval music, the invention of the stave, being about the end of the 11th century. Up to this time it would appear that organs only differed in size and number of pipes, and in the appliances for supplying wind. The article "Hydraula" in Smith's *Dict. Greek and Rom. Antiq.* gives the earliest form of it.

Athenaeus says that it was invented by Ctesibius, of Alexandria, from a contrivance applied to a clepsydra, in order to announce the hours at night. This contrivance is attributed to Plato, but it seems very doubtful, because it is only said of him as a tradition (λέγεται), and Aristoxenus was not acquainted with the thing; he, being not far removed from Plato's date, and professedly writing on music, would be likely to have known of such an invention of Plato's (if it were so). The organ of Ctesibius is of course much later (*Athen. Deipn.* iv. 23).

The organ is simply a development of the Syrinx or Pandean pipe, and in its earliest form consisted of a small box into the top of which a

row of pipes was inserted; the wind was supplied from the performer's mouth by means of a tube at one end; and any pipe was made to sound by means of drawing a slide which would open the hole in which the pipe was placed; the slide being pushed in again, the hole was closed, and the communication between the pipe and the box being thus cut off, the sound immediately ceased. In modern organs, for these slides have been substituted valves or pallets.

The first object seemed to be to augment the sound, by multiplying the number of pipes which would be in unison with each other; and Ctesibius has the reputation of having invented, or rendered practicable, the perforated slide, which enabled the performer to have the pipes more under command. This will be best understood by the following figure, which represents the holes in which the pipes stand.



[This would be now technically called an organ of three stops.]

Each of the slides mentioned before would cover one of the vertical columns in the above figure, and Ctesibius's slides would cover one of the horizontal rows; the modern analogue of the latter is the "register" or "stop." If three cards be taken pierced with holes exactly as in the figure, and the one be kept whole, and the others divided into sections containing respectively a vertical column and a horizontal row, so as to be movable, and the three be placed over each other, the action will be clearly seen.

The increase in the number of pipes required also artificial methods for supplying wind; the bellows was adopted, and by the time of the emperor Julian the Apostate had become so large as to be made of a bull's hide. This appears from an epigram of his:

> 'Αλλ' ὑπὸ ταυρείης προθορὼν σπήλυγγος ἀήτης
> Νέρθεν εὐτρήτων καλάμων ὑπὸ ῥίζαν ὁδεύει.

Thus the organ became a complicated instrument. Tertullian (*de Animâ*, xiv.) uses it as a similitude for the many members composing one body. "Specta portentissimam Archimedis munificentiam, organum hydrolicum dico, tot membra, tot partes, tot compagines, tot itinera vocum, tot compendia sonorum, tot commercia modorum, tot acies tibiarum, et una moles erunt omnia." It would seem from this that the organ was constructed so as to be played in the various modes, Dorian, Lydian, &c., and thus supplied with pipes all the sounds of the complete "system"; if the "modi" here be understood to include the "Genera," we should have an organ of a compass of three octaves and a tone, with some quarter-tones in it; but it might be much smaller than this. The "compendia sonorum" would appear to be slides, to cut off the wind altogether, or from some of the ranks of pipes, *i.e.* our modern "stops" (the horizontal rows in the figure given above); and the "itinera vocum" would probably be the row of pipes belonging to the same note (the vertical columns in the figure).

So St Augustine (on Psalm cl.): "Quibus fortasse ideo addidit organum, non ut singulae sonent, sed ut diversitate concordissima consonent, sicut ordinantur in organo." Thus the organ would be likened to a whole combination of different musical instruments.

The wind was supplied either directly from a bellows worked by hand (in some cases worked by the weight of a man standing on it), constituting a "pneumatic" organ; or the wind from the bellows was subjected to a water pressure to steady its supply, constituting an "hydraulic" organ. The latter sort was at first considered the better, but afterwards it was superseded by the other.

Vossius (*de Poematum Cantu*) says that the use of hydraulic organs had ceased at the time of Cassiodorus (6th century), and this author is cited as mentioning organs as in common use. He gives the following quotation from Claudian:

> "Vel qui, magna levi detrudens murmura tactu,
> Innumeras voces segetis modulatur ahenae,
> Intonat erranti digito penitusque trabali
> Vecte laborantes in carmina concitat undas."

From this it appears that the pipes were frequently made of bronze, and the sound produced by drawing the slides.

This practice was continued as late as the time of St. Dunstan; the pipes are then described as "aereae fistulae" (W. Malmesb. *Vita S. Aldhelmi*).

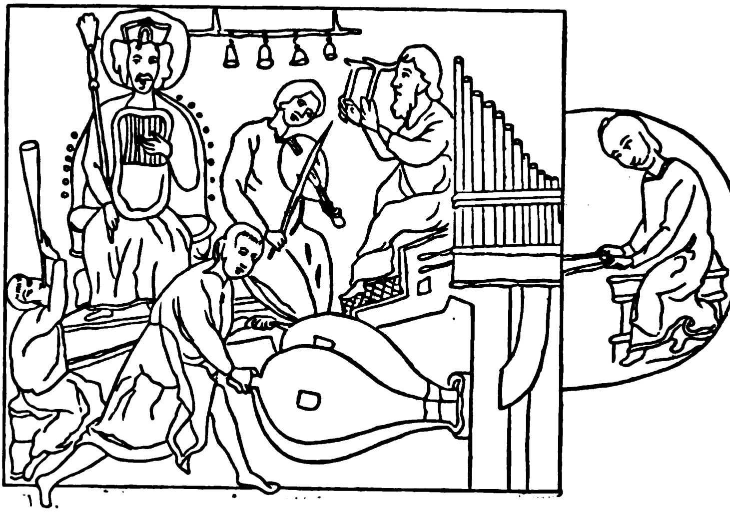
Vossius tells us that the barbarians tried unsuccessfully to make hydraulic organs, and so usually they were made pneumatic, with leather bellows, but that the hydraulic ones were still considered superior. He quotes Cassiodorus's description of one: "organum est quasi turris quaedam diversis fistulis fabricata, quibus flatu follium vox copiosissima destinatur [var. lect. distinetur]; et ut eam modulatio decora componat, linguis quibusdam ligneis ab interiori parte construitur, quas disciplinabiliter magistrorum digiti reprimentes, grandisonam efficiunt et suavissimam cantilenam."

There is a very singular poem representing an organ, by Publilius Porphyrius Optatianus (4th century); something in the style of the "Altars," "Easter Wings," &c. of George Herbert. One thing seems to be clear from this poem, that the longest pipe, and therefore the bass of the organ, was at the performer's right hand, precisely contrary to our present arrangement, but analogous to that of the harp, so far as the right hand of the performer is concerned. This arrangement was probably adopted as corresponding to that of the strings of the lyre. It appears from the latter part of this poem that the pipes were made of bronze, and arranged in ranks in a quadrangular form, as in the figure given above, and these appear to have been the slides worked by the performer, to open and shut the holes in which the pipes were placed; the wind being supplied by a number of youths each in charge of a bellows.

A representation preserved in Gori's *Thesaurus Diptychorum* (said to be from a MS. of the time of Charlemagne) seems to agree with this very well. King David on a throne, playing a lyre, is accompanied by three men on a trumpet, a sort of violin or barbiton, and a set of bells (or perhaps cymbals); and farther off is a pneumatic organ, with the performer (seated at the extreme right, in the semicircular part of the

drawing) working the slides, and another blowing the bellows. It would seem most probable that the king is viewing one end of the organ, so as to see both the organist and the bellows-blower, they being on opposite sides of the instrument. This would put the longest, *i.e.* the bass, pipes opposite the organist's right hand. (See cut No. 1.)

At this end of the organ appear to be two other slides, and these would seem most probably to be registers or stops, running under a rank of pipes such as that shown in the drawing; there would, therefore, be another similar rank behind these; this organ would be of two stops, unless some more were understood. The slides worked by the performer would run transversely to the ranks of pipes, and each slide would open two (or perhaps more) pipes of the same sound. The performer seems to be pulling one slide out and pushing another in, thus passing from one note of his tune to the following note. He had, previously to his performance, it would seem, gone to the bass end of the instrument, and drawn out two stops.



No. 1. Organ. From Gori's *Thesaurus Diptychorum.*

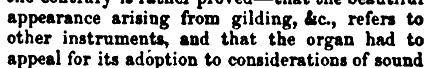
The use of organs in churches is, on the authority of Platina and others, ascribed to pope Vitalian (658-672); but Lorinus gives it a higher antiquity. "Julianus, unus de auctoribus catenae in Job multo antiquior Vitaliano et Gregorio magno, ait cum pietate organa usurpari posse, et jam in templis usum illorum fuisse cum scriberet." "In Concilio Coloniensi praecipitur sic adhiberi organorum in templis melodiam, ut non lasciviam magis quam devotionem excitet, et ut praeter hymnos divinos canticaque spiritualia, quidquam resonet ac repraesentet. Pontifex in Capella, et graves quidam relligiosi, eorum abstinent usu." But in England the contrary practice obtained, as the monastic churches were generally provided with organs, as appears from the account of the death of king Edgar (Sir H. Spelman, *Glossary*, s. v. Organ): but it does not appear that they were in use in any other churches. (Compare MUSIC, p. 1346.)

In 797 an organ was sent to king Pepin, by the emperor Constantine (tract by an unknown author, quoted in Hawkins, *Hist. of Music*, p. 238), and an hydraulic one was erected at Aix-la-Chapelle in 826, for Louis the Pious, by one George, or rather Gregory, a Venetian, after the Greek manner (Vossius, *de Poematum Cantu*); but though the writers of that age had praised Gregory's undertaking, they did not say whether it was a success. An organ was also sent to Charlemagne, by the Caliph Haroun Alraschid, and was probably placed in one of the churches of Aix-la-Chapelle.

S. Aldhelm (*de Laude Virginum*) is quoted in proof that the external pipes of organs in Saxon times were gilded. The quotation hitherto given consists of the last three lines of the following extract:—

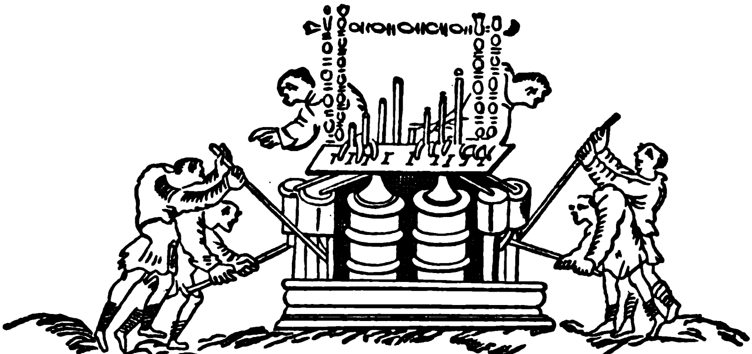
"Si vero quisquam chordarum respuit odas
Et potiora cupit quam pulset pectine chordas
Quis Psalmista pius psallebat cantibus olim,
Ac mentem magno gestit modulamine pasci
Et cantu gracili refugit contentus adesse,
Maxima millenis auscultans organa flabris,
Mulceat auditum ventosis follibus iste,
Quamlibet auratis fulgescant caetera capsis."

It appears to the writer of this article that the contrary is rather proved—that the beautiful appearance arising from gilding, &c., refers to other instruments, and that the organ had to appeal for its adoption to considerations of sound only, and had the disadvantage of an unpleasing appearance. Certainly the representations of it are not very attractive to the sight. But this passage does prove that organs in the 7th and 8th centuries were large, although "millenis" must be considered somewhat indefinite. So St. Augustine, "quod grande est" above. Not much later than our period an organ was erected at Winchester, with fourteen bellows and 400 pipes, 40 to each key. This also had the "lyric semitone," and it would seem most probable that its compass was

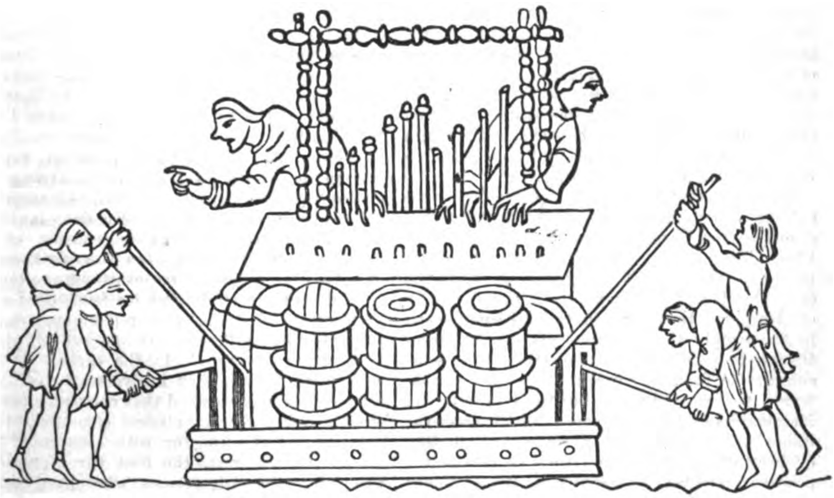


It was blown by 70 (?) men, and played on by

two monks: "Et regit alphabetum rector uterque suum," which apparently means that one managed the slides that caused the pipes to speak, and the other managed the ranks of pipes to be used; in modern parlance, one playing on the keyboard, the other shifting the stops; only these were later improvements (see Wolstan's poem, quoted in Hopkins and Rimbault, p. 16); or it might possibly mean that the set of slides was distributed between these two men to manage, the one, perhaps, taking the lower portion, and the other the upper, making, in fact, a duet performance, which might be a



No. 2. Organ. From Utrecht Psalter. Westwood's *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*



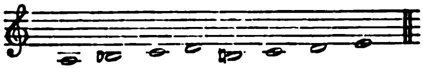
No. 3. Organ. From MS. Psalter of Eadwine, in Trinity College Library.

very considerable advantage in accompanying the plain-song, when we remember that every sound produced involved the drawing of a slide and pushing it in again.

The accompanying engraving (No. 2) from the Utrecht psalter represents an organ of the 8th century; a better and larger instrument is represented in an Anglo-Saxon MS. now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and is engraved in Hopkins and Rimbault's Book on the Organ, p. 18.* (See cut No. 3.)

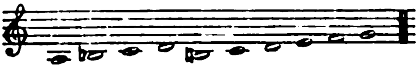
It is there described as a pneumatic organ; but the writer cannot help thinking that the cylinders in the basement are intended to hold water, and thus make it an hydraulic organ.

The smaller of these contains eight pipes, apparently arranged in two tetrachords, to each of which is assigned an organist; which somewhat bears out the supposition of a duet performance mentioned just above; the most plausible supposition for the compass seems to be—



* The earliest known representation of this instrument seems to be that on the south bas-relief of the pedestal of the obelisk of Thothmes, still standing in the Atmeidan or Hippodrome of Constantinople. It dates from A.D. 380. See Texier and Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 18. [R. St. J. T.]

the synemmenon and dieznymenon tetrachords. The other has ten pipes, which might be imagined to be—



If this be true, the bass pipes had got placed at the performer's left hand, as we have got them now. It is not at all evident how these men were conceived as playing; they are placed behind the organ, and of course the slides they had to manipulate are out of sight; possibly the artist may be representing them as about to commence, and giving directions to their four bellows-blowers to give them plenty of wind to start with. [J. R. L.]

**ORIENS**, bishop of Auscium, commemorated May 1. (Usuard. *Mart.*); ORIENTIUS (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. i. 61.) [C. H.]

**ORIENTATION.** A term applied to the situation of churches, with the sanctuary, or part containing the altar, towards the east.

One of the earliest traces of orientation is found in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (ii. 57), "And first let the house be oblong, *turned towards the east*, the pastophoria on either side towards the east." It is asserted, indeed, by Mabillon (*de Liturgia Gallicana*, i. 8), when speaking of the ancient churches, that "they all used to end in an apsis or bow, and used to look towards the east." This statement, however, needs some qualification. For the church of Antioch is described by Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. cap. 22), who says that "it had its position inverted; for its altar looks not towards the East, but towards the West." Paulinus speaks of the orientation of a church, not as the universal or obligatory usage, but only as "morem usitatiorem." On the whole, it appears that the eastern position of the altar was the rule, but that there were exceptions to it from very early times. For the origin of this usage, see EAST, p. 586.

In the attempt to form an opinion upon the subject we must not lose sight of the fact that others besides Christians have had a rule of the kind. There is an elaborate discussion of the point in the *Lexicon Universale* of Hofmann (s. v. Occidens). He shews, upon the authority of Josephus, that both in the tabernacle and in the temple the arrangements of the structure were such as to cause the Jewish worshippers to face, not towards the east, but towards the west, in the functions of religion. Maimonides (*On Prayer*, cap. xi. 1, 2) traces the usage to a still higher antiquity, finding evidence in Scripture itself that such was the position adopted by Abraham upon Mount Moriah—a position which amongst the Jews was not confined to tabernacle and temple, but extended likewise to synagogue and prayer-house. He adds a reason of the usage—that inasmuch as the gentile heathen faced toward the east, it was proper that the people of God should adopt the opposite position. Under this head the following passage from a vision of Ezekiel is relevant: "And he brought me into the inner court of the Lord's house, and, behold, at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the Lord and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east" (Ezek. viii. 16). There is some difficulty in harmonizing the statements of Vitruvius and other pagan writers of authority as to the orientation of the altar, the sacred image, and the worshipper in the temples of the heathen. But the following passage of Clement of Alexandria may perhaps be taken as giving a clear and accurate account of their usage: "The most ancient temples (of the pagans) looked towards the west (*i.e.* had their entrance towards the west), that those who stood with their face towards the image might be taught to turn towards the east" (*Strom.* vii. 7, § 43). Hence the practice of orientating a church may be, in its origin, one of those many customs which Christianity found current in the pagan world, and which by a wise economy it took up and turned to its own purpose. A long discourse on the entire subject will be found by those who wish to pursue it farther in the *Annals* of cardinal Baronius (*Ann.* 58, c. 105). [H. T. A.]

**ORION**, martyr, commemorated at Alexandria, Aug. 16. (Wright's *Ant. Syr. Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, 428; *Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* iii. 289.) [C. H.]

**ORLEANS, COUNCILS OF** (AURELIANENSIA CONCILIA). (1) A.D. 511, by order of Clovis; on the tenth day of the fifth month according to some MSS. which the rest make July (shewing that the Gallican year began then in March), as the authors of *L'Art de vérif. les Dates* observe, presided over by Cyprian, metropolitan of Bordeaux, who subscribed first, with thirty-one bishops, all of whose sees are given, after him, the bishop of Orleans as low down as last but two. The Isidorian collection, however, may be thought to discredit this order. The number of canons passed was likewise thirty-one; "dont quelques uns," say the same authorities, "entreprennent sur la juridiction civile. Tel est le quatrième qui ordonne que les fils, les petits-fils, et les arrière-petits-fils de ceux qui ont vécu dans la cléricature, demeureront sous le pouvoir et la juridiction de l'évêque. Les pères de l'assemblée dans le cinquième reconnaissent que toutes les églises tiennent du Roi les fonds dont elles sont dotées; c'est là, si l'on croit un moderne, le fondement de la Régale. On ne pouvait guère la tirer de plus loin." In the earlier part of the fourth, which they inadvertently call the sixth canon, it is ordained that no secular person shall be taken for any clerical office, except by command of the king or with consent of the judge. Of the rest, the first three prescribe rules for different persons who have taken sanctuary. By the eighth, any bishop knowingly ordaining a slave unknown to his master is mulcted to his master of twice his price. By the ninth, a deacon or presbyter committing a capital crime, is to be removed from his office and from communion. By the sixteenth, bishops are bound to relieve the poor, sick, and disabled, to the utmost of their power. By the eighteenth, no brother may marry the widow of his deceased brother. By the nineteenth, monks are to obey their abbat, and abbats the bishops. The twenty-sixth says: "cum ad celebrandas missas in

Dei nomine convenitur, populus non ante discedat quam missae solennitas compleatur; et, ubi episcopus fuerit, benedictionem accipiat sacerdotis." The twenty-seventh: "rogationes, id est, litanias ante ascensionem Domini ab omnibus ecclesiis placuit celebrari; ita ut praemissum triduanum jejunium in Dominicae ascensionis festivitate solvatur." . . The last: "episcopus, si infirmitate non fuerit impeditus, ecclesiae cui proximus fuerit die Dominico deesse non liceat." A short letter from these bishops to the king is preserved, begging him to confirm what they had decreed, if it met with his approval. Many more canons are given to this council by Burchard and others. (Mansi, viii. 347–72.)

(2) A.D. 533, or 536 according to Mansi, June 23; by order of the kings of France, when twenty-one canons on discipline were passed, to which Honoratus, bishop of Bourges, subscribed first, Leontius, bishop of Orleans, second, with twenty-four bishops and five representatives of absent bishops after them. As regards their matter, the seven first relate to bishops, metropolitans, and councils; the eighth and ninth to deacons and presbyters; the tenth and eleventh to marriage. By the thirteenth, abbats, guardians of shrines (martyrarii), recluses, and presbyters, are inhibited from giving letters of peace (epistolia: which is, however, the correction of Du Cange, for *apostolia*, which he cannot explain). "Presbyter, vel diaconus sine literis," says the sixteenth, "vel si baptizandi ordinem nesciat, nullatenus ordinetur." The seventeenth and eighteenth are directed against deaconesses, of whom no more are to be ordained. By the nineteenth, Jews and Christians may not intermarry. By the twentieth, Catholics who go back to idolatry, or partake of meats offered to idols, are to be excluded from church-assemblies. By the twenty-first, abbats refusing to obey bishops are to be excluded from communion. This council is not given in the Isidorian collection. (Mansi, viii. 835–40.)

(3) A.D. 538, May 7, the preface to which seems hardly consistent with so short an interval between this and the last council; and this, on the other hand, is given in the Isidorian collection. It was attended by nineteen bishops, of whom the metropolitan of Lyons subscribed first, and the bishop of Orleans last, and by the representatives of seven absent bishops. Thirty-three canons on discipline were passed, most of them testifying to a general neglect of the canons from the metropolitan downwards, and some of them not easy to understand. [COMMUNION, HOLY, p. 419.] The thirtieth forbids Jews to mix with Christians from Maundy Thursday till Easter Monday. The thirty-first threatens the civil judge with excommunication who permits heretics to rebaptize Catholics with impunity, because, say the bishops, "It is certain that we have Catholic kings." (Mansi, ix. 9–22.)

(4) A.D. 541, when the metropolitan of Bordeaux presided and subscribed first of thirty-eight bishops, the last being the bishop of Orleans, and the twelve following him the representatives of absent bishops. Thirty-eight canons were passed; but it is to be observed that neither this nor the next council is included in the Isidorian collection. The first and second canons relate to Easter. The fifteenth and sixteenth shew that paganism was not yet extinct in France; the seventeenth that there were priests and deacons who were married men, though it prohibits their living as such; the twentieth decrees: "Ut nullus saecularium personarum, praetermisso pontifice, seu praeposito ecclesiae, quemquam clericorum pro suâ potestate constringere, discutere audeat, vel damnare . . ." The twenty-seventh renews the tenth canon of the preceding council of Orleans "three years before," and likewise the thirtieth of that of Epaune A.D. 517, against incestuous marriages. (Mansi, ix. 111–22).

(5) A.D. 549, Oct. 28, convened by king Childebert, when, according to some manuscripts, the bishop of Lyons, according to others, the bishop of Arles subscribed first, and the other second; forty-eight more bishops and twenty-one representatives of absent bishops complete the list; but the bishop of Orleans was not among them, having been unjustly banished, though he was restored here. Twenty-four canons were passed, the first of which is somewhat after date, directed against the followers of Eutyches and Nestorius. The second ordains, "Ut nullus sacerdotum quemquam rectae fidei hominem pro parvis et levibus causis a communione suspendat . . ."; the ninth, "Nullus ex laicis absque anni conversione praemissâ episcopus ordinetur. . .", and the twelfth, "Nulli viventi episcopo alius superponatur aut superordinetur episcopus; nisi forsitan in ejus locum, quem capitalis culpa dejecerit." The fifteenth relates to a hospice (xenodochium) founded at Lyons by the king and his consort (Mansi. ix. 127–40).

(6) A.D. 638, "ou environ," say the authors of *L'Art de vérif. les Dates*, but it is variously fixed, and the sole authority for it is a vague statement by Audoenus, archbishop of Rouen, in his Life of St. Eligius, to the effect that an un-named heretic was confuted in a meeting of bishops at Orleans, due to the exertions of that saint previously to his being made bishop. It can hardly pass, therefore, for a sixth council. (Mansi, x. 759–62.)

[E. S. Ff.]

**ORNATURA.** A kind of fringe going round the edge of a robe, sometimes woven of gold thread and sewn on. It is mentioned by Caesarius of Arles, among the things which he forbids to be introduced into convents, "plumaria et acupictura et omne polymitum vel stragula, sive ornaturae" (*Reg. ad Virg.* c. 42; *Patrol.* lxvii. 1116; cf. *Recap.* c. 11, *ib.* 1118). See Ducange, *Glossarium*, s. v. [R. S.]

**ORONTIUS**, martyr with Vincentius and Victor, at Embrun; commemorated June 22. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

**ORPHANAGE** (*ὀρφανοτροφεῖον*, *orphanotrophium*). From the very first the duty of assisting the orphan, among the other classes of destitute and helpless persons, was recognised as incumbent on the Christian. St. Ignatius (*Ep. ad. Smyrn.* cap. vi.) mentions it as one of the marks of the heterodox that "they care not for the widow, the orphan, or the distressed." Again and again in the *Apostolical Constitutions* exhortations are given concerning them to the bishop to protect them, to individual Christians to remember them in their charity and, if pos-

sible, to adopt them. The way in which they are enumerated in the Clementine Liturgy in the Deacon's Litany, along with "Readers, singers, virgins and widows," suggests that perhaps there may have been some sort of formal "church roll" kept of them, and it is obvious that so long as the church was a proscribed and persecuted religious body, her provision for them could not have gone beyond some such institution as this. With the time of Constantine came endowments for this and similar purposes, which he formally permitted, and himself set the example of giving. (Euseb. *H. E.* x. 6, and *Vit. Const.* iv. 28). It was looked upon as a fitting duty for a cleric to undertake the guardianship of orphans, and in managing their affairs even to mingle in secular business (*Conc. Chalced.* c. 3). Clerics seem commonly to have been at the head of orphanages and hospitals (Zonaras in can. 8, *Conc. Chalced.*). At Constantinople the orphanotrophus, who was necessarily a priest, and who was a public guardian of the orphans, was an official of high rank. [HOSPITALS.]

By a Frankish capitulary (*Conc. Germ.* ii. 29) immunities are granted to orphanages expressly, along with other charitable foundations; shewing that by the beginning of the 9th century such institutions were widely recognised.

Both at Rome and Constantinople orphans from the orphanage were employed as choristers; so that in some Greek rituals (see Goar, p. 359) the word ὀρφανοὶ is used for "choir-boys," and at Rome (see Anast. Biblioth. *in Vita Sergii II.*) the orphanotrophium came to be used as the Schola Cantorum. [C. E. H.]

**ORTHRON.** [HOURS OF PRAYER, p. 794.]

**ORUS** (?), bishop, martyr, commemorated Sept. 14, with the presbyter Serapion. (Wright's *Ant. Syr. Mart.* in *Journal of Sac. Lit.* 1866, 429.) [C. H.]

**OSCENSE CONCILIUM.** [HUESCA, COUNCIL OF.]

**OSCULATORIUM.** [KISS, p. 903.]

**OSEA** (HOSEA), prophet, commemorated with Haggai, July 4. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 5); Oct. 17 (Basil. *Menol.*); Feb. 21 (*Cal. Ethiop.*) [C. H.]

**OSTIANUS**, presbyter and confessor in Vivarois; commemorated June 30. (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. v. 578.) [C. H.]

**OSTIARIUS** (θυρωρὸς, πυλωρὸς, ὀστιάριος). It is argued by Bingham (*Antiq.* iii. 6) that the order of ostiarii was introduced at Rome in a time of persecution, the earliest mention of them being in a letter of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, in the 3rd century (Euseb. *Hist.* vi. 43). The order has been laid aside in the Greek church from the time of the Trullan council (A.D. 692). But whatever may have been the date of the introduction of the ostiarius as a functionary of the church, the word was certainly used in a very similar sense in pagan times. For not only was there an ostiarius (the modern concierge) at the entrance of a private house under the Roman empire; but while the basilica was still a court of justice it had an officer (ostiarius) whose duty it was to regulate the approach of the litigants to the judge, and whose name still survives in the French term *huissier*, and the English *usher*, applied to officials who are charged with similar duties. (See Hofmann, *Lex Univ.* s. v.) [Compare DOORKEEPER.]

The definition of his duties given by Charlemagne (Fragm. *de Ritib. Vet. Eccl.*) is as follows: "Ostiarius ab ostio ecclesiae dicitur, quod ita debet praevidere, ne ullo modo paganus ingrediatur ecclesiam, quia suo introitu polluit eam. Debet etiam custodire ea quae intra ecclesiam sunt, ut salva sint." The first duty then of the ostiarius was to keep the door of the church, but only that one through which the men entered. The door through which the women passed was kept by a deaconess (*Constit. Apost.* ii. 61, quoted by Mede, *Opp.* p. 327). The object of this guardianship was to prevent the entry of improper persons. Martene observes from St. Augustine that the ostiarii of the Donatists would admit no one to their churches till they had enquired of him to which communion (sc. orthodox or Donatist) he belonged (*de Eccl. Rit.* i. viii. 8, 10). In the ancient Roman church a custom prevailed of the ostiarius asking every one for a certificate of faith (libellum fidei), before admitting him into St. Peter's. To the great church of Constantinople there were attached no fewer than seventy-five ostiarii (Suicer, *Thesaurus*, 1417).

In the fragment of the letter of pope Cornelius to Fabius of Antioch, the Ostiarii are spoken of with exorcists and lectors as amounting to fifty-two. (Migne, p. 743.)

The ostiarii were termed an *ordo*, the word used of their appointment was *ordinare*; and this "ordination" was solemnly performed by the bishop, with a service which appears to have been substantially the same in all the ancient Rituals and Pontificals. See ORDINATION, III. ii. 1, p. 1510.

By the synod of Laodicea (cent. 4) the ostiarii were forbidden, in common with all other clerics, to enter a public house (can. 24). From another canon (22) of the same council, it might be inferred that the duties of the ostiarius were at times performed by other orders. "The minister (subdeacon: Hefele) may not leave his place at the door." [See DOORKEEPERS, p. 574.] [H. T. A.]

**OSTIARIUS** (MONASTIC), the porter of the monastery; sometimes called "janitor," or "portarius."

The gatekeeper or doorkeeper was an important personage in the monastery, entrusted as he was with the twofold responsibility of keeping the monks from going out, unless with the abbat's permission, and of allowing strangers to come in. Being thus the medium of communication between the monastery and the world outside, it was imperative that he should be a man of trustworthiness and discrimination. The very lowliness, in one sense, of the office made it all the more honourable among those whose professed aim and object in life was self-abasement (Rufin. *Hist. Monach.* c. 17).

The importance of keeping the members of the monastery within its walls was admitted generally, in accordance with the old Benedictine rule that each monastery ought, if possible, to have its garden, mill, bakery, supply of water, and

necessary trades within its precincts (Bened. *Reg.* c. 66). Only one way of egress was permitted, or at most two. Much depended on the porter being discreet (Bened. *Reg.* c. 66). He was to be a man not only advanced in years but grave and sedate in character, dead to the world; with a younger and more nimble monk to carry messages for him if necessary (*Ib.*). By the rule of Magister there were to be two porters, both aged men, one to relieve the other (*Reg. Mag.* c. xcv.). In the Thebaid in such esteem was the office held that the porter was to be a presbyter (Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* c. lxxi.). Sometimes, in earlier days, when visitors were not so numerous, the porter had also the superintendence of the guest-chamber (hospitium) and of the outer cloisters, as well as of the abbat's kitchen. (Martene, *Reg. Ben. Comm.* c. 66.)

Sometimes, indeed, the porter was promoted to be abbat (Martene, *u. s.*). Benedict gives an especial emphasis to the chapter in his rule ("De Ostiario"), by ordering it to be read aloud repeatedly, that ignorance might never be pleaded for its infraction.

The porter's cell was to be close to the gateway (*Ib.*). He was to inspect all comers through a small barred window or grating in the door, bidding those whom he thought worthy to wait within the door, and the rest without, till he could learn the abbat's pleasure. Every night at the hour of compline he was to take his keys to the abbat or prior. When called away to chapel, to refectory, or to lection, he was to leave the gate locked, neither ingress nor egress being allowed at those times. It was part of his duty to distribute the broken meat and other scraps of food after meals to the mendicants waiting outside the door, and to see that the horses, dogs, &c., of strangers were duly attended to. (*Ib.*)

Benedict speaks of visitors knocking at the door or crying out to be let in. Some commentators have imagined that he speaks severally of the rich and the poor (*Ib.*). His direction that the porter is to reply "Deo Gratias," or "Benedic," has been similarly explained as meant for these two classes respectively. Another reading is "Benedicat." "Benedic" or "Benedicat" is supposed to be intended for a priest-porter, "Deo Gratias" for a layman; or the latter to be used on first hearing the knock or cry, the former on accosting the applicant (*Ib.*; cf. Augustin. *Enarrat. in Pss.* cxxxii.). Anyhow, this curious trait of monastic manners recalls the primitive salutation of Boaz and his reapers in the story of Ruth in the Old Testament. The words were to be spoken gently, reverently, affectionately.

It was one of the laxities of later ages that this important office was not unfrequently delegated to a lay-brother, technically styled a "conversus," or sometimes to a mere layman. Even so strict an order as the Cistercians allowed one of the two porters in their larger abbeys to be a lay-brother. (Martene, *u. s.*)

There was an official in nunneries whose duties corresponded very closely with those of the "ostiarius." It was specially enacted in the anonymous Rule, ascribed by some to Columba, that the "ostiaria" or porteress should be not only aged and discreet, but not given to gossipping. (*Reg. Cujusdam*, c. iii.) [I. G. S.]

**OSWALD**, king of Northumbria, martyr; commemorated Aug. 5. (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 83.) [C. H.]

**OTHONE** (ὀθόνη). [STOLE.]

# P

**PACHOMIUS** (1), martyr with Papyrinus; commemorated Jan. 13. (*Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 767.) [C. H.]

(2) Commemorated May 9. (*Cal. Ethiop.*) [C. H.]

(3) The Great, abbat in Egypt; commemorated May 14 (Usuard., Wand., Bed. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 295); May 15 (*Cal. Byzant.*, Daniel. *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 259). Pachomius is briefly mentioned in Basil. *Menol.* May 6 as founder of the solitary life. Some Greek MSS. of Turin and Milan mention a Pachomius under May 6 with Hilarion, Mamas, and Patricius. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. ii. 104.) [C. H.]

(4) Bishop, commemorated with bishop Bartholomew, Dec. 7. (*Cal. Ethiop.*) [C. H.]

**PACIANUS**, bishop of Barcelona, commemorated Mar. 9. (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS. Mart.* ii. 4.) [C. H.]

**PACIFICAE.** (1) The name by which the missal LITANY [p. 1001] was anciently known in the West, as containing prayers for peace (Neale, *Eastern Ch.* Int. p. 360). Comp. PRECES. (2) "Letters of peace" (εἰρηνικαὶ ἐπιστολαί, *epistolae pacificae*). The council of Chalcedon (c. xi.) ordered that those who were poor and needed assistance should travel with certificates founded on investigation, or with letters of peace from the church (μετὰ δοκιμασίας ἐπιστολίοις εἴτουν εἰρηνικοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μόνοις). The context seems to indicate that this canon refers to the clergy. Similarly the council of Antioch (c. vii.) desires that no one should entertain strangers without letters of peace (εἰρηνικῶν). Zonaras, commenting on the 11th canon of Chalcedon, says (p. 104) that εἰρηνικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ are those which are given to bishops by their metropolitans, and to metropolitans by their patriarchs, when they have occasion to go to the court of the emperor, and also those which are given by their own bishops to clerics who wish to remove to another city and to be entered on the roll of the clergy there, in accordance with the 17th canon of the Trullan council. The term used in this canon is, however, ἀπολυτικαί, dimissory. See COMMENDATORY LETTERS; DIMISSORY LETTERS. (Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s.v. Εἰρηνικά.) [C.]

**PACRATUS.** [PANCRATIUS.]

**PADERBORN, COUNCILS OF** (1), A.D. 777, or the ninth year of king Charles, when numbers of the conquered Saxons were baptized, pledging themselves to remain true to their profession. Three Saracen princes arrived likewise from Spain to make their submission. (Mansi, xii. 889–892, and Hartzheim, *Conc. Germ.* i. 238.)

(2) Or Lipstadt (*Lippiense Concilium*), A.D. 780, when the Saxon churches received their

organisation, and the sees of Minden, Halbersted, Ferden, Munster and Paderborn itself were founded. (Hartzheim, *ib.* 243.)

(3) A.D. 782, on the same matters: but of which no records exist. (Hartzheim, *ib.* 245.)

(4) A.D. 785, attended by all the bishops of the newly made sees; when the Saxon laws in their amended form were sanctioned. (Hartzheim, *ib.*) [E. S. Ff.]

**PADUINUS**, abbat of Le Mans, cir. A.D. 590; commemorated Nov. 15. (Mabill. *Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. i. 256, ed. 1733, from a MS. of the church of St. Paduin in the diocese of Le Mans.) [C. H.]

**PAENULA.** 1. *Etymology.*—Although it would seem that this word is not used at all in ecclesiastical Latin[a] as the name of a Christian vestment, still the corresponding Greek word, variously spelt, is the recognised name in the Greek church for the vestment known in the west as a chasuble [CASULA], and the same thing is denoted in the Syrian churches by a word directly formed from the Greek. Moreover, although the word *paenula* is not used in this way, yet apparently the *paenula* itself resembled in shape, even if it was not quite identical with, the *casula* and *planeta*. We shall therefore briefly discuss in our article the history of the Latin word itself.

It first, however, becomes a question whether the Latin word is derived from the Greek, or the Greek from the Latin, or whether both are to be referred for their origin to a third language, as the Phoenician. The absence of any very satisfactory derivation in either Greek or Latin would be, as far as it goes, in favour of the third view, were anything reasonable forthcoming. We do, indeed, find in Hebrew פיילון, for a kind of outer garment (*Talm. Jer.*, *Kelim*, c. 29; cited by Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, col. 1742), but this is most probably merely a reproduction of *Pallium;* and in any case there is no evidence to justify us in including it in the list of words that passed from Phoenician into Greek and thence into Latin.

It has been very commonly asserted, with reference to St. Paul's use of the word in 2 Tim. iv. 13, a passage to which we shall refer at length presently, that it is to be taken as one of the many Latin words occurring in the New Testament. This view seems to us to be entirely untenable, from the fact that the Greek word can be traced back nearly to the time of Alexander the Great, a period at which it cannot be fancied that Greek adopted any words from Latin. The word occurs in a fragment of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Rhinthon, a writer of comedies, or rather burlesque tragedies, in the time of Ptolemy I. As this seems the earliest adducible instance of the use of the word, we shall cite the passage with its context from the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux (vii. 60; p. 288, ed. Bekker); *ἡ δὲ μανδύη ὅμοιόν τι τῷ καλουμένῳ φαινόλῃ· τίνων δὲ ἐστὶν, ὡς μὴ περιερχώμεθα Κρῆτας ἢ Πέρσας, Αἰσχύλος ἐρεῖ·*

*Λιβυρνικῆς μίμημα μανδύης χιτών,*

*καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ φαινόλης ἔστιν ἐν Ῥίνθωνος Ἰφιγενείᾳ τῇ ἐν Ταύροις,*

*ἔχωσα καινὰν φαινόλαν κἀπαρτίαν.*

It will be observed that the citation is in Doric Greek, Rhinthon being a native of either Tarentum or Syracuse.[b]

The word *φαινόλης* continued to exist in Greek in its ordinary sense, quite apart from Christianity. It occurs in the digest of Epictetus given by Arrian (lib. iv. c. 8; vol. i. p. 637, ed. Schweighaeuser). Again, we find in the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus, a work written about the time of Antoninus Pius, that the *ὁ λεγόμενος φαινόλης* is associated with the *χλαμὺς* or *μανδύας* as to its significance in dreams (lib. ii. c. 3; p. 135, ed. Reiff). About the same time, or a little later, Athenaeus uses the word:—*οὐ σὺ εἶ ὁ καὶ τὸν καινὸν καὶ οὐδέπω ἐν χρείᾳ γενόμενον φαινόλην, εἴρηται γὰρ, ὦ βέλτιστε, καὶ ὁ φαινόλης, εἰπὼν, "Παῖ Λεῦκε, δός μοι τὸν ἄχρηστον φαινόλην"* (*Deipn.* lib. iii. c. 5).

We shall next cite from the Greek lexicographers. Here, it will be observed, we meet with a diversity both in form and meaning; for, besides its use for an outer garment, it is also stated to mean a roll of parchment, and a case or coffer. Whether this difference is to be explained by assuming the existence of two originally distinct words, *φαινόλης* and *φαιλόνης*, does not appear, nor does it matter for our present purpose.[c] As far as we are concerned, there can be no doubt from the spelling consistently found in the above cited examples, and from the unvarying form of the Latin, that the original and proper spelling of our word is *φαινόλης*; the other spelling being either that of another word, or a mere metathesis for the former. It will be observed that the lexicographers give some support to the former hypothesis. Thus Hesychius gives *φαιλόνης· ἡ λητάριον* [*leg.* *εἰλητάριον*] *μεμβράϊνον, ἢ γλωσσόκομον*: and *φαινόλα· τὸ ὕφασμα, οὕτως* [here probably the name of Rhinthon has dropped out before the citation from him] *ἔχουσα καινὰν φαινόλαν.*[d] Suidas gives three

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[a] We find in Isidore of Seville (*Orig.* xix. 24; *Patrol.* lxxxii. 691), "Penula est pallium [here evidently a mere general term for an outer garment, like *ἱμάτιον*] cum fimbriis longis;" but here the word is of course not used by him as an ecclesiastical term, but merely in its ordinary sense. Also in an old Latin version of the letter of the Patriarch Nicephorus cited below, which is given by Baronius (*Annales, ad ann.* 811), we find *φαινόλιον* rendered by *penula.* The translator (probably Anastasius Bibliothecarius) was doubtless influenced by the similarity of the word, but the instance cannot be supposed to afford the least support to the belief that the *paenula* was the name of an ecclesiastical vestment in the Western Church. Binterim (*Denkw.* iv. 1. 208) remarks that "the *planeta* was also called *paenula* by the ancients," but he gives no evidence for this assertion, and it does not seem very likely that any is adducible.

[b] Tertullian asserts (*Apol.* c. 6) that the Lacedaemonians invented the *paenula*, so as to be able to enjoy the public games in cold weather. This statement, though probably not worth much, is interesting as connecting with a Dorian people a word which first meets us in a Dorian poet.

[c] Some have connected the former with *φαίνομαι* (*e. g.* *Etym. Magn.* [*παρὰ τὸ φαίνεσθαι ὅλον*], Salmasius [note in Spartian., *infra*, "translucens et perlucida tunica"], Suidas *s. v.*; and it may be added that we have *φαινολίς* in Sappho [*ἔσπερε πάντα φέρεις, ὅσα φαινολὶς ἐσκέδασ' αὔως*]), deriving the latter from *φελλός*.

[d] It may be noted here, that we find the word in another passage of Hesychius: *ἀμφιεινωτούς· χιτῶνας ἢ φελλώνας·*

forms, φαιλώνης· εἰλητὸν τομάριον μεμβράϊνον, ἢ γλωσσόκομον ἢ χιτώνιον:—φαινόλης· χιτωνίσκος, οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ ἐφεστρίδα: and φενόλης· Ῥωμαϊκὴ στολή. Similarly, the *Etymologicum Magnum* defines φελόνης in almost the same words as the first of the above three, and φαινόλης also as Suidas had done. It is perhaps worth noting, that while spellings in which the ν precedes the λ are always defined in the sense of garment, those in which the λ precedes the ν have either no mention of garment, or have it at the end, as if a subsequent addition. It is of course quite possible to assume the existence of two originally distinct words, and yet explain each as the name of some kind of garment (so Salmasius, *l. c.*). In any case, however, the latter spelling, as well as the former, with various modifications of the vowels, occurs for the Greek name of the Christian vestment. Again, passing this point, it seems doubtful whether the word is ὁ φαινόλης or ἡ φαινόλη. The line of Rhinthon makes it the feminine, and the Latin, it is true, is feminine [but the termination in ης would naturally be replaced by one in *a*, which would be feminine, if there were no special reason for making it masculine; so, e.g. χάρτης, κοχλίας, γαυσάπας, all masculine, are replaced by the feminine *charta*, *cochlea*, *gausapa*], but our later Greek citations make it masculine. Whether there is a misreading in Rhinthon for καινόν, which misreading has been reproduced in Hesychius, or whether the old termination was in η, and the later one in ης, it is impossible to say. As regards the variation in spelling of the first syllable between αι and ε, we can hardly doubt that the ε is a mere corruption, especially when the Latin spelling is considered, where, whether we write the diphthong *ae* or the vowel *e*, the first syllable is uniformly long.

2. *Use of the word in Latin.*—We shall next, before considering the Christian usage of the word, examine its use in Latin. Here we find it freely used from the time of Plautus onwards, to indicate a warm, heavy outer garment, for travelling or cold weather. This covered the whole person, having merely a hole for the head to pass through; and thus it did not require sleeves, but fell over the arms. The general impression left from a considerable series of passages (see Forcellini, *s. v.*) is that the garment was one which would not be worn by a person in the higher ranks of life, save under the special circumstances given above, though it would be worn as an ordinary dress by slaves and the like. Our earliest instance is from Plautus (*Mostellaria*, iv. 2. 74), where a slave is told that it is only his *paenula* that saves his back from a beating. Considering the source whence Plautus's comedies were drawn, the fact that the Latin word is first traced to him is not without significance. Our next trace is found in one of the fragments of the Satires of Lucilius (lib. xv. frag. 6; cited, as also the two following instances, by Nonius Marcellus, xiv. 3). In one of the farces (*fabulae Atellanae*) of Pomponius Bononiensis, one character bids another, "paenulam in caput induce, ne te noscat," referring presumably to the hood, with which the *paenula*, like most other similar dresses, was furnished [HOOD]. Varro again is cited, "non quaerenda est homini, qui habet virtutem, paenula in imbri."

In Cicero the word is used several times. In his speech *pro Milone* (c. 10; cf. c. 20), he tells how Milo, when on his way from Rome in a carriage, having his wife with him, and wearing a *paenula* (*paenulatus*), on being attacked, springs from the carriage and casts aside his *paenula*, which would only fetter his arms. In his speech *pro Sextio* (c. 38), he speaks of the *paenula* as a garment worn by mule-drivers. Cicero also uses the phrases *scindere paenulam*, *attingere paenulam alicujus*, to indicate respectively over-urgent civility, and "taking a man by the button-hole" (*Epp. ad Atticum*, lib. xiii. 33). We have said that the *paenula* was a warm, heavy garment, and thus Horace (*Epist.* i. 11. 18) speaks jokingly of it as a thing which no one would dream of wearing in hot weather. It was generally made of wool (*paenula gausapina*: Martial, *Epig.* xiv. 145), but sometimes of leather (*paenula scortea*:[e] *ib.* 130). Martial (v. 27) contrasts *paenulatus* with *togatus*, as indicating a lower rank in society. Juvenal (*Sat.* v. 79) makes the parasite, when on his way to dinner with his patron on a stormy night, complain of his dripping *paenula*. It seems also to have been used as a soldier's overcoat (Suetonius, *Galba*, c. 6; Tertullian, *de Cor. Mil.* c. 1). In travelling, indeed, the *paenula* might be made to serve the purpose of a blanket by night, as well as a cloak by day (Seneca, *Epist.* lxxxvii. 2).

The *Historiae Augustae Scriptores* furnish us with several instances of an interesting kind. Spartianus tells of Hadrian that, when tribune, he lost his *paenula*, which he took as an omen of his future imperial dignity, since tribunes wore a *paenula* to keep off the rain, but emperors never (c. 3, where see the notes of Salmasius and Casaubon). Again, Lampridius mentions that Commodus (c. 16), after the death of a certain gladiator, ordered the senators[f] to come to the spectacle, not in the toga, which was white, but in the *paenula*, which was, as a rule, dark-coloured. Lampridius remarks that this was "contra consuetudinem," that is, doubtless the wearing of the *paenula* was still not common among the better classes, except under special conditions. Indeed of this a further proof is given by Lampridius, in the life of Alexander Severus (c. 27), in that this emperor gave special permission to senators to wear the *paenula* in Rome, as a protection against cold, but did not extend this permission to matrons, who were only allowed to use it on a journey. This need not be assumed to contradict the remark of Spartianus given above, for we may suppose Alexander to be permitting the wearing of this dress as a warm cloak at the discretion of the wearer, whereas before it needed bad weather to justify its use, and was thought to be a kind of undress, so that emperors never used it. Lampridius, in his life of Diadumenus, the poor little son of Macrinus,

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Κρῆτες φελλώνην λέγουσι. There is perhaps something wrong with the text, but it seems hardly safe with this reading to conclude that φελλώνης is a Cretan word. See Alberti's note, *in loc.*, and Suicer *s. v.*

[e] Seneca (*Nat. Quaest.* iv. 6) seems to distinguish the *paenula* from the *scortea*, but this probably only implies that wool was the ordinary material.

[f] It seems desirable to substitute *senatores* for *spectatores*, the reading of the MSS.

who was Augustus before he was ten years old, tells (c. 2) how, on the child's assumption of the name Antoninus, the father had prepared for distribution to the people "paenulas coloris rosei" [here probably equivalent to *russei*; cf. Trebell. *Vit. Claudii*, c. 14], which were to be called *Antoninianae*.

We pass over here a passage of Tertullian, till we have spoken of the use of the word by St. Paul, and shall next refer to a law in the Theodosian code, published in A.D. 382, as to the dress to be worn by senators and others. In this senators are forbidden to assume the warlike garb of the *chlamys*, but are ordered to wear the peaceful dress of *colobium* and *paenula*. It is added that officials "per quos statuta complentur ac necessaria peraguntur" are also to use the *paenula*. Penalties are provided in case of disobedience (*Cod. Theodos.* lib. xiv. tit. 10, l. 1, where see Gothofredus's note).

3. *Use of the word by St. Paul.*—We must now consider the use of the word by St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 13), "The cloke that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments." The word here translated "cloke" by the E. V. is found variously spelt in the MSS. as φελόνης, φαιλόνης, φαιλώνης, and φελώνης, the first being undoubtedly the true reading. It will be observed that in all these cases the λ precedes the ν. The old Latin version (Sabatier, *in loc.*; cf. also Tertullian, *de Orat.* 15; *de Cor. Mil.* 8) and the Vulgate render the word by *paenula*, evidently thinking it the same word; but the Peshito translates it by ܒܝܬ ܟܬܒܐ (a case for books).[g] Again, Chrysostom (*Hom. in loc.*; vol. xi. p. 780, ed. Gaume) mentions this view, "by φελόνης here he means the outer garment (ἱμάτιον). But some think it means the case (γλωσσόκομον) where the books lay." Jerome, too (*Epist.* 36 *ad Damasum*, § 13, vol. i. 167), says, "volumen Hebraeum replico, quod Paulus φελόνην juxta quosdam vocat." It is impossible, however, to speak here with any great degree of certainty. The only independent evidence, apart, that is, from this passage, for the meaning of "case," is apparently that of the Greek lexicographers, but possibly these have only cited Chrysostom. Then, too, it may be said that the notion of the "case" may have been suggested merely by the context, still, it might have been thought, if the word were merely the name of a well-known garment, it would be a somewhat unlikely mistake for a translator to make. Further, the rendering of the Peshito is the more worthy of notice, seeing that in ecclesiastical Syriac the word "phaino" (ܦܝܢܐ) has been directly derived from the Greek as the name of the vestment.

If we assume that the apostle is using the word in the sense of a garment, then increased point will be given to the urgent wish (v. 21) that Timothy should come before winter, the aged apostle feeling the need of extra warm protection against the cold. Here the matter might have been allowed to rest, as one incapable of positive solution, seeing that there is much to be said for either view, were it not that some writers (Cardinal Bona [*Rer. Liturg.* i. 24·8] and others) have gravely argued that the apostle here desires Timothy to bring the chasuble he had left behind him. We have seen that there is a respectable amount of evidence for explaining the word as not meaning a garment at all, but, waiving this, positively the only direct evidence for the above theory is that this word in a modified spelling (φαινόλιον, &c.) is the technical Greek word for a chasuble. Chrysostom, however, took it for an ordinary outer garment; and this is significant, when taken in connexion with the so-called Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, where the word φαινόλιον occurs for the ecclesiastical vestment, shewing, as it does, that at the end of the 4th century the word had not been restricted into its special eucharistic meaning, otherwise St. Chrysostom would hardly have expressed himself as he does. Again, nearly two hundred years before the time of St. Chrysostom, we find Tertullian shewing very distinctly the views of his time (*de Oratione*, c. 15). He has been speaking of certain practices as belonging to superstition rather than to religion, and thus mentions that it was the custom of some to lay aside their *paenula* before engaging in prayer, as the heathen did in their idol temples. But for this there is no authority, "unless," he adds ironically, "anyone thinks that Paul, from having engaged in prayer at the house of Carpus, had thus left his *paenula* behind him. God, I suppose, does not hear men clad in a *paenula*, Who yet heard effectually the three saints in the furnace of the king of Babylon, as they prayed in their *sarabarae* and turbans." Tertullian here laughs at the idea of St. Paul's having taken off his *paenula* to pray. The notion of this garment having been one specially put on for the eucharistic service is evidently utterly foreign to the sense of the passage. The gist of Tertullian's remark is merely, "What a foolish notion it is of these people to think it unseemly to go to church in a *paenula!*" He could hardly have spoken in this way, had he thought, or had people generally in his time thought, that St. Paul's *paenula* was really a sacrificial vestment.[h] It may be added here that in a commentary on the 2nd Epistle to Timothy appended to the works of Jerome, but apparently spurious, the theory is broached that this *paenula* was an offering from some convert, which was to be sold for the apostle's benefit (*Comm. in loc.* vol. xi. 429). This too is utterly foreign to any notion of a chasuble. Of course the spuriousness or genuineness of this document makes little matter to our present purpose, which is to show the general way in which the passage was anciently understood.

Again, as regards the identity of the term with the word in later Greek, this of itself will not count for much, when we consider of how many other vestments this might be said,

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[g] Another very important version, the Memphitic, is practically of no avail to us here, inasmuch as it merely reproduces the Greek word, and there is no independent evidence as to the sense in which it uses it.

[h] It is amazing to find that Sala, the editor of Cardinal Bona, can gravely remark (vol. ii. 238, ed. Turin, 1749), "fuerunt itaque Tertulliani aevo qui Pauli penulam orationis vestem seu sacrificalem putarent." Comment on such perversity is superfluous.

where yet the use was certainly not identical, the word *casula* itself being a very marked instance; and further, it does not seem that there is a certain case of the use of the term in its technical sense before the time of Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople in the 8th century. In the absence of direct evidence for the early use of the word in its special sense, the testimony derivable from liturgies of uncertain date cannot, it is evident, be allowed to count for much. If, on so feeble a case as the above, some are disposed to believe that St. Paul refers to his chasuble, we must allow that their credulity has been developed at the expense of their judgment.

4. *Ecclesiastical use of the word.*—The name of the vestment appears in later Greek under various spellings, *φαινόλιον*, *φενόλιον*, *φενώλιον*, *φελόνιον*, *φελώνιον*, *φαιλώνιον*, &c. From this has been formed, as we have already remarked, the ordinary Syriac term for the vestment, *phaino*. [We may take this opportunity of remarking that perhaps in Syriac too, as well as in Greek, the word was not strictly confined to its technical ecclesiastical sense. We find it in one of the poems of Ephraem Syrus, used metaphorically for the body, our 'mortal coil' wherewith we are clothed (Bickell, *S. Ephraemi Carmina Nisibena*, xxxv. 79). Here Hades is represented as saying of the Saviour, "as at the wedding feast He changed water into wine, so has He changed the garment of the dead (ܦܓܪܐ ܕܡܝ̈ܬܐ) into life."] In Sclavonic the Greek word occurs as *pheloni*. In the Arabic versions of the Coptic liturgies the name for this vestment is generally *al-bornos*, a word familiar to us from Eastern books of travels, and perhaps sometimes also *tilsem* (Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient. Coll.* i. 161, 162, ed. Francof. 1847), though the former word appears to be used sometimes in the sense of an alb, and the latter probably stands as a rule for something akin to an amice. In the Armenian church the eucharistic vestment now is to all intents and purposes a cope, save that it has no hood. Its native name is *shoochar* (Fortescue, *Armenian Church*, p. 134). The Armenians are attacked by Isaac, catholicos of Armenia in the 12th century, in the second of two bitter invectives, in that they do not use the *φελώνιον*, making no distinction of vestments in the Eucharist[i] (*Orat.* 2, § 25; *Patrol. Gr.* cxxxii. 1236).

We have previously remarked that there is no certain direct mention of the *φενόλιον* before the time of Germanus. We do not mean by this that there is no evidence for the use of this vestment in the Greek church before that time, for we shall presently mention some art-remains which figure it at a much earlier period, but that the literary notices are not trustworthy. Dr. Neale (*l. c.*) quotes in proof of its antiquity from the life of St. Marcian,[j] priest and oeconomus of the Great Church (Constantinople), who is said to have lived in the time of his namesake, emperor of Rome (ob. 457 A.D.), but he omits to state that this life is written by Symeon Metaphrastes (ob. after 975 A.D.). Again, Theophylact Simocatta, writing early in the 7th century, says (*Hist.* vii. 6; p. 280, ed. Bekker) that after the death of John, patriarch of Constantinople, they only found as his effects *σκίμποδα ξύλινον καὶ σισύραν ἐξ ἐρίου ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εὐτελῆ φαιλώνην τε ἀκαλλῆ*. Considering the context here, it seems much more likely that the *φαιλώνης* was merely the patriarch's outdoor cloak.[k]

We next refer to Germanus (appointed patriarch of Constantinople in 715 A.D). He describes (*Hist. Eccles. et Mystica Theoria*; *Patrol. Gr.* xcviii. 394) the ungirdled phelonion as metaphorical of Christ bearing His cross. From a remark a few lines lower down, in which he compares it to the purple robe put on our Lord (*ἐμφαίνει τὴν ἀπὸ κοκκίνου πορφύραν*), we may infer that this was the colour of the vestment. A century later, Nicephorus (patriarch of Constantinople, 806–815 A.D., when he was deposed), when writing to pope Leo III., sends as a present a pectoral cross, a seamless white *sticharion*, and chestnut-coloured *phenolion*[l] (*στιχάριον λευκὸν καὶ φαινόλιον κάστανον ἄῤῥαφα*), and an *epitrachelion* and *enchirion* (*Patrol. Gr.* c. 200).

As regards early Eastern pictures of this dress (for the West is not now in question, for there the corresponding vestment appears first as planeta and then as casula), we may refer first to mosaics existing in the vault of the church of St. George at Thessalonica. These have been figured from coloured drawings taken on the spot, in Texier and Pullan's *Byzantine Architecture* (reproduced in Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum*, plates xviii.–xxi.), who give arguments to show that the church was built by Constantine himself during his first stay at Thessalonica. In the first three of these, at any rate, the figures are clad in what seems to be a *φαινόλης* of a reddish or purplish colour. One figure represents Philip, bishop and martyr, and another a presbyter Romanus, but there are also, with but slight differences of garb, the well-known brother physicians, SS. Cosmas and Damian, and Eucarpion, soldier and martyr. This fact has an important bearing on the question of the early use of a special eucharistic vestment in the East, if the garment afterwards specially used was in the 4th century worn by laymen. Among the surviving mosaics of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople are some believed to be of the 6th century representing 4th century bishops. These are clad in *white sticharia* and *phenolia*, with *omophoria* (Marriott, p. lxxv.). As an example of a different type, we may refer to an illustration figured by Assemani from a Syriac MS. of the Gospels dated 586 A.D. (*Bibl. Med.* plate iii., and cf. p. 2; reproduced by Marriott, plate xxviii.). This represents Eusebius of Caesarea and Ammonius of Alexandria, the former wearing a garment which may be a

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[i] Neale (*Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 309 n.) seems to imply that Isaac censures the Armenians for having changed the shape of the eucharistic vestment from what we should call a chasuble into what we should call a cope. Any one who will look at the passage itself will see that he finds fault with them for not using a eucharistic vestment at all.

[j] *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan., vol. i. p. 612.

[k] This too is Hefele's view (*op. cit.* p. 196).

[l] Hefele (p. 196) justly points to this as evidence that at this time the vestments of the Roman and Greek churches were much more similar than they afterwards became.

*phenolion*, but whether we are to view this as representing the every-day dress or the dress of official ministration, there is nothing to shew.

The form said on the putting on of the *phenolion* before celebrating the Eucharist runs, in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, *οἱ ἱερεῖς σου, Κύριε, ἐνδύσονται δικαιοσύνην, καὶ οἱ ὅσιοί σου ἀγαλλιάσει ἀγαλλιάσονται, πάντοτε, νῦν* . . . (Goar, *Euchologion*, p. 60). The word *phenolion* is also used in the Greek church as the name of the special vestment of a "reader," who, on being made a sub-deacon, has it replaced by the *sticharion* (*ib.* 236, 244.) A *phenolion* was also worn as a special privilege by the archdeacon of the clergy attached to the palace of Constantinople, on the Sunday of the Adoration of the Cross (see the article), but only on that one occasion (Codinus Curopalata, c. 9).

5. *Literature.*—For the materials of the foregoing article, we are largely indebted to the various lexicons cited, especially Ducange, *Glossarium Graecum*, s. vv.; Suicer, *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, and Forcellini. The examples in the last are given in chronological order by Marriott (*Vestiarium Christianum*, App. C). Reference may further be made to Hefele's learned and temperate essay, *Die liturgischen Gewänder*, in his *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte, Archäologie und Liturgik*, vol. ii. pp. 195, sqq. See also Wolf, *Curae Philol.* [in 2 Tim. iv. 13]; Masius, *Diss. de Pallio Pauli*, Hafniae, 1698; Bartholinus *de Paenula*, in Graevius, *Antiq. Rom.* vi. 1167, sqq.; Ferrarius *de Re Vestiaria*, *ib.* vi. 682, sqq. [R. S.]

**PAGANISM** (IN CHRISTIAN ART). In a former article [FRESCO] attention has been called to the intimate connexion between early Christian art and that of the pagan community in which the church arose, and from which its first members were gathered. It will be unnecessary to repeat what has been there said of the absence of any strict line of demarcation between the system of decoration adopted by the adherents of the new faith, and those to which they had been accustomed as members of a heathen society, and the rarity of anything in their earliest pictorial and sculptural representations distinctive of the religion they had embraced, which rendered primitive Christian art little more than the continuation of that which they found already existing, purified and elevated by the influences of their new faith.

In the same article reference has been made to the manner in which distinctly mythological personages were pressed into the service of the church, and, a new spirit being breathed into old forms, objects, persons, and scenes, to which the mind was familiarised in connexion with pagan myths, were made the channels of conveying to the initiated the higher truths of which they became the symbols, and "all that was true and beautiful in the old legends found its fulfilment in Christ, and was but a symbol of His life and work."—(Farrar.)

It remains now briefly to shew how this principle was carried out in detail, and mythological types and classical forms were made the exponents of Christian doctrine.

We have at the outset to distinguish between (1) that class of subjects which contained a fundamental religious idea common to Paganism and Christianity, which, dimly shadowed forth in the one, received its full development in the other; and (2) those in which the resemblance is merely formal and external, the mythological representations supplying a vehicle for Christian ideas. To these we may add (3) the still more abundant class in which classical forms and ideas are used simply as ornamental accessories, without any symbolical reference.

I. The first class in which a subject from pagan mythology is used typically to depict some Christian truth is a very small one. The deep-seated foulness of the myths of classical antiquity, on which the early Christian writers were never weary of enlarging, caused a natural revulsion of the Christian mind from them, and rendered them, generally through their associations, quite unsuited for conveying sacred truths.

(1) The only subject borrowed from Pagan mythology which gained any general acceptance in Christian art, is that of Orpheus taming the wild animals by the notes of his lyre. Almost from the beginning, the power of Orpheus in subduing the ferocity of savage beasts and gathering them round him in mutual harmony, was regarded as typical of the all-conquering influence of Christ's Gospel in taming the fierce passions of the human heart, and uniting warring and discordant tribes in one common homage to their universally-acknowledged Master. (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* ii. p. 357, c. 14.) The myth of Orpheus was thus regarded as an adumbration of the words of Christ (John xii. 32), "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me," and a parallel to the well-known prophecies of Isaiah, in which the same symbolism is adopted (Is. xi. 6–9, lxv. 25). In this reference the Orphic myth is not unfrequently alluded to by the writers of the early church (Clem. Alexandr. *Cohort. ad Gentes*, c. 1; Euseb. *de Laud. Constant.* c. xiv.; Greg. Nyss. *in Hexaem.* c. 7; Chrysost. *Homil.* xii. c. ii., *Genes. Homil.* xxiii. in c. vi.; *Homil.* xix. in c. ix.; Cassiod. *in Ps.* xix.; cf. Lactant. *Inst.* vii. 24). Orpheus is still more often alluded to by the Fathers, and the writings ascribed to him, in common with the Sibylline verses, quoted as affording testimony to the unity of God and other points of Christian truth (Theophil. *Autol.* iii. 2; Just. Mart. *Cohort. ad Graec.* c. 15, *de Monarch.* c. 2; Clem. Alexandr. *Strom.* v. 12, 14; Lactant *Instit.* i. 5, 6; Aug. *Contr. Faust.* xiii. 15, &c.) We cannot, therefore, be surprised that he should become a favourite subject of early Christian art. The most remarkable representation of Orpheus is that from the ceiling of a cubiculum in the cemetery of St. Callistus, of which a woodcut is given, Vol. I. p. 696 (Bosio, p. 239; Bottari, ii. tav. lxiii.; Aringhi, i. 547; Garrucci, *Pitture*, tav. 25; Perret, i. pl. xxxiv. bis, p. 35). The subject occupies the central octagonal panel of the ceiling, the surrounding panels containing alternately landscapes and scenes from the Old and New Testaments. Orpheus displays the hieratic type of a young man in a high Phrygian bonnet, and loose frock, his legs clothed with *ananyrides*, embroidered with a *chlamys*. He sits among trees, holds his lyre in his left hand, and beats time with his right foot. A lion, tiger, horse, peacock, and other birds and beasts stand round him. An arcosolium from the same

cemetery presents the same subject with very slight variations (Bosio, 255; Aringhi, i. 563; Bottari, ii. tav. lxx.; Garrucci, *Pitture*, tav. 30; Perret, vol. i. pl. xx. p. 30). The subject has been only once found in marble; on a sarcophagus discovered at Ostia, the corresponding panel containing Tobias, or a fisherman (Northcote, pl. xx.; Martigny, *sub voc.* from Visconti). It occurs also on a lamp (Perret, vol. iv. pl. xvii. No. 1, p. 118), and on a gem given by Mamachi (*Orig.* iii. 81, note [2]), from the Museo Vettori, and others specified by Piper (*Mythologie und Symbolik.* i. 123). No example of the subject is found in mosaic or in miniatures.

(2) The *Sirens* were introduced into Christian typology as emblems of temptations to sensual indulgence, to which the man of God, symbolised by Ulysses, was exposed as he traversed the waves of the troublesome world on his way to the shore of everlasting rest (Maxim. Turin. *Homil. i. de pass. et cruce Domini;* Hippolyt. *Philosophum.* viii. 1), and which he was enabled to overcome by the cross of Christ, as Ulysses fastened himself to the mast. One such representation only has come down to us, and that not certainly Christian. It is a fragment of a sarcophagus discovered by De Rossi in the cemetery of St. Callistus, assigned to the 3rd century, and described by him (*Bulletino*, 1863, p. 35; *Roma Sott.* i. tav. xxx. p. 5; Martigny, *Dictionn.* art. *Ulysse;* Northcote, pp. 232, 298). Ulysses sits weeping in his vessel with two companions. The three sirens stand around, in the form described by Isidore (*Orig.* xi. 3, 30), half woman, half bird, with wings and claws; one holding a lyre, one a flute, and the third singing from a roll of music. The cruciform arrangement of the monogram *Tyranio* suggests, but does not prove, the Christian origin of the sculpture.

(3) The Hermes Kriophorus of pagan art certainly supplied the original type of the *Good Shepherd* in its countless repetitions. [SHEPHERD, GOOD.] The *syrinx*, or Pandean pipes, which is one of the most frequent accessories of the figure in Christian as in pagan art, was regarded as typifying the music of the Gospel, which recalls the wanderers and guides the sheep in the right way. (See the quotations given by Garrucci, *Vetri*, p. 63.) The face and form of the Good Shepherd, as of other representations of Christ, appear often to be borrowed from those of the young beardless Apollo (Piper, *u. s.* pp. 79, 100–105; Munter, *Sinnbilder*, i. 64, ii. 7; Raoul-Rochette, *Tableau des Catacombes*, p. 161 ff.)

II. As examples of the second class of subjects where pagan mythology only supplies the form of the representation as a vehicle for Christian ideas, and the resemblance is external only, the most remarkable are Hercules carrying off the apples of the Hesperides, and the chariot of the Sun God, as respectively furnishing formal types of the Fall, and of the ascent of Elijah. The resemblance between the Hercules subject and its Christian correlative is too striking to allow any doubt that the one was borrowed from the other (Piper, i. 66 ff.). Another part of the same myth, Hercules feeding the fabled dragon with cakes of poppy-seed, appears to have furnished the motive for the representation of the apocryphal story of Daniel killing the dragon at Babylon (see woodcut, Vol. I. p. 579). Equally marked is the resemblance between the fire-horsed chariot in which Elijah is represented ascending to heaven, and the ordinary representations of Apollo, or Phoebus, as the Sun God in his rising. In the absence of distinctive accessories it is hardly possible to determine which of the two subjects is intended. This difficulty is sometimes increased by the introduction of the Jordan as a river god, with his urn, in the Scriptural event (Piper, *u. s.* pp. 75–77). The correspondence of the two has also been confirmed by the accidental resemblance of the words Elias and Helios (ἥλιος). (Sedul. *Carm. Pasch.* lib. i. v. 184). This symbolical representation of the Jordan by a river god with his urn occurs also elsewhere. There are remarkable instances in the mosaics of the baptism of Christ in the baptisteries at Ravenna.

III. Little need be said upon the use of ornamental accessories, derived from heathen art, such as *winged genii*, *victories*, *armed females*, *centaurs*, *caryatides*, *telamones*, *pegasi*, *hippocampi*, and the like. It would be misapplied ingenuity to endeavour, as has been sometimes done, to affix an allegorical meaning to each of these objects, the introduction of which may be satisfactorily attributed to the fancy of the painter or sculptor, who being perhaps still a pagan, and certainly one who had learnt the principles and practice of his art in pagan schools, found it impossible to divest himself of its traditions, and satisfied both himself and his employers by discarding everything that was essentially profane, or which could give rise to an impure imagination. As Raoul-Rochette has remarked (*Tableau*, &c., p. 214), "it is no cause of surprise if in the design of these monuments, the thoughts of the early Christian artists went back to the traditions of paganism, so that in the execution of subjects drawn from Holy Scripture, their hand, by the blind force of habit, reproduced a large number of the details of profane art, especially in costume, furniture, ornament, and architecture, which were indifferent in themselves, and to which they had been so long accustomed." Thus, in the words of Kugler, "many modes of expression of an innocent nature belonging to ancient art, though closely associated with the old idolatry, long maintained their position for purposes of decoration," and that with so little individuality of character that in many cases by nothing but the occurrence in some part of the design of some decidedly Christian symbol, its non-pagan origin can be ascertained (Raoul-Rochette, *Tableau des Catacombes*, pp. 120–122; Pelliccia *de Christ. Eccl. Polit.* tom. iii. pp. 230–234, ed. Neapol. 1779; Northcote, *Rom. Sott.* p. 196). There is not one of these decorative forms of such frequent occurrence in early Christian art as the vine, together with scenes connected with its cultivation, and the ingathering of the grapes. The examples are too common to particularize; but we may refer to the very lovely vine of the Callistine catacomb, "of an antique style of beauty" (Kugler) [of which there is a woodcut FRESCO, Vol. I. p. 695]; and the vintage scenes from the baptistery of St. Costanza [MOSAICS, Vol. II. p. 1322]. In this we have an instance of the way in which a purely conventional mode of ornamentation was adopted by Christians, and clothed with a religious signification, full of

spiritual teaching to the initiated, of Christ the "True Vine," and believers as fruitful "branches" in Him.

We have yet to speak of the cases in which direct pagan subjects occur, to which it is difficult if not impossible to assign any esoteric Christian meaning. The fact that these are found entirely on sarcophagi and gilded drinking glasses, never in mosaics or the wall-paintings of the catacombs, suggests the probable conclusion that the articles on which they occur are of heathen origin, and were used by Christians from the absence, in the early period of the church, of artists of their own faith capable of fabricating them. This must have been especially the case with sarcophagi. Those who needed them were compelled to resort to heathen sculptors' workshops, and to content themselves with selecting those which did the least violence to the new faith. In this way we may account for the occurrence of pagan sarcophagi in Christian burial-places. "We have abundant evidence," writes Professor Westwood (Parker, *Archaeology of Rome; Tombs*, p. 39), "not only that pagan sarcophagi were used for the burial of Christians, but also that subjects of a pastoral or pagan character were adopted on the sarcophagi of the earlier Christians, to which symbolical meanings were attached, whereby in the minds of the uninitiated their Christian destination would never be suspected. In the words of Mabillon (*Iter. Ital.* § 10, p. 81), 'Sic profanis tumulis Christiani non raro quasi propriis usi sunt.'" As examples, we may name one found in the cemetery of St. Agnes, bearing the epitaph of a Christian virgin named Aurelia Agapetilla, designated "ancilla Dei," which is ornamented with a figure of Bacchus, surrounded with naked Cupids, and the genii of the seasons (Boldetti, p. 466), and two given by Millin (*Voyage au Midi de la France*, iii. 156, 158, pl. xxvi. 4, xxxvii. 3), on one of which is carved the Forge of Vulcan. On another, given by Northcote (p. 261), Cupid and Psyche are represented side by side with a Good Shepherd, who is overturning a basket of fruit. The conversion of ancient carved marbles into articles for the use of the Christian church, such as fonts, holy water basins, alms-boxes, which at one time largely prevailed, has proved rather misleading from its having been supposed that their present use was necessarily contemporaneous with their first execution.

Some of the gilded glasses extracted from the catacombs bear scenes from pagan mythology, and the figures of heathen deities, Hercules, Minerva, Achilles, Serapis, &c. On others are depicted subjects which are incapable of a Christian interpretation, and which it is difficult to conceive could have been executed by a Christian artist. One, given by Perret (iv. pl. xxx. no. 82), represents a naked female waited on by winged genii, one of whom holds a mirror. Others have the genius of death winged, either leaning on an inverted torch (Garrucci, 201, 5; Buonarruoti, xxviii. 2), or arrested in full career by the *meta* or goal, indicating the end of life (*ibid.*). The pronounced pagan character of these glasses renders it difficult to assign them a Christian origin, and though both Garrucci and Wiseman are of opinion that this art was confined to the Christians alone, they bring forward no grounds for this view, which is *primâ facie* improbable, such as to forbid us to regard them as the work of pagan artists for the use of their co-religionists.

The very curious wall-paintings of a decidedly pagan character, in the cemetery of Praetextatus, first published by Bottari (tom. ii. preface, p. v. pp. 192, 218) and given by Perret (vol. i. pl. lxx.–lxxiv.) and by Parker (*Archaeology of Rom. Catacombs*), to which a Christian origin was assigned by Raoul-Rochette and other writers, are now proved to belong to one of the Gnostic sects. The sepulchral chamber they decorate is that of Vincentius, a priest of a deity named Sabasis or Sabasus, and his wife Vibia, whose death preceded his own. They embrace four scenes:—(1) *Abreptio Vibiea*, the soul of Vibia carried off by Pluto in his quadriga, and the *descensio*, her descent to Hades. (2) Her judgment before the throne of Pluto (*Dis pater*), seated with his wife Abracura (ἁβρὰ κούρη), the three Fates (*Fata Divina*). Vibia is introduced by Mercury, and accompanied by Alcestis. (3) *Inductio Vibies*, her introduction to the mystic banquet by the *Angelus bonus*, a youth crowned with flowers, and her taking her place with the other guests at a sigma-shaped table (*Bonorum judicio judicati*). (4) The funeral banquet given by Vincentius in her honour to the priests of Sebasius (*septe[m] pii sacerdotes*). The pagan character of the whole is so pronounced that it is difficult to understand how these paintings could have been supposed to have a Christian origin.

(Piper, *Mythologie und Symbolik der Christlichen Kunst*; Munter, *Sinnbilder*; Macarius, *Hagioglypta*; Garrucci, *Arti Cristiane*; Raoul-Rochette, *Tableau des Catacombes*; Perret, *Les Catacombes*; De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*; Bullettino; Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma Sotterranea*; Parker, *Archaeology of Rome*. [TOMB; SARCOPHAGUS.] [E. V.]

**PAGANISM, SURVIVAL OF.** Enquiry in connexion with this subject may be simplified by treating it under three heads: (I.) *Paganism as a form of public worship supported, recognised, or tolerated by the civil power.* (II.) *As a popular belief existing in open contravention of state authority and in avowed antagonism to Christianity.* (III.) *As interwoven with the religion, discipline, and ceremonial of Christian communities, or discernible in their everyday life and practice.* [For pagan influences on education, see SCHOOLS.]

Some of the principal facts relating to (I.) are given under IDOLATRY, but it will be of service here to pass under review, somewhat more generally, the influences that successively determined the relations of paganism to the ruling power under the empire—a part of the subject intimately connected with (II.) and (III.).

(I.) The earliest sentiments of paganism with respect to Christianity appear to have been those of indifferent tolerance. When, however, the true character of Christianity began to be better understood, as that of an avowedly aggressive and intolerant creed—aggressive, that is to say, in that all other beliefs were regarded by its followers as hostile, and intolerant in that it professedly aimed at the overthrow of all other religions—the attitude of the civil power altogether changed. [MARTYR.]

The conversion of Constantine and the edict of Milan (October 28, 313), extending state recognition to Christianity, materially modified all the pre-existing conditions of paganism, which from this time presents itself under a different aspect. A considerable difference is also now discernible in the conditions under which it continued to exist in the East and those which surrounded it in the West—a distinction of no little importance in the later history of paganism, and one to which we shall have occasion again to refer.

The edict of Milan* marks the inauguration of *the principle of universal toleration*; everyone was thereby permitted publicly to profess whatever religion he chose. It gave to the Christians and to all alike, "et Christianis et omnibus," full and open freedom, "potestatem liberam et apertam," "sequendi religionem quam quisque voluisset" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* x. 5). Constantine, though protecting Christianity, at the same time maintained the priests of the ancient religion in the enjoyment of their customary privileges (*Cod. Theod.* XII. i. 21, A.D. 335; XII. v. 2, A.D. 337; Haenel, 1204, 1278). When his palace was struck by lightning, he sent to consult the pagan augurs; he himself continued to be saluted by the title and represented in the attire of Pontifex Maximus (Mionnet, *Médailles romaines*, ii. 236); and the statement of Zosimus (iv. 36), that the same honour was accepted by his successors until the time of Gratian, proves that the title still carried with it, in the eyes of many, a certain amount of prestige. Other facts point with equal force to the tenacity with which the forms and fashions of paganism continued to pervade official and ceremonial observance. A panegyric addressed to Constantine in the year 321, by Nazarius, is full of allusions to the pagan mythology. A law enacted in the same year, while condemning magical rites, nevertheless gives direct sanction to the use of charms and incantations against snow or hail (*Cod. Theod.* IX. xvi. 3; Haenel, p. 868). In the year 331, a date which has been assigned as marking the decisive overthrow of pagan worship (Beugnot, *Hist. de la Destruction du Pag.* i. 175), from the fact that it witnessed the almost complete destruction of the temples in Africa, we find Anicius Paulinus, the prefect of Rome, restoring the temple of Concord (Gruter, *Insc. totius Orbis Romani*, i. 100). Constantine, after his death, received the honours of apotheosis and the appellation of "Divus" (Eutropius, x. 10).

A politic regard for popular feeling, as associated with time-hallowed observances, appears to have led the civil authorities still to sanction or permit many of the traditional formalities and solemnities of paganism, but in the meantime public sentiment itself was undergoing a great change. Of this a remarkable proof is afforded in the fact that the tombs of the dead (which among purely pagan communities were always regarded with superstitious veneration and invested with a peculiar sanctity) now began to be frequently plundered and desecrated. The symbols and adornments of these structures, which reflected the ancient religious belief, appear to have excited at once the contempt and cupidity of the Christians, who converted the materials to the commonest uses, even carrying them away for building purposes. An edict of Constantius II. promulgated A.D. 340, enacts that those guilty of such sacrilege, without the cognisance of the proprietor, shall be condemned to work in the mines (*Cod. Theod.* IX. xvii. 1; Haenel, p. 874). A subsequent law prescribed the punishment of death; but in the year 349 (*ib.* IX. xvii. 2) this was mitigated to the imposition of a fine.

Legislation now appears as largely dictated by a twofold regard: (1) for the responsibilities involved in the profession of the Christian faith by the state, (2) for the feelings of the Christian majority among the people; while, on the other hand, there is ample evidence, especially in the West, that respect for the prejudices of what was still a powerful minority often caused successive enactments to remain almost a dead letter. It would accordingly appear probable that, for a lengthened period, repressive legislation was virtually *inoperative*. Thus, in the year 341, we find that pagan sacrifices were formally forbidden—"cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania" (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 2; Haenel, p. 1612). The proof, however, that such sacrifices were still publicly offered is so incontrovertible that Labastie conjectures that reference is here intended only to private sacrifices and the magical rites with which they were frequently associated. But such an hypothesis is rendered highly improbable by the language of an edict promulgated in 346, which, while directing that the temples *without the city walls* shall be permitted to remain uninjured, distinctly implies that those within the city precincts were marked out for destruction; and even the reservation in favour of the former is justified solely on the ground that the public games and *Circenses* had originated with the worship that was associated with certain temples, and that it was "not fitting that those should be overthrown from whence the Roman people derived the celebration of ancient festivities" (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 2, 3; Haenel, p. 1612).

A similar difficulty attaches to two enactments, purporting to belong to the years 353 and 356, forbidding sacrifices of every kind under penalty of death; for here again Beugnot proves, from the evidence of inscriptions, that throughout the reign of Constantius II. the temples were open and sacrifices offered, not only in Rome, but throughout the Western empire. Of this contradiction, Beugnot can find no other explanation than that afforded by the supposition of Labastie, that the above laws, though probably drawn up during the reign of Constantius, remained unpromulgated, and, being subsequently found by Theodosius among the state papers, were inserted by him in the code with conjectural dates.

During the reigns of Julian (361–363), Jovian (363–364), and of Valentinian in the West (364–375), and Valens in the East (364–378), the state theory appears to have been that of general tolerance and strict impartiality with respect to religious belief (Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, I. ii. 21, 22); but we have evidence that the imperial power still cherished a certain sympathy

* This edict has not descended to us as a state document; but the copy sent by the emperor Licinius to the prefect of Bithynia has been preserved by Lactantius (Migne, *Patrol.* vii. 267).

with many pagan practices [MAGIC, VI. 2). The coins and medals of the period bear the figures of many of the pagan deities, especially those of Egypt (Beugnot, i. 271, 272). It is stated by Anastasius Bibliothecarius that in the reign of Valentinian, an emperor whose Arian sympathies divided and weakened the Christian party, paganism assumed so aggressive a demeanour that the clergy were afraid to enter the churches or the public baths—"neque in ecclesias neque in balnea haberent introitum" (*Vitae Rom. Pontif.*; Migne, *Patrol.* cxxviii. 31). It is, however, not a little remarkable that an edict of the same emperor, of the year 368 (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 18) presents us, for the first time, with the term "pagani" as applied to the adherents of the old religion. At Rome, we have abundant evidence that this party was still powerful. Prudentius (*cont. Symmach.* i. v. 545) can congratulate only six families of senatorial rank on having embraced the new faith (the Anicii, the Probi, the Paulini, the Bassi, the Olybrii, and the Gracchi), and Augustine (*Conf.* viii. 2) distinctly implies that in the time of Simplicianus, the teacher of St. Ambrose, the majority of the Roman nobility were strongly opposed to Christianity. Even Gratian (367–383) appears to have proclaimed almost perfect liberty of conscience, except with regard to some minor sects, whose tenets were supposed to involve obligations incompatible with fidelity to the state (Soz. *H. E.* vii. 1; Migne, *Series Graeca*, lxvii. 1418). But in the year 382 he ordered that the statue of Victory, "custos imperii virgo," should be removed from the Curia; he also forbade the offering of the "hostiae consultatoriae" (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 7), and refused, for himself, the title of Pontifex Maximus. It is evident from the language of Zosimus (iv, 36) that this last act was interpreted by the pagan party itself as a formal renunciation of the ancient union between the supreme spiritual and the supreme temporal power, and as intimating the imperial repudiation of all claims of paganism on the latter.

The enactments of Theodosius (378–395) may be considered to mark the real commencement of the downfall of paganism, but their influence was still almost entirely limited to the East. The emperor had the sagacity to perceive how largely unity in religion might be made to conduce to the object towards which his whole policy was directed—the establishment of the unity of the empire. "We will," says the edict of April 27, 380, "that all the nations subject to our sway be of that religion which the divine apostle Peter (as the faith introduced by him and preserved to the present time declares) handed down to the Romans" (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. i. 2; Haenel, p. 1476). A law of the year 381 (*ib.* XVI. vii. 1) enacted that those who had relapsed into paganism should forfeit the right to dispose of their property by will; this enactment was confirmed two years later (*ib.* XVI. vii. 2); in the year 385 the inspection of entrails and all magical rites were forbidden under pain of death; a law of February 391, promulgated in the first instance at Milan, forbade sacrifice to idols, or even to enter the temples (*ib.* XVI. x. 10; Zosimus, IV. xxxiii. 8); while the same law, as promulgated at Constantinople in the November of the following year, visited such practices with the penalty of death (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 12; see also IDOLATRY). It is stated by Theodoret (*Eccl. Hist.* v. 20; Migne, *Series Graeca*, lxxxii. 1055) that Theodosius also decreed the demolition of the temples, but no such law is extant, and the assertion must at least be looked upon as of doubtful authority. We have it, however, on the authority of Libanius that the prefect Cynegius was instructed to close the temples in Egypt, where both the Greek and the Egyptian worship still numbered many adherents (*Orat. pro Templis*, p. 194).

The distinction, above referred to, between East and West now becomes of primary importance. Generally speaking, the evidence would seem to shew that legislation which was severely enforced in the former division of the empire was practically inoperative in the latter. In the East, paganism, being unidentified with any political party, and possessing no influence over the executive power, was incapable of any organised resistance. Instances, indeed, are to be found, even so late as the 5th century, of pagans occupying posts of high office—as, for example, that of Optatus, who was prefect of Constantinople in the year 404 (Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 18; Migne, *Series Graeca*, lxvii. 337); but these are of rare occurrence, and whatever influence the pagan party still possessed was mainly limited to the schools. Hence, even so early as the commencement of the 4th century, Lucian, the celebrated teacher of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom under Maximin, affirms that "whole cities and the greater part of the world" are already of the Christian faith (Milman, *Hist. of Chr.* ii. 276), a statement which, the evidence already adduced shews, could have been even approximately true only with reference to the Eastern provinces. In the West, on the other hand, and especially in Rome, where the hereditary dignities and offices, and the whole historical associations of the city, were closely interwoven with the ancient religion, paganism maintained its ground with remarkable tenacity. Theodosius himself evidently recognized this broad distinction; for though he is accused by Zosimus (v. 38) of persecuting the ancient ritual, he neither closed the temples nor proscribed the pontiffs in the West. Finlay (*Greeks under the Empire*, p. 160) considers that the attachment of the Roman aristocracy to paganism proved the ruin of the Latin provinces; while those of the East were saved by the unity of their religious faith.

At the commencement of the reign of Honorius (395–423), temples to Jupiter, Mercury, Saturn, the Mater Deûm, Apollo, Diana, Minerva, Spes and Fortuna, and Concord, were still standing in Rome, and many of the old religious ceremonies and festivals continued to be observed. An edict of the year 399, promulgated at Ravenna, while forbidding the pagan worship, prohibited the destruction of the temples; it was the imperial pleasure, it stated, that edifices which gave so much adornment to the public thoroughfares should be preserved—"publicorum operum ornamenta servari" (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 15).

It is not accordingly until the year 408 that paganism can be regarded as having been rigorously suppressed in the West. In the December of that year an edict of Honorius,

addressed to Curtius, prefect of Italy, forbade all payments ("annonae") to the maintenance of the ancient worship, enjoined that all images in the temples, if any still remained, should be removed, and that the temples themselves should be converted to secular uses and the altars destroyed (*ib.* XVI. x. 20).

In Africa this legislation appears to have been put in force with exceptional severity, and three out of the five edicts directed in the reign of Honorius against paganism relate to that province. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 54) testifies to the actual execution, by the imperial officers, Gaudentius and Jovius, of these enactments: pagan priests who had failed to quit Carthage by a certain day, were compelled to retire to their native towns or villages, and all property devoted to the support of the pagan worship was confiscated.

The testimony of contemporary writers to the general overthrow of paganism now becomes explicit and unanimous. Zeno, bishop of Verona towards the close of the 4th century, speaks of "nearly the whole world" as already Christian (*ad Cor.* I. vii. 29; Migne, xi. 304); Jerome, writing a few years later (A.D. 403), says "the golden Capitol is dishonoured; all the temples of Rome stand begrimed with smoke and covered with cobwebs; the city is stirred to its foundations, and the populace stream past the half-demolished shrines on their way to the tombs of the martyrs" (*Epist.* cvii.). Augustine, in Africa, declares that God has willed the overthrow of Gentile superstition, and that He has already to a great extent completed His purpose. "Ye behold," he says, in one of his epistles, "the temples, some fallen into ruin, some overthrown, some closed, some converted to other uses; and the idols themselves broken, burnt, shut up from view, or actually destroyed" (*Epist.* ccxxxii.). The language of Theodoretus in the East is still more emphatic; he avers, with something of Oriental exaggeration, that the temples had been so utterly destroyed, that their very fashion had faded from memory, and men no longer knew how to construct an altar, while their materials had been consecrated by being used for the tombs of the martyrs (*Sermo de Martyr.*; Migne, *Series Graeci*, lxxxiii. 1034). An edict of Theodosius II. of the year 423, assumes that paganism is virtually extinct—"paganos qui supersunt, *quamquam jam nullos esse credimus*, promulgatarum legum jamdudum praescripta compescant" (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 22); but the appearance of subsequent repressive enactments, *e.g.* one of the year 425 (Append. to *Cod. Theod.* p. 17), forbidding that pagans should practise at the bar, exercise military functions, or own Christian slaves, proves that the exceptions were still numerous.

Even after this time not a few traces of pagan practices are discernible in a form that directly challenged the attention of the state, and are perhaps to be explained as existing by sufferance, the Christian legislator deeming that concessions like these might be made to the prejudices of the vanquished party without detriment to the security of the true faith. Instances of this kind are the public festivals and rejoicings on the kalends of January, practices especially condemned by Maximus of Turin, and by Chrysoloras, bishop of Ravenna in 430. The former expressly complains, that though Christian rulers enacted salutary laws for the protection of religion, *the magistrates gave themselves no trouble to see that these laws were carried out* (Migne, *Patrol.* lvii. 610). The watching of the flight of birds, and the shaking of the lots in the urn at the election of consuls, were still practised under Valentinian III.; and even so late as the reign of Anthemius (A.D. 467–472) representations of pagan deities appear on the coinage of the empire (Vaillant, *Numismata Impp. Romanorum*, iii. 629).

An edict of Theodoric, of the year 500 (Lindenbrog, *Cod. Leg. Ant.* p. 255), directing that all persons found sacrificing according to the rites of paganism shall be put to death, marks the culminating point of repressive legislation in the West; although, when taken in conjunction with undeniable evidence of the continued existence of paganism, even this enactment is regarded by Beugnot as a menace, rather than designed to be really carried into execution; and he adduces in support of this view the complete absence of any trace of judicial proceedings in Italy against the supporters of the ancient religion (*Hist. de la Destruct. de Paganisme*, ii. 282).

On the whole, the commencement of the 6th century must be looked upon as the period when the severance between the civil power in the empire and the pagan faith was first really carried into complete effect, and the closing of the schools of Athens by Justinian, in the year 529, marks the formal repression of the old philosophy, between which and Christian doctrine it had at one time seemed possible that a reconciliation might be effected. The destruction at nearly the same time of a temple to Apollo that had long stood on Monte Cassino, to make way for St. Benedict's celebrated monastery, typifies a corresponding revolution in the religious life.

II. *The survival of paganism as a popular belief, in open contravention of state authority and in avowed antagonism to Christianity.*—This, again, requires to be distinguished according as it presents itself (i) as a survival of the ancient Greek or Roman mythology; (ii) as the religion of Teutonic or other barbarous nations.

(i) Paganism being, as the word denotes, the faith of the villager, its later history is to be traced almost exclusively in districts comparatively isolated from intercourse with the great centres of civilisation. The force of the term is illustrated by the observation of Orosius, that "as aliens from the city of God, living near cross roads and villages in country districts, they are called villagers or gentiles"—"qui alieni a civitate Dei ex locorum agrestium compitis et pagis pagani vocantur sive gentiles" (Migne, xxxi. 3). Similarly Prudentius (*contra Symmachum*, iv. 620) speaks of the defenders of the ancient faith as "pago implicitos." Of its persistence and reappearance in such localities, long after the civil power had pronounced it extinct, we have frequent, and often startling, evidence. The triumph of Christianity was very far from being a continuously progressive overthrow of the old superstitions. Not to advert to those cases in which the new faith itself became altogether extinct, as in Africa before the advance

of Mahometanism, there are not a few instances of its temporary disappearance in comparatively limited districts, through the relapse of the population into paganism. Generally speaking the following conclusions are probably sound: (1) That where a break in the recorded episcopal succession presents itself, paganism regained the ascendancy during the period represented by this vacancy. "If," says Gregory of Tours, when referring to the succession in his own diocese, "any one should inquire why only one bishop, namely, Litorius, is to be found in the period extending from the death of bishop Gatianus to St. Martin, let him know that, *owing to the resistance of the pagans*, the city of Tours was long deprived of all priestly benediction" (*Hist. Fr.* i. 43). (2) That where, in the history of a community or of a city, we find no trace of a bishopric or of a monastery, paganism probably continued to hold its ground.

The language of St. Augustine, who speaks of the faith as "toto terrarum orbe diffusa, exceptis Romanis et adhuc paucis Occidentalibus," points to a distinction which may be regarded as valid during the greater part of our period. In the 6th century the pagan party in the East (the παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, as they were termed) became subject to persecutions scarcely less cruel than those which the Christians encountered under Diocletian. John Malalas [*Chronographia*; Migne (S. G.), xcvii. 449] states that in the year 561 there was a great persecution (διωγμὸς Ἑλλήνων μέγας), and that the property of many adherents of paganism was confiscated; while a decree forbade them to exercise their political rights as citizens. He also tells how certain gamblers (τινες τῶν κυττιστῶν) who had been guilty of blasphemy (βλασφημίαις δειναῖς ἑαυτοὺς περιβαλόντες) were sentenced to have their hands and feet cut off, and in this state were paraded naked on camels through the streets of Constantinople, while their books and the images of their gods were burnt at the Cynegium.

In the Italian prefecture, on the other hand, where the presence of the barbarian conqueror (still either pagan or Arian) secured for the Roman paganism a certain toleration, the ancient religion was long cherished and its rites practised. At Rome it found support in the political traditions and associations of the aristocratic party, and in the rural districts of Italy was protected by a genuine, though bigoted, devotion to the national worship. Even Christian historians admit that in these latter regions idolatry still reigned in the 4th century, and that the work of evangelization was attended with considerable peril. In the mountainous districts of the north, Saturn and Diana continued to receive the homage of the peasantry, and the first preachers of Christianity encountered a martyr's fate (Beugnot, i. 284). The inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont stubbornly defended the faith of their ancestors; Valens and Valentinian were saluted by the Venetians as the "divini patres" (Muratori, i. 264, no. 4). At Turin and Brescello, statues were erected to Julian (*Marmora Taurinen.* i. 249). At Milan, where the influence of St. Ambrose was paramount paganism almost disappeared; but a tractate of Maximus of Turin (Migne, *Patrol.* lvii. 721), written nearly half a century later, "Contra Paganos," proves the extent to which it prevailed in the surrounding districts. Etruria, which Christian historians have represented as completely converted during the reign of Constantine, appears by the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus (b. xxvii. c. 3) and that of Zosimus (v. xli.) to have been a stronghold of the art of divination in their time, and to have supplied all Italy with diviners. At Florence, distinguished by its worship of Mars, a tradition prevailed that if the statue of that deity were dishonoured evil would befall the city (Villani, i. lx.); and, out of deference to superstitious feeling, the statue was placed on the bank of the Arno, where it long continued to receive the homage of the citizens. At Volaterra the pagan worship, protected by the powerful family of the Caecinae, maintained its ground, and was professed with impunity (Rutilius Numat. i. v. 453). In the central portion of the peninsula, the evidence of inscriptions and of pagan writers reveals the existence of the pagan element at Sestinum, Rimini, Spoleto, Alba, Ostia, Praeneste, &c. (Symmachus, *Epist.* i. 43; Ammian. Marc. b. xix. c. 10; Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 23). The south, owing in a great measure to the inaccessible nature of the country, long remained pagan. Naples was distinguished by its adherence to the national faith (Benevent. *Ant. Thes.* i. 118). The insularity of Sicily exercised a similar influence, and inscriptions at Drepanum and Marsala shew that these cities were still unchristianized so late as the reign of Valens and Valentinian (*Siciliae Inscript. Collect.* pp. 27, 36). Beugnot (i. 289) considers that paganism continued to be dominant in the island until supplanted towards the end of the 5th century by the worship of the Virgin, which, after the third general council at Ephesus, was largely introduced (*Cronologia univ. della Sicilia*, p. 601).

The islands of the Western Mediterranean long remained altogether pagan. Rutilius (i. v. 375) speaks of the worship of Osiris as prevailing in Elba, while that of Hercules appears to have predominated in Sardinia (Graevius, *Thesaur.* xv. 58).

In the province of Africa, where the intimate relations with Rome gave rise to a similar state of religious feeling, a spirit of indifference seems long to have tolerated the ancient worship of the country. The deities to whom special reverence was paid were the Tyrian god, Melcarth (identified by some writers with the Libyan Hercules), together with Saturn and Celeste. Salvian (*de Gub. Dei*, Migne, liii. 178) represents even Christians of his time as uniting with pagans in ceremonies instituted in honour of this goddess. In Mauritania and Numidia, we meet with other names, probably those of the legendary heroes of the country. At Utica, Apollo; at Carthage, Ceres and Proserpine, were principally worshipped. But the most noticeable feature of these provinces, and one which long survived the open worship of pagan deities, was the devotion of the people to superstitious arts, such as magic, sortilegy, augury, &c. At the same time paganism itself exhibited a bold front—a fact partly attributable to intercourse with Rome, partly to the Donatist schism, whereby the influence of the Christian party was seriously impaired. The spirit of the

Donatists is illustrated by their admiration of the character and policy of Julian, who, they asserted, was the only emperor who had exhibited the impartiality that became the civil power (August. *cont. Epist. Parm.* i. 12; Migne, xliii. 47). But even so late as the year 408, we find the pagan party at Calama, in Numidia, celebrating the kalends of June, "contra recentissimas leges;" "tam insolenti usu," says Augustine, "ut quod nec Juliani temporibus factum est." They finally betook themselves to plundering a neighbouring church, and murdered a monk—conduct which Augustine admits appeared to have the secret sympathy of the principal inhabitants of the place (*Epist.* 91; Migne, xxxiii. 316–7).

In Spain the resistance to Christianity appears to have been feeble. The absence of a distinct national religion probably favoured the introduction of the new faith, the previously existing worship having included the deities of different lands, the gods of the capitol together with those of Phoenicia, Greece, and Carthage. We find, however, evidence of a strong Roman element.[b] From the reign of Constantine to that of Valentinian, the list of the magistrates of the province is noticeable, as presenting us with the names of families distinguished by their adherence to paganism (Masdeu, v. 507). St. Pacian, bishop of Barcelona, who died towards the end of the 4th century, declares that many of the inhabitants of his diocese are still given to idolatry (Migne, xiii. 1084); and Macrobius speaks of the Occitani, a people near Cadiz, as worshipping in the same century, "cum maxima relligione," a statue of Mars, whom they adored under the name of Neton (i. ix.). Beugnot, who differs from Masdeu and Milman on this question, considers the early conversion of the province to have been little more than nominal, and calls attention to the articles of the council of Elvira as indicating the existence of many pagan usages and, at best, but a very impure form of Christianity (i. 313–4).

In the Gauls, the language of St. Jerome, "Gallia monstra non habuit," implying the absence of idolatry, must be understood as applicable only to the southern portion of Transalpine Gaul; and even in this region, where Roman institutions and Roman civilization long held their ground after they had been overthrown on the parent soil, the ancient faith was cherished with remarkable tenacity. In Brittany, the place of these traditions was supplied by Druidism, and in the north-east by Teutonic paganism. St. Martin, in the 4th century, appears to have been the first whose efforts at evangelization were crowned by any substantial success. "Before his arrival," says Sulpicius Severus, "none, or scarcely any, worshipped the true God; where he overthrew temples, he immediately erected monasteries or churches" (Migne, *Patrol.* xv. 167). Gregory of Tours, in his life of Simplicius, bishop of Autun, narrates how the worship of Cybele still reigned in the bishop's diocese, and that it was customary to carry her statue round the fields and vineyards in order to render them productive. In the north, his friend Wulfiliach describes the destruction of a statue of Diana, worshipped by the inhabitants of Trèves, in the last quarter of the 6th century (*Hist. Franc.* viii. xv.); and St. Kilian, in the year 689, found that at the court of Dagobert II., king of East Francia, the same golden image, "in summa veneratione habebatur" (*Act. SS. Boll. Juill.* p. 616). Mercury was an object of special veneration in Elsass (Mone, ii. 343). Temples to Jupiter, Mercury, and Apollo existed at Rouen in the 7th century, and were still visited by worshippers (Martène, *Thes. Nov.* iii. 1656, b.). The conversion of the Franks to Christianity was a far more gradual process than the example of Clovis may appear to suggest. The superstitions of the nation were widely spread by them in Gaul, and a kind of fusion seems to have taken place between the religion of the conqueror and that of the conquered. Beugnot considers that in no part of Europe were idolatrous rites and practices more prevalent subsequent to the introduction and partial acceptance of Christianity. Hincmar (*ad Episc. de Jure Metrop.* Migne, cxxvi. 200) states that in the time of Charles Martel the Christian faith had almost died out, both in Austrasia and Neustria, large numbers of the eastern Franks never having received baptism. The worship of the Teutonic gods was maintained under the names of Greek or Roman divinities; Odin became Mercury; Thor, Jupiter; Frigga, Venus. To this practice we may attribute the singular error of Gregory of Tours, who represents Clotilda, when endeavouring to convert Clovis, as referring to the objects of her husband's worship under the names of the deities of the Greek mythology. In the year 743, the council of Lestines, in condemning many pagan superstitions still rife, refers to "sacra Jovis et Mercurii" (Mansi, xii. 385); but here the design appears to have been simply to denote, under classical names, the Teutonic deities, for a form of abjuration drawn up for the people in the vernacular substitutes the names "Thunaer ende Uuoden."

In England, where Celtic Christianity was driven, with the native population, into Wales, the different kingdoms were indebted for their evangelization each to a different source; and the work of conversion to even nominal Christianity was not completed until nearly a century from the time of the landing of Augustine. Kent and Essex relapsed into paganism. Mercia, under Penda, remained pagan until 633. Bede states that up to the time of Wilfrid's mission in 681, "all in the province of the South Saxons were strangers to the name and faith of God" (*Eccl. Hist.* iv. 12).

It is observed by Mone (*Gesch. des Heidenthums*, ii. 51) that it was the policy of the evangelizers of northern Europe to choose, as a centre of their operations, districts where the worship of the pagan gods was maintained with greatest vigour; a policy imitated by Charles the Great in relation to the Saxons. The see of Paderborn, like Boniface's monastery at Fulda, was erected among an almost

[b] An inscription at Tera, in Castille, of the time of Diocletian, quoted by Masdeu (*Hist. de España*, v. 372) on the authority of Velasco Perez de la Torre (who speaks of having both seen and carefully examined it), purporting to record the sacrifice of a white cow by imperial authority, to celebrate the suppression of the Christian faith, is given by Hübner (*Inscr. Hisp. Lat.* p. 26*), but rejected by him as spurious.

entirely heathen population. The provisions of the Capitulary of Paderborn, A.D. 785 (*de Partibus Saxoniae*), bear witness to this fact; and it is inferred by Beugnot that the stringent character of these enactments, when compared with the milder legislation relating to similar superstitions in Gaul, proves the more stubborn adherence of the Saxons to their national faith. It may be observed that these provisions were again promulgated as late as the year 1035, by Conrad II. against the pagan practices of the Wends.

III. *Paganism* (i) *as interwoven with the religious rites, discipline, and ceremonial of Christianity; or* (ii) *as discernible in the every day life and practices of professedly Christian communities.*

This part of the subject belongs mainly to the period distinguished by Beugnot as the third and concluding stage of the fall of paganism in the West, commencing with the reign of Valentinian III. and terminating with that of Charles the Great. After the fall of Rome before Alaric, in 410, the attitude of the state in relation to paganism was little altered; but great concessions appear to have been made by the church with the design of facilitating the work of conversion. The policy which dictated these concessions may be referred to a threefold sentiment:—(1) the desire to mitigate the resentment of those who asserted that the fall of Rome was attributable to the neglect of the worship of her ancient gods; (2) to a sense of the common danger to Christianity and pagan civilization alike, presented in the triumph of the barbaric invader; (3) to a belief in the approaching end of the world—an event which, as we learn from Tertullian (*Apol.* 42) and other writers, was believed by the Christians themselves to be destined to follow on the fall of Rome, and which rendered them doubly anxious to waive such points of difference as, although of small doctrinal importance, still constituted serious obstacles to pagan conversion.

(i) The observation of Chrysostom, that the devil, "finding himself unable to win the Christians to idolatry, took a round-about way to seduce them," points to the existence of many pagan practices among Christians even in that father's time; but a large number of usages in the ritual and observances of the church cannot be traced farther back than the 5th century. The language of some of the fathers seems, it is true, often to imply a spirit of unsparing extermination; but it is certain that a much larger amount of compromise actually prevailed than theory countenanced. Among the Teutonic nations especially, there was a disposition on the part of the earliest evangelisers to be satisfied—at least in the first instance—with a series of conversions little more genuine than those effected in India and Ceylon in the 15th century by Francis Xavier and the Jesuits; and even where more real results were gained, it was often found expedient to leave many distinctly pagan usages unchallenged for a time. It is perhaps in harmony with the distinction above indicated, as observable in the Christian policy prior and subsequent to A.D. 410, that the line of conduct authorised by Gregory the Great in his instructions to Mellitus [IDOLATRY, p. 811], and that recommended by bishop Daniel to Boniface in Frankland (*Epist.* xiv.; Migne, lxxxix. 707–710), is in strong contrast to that already referred to as pursued by St. Martin in Gaul. Heathen temples with their surrounding precincts were often permitted to stand uninjured, the idols being removed, and the buildings consecrated to Christian uses; while minor observances were suffered, either by connivance or tacit assent, to continue, which, with the lapse of time, were regarded as having gained the direct sanction of the church.

Among the Latin races, the worship of Mithra, the Sun-god, appears to have survived that of nearly all the other gods of the Roman mythology. M. Gaston Boissier (*La Religion romaine*, ii. 417) considers that, at the time of the fall of the empire, paganism, as it existed in Italy, recognised scarcely any other deity. Pope Leo the Great states that many Christians in his time adored the rising sun from lofty heights, "partim vitio ignorantiae, partim paganitatis spiritu;" and that some Christians did this under so mistaken a notion of religion, that even when ascending the steps of St. Peter's at Rome they were wont to turn and make their obeisance to the sun (Migne, *Patrol.* liv. 94). Maximus of Turin reproaches those whom he addresses with culpable indifference to idolatry as practised by others. He says that if their attention were drawn to an idol, they would say it was no concern of theirs, "causa mea non est, non me tangit" (Migne, lvii. 610). Pope Gregory, writing to queen Brunehaut, urges her to put a stop to idolatry and the worship of trees; for he hears, he says, that Christians who go to church still worship daemons (*ibid.* lxxvii. 939). Agila, ambassador from the Gothic monarch Leuvichildus to king Chilperic, informed Gregory of Tours that his people held the worship of idols to be perfectly compatible with that of the God of the Christians (*Hist. Franc.* v. 44; Migne, lxxi. 256). Grimm indeed observes that both among the Anglo-Saxons and the Northmen the same idea prevailed (*Deutsche Mythol.* p. 7); and Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 15) states that Redwald, king of East Anglia, had in the same temple an altar on which to offer Christian sacrifice, and another, a smaller one, on which to offer victims to devils. The canon of the council of Elvira (A.D. 325) forbidding all who have received baptism, and are of years of discretion, to enter a temple in order to participate in idolatrous worship, under penalty of being refused the sacrament of communion at death, is, however, sufficient proof that the action of the church was very early directed against such gross misconceptions, which appear to have been, for the most part, confined to semi-barbarous nations.

A more interesting and instructive inquiry is that which relates to those pagan elements which became permanently interwoven with Christian belief and practice, and were even defended by many of the great teachers of the church. The controversy between Jerome and Vigilantius, and that between Augustine and the Manichaean Faustus, offer valuable illustration of this portion of the subject. Vigilantius attacked the adoration of saints, the veneration paid to martyrs and their relics, and the custom of placing lamps before their shrines. Faustus declared that the Christians had really in no way abandoned the pagan mode of life. They

had merely substituted their Agapae for the Pagan sacrifices; their martyrs for idols; they still appeased the shades of the dead with wine and meat offerings, and celebrated along with the pagans the ancient festal days—the Kalends and the Solstitiae. It appears unquestionable that both Jerome and Augustine admitted the pagan origin of these customs, but maintained their utility, and especially vindicated their retention on the ground of expediency; but both Augustine and Theodoret disclaimed the notion that it was the design of the church in any way to *deify* the martyrs, whom it honoured and revered solely as instruments of the divine power. (Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, bk. iii. c. xi.; bk. iv. c. ii.; Neander, *Church History* (in Clark's series), iii. 452–3; Gieseler, *Kirchengesch.* (ed. 1845), i. ii. 333–5.)

It is the opinion of Baur (*Kirchengesch.* i. 526–7) that the veneration of martyrs and their relics (from whence he derives the invocation of saints) is to be traced to the hero-worship of pre-Christian times; Neander, on the other hand, claims for the celebration of the memory of the great lights of the church "a purely Christian root," but holds that it received a different character by becoming "estranged and diverted from the original Christian spirit" (*u. s.* iii. 448). The earliest instance of the practice is probably the celebration of the anniversary of Polycarp's passion at Smyrna (Ruinart, *Act. sinc. Martyr.* pp. 35, 43). The dove which, it was said, had been seen to rise from the martyr's body is compared by Baur to the mounting eagle which proclaimed the apotheosis of the Roman emperors. Tertullian (*de Cor.* c. 3) speaks of "oblationes pro defunctis, pro nataliciis* annua die;" and Cyprian (*Ep.* 34) of the "martyrum passiones" and their "anniversaria commemoratio." See, on the whole subject, MARTYR, p. 1127; PATRON SAINT; RELICS.

The worship of Mary, as practised by the Collyridians, is looked upon by Neander (*u. s.* iii. 458) as directly traceable to that of Ceres. This sect, which was represented by a number of women who emigrated from Thrace and settled in Arabia, were wont, on a certain day, to carry about in cars (δίφροι), similar to those used in pagan processions, cakes or wafers consecrated to the Virgin, which they first presented as offerings, and subsequently ate. This practice Neander derives from the customary cake-offerings at the heathen feast of the harvest, the Θεσμοφόρια.

Direct participation in pagan festivals seems to have been not uncommon under the pretext of a semi-religious observance, though frequently condemned by the Fathers. "I have," says St. Ambrose, "a grave complaint against you, brethren. I speak of those who, though celebrants along with us of Christ's birth, join in the festivals of the Gentiles; and, after that heavenly banquet, have prepared for themselves a feast of superstition. . . . . He who seeks to share in divine things must not associate with idols." (*Serm.* vii.; Migne, xvii. 399). Augustine, when reproving the Christians of Carthage for joining in like festivals, represents the pagan party as asking, "Why should we abandon our gods whom the Christians worship as well as ourselves?" (*Opera*, ed. 1577, x. 9 *b*). A discourse of Petrus Chrysologus, bishop of Ravenna in the year 430, implies that participants in these festivals sometimes endeavoured to exculpate themselves by denying the affinities of such celebrations to pagan practices. They pleaded that their observance of the Kalends, for instance, was "a new mode of rejoicing, not an ancient error," "novitatis laetitia non vetustatis error," and that it was "anni principium, non gentilitatis offensa" (*Hom.* 155; Migne, lii. 611). Pope Gelasius, towards the close of the 5th century, expressly stigmatised this combination of Christian and pagan customs as "adulterous," and, in condemning all participation in the Lupercalia, seriously remonstrates with those who imagine that such observances are of any real efficacy in securing the favour of the gods (Baronius, *Annal.* vi. 522). The change of the commencement of the year from January to Easter is asserted by Beugnot to have been the result of the church's desire to break with such pagan traditions. In the year 567, at the second council of Tours, it was forbidden to celebrate the Kalends, the Feralia, or the Terminalia (Mansi, ix. 805; Hefele, iii. 27). But even so late as the 9th century, Rabanus Maurus, who speaks of Christianity as covering the whole earth, "in toto orbe dilatatam" (*Opera*, vi. 172), asks in a homily "Contra Paganicos Errores," how they can hope to rejoice at the eternal banquet of the saints, who do not here loathe the unlawful feasts of the pagans? How shall they sing with angels the praises of God in eternal light who here keep evil sport ("funestos ludos") in honour of idols? (*ibid.* v. 606). Modern *fairs* and *feasts* ("feriae" and "festa") bear witness to the tenacity of these traditions.

In Christian ritual itself not a few observances have been referred with considerable probability to a pagan origin. The custom of facing the east in worship, derived in the first instance from Persian notions of sun worship (see *supra* 154 ), appears to have been borrowed from Greek and Roman practice (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 502; Vergil, *Aeneid*, viii. 68; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 777, with Mr. Paley's note). The "ter injectus pulvis" has passed into the Christian burial service; while the letters D. M. on the tombs of the early Christians point to the tenacity of pagan traditions in connexion with the state of the departed (Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 26). Lacerda, in commenting on the line, "Spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae" (Verg. *Aeneid*, vi. 230) considers that the act therein denoted represents the origin of sprinkling with holy water, a practice which Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 62; Migne (S. G.), vi. 80) declares to have been introduced, at the instigation of daemons, into the Christian ritual in imitation of the true baptism proclaimed by the prophets. "Epitaphia," or funeral orations over the dead, such as we frequently meet with in the writings of the Fathers, are distinctly traceable to pagan precedent. [FUNERAL SERMONS.]

Among those observances which distinguish Roman Catholic ritual from Lutheran or Protestant, a large number are undoubtedly of pagan origin—a connexion which Conyers Middleton's celebrated *Letter from Rome* was especially de-

* The day of the martyr's *death* being regarded as that of his *birth* to immortality.

signed to point out. The use of incense is condemned by Tertullian and other early writers as a pagan practice [INCENSE]. We learn from different writers (Origen, *cont. Cels.* viii. 17; Min. Felix, *Octav.* c. 10; Arnobius, bk. vi.) that the absence of images in their churches was made a reproach by paganism against the Christians, and Augustine expressly states that the introduction of these visible objects of adoration was regarded as unlawful in his day, and speaks of the adoration paid to them as a kind of insanity (*ad* Ps. cxiii.; Migne, xxxvii. 1183–1185). The earliest mention of pictures in churches has reference to the 4th century, and their introduction is expressly forbidden by the 38th canon of the council of Elvira, A.D. 324. Epiphanius, in the same century, tells us (*ap.* Jerome, *Epist.* 51; Migne, *Patrol.* xxii. 253) that he felt it to be his duty to destroy a hanging "velum tinctum atque depictum," which he found suspended in a church in Palestine, representing Christ or one of the saints. Theodoretus Cyrensis (*Graec. Affect. Curatio*, Migne (S. G.), lxxxiii. 922) refers with express approval to the practice, prevalent in his day, of suspending votive offerings (ἀναθήματα) in the churches over the tombs of the martyrs, on escape from danger or recovery from sickness; similarly, those who were childless presented such offerings in the hope of being blessed with offspring; those already parents, to secure the divine blessing on their children.

The little chapels with images of the Virgin that so frequently meet the eye of the tourist in Southern Germany or Italy cannot but recall to recollection the "Compitales" or deities who presided over cross-roads, and whose statues and shrines adorned the points of junction. The asylum afforded by pagan temples to fugitives from justice or from their foes offers perhaps too vague and general a resemblance to the right of sanctuary to be regarded as necessarily the origin of the latter, which may with equal or greater probability be referred to Jewish precedents.

(ii) Among the vestiges of pagan belief discernible in the everyday life and practice of Christian communities may be included many observances of a harmless character and little moral significance. The Roman custom of presenting gifts at the commencement of the new year is still observed, and the expression of good wishes on the same occasion is alike a pagan and a Christian usage (Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 175). The use of bridecakes at weddings (the Roman *confarreatio*), the palatine bay and oak on our coinage, the names of the months, which even the decree of Charles the Great could not permanently alter, all distinctly recall a like origin.

Of such customs, one, the "strenae" (modern "étrennes") degenerated into a serious abuse, which the church did its best to suppress. [NEW YEAR'S GIFTS, p. 1381.]

As proof that the great majority of the superstitions of the age were a direct inheritance from paganism, we may cite the following illustration. Amid the loss of much that the ancient astronomers had bequeathed to posterity, the discovery of the real cause of eclipses appears to have been faithfully preserved; and in his *Natural History*, Pliny takes occasion to extol this triumph of science over superstition, and warmly urges philosophers to like achievements. As his writings continued to be studied throughout the greater part of the middle ages, this philosophical solution of a constantly recurring phenomenon was never lost sight of by the educated few, and hence the teachers of the church are frequently to be found rebuking the vulgar superstition which led the common people to assemble and utter cries on the occasion of a lunar or solar eclipse, in order to prevent the moon or sun from being totally devoured. Discourses directly levelled against this practice are to be found in the writings of Maximus of Turin (Migne, vii. 337), and of Rabanus Maurus (*Opera*, ed. Colv. v. 606), with which compare Tacitus (*Annal.* i. 28). On the other hand, as Pliny expressly states that earthquakes portend calamity (*Hist. Nat.* ii. 81–86) so the Fathers shared this belief with the multitude. St. Ambrose declares that the death of Theodosius was foretold by earthquakes, by "mountains of rain and an unwonted darkening of the sky" (Migne, xvi. 1386). The pages of Gregory of Tours are in this respect as superstitious as those of Livy. Four suns portended a great defeat in Auvergne (*Hist. Franc.* iv. 31); blood flowed from broken bread (*ibid.* v. 34); it rained blood near Paris until men threw aside their stained garments in horror (*ib.* vi. 14); a bright body resembling a lofty beacon appeared in the heavens to foretell the death of Gondebald (vii. 11). (See also *de Mirac. St. Martin*, Bouquet, *Script.* ii. 469.) The belief in astrology [ASTROLOGERS], which Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* ii. 5) notices as fast gaining ground in his time, could never be entirely eradicated throughout the period here treated.

It must nevertheless be admitted that the voice of the church was generally strongly pronounced against the more childish and irrational forms of the belief in omens. "Thou seest," says St. Basil, "how wrong a thing it is to look for omens; yet many Christians deem it no harm (ἀδιάφορον) to listen for sounds and to give heed to signs" (*Comment. in Isai.* c. ii.; Migne, *Series Graeca*, xxx. 247). He instances such trivial circumstances as striking one's foot against some object on leaving the house, or finding one's garment caught, and admonishes Christians rather to take note of the proofs of divine wisdom and goodness exhibited in the natural world. St. Chrysostom refers to the belief that to meet a cripple or a one-eyed person, when starting on a journey, was a bad omen (Hom. *ad Pop. Antioch.*); St. Eligius, in the 7th century, enumerates a large number of similar superstitions, such as the belief that to allow one's flocks to pass by hollow trees or near pits gave them over to the power of evil spirits. He dissuades women from wearing amber about their necks, and from invoking Minerva, and rebukes the folly of hesitating to set about new undertakings at the time of full moon (Migne, lxxxvii. 528).

Trial by the ordeal of heated iron [ORDEAL] was probably a survival of the custom adverted to in the lines—

> ". . . . et medium, freti pietate, per ignem
> Cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna."
> (Verg. *Aen.* xi. 787, 788.)

The following *Indiculus Superstitionum et Paganiarum*, or list of superstitions and pagan

observances condemned at the council of Lestines,[d] in the year 743, is probably a fairly complete enumeration of the practices prevalent at that time, which the church condemned either as pagan or Christian superstitions or as abuses connected with religious worship.

(1) "De sacrilegio ad sepulchra mortuorum." (2) "De sacrilegio super defunctos, id est, dadsisas." The first article appears to have reference to the desecration of tombs in the search for hidden treasure, and to unlawful rites over the places of interment; the second to pagan observances, such as drinking and riotous banqueting, and throwing into the fire whatever the deceased had been accustomed to hold most dear (cf. Mansi, xii. 340). (3) "De spurcalibus in Februario." It was a common practice among Teutonic nations to celebrate the lengthening of the days in February by feasts at which *swine* were offered. These feasts were called "Spurcalia," and in Holland and Lower Germany the month of February is still known as "Sporkelmaend" (Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* iii. 506). (4) De casulis, id est, fanis." Probably small temples in country districts, constructed of wood, and often converted to purposes of debauchery. (5) "De sacrilegiis per ecclesias." Hefele compares a statute of St. Boniface (Mansi, xii. 385) forbidding the introduction of seculars and young women into the churches as singers and also the holding of feasts within the walls. (6) "De sacris sylvarum, quae nimidas vocant." Here Wurdtwein, in Migne (lxxxix. 810) explains "quasi Nympharum sacra." Eckhard, however, thinks that we have here a reference to sacrifices at which nine heads of horses were offered, and prefers to read "nuinhedas." A capitulary of Charles the Great, of the year 794, directs that "sacred" groves and trees shall be hewn down. (7) "De his quae faciunt super petras." To offer sacrifices on rocks was a frequent practice, and is forbidden by numerous synods; St. Eligius, we are told by St. Audoen (*Vita*, ii. 15) enjoined, "Nullus Christianus ad fana, vel ad petras, vel ad fontes, vel ad arbores . . . vota reddere praesumat." (8) "De sacris Mercurii vel Jovis." On the occurrence of the names of gods of the Roman mythology as objects of veneration among the Germans, see observations in II. ii. We may, however, compare Tacitus (*Germ.* c. 9), "Deorum maxime *Mercurium* colunt." (9) "De sacrificio quod fit alicui sanctorum." The newly-converted Germans appear to have often substituted saints and martyrs for their own gods as objects of veneration. See capitulary 5 of Germanic council of 742 (Mansi, xii. 313). (10) "De phylacteriis et ligaturis" [see LIGATURAE]. Alcuin, some fifty years later, appears to have found it necessary to remonstrate against the wearing of relics by way of charms (*Epist.* ed. Dümmler, pp. 719, 721). (11) "De fontibus sacrificiorum." Offerings to the supposed divinities of fountains and streams were a common practice. Mone (*Gesch. d. Heidenthums*, ii. 270) states that the inhabitants of the districts watered by the Elbe and the Main were accustomed to worship the genii of those rivers, and, whenever the year gave promise of a season of fertility, would cast wheat, oats, and barley into the stream in acknowledgment of the favour shewn by the river-god. (12) "De incantationibus." The formulae or mystic sentences uttered by the pretenders to magic. (13) "De auguriis vel avium vel equorum vel bovum stercora vel sternutationes." Tacitus (*Germ.* c. 20) says that it was peculiar to the race to observe the prognostications and warnings given by horses. (14) "De divinis vel sortilegis." The "divini" foretold events from signs over which they had no control; the "sortilegi," from objects which they carried with them, e.g. sticks and straws [SORTILEGY]. "Auspicia sortesque, ut qui maxime, observant" (Tac. *Germ.* c. 10). (15) "De igne fricato de ligno, id est, nodfyr." "Nodfyr" (Germ. "Nöthen") was fire produced by friction, and was held to possess mysterious virtues. To jump over it was thought to be a preservative against misfortune; garments placed in its smoke were supposed to secure the wearer from fever. This superstition was especially condemned by Boniface at the Germanic council of A.D. 842 (Mansi, xii. 315; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, II. ii. 564). (16) "De cerebro animalium." The council of Orleans (A.D. 541) forbade that oaths should be sworn over the head of any animal. (17) "De observatione paganorum in foco vel in incoatione rei alicujus." The embers on the hearth and the ascending smoke were supposed to give indications of future events. Artists, in representing the sacrifice of Cain and of Abel, were wont to represent the smoke from the former as blown about by different currents, while that of the latter ascended undisturbed in a spiral column (Migne, *Patrol.* lxxxix. 810). (18) "De incertis locis quae colunt pro sanctis." Besides places generally recognised as holy, there were supposed to be many others of a like character (Germ. "Unstätte") of which the knowledge was withheld from mortals, but by passing over which unadvisedly they would be liable to be punished by the infliction of some malady. (19) "De petendo, quod boni vocant sanctae Mariae." Eckhard (*Rerum Franc.* bk. xxiii.) reads "petenstro," "bedstraw," and understands by "boni homines" simple-minded people. Thyme and the yellow lady's bedstraw are still termed in Germany "Mother of God's bedstraw." Hefele considers that the superstitious use of the plant may be traced in the custom still prevalent in Catholic countries of offering bunches of herbs on the Ascension of the Virgin. (20) "De feriis, quae faciunt Jovi vel Mercurio." Seiters supposes that Boniface here intended to forbid the naming of the days of the week after the heathen gods: e.g. Thunaer (Donnerstag), Thursday; Woden (Woenstag), Wednesday; Freja (Freitag), Friday. Binterim suggests a more probable explanation by quoting Tacitus: "Deorum maxime Mercurium (Woden) colunt, *cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent*" (*Germ.* c. 9). "De lunae defectione, quod dicunt *vince luna*." We find in Maximus of Turin (Migne, lvii. 334), in St. Eligius (*ibid.* lxxxvii. 528), and Rabanus Maurus (*Opera*, v. 606), discourses designed to dissuade their hearers from the folly of uttering outcries on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. It was supposed that by these demonstrations the moon

[d] Lestines or Liftinae was the site of a royal villa in the district now represented by the province of Hennegau in Belgium. It would appear, however, that most of the above enactments had reference to Thuringia, in which Boniface's labours were chiefly carried on.

was assisted in escaping from being altogether devoured. (22) "De tempestatibus et cornibus et cocleis." Referring apparently to the belief in "weather-makers," and to superstitions practised with drinking vessels and spoons. (23) "De sulcis circa villas." Hefele observes that a trench round a house was supposed to be a protection against witches; the annotator in Migne (lxxxix. 810) supposes that allusion is designed to superstitious rites observed on the occasion of making such trenches. (24) "De pagano cursu quem yrias nominant scissis pannis vel calciamentis." Eckhard here reads, "Scyrias," from Ecy = Scu = Schuh. There is probably allusion intended to a pagan custom of running about on the first of January with torn garments and shoes. (25) "De eo, quod sibi sanctos fingunt quoslibet mortuos." Much as the Germans ascribed at pleasure a place in their Walhalla to departed heroes, so they appear to have assumed the right to canonise departed Christians. This assumption we find again forbidden at the council of Frankfort in the year 794. (26) "De simulacro de consparsa farina." On certain days the Germans were accustomed to make honey cakes representing figures of their gods. Hefele states that in Westphalia the cakes made at the time of Carnival are still known as "Heidenwecke." (27) "De simulacris de pannis factis." Little figures of the gods cut from mandrake and then dressed up in rags. (28) "De simulacro quod per campos portant." A ceremony probably resembling the Latin *Ambarvalia*. (29) "De ligneis pedibus vel manibus pagano ritu." The custom of offering in the churches wooden models of feet and hands by those who, in answer to their prayers, had been cured of any affection of those parts. Theodoretus Cyrensis (*u. s.*) speaks of the custom of offering gold and silver eyes, feet, and hands, though without condemning the practice. (30) "De eo quod credunt quia feminae lunam commendent, quod possint corda luminum tollere juxta paganos." Here some read "comedant," and consider that allusion is designed to a belief similar to that referred to in Tibullus, "Hanc ego de coelo ducentem sidera vidi." Maximus of Turin, in his 101st homily (Migne, lvii. 337), remonstrates with those "qui putarent lunam de coelo magorum carminibus posse deduci," and implores them that, putting aside this pagan error, "praetermisso errore gentili," they will accept a view more consonant with Christian enlightenment.

Similarly, a capitulary of Charles the Great, of the year 768, requires "ut populus Dei paganias non faciat," and enumerates as "spurcitiae gentilitatis" profane sacrifices to the dead, sortilegy and divining, phylacteries, auguries, incantations, and offerings of victims, which last, it states, "foolish men are wont to offer close to churches, in pagan fashion, in the name of the holy martyrs and confessors of the Lord" (Pertz, *Legg.* i. 33).

Features of a more general character, pointing to a low conception of Christian morality, such as the settlement of disputes by duelling, authorised by the code of Gondebald, king of Burgundy in the 6th century (see ORDEAL), the avenging of murder by murder, as recorded on the part of bishop Gewelib in the 8th century, and facts of a like nature, are often more justly to be regarded as distinct traditions of paganism than merely as evidence of a corrupt or imperfect Christianity.

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**PAINTING.** [FRESCO; MINIATURE.]

**PALLA ALTARIS.** [ALTAR CLOTH.]

**PALLADIUS**, anchoret in Syria, 4th century; commemorated Jan. 28. (*Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 841.) [C. H.]

**PALLAIRE, POLAIRE, POOLIRE.** When books were few in the ancient Celtic church, and required careful preservation in accompanying their owners from place to place, they appear to have been deposited in leathern satchels or wallets which could be attached to the back by thongs in travelling, and hung upon pegs on the wall (Todd, *Obits Ch. Ch. Dubl.* p. lxxi.) when a house was reached. For these the two distinctive names of *Polaire* (*Pallaire*, *Poolire*) and *Tiag* (*tiagha*) were used, apparently according to the size. The former was comparatively small, often a case for manuscripts or for only one book, like the case in which the *Book of Armagh* now lies, and which is very richly embossed and covered with figures and the usual Irish interlacing patterns. The latter was of coarser material (as of sealskins, Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 86, c. 93, 130, c. 9, calling it *sacculus* and *pera*) and of greater capacity, a wallet to hold not only several books, but relics also and sacred utensils. Evidently the writer of the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 123, c. 38) is in error when he says St. Patrick left at the church he had newly founded at Kellfine, "libros, unà cum scrinio in quo SS. Petri et Pauli reliquiae asseruabantur, et tabulis in quibus scribere solebat vulgo Pallaire appellatis" (Reeves, *S. Adamnan.* lxiii. n.*, 115–117, 359; Petrie, *Round Towers of Ireland*, 332–340; O'Curry, *Lect. Man. and Cust. Anc. Irish.* i. pp. ccclvii.–viii., iii. 113–117). [J. G.]

**PALLIUM.** We find this word in a great variety of uses in ecclesiastical Latin. Before proceeding to these, however, we shall first note its classical acceptance as equivalent to ἱμάτιον, a term for an outer article of dress similar to, but not the same as, the *toga*.[a] We may describe it as being, to all intents and purposes, a square or oblong blanket; for though it was occasionally found of linen and other materials, wool was by far the most common. These blankets

[a] It should be remembered that in contra-distinction to the *pallium*, the *toga* was in some sense round, perhaps making a segment of a circle.

were, as a rule, manufactured in their natural state, and so were usually white, or the ordinary colour of the raw material, though sometimes dyed into special tints.

Such an article of dress would, of course, be inconvenient if the wearer had to run or to engage in active work, and therefore he would throw it over his shoulders. Thus we find one of Plautus's characters, a parasite, saying (*Captivi*, v. 1. 12): "Conjiciam in collum pallium, primo ex me hanc rem ut audiat," that is, I will throw back my *pallium* to be able to run quickly with the news. Accordingly, in the next scene (l. 9), he is observed coming "conlecto pallio" (cf. also Terence, *Phormio*, v. 6. 4). In connexion with this, a curious mistake has been made by St. Isidore (*Etymol.* xix. 24. 1): "*Pallium* est quo ministrantium scapulae conteguntur, ut dum ministrant expediti discurrant." Plautus: 'Si quid facturus es appende in humeris pallium, et purgat, quantem valet, tuorum pedum pernicitas.' Dictum autem *pallium* a *pellibus*, quia prius super indumenta *pellicia* veteres utebantur, quasi *pellea* sive a *palla* per derivationem (*leg.* diminutionem"). Here it will be seen that Isidore treats as the normal state of things that which was exceptional.

Besides this special sense of the word *pallium*, it is used by Isidore in the same chapter quite as a general term for a garment, *e.g.* the *toga* is *pallium purum forma rotunda* (§ 3); the *paludamentum* is *insigne pallium* and *p. bellicum* (§ 9); the *paenula* is *p. cum fimbriis longis* (§ 14); the *lacerna* is *p. fimbriatum* (*ib.*); and the *praetexta p. puerile* (§ 16).

A third use of the word in patristic Latin is to designate the coarse outer garment of monks and of others who affected to imitate the austerities of monastic life. Thus pope Celestinus I. (ob. 432 A.D.), speaks of such as being "amicti pallio" seemed thereby to claim a sanctity not rightly theirs (*Epist.* 4 *ad Episc. Vien. et Narb.* c. 2; *Patrol.* l. 431). Salvianus again says to an unworthy monk, "licet sanctitatem pallio mentiaris" (*adv. Avaritiam* iv. 5; *Patrol.* liii. 232). To take a different type of example, when Fulgentius became bishop of Ruspe, he retained his former monastic habit. His biographer tells us that "subtus casulam nigello vel lactineo pallio circumdatus incessit," and that, when the weather permitted, he wore a *pallium* alone within the monastery (*Vita*, c. 37; *Patrol.* lxv. 136.

Again we meet with the word *pallium* in the phrase *pallium linostimum*, which we have already discussed [MANIPLE].

We come now to the most important use of the word as a special vestment of archbishops, bestowed upon them as a mark of increased dignity by the Roman see, indicative of vicarial powers (*vices apostolicae sedis*) thereby bestowed. The discussion on the history of this privilege in detail will be found under the article POPE; our business here is merely to describe the vestment and to give a slight general sketch of the history.

The *pallium* consists of a narrow band, which surrounds the neck like a ring, and hangs down before and behind. The appearance, therefore, presented, would be that of the letter Y.

This band has long been made of white wool, ornamented with dark crosses.[b] It is thus kindred with the ὠμοφόριον worn by Greek prelates [OMOPHORION], in reference to which we cited an allusion from Isidore of Pelusium, as early as the beginning of the 5th century. It may be noted that the wool for the *pallium* is, and has long been, furnished by the lambs which are reared in the convent of St. Agnes at Rome. In the Life of Gregory the Great, however, by John the Deacon, reference is made on the occasion of the translation of his body to his *pallium* as being "*bysso* candente contextum" (lib iv. 80). Whether this is exceptional, or is to be taken as indicating a difference in Gregory's time, does not appear, probably the latter.

A little further on (c. 84), the same writer, in minutely describing the ancient picture of Gregory, says of the present vestment: "Pallio mediocri, a dextro videlicet humero sub pectore super stomachum circulatim deducto: deinde sursum per sinistrum humerum post tergum deposito, cujus pars altera super eundem humerum veniens propria rectitudine, non per medium corporis, sed ex latere pendet." This description would give a result pretty similar to the Greek omophorion. This similarity may be seen from a comparison of Plates 25 and 41 in Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum*. Further, it may be inferred from John's language that between the age of the picture and his own, the *pallium* had undergone a slight change of shape. We may gather a notion of what the *pallium* was like in the 9th century from the notice by Amalarius (*de Eccl. Off.* ii. 23; *Patrol.* cv. 1098), from which we should conclude that it had then assumed, or was assuming, its later shape. Illustrations of the varying shape of the *pallium* at different epochs are given in Marriott's work. Thus we have the famous 6th century mosaic in the church of St. Vitalis at Ravenna (Plate 28, figured in this Dictionary under DALMATIC[c]); a figure of St. Peter, with a *pallium* in a 9th century mosaic (Plate 33); for the 10th century, we may refer to the figure of Egbert of Trèves (Plate 42); for the 11th, to a fresco representing St. Clement of Rome (Plate 43), and to a picture of Dunstan, from a MS. in the British Museum (Plate 44). De Rossi has figured in his *Roma Sotterranea* two eight-century frescoes from the Roman catacombs (copied by Marriott, Plates 30, 31). Here are represented early prelates (*e.g.* Xystus and Cornelius, bishops of Rome), wearing *planetae*, over which are white *oraria* [STOLE], passing over the left hand which, so covered, holds the book of the gospels. It must be considered doubtful, however, how far these are to be considered instances of *pallia* or mere *oraria*.

We shall now mention very briefly a few instances of the bestowal of the papal *pallium*. The earliest example which is adduced is, perhaps, one recorded by Anastasius Bibliothe-

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[b] These are now four in number, but formerly were as a rule more numerous. Millin, however (*Voyage en Italie*, i. 108; cited by Martigny, *Dict. des Ant. chrét.* s. v. *Pallium*), mentions a figure of Celsus, archbishop of Milan, on his sarcophagus, in which the *pallium* has but a single cross. The same holds also for the *pallium*, if it be a *pallium* in the Ravenna mosaic we have referred to below.

[c] It may be considered open to doubt, perhaps, whether this is really a *pallium*.

carius of Marcus, bishop of Rome (ob. 336 A.D.), though it is possible that the reference is of a different kind—"hic constituit ut episcopus Ostiensis, qui consecrat episcopum urbis [*i.e.* Rome], pallio uteretur, et ab eodem episcopo [*leg.* episcopus] urbis Roma consecraretur" (*Vitae Pontif.* 49). It will be observed that we have here got the case of a bishop, not an archbishop; but the honour may at first have been given with rather more latitude, for we find Gregory the Great bestowing the *pallium* on Syagrius, bishop of Autun. It is to be noted that in the letter in which Gregory sets this forth, he distinctly calls attention to the permission of the emperor —"serenissimi domini imperatoris [Maurice] . . . prona voluntas est, et concedi hoc omnino desiderat" (*Epist.* lib. ix. 11; cf. *ib.* 108: vol. iii. 936, 1013).

Saving the rather doubtful case of the bishop of Ostia, the earliest instance of the bestowal of the *pallium* is that granted by Symmachus (ob. 514 A.D.) to Theodore, archbishop and metropolitan of Laureacus in Pannonia (*Epist.* 12; *Patrol.* lxii. 72). In this case no mention is made of the imperial authority. On the other hand we have a letter written by pope Vigilius in 543 A.D. to Auxanius, archbishop of Arles, in which he defers granting the *pallium* till the pleasure of the emperor shall have been ascertained. In a subsequent letter, written two years later, the imperial sanction having been given ("pro gloriosissimi filii nostri regis Childeberti Christiani devotione mandatis"), the honour is granted (*Epp.* 6, 7; *Patrol.* lxix. 26). Other instances are those of Caesarius, archbishop of Arles, on whom the *pallium* was bestowed by Symmachus (*Vita Caes.* lib. i. 30; *Patrol.* lxvii. 1016), and Virgilius, also of Arles, to whom it was granted by Gregory the Great (*Epist.* lib. v. 53; *Patrol.* lxxvii. 782). Into the famous dispute as to the rescript of Valentinian in connexion with the *pallium* of the bishops of Ravenna, it is not our intention to enter.

In several of these cases the recipient had been some time in possession of his see on receiving the *pallium*, which thus became an exceptional distinction, conferred when the Roman see wished to bestow such. As this was one of the countless ways which went to the building up of the papal power, we need feel no surprise at the new phase of things which meets us in the 8th century. The *pallium* is now no longer an exceptional honour, granted to this or that archbishop, but a badge, the acceptance of which implied the acknowledgment by the wearer of the supremacy of the apostolic see. Thus we find in a letter written by St. Boniface in 745 A.D. to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, the declaration on his part of willingness to obey the see of Rome, and that "metropolitânos pallia ab illa sede quaerere" (*Epist.* 63; *Patrol.* lxxxix. 763). Indeed we find from some letters of pope Zacharias to Boniface (743 A.D.) that the latter had already made application for *pallia* for several of the metropolitans under him. (*Epp.* 5, 6; *ib.* 925.)

One step more alone remains. Pope Nicholas I., in his *Responsa ad consulta Bulgarorum* (866 A.D.), orders (c. 73; Labbe, viii. 541) that no archbishop may be enthroned or may consecrate the eucharist till he shall have received the *pallium* from the Roman see.

Another point may be briefly touched upon, namely, the question of the *pallium Gallicanum* as distinct from the *pallium Romanum*. It has been seen that under whatever conditions the *pallium* was bestowed, it distinctly took the form of a gift vouchsafed at the will of the Roman see. This being the case, it is not easy to understand the order of the council of Macon (581 A.D.) that no archbishop shall presume to say mass *sine pallio* (can. 6; Labbe, v. 968). To suppose that this means that archbishops are prohibited from celebrating mass till their position is, as it were, ratified by Rome, is, considering time and place, an anachronism, and the language of the canon taken *per se* would never lead to such a conclusion. Hence many have held (*e.g.* Hefele, *infra*, p. 217), and it would seem with much justice, that this Gallican use is distinct from, and exists side by side with, the special papal *pallium*; that it was simply a mark of archiepiscopal rank, which was to be specially worn at mass, just as each other order would be required to wear its own peculiar badge. A possible illustration of this may be found in a fragment, edited by Martene and Durand, which dwells on the vestments in use in the Gallican church, including the *pallium* (*Thes. Anecd.* v. 99; cited by Marriott, p. 204).

*Literature.*—For further details on the whole subject reference may be made to Hefele, *Die Liturgischen Gewänder* (in his *Beiträge zu Kirchengeschichte, Archäologie und Liturgik*, vol. ii. pp. 214 sqq.); Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum*, App. E, &c.; Ruinart, *Dissertatio de Palliis Archiepiscoporum* (in *Ouvrages posthumes de J. Mabillon et de Thierri Ruinart*, Paris, 1724); Thomassinus *de Beneficiis*, part 2, lib. 2, c. 543, Paris, 1688; Papebroch *de forma pallii medio aevo mutata* (in the separately published *Prefaces*, &c. of the *Acta Sanctorum*, Venice, 1749); Vespasiani *de Sacri Pallii Origine*, Roma, 1856. [R. S.]

**PALM.** The great beauty of the date-palm in all stages of growth, and under all circumstances of background and association, has made it, like the vine or the corn-ears, one of the natural symbols of Divine blessing. The righteous shall flourish as a palm-tree (Ps. xci. 13) may be taken as a typically Eastern use of the tree as an emblem.

As may be supposed, the palm branch is found most frequently in sepulchral monuments and inscriptions, and is frequently added to the monogram or chrisma as an emblem of the victory of the faith (Bosio, p. 436, and Martigny's Woodcuts, p. 498). In Bottari, pl. xxii. (Aringhi, vol. i. p. 289), it is beautifully used as a pillar to divide the surface of a sarcophagus into compartments or panels. Also Aringhi, i. pp. 295, 297, 301 (where the fruit is indicated, see *infrà*), and, perhaps, at p. 307. At p. 321 the heads of two apostles, probably St. Peter and St. Paul, are ornamented each with the whole crown or foliage of a palm. It is unquestionably the sign of martyrdom in the widest sense of the word—that of persistent testimony borne to Christ, and consummated by death. It is admitted on all hands, that, though the palm accompanies the martyr, it does not indicate that the bearer actually suffered violent death in will and deed (see Rev. vii. 9, and Gregory the Great *in Ezech.* bk. ii. hom. xvii., where the palm branches are

spoken of generally as *praemia victoriae*). For inscriptions, see De Rossi, *Inscript. Christ. Urbis Romae*, vol. i. pars prima, p. 38, no. 39, anno 331; also p. 96, no. 176, 177, p. 204, no. 230; Parker, *Phot.* 2949; *Epitaph of Flavia Jovina*, Lateran Museum, no. 21, and 2953, no. 45; also, for France, see Le Blant's *Inscript. chrét. de la Gaule*, vol. i. pl. 7, 32, 62, no. 56, and 27, no. 166; ii. pl. 81, no. 491.

The palm or palm branch appears frequently in Christian mosaics and wall-paintings. The most beautiful decorative use is made of the whole tree at Ravenna, in the church of S. Apollinare Nuova, where a long procession of male and female saints is represented along the wall above the columns of the central aisle, in the richest mosaic, white figures on gold ground, shod with scarlet and bearing small crowns in their hands lined with the same colour. They are separated by palms, with scarlet bunches of dates hanging from beneath their crowns like barbaric earrings, exactly as in nature; and the purity and brilliancy of the effect may be imagined (see Ricci's series of photographs). The Augustan frescoes of the Doria Pamphili Villa (Parker, *Photographs*, no. 2696–2705) contain a palm tree admirably drawn from nature, with graphic and exact resemblance. It is found in mosaics in St. Cecilia's at Rome, and SS. Cosmas and Damian. It is used as an arcosolium picture in Marchi, tav. xli. The phoenix, as a symbol of the resurrection, and, perhaps, with a certain *play* on its name, often appears with the palm, as in the mosaic of St. Cecilia, and on the sarcophagus in Bottari, tav. xxviii. xxii. (see woodcut). Martigny says that both sym-



Palm Arcade. Bottari, tav. xxii.

bols are used with the portrait of St. Paul because he was a special preacher of the Resurrection. It seems simply as if the name phoenix conveyed ideas of both objects at once to the painter or carver, and he naturally put both into his work. For the Palm on Lamps, see Bottari, t. ccviii.; on vessels supposed to contain the blood of martyrs, see Aringhi, ii. 642 (found in the *confessio* of St. Cecilia's church), Bottari, tav. cc. cci. ccii. With the Good Shepherd Bottari, vol. ii. pl. lxxviii., fresco from the Callixtine cemetery. For the palms of the ENTRY [p. 613] into Jerusalem, and Bottari, tav. xxxix.

On the uncertainty of the palm-branch symbol on a grave as indicating the martyrdom of the occupant, see CATACOMBS, p. 308.

[R. St. J. T.]

**PALMARE CONCILIUM.** [ROME, COUNCILS OF, No. 48.]

**PALMATIUS**, consul, martyr with his wife and children under Alexander Severus; commemorated May 10 (Bed. *Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*).

[C. H.]

**PALM SUNDAY.** [See HOLY WEEK, p. 780.] The feast of palms (βαΐων ἑορτή) was celebrated in the East as early as the 5th century, for it is twice mentioned in the life of Euthymius, who died A.D. 472 (*Vita Euth.* auct. Cyrill. Scythop. 11, 103; *Monum. Graec.* Cotel. 210, 287), but no mention of a procession with palms occurs until we enter a much later period. In the West Isidore of Seville (610) speaks as if Palm Sunday were a great day, but he mentions no use of palm branches on it. He merely explains that "the day is celebrated" on account of the event recorded in St. Matthew xxi. 8–11, &c. (*De Offic.* i. 28). The next Latin writer who refers to the feast is our countryman Adhelm (A.D. 709), but he merely tells us that in his church the Osanna was sung by a double choir (*De Laud. Virginit.* 30). A manuscript *Ordo Officii*, which Mabillon, from the character, supposes to have been written about 800, speaks of a "Letania, et cum ipsa intrant ad missam majorem (*Annal. Vet.* 151, ed. 2). This order was observed in a German monastery. It describes a procession, but its antiquity is probably less than Mabillon supposed. Amalarius (A.D. 812) speaks of olive branches being carried, but does not say in procession (*De Eccl. Off.* i. 10). If he means a procession, he probably alludes to some of the churches only of his province. For there is no reference to any such custom in the earlier forms of the *Ordo Romanus* (see especially *Ordo* i. in *Mus. Ital.* ii. 18, 30), nor in the early sacramentaries, some of which do not even recognise a benediction of the branches, or flowers (so *Missale Gothicum*, *Liturg. Gall.* 235; *Miss. Gall. Vet.* 346; *Sacr. Gelas.* in *Liturgia Rom. Vet.* Murat. i. 546; *Sacr. Greg. ibid.* ii. 51; *Opp.* Greg. v. 101, ed. 1615; but one is given in the Besançon rite, *Mus. Ital.* i. 390; in the *Codex Othobon.* of the *Greg. Sacr.* Mur. *u. s.* &c.). Rabanus of Mentz, A.D. 847 (*De Instit. Cleri.* ii. 35) merely repeats Isidore; nor do we find any certain mention of a procession after the *Ordo Officii* above mentioned, until we come to Pseudo-Alcuin in the 10th century.

A similar rite is observed among the Greeks but at their matins. Codinus: "On the Feast of Palms, while the matins are yet being sung, a procession (περίπατος) takes place, and there must be a litany (λιτή), according to custom, and the emperor must walk with the procession" (*De Offic.* xi. 4). The lampadarius leads the way with a burning torch; a deacon bearing the gospels follows; then come the bishop and priests carrying icons; and some of the people walk after them (*Codin.* x. 5). During the procession an idiomelon is sung, which is said to have been composed by the emperor Theophilus, 829–842 (Cedrenus, *Hist. Compend.* ii. 118, ed. Nieb.), viz.

"Come forth ye nations, come forth also ye people; look upon the kingdom of heaven. The gospel comes as a figure of Christ." The procession ended, matins are resumed, but the palms (*βαΐα*) are retained through the service (Goar, 745). Prayers used at the distribution of the palms before the procession may be seen in the Euchologion (744). [W. E. S.]

**PAMPHALO and PAMPHAMERUS,** Egyptian soldiers, martyrs at Chalcedon under Maximian; commemorated May 17. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iv. 25, from the Greek *Fasti.*) [C. H.]

**PAMPHILUS (1),** martyr under Diocletian; commemorated Feb. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.* with Valens, deacon, and others; Wright's *Syrian Mart.* with Pamphilus, at Caes. Pal.; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 253); June 1. (Usuard. *Mart.* presbyter, martyr at Caesarea, under Maximinus, his Life by Eusebius of Caesarea; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Wand.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 62.)

(2) Martyr at Rome; commemorated Sept. 21. (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 236.)

(3) Martyr under Maximinus; commemorated Nov. 5. (Basil. *Menol.*) [C. H.]

**PAMPHIUS,** martyr at Caesarea in Palestine, with Pamphilus; commemorated Feb. 16. (Wright, *Auct. Syr. Mart.*; Basil. *Menol.* with Valens, &c.) [C. H.]

**PANAGIA** (*Παναγία*). One of the ordinary titles of the Blessed Virgin in the Greek church. It probably came into use some time in the 7th century. In the discussions about the word *Θεοτόκος*, in the 5th century, she is styled *ἡ ἁγία παρθένος*. So too in the sermon of an uncertain author, Pseudo-Chrysost. Hom. *de Legislatore*, p. 416 (Migne, tom. vi. 410), which is probably assignable to the 6th century, she is still only *ἡ ἁγία*, as in the words *ἔχομεν τὴν δέσποιναν ἡμῶν τὴν Θεοτόκον, τὴν ἁγίαν ἀειπάρθενον Μαρίαν*. But in the letter of Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, read at the sixth general council, C. Constant. III. A.D. 680 (Hardouin, tom. iii. col. 1268), the title *παναγία* occurs several times. It is true that the same epithet is found repeatedly in a set of eleven prayers to the Virgin, in Greek, attributed to St. Ephrem (*Op. Gr.* iii. pp. 542, &c.), but the whole cast of these prayers obviously belongs to a time far later than that of St. Ephrem.

There is also a monastic ceremony called Panagia, at which a triangular shaped piece of blessed bread is elevated, and partaken of, after a meal with certain prayers by all present; and a cup of wine is likewise distributed to all with a thanksgiving and special invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whence the name of the ceremony is said to be derived (Du Cange, *Gr. Gloss.* s. v. and Symeon of Thessal. quoted by Goar, *Euchol.* pp. 867, 868). Although in this exact shape the ceremony belongs to a time later than our limits, it is very likely a relic of some primitive observance, some memorial of the original institution, into which a new significance has become imported. [C. E. H.]

**PANCRATIUS (1),** bishop of Tauromenium, said to have been a disciple of St. Peter and to have seen our Lord; commemorated Feb. 9 (Basil. *Menol.*); Ap. 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. i. 237); July 9 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel. *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 262). [C. H.]

(2) Youth, beheaded under Diocletian; commemorated at Rome on the Via Aurelia, May 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed., Wand., Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 17). In the Sacramentary of Gregory the natale of Pancratius is observed on May 12, and he is named in the collect. In the Sacramentary of Gelasius he is commemorated on the same day, with Nereus and Achilleus, but only these last two are named in the collects. (Murat. *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* i. 646, ii. 84.) [C. H.]

**PANEGYRICON** (*Πανηγυρικόν*). One of the Greek office-books, containing "Readings" appropriate to the various festivals, collected out of the writings of approved authors, generally recording the acts and virtues of the saints, whence its name. It is therefore not unlike the Western "Legenda." There is no authorized collection, therefore the book is not printed; but different copies are found in manuscript in different churches, varying considerably in their contents according to the diligence or piety of the collector. [C. E. H.]

**PANNUTIA** (PANNUCEA). This is a name for a garment covered with patches (*panni*), and is so used by Isidore (*Etym.* xix. 22; *Patrol.* lxxxii. 687), "quod sit diversis pannis obsita" [R. S.]

**PANSOPHIUS,** martyr at Alexandria under Decius; commemorated Jan. 15 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 996); Jan. 16 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**PANTAENUS,** commemorated at Alexandria July 7. (Usuard., Wand., *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 457.) [C. H.]

**PANTALEON (1),** martyr under Maximian; commemorated July 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard., Wand., *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Florus, ap. Bed. *Mart.*); celebrated by the Greeks under the name of Panteleemon, martyr and physician, the unmercenary, July 27 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. vi. 397; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 264); Oct. 10 (*Cal. Armen.*).

(2) One of the nine national saints of Ethiopia; commemorated Oct. 3 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C. H.]

**PANTHERIUS,** martyr in Thrace under Diocletian; commemorated Aug 23. (Basil. *Menol.*) [C. H.]

**PAPA.** [POPE.]

**PAPAS (1),** martyr at Laranda in Lycaonia under Maximian; commemorated Mar. 16 in the Roman Martyrology. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 424.)

(2) Egyptian martyr with Sabrinus under Diocletian; commemorated Mar. 16. (Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 255.) [C. H.]

**PAPHNUTIUS,** holy martyr, commemorated by the Greeks Ap. 19. (*Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 623.) [C. H.]

**PAPIAS** (1), soldier, martyr under Diocletian; commemorated at Rome on the Via Nomentana, Jan. 29. (Usuard., Wand.; Bed. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 948; see also Bed. *Mart.* Nov. 29.)

(2) Martyr in Egypt with Victorinus and others; commemorated Jan. 31 (Basil. *Menol.*); Feb. 25 (Usuard. *Mart.* "under Numerian"; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). In the *Hieron. Mart.* a Papias with the same companions occurs on Mar. 6. In the *Cal. Byzant.* Ap. 5, the name occurs as Pappius.

(3) Martyr with Diodorus and Claudianus under Decius; commemorated Feb. 4 (Basil. *Menol.*). The *Hieron. Mart.* has a Papias with some of the same companions on Mar. 6, as also have the Roman Martyrology and the Bollandists (Feb. iii. 627) on Feb. 26.

(4) Bishop of Hierapolis, friend of Polycarp, the disciple of St. John; commemorated Feb. 22. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 285.)

(5) (PAPAS, PAPPUS), martyr with Chrestus at Tomi; commemorated Ap. 5. (Wright, *Syr. Mart.*)

(6) Martyr with Peregrinus and others; commemorated July 7. (Basil. *Menol.*)

[C. H.]

**PAPINIUS**, bishop and martyr in Africa in the Vandalic persecution; commemorated Nov. 28. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*)

[C. H.]

**PAPIRIUS**, deacon, martyr with his sister Agathonica and Carpus, bishop of Thyatira, under Antoninus; commemorated at Pergamus Ap. 13 (Usuard. *Mart.*); Papyrius (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*); Papylus, Oct. 13 (Basil. *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 271). [C. H.]

**PAPPIUS.** [PAPIAS (2).]

**PARABOLANI**, an inferior order of church officers who fulfilled the duty of hospital attendants and nurses to the sick poor, whom they relieved from the alms of the faithful, "deputantur ad curanda debilium aegra corpora" (*Cod. Theod.* lib. xvi. Tit. ii. *de Episc. et Cler.* leg. 43). Binterim attributes the establishment of these functionaries as a distinct order to the peace of the church under Constantine (*Denkwürdigkeit.* vi. 3, 26). Previous to this time the care of the sick and the burial of the dead, as we see from Dionysius's graphic account of the plague at Alexandria (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 22), was fulfilled by the brethren generally as a duty of Christian love, without any enrolment into a separate body. It is evident, from the laws of the Theodosian code, that the "parabolani" were ranked among the "clerici," but in a very subordinate capacity. They were to be chosen from the poorer classes, and there was an express prohibition against men of rank being admitted into the confraternity. The name was probably derived from παραβάλλεσθαι (*periclitari*), from the courage with which they hazarded their lives in time of plague and contagious sickness, like the παράβολοι, or *bestiarii*, who exposed themselves to the risk of death in fighting with wild beasts in the amphitheatre (cf. Socr. *H. E.* vii. 22, and Valesius' notes; Niceph. *H. E.* xiv. 3; *Acta SS. Abdon. et Sennen* apud Suicer). The idea that it was a satirical name (from *parabolae* = mere talk), given to physicians and those who undertook the care of the sick, because they promised much and performed little, if seriously proposed, needs no refutation (Du Cange, *sub voc.*; Bingham, iii. ix. 3). However excellent the original purpose of this order, too soon, in the words of Baronius, "ex charitate officium transivit in factionem," and the parabolani appear as a factious and turbulent body, taking a noisy and prominent part in all religious controversies, and causing so much trouble to the civil power, that special laws had to be passed to restrain and regulate them. In the quarrel between Cyril and Orestes, A.D. 416, the parabolani, zealously espousing the cause of their bishop, threw the city of Alexandria into such confusion that the inhabitants despatched an envoy to Theodosius II., begging him to issue a prohibition for the bishop to leave Alexandria, as his was the only authority by which their violence could be checked. In consequence of this petition, Theodosius issued an edict addressed to Monaxius, the prefect of the pretorium, Sept. 28, 416 A.D., removing this turbulent body from the authority of the bishop, and placing them directly under the prefect, giving him the power of dismissing them for riotous conduct, and of filling up all vacancies caused by death. The number was at the same time limited to 500, and they were to be selected from the poorer classes. The interruptions to public business caused by their obstreperous behaviour, and their intimidation of witnesses and jurors, were guarded against by an inhibition against their attending the law courts at all. Any judicial complaint or legal business they might have was to be transacted for them by their "syndic" or attorney. They were also prohibited from attending, as a body, the games and shows and appearing on any public occasions, as being disturbers of the peace of the community. This measure proved exceedingly distasteful to the clerical party at Alexandria, whose influence with the feeble emperor proved powerful enough to induce him, in seventeen months' time, to repeal the chief provisions of his former enactment by a fresh edict, dated Feb. 3, 418 A.D. In this the number was raised from 500 to 600, they were again placed under the bishop's jurisdiction, and the ranks were to be filled from those who had previously filled the office but had been disbanded by the prefect, or who were known to be skilful in their care of the sick. Their rank was at the same time somewhat raised. They might be selected from any class, excepting the "honorati" and "curiales." At the same time the clause prohibiting their appearance in the circus, the courts, and on public occasions was confirmed (*Cod. Theod.* u. s. leg. 42, 43, vol. vi. p. 82, with Gothofred's notes). We find the *parabolani* again as a body of noisy fanatics, ready for any acts of violence, at the "Latrocinium" of Ephesus, 449 A.D., where six hundred of them appeared as the tools of the brutal Barsumas to coerce malcontents to support his measures (Labbe, iv. 251). The reputation of the *parabolani* as a dangerous class, formidable to the civil magistrates, however useful when restricting themselves to their appropriate duties, is evidenced by the legisla-

tion of Justinian, which confirms the prohibition to their appearing as a body on public occasions. (*Cod. Justin.* lib. i. tit. iii. *de Episc. et Cleric.* leg. 18; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vi. 3, 26 ff.; Bingham, *Origines*, bk. iii. ch. ix. §.1-4; Gothofred, *Annotat. in Cod. Theod.* vol. vi. p. 82; Baronius, *Append. ad* tom. v. p. 691.) [E. V.]

**PARACLETICE** (Παρακλητική, βιβλίον παρακλητικόν). One of the principal and most necessary of the Greek office-books. It is arranged on the principle of the Octoëchos, but extended so as to contain the Troparia of the whole Ferial office for the year. By some writers it is attributed to Joseph of the Studium (died A.D. 883); by others to another Joseph, surnamed Melodus (see Leo Allat. *de Libris Eccles. Graec.* p. 283). Two derivations are given for the name: viz. either quasi *consolatorius*, because its contents tend to the consolation of the penitent; or quasi *invitatorius*, because they largely consist of invocations.

The course of the Ferial office depends not so much upon the season of the year as upon the Tones (ἦχοι), of which there are eight, arranged to follow one another in regular sequence, beginning with the week after Easter week, after which they recur again, and so on. Each Tone has its own Troparia, and governs the service at all the Hours for its week. Thus the entire set of variations of the service is finished in a period of eight weeks. There are proper tables to shew how these periods of eight weeks, with their Tones, fall in different years, according to the date of Easter. By referring to these tables the proper Tone for the week in which any given day falls may be found; and then the paracleticè gives the proper Troparia for the different offices of the day. [C. E. H.]

**PARADISE** (παράδεισος, from a Persian word meaning a park or pleasure-ground) is used (1) in inscriptions to designate the place in which the dead in Christ wait the final judgment. It is said (Martigny, *Dict.* p. 577, 2nd ed.) not to occur earlier than the end of the 4th century, when (A.D. 382) it is found in the epitaph of Theodora (De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* i. 141, No. 317). But, without the actual use of the word "Paradise," the dwelling of a soul in bliss is often indicated by pictures or symbols of the last resting-places of the faithful. An arcosolium of the cemetery of Cyriaca shews an *oranti* standing between two figures, who draw back the curtains on each side; this is supposed to typify the entrance of a soul into the rest of paradise (De Rossi, *Bullet.* 1863, p. 76). A painting in the cemetery of Petronilla (Martigny, p. 639) is thought to represent the reception of a soul into Paradise by Petronilla. The soul admitted to the joys of Paradise is sometimes represented as a female figure standing between two trees in an attitude of contemplation (Perret, *Catacombes*, v. pl. v.; De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* i. 95), often accompanied by the words IN PACE. This inscription appears in the representation of Dionysas (said to be of the 3rd century) in the cemetery of Soter (De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* iii. tav. i.), where the departed appears in the midst of a garden full of fruits and flowers, where birds seem to flit from branch to branch. On some sarcophaguses (as in Bottari, *Sculture*, xix.; Millin, *Midi de la France*, lxv. lxviii.) trees or vines form columns separating the different groups; these are thought by some to typify Paradise. Occasionally the promised land is typified by the two spies bearing a great bunch of grapes between them on a pole (Millin, lix. 3; Garrucci, *Vetri*, ii. 9). And again the soul is typified by a bird sitting on a tree (Lupi, *Severae Epitaphium*, tav. xvii. p. 137), or in the midst of flowers. See the epitaph of Sabinianus (Martigny, p. 576). The flowers and leaves, which often enclose representations of the Lord in glory, as in some of the ancient mosaics of Rome and Ravenna, are thought to refer to Paradise [MOSAICS, p. 1337]; and figures of saints in basilicas are frequently placed in the midst of a Paradise indicated in the same manner. The same kind of symbolism is found in gilded glass (Buonarroti, *Osservazione sopra alcuni Frammenti di Vetro*, xviii. xxi.; Garrucci, ix. 8). The rich dress in which many female figures are represented on sepulchral monuments is thought by many to indicate the "splendour of Paradise" (τρυφὴ τοῦ παραδείσου) of which the liturgies speak. The banquets which are so often represented on the walls of sepulchral chambers are also very commonly supposed to typify Paradisiacal joys (Polidori, *Conviti Effigiati*, in the Milan *Amico cattolico*) (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v. *Paradis*).

(2) The word *Paradise* is sometimes used to designate the quadrangular space enclosed by a cloister, often used as a burial-ground. Comp. NARTHEX, p. 1379. [C.]

**PARAGAUDA, PARAGAUDIS** (παραγαῦδις). This is a species of ornamental fringe attached to a dress. We find in the Theodosian Code (lib. x. tit. 21, l. 1) a law of Valens prohibiting the use of "auratae ac sericae paragaudae auro intextae" to private persons. A law of Theodosius the Great (*ib.* l. 2) repeats the prohibition in stronger terms. The word is also used, by a natural extension, for the dress so ornamented (see Gothofredus's note *in loc.*). As there is no *special* Christian connexion of the word, it is needless to give further instances. It is apparently oriental, but the derivation is unknown. [R. S.]

**PARALYTIC MAN.** Two cures of the palsy (besides that of the centurion's servant) are circumstantially narrated in the gospels—one of the sufferers at the Pool of Bethesda (John v. 2-17), the other of him whom his friends lowered through the roof in the crowded assembly of Capernaum (Matt. ix. 1-8; Mark v. 21; Luke viii. 40, v. 17-26). The former is by far the more frequently represented—almost always in the act of carrying away his bed, or "that whereon he lay," which is sometimes a Greek couch, sometimes a somewhat modern stump-bedstead. See Rohault de Fleury, *L'Évangile*, pl. li. figs. 1-5, Bottari, tav. xxxix., and BETHESDA, p. 201, for a cut from a Vatican sarcophagus. See also Rohault de Fleury, pl. lii. for many varieties of the grabatum, two from ivories at Ravenna and at Cluny. A scribe or apostle is sometimes present (Bottari, xxxi.). The other paralytic sufferer is seen as lowered through the roof by cords in a sarcophagus photographed by Mr. Parker (2906), and engraved in Bottari, i. pl. 39. See Westwood, *Early Christian Sculptures*,

p. 23. But the most graphic and excellent representation is in the upper course of mosaics in St. Apollinare Nuova at Ravenna (Rohault de Fleury, *L'Évangile*, pl. xliii.). De Fleury gives two other examples from 9th and 11th century MSS. nos. 510 and 70 in the *Bibliothèque nouvelle*. [R. St. J. T.]

**PARAMENTA.** A general word signifying ornaments, or decorations; from *parare*. It might be applied to the tapestry with which a church is adorned for a festival; to the coverings of the altar; to the sacerdotal vestments; or (in a still narrower sense) to the orphreys, or apparels, of a vestment. The authorities for its use all seem to be late. [C. E. H.]

**PARAMONARIUS**, an ecclesiastical official, the nature of whose duties seems to have been different at different times and places. The word occurs but rarely, and there is little in the context of the passages where it is found to indicate the position occupied. The first place where it occurs is in the second canon of the council of Chalcedon, where the "paramonarius" (or, according to another reading, "prosmonarius") is ranked with the "oeconomus" and "ecdicus" (church advocate) as one of the subordinate officers of the church, whose post was sometimes the object of a simoniacal bargain. In this passage it is considered by the best authorities to mean a "villicus" or bailiff, who managed the estates of a monastery or church. "Monasterii administer." (Bevereg. *Pandect. Can.* tom. i. p. 112; ii. p. 109; *annotat.*; Justellus, *Bibl. Jur. Canon*, tom. i. p. 91; Suicer, *sub voc.*) It is also explained in the same manner by Gothofred in his annotations on a law of the Justinian code (*de Episc. et Clericis*, l. 46, sect. 3), where the *paramonarii* are associated with the *xenodochi*, *ptochotrophi*, *nosocomi*, &c., as administrators of church property. Du Cange, on the other hand, considers the office to be one of lower grade, identical with that of the *mansionarius* in the Western church, concerned with lighting the candles, opening and shutting the doors, and other servile duties. The word is so rendered by Dionysius Exiguus, and explained in the margin by *ostiarius*, and the quotations given by Du Cange (*sub voc.*) prove that it was used in this inferior sense in the West in mediaeval times (Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* bk. iii. ch. xiii. § 1; Bevereg. *Pandectae*, u. s.; Justellus, *u. s.*). [E. V.]

**PARAMONUS** and 370 martyrs under Decius; commemorated Nov. 29. (*Cal. Byzant*). [C. H.]

**PARAPHONISTA.** This word occurs frequently in the early *Ordines Romani* published by Hittorp, and by Mabillon, *Museum Ital.* tom. ii. The four principal singers in the Schola Cantorum at Rome were named paraphonistae. The first in number of these (prior scholae) precented the anthem. It was the duty of the fourth, who was called archiparaphonista, to keep the pope informed of any matter that concerned the choir, what anthems were to be sung, &c. The choir-boys were sometimes called *infantes paraphonistae*. [C. E. H.]

**PARASCEUE.** [Good Friday.]

**PARASCEVE**, martyr at Rome under Antoninus; commemorated July 26. (*Cal. Byzant.*) [C. H.]

**PARATORIUM**, a designation of the *prothesis* or *credence table* in the *Ordo Romanus*, also called *oblationarium*, "because when the offerings were received preparation was made out of them for the Eucharist" (Bingham, viii. vi. 22). [Prothesis.] It also stood for the *Secretarium Ecclesiae* or Sacristy. "Calicem subdiaconus dat acolyto et illa revocat in Paratorium." *Ordo Romanus*, "Reponitur liber in paratorio quodam sive in secretario" (*ibid.*). See Ducange, *Const. Christ.* S. Soph. cc. 67, 68. [Diaconicum.] [E. V.]

**PARENTS.** [Family.]

**PARIS, COUNCILS OF (1)**, A.D. 360 (*al.* 362), where the Arian formula, concocted at Rimini, published at Nice, and reaffirmed at Constantinople, from which the word "Homoousios" had been eliminated, was condemned in a synodical letter addressed to the Easterns, and preserved in the 11th Fragm. of St. Hilary. (Mansi, iii. 357–359.)

(2) A.D. 555 (*al.* 551), at which Saffaracus, who subscribed to the 5th council of Orleans as bishop of Paris, being convicted of various crimes by his own confession, was deposed. (Mansi, ix. 739–742.)

(3) A.D. 557, in the pontificate of Pelagius I., like the former one, when ten canons were passed, all relating to church discipline, and most of them re-enactments; *e. g.* the eighth, which says, "Let no bishop be ordained against the will of the citizens; but him only who has been elected with fullest choice of the people and clergy. Neither let any see be filled up by the power of the prince, nor any potentate whatsoever, against the will of the bishop of the metropolis, or his suffragans." Six more canons are given to this council by Gratian and others, which, as Mansi shews, embody rules of the ninth and following centuries. (*Ib.* 752.)

(4) A.D. 573, when Pappolus, bishop of Chartres, complained of the consecration of Promotus to the see of Châteaudun in his diocese, by Aegidius, bishop of Rheims, who was therefore called upon, in the name of the council, to withdraw his nominee. The council also addressed a letter to king Sigebert, begging of him not to interpose in his favour. (*Ib.* 865–872.)

(5) A.D. 577, when Praetextatus, bishop of Rouen, was accused by king Chilperic of having encouraged the revolt of his son Meroveus, which the bishop denied. Forty-five bishops, among whom was Gregory of Tours, the historian, heard his defence. But in the end, having been induced to become his own accuser, he was carried off forcibly, thrown into prison, and then exiled. (*Ib.* 875–880.)

(6) A.D. 615, the most considerable that had yet met there; said to have been attended by seventy-nine bishops, and even called general in a council of Rheims ten years later. Its preface deposes to its having been summoned by king Clotaire, who confirmed its canons afterwards in a special edict. They were fifteen in number, all disciplinary. By the second of them, no bishop may choose or have one chosen to succeed him during

his lifetime, unless he should have become, for some reason, incapable of administering his diocese. By the third all manumitted slaves (liberti) are to be defended by priests, and not reduced again to their former state. And by the fifteenth no Jew may hold or apply for any public office giving him power over Christians. Any Jew endeavouring to compass this is to receive baptism at the hands of the bishop of the place, with all his family. The rest are less new, than old canons revived. (Mansi, x. 539–546.) Ten more canons (Mansi makes them fifteen) are preserved of a nameless council (Delaland, *Suppl. ad Sirmond*, p. 62, has invented a name for it), by the first of which these fifteen are confirmed, as being in no way contrary to the Catholic faith or church law, while by the eighth priests and deacons are forbidden, under pain of deprivation, ever to marry. (*Ib.* 546–548.)

(7). A.D. 638. When the exemption of the abbey of St. Denis is stated to have been renewed, "in universali nostrâ synodo Parisiis congregata," as king Dagobert, who subscribes first, is made to say. But if so, why should it have formed the subject of a grant afterwards, A.D. 658, by bishop Landeric? (Mansi, x. 659 and xi. 61.)

[E. S. Ff.]

**PARISH.** I. *Names for.*—The Greek word παροικία, from which the English parish is derived, through the Latin *paroecia*, *parochia*, the Norman-French *paroisse* (Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant, 1), and the early English *paroche*, *parosshe*, *paresche* (Stratmann, *s. v.*), appears to have had two meanings. (1) In Greek inscriptions it is not uncommon to find the inhabitants of a town divided into those who have and those who have not full civil rights, and described collectively as οἵ τε πολῖται καὶ οἱ πάροικοι πάντες, *e.g.* *Corpus Inscr. Gr.* No. 1631 at Thespiae, No. 2906 at Priene, No. 3049 at Teos, No. 3595 at Ilium Novum; hence, in the first use of the term and its cognate terms in Biblical and ecclesiastical Greek, they are found in this literal sense of a "sojourner" and "sojourning," *e.g.* in the LXX. Exod. ii. 22; Deut. v. 14; 2 Kings viii. 1, in the N. T. Acts vii. 29; Ephes. ii. 19; Heb. xi. 9; in Philo, *e.g.* vol. i. pp. 161, 511, ed. Mangey; in Josephus, *e.g.* *Antt. Jud.* viii. 2, 9. It is probable that the term came thus to be ordinarily applied to the colonies of Jews in the great cities of the East, who were not absorbed in the ordinary citizens, but kept their nationality distinct; *e.g.* at Cyrene, where Strabo ap. Joseph. *Antt. Jud.* xiv. 7, 2, says that there were four divisions of the population—citizens, farmers, μέτοικοι, and Jews. It was probably continued or adopted by the colonies of Christians in the same cities, who stood in a similar relation to the rest of the population: hence, in Clem. Rom. i. c. 1, the church of Rome describes itself as ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα [Ῥώμην], so Polyc. *ad Philipp.* 1; *Martyr. Polyc.* 1. With this mingled the metaphorical sense of the word in which this "sojourning" upon earth was contrasted with the "abiding city" in heaven, *e.g.* 1 Pet. i. 17; Clem. Rom. ii. c. 5; *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* No. 9474, 9683.

(2) It was used, in a sense which continued its earlier sense of "dwelling near a city," as equivalent to a rural commune or a detached suburb. This meaning is rare, and the editors of the *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* treat the use of πάροικος in the sense of "colonus," as a proof that the inscription on which it occurs, No. 8656, is not earlier than the 4th century, A.D. In the later civil law παροικία was applied to villeins or peasant-farmers; *e.g.* in the *Practica*, tit. 15, c. 2, ap. Von Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, pars i. p. 42.

In the ecclesiastical use of the words these two meanings were confounded—the former meaning predominates in the earlier period, the latter in the later; nor does the confusion disappear until far on in the middle ages; *i.e.* παροικία, paroecia were used (i.) of the whole colony of Christians in a given city or district, *i.e.* of the "diocese," in its modern sense of the district over which a bishop came to have jurisdiction; (ii.) of the rural or suburban communities which were more or less dependent on another church—*i.e.* of the "parish" in its modern sense. Between these two uses of the words it is not always easy to distinguish. The following must be taken as being only an approximate classification of some leading instances:—i. = the modern "diocese": S. Iren. *Ep. ad Florin.* ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20; Apollon. Ephes. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18; Alexand. Alexandrin. *Ep.* ap. Theodoret. *H. E.* i. 3; Conc. Ancyr. c. 18; Nicaen. c. 16; Const. Apost. ii. 1; viii. 10; St. Cyrill. Hierosol. *Catech.* xiv. 21; St. Athanas. *Apol. c. Arian*, c. 49, vol. i. p. 131, id. *Hist. Arian.* c. 17, vol. i. p. 279, id. *Tom. ad Antioch.* vol. i. p. 616; St. Greg. M. *Ep.* vi. 11; xiv. 7; in Gallican documents from the 6th century onwards—*e.g.* in the instrument of foundation of the abbey of St. Mesmin ap. D'Achery, *Spicileg.* vol. iii. p. 307; in England, Conc. Clovesh. c. 3, Conc. Cealcyth. c. 3; in the probably genuine writings of popes—*e.g.* Epit. Hadrian. *Can. Apost.* 40, Hormisd. *Ep.* 117, *ad Episc. Hispan.* c. 3; in the Carolingian Capitularies—*e.g.* Karlomanni *Capit.* A.D. 742, c. 3, Pippini *Capit. Suession.* c. iv. 1, *Capit. Vern.* c. 3, Karoli M. *Capit. General.* A.D. 769, c. 8; in the Liber Pontificalis, *Vit. S. Sixti*, p. 8; in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals—*e.g.* *Epist. Clem.* i. c. 36, 70, *Epist. Calixt.* ii. c. 13, *Epist. Lucii.* c. 5; and even in the 12th century—*e.g.* *Legenda S. Hugon. Lincoln.* ap. Giraldus Cambrensis, ed. Dimock, vol. vii. p. 176. So far did this wider sense of *paroecia* prevail that a distinction sometimes appears between the *paroecia* of a simple bishop, and the *dioecesis* or *provincia* of a metropolitan—*e.g.* S. Bonifac. Mogunt. *Epist.* 49, *ad Zachariam*, A.D. 742, Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. lxxxix. 714, "tres ordinavimus episcopos et provinciam in tres parochias discrevimus; so S. Zachar. *Epist.* 3, *ad Burchard*, Migne, vol. lxxxix. 822. ii. It = the modern "parish": S. Basil. *Epist.* 240 (192); Const. Apost. ii. 58; Conc. Chalc. c. 17; 3 Conc. Tolet. c. ix. 20, Emerit. c. 19, 2 Hispal. c. 2, Agath. c. 21, Rem. c. 19, Cabillon, c. 5; Sidon. Apollin. *Epist.* vii. 6, p. 183; S. Greg. M. *Epist.* i. 16; *Vit. S. Elig.* ii. 25, ap. D'Achery, *Spicil.* vol. ii.; in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, *Epist. Clem.* iii. c. 70 (from Lulli *Epist. ad Pontif. Max.* in S. Bonifac. *Epist.* 112, p. 290); Hincmar Rem. *Capit. Synod.* 4, c. 1, ed. Sirmond. p. 732, Migne, P. L. vol. cxxv. p. 795. Conversely *dioecesis* is frequently used, probably by a survival of one of its classical uses (for which see Marquardt, *Römische Staats-*

*verwaltung*, Bd. i. p. 5) as equivalent to the modern parish—*e.g.* Sidon. Apollin. *Epist.* ix. 16, p. 283; S. Greg. Turon. *H. F.* iv. 13, p. 152, id. vi. 38, p. 315, uses "parochiae" and "dioceses" synonymously in the same chapter; Conc. Agath. A.D. 506, c. 54, Tarracon. A.D. 516, c. 8, 4 Aurel. A.D. 541, c. 33, 3 Brac. A.D. 572, c. 2, 4 Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 34, 36. This use of *dioecesis* (and the concurrent absence of the use of *paroecia*) is especially found in Italy—*e.g.* in the long dispute between the bishops of Arezzo and Siena, the documents relating to which are given by Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital.* vol. vi., where *parochia* does not appear to occur until the decree of the Roman council respecting the case in A.D. 853.

(The mediaeval spelling *parochia*, which is a constant variant for *paroecia*, seems to have arisen from a derivation from the classical *parochus*, which has been revived in modern times by Baur, *über der Ursprung des Episcopats*, p. 78, but is altogether untenable.)

ii. *Origin of Parishes.*—The origin of parishes, in the modern sense of the word, is to be found in the suburban and rural organization of the Roman empire. In the more civilized countries of that empire, each important city had a district surrounding it, within which its magistrates might exercise jurisdiction (=*regio*, Sicul. Flacc. in *Gromat. Vett.* ed. Lachmann, p. 135; *territorium*, *Digest*, 50, 16, 239, § 8; διοίκησις Cic. *ad Fam.* 13, 15). This district might contain within it *vici*, *castella*, *pagi*, κῶμαι, φρούρια, which formed dependencies of the city (Isidor. Hispal. *Origin.* xv. 2, 11; cf. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. pp. 7 sq.). In addition to these large cities, with their surrounding territory and their dependent villages and hamlets, there were independent communities in rural districts, which had their own officers, and sometimes also their own territory (Marquardt, *ibid.*; Kuhn, *über die Entstehung der Städte der Alten, Komenverfassung u. Synoikismos*, Leipzig, 1878). By the end of the 3rd century, Christianity had penetrated to the majority of these suburban and rural organizations, and provision had to be made for them in the general organization. The provision varied considerably at different times and in different countries; and the modern parish is the survivor of many earlier experiments.

(1.) In Syria it was sometimes the practice to attach a small town for ecclesiastical purposes to a neighbouring larger town; for example, Bethlehem was attached to Jerusalem (Sulp. Sever. *Dial.* i. 8, ed. Halm, p. 159, writing of St. Jerome, says, "ecclesiam loci illius (Bethlehem) Hieronymus presbyter regit; nam paroecia est episcopi qui Hierosolymam tenet"). But more commonly in Syria, and some parts of Asia Minor, it appears to have become the practice, as early as the 4th century, to appoint presbyters and deacons for small towns and country districts, who were in some respects on a lower footing than the presbyters and deacons of city churches (Conc. Neocaes. c. 13; Antioch, c. 8), and who were superintended by rural bishops, χωρεπίσκοποι, or itinerant bishops, περιοδευταί, who were themselves in some respects subordinate to the city bishops (Conc. Ancyr. c. 13; Neocaes. c. 13; Antioch, c. 10; S. Basil. *Epist.* 54 (181)). The controversy to which this fact gave rise in the West, in the 8th and 9th centuries, is referred to under ORDERS, HOLY, III. An interesting example of the ecclesiastical organization of a small Syrian town in the 4th century, A.D. 354, is afforded by an inscription at Eitha (El-hît) in Batanea, printed in Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques, &c.* No. 2124 (= *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* No. 8819), where the clergy consisted of two presbyters, one of whom was also archimandrite of the local monastery, and two deacons, one of whom acted as οἰκονόμος, or 'bursar." (2.) In North Africa, the system of rural or itinerant bishops, with jurisdiction over detached towns or villages, does not seem to have existed. It is clear, both from the large number of bishoprics which are known to have existed, and from the taunts which were thrown out on both sides in the course of the Donatist controversy, that bishops of full rank were ordinarily appointed, wherever a Christian community existed; but at the same time there are traces of the system which afterwards came more generally to prevail, *e.g.* in St. Augustine, *Epist.* 209, where he speaks of a "castellum" which formed an outlying dependency of the church of Hippo: "antea ibi nunquam episcopus fuit, sed simul cum contigua sibi regione ad paroeciam Hipponensis ecclesiae pertinebat." (3.) In the district round Alexandria, ἡ Μαρεώτης χώρα, the villages were entrusted to presbyters, under the superintendence of the bishop of Alexandria. Athanasius mentions upwards of ten such villages, and also speaks of the bishop visiting them (περιερχομένῳ). The dispute with Ischyras, which occupies a prominent place in his controversy with the Arians, seems to have arisen out of the attempt of Ischyras to have himself appointed bishop of one of these villages, which Athanasius resists on the ground of its being contrary to local practice (S. Athanas. *Apol. c. Arian.* c. 63, vol. i. p. 143; c. 85, vol. i. p. 158). (4.) In Gaul and Spain, the circumstances under which Christianity spread, and the elaborate civil organization with which it found itself in contact, led to the growth and consolidation of the system which has since become permanent in the Western church. It is probable that in those countries it did not penetrate to the country districts and rural communes until long after its complete organization in the chief towns. Those towns consequently became missionary centres. Presbyters and deacons were sent into the *castella* and *vici*, partly to preach and partly to minister to the scattered Christians who were to be found there. That they did not go far from the towns, and that they did not give to the Christians the full advantages of Christian worship, is shewn by their having to return to the city church every Saturday, in order to assist in the services of the Sunday (Conc. Tarrac. A.D. 516, c. 7). By degrees the Christians of these country districts became more numerous; but by that time the tendency had arisen to limit the number of bishops. The episcopate had become more important. Its dignity was not to be impaired by creating a bishop, as in primitive times, for every new community. Presbyters and deacons were detached from the staff of the city church, and deputed to serve country churches. They were sent not merely "ad praedicandum," but "ad regendum," *i.e.* to exercise ecclesiastical discipline. At first they were still nominally on the

roll of the city clergy. They received their allowances, as before, from the common fund. They could be recalled by the bishop, and re-attached to the city church (so late as Conc. Emerit. A.D. 666, c. 12). But gradually they became fixed in their several districts, or "paroeciae." As such they were at first called "cardinales,"[a] a term which was also applied to the permanent chaplains of endowed oratories (*e.g.* by S. Greg. M. *Epist.* xii. 11), and was ultimately superseded in the case of almost all parishes, except the Roman *tituli*, by the terms *dioecesani*, *e.g.* Conc. Agath. c. 22; Tarracon. c. 13, *parochitani*, *paroeciani*, *parochiales*, Conc. Emerit. c. 18; 3 Tolet. c. 4; 7 Tolet. c. 4; 9 Tolet. c. 2; *locales*, 3 Tolet. c. 20; *forastici*, Can. Martin. Brac. c. 15 (translating the ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι of Conc. Neocaes. c. 13).

Such is in outline the history of the origin of the parochial system. When it finally came to prevail, it tended to absorb into itself the other systems upon which Christian communities had been organized, and, although only after struggles which stretch far into the middle ages, and not without the co-operation of the civil power for the purposes of political convenience, to spread the network of its elaborate organization over the whole of Western Christendom. But it will be noted that the history which has been given takes account only of rural or suburban districts, and of towns which were included in such districts. It is necessary to explain briefly the extension of the system—i. to episcopal cities; ii. to privately founded churches.

(i.) In the larger cities, some kind of subdivision soon became necessary, not only because a single building became too small for worship, but also because a single organization became too cumbrous to discharge effectively the various functions of discipline and of charity which the church assumed to itself. But instead of subdividing the church into separate communities, each complete in itself, the theory of the unity of the church was preserved by assigning to each community one or more presbyters, and regarding these presbyters as forming collectively a single συνέδριον, or *consilium*, under the presidency of a single bishop. This was the case at Alexandria; each district and quarter (λαύρα) of the city had its own church and its own presbyter (S. Epiphan. *adv. Haeres.* 68, 4; 69, 1; Sozom. *H. E.* i. 15). This was also the case at Rome. The earliest certain evidence which we possess on the point is the letter of Cornelius in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43, which says that there were at that time forty-six presbyters at Rome. A few years later Optatus (*de Schism. Donat.* ii. 4) mentions that there were more than forty basilicas; it is inferred that there was one presbyter for each basilica, and probably a larger number for the bishop's basilica. The *Liber Pontificalis* is of less authority as to the early period, but is more precise in its details. The earliest account which it gives is that St. Evaristus assigned churches and their revenues in Rome to presbyters ("*titulos* in urbi Roma divisit presbyteris." *Vit. S. Evarist.* p. 6). The next account is that St. Dionysius assigned churches to presbyters, and instituted cemeteries and parishes (the text is partly uncertain: Bianchini reads "*parochias dioceses* instituit," but probably the second of these words is a gloss of the first, as parochia was a comparatively rare word in Italy, and also as Hincmar of Rheims *Opusc. in caus. Hincm. Laudun.* c. 15 ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. cxxvi. 330 and the Pseudo-Isidore, *Epist.* ii. *Dionys.* c. 3; Hinschius, p. 196, evidently read "parochias" only). A few years afterwards, pope Marcellus is said by the same authority to have instituted twenty-five "tituli" at Rome, "quasi dioceses propter baptismum et poenitentiam multorum qui convertebantur e paganis" (*Vit. S. Marcell.* p. 31). It may be inferred from these three accounts that in the first instance the presbyters of the several Roman churches had no special district assigned to them, and that probably they were not even attached to any particular church. After the time of pope Dionysius, each church had its own clergy, its own proper district, and its own revenues. The presbyters, deacon, and sub-deacon of each church were "cardinales," *i.e.* fixed to the given church; but collectively, as at Alexandria, they formed a single body, which, by corporate continuity, with changes of detail but not of principle, remains to this day as the "collegium sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalium."

But the questions of the relation of these "tituli," "parochiae," or "dioceses," to the "regiones" into which the city was also divided for ecclesiastical purposes, and also of the degree to which they were analogous to the parishes of other parts of Christendom, are questions which do not seem to admit, upon extant evidence, of any certain answer (some help towards the solution of the first of these questions will be found in the treatises of the learned 16th-century antiquary, Onuphrio Panvino, ap. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, vol. vi., and in Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* vol. ii. *Comm. praev. in Ord. Rom.* c. 3).

(2) Co-ordinate with the normal formation of Christian communities by the aggregation of the Christians of a city or district, and their organization, whether under presbyters or bishops, was the custom of erecting places of worship upon the estates of landed proprietors. In the first instance there appears to have been no restriction upon the erection of such places of worship; the civil law, for fiscal reasons, required the officers of such churches to be taken from the estate (law of Arcadius and Honorius, A.D. 398, *Cod. Theodos.* 16, 2, 33= *Cod. Justin.* 1, 3, 11), but otherwise until the middle of the 6th century left them practically free. It is not clear whether Conc. Chalced. c. 4, which forbids the erection of *μοναστήριον ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον* without the consent of the bishop of the city, refers to these churches; if, as appears most probable from the general tenor of the canon, it does not refer to them, the

[a] That *cardinalis* in this use, which was transferred from certain civil offices under the empire, means "fixed" is rightly maintained by Gothofred, *ad Cod. Theodos.* 12, 6, 7, Böcking, *Notitia Dign. Orient.* c. 5, 2, vol. i. pp. 24, 205; it is shewn, *e.g.* by a letter of pope Zachary to Pippin (*Epist.* 8, c. 15, Migne, P. L. vol. lxxxix. 935) who will not allow a "presbyter cardinalis" to be appointed on a private estate, but rules that whenever masses are required in private oratories a presbyter must be specially asked for from the bishop. The other late Latin meaning of "cardinalis" (*i.e.* praecipuus, according to Serv. ad Virg. *Aen.* i. 185), is less applicable to either its civil or its ecclesiastical use.

earliest restriction upon their erection will be Justin, *Novell.* 67, circ. A.D. 540, which requires both the consent of the bishop, as a safeguard against the multiplication of heretical churches, and a sufficient endowment. In the West there are few traces of them until the 6th century; from that time onwards they became numerous. In some cases they were merely "private chapels," erected for the convenience of the owners of country estates, and the regulation was made that although divine service might for the sake of convenience ("propter fatigationem familiae") be performed in them on ordinary days, yet on the greater festivals resort must be had to the church of the parish or the city (Conc. Agath. A.D. 506, c. 21; 1 Arvern. A.D. 535, c. 15). In other cases they appear to have had districts assigned to them and so to have become country parishes; hence, 4 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 541, c. 26, speaks of "*parochiae* in potentum domibus;" and c. 33, "Si quis in agro suo aut habet aut postulat habere dioecesim;" and 9 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 655, c. 2, deals with the case of "ecclesiae parochiales" which have been founded by private persons. The two points which were mainly insisted upon in regard to both classes of privately-founded churches were (1) That they should be under the bishop's control; and (2) That they should be sufficiently endowed. The former of these rules probably appears first in 1 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 511, c. 17; the latter was enacted by 4 Conc. Aurel. A.D. 541, c. 33. A good example of the kind of endowment which was required is afforded by S. Greg. M. *Epist.* 12, 11, which recites that Anio, "comes Aprutianus," had founded an oratory within his "castellum," and that he wished to have it consecrated in honour of St. Peter. St. Gregory, writing to the bishop of Fermo, allows this to be done if the proper endowment is given, namely, a farm with its homestead, a yoke of oxen, two cows, four pounds of silver, a bed, fifteen head of sheep, and the proper implements of a farm. But the freedom with which in early times churches could be founded in country districts, without interfering with the rights of any other church, came to be restricted when the greater part of the Christianized West came to be covered with the network of not only diocesan but also parochial organization. After a country district had been constituted into a parish, and especially after the payment of tithes and fees by the people of such a district to the church of that parish had become a matter not of voluntary offering, but of legal obligation, the foundation of a new church within the limits or on the borders of such a parish tended to be regarded with disfavour. Pope Zachary, writing to Pippin, circ. A.D. 741, will not allow churches or private estates to have, even when endowed, baptisteries or "cardinal presbyters;" the bishop is to consecrate them without the usual solemn masses, and to send a priest to perform service as occasion requires (S. Zachar. *Epist.* 7, *ad Pippin.* c. 15; Migne, P. L. vol. lxxxix. 935). The Carolingian capitularies allow the erection of churches by private persons, with the consent of the bishop, but they are careful to provide that the former dues to the original church of the district shall not be interfered with (Karoli M. *Capit. ad Salz.* A.D. 803, c. 3, Pertz, vol. i. p. 124; id. *Excerpt. Canon.* c. 19, Pertz, i. 190; Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 41; Hludowic. et Hlothar. *Capit.* c. 6, Pertz, i. 254; Ansegisi, *Capit.* lib. 2, 45, Pertz, i. 299). The subdivision of the territory and revenues of a parish, which was only allowable in cases of necessity, was entrusted to the discretion of the bishop, by Karoli II. *Synod. Tolos.* A.D. 844, c. 7; Pertz, i. 379.

iii. *Relation of Parishes to Bishops.*—The jurisdiction of bishops over parishes, and over the privately-founded churches which, whether within or without the limits of parishes, were within the district over which a bishop's authority was ultimately assumed to extend, was not established without many struggles. In early times presbyters had claimed the right to detach themselves from the church of which they were presbyters, and to set up altars where they pleased. The attempt was crushed partly by the dominance of the Roman instinct for organization, and partly by the overpowering necessity for preserving the unity of the church. A presbyter who set up an altar without the consent of his bishop was, *ipso facto*, excommunicated; and if this separation from the rest of the Christian community failed to deter him, resort was had, probably for the first time in ecclesiastical history, to the power of the secular arm (Conc. Antioch, A.D. 341, c. 5; Can. Apost. c. 31; 2 Conc. Carth. c. 5). The theory which, from the first, seems to have governed all interpretations of the relations of the original city church to subsequently-formed communities in the same city, and to suburban or rural communities, was that the officers of those communities were still part of the one original organization. The *concilium* of the bishop was formed not only of those presbyters who assisted him in the ordinary administration of his own church, but of all presbyters who were in the same jurisdiction. In course of time, no doubt, a distinction between these two classes of presbyters was formed, and in the middle ages the presbyters of the cathedral came to assume not only the functions which had originally belonged to all the presbyters of the diocese, but also in some cases those of the bishop himself. But so late as the 8th and 9th centuries the extra-cathedral presbyters of a diocese were not only allowed but compelled by penalties to assist the bishop, as members of his *concilium*, at least once or twice a year (Pippini *Capit. Vermer.* A.D. 753, c. 8, Pertz, M. H. G., vol. i. p. 25; *id. Capit. Compend.* A.D. 757, c. 24; Benedictus Levita, *Capit.* i. 11, 60). The organization of the city church originally sufficed for all the clergy of the district or districts which were attached to it. When the population increased without a corresponding increase in the number of dioceses, the extra-cathedral clergy were organized separately; but the original type was preserved. The bishop stood at the head of two organizations, each of which was the counterpart of the other. Parallel with the *archipresbyter urbanus* was the *archipresbyter ruralis* or *vicanus*: the former became known in time as the *decanus* or dean of the cathedral, the latter as the *decanus vicanus* or rural dean. Parallel with the *archidiaconus urbanus* was the *archidiaconus ruralis*, and the struggle for supremacy between the archdeacon and the archpresbyter in the cathedral was repeated in the diocese with different results, inasmuch as

in the one case the archpresbyter and in the other the archdeacon succeeded in establishing his claim.

Conversely, the bishop was theoretically an integral part of the parishes which came to be detached from the church in which he personally presided. The parish presbyter had not at first, as he came practically to have in later times, the full powers of the ministry in his parish. In Rome the presbyters of the several *tituli* had not even the power of consecrating the eucharist; the consecrated bread was sent round to them every Sunday from the bishop's church (S. Innocent. *Epist. ad Decent.* c. 5; Liber Pontificalis, *Vit. S. Melchiad.* p. 33): there is a trace of an attempt having been made to make this the rule for all presbyters (cf. Liber Pontif. *Vit. S. Siric.* p. 55), but Innocent, *l. c.*, expressly disallows the practice in regard to parishes which were remote from the bishop's church, on the ground that "non longe portanda sunt sacramenta," and that presbyters have the right of consecration. In regard to baptism, the co-operation of the bishop became necessary in two respects, (*a*) the parish presbyter could only use chrism which the bishop had consecrated, and for which he had to send to the bishop once a year; (*b*) the baptism was incomplete until, as in baptisms in the bishop's own church, the bishop had imposed his hands (see PRIEST, III. *Functions of*, (2) ii.). In regard to discipline, the probability is that in the earliest period neither a bishop nor a presbyter could act alone, and that the rule of the Jewish *synedria* which required an ecclesiastical court to consist of at least three members was ordinarily observed. Some details of the long struggle between bishops and presbyters for the right of the latter to act alone are given elsewhere (PRIEST, III. *Functions of*, (1) c). This struggle was by no means ended within the period of which the present work takes cognizance, and its later history can only be considered in connexion with the general history of the relations of the Roman see to the Western church in the post-Carolingian period. It may, however, be mentioned here that an interesting survival of the earlier theory is found in the council of Rouen in A.D. 650, c. 16, which clearly implies that the bishop's ordinary visitation of a parish was conceived as the holding of a court in which the local presbyters were his assessors; the purport of the canon is that minor ecclesiastical causes should be determined by the local presbyters before the visitation, and that the graver causes only should be reserved for the more solemn court in which the bishop himself presided.

It is impossible, within the limits of the present work, to enter in detail into the intricate question of the precise periods at which, in the several parts of Christendom, the authority of the bishop of the principal church of a district came to extend over all the towns and villages which were included in that district. That authority was not established without many struggles, and its nature seems to have varied as widely as the extent to which it was recognized. But it came at length to consist in three principal particulars. (1) The appointments of clerks to parochial or other churches were subject to the bishop's approval. (2) Clerks so appointed were subject to the bishop's jurisdiction, which was exercised partly in the course of annual visitations of the several parishes, partly by requiring clerks to repair periodically to the bishop's church for the purpose of being examined. (3) The bishop had the sole right of consecrating churches and altars.

1. *The Right of Approval.*—In the earliest period, when the clerks of rural churches were only temporarily detached from the city church, the question of the necessity of the bishop's approval could hardly arise, inasmuch as that approval had already been given in the fact of their original ordination. After the first permanent organization of the church, the right of presbyters to detach themselves from the bishop's church, and form communities for themselves, was, as has been pointed out above, speedily crushed. The practical difficulty began with the foundation of places of worship by private persons on their own estates, or in rural districts which were not as yet recognized as forming part of the "territorium" of a city. Those who founded such places of worship claimed the right to appoint anyone whom they pleased to officiate in them without interference on the part of a neighbouring bishop. But the civil law interfered, in this as in other cases, in the interests of orthodoxy. A law of Arcadius and Honorius in A.D. 404, the year of Chrysostom's second banishment, forbids "nova ac tumultuosa conventicula extra ecclesiam" (*Cod. Theodos.* 16, 2, 37 = *Cod. Justin.* 1, 3, 15). In the following century Justinian (*Novell.* 57, c. 2, A.D. 537) forbade founders of churches from appointing anyone whom they pleased to serve them, without the consent of the bishop. Another Novel (123, c. 18) throws a similar enactment into a positive form by providing that founders of churches may nominate clerks for them, subject only to the clerks being found worthy; but the immediate result of these rules appears to have been an attempt, which was also checked, to dispense with clerks altogether in such places (Justin. *Novell.* 123, c. 32, 131, c. 8). About the same time similar rules were enacted by a Western council. 4 *Conc. Aurel.* A.D. 541, c. 7, will not allow "peregrini clerici" to be appointed to oratories without the consent of the bishop of the "territorium." Still later in the East Conc. Trull. c. 31, 2 Conc. Nicaen. c. 10, forbade clerks from serving chapels or oratories without the consent of the bishop, under penalty of deposition. But the question was not settled in the West until the Carolingian period, when it is clear that a determined struggle took place between bishops and founders. The Capitularies re-enact the rule that no layman could either appoint or eject a presbyter with a frequency which shews that it was frequently broken, *e.g.* Karoli M. *Capit. de Presbyt.* c. 2, Pertz, vol. i. p. 161; id. *Excerpt. Can.* c. 2, Pertz, i. 189; Hludowici, *Capit. Aquisgran.* A.D. 817, c. 9. Pertz, i. 207; *Capit. Wormat.* A.D. 829, c. 1, Pertz, i. 350 (which places laymen who disregard the rule under the ban of the empire, so also Karoli II. *Edictum Pistense*, A.D. 861, c. 2, Pertz, i. 489). The bishops in the petition, out of which the Capitularies of Worms resulted, complain that the emperor himself had encouraged the practice in regard to the clergy of his own palace (*Constit. Wormat. Petitio*, c. 12, Pertz, i. 340). The reason alleged against absolute freedom of appointment on the part of laymen is that the "acephali,"

*i.e.* clerks who owned allegiance to no bishop, were often not reputable persons (Hludowic. 2 *Convent. Ticin. I.*, A.D. 850, c. 18, Pertz, i. 399, id. *Convent. Ticin. II.* A.D. 855, Pertz, i. 431. The general enactments will be found also in Benedict. Levit. *Capit.* lib. i. 43, 87, 98, 147, 213; Ansegisi, *Capit.* lib. i. 84, 141). On the other hand the enactment was made, probably as the result of a compromise, that a bishop was bound to approve a clerk whom a layman presented for approval, except in case of evident scandal (Hludowic. et Hlothar. *Constit. Wormat. de persona sacerdotali*, c. 15, Pertz, vol. i. p. 337).

2. *The Right of Visitation and Discipline.*—It is probable that when the churches of great cities founded branch churches in their suburbs the bishop of the city church periodically visited such churches for disciplinary and other purposes. This was at any rate the case at Alexandria at the beginning of the 4th century. The bishop made his circuit (περιοδία), and it was in the course of one of these circuits that Ischyras was presented to the bishop by the presbyters of the Mareotic churches as an offender against the ecclesiastical canons (S. Athanas. *Apol. c. Arian.* c. 63, 85, vol. i. pp. 143, 158). The existence of the same practice in the 4th century in the West is shewn, *e.g.* by. *Conc. Turon.* A.D. 397, c. 2, which, in deciding a dispute between the bishops of Arles and Vienne, decides that each of them is to "visit those churches which are shewn to be adjacent to their respective cities." But there is a remarkable absence of conciliar enactments until the 7th century, when 4 *Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 633, c. 36, recites that bishops ought to visit the parishes within their diocese every year, and in enacting that they may do so by deputy, mentions as the purpose of such visitation an enquiry into the revenues of churches, their state of repair, and the manner of life of their ministers. But it is clear from a canon which was enacted at the same place thirteen years later that the bishop not merely enquired into the revenues of parishes, but claimed a portion of them (7 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 646, c. 4). In other words, the bishop appears to have claimed the same rights over the revenues of dependent churches which he possessed over the revenues of the city church. The limitation of the bishop's claims in this respect forms the subject of many canons and capitularies, even after it had become an established rule that he had no claim to the revenues. Enactments were also made for the purpose of limiting his claim to dues and offerings on the score of the expenses of the visitation, *e.g.* Karoli M. *Capit. Langobard.* c. 5, Pertz, vol. i. p. 110; Karoli II. *Synod ap. Tolos.* A.D. 844, c. 4, Pertz, i. 379 (which, in addition to fixing the precise amount of produce—wine, fowls, eggs, &c.—which is to be offered, rules that if a bishop visits a parish more than once a year he is not to claim his dues more than once), Hludowic. 2 *Convent. Ticin. II.* A.D. 855, c. 16; Pertz, i. 432. When the rite of confirmation became finally separated from baptism, its administration was added to the purposes for which the visitation was made, and is sometimes spoken of as a principal purpose, *e.g.* Karlomanni, *Capitul.* A.D. 742, c. 3; Pertz, vol. i. p. 17, "quandocunque jure canonico episcopus circumeat parrochiam populos ad confirmandos;" but the burden which this entailed on bishops was probably one of the chief causes of the revival in the Frankish kingdom of the earlier system of rural as distinct from city bishops (Hraban. Maur. *de Instit. Cleric.* 1, 5), which was crushed by the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals. The right of visitation, for all purposes except this of confirmation, might be exercised by deputy (4 Conc. Tolet. c. 36, allows the bishop to depute any "probabiles presbyteros aut diaconos"), and ultimately came to be mainly exercised through the rural archdeacons.

In addition to the supervision over the clerks of parishes which was thus exercised by means of annual or other visitations, it was sometimes enacted that such clerks should periodically present themselves before the bishop in his own church, and give an account of their mode of celebrating divine service (Karlomanni, *Capit.* A.D. 742, c. 3; Pippini *Capit. Suession.* A.D. 744, c. 4; Karoli M. *Capit. General*, A.D. 769, c. 8). Some bishops went so far as to require their clergy not merely to present themselves, but to bring with them their *instrumenta ecclesiae*, altar-vessels, and service books (*e.g.* Theodulph. Aurelian, *Capit. ad Presb.* 4; Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. cv. 193), and in England the *Liber Legum Ecclesiast.* c. 4, Wilkins, vol. i. p. 266.

The jurisdiction which a bishop came to exercise over the clergy of parishes was not different in kind from that which he exercised over the clergy of the city church. It was carefully guarded by a long succession of enactments both of canon and civil law. The accused clerk seems never to have been without a right of appeal; and the primitive theory that the bishop's jurisdiction attached to him not as sole judge, but as president of the presbytery, seems never to have wholly faded away.

3. *The Right of consecrating Churches and Altars.*—It seems to have been an early custom that churches should be solemnly dedicated, and it may be assumed that the bishop, as the chief officer of a church or of a district, ordinarily took part in such a dedication. But it is clear that when the parochial system took root in the West the presbyters who were in charge of parishes did not at first consider the presence of a bishop indispensable to such a dedication. 2 *Conc. Brac.* A.D. 563, c. 19, deposes a presbyter who *for the future* ("post hoc interdictum") consecrates a church or an altar. And in the following century the canons of St. Patrick enact for the churches of Ireland that "if any presbyter has built a church let him not offer (sc. the *Eucharist*) until he brings his bishop to consecrate it, for thus is it seemly" (Can. *S. Patric.* c. 19). It was a later series of enactments which limited the original rights of a presbyter in regard to offering the eucharist, by requiring him not to offer it, unless under pressure of urgent necessity, except in a consecrated place. The earliest enactment to this effect is of doubtful date, resting only on the authority of the Liber Pontificalis and the Pseudo-Isidore (Lib. Pontif. *Vit. S. Syric.* c. 2; *Gest. Synod. S. Silvester*, c. 9, ap. Hinschius, p. 450). The other enactments are Carolingian, *e.g.* Karoli M. *Capit. General*, A.D. 769, c. 14, Pertz, vol. i. p. 32; *Capit. Aquisgran.* A.D. 801, c. 9; Hludowic. 2 *Capit. Eccles.* A.D. 856, c. 14, Pertz., vol. i. p. 440, and post Carolingian, *e.g.* Atton. Vercell. *Capit.* c. 7, ap. D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, vol. i. p. 403. By a series of enactments which were certainly not

earlier than the preceding, it was provided that if a presbyter offered the eucharist, as he might do in cases of urgency, outside a consecrated building, he should only do so upon a portable altar which a bishop had previously consecrated (Karoli M. *Capit. General.* A.D. 769, c. 14; Conc. Paris, A.D. 829, c. 47; Hincmar Remens. *Capit.* A.D. 856, c. 3; Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. cxxiv. 794).

iv. *Internal Organization of Parishes.*—(a) The evidence which exists as to the earliest organization of parishes is not sufficient to enable us to frame many general statements respecting it. If the instance of the Batanean town, which has been mentioned above, is to be regarded as typical, it would seem as though the principle of the Jewish synedria had been preserved in the East, and that in each parish there were at least two presbyters to form with the rural bishop a court for the administration of discipline, and two deacons for the dispensing of the church funds to those who were upon the roll. In the West the statement of Ambrosiaster is clearly to the same effect: "aliquantos presbyteros (oportet esse) ut *bini* sint per ecclesias et unus in civitate episcopus" (*Comm. in Epist.* 1 *ad Timoth.* c. iii. 12, ap. S. Ambros. *Op.* vol. ii. p. 295). In Rome each *titulus* had at least one presbyter, and ultimately also one deacon and one sub-deacon; but the precise relations of deacons to the *tituli* in early times are extremely obscure. In Gaul and Spain a single presbyter or a single deacon was sometimes put in charge of a parish, and sometimes a presbyter and a deacon took charge on alternate weeks (Conc. Tarracon. A.D. 516, c. 7). That a deacon might be "rector" of a parish is clear from many instances—*e.g.* Conc. Illib. c. 77, "diaconus regens plebem," S. Greg. Turon. *de Gloria Confessor,* c. 30, p. 918, of a deacon who "rexit ecclesiam vici," at Issiore, near Clermont; but if he alone baptized, the baptism was not complete without the subsequent benediction of the bishop (Conc. Illib. c. 77: the rule was afterwards extended to baptisms by presbyters); and 1 Conc. Arelat. c. 15, disallowed the practice which had grown up of deacons offering the eucharist. But the practice of entrusting parishes to deacons was ultimately forbidden, though apparently not until the 9th century (Hludowic. et Hlothar. *Capit. Eccles.* A.D. 825, c. 1, Pertz, vol. i. p. 250). There are indications that laymen were sometimes placed in charge of parishes. Conc. Cabillon, A.D. 650, c. 5, enacts that "saeculares qui necdum sunt ad clericatum conversi" are not to be entrusted with the government ("regendum") of either parishes or the property of parishes; Conc. Rem. A.D. 625, c. 19, disallows the appointment of archpresbyters who are not clerks; and among the Culdees of the British Islands lay parsons of parishes, though discouraged by the disallowance of some of the emoluments of the office, are not forbidden (Reeves, *Prose Rule of the Céli Dé,* p. 94). The question of the appointment of monks to the charge of parishes, which was keenly contested in the middle ages, belongs to a later period. Such appointments are allowed by Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 847, c. 14, with the proviso that the monk is to save his vow of poverty by giving up the revenues of a parish to the bishop or his deputy. But the general rule, which required the ecclesiastical head of a parish to be a presbyter, though broken sufficiently to shew that it was not absolute, was no doubt ordinarily observed. Every parish came to have its priest. If there were several churches within a parish (by which, as will be pointed out below, must not be understood in pre-mediaeval times a district with definite boundaries) each of these churches was required to have its own presbyter. Two or more churches could not be committed to the same presbyter, unless the revenues of the single churches were insufficient for his support (Conc. Emerit. A.D. 666, c. 19; 16 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 693, c. 5; Conc. Paris, A.D. 829, c. 49; Hludowic. *Capit. Aquisgran.* A.D. 817, c. 9, Pertz, vol. i. p. 207; Ansegisi, *Capit.* lib. i. 86, Pertz, vol. i. p. 283). But Hlothar. I. *Constit. Papiens* A.D. 832, c. 1, absolutely disallows the commission of more than one church to one presbyter, and enacts that unless a poor church is shewn to be necessary, it is to be destroyed; if, on the contrary, it is shewn to be necessary, it is to be endowed with lands by the state. It is important to note that in the expressions which are constantly used in reference to the ecclesiastical head of a parish, whether presbyters or others, the sacerdotal idea is almost always in the background. He is not so much the "sacerdos" as the "rector;" he is said "plebi praeesse;" he is sent—not to administer the sacraments, but "ad regendum" (*e.g.* 9 Conc. Tolet. c. 2; 11 Tolet. c. 3; Pippin. *Capit. Eccles.* iv. A.D. 789, c. 81; so also when a parish presbyter resigns his office he is said "ab ordine et titulo et *regimine plebis* se exuere," Conc. Rem. A.D. 874, c. 1; Migne, P. L. vol. cxxv. 796).

(b) It does not appear that any other officers were regarded as necessary to parochial organization. In regard to the earlier period there is no evidence except that which has been given above. But there grew up a feeling against presbyters offering the eucharist without the assistance of other clerks; and it came to be enacted in the West that parish presbyters should both have such clerks, and should take them into their houses in order to train them for the service of the church (2 Conc. Vaison, A.D. 529, c. 1, which speaks of this as being a common custom in Italy; Conc. Emerit. A.D. 666, c. 18). These "clerici parochiani" varied in number under different circumstances, and their duties were the ordinary duties of clerks in divine service. They survive in the modern "parish clerk."

(c) The question of the mode in which the presbyter or other chief officer of a parish was appointed in early times is one upon which only scanty evidence exists. It is probable upon general grounds that such appointments did not form an exception to the general rule, which at first required an election by the people and an approval by the bishop, and which afterwards allowed the clergy or the bishop to nominate, and the people merely to approve. But the endowment of parishes by private persons, and the interweaving of the parochial with the canonical and monastic system, so far overlaid the primitive practice that there was in the middle ages only a small proportion of parishes in which the people had any real share in either the election or the approval of their parish priest. The question of patronage, so far as it falls

within the limits of the present work, is discussed elsewhere. [PATRON.]

(d) The limits of parishes were probably in almost all cases fixed by the previously existing organization. Where the Roman organization prevailed, the parish was the *pagus*, *vicus*, or *castellum*, with its surrounding *territorium*. Where, as in England, the Roman organization had been almost completely swept away, the parish was identical with the township or the manor (Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, vol. i. p. 227; Toulmin Smith, *The Parish*, 2nd edit. pp. 16-22). But, in a large proportion of cases, it is probable that these limits were not precisely defined until the legal enforcement of tithes rendered such a definition necessary. Nor was it until a much later period that parishes came necessarily to adjoin each other; between parishes, as between townships, were frequently tracts of more or less unsettled or common land, on which chapels might be erected without trenching on any parochial rights. It is probable that, in England, the final parcelling of the whole country into parochial districts was not effected until the era of the poor-laws.

[E. H.]

**PARLOUR.** [SALUTATORIUM.]

**PARMENAS**, one of the seven deacons, commemorated at Philippi, Jan. 23 (Usuard., Notker., *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 453); Mar. 3 (Basil. *Menol.*); July 28 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 264).

[C. H.]

**PARMENIUS**, presbyter and martyr; commemorated at Cordula, April 22 (Bed., Wand., Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PAROCHIA.** [DIOCESE, PARISH.]

**PAROCHIAL CLERGY.** [ORDERS, HOLY.]

**PARODUS**, martyr; commemorated Jan. 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**PARSONAGE.** The information about the official residences of the clergy in early times is excessively slight. But it appears probable that they had such residences. Under the Jewish ritual it is well known that apartments were provided for the priests and Levites within the precinct of the temple itself (1 Chron. ix. 27). The earliest Christian churches had annexes called Pastophoria. "Let the house (church) be oblong, turned towards the east, the pastophoria on either side towards the east, seeing it resembles a ship." (*Apost. Constit.* ii. 57, Labbe.) What the purpose of these pastophoria was is a moot question. But some writers have thought that they were official apartments for the clergy attached to the church. (See Hofman, *Lex. Univ.* s. v.) Some colour of probability is lent to this hypothesis by the fact that the LXX make use of the word to designate the chambers of the Levites in the courts of the temple. This opinion is adopted by Bingham (*Eccl. Antiq.* viii. 7, 11); but he is said to be mistaken by Herzog (*Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. i. p. 729).

One of the earliest notices of a house for clergy is that in the *Apostolical Canons* (can. 5. al. 4), where it is prescribed that only ears of corn, grapes, oil for the lamp, and incense may be offered at the altar, and that all other fruits shall be carried to the house, as a first-fruit for the bishop and priests.

This dwelling together of bishops and priests is reflected in the language of later English history. The *Excerpta* of archbishop Egbright (A.D. 740, ed. Johnson, no. 26) provide that "Bishops and priests have a house (hospitiolum) for the entertainment of strangers, not far from the church." Johnson gives his opinion that at one period the house for the reception of guests was not identical with the residence-house, for fear of the infection which the strangers might bring. The next of the Excerpts (no. 27) enjoins, that though the bishop be elevated above the bench of priests in church, yet in the house he must remember that he is but a colleague of the priests. That the custom of bishop and priests dwelling together prevailed in England up to a comparatively late period (7th century) may be seen from the pages of Bede (*Hist. Angl.* lib. iv. c. 27, p. 366, Gidley's translation).

St. Augustine mentions that after he was made bishop of Hippo he "had with him in his bishop's house a monastery of clerics," with whom he lived according to apostolic tradition. (See *Ad Fratres in Eremo*, Sermo xiv. near the beginning; also *ibid.* Sermo v. about the middle.)

The term *domus ecclesiae* as the designation of the house of a bishop is very common in the writers of the early centuries. (See Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* lib. i. cap. 39, et passim.) When a bishop died, his house (domus ecclesiae) was to be assigned to proper custody by the bishop who came to bury the deceased. (*Conc. Aurelian*, ii. can. 6, A.D. 533). A similar direction was given as the council of Rheims, A.D. 630, can. 16. Hofman (*Lex. Univ.*) gives Episcopium as one of the terms for a bishop's house.

The construction of a house for a bishop was the subject of a direction from the pope (Gregory III.) in the case of Boniface the English missionary to Thuringia: "Make therefore a house in which your father (Boniface) may in person be bound to dwell" (Antonius Augustinus, *Juris Pontificii*, part 2, p. 3).

The episcopal residence (domus ecclesiae) is in later times on such a scale as to be the scene of a banquet to a member of the royal family (S. Greg. Turon. lib. vii. cap. 27). In England the penalty for breaking into the house of the bishop is put next in order, and apparently in magnitude, to the penalty for breaking into the king's house (Laws of king Ine, A.D. 693).

[H. T. A.]

**PARTHENIUS** and Calocerus, eunuchs, martyrs at Rome under Decius; commemorated February 11 (Bed., Wand.); PARTEINUS and Calocerus, May 19 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*). PARTHINIUS and Gallicorus, May 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iv. 26). [C. H.]

**PARTICLES.** [FRACTION.]

**PARURA.** [ALB.]

**PASCHA MEDIUM**, or MEDIUM PASCHAE, was the Wednesday in Easter week. So Alcuin: "Sexagesima inde dici potest quia lx. sunt dies usque ad medium Paschae, quod est feria quarta paschalis hebdomadis" (*Epist. ad Car. M.* Hittorp. 300). Similarly, Rabanus Maurus, his

disciple (*Instit. Cler.* ii. 34), and Amalarius (*de Ord. Antiph.* 32). [W. E. S.]

**PASCHA PETITUM.** This was a name given, but not generally, to Palm Sunday in parts where the creed was delivered to the competentes on that day: "Diversis vocabulis distinguitur; id est, dies palmarum sive florum, atque ramorum, osanna, *Pascha Petitum*, sine competentium, et capitolavium" (*Ordo Rom.* in Hittorp. 46; similarly in the edition of this Ordo, differing in many respects, printed by Gerbert in *Monum. Vet. Liturg. Alem.* iii. 195). [TRADITIO SYMBOLI.] [W. E. S.]

**PASCHAE CLAUSUM** (PASCHA CLAUSA, PASCHA CLAUSUM, CLAUSULA PASCHAE). Most modern writers (as Mabillon, *Liturgia Gallicana*, 148; Gerbert, *Lit. Alem. Disq.* x. iv. 2; Ruinart in Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* ix. 44; Du Cange in v.) identify this with the first Sunday after Easter (Low Sunday, Dies Dominicus post Albas, Dominica in Albis depositis, Quasimodo), but early authorities, whom they do not notice, and certain facts bearing on the question, prove that it was a name given to Saturday in the Easter week. Only the Macri (*Hierolexicon* in v.) within our reading have stated this correctly, and they give no authority. Others have been probably misled by the fact that Low Sunday is now called *Pâque close* in France, to which and the neighbouring province of Metz the use of the term *Pascha clausum* was, so far as appears, confined. It was natural that the name should be transferred when the Saturday ceased to be marked by any special observance, *i.e.* when the great baptisms of Easter ceased.

Amalarius, A.D. 812, says expressly: "Septuagesima perficitur in Sabbato quod vocatur Clausum Pascha" (*De Ord. Antiph.* 32). Alcuin, about the same time or earlier: "Videtur Septuagesimus dici posse dies propter decem hebdomadas quae sunt ab ipso die usque clausum Pascha in quo alba tolluntur vestimenta a nuper baptizatis" (*Epist. ad Car. Magn.* Hittorp. 300). Rabanus Maurus (*Instit. Cler.* ii. 34) echoes the words of Alcuin. But the newly-baptized laid aside their white dress with ceremony, not on the Sunday, but on the Saturday. Thus Amalarius: "De Sabbato . . . Hodie revertuntur ad fontes, ut exuant se albis" (*De Ord. Antiph.* 51).

That the Clausum Paschae was a great feast in France might be inferred from the foregoing notices; as also from the facts that Gregory of Tours treats it as a well-known note of time: "Eo anno post Clausum Pascha tam immensa cum grandine pluvia fuit," &c. (*Hist. Franc.* ix. 44), and from the almost absolute use of the word "clausum" alone, as when the same author says of some persons baptized at Rions: "Nullus ad clausum pertingere potuit vivus" (*Glor. Conf.* 48). [W. E. S.]

**PASCHAL EPISTLES** were letters written by patriarchs and archbishops to the bishops within their jurisdiction, and in the case of the pope of Alexandria to the bishop of Rome, if not to other patriarchs, containing a notice of the day on which the next Easter should be kept. They were also called "Festal Epistles" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 20, 21, ἑορταστικαὶ ἐπιστολαί), or "Festal Writs" (*ibid.* 22, ἑορτ. γραφαί), from their connexion with the great feast of Easter (Eus. *u. s.* 20). At Alexandria they were first delivered as homilies, being afterwards put into the form of an epistle, and so sent to the comprovincial bishops. Hence they are sometimes called "Homilies" or "Discourses." They were carried by a special messenger (διακομιστής. Synesius begs a correspondent to treat his messenger kindly coming and going, and to provide him means of proceeding both ways (*Ep.* 13).

*The Office of the Bishop of Alexandria.*—It is asserted by Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.* ad ann. 325), Binius (Labbe, *Conc.* ii. 69), Dupin (*Biblioth. Eccles.* under *Cyril. Alex.*), and many others, that the bishops of Alexandria were expressly requested and authorized by the first council of Nicaea to give annual notice to the whole church, through the incumbents of the principal sees, of the day on which the ensuing Easter was to be celebrated. That the pope of Alexandria did at one time give such notice to the bishop of Rome as well as to those of Egypt is not to be disputed, but it may well be doubted whether he did so in pursuance of any decree of that council, and, again, whether he transmitted a similar notice to the other patriarchs of the East. If we are to be guided by the evidence still extant, we shall rather infer that the custom, whatever its extent, arose from the voluntary deference paid by other churches to that of Alexandria in a question of mathematical science. No formal proof of the alleged conciliar sanction or decree has, to my knowledge, ever been attempted, and the only document that I can meet with which ascribes it to *any* oecumenical synod appears to me of very doubtful weight. This is the *Prologus* S. Cyrilli de *Festi Pasch. Ratione*, which is found in Latin only, and in a single MS., seemingly of the 9th century. It was first printed by the Jesuit Aegid. Bucherius after his *Comment. in Can. Pasch. Victorii Aquit.* Antv. 1633 (*Prolog.* u. s. or *Epist.* 87, § 2; *Opp.* Cyr. Al. x. 383; Migne, lxxvii.). But more, perhaps, has been built on a statment of Leo the Great, who however (*Epist.* 94, c. 1) speaks only of "the holy fathers" in general. If the council made that arrangement, we should reasonably look for some mention of the fact in the paschal epistles of the bishops of Alexandria, of which a large number are extant, especially in those of Athanasius, who was himself at Nicaea, and, becoming bishop of Alexandria within a year of the conclusion of the council, must have been the first to act on its decree. Yet neither in his first festal epistle nor in any subsequent one does he make any mention of it. Those of Theophilus are equally silent, and so are the festal homilies of Cyril. Twice also within a century of the council of Nicaea we find bishops of Rome consulting those of Milan and Carthage, as will be seen presently, when in doubt as to the right day. We observe also that Leo, in the epistle above mentioned, begged the emperor to help him by applying to "the Egyptians, or to *any others* who were reported to have certain knowledge of this kind of calculation" (*Epist.* 94). Marcian wrote to Proterius of Alexandria, who in a long reply justified the calculation which Leo doubted (inter *Opp.* Leon. p. 203). The pope submitted, and thanked the emperor for his interposition (*Ep.* 108); but it is remarkable that in his paschal letter to the bishops of Gaul and Spain he

does not mention Proterius, but tells them of his application to the emperor, "quo rescribente viii. kal. Maias definitus est dies" (*Ep.* 109). At this period, then, it appears certain that the bishops of Alexandria were not held to have authority to settle the day for the whole church. That they were held in great esteem for their skill in such questions is clear from some of the testimonies already alleged. See also Dionysius Exiguus, *Epist. Paschal.* i. in *Apparat.* ad Baronii *Annales*, p. 248; and later yet Adrian I. *ad Egilam seu Joan. Presbyt.* Ep. 70 inter *Epp. Carolinas.*

*Methods of Publication in various Countries.*—The practice of the church, both before and after the Nicene council, will receive further light from the following testimonies. Eusebius tells us that Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 247, wrote several paschal letters (*Hist.* vii. 20-22), in one of which he "set forth a canon for eight years, and proved that it is never right to celebrate the feast of Easter except after the vernal equinox" (*u. s.* 20). A synod of Arles, 314, thus addresses the bishop of Rome: "Touching the observance of Easter Sunday, we have decreed that it be kept by us on the same day and the same time throughout the whole world, and that thou address letters to all according to the custom" (can. 1). The council of Nicaea, held in 325, settled, with regard to the time, "by the common consent of all, that the most holy feast of Easter should be celebrated on one and the same day" in every church (*Ep.* Constant. *ad Ecclesias;* Hard. *Conc.* i. 449); but we cannot, as before said, find that it imposed on any one bishop the duty of publishing the particular day in each year for the instruction of all others. St. Ambrose says, "even after the calculations of the Egyptians and the decision of the church of Alexandria, most of the bishops of the Roman church are, by their letters, still waiting for my opinion" (*Epist.* 23, § 8). The question was whether Easter could be kept so late as April 25. In 393 the council of Hippo in Africa decreed "that the venerable day of Easter should be made known to all, "formatarum subscriptione" (can. 6; Sim. *Conc. Carth.* v. can. 7; *Codex Afric.* 73); but it does not say by whom the FORMATAE were to be issued. The council of Carthage, 397, determined that, "because of the mistake which is often wont to arise, all the bishops of the province of Africa should be careful to receive the day of paschal observance from the church of Carthage" (cap. 1). To this they afterwards added, "et non sub angusto temporis spatio," and that, as there was to be an annual synod at Carthage, "the holy day of Easter should then be published by the legates" (cap. 41). When this was settled, two bishops present said, "We ask now of this assembly that ye deign to inform our province of the day by letters," on which the president, Aurelius of Carthage, said, "It must needs be so." In 413, Innocent of Rome, writing to Aurelius, expresses his opinion that the next Easter ought to be celebrated on March 22 (xi. kal. Apr.), adding, "It will become your wisdom, my brother and partner, with the like-minded and our fellow-priests [consacerdotibus], to consider this same matter in the most religious synod, that if objection appear to our settlement, you may write back to us fully and openly, that we may beforehand prescribe by letters (as the custom is) the observation of the paschal day, so fixed by deliberation at its proper time" (*Epist.* 11). Cassian, 424, limits the letters of the bishop of Alexandria to Egypt (*Collat.* x. 2). A fragment is extant, in Latin, of an epistle, said to have been written in 444 by Cyril of Alexandria to Leo, in which this clause occurs, "Simul Pascha celebremus kal. ix. Maii [April 23] propter rationem embolismi anni" (*Ep.* Cyr. A. 86; Migne, x. 378; or *Opp.* Leon. i. 602, ed. Baller). See also the letter of Paschasinus, whom Leo consulted, "Id verum invenimus quod ab Alexandrinae ecclesiae antistite beatitudini tuae rescriptum est" (*Opp.* Leon. (Quesn.) 111). The council of Orleans, 541, decreed that the day of the feast should be "notified to the people in church by the bishop," and that, if any doubt arose, the metropolitan should consult "the apostolic see," and abide by its decision (can. 1). At Braga, at a council held on Dec. 15, 571, it was resolved that, before the council dispersed, "the coming Easter of the same year [according to us the next, 572]—on what day of the kalends and in what month it should be kept—be declared by the metropolitan bishop, and that the rest of the bishops, and the other clergy noting this down, should announce it to the people each in his own church" (can. 9). The synod of Auxerre, 578, ordered "all presbyters before the Epiphany to send their messengers [to the bishop], that they might inform them of the beginning of Lent" (can. 2). Gregory of Rome, writing in 598 to the bishops of Sardinia, says that it was a custom of the island for the bishops to go themselves or send their messengers to ask for a written notice of the day on which the next Easter would be celebrated; and that whether they knew it already or not. He exhorted them to be faithful to the custom, which some were beginning to neglect (*Epist.* vii. Ind. ii. 8). The council of Toledo, 633, shows by the language of its fifth canon that the church of Spain did not receive information on the subject, at that period, either from Rome or the East: "In the Spains, a diversity in the announcement of the paschal feast is wont to happen, a difference in the tables of the festival sometimes causing error. It is, therefore, decreed that the metropolitan bishops *inquire of each other* by letter three months before the Epiphanies, that, being well instructed through their common knowledge, they may inform their comprovincials of the day of Christ's resurrection." It is probable that the publication of tables of the movable feasts had by this time quite put an end to the paschal epistles of the great patriarchs; but created a difficulty when their accuracy could be questioned, or the last year for which they provided had arrived.

*Time of the Announcement.*—The festal homilies of Alexandria were preached as a rule on the previous Easter, and then dispersed as letters. A trace of the time is found in many of those that are perfect, *e.g.* Athanasius: "The season calls us to keep the feast" (i. 3); "Again, my brethren, is Easter come and gladness" (ii. 14), &c.; Cyril: "The present is a time of festival" (v. 44); "Our holy feast now shining" (vi. 60); &c.

Cassian tells us that the epistle was issued from Alexandria "after the day of the Epiphany" (*Collat.* x. 2). I do not think that we can infer a fixed time from the extant examples, and he may have been misled by the customs of the West. In the West the council of Orleans, in 541, orders the notice to be given in church by the bishop "on the day of the Epiphanies" (can. 1). The council of Braga, 572, directs the bishops and the other clergy, "each in his own church, to announce it to the people on the approaching day of the Lord's Nativity, that no one might be ignorant of the beginning of Lent" (can. 9). The Epiphany is also fixed as the time by the council of Auxerre, 578 (can. 2).

On the subject of this article, see the *Prolegomena* to the edition of the Paschal Homilies of Cyril Alex. published at Antwerp, 1618, by Antonius Salmatia; given also by Migne, *Opp.* Cyr. A. x. 394; the *Introduction to the Festal Epistles of St. Athanasius*, translated from the Syriac, Oxf. 1854; Joan. van der Haagen, *Observationes in Veterum Patrum et Pontificum Prologos et Epistolas Paschales*, Amstel. 1734; Habert, Ἀρχιερατικόν, *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Graec.* p. 719, Par. 1643. [W. E. S.]

**PASCHAL TAPER.** This was a large taper, which among the other ceremonies of Easter Eve ("sabbatum sanctum") was solemnly blessed before the altar, at Rome by the archdeacon, in Spain by two deacons, then lighted from the newly-struck and blessed fire, and carried in procession before the catechumens to the font. It was afterwards placed before the altar, and was to burn incessantly until after the solemn mass, or the second Vespers, or the Compline service, of Easter Day, according to different rituals: that of Soissons requires it to burn for four consecutive days (Martene *de Ant. Eccles. Rit.* lib. iv. cap. 24). The symbolism is obvious. In its origin the paschal taper was a special observance of the general custom which, through East and West alike, celebrated that night "much to be observed" by a bright illumination, changing the darkness into light. [See EASTER, CEREMONIES OF, Vol. I. p. 595.] The twofold reference to the new rising of the Sun of Righteousness from the darkness of the tomb, and to the illumination of the newly-baptized, is constantly recalled to mind in the office of the *Benedictio Cerei*. In the procession of the neophytes, and when the taper precedes the pope, as (according to the old Ordo Romanus) it should do during the whole paschal week, it is taken to represent the pillar of fire which led Israel through the Red Sea.

The institution of the paschal taper has been commonly attributed to pope Zosimus (A.D. 417) on the strength of the notice in the life of him in the *Liber Pontificalis*, "per parochias concessa licentia cereos benedici," or, according to another version, "per parochias concessit ut cereos benedicerent;" but it was pointed out by Baronius (*Annal.* in ann. 418) that this really implies the extension to the parish churches of a custom already existing in (probably) the great basilicas. The hymn of Prudentius, "Inventor rutili," commonly sung during the office of the benediction of the taper, cannot be relied on as an argument for the antiquity of the rite, for it is in truth only an excerpt of forty lines from a much longer hymn, which according to the best reading is inscribed *ad incensum lucernae*, not *de cereo paschali*, and which, being No. V. of the *Cathemerinon* hymns, was clearly intended for daily use at the Vesper service when the candles used to be solemnly lighted. It is possibly, however, alluded to by St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xv. 22) where he says, "in laude quadam cerei breviter versibus, dixi," &c. where "cerei," and not "creatoris," seems to be the true reading. Ennodius, bishop of Ticino (died 521), has left two forms of *Benedictio cerei*, from an expression in one of which it is inferred that the practice of preserving particles of the wax of the taper as charms had already grown up by that time. Gregory the Great (*Epist.* xi. 33) and can. 9, C. Tolet. IV. both speak clearly of the paschal taper; various customs grew up round the rite in later times, such as that of making five holes in the taper, or attaching five grains of incense to it, of stamping upon it the date, the indiction of the current year, or the letters A and Ω, or of fastening to it inscriptions of various kinds, of which examples may be seen in Martene (*u. s.*). (See the various rituals and commentaries on the office *in Sabbato Sancto*, and Mabillon *de Lit. Gall.* p. 141.) [C. E. H.]

**PASCHASIA**, virgin martyr at Divio in Burgundy, under Aurelius; commemorated Jan. 9 according to the ancient calendars of St. Benignus at Divio. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 566.) [C. H.]

**PASCHASIUS (1)**, bishop of Vienne, confessor, cir. A.D. 313; commemorated Feb. 22. (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 290.)

(2) African martyr in the Vandalic persecution; commemorated Nov. 12 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*); Nov. 13 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PASICRATES**, martyr with Valentinus at Dorostolum in Macedonia; commemorated Ap. 24 (Basil. *Menol.*); Passicrates, at Dorostorum in Moesia, May 25 (Usuard. *Mart.*); PASICRATES or POLICRATES, May 25, from the Latin and Greek menologies (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vi. 23). [C. H.]

**PASSIONALE.** [MARTYROLOGY.]

**PASSION, RELICS OF.** [RELICS.]

**PASSION, REPRESENTATIONS OF.** [CRUCIFIX.]

**PASSION SUNDAY.** The fifth Sunday in Lent has from ancient times been called *Dominica Passionis* or *de Passione Domini*, because from it begins the more special commemoration of the suffering of Christ. An Anglo-Saxon homily (Aelfric's *Homilies*, ii. 224 f.) for the fifth Sunday in Lent commences by stating that from that day until Easter the time is designated *Christ's Passion-tide* (Wheatley *on the Common Prayer*, ed. Corrie, p. 241, n. 6). In token of sadness the *Gloria Patri* is generally omitted at this season in responsories, invitatories, and introits. The character of the season is strikingly shewn in the Mozarabic Mass for the day. In modern times, in England at least, the name "Passion-Week" is commonly given to HOLY WEEK. [C.]

**PASTOPHORIUM.** A chamber attached to the outside wall of a church, and approached from within, used as a vestry, sacristy, treasury, as well as a living and sleeping room. Παστός being an inner chamber, especially a bridal chamber with embroidered hangings, came to signify the shrine of a deity, and the priests whose duty it was to carry the shrine were called *pastophori* (πα τοφόροι). (Diod. i. 29; Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* iii. c. 2; *Stromat.* vi. c. 4), and the chambers where they resided in the precincts of the temple *pastophoria* (παστοφορεῖα or παστοφόρια). The word is of frequent occurrence in the LXX in this or an allied sense, usually as the translation of לִשְׁכָּה, and generally to designate the chambers annexed to the tabernacle or temple, for the habitation of the priests and other ministers, or for the reception of the offerings in money, corn, fruits, or other stores (1 Chr. ix. 26, 33; xxiii. 28; xxviii. 12; 2 Chr. xxxi. 11; Isa. xxii. 15; Jer. xxxv. 4; Ezek. xl. 17, 38; Esdr. viii. 59). The Vulgate rendering is usually *exedrae*, sometimes *gazophylacium* (Jer. xxxv. 4; Ezek. xl. 17, 38) or *tabernaculum* (Isa. xxii. 15); in 2 Chr. xxxi. 11, *horrea*. Its use in Christian nomenclature was equally extensive, sometimes denoting the apartments of the bishop and clergy and ministers and keepers of the church; sometimes a vestry or treasury. Bona regards it as synonymous with the *diaconicon* or *vestiarium*, "quod barbara voce sacristia nuncupatur" (Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. i. c. xxiv. § 2). This is the sense in which the word is used in the Apostolical Constitutions, where after the faithful had communicated in both kinds the deacons were directed to take what was left and carry it into the "pastophorium" (*Ap. Const.* lib. viii. c. 13; Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* bk. viii. ch. vii. § 11; Binterim, *Denkwürdig.* ii. 2, 143; Schelstrate, *Conc. Antioch*, p. 186). [E. V.]

**PASTOR (1),** with his brother Justus, youthful martyrs; commemorated at Complutum in Spain, Aug. 6 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Florus, *Mart.* ap. Bed.); Aug. 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) And Basileus, commemorated Dec. 25 in the Sacramentary of Leo (Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 467). [C. H.]

**PASTOR** (ποιμήν). (1) When St. Paul (Ephes. iv. 11) speaks of ποιμένας, "shepherds," he seems to describe not so much those admitted to a distinct order or office, as those who "took the oversight" of the flock, under whatever designation. Thus ἐπίσκοποι are said (Acts xx. 28) to "be the shepherds" of the church; and, again, πρεσβύτεροι are warned (1 Pet. v. 2) to "be shepherds" to the flock of God, even as Christ is "shepherd and bishop" of our souls (1 Pet. ii. 25). And the Latin word "pastor" retained for the most part this vagueness; it designated a minister of the church considered as guiding and governing a flock. More especially it designated a bishop; hence in later times "pastoralitas" came to mean the dignity of a bishop or abbat, and "pastorare" to exercise the functions of a bishop or abbat (Ducange, *s. v.*).

(2) The ADVOCATE OF THE CHURCH was sometimes called "pastor laicus" (Ducange). [C.]

**PASTORAL STAFF.** (Ῥάβδος, βακτηρία, νάρθηξ; *baculus*, *virga*, *ferula*, *pedum*, *cambuta*, *capuita*, *crocea*, *crozzia*, *stampella*, *crosse*.)

The word has assumed a multitude of forms, partly, no doubt, from the vagaries of the copyists: *cambutta*, *cubuta*, *cambuia*, *cambuca*, *cambucca*, *camputa*, *capuita*, *combucca*, *gabuca*, *sambuta*, &c.

Migne (*Dict. Orfèvr.* s. v., following the learned monograph of Barrault and Martin) traces the word *cambuta* to the Irish missionaries in the time of the Merovingians. This he considers more probable than its connexion with κάμπτω and καμπύλη, a curved staff.

The name *ferula* (ferio) points to the correctional use of the staff.

The etymology of *crosse* is controverted. We have the forms *crochia*, *croqua*, *crocula*, and also *crocea*, *crossea*, *croça*, *crossa*. Some of these forms may be traced to *croc* and *crochet*, whilst others suggest *crux* and the Italian *croce*. Magri observes (*Hierolex.* s. v.) that the pastoral staff was called *croccea* (Anglicè, *crutch*), from the use that was made of it as a support in walking.

The most ancient crosiers (*sic*) appear, says a learned writer, to have been much shorter than those of succeeding ages. That of St. Severinus, bishop of Cologne, who died in the year 400, served him as a walking-stick (*Archaeologia*, xvii. 37).

There are no grounds for saying whether the pastoral staff, when it was first adopted as an emblem, was designed to be the symbol of duty or of jurisdiction; whether it betokened the shepherd's duty of tending the flock of God or (as a form of sceptre) the right and the responsibility of a ruler. Both these ideas seem to be combined in one of the earliest Latin authorities on the subject—the passage of St. Isidore of Seville (A.D. 560–636), who says that the staff was given to a bishop as a token that he "vel regat, vel corrigat, vel infirmitates infirmorum sustineat" (*de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, cap. v.).

The term "pastoral staff" seems to point to the shepherd's crook as the prototype of the wand or sceptre which has symbolized the ministerial office from very early times. Indeed, Suicer (*Thesaurus Eccles.* s. v. βακτηρία) thus unhesitatingly assigns its origin: "Because the ministers of the church are called shepherds, and their duty is to feed the flock of God, namely, the church, therefore to them is given a staff or rod."

There is an undoubted propriety in the symbol so interpreted. But we may not yet have arrived at the bottom of the matter, if we rest here; for there is some reason to think that the pastoral staff of the Christian clergy was but an adoption with a new significance of a religious usage older than Christianity itself. The sculptures and coins of Italian paganism shew us that the augurs of antiquity bore a staff (lituus) very closely resembling the pastoral staff. It was with such a staff, in fact, that the augur divided the expanse of heaven (templum) into regions for the purpose of divination. The annexed figure from an Etruscan sculpture will give an idea of the augur's staff. In connexion with this figure it should be observed that the early form of pastoral staff appears to have been quite short—much shorter than the specimens of mediaeval art that have survived to us (Reusens, *Éléments d'Archéologie chrétienne*,

Louvain, 1871). The form of the lituus might in some degree account for this. On the other side, however, it ought, perhaps, to be noticed that the lituus had to be borne in the right



Lituus. (From Smith's *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.*)

hand, whilst the handling of the pastoral staff does not appear to have been so restricted. In extant representations the pastoral staff is held sometimes in the right and sometimes in the left hand. Such a variation, however, will hardly be thought sufficient to negative the possibility of the hypothesis—which has the authority of Mosheim (*Instit. Eccl. Hist.* pt. ii. chap. iv.)—that the pastoral staff is one of those many things which with but slight alterations the early Christians felt at liberty to adopt from paganism as being accepted symbols of piety and reverence.

According to another theory of its origin, the pastoral staff is a survival in the case of bishops of what was once to be seen in the hands of all. It is, in fact, the episcopal walking-stick. Thomassin, Grancolas, and other liturgists of modern times, have vindicated an origin of this kind for the staff. According to them it is no other than the crutch or staff (*sustentaculum, reclinatorium*) which at first was permitted to the aged and infirm, and which afterwards became general as a support while standing in church. When seats were introduced into choirs, the *reclinatorium* was doomed to disappear, and (according to these writers) survived in the hand of prelates alone as emblems of honour. The flaw in this theory appears to be that the *reclinatorium* certainly remained in general use long after the date at which we can trace the pastoral staff.

We now reach the question by whom the pastoral staff was used.

(*a*) *Pope.*—It is commonly said that the pope never carried a pastoral staff. The reason assigned for this custom cannot be better given than in the words of Innocent III. "The Roman pontiff does not use the pastoral staff, because St. Peter the Apostle sent his staff to Eucharius, the first bishop of Trèves, whom he appointed with Valerius and Maternus to preach the Gospel to the German race. He was succeeded in his bishopric by Maternus, who was raised from the dead by the staff of St. Peter. The staff is down to the present day preserved with great veneration by the church at Trèves." (*De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, lib. i. cap. 62.) It is sarcastically observed by Cahier, a Jesuit writer, that St. Peter must have repeated more than once the sacrifice of his pastoral staff, for several places claim to have it. The same writer, however, shews that there is reason to think that popes did bear the pastoral staff up to the 11th century, and he gives a figure of Gregory the Great bearing a staff from a miniature of the 13th century. This figure we reproduce here (Cahier, *Caractéristiques des Saints*, p. 298).



Gregory the Great. (From Cahier.)

Barrault indeed says (p. 25) that the portrayal of St. Gregory with a staff proves only the ignorance of the illuminator in the 13th century. Perhaps however, this is not quite fair. It may shew that the present question was in debate in the 13th century, and the plate before us may be the record of the view which the illuminator took in the controversy.

Another representation of Gregory the Great with a staff (though it is of a different shape, being surmounted with a cross) is published by the Arundel Society. This singular monument, says Mr. Marriott (*Vestiarium Christianum*, p. 237), is assigned by antiquaries to the year 700 or thereabouts. The figure is easily accessible in Mr. Marriott's work, and therefore need not be reproduced here.

A third figure of Gregory the Great with a staff is that which was given to the brothers



Gregory the Great. (From Macri Hierolex.)

Magri for the *Hierolexicon* (p. 65, ed. Romae, 1677), and which is believed to be contemporary with St. Gregory himself.

Migne (*Dict. de l'Orfèvrerie*, s. v. Crosse) denies that the popes ever used the pastoral staff properly so called; but he admits that they had a baton, which was straight as a sceptre. This, however, would hardly differentiate it from the pastoral staff proper, which was not restricted to a particular shape. Baronius, it may be mentioned, concludes that the staff is to a bishop what a sceptre is to a king. It should be borne in mind that, when writers contend that the pope bore a pastoral staff, they do not probably intend to say that the staff was always curved. Krazer indeed (*De Liturgiis*, p. 353) shews that the oft-quoted words of Innocent III., in which he is understood to disclaim the pastoral staff for the pope, are to be understood as disclaiming only the curved staff of ordinary bishops. By some writers (*e.g.* Martin and Barrault) a distinction is drawn between the cambuta, the crook or T shaped staff, as the symbol of the pastoral office, and the ferula or sceptre-like staff which betokened sovereign authority. Such writers in the Roman Catholic interest are not unwilling to admit that the pope carried the ferula, whilst denying that he had the cambuta. It would obviously be a great gain to their position if it could be shewn that from the earliest days the symbol of the pastoral care had not been associated with the person of the pope, whilst the emblem of sovereignty had always been so—that, whilst the one character had, of course, been understood, the other had been with the emphasis of the very symbolism pointedly affirmed as attaching to him.

In judging, however, of this vexed question, this point is not to be forgotten, that we do not find any trace of the disposition to repudiate the pastoral staff for the pope until about the 12th century, which is at least a suspicious epoch on a question which in no indirect way concerns the glorification of the temporal sovereignty.

(β) *Bishops.*—On the early use of the staff by bishops, we may quote the authority of Baronius (ad ann. 504, n. 38), who says that bishops employed the staff certainly in the 4th century. The earliest mention of it given by Maskell (*Monum. Rit.* iii. 273) as forming a part of the rite of consecration of a bishop is the passage quoted above from Isidore of Spain (A.D. 560-636).

In the early part of the 5th century there seems no reason to doubt, says a competent writer, that St. Patrick took with him to Ireland, when he went to preach the Gospel there, the pastoral staff which afterwards became so famous under the name of the *Staff of Jesus* (*Archaeologia*, xvii. 36).

In the will of St. Remigius (Flodoard. *Hist.* lib. i. cap. 18) mention is made of a pastoral staff carved and covered with gold plates.

The earliest mention of the "staff" among Latin writers appears to be in the letter which was addressed by pope Coelestine (A.D. 423–432) to the bishops of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne on the subject of episcopal dress (Labbe, *Conc.* ii.). "By dressing in a cloak (pallium) and putting a girdle round their loins, they think that they shall fulfil the truth of Scripture not in the spirit, but in the letter. For if the precepts in question were given with a view to being kept in such a fashion, why are not the subsequent precepts equally observed by holding burning lamps in the hand as well as a staff."

Amongst the Greek writers there is a mention of the pastoral staff as early as the time of St. Gregory of Nazianzum (cent. 4). He says (Oratio 42): "I know the staff which can support and the one which belongs to pastors and teachers, and which corrects the sheep which have reason."

In the Life of Caesarius, bishop of Arles (A.D. 469–542), written by Cyprian, his pupil, mention is made of the pastoral staff being "borne by his chaplain (notarius)" (Martene *de Rit.* lib. i. cap. 8, x. 18.) So early as the time of Romanus, archbishop of Rouen about A.D. 623, we find the investiture taking place at the hands of the king by giving the pastoral staff ("Rex .... baculum illi contulit pastoralem").

In modern times a bishop is represented with a crook, an archbishop with a cross or crosier, a patriarch with a cross having two transverse bars, and the pope with a cross of three bars. But there is no appearance of this classification within the epoch embraced by this Dictionary.

The carrying of the crosier before a metropolitan in any place was a token that he claimed jurisdiction there. Hence in later times arose difficulties, when, for example an archbishop of York was not allowed the use of his cross at a coronation (see *Archaeologia*, xvii. 38).

(γ) *Abbats and Abbesses.*—The proof that in very early days abbats had the staff is found by Barrault (p. 5) in the fact that mention is never made of the staff in the pontifical bulls (of which one is quoted as having been issued by Theodore I. in A.D. 643), granting to abbats the use of episcopal insignia. The gloves, the mitre, the ring, and others are specified, but never the staff. This, Barrault argues, could only be because abbats already had the staff. But whether this be accounted as proof or not, we have explicit mention of the abbat's staff as early as the 7th century. In the *Life of St. Gall*, who lived in the early part of that century, we have this mention of the abbatial staff of Columban: "Qui et baculum ipsius, quem vulgo Cambottam vocant, per manum diaconi transmiserunt dicentes, Sanctum Abbatem ante transitum suum jussisse ut per hoc notissimum pignus Gallus absolveretur." It appears not to have been till a later period that the privilege of abbats was conceded to abbesses.

The assumption of the staff seems always to have formed part of the ceremonial of investiture in the case of an abbat. It is so mentioned in the penitential of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury in the 7th century. There are many surviving forms of the ritual employed on these occasions; but with the exception of the passage just quoted, it is not easy to say with certainty that any one of them falls strictly within the limit of time embraced in this work. Several, however, belong certainly to a period not much later; and the investiture with the staff is so generally mentioned in them as to lead to the inference that the usage was already a general and accepted one. Pugin, indeed, observes (*Glossary*, s. v.) that abbats did not borrow the use of the pastoral staff from the episcopal order, as they afterwards did that of the mitre, but that they had this distinction from the beginning.

(δ) *Others.*—It does not appear that any other persons commonly used what could be

properly called a pastoral staff. Hofmann, however (*Lex. Univ.* s. v. Baculus), quotes Philostratus as an authority for the use of it by priests in the East. But in the Eastern church there is always a risk of mistaking for an official baton the ordinary sub-axillary staff which even laymen carried to church.

*Shape.*—Owing to the entire absence of primitive representations, there is no absolute proof that the earliest form of the staff was that of a crook (we know, indeed, that in some cases they terminated in a globe or a cross); but, as Pugin observes, the crook form is exceedingly ancient, and as we have seen above in the case of the *lituus*, was not unknown amongst the emblems of religion, even in pre-Christian times.

The Catacombs furnish no evidence on the




Amachius. (From Buonarroti.)

subject. There is indeed a figure of Amachius bearing a curved staff (Buonarroti, *Vet. Ant.* pl. xviii. p. 128), which might be taken for an example of it, but which is more probably a picture of the augur's rod. The earliest forms



St John with Pastoral Staff. (Barrault.)

of the staff cited by Barrault are those put in the hands of two figures of St. John the Apostle, from a MS. in the British Museum, which (he says, on the authority of the custodians of MSS. in that institution) is a copy of a Spanish MS. that belongs to the era of the Goths. If that be so, it need hardly be said that the representations (which we engrave here) are of immense interest and importance in showing the development of the staff at so distant an epoch.

The second of these figures gives an example of the foliated cross. It will be observed that this staff could not be intended for use as a *reclinatorium*, because it is the full height of



St. John with Cross. (Barrault.)

the man himself. Similar representations are found elsewhere—in a MS. of the abbey of Elnon, which is conjectured to belong to the latter part of the 7th century; in the staff of Montreuil-sur-mer (fig. 1A), which local tra-

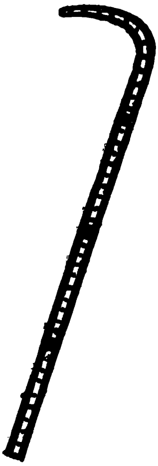


Fig. 1A.

dition assigns to the abbess St. Austrebertha (temp. Clovis II.), and in the ancient carving in the outer wall of the Church of St. Thomas at Strasburg, which is believed to belong to the first half of the 9th century. The extreme antiquity alleged for these monuments will not, perhaps, be accepted with the same confidence in all the several cases, but the details of the

Strasburg carving carry upon the face of it the conviction that the date (830) claimed for it (Barrault, p. 22) is not far from the truth.

Independently of the few monuments that have survived, we find that a writer of the time of Charles the Bald (died A.D. 877) could even then speak of the curved staff as an antiquity (Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ben.* Saec. iii. pt. ii. p. 244).

In the case of the curved staff we can distinguish three constituent parts—the point, the rod, and the crook or volute. The purpose of these several parts was embodied in the line which appears on the staff of St. Saturninus at Toulouse—

"*Curva trahit, quos virga regit, pars ultima pungit.*"

Latin bishops, says Magri, bear a staff curved at the top; Maronite bishops a staff surmounted by a globe and cross (which, it may be observed, is also the form of the staff in the figure of Gregory the Great that is engraved with this article; the globe alone is found in an Anglo-Saxon MS. of the 9th century engraved by Dr. Rock); and Greek bishops carry a staff in the form of a T cross. This form perhaps points to the use of the staff as a support (fulcinatorium). But in the East, where they do not sit in church, secular persons, as well as ecclesiastics, supported themselves at divine service on a staff of this shape.

*Material.*—The means of judging what materials were employed in primitive times are excessively scanty. It seems, however, to be generally agreed that wood entered into the fabrication of the pastoral staff. Martigny says that in primitive times it was of wood, and he adds that it was of cypress most commonly (*Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v. Évêques). It may however, be doubted whether any evidence of the cypress is forthcoming which is of an earlier date than the staff sent to Stephen, bishop of Tournai (cent. 12), and afterwards presented by him to the bishop of Orleans. Staves of wood are cited by Barrault as existing at Montreuil-sur-mer, Ratisbon, the treasury of Cologne, and elsewhere. The same writer states that whilst the rod was of wood, the upper part, whether in the shape of a tau or of a volute, was of a more precious material. Ivory was especially used for the tau-shaped staff. The staff of St. Remigius is an example of early work in precious metal. The so-called staff of St. Augustine (which Gavantus thinks is at Valentia in Spain, while Baronius (in anno 504) places it in Sardinia) is made of ivory. Besides wood, ivory and the precious metals as the material of the pastoral staff, we find mention of horn, brass, iron, lead, and even crystal, both for the volutes and the knobs of the rod. It is possible, however, that the surviving specimens made in base metal were not actually borne, but were merely copies made for interment with a deceased abbat or bishop.



Carving on the Church of St. Thomas at Strasburg. (Barrault.)

A question arises as to whether the right or the left hand held the pastoral staff, or whether either did it indiscriminately. We have seen above in this article that the pastoral staff was not in this respect regulated by the laws of the *lituus*, which had to be held in the right hand. The most common usage, in later representations at least, is for a bishop to hold his staff in the left hand, while he raises the right in the act of benediction. Nor does there appear any reason to suppose that in that solemn act the staff was ever held otherwise than in the left hand. Yet there are many representations of bishops, when not engaged in the act of benediction, holding the staff sometimes in the right and sometimes in the left hand. The truth of the matter appears to be that whilst a bishop in benediction always bore his staff in the left hand, upon any other occasion he was free to hold it in either hand as best suited his pleasure or convenience. The annexed plate (p. 1570), which is extracted from the work of Barrault, is described by him as an abbat blessing his monks. It is of the Carlovingian period, and shews the act of benediction at an early date.

Dr. Rock (*Church of our Fathers*, vol. ii.) has verified a large number of ancient representations, and they fail to bear out the alleged rule either in regard to holding the staff always in the left hand, or in regard to the volute having any particular direction.

It remains only to add that as the giving of the staff was a ceremonial of investiture (*De Marca de Conc. Eccl. et Imp.*), so the surrender of it was the token of abdication, and the breaking of it was that of deposition. By the fourth council of Toledo (cent. 7) it was ordained that in the restoration of a deposed bishop the

baculus should be placed in his hand (can. 28). See Thomassin, *Discipline*, pt. 2, lib. i. c. 23, s. 7.

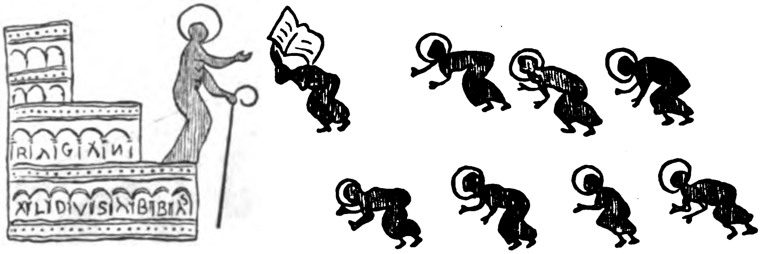
*Authorities.*—Alberti *de Sacris Utensilibus;* Krazer *de Liturgiis;* Martigny, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités chrétiennes; Le Bâton pastoral*, par l'Abbé Barrault and Arthur Martin, S.J., extrait du tome iv. des Mélanges d'Archéologie, Paris, 1856 (the most elaborate treatise on the subject; Cahier, S.J., *Les Caractéristiques des Saints*, Art. Crosse; Martene *de Ecclesias Ritibus;* Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Église*; Hofmann, *Lexicon Universalis;* Du Cange, *Glossarium;* Magri (Fratres), *Hierolexicon*.

[H. T. A.]

*In the Celtic Church.*—The staff of the bishop and also, at a later date, of the abbat, was the Bachal or Bachuil, and Cambata of the Latinised Celtic church, which frequently appears in the legends of her saints. Thus St. Kentigern and St. Columba exchanged their staves at parting on the banks of the Melendinor (*Vita S. Kent*, c. 40), and St. Columba on another occasion gave his staff (Mor Bachall) to Scanlann, prince of Ossory (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 433). The Bachall mor of St. Moloc is preserved at Inverary Castle, Argyleshire, and the Quigrich of St. Fillan has lately been returned from Canada and placed in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh. The staves or croziers of St. Mun, St. Fergus, and St. Donnan, after having been preserved at Kilmure, Argyleshire, at St. Fergus, and at Auchterless, both in Aberdeenshire, and used (certainly the last) for superstitious purposes, are lost with that of St. Serf, and with the Bachall Isa of St. Patrick. But though the Quigrich of St. Fillan is rich in design and workmanship (Wilson, *Prehist. Ann. Scot.* 664 sq.; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xii. 122 sq.) and the Bachal mor of St. Moloc bears traces of a metal covering, the original staves of the saints appear to have been of the plainest description, without a volute and having only a slightly curved head; while it is only the veneration of later ages which has ornamented them with the precious metals and jewels, and carvings of elaborate design. Many of these staves have been carefully preserved, or in later days found, in Ireland, and are to be met with in public and private collections of antiquities, some plain but others richly decorated (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* viii. 330; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* ii. 12 sq. xi. 59; Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 2nd ser. 182–3; Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 366–7; Killen, *Ch. Hist. Ir.* i. 118 sq.; Petrie, *Round Towers*, pass.).

[J. G.]

**PATAPIUS**, "our father," ascetic of Constantinople, native of Thebes in Egypt; commemorated Dec. 9 (Basil. *Menol.*); Dec. 8 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 276; Surius, *De Prob. Hist. SS.* Dec. 190, ed. 1618). [C. H.]



An Abbat blessing his Monks. From MS. of the Abbey of Elnon. (Barrault.)

**PATEN** (Latin, *patena;* Greek, δίσκος). The wide and shallow vessel in which the bread for the Eucharist is placed and consecrated.

Patens must have been in use from the earliest time, when any formal ritual was established, and no doubt, as was the case with the chalice, the primitive paten differed in little or nothing from a vessel of domestic use; and until the primitive practice of employing the cakes of bread brought as oblations by the congregation was superseded by that of using wafers made expressly, patens were often of large size. Such were the patens weighing from twenty to thirty pounds each which are mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* as given by various popes in the 4th, 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries (*v.* Lives of popes Mark, Hormisdas, Sergius and Gregory III.).

According to Bona (*Rerum Liturgicarum* I. xxv. 3) these large patens were *ministeriales*, and were not used by the priest celebrating, but only in distribution to the people.

*Patenae chrismales* are also mentioned which, according to Bona, were "ad usum baptismatis et confirmationis," but very little would appear to be known as to their use.

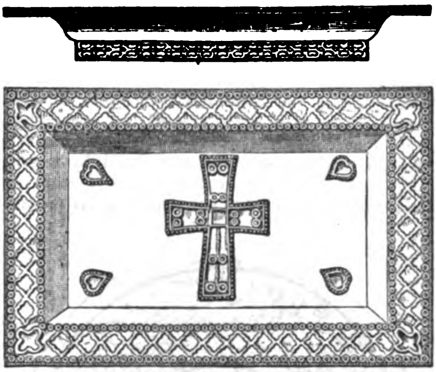
It is obvious from what has been said above that patens in the larger churches were in the earlier ages often of great size. Roman silver was extremely massive, but patens weighing 25 lbs. must have been of very considerable dimensions. A modern circular salver 15 inches in diameter may weigh about 5 lbs., and the size of those weighing 20 and 25 lbs. may thence be roughly inferred to have been not less than 2 feet to 2½ feet in diameter, if circular, and very probably much more. If the material were gold, the size would of course be much smaller. Many, doubtless, were much less. The golden paten (if it be one) found at Gourdon measures about 7½ inches by 5¼ inches, and the circular paten found in Siberia measures 7 inches in diameter.

Patens were probably usually circular; two so formed are shewn on an altar in a mosaic in S. Vitale in Ravenna, the building of which church was commenced in A.D. 547. In S. Apollinare ad Classem, near the same city, a building of about the same date, two objects, which it would seem are intended for patens, are of a sexfoil shape (Webb, *Continental Ecclesiology*, p. 440). One octagonal in form is said in the *Liber Pontificalis* to have been given by pope Gregory IV. (A.D. 827–844) to the church of S. Maria in Via Lata in Rome; mention is made in the same work of

a covered paten of gold weighing 25 lbs. which pope Leo III. gave to the church of St. Peter. That of Gourdon is oblong in form, from which fact it has been doubted whether it was really a paten.

The material was most commonly silver, but not unfrequently gold; *e.g.* the Byzantine emperor Michael sent to pope Nicholas I. "Patenam ex auro purissimo cum diversis lapidibus pretiosis, albis, prasinis et hyacinthinis" (*Lib. Pontif. in vita Nicholai*). Pope Zepherinus (A.D. 203–221) is said in the *Lib. Pontif.* to have ordered that patens of glass should be borne before the priests in the churches when masses were celebrated. They were not unfrequently formed of this material. Gregory of Tours (*de Mirac. S. Martini*, lib. 4, c. 10) mentions a paten of a sapphire colour, which doubtless was of glass; and the "sacro catino" at Genoa of green glass, which, through the middle ages was supposed to be an emerald, may very possibly have been a paten; it is hexagonal. Cav. de Rossi has given engravings (*Boll. di Arch. Crist.* 1864, p. 80, fig. 5) of fragments found at Cologne of a glass vessel almost a foot in diameter which he believes to have served as a paten; and another almost entire exists in the Slade collection in the British Museum (*Cat. of Slade Coll.* p. 50), which was originally about 10 inches in diameter; this was also found at Cologne, and may perhaps be assigned to the 4th or 5th century; the decoration of these vessels is described below. In the treasury of St. Mark at Venice are two or three shallow basins of glass, which have probably been used as patens; they are, however, possibly later in date than the period embraced by this work. Other materials were sometimes used; in the same treasury is a Byzantine paten of alabaster, about 13½ inches in diameter, and several shallow vessels, probably once used as patens, of agate, sardonyx, or other semi-precious stones, handsomely mounted in silver gilt with inserted gems. It is impossible to affix precise dates to most of these, but if they do not belong to the period treated of in these volumes, we can no doubt form from them correct ideas as to the forms, sizes, and decorations of patens during some centuries antecedent to A.D. 1204, about which time they were probably brought from Constantinople to Venice with the other spoil obtained when that city was taken by the Crusaders.

As the vessels used in the earliest times as patens were either actually such as had served domestic uses or, as in the case of chalices, were formed upon the same models, and as the Christians of the earlier ages undoubtedly were in the habit of ornamenting their domestic utensils with crosses and other religious symbols, it is often a matter of much difficulty to distinguish between vessels which were and which were not intended to be used exclusively in the rites of the church. Thus it has been doubted by that eminent authority, Padre Garrucci, whether the golden vessel found at Gourdon, and shewn in the accompanying woodcut, was intended to be used as a paten, although it is decorated with a cross. His chief reason for the doubt is its form, there being, he thinks, no instance known of a paten thus shaped. As, however, the form would be by no means inconvenient, and as we have an instance, as mentioned above, of an octagonal paten, the objection does not seem decisive. We have but few examples of early patens, and it seems quite possible that some may have had this oblong form, one not uncommon in Roman silver vessels, for secular examples, probably of the 5th century, may be seen in the British Museum, and the Corbridge Lanx is an earlier instance. In favour of the supposition that it was actually a paten, it may be remarked that it was found with a chalice (*v.* CHALICE), and that the centre has a cross which is in slight relief, a circumstance which would seem to make it ill-suited for the ordinary purposes of domestic life. That patens were so



Paten (?) found at Gourdon (from La Barte, *Histoire des Arts Industriels*, pl. xxx.)

decorated, we may learn from the passage in the *Liber Pontif.*, where we are told that pope Sergius (A.D. 687–701) gave to the Vatican Basilica "patenam auream majorem habentem gemmas albas et in medio ex hyacintho et smaragdo crucem"). It was found with coins of the earlier part of the 6th century, but may perhaps be still older. The octagonal paten alluded to above



Paten found in Siberia. (De Rossi's *Bulletino di Archaeologia Cristiana*, 1871, pl. ix. fig. 1)

was decorated in the centre with the head of our Lord, having on the one side the head of St. Mark, and on the other that of pope Gregory IV., the donor.

The paten shewn in the other cut is of silver gilt, and was found in one of the Berozovoy isles

in Siberia, in the year 1867; it weighs about a pound and a half, and measures about 6 inches in diameter. Cav. de Rossi (*Bull. di Ant. Crist.* 1871, p. 153) is of opinion that it is of Byzantine origin, and dates probably from about the 7th century.

The paten of alabaster mentioned above has in the centre a medallion with a half-length figure of our Lord in *cloisonné* enamel; on another, also in the treasury of St. Mark's (of agate or sardonyx?) is a similar medallion, with the words, λάβετε φάγετε τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα. These may perhaps be assigned to the 10th or 11th century.

The paten of glass found at Cologne, of which only fragments remain, was of clear uncoloured glass ornamented by three concentric circles of medallions of blue transparent glass of varying dimensions. The larger of these are decorated with figures, the smaller with rosettes, all executed by the application of gold leaf, which has been removed except where required to form the figures, which were then completed by a few lines marking out the features, folds of drapery, and other details. The subjects of these medal-



Glass Paten found at Cologne.

lions are chiefly Biblical—Adam and Eve, the story of Jonah, that of Daniel, the sacrifice of Isaac, &c. In most cases only one figure is to be found in each medallion. The centre was probably occupied by a figure of the Good Shepherd, symbolizing our Lord.

The paten of glass mentioned above as being in the Slade collection in the British Museum is decorated with gold leaf by the same method, and with enamelling in blue, green, and red; but the subjects are not in medallions, but arranged, as will be seen in the woodcut, in eight compartments, divided by slender columns. The subjects of these are—Jonah coming out of the whale, and in the background, reclining under the gourd, Jonah thrown overboard; the paralytic man carrying his bed; the Nativity; the sacrifice of Isaac, or perhaps, more probably, the baptism of our Lord; the three Hebrew youths in the furnace; and Daniel in the lions' den. Of the centre, small fragments only remain, but on them may be distinguished a figure of an animal, apparently a sheep, and the letters EO . . . DULCI. The subject was, there can be no doubt, the Good Shepherd.

Another vessel of glass, which may very probably have served as a paten, is in the collection of M. Basilewsky at Paris. It has been figured and described twice in Cav. de Rossi's *Bullettino* (1874, p. 153; 1877, p. 77), and will be treated of a third time in the same publication. It would appear to be 9 inches in diameter, and is a shallow dish. De Rossi does not call it a paten, but a "piatto"; the central subject, Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac, seems, however, one very appropriate to a paten. Round the central subject are the following subjects: the history of Jonah; the temptation of Adam; the raising of Lazarus; a figure striking a tree, whence issues water; Daniel in the lions' den; the three Hebrew youths in the furnace; and Susanna and the elders. The subjects are accompanied by inscriptions, which contain many irregularities, *e.g.* Abraham occurs in place of Adam, and that attached to the figure striking the tree reads, "Petrus virga perculit." The lines of the engraving are scratchy and irregular and apparently done with a diamond point. The art is of the lowest order, but Cav. de Rossi thinks that the date may be circa A.D. 400 ("tra il quarto e il quinto secolo"). It was found in Podgoritza, the ancient Doclea, in Dalmatia.

Occasionally patens bore inscriptions commemorating the donor, or containing mention of the church to which they belonged. One of silver, of the 5th or 6th century, which belonged to the Vatican Basilica, has been illustrated by Fontanini (*Discus Argenteus votivus veterum Christianorum*, Romae, 1726).

As ancient examples of patens are so uncommon, it is desirable in illustration of the subject



Ivory Carving. Archbishop celebrating Mass.

to mention examples in which they are represented in works of art of early date. Represen-

tations in early art of liturgical or ritual acts are of the greatest rarity, and few can be found in which the celebration of the Eucharist is represented. One of these, that in which Melchisedek is represented as if officiating at an altar, in a mosaic in the church of S. Apollinare ad Classem at Ravenna, has been already adverted to. On the paliotto of the high altar of S. Ambrogio at Milan, in the panel in which the saint is represented at the altar, no paten at all is shewn, but four small round cakes, perhaps 3 to 4 inches wide, disposed in a cruciform order, and marked with two lines crossing each other. This monument dates from A.D. 835. In the Public Library at Frankfort on the Main is preserved a piece of carved ivoryformed like the half of a diptych, which probably once formed part of the binding of some service book, from a part of which the annexed cut, representing an archbishop celebrating mass, is taken. The carver may be supposed to have intended to represent a paten about 6 inches in diameter. This carving is probably of the 9th century.

The last example to be noticed is, although of early date, not within the limit of this work; but some mention of it should be made. It is the group which forms part of the embroidery of the dalmatic called that of pope Leo III., but which probably dates from a period not far from A.D. 1200, and is of Byzantine work. In this our Lord is represented as standing behind an altar, and extending to one of His apostles, with His right hand, a loaf or cake of bread, circular in form, and indented by two lines crossing each other, while he holds another similar cake in his left hand. On the altar stands a paten, a circular vessel with upright sides, and less shallow than patens would seem to have usually been; in proportion to the figures, its diameter would seem to be about 12 inches, and its depth about 4 inches. In it are two small circles, andt wo cakes, each composed of four circles of the size of the lesser ones. The best engravings of this dalmatic are those given in the *Kleinodien heil. Röm. Reiches.* [A. N.]

**PATER.** [FATHER.]

**PATERMUTHIUS**, martyr under Julian; commemorated July 9 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 703). [C. H.]

**PATERNUS**, bishop and confessor; commemorated at Coutances Ap. 16 (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 427); Sept. 23 Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PATIANUS**, bishop in the time of Theodosius; commemorated at Barcelona Mar. 9 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PATIENS**, bishop of Lyon; commemorated Sept. 11 (*Mart. Hieron.*; Usuard. *Mart. Auct.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 791). [C. H.]

**PATRIARCH** (*Πατριάρχης, patriarcha*). The title patriarch seems to have been introduced into the Christian church from the later organization of the Jews. In pre-Christian times the πατριὰ was a subdivision of the tribe (*e.g.* 1 Esdr. i. 4; ii. 7), and one of the titles of the heads of these subdivisions was πατριάρχης (*e.g.* 2 Chron. xxiii. 20, where some MSS. have ἑκατοντάρχους: conversely in 1 Chron. ix. 9 the usual reading is ἄρχοντες πατριῶν, and that of some MSS. πατριάρχαι); the same title seems also to have been sometimes given to the head of the tribe itself, 1 Chron. xxvii. 22. How far the tribal organization survived the dispersion is not clear; but as the same title is found under the empire to designate the heads of Jewish communities, or confederations of communities, it is probable that the later use was a continuation of the earlier. The first mention of these later πατριάρχαι is probably in a letter of Hadrian, quoted by Vopiscus (*Vit. Saturnin.* c. 2); they are also mentioned by Origen (*Comm. in Psalm.* vol. ii. p. 514, ed. Delarue), by Eusebius (*Comm. in Isai.* c. 3, Migne, P. G. vol. xxiv. 109), by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* 12, 17), but more particularly by Epiphanius (i. 30, p. 128), who implies that the office was one of considerable dignity. They are also mentioned in the civil law—*e.g.* *Cod. Theodos.* 16, 8, 1, 2, 11, 13; but from *Cod. Theodos.* 16, 8, 29, and Theodoret, *Eranistes*, op. vol. iv. p. 32, ed. Schulze, Migne, P. G. vol. lxxxiii. 61, it appears that in the first quarter of the 5th century the office came to an end. (On these Jewish patriarchs, see Gothofredus, *ad Cod. Theodos. ll. cc.*; Wesseling *de Judaeorum archontibus*, c. 10, reprinted in Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, vol. xxiv.; Walch, *Historia Patriarcharum Judaeorum quorum in libris juris Romani fit mentio*, Jenae, 1752; Zornius, *de Patriarcharum Judaeorum auro coronario*, reprinted in Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, vol. xxvi.)

The title seems to have been in use in the Christian church before its extinction among the Jews. The earliest references to it are vague; nor is it clear in what sense it was used, or to whom it was restricted. Basil (*Epist.* 169, vol. iv. p. 258), writing to Gregory Nazianzen about the deacon Glycerius, says that, despising his presbyter and his chorepiscopus, he had invested himself with the name and dress of the patriarchate, by which must probably be meant the episcopate. Gregory of Nyssa (*Orat. funebr. in Melet. Antioch.*, Migne, P. G. vol. xlvi. 853) uses it in a rhetorical passage of all the bishops who were assembled at the council of Constantinople. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* xlii. p. 764) appears to use it as a term specially applicable to senior bishops, πρεσβυτέρων ἐπισκόπων οἰκειότερον δὲ πατριαρχῶν, a use which is confirmed by its use in Isidore of Pelusium (*Epist.* 2. 47, Migne, P. G. vol. lxxviii. 489). But whether it was at any time applied, except metaphorically, to all bishops is very doubtful, though it was occasionally applied to bishops who would not have been called patriarchs in either of the technical senses which the word came ultimately to bear.

(1) In its most important use the title has been confined to the bishops of the five sees of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. This use grew out of the general tendency to frame the higher organization of the church on the lines which were furnished by the empire. The gradations of rank between bishop and bishop, which corresponded to the gradations of rank between city and city of the same province, came to exist between metropolis and metropolis of the greater divisions of the empire. At the time of the council of Nicaea the great divisions of the East were the four

*dioeceses*, Oriens, Pontica, Asiana, Thraciae (this appears from the Veronese MS. which is published by Mommsen, *Abhandlung d. Berlin. Academie*, 1862, p. 491). Each of these *dioeceses* was divided into provinces (ἐπαρχίαι), and each province had one or more metropolis (*e.g.* in the province of Asia, Ephesus, Sardes, Smyrna, and Pergamum were all called μητροπόλεις; the references in proof are given in Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. p. 186). Egypt was at this time part of the *dioecesis Orientis*, but the sixth canon of the council anticipates the later civil organization by recognizing it as an independent ecclesiastical division, and subjecting to the bishop of Alexandria not only the bishops of Egypt, but also those of Pentapolis and Libya. There were thus in the East five great confederations of churches, each of which was independent of the other; in the West the see of Rome stood alone in its supremacy. In the following century the council of Chalcedon, c. 28, took away the ecclesiastical independence of the *dioeceses* of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, and subjected them to the see of Constantinople, thus reducing the number of sees of the highest rank to Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, with which the see of Jerusalem was reckoned, *extra ordinem*. This action of the council of Chalcedon was vigorously protested against by the Roman delegates, Leo the Great rejected it, and the 28th canon is not inserted in the authorized Latin versions of the acts of the council (see the *Actio Sextadecima* of the council in Mansi, vol. iv. p. 379; S. Leon. M. *Epist.* 94 (35), vol. i. p. 1198 d; *Epist.* 119 (92), vol. i. p. 1215).

But it is remarkable that although the title "patriarch" was not unfrequently given to the bishops of these sees in contemporary extra-conciliar literature, and became in later times their ordinary official appellation, it does not occur in the canons of any of the councils of the first eight centuries; nor is it confined exclusively to them until the time, probably the 9th century, at which earliest *Notitiae* were compiled. In extra-conciliar literature, it is given (*a*) to the bishop of Rome, *e.g.* by Cyril of Alexandria, *Homil. Divers.* 11, ap. Migne, Patrol. Graec. vol. lxxvii. 1040, by the emperor Theodosius, *Epist. ad Gall. Placid.* ap. S. Leon. M. *Epist.* 63, vol. i. p. 989, and by Justinian *Contra Monophysitas*, ap. Mai, *Script. Vet.* vol. vii. p. 304; in later times, Hrabanus Maurus addresses the pope as "primus patriarcha per orbem," *Commendatio Papae* prefixed to the treatise *De Laudibus S. Crucis*, ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. cvii. 139. (*b*) It is given to the bishop of Constantinople in the civil law, *e.g.* Justin. *Novell.* 3; but the assumption of the title "Oecumenical Patriarch" (ὁ οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης, perhaps first by Mennas in a synodical letter of the council of Constantinople in 536, Mansi, vol. viii. p. 959, and frequently afterward, *e.g. C. I. G.* No. 8685), raised a strong protest in the West (S. Greg. M. *Epist.* 5, 43, p. 773; Pelag. II. *Decret. ad Universos Episcopos.* ap. Hinschius, p. 721), and even before the final separation of the Eastern and Western churches led to the omission of the name of Constantinople from the list of "primae sedes" (see *e.g.* the *Praefatio Nicaeni Concilii* in Quesnel's *Codex Canon. Eccles.* printed in the Ballerini edition of S. Leo M. vol. iii. p. 22; the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, *Anaclet. Epist.* 3, ap. Hinschius, p. 82; hence in Hincmar Remens. *Opusc. in Causa Hincmar. Laudun.* c. 16, ap. Migne, Patrol. Lat. vol. cxxvi. 334; see also Cacciari, *Exercit. in S. Leon M. Opera de Eutychian. Haeres.* lib. 2, c. 4, in the Ballerini edition of St. Leo, vol. ii. p. 471, and Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. lv. 1251). (*c*) It is given to the bishop of Alexandria, *e.g.* by Justinian *contra Monophysitas*, ap. Mai, *Script. Vet.* vol. vii. p. 309, and by Gregory the Great, *Epist.* 5, 43, p. 770; for the later history of this patriarchate, see Neale, *History of the Holy Eastern Church, Patriarchate of Constantinople;* Renaudot, *Liturg. Oriental*, vol. i.; Vansleb, *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie;* Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium.* (*d*) It is given to the bishop of Antioch, *e.g.* by Gregory the Great, *Epist.* i. 26, p. 516, and in an interesting inscription of the 7th century, now at Oxford, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* No. 8987, in which Macarius is called πατριάρχης τῆς μεγάλης θεοῦ πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας καὶ πάσης ἀνατολῆς, *i.e.* of the *Dioecesis Orientis.* For the Jacobite Patriarchs who claim to continue the succession of the patriarchate of Antioch, see Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium;* Gregor. Barhebr. *Nomocan.* 7, 3, ap. Mai, *Script. Vet.* vol. x. pars 2; and the posthumous fragment of Neale's *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, edited by G. Williams. (*e*) It is given to the bishop of Jerusalem, *e.g.* in Justin. *Epist. ad Episcop. Constantin. degentes*, A.D. 536, ap. Mansi, vol. ix. 178.

(2) The title was also given to the bishop of the metropolis of a civil *dioecesis; i. e.* of a division of the empire consisting of several provinces. In Conc. Chalc. c. 9, such a bishop is called ἔξαρχος; but (*a*) Justin. (*Novell.* 123, c. 22), in referring to this canon, speaks of the same officer as a patriarch; (*b*) an ancient *scholium* on the same canon ap. Pitra (*Jur. Eccl. Graec.* vol. ii. p. 645) says, ἔξαρχον διοικήσεως καλεῖ τὸν πατριάρχην ἑκάστης διοικήσεως, and Zonaras *ad loc.* ap. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. cxxxvii. p. 420, also mentions this interpretation; (*c*) Evagrius, *H. E.* 3, 6, p. 340, probably following the contemporary writer Zacharias Rhetor, speaks of the right of which c. 28 of the same council deprived Ephesus, and which Timotheus Aelurus temporarily restored to it, as τὸ πατριαρχικὸν δίκαιον. It was hence sometimes given to any metropolitan who had other metropolitans under him; *e. g.* to the bishop of Thessalonica, as head of the vicariate of Macedonia, Theodorus Lector, p. 586, ed. Vales. ap. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. lxxxviii. 217 (the status, although not the title, is recognised by S. Leo M. *Epist.* 6 (4) *ad Anastas. Thessalon.* vol. i. p. 621; Theophanes, *Chron.* p. 139, quoting this passage, and knowing only the later use of the title, thinks this use of it to be erroneous); to the bishop of Theopolis (Prusa) in the acts of the council of Constantinople in A.D. 536, ap. Mansi, vol. ix. pp. 191, 206; to the bishop of Bourges (as having beneath him not only his own proper province of Aquitania Prima, but also Narbonensis with its metropolis Narbonne, and Aquitania Secunda with its capital Bordeaux), Nicol. I. *Epist.* 19 *ad Rudolph. Bituric.* A.D. 864, ap. Mansi, vol. xv. p. 390, = *Epist.* 66 ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. cxix. 884; Desider. Cadurc. *Epist.* 12 *ad Sulpit. Bituric.* ap. Canisii *Thesaurus*, vol. i. p. 64; to

the bishop of Lyons, 2 Conc. Matisc. A.D. 585, *praef.*, S. Greg. Turon. *H. F.* 5, 21, Petr. Venerab. *Epitaph. Rainuld. Lugdun.* ap. Migne, Pat. Lat. vol. clxxxix. 1022. But its use in this sense was ultimately superseded in the West by the use of the title "primate" [PRIMATE]. The two titles are identified in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, *e. g.* Clement. *Epist.* i. c. 28; Anaclet. *Epist.* ii. c. 26, *Epist.* iii. c. 29; Zepherin. *Epist.* 2; Annic. *Epist.* c. 3.

(A passage of Socrates, *H. E.* 5, i. seems to point to a third use of the title. In his account of the council of Constantinople in A.D. 381 he not only says that it constituted patriarchs, but also gives their names: six of them are metropolitans, but one of them, Gregory of Nyssa, is not even a metropolitan. It may be inferred from this, and from a comparison with the similar account in *Cod. Theodos.* 16, 1, 2; Sozom. *H. E.* 7, 9, that the dignity thus conferred was temporary and personal, giving a supremacy to the particular bishops named which did not attach to their sees, and which had reference primarily to the current controversy. But the text of the passage is not certain; some old versions of it, *e. g.* in Cassiodorus, *Hisp. Tripart.* 9, 13, Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. lxix. 1129, represent Gregory of Nyssa as having been transferred to Caesarea, in which case the word may perhaps be taken as equivalent to metropolitan.)

Outside the limits of the Catholic church of the Roman organization, it was the title of the head of the Montanist hierarchy, S. Hieron. *Epist.* 41 (54) *ad Marcell.* vol. i. p. 189 ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. xxii. 476; it was adopted as the designation of their chief bishop by the Vandals, Vict. Vitens. *de Persec. Vandal.* 2, 5, p. 15; it appears to have been similarly adopted under the Lombard kings of Italy, and hence the bishops of Aquileia, and afterwards of New Aquileia (Grado), were called patriarchs, Paul. Diacon. *de Gestis Langobard.* 2, 10, ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. xcv. 487; on these patriarchates see *e. g.* Baronius, vol. xii. ad ann. 729; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vol. v. pp. 12, 1079; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, vol. viii. p. 9, vol. ix. p. 19; the patriarchate of Grado was transferred to Venice in 1451. (For other patriarchates which have existed or still exist both in Eastern Europe and in Asia, but which fall without the limits of the present work, see, among other authorities, Neale, *History of the Holy Eastern Church*; Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*; Neher, *Kirchliche Geographie u. Statistik*, Regensburg, 1864; Silbernagl, *Verfassung u. gegenwärtiger Bestand sammtlicher Kirchen des Orients*, Landshut, 1865.) [E. H.]

**PATRICIA**, martyr with her husband Macedonius, a presbyter, and her daughter Modesta; commemorated at Nicomedia March 13 (Bed., Wand., Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). In *Hieron. Mart.* for this day there occur the following:—Matricia; Patricia and her husband Zeddo a presbyter; at Nicomedia, Macedonius a presbyter, his wife Matricia, and Modesta daughter of presbyter Cion; Macedonus and Patricia. [C. H.]

**PATRICIUS (1)**, bishop and confessor; depositio commemorated at Auvergne Mar. 16 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(2) Bishop and confessor, apostle of Scotia Hibernia; commemorated Mar. 17. (Bed., or Wand., Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. ii. 517).

(3) Bishop of Prusa, "holy martyr"; commemorated May 19 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 259.)

(4) Abbat; commemorated at Nevers Aug. 24 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PATRIMONIUM PETRI.** [POPE.]

**PATRINI.** [SPONSORS.]

**PATROBAS**, mentioned by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 14); commemorated Nov. 4 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**PATROCLUS**, martyr at Troyes under Aurelian; commemorated Jan. 21 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 342). Jan. 2 (Notker). Another Patroclus, bishop and martyr in Gaul, occurs on this day in De Saussaye's Gallic Martyrology and Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 1110. [C. H.]

**PATRON.** There are no traces in the early church of any considerable departure from the mode of appointment to ecclesiastical office which has been described elsewhere [ORDINATION]. The people or the clergy presented to the bishop the person whom they had elected: the bishop had the right of examining him in order to ascertain whether he fulfilled the requisite conditions, and of declaring the election to be complete. The person so elected ministered in the midst of the community which had elected him, and as a coadjutor of the bishop who had admitted him to office. Even when outlying districts came to have churches of their own, which had not a complete organisation, but were dependent upon the church of the neighbouring city, the same system continued without substantial change. The first modification of that system arose from the practice, which was at first encouraged more in the East than in the West, of building places of worship on country estates for the benefit of those who resided upon such estates: (see the eloquent appeal of Chrysostom to landowners, *Hom.* 18 *in Act. Apost.* c. 5, *Op.* ed. Migne, vol. ix. 147). So different were these places of worship in both their origin and their purpose from the churches of ordinary Christian communities, that the ordinary internal organization of such churches seemed inapplicable to them. They were neither disciplinary nor eleemosynary, and consequently had no need of either the officers of discipline or the officers of almsgiving. They were not always within the *territorium* (χώρα) of any city, and in such cases were as much outside the jurisdiction of the bishop of a city as the estates upon which they were built were outside the jurisdiction of the municipal magistrates. The owners of the estates consequently claimed an absolute control over them. Nor does there appear to have been in the first instance any interference with such control. It is not until the 6th century, and even then not in canon but in civil law, that any enactments are found on the subject. Probably in the interests of ortho-

dox belief, Justinian enacted on the one hand that no church or oratory should be erected without the consent of the bishop or without a sufficient endowment (*Novell.* 67), and on the other hand that the founders of churches should not appoint clerks to minister in a church without first presenting them to the bishop for examination (*Novell.* 57, c. 2). Almost the only other eastern regulation is that of the Trullan Council, which virtually repeats the second of these regulations, and in doing so shews by implication that it had come to be disregarded (*Conc. Trull.* c. 31). [ORATORIUM.]

In the West the canons of Spanish and Gallican councils shew that the respective rights of the owners of estates and the bishops of neighbouring cities were subjects of frequent dispute. The earliest regulation is that of the first council of Orange (1 *Conc. Arausic.* A.D. 441, c. 10) which enacts that if a bishop has built a church upon an estate belonging to him which lies within the territory of another bishop, he shall have the right of nominating clerks for that church, but that the actual appointment of such clerks, and also the dedication of the church, shall rest with the bishop of the territory. This enactment implies that in a similar case a layman had no absolute right of nomination, but that the bishop within whose territory the church was built could either accept or refuse the clerks whom the founder wished to appoint. A century later, within the Frankish domain, and after Teutonic conceptions of the rights of the owners of land had entered with the Franks into Gaul, the fourth Council of Orleans passed a series of enactments, the tenor of which shews that the owners of estates upon which churches were built claimed large powers over such churches: it enacts that those who build them are to endow them with sufficient lands, and appoint a sufficient number of clerks; that they are not to appoint such clerks against the will of the bishop "ad quem territorii ipsius privilegium noscitur pertinere;" and that the clerks, when appointed, are to be amenable to ecclesiastical discipline, and not to be impeded by the owner of the estate or his agents in the discharge of their ecclesiastical duties (4 *Conc. Aurelian.* A.D. 541, c. 7, 26, 33). But in the 7th century the council of Châlons-sur-Saône makes it clear that the owners of such estates had again asserted a right both to appoint and to govern their clerks, independently of the bishop, and enacts that this usage is to be reformed, so as to give both the ordination of clerks and the disposal of the revenues of oratories to the bishop (*Conc. Cabill.* A.D. 650, c. 14). None of these or any other Gallican canons deal expressly with the case of ordinary parish churches; and this must probably be taken as negative evidence in favour of the supposition that the primitive usage had not been altered. There is, however, a Spanish canon which gives to the builder, and apparently to the restorer, of a parish church the right of presenting clerks to the bishop for ordination, and disallows any ordination which is made by the bishop to such a church in defiance of the founder's nomination (9 *Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 655, c. 2); but the absence of any mention of heirs in this canon, coupled with the express mention of them in the preceding canon, establishes a presumption that the right of nomination was personal to the founder, and did not descend to his heirs. With the exception of this canon, there is no evidence of the recognition in the Western church before Carolingian times, of any right on the part either of a founder or of any other person to nominate clerks to a parish church; (the instance quoted in the canon law, Gratian, *Decret.* pars ii. caus. 16, quaest. 1, 31, and ascribed to pope Pelagius, is clearly of much later date).

The policy of the popes from the time of Gregory the Great was even more decidedly in the same direction. That pope, writing to Felix of Messina, requests him to consecrate a church which has been built upon private property, if he finds that it has been sufficiently endowed, but expressly denies to the founder any rights, except the right of admission to service, "which is due to all Christians in common" (S. Greg. M. *Epist.* ii. 5, *ad Felic. Messan.*). This letter, which was afterwards ascribed to Gelasius (*Append. ad Epist. Gelasii Papae*, ap. Mansi, vol. viii. 133, Migne, P. L. vol. lix. 148), became the basis of the canon law on the subject (Gratian, *Decret.* pars ii. caus. 16, quaest. 7, 26), and its substance is embodied in the form of petition which is given in the *Liber Diurnus* for the consecration of an oratory (c. 5, 3, p. 92, ap. Migne, P. L. vol. cv. 88). In order still further to secure churches erected on private estates from interference on the part of the owners of the estates, and to prevent, as it were by anticipation, the abuses to which the later system of patronage gave rise, Gregory, although he required an endowment for such churches, declined to allow presbyters to be permanently appointed to them: they were to be served by presbyters sent by the bishop from time to time (S. Greg. M. *Epist.* ii. 12 *ad Castor. Arimin.*, ix. 70 *et* xii. 12 *ad Passiv. Firman.*, ix. 84 *ad Benen. Tundarit.*, cf. Mabillon, *Comm. Praev. in Ord. Rom.* in *Mus. Ital.* vol. ii. p. 19; the rule is also found in a fragment printed by Holsten, *Coll. Rom.* vol. i. p. 234, and Migne, P. L. vol. lxix. 414, and ascribed, without sufficient ground, to pope Pelagius). And a century and a-half afterwards, immediately before the great change which we are about to describe, pope Zachary lays down a similar rule in almost identical terms: (S. Zachar. *Epist.* 8 *ad Pippin.* c. 15, ap. Migne, P. L. lxxxix. 935, xcviii. 87, Codex Carolinus ed. Jaffé, p. 26; in contrast to this may be noted the later policy which disallows "presbyteros conductitios" where a church has funds enough to have "proprium sacerdotem:" *Conc. Remens.* c. 9, sub Innocent. II. A.D. 1131, ap. Mansi, vol. xxi. 460).

But although these earlier relations of founders or owners of churches to the clergy cannot properly be passed over, they are essentially distinct from, although they have often been confused with, the later system of patronage. That system is an outgrowth of feudalism. Both the name and the thing belong to the Frankish domain, and to the period of the Carolingians. At that period the church had become the greatest landowner in Gaul: it has been computed that a third of all the real property in Gaul belonged to it: (for some particulars, see *e.g.* Roth, *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens*, p. 248 sqq. Erlangen, 1850). From time to time laymen had been allowed to have the usufruct of some of these lands, on condition of paying

an annual rent to the churches to which they severally belonged. In the troubled times of Charles Martel and his sons (Roth. p. 315, and appendix v., combats the common view which is defended by Waitz, that it was under Charles Martel himself: see Hegel in von Sybil's *Zeitschrift*, Bd. 5, 227), this use of church lands became almost a necessity of state. In a capitulary of A.D.743 (*Capit. Liftin.* ap. Pertz, M. H. G. *Legum*, vol. i. p. 18; Gengler, *Germänische Rechtsdenkmäler*, p. 601), it is enacted that some part of the church lands shall be for a time appropriated to the crown as an assistance to the army ("at sub precario et censu aliquam partem ecclesialis pecuniae in adjutorium exercitus nostra cum indulgentia Dei aliquanto tempore retineamus"). The lands so appropriated were assigned as "beneficia," *i.e.* as revocable and conditional grants to individual soldiers. The system of appropriation soon became general. and the appropriations when general also tended to become permanent. Not long after his conquest of the Lombards, Charles the Great confirmed previous beneficiary grants of church lands, reserving only to the king himself the right of recalling them (*Capit. Langobard.* A.D. 779, c. 14, ap. Pertz, i. 38). A certain revenue was reserved to the church: in the capitulary of 743, it was fixed at one "solidus" for each "casata" or homestead: afterwards it became a fixed proportion of the produce, usually a ninth or a tenth (whence the later system of "tithes"). The holder of such a benefice was entitled *senior*, *dominus*, or *patronus*. The modern "patron" of a church living thus preserves the name as well as some of the functions of a feudal "lord." (The identity of "patronus" with "dominus" and "senior" in this sense is shewn (1) by the convertibility of "dominus" and "patronus" in the civil law, *e.g.* in the text and title of a law of Valentinian and Valens in A.D. 365, *Cod. Theodos.* 5, 11, 1; (2) by express later statements, especially Ratherius Veronens. *Praeloquia*, lib. i. tit. 10, ed. Ballerini, p. 28, ed. Migne P. L. vol. cxxxvi. 165, "*patronus*, sive ut usitatius a multis dici ambitur, *senior* es": this use of patronus has descended to modern times in the Italian *padrone*. See also Waitz, *Die deutsche Reichsverfassung*, Bd. ii. 40).

It was not long before the ecclesiastical duties for the performance of which the lands had originally been intended to provide were regarded as subordinate to the general privileges of the ownership of land. The lesser lords followed in the wake of the king. Just as the latter claimed a supreme right of nominating to bishoprics and abbeys (see *e. g.* Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Bd. 2, 205; Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, Bd. iii. 196, 354; id. *Deutsche Reichsverfassung*, Bd. iii. 194; Friedberg in *Zeitschrift f. Kirchenrecht*, Bd. iii. 70), and also a right to determine who should be presented to churches upon the crown lands (Karol. M. *Capit. de Villis*, A.D. 812, c. 6; Pertz, vol. i. 181), so also the former asserted the right of both nominating and dismissing the clerks of churches which were within their fiefs. The ancient right of the people to elect tended to disappear before the claim of the beneficiary holder of church lands, in the same kind of way as, in England, one township after another became the manor of a feudal lord. Within little more than half a century after the death of Charles Martel, this tendency had become so strong that not only the people but also the bishop was ignored. Charles the Great strongly interfered to support the rights of the bishops; he wrote in a tone of indignant rebuke to those who were guilty of the "immoderate presumption" of refusing to present presbyters to bishops, and daring to appoint to parishes without their bishop's consent (Karoli M. *Edictum pro Episcopis*, ap. Pertz, vol. i. 81, and Jaffé, *Monumenta Carolina*, p. 371). But the frequency of the enactments in the early part of the 9th century, against the practice of omitting to obtain the sanction of the bishop in appointments to parishes, shews that that practice was neither uncommon nor lightly abandoned; *e. g.* Karoli M. *Capit. Generale Aquense*, A D. 802, c. 13, "Ut nullus ex laicis presbiterum vel diaconem seu clericum secum habere praesumat vel *ad ecclesias suas ordinare* absque licentiam seu examinatione episcopi sui"; *Conc. Mogunt.* A.D. 813, c. 29, 30, ap. Mansi, vol. xiv. 72; 6 *Conc. Arelat.* A.D. 813, c. 4, 5, ap. Mansi, vol. xiv. 59; *Excerpt. Canon.* 2 ap. Pertz, vol. i. 189; 2 *Conc. Cabill.* A.D. 813, c. 42; 3 *Conc. Turon.* A.D. 813, c. 15; Hludowic I. *Capit. Aquisgran.* A.D. 817, c. 9, ap. Pertz, vol. i. 207. (6 *Conc. Paris*, A.D. 820, lib. 1, c. 22, ap. Mansi, vol. xiv. 554, and *Constit. Wormat.* c. 15, ap. Pertz, vol. i. 337, protect a patron against a bishop by requiring "diligens examinatio et evidens ratio" on the part of the bishop before the rejection of a clerk.)

It is important to note, although the subject cannot be pursued at length within the limits of the present work, that the usurpations of the beneficiary holders of church lands, and of the other feudal lords within whose domains churches were situated, were not limited to the usurpation of the right of appointment of clerks. They began to claim a share of those funds which were left to the churches after the alienation of their lands. In doing so they were supported by the state. Charles the Great directed the bishops to determine what tribute presbyters should pay for their churches to their lords (*Capit. de Presbyteris*, A.D. 809, c. 3, ap. Pertz, vol. i. 161, "Ut episcopi praevideant quem honorem presbyteri pro ecclesiis senioribus tribuant;" and Lewis the Pious, after specifying the amount of land which parish presbyters might hold free, enacted that if they had more, they should pay "debitum servitium senioribus suis" (Hludowic I. *Capit.* A.D. 817, c. 10, ap. Pertz, vol. i. 209). A later decretal, falsely attributed to pope Damasus, which is incorporated in the corpus of canon law, speaks with reprobation of the growing custom of laymen claiming part of the oblations which were offered in church (Gratian, *Decret.* pars ii. c. 10, quaest. i. 16). In one point only were patrons checked with any degree of success. Their assertion of the right to nominate clerks was closely followed by the practice of selling nominations, or at least of accepting presents for them. This practice, although it was not altogether suppressed, was at least checked and discouraged. It is disallowed by *Conc. Mogunt.* A.D. 813, c. 30 (which forms c. 7 of the Statuta erroneously ascribed to Boniface of Mainz, and printed as his in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, i. 508).

Later in the 9th century Hincmar of Rheims is especially distinguished for the stand which he made against it: he expresses his determination in every case to make inquiry, and in no case to ordain a clerk on the presentation of a patron, if the clerk has given a single penny for his presentation (Hincmar, Remens. *Epist.* 43, *ad Teululf. Comit.* ap. Migne, Patrol. Lat. vol. cxxvi. 264; id. *Capit. in Synod Remens.* A.D. 874, c. 5, ap. Migne, Patrol. Lat. vol. cxxv. 800).

The system of patronage which thus grew out of the introduction by the Carolingians of the system of granting church lands as fiefs was supported by two other circumstances, which also resulted from the Frankish rule.

(1) A freeman who built a church upon his own land had an almost absolute right of property in it. In direct opposition to the Roman rule, according to which, as has been shewn above, the founder of a church had no special rights whatever in the church which he had built, but in full accordance with the spirit of Frankish jurisprudence, Charles the Great enacted that such a church might be assigned and sold: "de ecclesiis quae ab ingenuis hominibus construuntur licet eas tradere, vendere, tantum modo ut ecclesia non destruatur sed serviuntur cotidie honores" (*Capit. Francofurt.* A.D. 794, c. 54, Pertz, vol. i. 75). Accordingly the gift of a church to a monastery or a bishop was accompanied with the same forms as the gift of any other real property (see Rettberg, *Kircheng. Deutsch.* vol. ii. 617). This right of ownership carried with it the right of appointment of its ministers, subject, however, to the approval of the bishop; the right was not personal, but descended with the estate, and if the estate were divided, and disputes arose as to the right of appointment, the bishop could not interfere otherwise than by suspending the services of the church until the joint owners or co-heirs had agreed to present to him a single presbyter (2 *Conc. Cabillon.* A.D. 813, c. 26, ap. Mansi, vol. xiv. 98; so in effect *Conc. Tribur.* A.D. 895, c. 32; for some questions arising from this rule of joint patronage see Hinschius, in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, vol. vii. pp. 1 sqq.). At first, provision was made that the foundation of such churches should not interfere with the rights of previously existing churches to tithes and other dues (Karoli M. *Capit. ad Salz.* A.D. 803, c. 3, Pertz, vol. i. 124, and *Excerpt. Can.* c. 19, Pertz, vol. i. 190; *Conc. Mogunt.* A.D. 813, c. 41; Hludowici et Hlotharii *Capit.* c. 6, Pertz, vol. i. 254; Ansegisi *Capit.* lib. ii. 45, Pertz, vol. i. 299); but in time the distinction between these privately-founded churches and parish churches proper was broken down, and the original rights of owners in the one case became indistinguishable from the usurped rights of feudal lords in the other.

(2) All holding of land under the Frankish rule involved military service. The full rights of a freeman could only be claimed by one who could defend those rights by arms. In some instances it would appear that clerks did not hesitate to take the field (e.g. *Annales S. Amandi*, A.D. 712, Pertz, M. H. G. *Scriptorum*, vol. i. 6; Einhardi, *Annales*, A.D. 753, *ibid.* vol. i. 139; Ruodolfi Fuldens, *Annales*, A.D. 844, *ibid.* vol. i. 364); but there was a strong feeling against their doing so, and enactments were passed to prohibit it, *e.g.* Karlomanni *Capit.* A.D. 742, c. 2; Pertz, *Legum*, vol. i. 16; Pippini, *Capit. Verner.* A.D. 753, c. 16, *ibid.* vol. i. 22; Karoli M. *Capit. General*, A.D. 769, c. 1, *ibid.* vol. i. 32, and *Capit. Ecclesiast.* A.D. 789, c. 69, *ibid.* vol. i. 64. It was, in other respects, desirable for clerks to avoid some of the personal burdens which attached to freemen, and it not infrequently became necessary to protect their privileges and their lands against usurpation. Consequently those churches and monasteries which were large landowners frequently put themselves under the protection of a neighbouring secular lord. The common name for the tie which thus came to exist was "advocatia," but with this "patrocinium" is interchangeable (on this point see Waitz, *Deutsche Reichsverfassung*, Bd. ii. 450, iii. 321). The powers of the "advocatus," or "patronus" in this sense, came in time to be considerable [ADVOCATE OF THE CHURCH, Vol. I. p. 33], especially in relation to abbeys, and in the course of the middle ages, though so far from the period embraced in the present work as not to admit of being stated in detail here, included the right of presentation. In our own country this system prevailed to so great an extent that the word "advocatia," under its modern form of "advowson," has come to be synonymous with the right of presentation.

(Of earlier books on the subject the best are F. de Roye, *ad Titulum de Jure Patronatus*, Anjou, 1667, and a short treatise, by the jurist G. L. Boehmer, *de Advocatiae Ecclesiasticae cum Jure Patronatus Nexu*, Göttingen, 1757. Of more recent books, the best are Lippert, *Versuch einer historisch-dogmatischen Entwickelung der Lehre vom Patronate*, Giessen, 1829; Kaim, *Das Kirchenpatronatrecht nach seiner Entstehung, Entwickelung, und heutigen Stellung in Staate*, Leipzig, 1 Theil, 1845, 2 Theil, 1866. Reference may also be made to Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Bd. ii. pp. 16 sqq.; to Walter, *Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts*, ed. 12, Bonn, 1856, pp. 457 sqq.; and to Hinschius's article in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, vol. vii., which has been quoted above). [E. H.]

**PATRON SAINTS.** For the general doctrine of the influence of glorified saints over human affairs, see the DICT. OF CHR. BIOG. &c. What is here given relates simply to the actual practice of Christians in adopting saints as patrons whether of places or persons.

I. *Nomenclature.* — A martyr supposed to have a special interest in a place and its inhabitants was called their patron first in the latter half of the 4th century. St. Ambrose is probably the earliest extant witness to the usage, when, in 386, he calls Gervasius and Protasius the "patrons" of the orthodox at Milan (*Epist.* xxii. 11). Somewhat later he says of departed kings and martyrs, "Illi fiunt supplices, hi patroni" (*Expos. in Ev. S. Luc.* x. 12). Paulinus of Nola frequently gives the title to Felix, to whom his church was dedicated, and under whose peculiar protection he believed himself and his people to live. Thus, writing in 395 (*Carm.* ii. *in S. Fel.* 26)—

> "O felix Felice tuo tibi praesule Nola,
> Inclita cive sacro, caelesti firma patrono."

Similarly *Carm. in S. F.* iii. 105; v. 316, vi. 5;

but especially in the later *Natalitia*, which reach to the year 408. The usage was probably much extended by Paulinus. It was taken up by Prudentius, whose hymns, *De Coronis*, were written some time after 405 (see *Hymn.* ii. 539, vi. 145, xiii. lin. ult.). St. Augustine late in life, about 421, makes an approach to the usage with which others must have made him familiar, viz. when he speaks of commending the dead to the saints near whom they are buried, "tanquam patronis" (*De Cura pro Mort.* iv. § 6; see also xviii. § 22). We find the word used absolutely in the books *De Miraculis S. Stephani*, claiming to be drawn up at the request of Evodius, the bishop of Uzalis, probably not long after the year 420. *E.g.* (in Prologo): "Ea quae per patronum nostrum Stephanum primum martyrem suum operatus est apud nos Christus" (comp. i. 1; ii. 14). By the year 461, when Paulinus Petricordius wrote his metrical *Life of St. Martin*, the usage must have been thoroughly established (see lib. 1; Migne, 61, col. 1016; ii. 1028–9, &c.) The last-named author gives the title to St. Martin, even when speaking of events that occurred in his lifetime (iv. 1041, 1048), as does Flodoard to St. Remigius (*Hist. Eccl. Rem.* i. 13). The correlative to *patronus* is *cliens.* Early Christian writers, however, did not, if my observation may be trusted, make this use of it. Paulinus of Nola, in one of his latest poems (A.D. 405), calls himself the *alumnus* of Felix (*Carm.* xiii. *in S. Fel.* 355; comp. 95). Similarly the little town of Abella, "tanti memoratur alumna patroni" (*ibid.* 793). With Prudentius, the Romans are the "alumni urbici" of St. Lawrence (*de Cor.* ii. 530). This word does not occur in the very long poem of the younger Paulinus above mentioned. As the patron of this church, Paulinus of Nola calls St. Felix *dominaedius* (*Epist.* v. 15, xviii. 3, xxviii. 9, xxix. 13, xxxii. 10; *Poem.* xxiii. 109). This is peculiar to Paulinus, but the patron saint was commonly called *dominus* (Paul. *Carm. in S. Fel.* i. 10). In Lucian's account of the discovery of the body of St. Stephen, he is called "dominus Stephanus" (*Revelatio*, 34, 8, in App. vi. ad *Opp.* Aug.). The saints who reveal its site in a vision call themselves "the lords of the place" (*ibid.* 7), and two of them are "dominus Gamaliel" (4, 7), and "dominus Nicodemus" (3, 4). The saint being *dominus*, the votary was *servus*, as we learn from Paulinus and Gregory; but the more common phrase was *famulus*, especially in the later part of our period. Thus Alcuin of Stephen (*Carm.* 31 *ad Aram S. Steph.*) Similarly Hincmar and Abbo.

The Roman relation between patron and client being unknown to the Greeks, they did not fall into the conventional use of any single word to denote the tutelary saints of a place or person. They were "champions" or "patrons" (*προστάται*, Chrys. *Hom. de SS. Bernice et Prosdoce*, § 7), "advocates" (*παράκλητοι*, Greg. Nyss. in xl. *Mart. App.* 214, or *συνήγοροι*, Chrys. *Hom. c. Ludos*, 1; *Hom. in Mart.* ii. 669); "intercessors" (*πρεσβευταί*, Greg. Nyss. *u. s.*; Bas. *Or.* xix. 8; Theodoret, *Gr. Aff. Cur.* viii.; *Opp.* iv. 921); "keepers of the city and guards" (*πολιοῦχοι καὶ φύλακες*, *ibid.* 902); "chiefs of men, champions, and allies, and averters of evil (*πρόμοι ἀνθρώπων καὶ πρόμαχοι καὶ ἐπίκουροι, καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀποτρόπαιοι*, *ibid.* 912), &c.

II. *The Choice of Patrons.*—At first the possession of a relic was thought enough to constitute the saint patron of its possessors. To give an instance: when the body of St. Boniface was brought to Fulda, "the venerable abbat Sturmi with his brethren gave thanks to Christ that they had obtained so great a patron" (*Vita Sturmii*, 16; comp. 15). This was so fully recognised that relics were commonly called *patrocinia.* It often happened that a miracle alleged in connexion with human remains raised the person to the dignity of a saint and local patron (Paulin. Petr. *Vita S. Mart.* v. 106). When the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius, discovered at Milan, were found to heal demoniacs, St. Ambrose said, "Brethren, we have escaped no slight burden of reproach. We had patrons, and did not know it" (*Epist.* xxii. 11). In the course of time, however, persons chose a patron. Thus, *e. g.* "Theodelinda, about 600, built a church at Monza, near Milan, in honour of St. John the Baptist, that he might be an intercessor for her husband and children." She promised yearly gifts to his oratory, that through his prayers they might have the aid of Christ both in battle and wherever else they might go." "From that day they began to invoke St. John in all their actions" (Paulus Warnfridus *de Gestis Langobard.* i. 22, ed. Hamb. 1611, p. 371; see *Mus. Ital.* i. 210). Such freedom of choice as is here shewn has been restricted by late decrees of Rome, when a public patron is to be elected. He must have been the "first bishop of the place," or one whose "body has been found buried there," or who "sprang from the place and was a citizen of it," or one who has "in some wonderful way protected and helped the people in their times of need" (Ferrar. *Prompta Biblioth.* in v. *Patr. SS.*)

III. *Patrons of Places.*—Several saints are expressly declared by early writers to have been the "patrons" of certain places. The name is not given by Prudentius to the saints enumerated by him (as the glories of Africa and Spain (*de Cor.* iv.); but the functions which he assigns to them prove that they were so regarded. In another poem (*De Cor.* v. 145) three of those mentioned—Fructuosus and his deacons—receive the name *patronus.* Leo taught that St. Peter and St. Paul were the special patrons of Rome (*Serm.* 80, § 7; compare what he says of St. Laurence, 83, § 4). Genesius was the "nursling of Arles by right of his birth there; its patron, by virtue of his death." (Auct. Inc. *Passio S. Gen. Arel.* 1, 13, inter *Opp.* Paulini Nol. ad Calc. *Epp.*) Alcuin tells us that, while saints should be honoured and imitated throughout the church, "yet in certain places they are honoured more familiarly among their fellow-citizens with a certain special veneration, because of some one of them having commonly dwelt there, or because of the presence of his sacred relics, which have been given to such or such inhabitants for a comfort." He then proceeds to name several such patrons of cities and regions, as St. Peter and St. Paul of Rome; St. Ambrose, the "defensor" of Milan; the Theban Legion, the glory of the Pennine Alps; Hilary of Poitiers; Martin of Tours; St. Denys and St. Germain of Paris; Remigius of Champagne, the people of which whole pro-

vince "hastened to the city of Rheims, offering their vows there as if to a present patron. Thus hath the divine goodness provided for the whole world by giving to the several provinces or peoples a special patron in whom to rejoice" (*Hom. de Nat. Willibrordi*, 1). In the age of Alcuin, we observe, certain honours were claimed for a martyr in every church, though special honours were paid to him, and special trust reposed in him in those places of which he was the patron. But at first the honours paid to them and other saints were entirely local. A curious illustration of this occurred when Julian separated Constantia from Gaza, of which it was a suburb. As a consequence, says Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 3), "each has its bishop and clergy by itself, and its celebrations of martyrs and memorials of the bishops who have belonged to it."

The saints protected the church dedicated with their relics:

> "Ita suis meritis jam tecta sacrata tuetur,
> Ut procul effugiat hostis ab aede sacra."
> (Alcuin, *Carm.* 35 *ad Orat. S. Andr.*)

Similarly *Carmina* 42, 77–79, 85, 95, 98, 115. They afforded a general protection to the people who worshipped in their churches:

> "Martyris egregii Quintini altare triumphis
> Hoc fulget, populo hic qui ferat auxilium."
> (Id. *Carm.* 64 *ad Ar. S. Qu.*)

> "Adjuvat hic nos
> "Cujus honore sacro constant haec templa dicata."
> (Id. *Carm.* 83 *ad Eccl. S. Petri.*)

Specimens of the Dedication-formulae of churches (*e.g.* "in honorem S. Joannis Baptistae") may be seen under INSCRIPTIONS, p. 848.

IV. *The Angels Patrons.*—When St. Michael, St. Gabriel, and St. Raphael were first chosen by authority as patrons of a church or oratory, we are unable to say. A church dedicated to St. Michael was built at Ravenna in 545. (Ciampini, *Vet. Monum.* ii. tav. xvii. in vol. i. p. 87). The Besançon Sacramentary, a Gallican book modified by Roman influence, of which the MS. belongs to the 7th century, gives a "missa in honore Sancti Michahel," which was evidently used on his day in oratories, &c., named after him, or possibly, as the Gallicans of that age had very few saints' days, on the anniversary of their opening whenever it was ("in honore beati archangeli Michahelis dedicata nomini Tuo loca," *Mus. Ital.* i. 356). There is no similar mass in any other Gallican missal, but we find examples in all the old Roman sacramentaries, to which we infer from the Besançon that they belonged at an early period. The Gelasian assigns to iii. kal. Oct. "Orationes in Sancti Archangeli Michaelis" (*Liturgia Rom. Vet.* Murat. i. 669), which contain no reference to the dedication of the church; but the so-called Leonian gives five missae for pridie kal. Oct., under the heading, "Natale Basilicae Angeli in Salaria," of which two (i. iv.) allude to his being the patron of the church (Murat. *u. s.* 407). The early copies of the Gregorian all have such a mass (iii. kal. Oct.), and they all by the title (Dedicatio Basilicae S. Michaelis, *Mur.* S. Angeli) intimate that St. Michael was the patron of the church in which it was to be used (see Rocca's copy in *Opp.* Greg. M. V. 151, Antv. 1615; Pamelius, Rituale SS. PP. ii. 345; Murat. *u. s.* ii. 125; Menard in *Opp.* Greg. ed. Ben. iii. 135). Among the poems of Alcuin are two on churches dedicated to him (29, 168), three on altars of St. Michael (37, 64, 77), and a sixth (186) "ad aram sanctorum archangelorum," *i.e.*, as the verses shew, of Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael.

V. *Patrons of Classes.*—In the middle ages every trade and profession had its patron, and every disease a saint especially gifted for its cure. The germ of this distribution of offices appears even from the very introduction of saint-worship. Thus Justina, persecuted by the magician Cyprian, "implores the Virgin Mary to aid a virgin in peril" (Greg. Naz. *Hom.* 24 *in Cypr.* § 11). St. Agnes is addressed by Prudentius (*De Coron.* 14, in fine) as the especial patroness of female chastity. St. Nicetius, the patron of Lyons, was the especial friend of prisoners (Greg. Turon. *Vitae Patrum*, viii. 7). St. Sigismund cured the ague (Greg. Turon. *de Glor. Mart.* 75). In the Besançon Missal found at Bobio, belonging to the 7th century, is a mass of St. Sigismund, "pro frigoriticis" (Mabillon, *Musae. Ital.* i. 344). Phocas was the patron of sailors (Aster. Amas. *Encom. in Phoc.* 5 in Combefis, *Auctar.* i. 180, par. 1680). Sailors at their mess would by turns deposit in money the cost of a meal as the share of Phocas, and when they arrived in port distribute it to the needy in his name (*ibid.*).

VI. *Good Offices expected from Patron Saints.*—(1) That most frequently assigned to them was one, the fulfilment of which was least open to dispute. They seconded the prayers of their votaries, and thus often led to their accomplishment, where without such aid they would have failed. St. Basil called them δεήσεως συνεργοί (*Hom.* xix. 8, xxiii. 7). Leo of Rome exhorts his people to keep vigil in St. Peter's, "who will deign by his prayers to assist our supplications and fastings and almsgivings" (*Serm.* xi. 4). Gregory I. calls patron saints "adjutores orationis" (*In. Evang.* ii., *Hom.* 32, § 8; comp. Bas. above). In fact the constant hope and request of their clients might be expressed in the words of Alcuin,

> "Iste preces nostras adjuvet, opto, suis."
> (*Carm.* 61 *ad Aram, S. Joann. Bapt.*)

Similarly *Carm.* 28 *ad Sepulcr. Amandi*: "Adjuvat iste preces populi;" and *Carm.* 47 *ad Aram SS. Greg. et Hieron.*

(2) There was no danger or difficulty in which their aid was not invoked with success. "Let us keep vigil," says Leo, "in the church of the blessed apostle Peter, by whose merits aiding us, we may obtain release from all tribulations" *Serm.* 84, § 2; comp. 81, § 2). Some of the instances in Paulinus are, even by his own confession, calculated to raise a smile rather than to edify. For example, a rustic who had lost two oxen by theft, instead of pursuing the robbers, flies at once to the church of St. Felix, whom he declares responsible for their restoration (*De S. Fel. Carm.* vi. 290).

(3) The martyrs were the especial protectors of those who were named after them. Thus Theodoret says that Christians "make a point of giving the appellations of the martyrs to their

children, by that means procuring safety and guardianship for them" (*Graec. Aff. Cur.* Disp. viii. *u. s.* 923).

(4) The active assistance in battle of some long departed hero was the subject of many a Greek and Roman myth. Among the semi-converts of the 4th century, there could not fail to be many on whom these romantic traditions had made a deep impression, and we cannot be surprised at their speedy reproduction under a Christian guise. The patron martyr was regarded as a faithful ally, both in aggression and defence of those who served him well. It is, in short, in the heathen myth that we discover the germ of the mediaeval romance which culminated in the conversion of the apostles into knight-errants. Theodoret relates that on the night before the battle in which Theodosius overthrew Eugenius, A.D. 394, St. John and St. Philip appeared to him "in white garments and riding on white horses" and told him that they had been "sent as his allies and champions" (*Hist.* v. 24). St. Ambrose had promised that he would often visit Florence. After his death in 397 "he was frequently seen praying at the altar in the Ambrosian basilica which he had himself built there," and when the city was besieged by Radagaisus in 406, he appeared to a citizen of the place and foretold its safety. The next day Stilicho came to its relief (*Vita Ambros.* a Paulino conscr. 50). During the war with the Goths, A.D. 410, the Romans refused to repair a weak part of the city wall, "affirming that Peter the apostle had promised them that the guardianship of that place should be his care. For the Romans reverence and worship this apostle above all" (Procopius *de Bello Gothico*, i. 23; ed. Nieb. ii. 110). St. Augustine, 421, heard and believed that when Nola was besieged, St. Felix, its patron (ed. Nieb. ii. 110), appeared (*De Cur. pro Mort.* xvi.). Leo of Rome, 440, asks triumphantly, "Quis hanc urbem reformavit saluti? Quis a captivitate eruit? Quis a caede defendit? Ludus Circensium, an cura Sanctorum?" (*Serm.* 81, § 1). Venantius, A.D. 560, says of St. Peter and St. Paul (*Poem.* iii. vii. 19),

"A facie hostili duo propugnacula praesunt."

A part of the poem from which we quote, including this claim of protection, is said to have been inscribed by Ina, A.D. 639, on the walls of his church at Glastonbury (Bolland. Feb. tom. i. p. 906). Compare RELICS.

(5) But more alien still from the spirit and faith of the Gospel was the dependence placed on the patron from protection from the consequences of sin, even at the day of judgment. We find even blasphemous expression, as I think it must be deemed, of this dependence at the earliest period of patron worship. Thus Prudentius declares that he desired to be on the left hand of the judge, that Romanus may come to his rescue (*De Coron.* x. in fine). The patron is a mediator with Christ, as Christ with the Father (*ibid.* ii. 578). This extravagance may be partially ascribed to the improper licence which the Christian poets allowed themselves; but the fundamental error is common.

VII. I am not acquainted with any book that treats exclusively or especially of patron saints. Works on the general cultus of the saints are, among others, J. Camerarius *de Invocatione Sanctorum*, Graece, Lips. 1545; R. Montagu (bp.), *Treatise of Invocation of Saints*, 1624; Will. Forbes (bp.), *Considerationes Modestae de Invoc. Sanct.* Lond. 1658, Helmst. 1704, Frankfort, 1707; Oxf. A. C. L. 1856; G. Morley (bp.), *Epistolae duae de Inv. Sanct.* Lond. 1683; Dean Freeman (Samuel), *Discourse concerning the Invocation of Saints*, in bp. Gibson's *Preservative against Popery*, vi. 4, Lond. 1738; W. Clagett, *Discourse concerning the Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints*, Lond. 1686; reprinted in Gibson, *u. s.*; Caspar Sagittarius, *Dissert. de Natalitiis Martyrum*, Rotterd. 1699; J. E. Tyler, *Primitive Christian Worship*, Lond. 1840, 1847.

On the patronage of angels especially, see Steph. Clotz, *Tractatus de Angelolatria*, Rostoch. 1636; Joh. Prideaux, *The Patronage of Angels*, Oxf. 1636. [W. E. S.]

**PAUL, APOSTLE; FESTIVALS OF, ETC.**

(1) FESTIVAL OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL. See PETER, APOSTLE, FESTIVALS OF. *Commemoration of St. Paul on June* 30, *ibid.*

(2) *Festival of Conversion of St. Paul.*—The observance of this festival dates from a much later period than the preceding, though it is not at all easy to approximate to the time with any degree of certainty. The reason for such a commemoration is not far to seek: a conversion such as that of St. Paul stands on an altogether different footing from the call of any other apostle, and when it is considered how different, humanly speaking, Christianity would have been, had God not thought fit to employ St. Paul as He did, we may allow that there is a sense in which Renan is justified in calling St. Paul "the second founder of Christianity."

Besides the general importance of the event herein commemorated, there was also probably a desire to bestow a further commemoration on St. Paul, as though he had hardly received sufficient recognition by the festival of June 29, of which the commemoration of St. Paul on June 30 is also evidence; a need which would be the more felt inasmuch as other important festivals soon became associated with the name of St. Peter. It may be noted that the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul is peculiar to the Western church, the special necessity of which we have spoken as tending to its origination being, on the whole, peculiar to the West.

In inquiring as to the date at which we can first find traces of the observance of this festival, we shall do well in the first place to clear the ground of fictitious instances. Baronius (*Mart. Rom.* Jan. 29) appeals to sermons of St. Augustine for this festival, an appeal which, if substantiated, would give a decidedly early date. The sermons in question are those given by the Benedictine editors as 278, 279 (*Patrol.* xxxviii. 1268), and also 189 of those rejected by them as spurious (*ib.* xxxix. 2098). As regards the first of these, while it is true that the conversion of St. Paul is dwelt on, the particular part of the Acts containing that history having, it would seem, been the lection in the service; yet the heading which connects the sermon with the festival [*pro solemnitate conversionis S. Pauli*] is certainly late, for the sermon is cited in the *Indiculus* of Possidius (c. 8) as "de

vocatione apostoli Pauli et commendatione orationis dominicae," and it seems to have been one of those made for the paschal season, when the Acts was regularly read. It may be added that the *Calendarium Carthaginense* makes no mention of this festival, a weighty argument against its celebration in Africa in Augustine's time.

Not unnaturally, in the course of time, when the festival was actually established, the subject matter of the sermon led to its receiving its later title. Thus Florus (*Expos. in Epp. Pauli*; 1 Cor. iii., 1 Thess. iv., 1 Tim. i.; *Patrol.* cxix. 324, &c.) invariably cites it as *Sermo de Conversione Apostoli Pauli*. Assuming the authorship of this *expositio* to be established, the above is the earliest allusion we are acquainted with to the existence of the festival, bringing it to about the middle of the 9th century.

The second sermon is entitled in some MSS., it is true, *in Conversione S. Pauli*, but Florus always cites it merely *de Paulo Apostolo* (*op. cit.*; Rom. i. viii. ix.; Phil. ii.). The third sermon is merely a cento made up from other sermons of St. Augustine.

No homily for the day is found in the works of Leo, Maximus of Turin, Bede, &c. The festival is given, however, in some forms of the Gregorian Sacramentary (col. 22, ed. Ménard), where the service includes a 'solemn' benediction. On the other hand, however, Pamelius obelizes it, and the *Cod. Reg. Sueciae* (Vat. 1275) of the Benedictine edition omits it altogether. This MS. is, however, of about the date 900 A.D., and Ménard's *Cod. Theodericensis* i., a century earlier, gives the festival, but puts it after the commemorations on the same day of SS. Emerentianus and Macharius. It may be noted that the festival is altogether wanting in the Gregorian antiphonary. Almost identical with the form in the Gregorian Sacramentary is that in the Ambrosian, the only differences being that the latter has a prayer *super sindonem*, and that the benediction is shorter. In the *Comes Hieronymi* it is entirely absent, Jan 25 being merely recognised as the *Natale* of Macharius and Emerentianus. Taking then into account the reference of Florus, and assuming the date of the *Cod. Theodericensis* to be rightly given, it will follow that the festival was existing at the beginning of the 9th century, but its absence from MSS. of the sacramentary of a later date will suggest that it came but slowly into recognition. Thus there is no allusion to it in the *capitulare* of Ahyto, bishop of Basle early in the 9th century.

On turning to the martyrologies, we find in the *Mart. Hieronymi* for Jan. 25, after the entry "Nicomediae, Biti," the further notice, "Romae, Translatio Sancti Pauli Apostoli" (*Patrol.* xxx. 455), a suggestion, it would seem, of a different kind of origin for the festival. The metrical martyrology of Bede gives a notice of the day, "Octavas merito gaudet conversio Pauli" (*Patrol.* xciv. 603). This, however, is wanting in some MSS., and may be summarily dismissed as an interpolation. Moreover, in the ordinary martyrology of Bede, in its true text as edited by Henschenius, there is no mention of the conversion of St. Paul, though this occurs among the additions of the late texts (*Acta Sanctorum*, March, vol. ii. p. xi.). The martyrology of Rabanus Maurus mentions, on Jan. 25, both the translation and conversion (*Patrol.* cx. 1130); see also Notker (*Patrol.* cxxxi. 1039). Wandalbert, in the 9th century, commemorates the festival, "Octavo ex Saulo[a] conversum gloria Paulum" (*Patrol.* cxxi. 587). Some 9th-century calendars, however, do not recognise the festival (see, e.g., the *Kal. Floriacense*, in Martene and Durand, *Ampl. Coll.* vi. 650). We may perhaps approximate to the date of the introduction of this festival into England by noting that, while there is no mention of it in the pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York (732–766 A.D.), yet it is given in the sacramentary of Leofric (bishop of Exeter, 1050–1072 A.D.). The MS. of this, however, now in the Bodleian Library, is of the 10th century (*Surtees Society's Publications*, vol. lxi. p. xi.).

(3) *Apocryphal Literature.*—Of apocryphal works connected with the name of St. Paul there is a considerable quantity. There are Acts of Peter and Paul, published by Tischendorf (*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, pp. 1. sqq.; cf. p. xiv). There are also Acts of Paul and Thecla (*ib.* p. 40; cf. p. xxi.) referred to as early as Tertullian (*de Baptismo*, c. 57). A Syriac version of this has been published by Dr. Wright (*Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*).

Two spurious letters exist in Armenian, one purporting to be from the Corinthian church to St. Paul, and the other the apostle's answer. A Latin translation of these is given in Fabricius (*Codex Pseud. Vet. Test.* iii. 667, sqq.). An English translation by Lord Byron is also given in Moore's *Life of Byron*. We have also a spurious letter to the church of Laodicea, in Latin (for which see Lightfoot's *Colossians*, ed. 2, pp. 281, sqq.), and a series of letters in Latin, forming a correspondence between St. Paul and Seneca. These are given by Fabricius (*op. cit.* i. 871; cf. Jerome *de Viris illustr.* 12; Aug. *Ep.* 153 *ad Macedonium*, § 14; reference may also be made to the essay in Lightfoot's *Philippians*).

Further, we have an Apocalypse of Paul, first edited by Tischendorf (*Apocalypses Apocryphae*, pp. 34, sqq.) from a Greek MS. in the Ambrosian Library. A Syriac text also exists, of which an English translation has been published (*ib.* p. xvii.). [R. S.]

**PAUL, ST. (IN ART).** [PETER.]

**PAULA (1),** martyr at Byzantium under Aurelian, with her husband Lucianus and their children Claudius, Hypatius, Paulus, Dionysius; commemorated Jan. 19 (*Cal. Byzant.*). Basil. *Menol.* places her under Jan. 3, naming the children as above, but the husband Lucillianus, and attributing the martydom to the reign of Aurelian. The *Cal. Byzant.* has Paula and her children (who are not named) and her husband Lucillianus under June 3. In *Hieron. Mart.* a Paula with numerous others at Rome occur under June 3.

(2) Domitio; commemorated at Bethlehem Jan. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Jan. 27 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(3) Virgin martyr at the city of Malaca in

[a] The reading of the MSS. for the mistaken reading of the earlier editions, *saeclo*.

Spain; commemorated June 18 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

**(4)** Commemorated with Sabinus, Maximus, and others at Damascus July 20 (Usuard. *Mart.*). This name occurs as Paulus in *Hieron. Mart.* [C. H.]

**PAULINA**, martyr with her parents Artemius and Candida at Rome; commemorated Jun. 6 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PAULINUS (1)**, martyr with Heraclius and others at Athens; commemorated May 15 (Basil. *Menol.*).

**(2)** Martyr with Felicissimus, Eraclius, and others in Etruria; commemorated May 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*).

**(3)** Bishop of Nola, confessor; commemorated June 22 (Usuard., Wand., *Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Florus, *Mart.* ap. Bed.).

**(4)** Martyr; commemorated Aug. 25 (Wright, *Syr. Mart.*).

**(5)** Bishop of Trèves under Constantius, confessor; natalis Aug. 31 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 668); depositio Sept. 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

**(6)** Martyr with four others; commemorated Sept. 7 (Wright, *Syr. Mart.*).

**(7)** Bishop of York, confessor; commemorated in Britain Oct. 10 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PAULUS (1)**, the first hermit in Thebais; commem. Jan. 10 (Usuard., Wand., *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed., Notk.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 602); with Johannes the Calybite Jan. 15 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Dan. *Codex Liturg.* iv. 251).

**(2)** Martyr with Pausirion and Theodotion at Cleopatris in Egypt under Diocletian; commemorated Jan. 24 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 591).

**(3)** Bishop of Trois Châteaux; commemorated Feb. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 92).

**(4)** Martyr with Cyrillus, Eugenius, and others; commemorated in Asia Mar. 20. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 83).

**(5)** Bishop of Narbonne, confessor; commemorated Mar. 22 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Florus, ap. Bed.; Wand.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 371).

**(6)** Commemorated with Isidorus, monks at Corduba, Ap. 17 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

**(7)** Martyr with Petrus, Andreas, Dionysia; passio commemorated at Lampsacus May 15 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*).

**(8)** Commemorated at Nevers with Heraclius and others May 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*).

**(9)** Presbyter; commemorated at Autun with bishop Reverianus June 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

**(10)** Bishop of Constantinople, martyr under Constantius; commemorated June 7 (Usuard., Wand., *Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 13).

**(11)** Martyr with Cyriacus, Paula, and others at Tomi; commemorated June 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 8).

**(12)** Martyr with his brother Joannes under Julian; commemorated at Rome June 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*).

**(13)** Deacon and martyr; commemorated at Corduba July 20 (Usuard. *Mart.*). Under this day occur in *Hieron. Mart.* Paulus at Corinth and Paulus (Paula in Usuard.) of Damascus.

**(14)** Martyr at Nicopolis; commemorated Aug. 11 (Wright, *Syr. Mart.*).

**(15)** Junior, patriarch of Constantinople; commemorated Aug. 30 and Nov. 6 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 267, 273). Under Nov. 6 a Paulus occurs for Africa in *Hieron. Mart.*

**(16)** Patriarch of Constantinople; commemorated Oct. 3 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

**(17)** Commemorated with Paulina Dec. 5 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). In *Hieron. Mart.* a Paulus occurs for this day, with many others, but no Paulina. [C. H.]

**PAUSIACUS**, bishop of Synnada in the 7th century; commemorated May 13 (Basil, *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai, iii. 240). [C. H.]

**PAUSILYPUS**, martyr under Hadrian; commemorated Ap. 8. (Basil, *Menol.*). [C. H.]

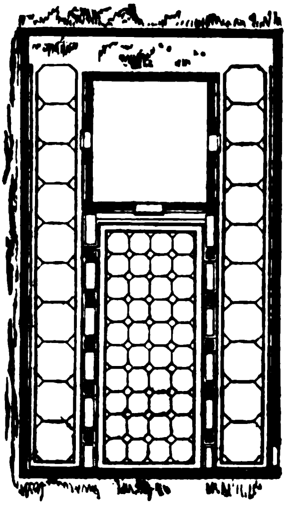
**PAUSIRION**, martyr with Paulus and Theodotion under Diocletian; commemorated Jan. 24 (Basil, *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**PAVEMENT.** Although scarcely to be included among Christian antiquities, the platform or pavement on which Roman governors of provinces and other like officials were accustomed to place their chairs when sitting in judgment comes under our notice on one occasion of such pre-eminent interest that some mention of it can hardly be omitted. It must be almost needless to say that the occasion referred to is that in which our Lord was brought before Pilate—"in the place called the Pavement" (εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον λιθόστρωτον, St. John xix. 13). It appears that it was the practice for Roman officials of high rank to cause such a pavement to be constructed as an adjunct to a praetorium wherever one was established. Suetonius (*in Vita Jul. Caes.*) says that it was related of Julius Caesar that in his expeditions he carried with him pavements sectile and tesselated ("in expeditionibus tessellata et sectilia pavimenta circumtulisse"). Casaubon remarks upon this passage, that what he carried with him were probably the materials with which such official pavements might be constructed.

A representation in art of such a pavement may be found on the top of the reliquary of carved ivory [RELIQUARY] preserved in the Biblioteca Quiriniana at Brescia, in the subject of Christ brought before Pilate, the seat of the latter being placed on a slightly raised platform or dais. This casket is probably of the 4th century.

The pavements of churches were in the earlier ages usually either of mosaic, or tesselated, or of sectile work, the latter being made up of pieces of marbles, porphyries, or granites, cut so as to fit together and form patterns. One of the earliest

examples of the former is probably the pavement in the basilica of Reparatus, near Orleansville, in Algeria, probably circa A.D. 325. (See woodcut.) The two kinds of work were occasionally mixed, as in the pavement of the chapel of St. Alexander, on the Via Latina, a few miles from Rome, discovered about



Pavement of Basilica at Reparatus.

twenty years ago. In this instance slabs of marble enclose squares of coarse mosaic of white marble, in which were a sort of quatrefoils, roughly formed by tesserae of dark stone. This pavement probably dated from the 5th or 6th century. One of very similar character, and probably of the same date, was discovered in 1858, when the original level of the north aisle of the choir of S. Lorenzo-fuor-le-Mura, at Rome, was reached by excavation. The pavement of the earlier church of San Clemente, at Rome, was found to consist of slabs of marble arranged in a somewhat simple pattern. The churches of St. Sophia and St. John Studios, at Constantinople, both retain portions of their original pavements: large slabs of marble, circular or quadrangular, are enclosed by bands of interlacing ornament, chiefly executed in strips of marble, but in part in mosaic (v. Salzenberg, *Baudenkmale Constantinopels*, &c.). A good, though small, example of a sectile pavement will be found in the triforium of the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, being no doubt a portion of that brought by Charles the Great from Rome or Ravenna.

Mosaic pavements not unfrequently contained inscriptions recording the names of the donors. The remains of such an inscription were found in the ruins of the basilica of Reparatus mentioned above. In this occurs the names of Paulus, Pomponius, Rusticus, and Adeodatus with the additions "votum solvit," "voti comp." &c. The pavement is one of considerable elegance; it is divided into compartments, in which are figures of stags, goats, sheep, &c. An engraving will be found in *Les Carrelages émaillés*, by M. Amé, pp. 15–28, borrowed from that given in the report of the Commission Scientifique de l'Algérie (Beaux-Arts, I. i. pl. liii.). Another instance of a pavement provided by the contributions of the members of the church is afforded by a recent discovery at Olympia, mentioned in a letter printed in the *Times* of April 16, 1877. It is there stated that the ruins of a large Byzantine church, "perhaps as early as the 5th century, had been found." The pavement of this church was formed of large marble slabs, on one of which, in the centre of the nave, was inscribed, "Kyriakos, a most discreet Anagnostes, who for the salvation of his soul ornamented the pavement."

In the crypt of the cathedral of Verona are remains of a tesselated pavement of elegant design, probably not later in date than the 5th century (v. engraving in Museum Veronense by Maffei, p. ccviii.). In the compartments of this are inscriptions containing the names of the contributors to the work and stating the quantities paid for by each, as "Eusebia cum suis tessallavit P. CXX."

Another remarkable instance of an early pavement is that of the church of Dedamoukha, in Mingrelia (*The Crimea*, &c. by Capt. Telfer, p. 123), which is attributed to the 6th century. In this instance forty small circular slabs are let into the floor near the south entrance, and are asserted to be placed over the heads of the "ἅγιοι τεσσαράκοντα," the forty saints martyred in Armenia, in the time of Licinius, by being exposed to the rigour of a winter frost in a marsh.

Nor were pavements made use of for memorials only, for Gregory of Nyssa (in Theod. *Orat.* 25) says, "Nor do the walls alone of this temple read us lessons of piety, for the very pavement, in its mosaics like a flowery mead, promotes our instruction." That few examples have remained to our time will not appear surprising, when it is remembered that the pavement is the part of the church of all the most exposed to injury.

One example of a tesselated pavement requires mention as being one of the few instances of the occurrence of Christian symbols in Roman remains in England; the pavement discovered at Frampton in Dorsetshire, an engraving of which has been given by Lysons (*Reliquiae Britannae-Romanae*). The ruins in which it was discovered were apparently those of a villa; it covered the floor of an apartment of a square form with a semicircular projection or apse from one side. In a compartment occupying the central part of the arc of the apse remained the two handles with portions of the lip of a vase which if complete would probably have borne the form of the vases or chalices often found in early Christian art (v. CHALICE); while in the centre of the chord of the semicircle was the labarum forming the centre of a band of foliage; immediately, however, beyond this band was one which ran round the room, and was decorated with figures of dolphins. In the centre of this band and in contact with the labarum was a large head of Neptune, while a figure of Cupid occupied a like position on another side. It is difficult to form a satisfactory conclusion as to the destination of this apartment in view of this remarkable collocation of Pagan deities and Christian symbols.

[A. N.]

**PAX.** [KISS, p. 903.]

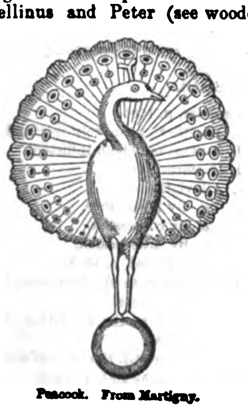
**PAX VOBISCUM.** [DOMINUS VOBISCUM.]

**PEACE, KISS OF.** [KISS.]

**PEACOCK.** See LAMPS, p. 921. The peacock was a favourite ornament from the 1st century; it is found, with other birds, at Pozzuoli (see new frescoes in the South Kensington Museum, nos. 1270–73), at Pompeii and Herculaneum, and repeatedly in the Jewish catacombs of the 1st century (Parker's *Photographs*, nos. 561, 562). Martigny says it was a symbol of the Resurrection, from the annual moulting and renewal of its beautiful tail-feathers, referring to Bosio (*R. Sott.* p. 641) and Aringhi (*R. S.* II. lvi. c. 36, p. 612). Mamachi (*Antiq. Christ.* l. iii. p. 92) says there is neither authority for, nor objection to, the symbolism, a view in which we concur; and Martigny quotes a sentence from one of St. Anthony of Padua's sermons (5 *post Trin.*) which compares our body to all the trees of the wood as well, and with equal plausibility.

St. Augustine (*de Civit. Dei*, l. xxi. c. iv.) speaks of this bird as an emblem of immortality, from the opinion of his time that its flesh was in part or entirely incorruptible. For this or whatever reason it is made in the cemeteries to accompany the Good Shepherd and the symbolic Orpheus, see FRESCO, p. 696, Bottari, iii. tav. lxiii. Like the Vine and the Good Shepherd, it was part of the repertory of heathen decoration. The fact is, as any draughtsman will see, the peacock with outspread tail is specially adapted to ornament circular vaultings and walls beneath them, as in Aringhi, *R. S.* col. ii. p. 59. Its radiating plumes make it a geometrical centre for circles or curves of decoration, and it is equally well suited to be a centre of colour. It was probably one of the earliest ornaments adopted by Christian painters, but it may have been one of the latest invested with sacred meaning.

The writer cannot find it in Garrucci's *Vetri*, but it seems to have been particularly in favour as a fresco subject for walls or roof ornament. Martigny gives an example from the cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Peter (see woodcut) of a



Peacock. From Martigny.

peacock with circular train displayed standing on a globe, with the remark that the artist "evidently" means to symbolise the winged soul rising above the earth after the resurrection. There is a similar painting in St. Agne (Bottari, t. iii. pl. 184). He is strengthened by Boldetti (*Cimiteri*, &c. p. 164) and by Lupi (*Dissert.* ii. t. i. p. 204) in the conviction that the casks or dolia painted near this latter [DOLIUM] represent the blood of martyrs interred in the immediate vicinity, and the peacock their resurrection.

A peacock with two chicks is represented in fresco on a vaulted monument in the catacombs of St. Januarius at Naples. The latter seem to be issuing from a kind of nest-shaped basket (D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. ii. no. 9). The peacock and young are also found in a Christian catacomb discovered at Milan in 1845 near the basilica of St. Nazaire, for which Martigny refers to Polidori *sopra alcuni Sepolcri ante-Cristiani in Milano*, 1845, p. 57.

One reason for believing the figure of the peacock to be rather ornamental than symbolic is that it is but rarely found in sculpture. Two peacocks are found with a verse on the epitaph of the priest Romanus in the Musée Lapidaire at Lyons, and this ornament was frequently used in after days in the Byzantine sculpture of Venice (Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. p. 235. M. Leblant (*Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule*) says he has only found it three times on monuments, and Martigny only knows two examples in Rome—one on the tombstone of Aurelia Proba (Boldetti, p. 361). There is one on an end of the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (Bottari, t. i. p. 1). The peacock is sparingly used in a merely decorative way in Carlovingian ornament. There are two rather conventionally but beautifully arranged in an evangeliary of Charlemagne's (Bastard, vol. ii. pl. 2). [R. St. J. T.]

**PEARL.** [MARGARITA, p. 1090.]

**PECTORAL CROSS** (Greek, ἐγκόλπιον; Lat. *Crux Collaria*, *pectorale*, *rationale*, *formalium*, *logium*, *firmale*, *firmaculum*; Ital. *fermale*, *fermaglio*). The names *rationale*, *logium* (λόγιον), were adopted by Christianity from the high-priest's breast-plate. They may be best explained in Magri's words (*Hierolexicon*, s. v.): "quia miraculose futura demonstrabat, et quasi loquebatur ac ratiocinabatur, ideoque rationale etiam dicebatur." The word is used by Gregory of Tours.

The earliest account of the pectoral cross given by Hofmann (*Lex. Univ.*) dates from the 9th century. It is that of Anastasius, the librarian, "Crucem cum pretioso ligno vel cum reliquiis sanctorum ante pectus portare suspensam ad collum, hoc est, quod vocant Encolpium."

Pope Innocent III. traces its use by the pope to the vesting of the high priest under the Mosaic law (*De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, lib. i. cap. 53).

In the East the custom began of all Christians, and not bishops alone, wearing a cross hung about the neck. [ENCOLPION; RELIQUARY.] Gregory of Tours relates that he once put out a fire by drawing from his breast a cross of gold which inclosed some relics of the Virgin, the Apostles, and St. Martin.

It should be noticed that neither Durandus nor Thomas Aquinas includes the pectoral cross amongst the official vestments of a bishop; yet it appears that, though it was not a part of the

exclusively episcopal vesture, bishops were in the habit of wearing a pectoral cross in the time of Durandus. The prayers which are usually recited on putting the cross upon the breast are not anterior to the 14th century, at which date the pectoral cross seems first to have taken rank amongst episcopal ornaments.

Pugin (*Glossary*) observes that the pectoral cross is now considered an emblem of jurisdiction, hence when a bishop enters the diocese of another he wears the cross concealed.

[H. T. A.]

**PECTORALE, PECTORALIS.** These words are used in a variety of senses to describe things worn on or covering the breast. We may mention, for example, (1) the band or fillet encircling the breast of women. See *e. g.* Jer. ii. 32, where the Hebrew קִשֻּׁרִים (στηθοδεσμίς, LXX) is rendered by Jerome *fascia pectoralis*; cf. also Isa. iii. 24 (Vg.); (2) its use as equivalent to *Rationale* (see the article), but no instances occur of this sufficiently early for our purpose; (3) Gregory the Great, in one of his letters, uses *pectoralis* [*al. pectorale*] simply for a great-coat, which he sends as a present to Ecclesius, bishop of Clusium, who, having no winter coat, suffers from the cold (*Epist.* xii. 47; *Patrol.* lxxvii. 1251).

[R. S.]

**PEDILAVIUM.** [MAUNDY THURSDAY.]

**PEDULES.** [SHOES.]

**PEDUM.** [PASTORAL STAFF.]

**PEGASIUS**, martyr with Acindynus and others in Persia under Sapor; commemorated Nov. 2 (Basil, *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 273).

[C. H.]

**PELAGIA (1)**, "holy martyr" under Diocletian; commemorated May 4 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 258).

(2) Martyr at Antioch; commemorated June 9 (Basil, *Menol.*).

(3) Martyr with Januarius at Nicopolis in Armenia; commemorated July 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard, Wand.; Florus, *Mart.* ap. Bed.).

(4) Martyr of Tarsus under Diocletian; commemorated Oct. 7 (Basil, *Menol.*).

(5) Virgin martyr at Antioch under Numerian; commemorated Oct. 8 (Basil, *Menol.*); with the virgins Electa and Barbara (*Cal. Armen.*); with different companions (*Hieron. Mart.*); "our mother" (*Cal. Byzant.*); ὁσία μήτηρ Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 270.

(6) Quondam meretrix of Antioch, died a nun at Rome; commemorated Oct. 8 (Basil, *Menol.*; Usuard, *Mart.*; Wright, *Syr. Mart.*).

(7) Peccatrix, martyr at Antioch with Beronicus and forty-nine others; commemorated Oct. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Usuard, Wand., *Mart.*).

[C. H.]

**PELEUS**, bishop, martyr with Nilus, bishop in Egypt; commemorated Sept. 19 (Basil. *Menol.* Usuard, *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 21); mentioned again by Usuard under Feb. 20

[C. H.]

**PELEUSIUS or PELUSIUS**, presbyter, martyr at Alexandria; commemorated Ap. 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard, *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. i. 659; Wright, *Syr. Mart.*).

[C. H.]

**PELICAN.** The pelican is sometimes used as a Christian symbol, in consequence of the myth which relates that when a serpent has bitten her young, she tears open her breast and revives her brood with her own blood. The application of this symbol to the Saviour, who gave His own blood for perishing man, was readily made (Alt, *Die Heiligenbilder*, p. 56).

[C.]

**PELUSIOTAE.** [PHILOSARCAE.]

**PENITENCE.** The penitential discipline, in its original conception, required a delinquent to pass through three stages, beginning with a confession of his guilt [EXOMOLOGESIS], and ending with absolution, and a restoration to his forfeited privileges [RECONCILIATION]. The intermediate stage of penance is treated in this article in the following order:—



I. NAMES. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT. The original meaning of the Latin word *poenitentia*, with its Greek equivalent *μετάνοια*, was

repentance—implying change of heart, contrition, and amendment. In this sense it was frequently used by early ecclesiastical writers. The transition from this meaning to that of penitential discipline is not difficult to trace. Along with the inward feeling of contrition, there came to be combined, in the theological idea of repentance, an outward act of self-abasement. Gradually the outward act was accepted as a sign of the inward sorrow, and ultimately took the place of it. Isidore (ii. 16, *de Poenitentibus*), following Augustine (*Ep.* 54), derives the word from the penal idea underlying penitence: "Poenitentia nomen sumpsit a poena." In Raban. Maur. *Instit.* ii. 29, the derivation is: "A punitione poenitentia nomen accepit, quasi punitentia, dum ipse homo punit poenitendo, quod male admisit." The author of the *de vera et falsa Poenit.* c. 19, which bears the name of Augustine, slightly varies the etymology: "Poenitere est poenam tenere, ut semper puniat in se, ulsciscendo quod commisit peccando." This explanation is adopted by Peter Lombard (sentent. iv. dist. 14), and by Gratian (*de Poenit.* dist. 3), and is the accepted etymology of the Roman canonists (Morinus *Poenitent.* i. 1).

The Latin word in universal use to express penitential discipline in all its stages and degrees was poenitentia, with its corresponding concrete noun poenitens, a penitent, and the verb poenitere, to do penance In Cyprian and in the *Conc. Eliber.* the noun is generally used with some adjective, as "agere, facere poenitentiam plenam, veram, legitimam." At a later date, poenitentia was employed as equivalent to the discipline of the *kneelers*, the third and principal *station* of penance (1 *Conc. Tolet.* c. 2; *Conc. Agath.* c. 60; Felix, iii. *Ep.* vii.) In the Latin penitentials the verb is used by itself absolutely. 2. Exomologesis. A Greek word adopted by Tertullian (*Poenit.* c. 9), and used by Cyprian and Pacian, and occasionally later. 3. Abstinere, communione privari, communionem non accipere. The lightest form of censure, consisting in rejection from participation in the sacred elements for a period; a frequent formula in the Latin councils. 4. Segregatio, separatio; the translation of the Greek ἀφορισμός. 5. Flere, andire, substrari, consistere—the terms of the four stations.

The Greek equivalent of poenitentia is μετάνοια. This word retained for the most part its original meaning of change of heart. Basil uses it (c. 34) to signify the penitential course (see *Conc. Laodic.* c. 19); in another place (c. 22) to express the principal station of the ὑποπίπτοντες. In the latter instance it precisely corresponds with a similar use of the Latin poenitentia. In the later Greek rituals μετάνοια is a prostration. In the penitential ascribed to John the Faster, at the end of the "Ordo," the penitent is instructed to say the trisagion eight times . . . and to make eight μετανοίας. A little before it is directed that women μόνον προσκυνήσεις ποιείτωσαν χωρὶς μετανοιῶν. The word μετάνοια here must signify some laborious and humiliating posture. 2. ἐξομολόγησις. The word employed by all Greek canonical writers to signify the course of discipline. It occurs in this sense in the *Ep.* ii. *ad Corinth.* which bears the name of Clem. Rom. 3. ἀφορισμός — the ordinary term of the *Can. Apost.* and also of the canons of *Conc. in Trull.* It signifies separation from the faithful (compare St. Luke vi. 22), involving either simple rejection from the eucharist, or in addition to rejection the performance of certain penitential acts and rites, the nature of which was not defined, but depended on the custom of the church. 4. προσκλαίοντες, ἀκροώμενοι, ὑποπίπτοντες or γονυκλίνοντες, συνιστάμενοι. The four stations. (Gregory Thaumat. *Ep.* c. 11; Basil *ad Amphiloc.*; *Conc. Ancyr.* &c.) 5. ἀκοινώνητος εἶναι. The penitential censure of *Conc. Ephes.* (c. 6); *Conc. Chalced.* (cc. 4, 8, 16, 23) 6. ἐπιτίμιον. An ecclesiastical penalty (Basil, *Ep.* cc. 71, 74; Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 16). ὑποκεῖσθαι ἐκ τῶν κανόνων ἐπιτιμίοις (*Conc. Chalced.* cc. 3, 8, 9; *Conc. in Trull.* cc. 44, 49, &c.) In the Greek penitentials the prayer over those whose penance was at an end is called εὐχὴ τῶν ἐξ ἐπιτιμίων λυομένων. 7. κανονίζειν, to impose a penalty according to the canons, a later Greek usage (*Euchologion*, Goar, p. 678).

The theory of penitential discipline was this: that the church was an organised body with an outward and visible form of government; that all who were outside her boundaries were outside the means of divine grace; that she had a command laid upon her, and authority given to her, to gather men into her fellowship by the ceremony of baptism; but as some of those who were admitted proved unworthy of their calling, she also had the right, by the power of the keys, to deprive them, temporarily or absolutely, of the privilege of communion with her, and, on their amendment, to restore them once more to church membership. On this power of exclusion and restoration was founded the system of ecclesiastical discipline. It was a purely spiritual jurisdiction. It obtained its hold over the minds of men from the belief, universal in the catholic church of the early ages, that he who was expelled from her pale was expelled also from the way of salvation, and that the sentence which was pronounced by God's church on earth was ratified by Him in heaven. No body of heretics ever ventured to claim this power. Ambrose was not merely taking high sacerdotal ground, but stating an historical fact, when he said (*De Poenit.* i. 2), "Hoc jus sibi recte Ecclesia vindicat, quae veros sacerdotes habet; haeresis vindicare non potest, quae sacerdotes Dei non habet. Non vindicando autem ipsa de se pronuntiat, quod cum sacerdotes non habeat, jus sibi vindicare non debeat sacerdotale." Penitence has at once its origin and sanction in the New Testament, and primarily in the promise of Christ Himself (St. Matt. xviii. 18). A system of discipline was undoubtedly in force among the Jews at the Christian era, and was recognised by our Lord (St. John xvi. 2; St. Luke vi. 22). In the development of church organisation which the apostles were appointed to carry out, penitential discipline was assigned its place (1 Cor. v. 3–5; 2 Cor. xiii. 10; 1 Tim. i. 20; Tit. iii. 10). Two of the great "mortalia delicta," *moechia* and *idololatria*, in the case of the incestuous man at Corinth (1 Cor. v.), and of the heretics Hymenaeus and Alexander, were visited with apostolic censure. The former example contains the elements of the future discipline. It was a distinctly spiritual sentence. The decision emanated from the chief pastor: "*I* have judged already." It was announced before the congregation: "When ye are ga-

thered together." Its effect was to expose the delinquent to some bodily mortification: "Delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh." Its object was his amendment: "That the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord." And its result, his ultimate restoration, on his repentance, to the fellowship of the church (2 Cor. ii. 6, 7). Many of the fathers saw in this expression—"delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh," a sanction for the austerities of penance (Origen, *in Levit. Hom.* xiv. 4; Pacian, *Paraen. ad Poenit.* c. 18; Basil, c. 7; Ambrose, *de Poenit.* i. 13; August. *de Fid. et Opp.* c. 26). The references to ecclesiastical discipline in the earliest writers are naturally rare and fragmentary. The organization of the church was no less incomplete in this than in other matters. Clemens Roman. (*Ep. ad Cor.* c. 57, ed. Jacobson) has the following passage: *ἄμεινον ἐστιν ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χρίστου μίκρους καὶ ἐλλογίμους εὑρεθῆναι, ἢ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν δοκοῦντας ἐκριφθῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ.* The reference of this to some simple form of discipline is unmistakable. The *Shepherd* of Hermas, which is probably a generation later than the Clementine Epistles, speaks clearly and fully at the beginning of the 2nd century of the practice of separating an offender: (Herm. *Pastor.* vis. iii. 5; see *Ibid.* Similitud. vii.) An evidence for the existence of penitential discipline in these early times, which is, perhaps, stronger than any isolated passage, is the universal tradition of the church. The origin of Montanism is dated by Epiphanius in one place (*Haeres.* li. 33) as far back as A.D. 126. Other authorities fix it about A.D. 150 (Robertson, *Ch. Hist.* i. 5). That is to say, Montanus was only one generation removed from the apostle St. John. He separated from the church chiefly on the ground of the claims of the church with regard to discipline. In other words, discipline was so widely prevalent, and so firmly established, as to create a schism within a generation of the last of the apostles. The inference from this is well drawn out by Thorndike (*Laws of the Church*, iii. x. 2; *Works*, Lib. of Anglo-Cath. Theol. vol. iv. pt. 1). After Montanus there can no longer be any question on the discipline of penance being part of the regular organisation of the church. In the early ages the necessity for church censures must have been comparatively rare. As the need arose, the bishops with their priests dealt with each case in some simple manner, after the model, no doubt, laid down by St. Paul. The treatment of those who lapsed during the Decian persecution gave the first impulse to a more systematic and uniform organization. Crimes were classified, penalties promulgated, and the duration of penance was defined. The correspondence between the Roman and African churches, which appears in the epistles of Cyprian, gives some insight into the method in which a degree of uniformity was gained. Local needs and circumstances, no doubt, had their influence on the decisions of the early synods. The system in the West does not appear to have been so rigidly defined as in the East. The canonical epistles of Gregory Thaumaturgus, Basil, and his brother Gregory of Nyssa, were at once the expression and the support of this more inflexible rigidity. Under their influence the elaborate system of the penitential stations took its rise. These stations were taken into the canonical code, but they never appear to have entered into the practical administration of the Western discipline. The 3rd, 4th, and the beginning of the 5th centuries may be regarded within general limits as the flourishing period of the penitential system. It was then complete and regular, and at the same time had not ceased to be sustained by the zeal and belief of the church. The extent to which it entered into the routine of Christian legislation, is manifest from the space which penitential directions occupy in the writings of that period. The austerities were genuine and voluntary, endured from a firm conviction that only by such endurance could sin be expiated. "I have known many," says Ambrose (*de Poeniten.* i. 16), speaking as of facts which had come under his personal knowledge, "who have furrowed their cheeks with continuous tears, who have laid themselves in the dust for all to tread upon, and whose faces, thin and pallid from fasting, have presented the appearance of living ghosts." With the beginning of the 6th century the framework of the system was still unaltered, but the substance of it was rapidly decaying, more rapidly in the East than in the West. Through the 7th century public penitence was all but dead. It revived for a time under the ecclesiastical rule of the Carolingian princes, but the real life of penitence resided in the private system administered through the penitentials. Milman (*Lat. Christian.* iii. 5), in a passage on the power accruing to the clergy through ecclesiastical discipline, thus sums up the value of the system founded on the penitentials: "However severe, monastic, un-christian, as enjoining self-torture; degrading to human nature, as substituting ceremonial observance for the spirit of religion; and resting in outward forms which might be counted and calculated; yet as enforcing, it might be, a rude and harsh discipline, it was still a moral and religious discipline. It may have been a low, timid, dependent virtue to which it compelled the believer, yet still virtue. It was a perpetual proclamation of the holiness and mercy of the Gospel. It was a constant preaching, it might be, of an unenlightened, superstitious Christianity, yet still of Christianity."

## II. Prior to the Spread of the Novatian Heresy.

The chief characteristics of discipline prior to the spread of the Novatian heresy, as compared with those which afterwards prevailed, were the shortness and mildness of the censures, and the simpler forms by which the system was administered. The Stations of Penitents had not yet been elaborated. The earlier censures no doubt corresponded with those imposed afterwards in the stations, but the technical names of the stations, and the systematic division of penitents connected with them, are of later date. In the first three centuries there appear three distinctly marked degrees of censure—(1) exclusion from participation in the elements, (2) exclusion from the sight of the sacrament and from the eucharistic prayers, (3) exclusion from the church altogether, that is to say, excision from the body of the faithful, and excommunication, although

this latter term was not yet in use. An examination of the principal sources of information for that period will serve to shew clearly the nature of these penalties. The *Apostolic Canons* employ four terms to express church censure — 1, ἀφορίζεσθαι, separation, which applies equally to clergy and laity; 2, καθαιρεῖσθαι, deposition, which was confined to the clergy; 3, ἀφορίζεσθαι καὶ καθαιρεῖσθαι, which was also peculiar to the clergy; 4, τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποβάλλεσθαι, excision from the church, to which all were subject. The severity of this last sentence was still more increased in two canons (cc. 27, 28), which direct that a priest ministering in holy things after deposition παντάπασιν ἐκκοπτέσθω. In the *Apostolical Constitutions* there is no record of any organised system, but only the mention of lighter and weightier censures. In *Apost. Const.* ii. 16, after some general directions that the bishop shall encourage and not repel penitents, there is given the mode of treating a delinquent. He was to be ejected from the church, and the deacons meantime were to visit him and remonstrate with him, and if he appeared contrite they were to come to the bishop and intercede for him, the bishop then was to allow him to enter the church, and, when satisfied of his earnestness, to reinstate him after a penance of a few weeks' fasting. In further directions in the same chapter, the bishop was to refuse the penitent the holy communion for a period, the length of which was to be adjusted to his offence, and afterwards receive him as a father would a repentant son. For ordinary purposes of discipline, and for light offences, this was the censure employed. The heavier penalty given in the *Constitutions* corresponds with the excision from the church of the *Canons*. Here is evidently the germ of the system of stages of penitence which was afterwards the law of the church. Tertullian refers only to one degree of censure, and that, as might be expected from his character and writings, a severe one. He takes no note of the simple rejection from communion which was the common penalty in the *Apostolic Canons*. Censures, he states (*Apolog.* c. 39), exclude men from the communion of prayer, from the solemn assembly, and from all holy fellowship. Penitence with him was laborious outward self-abasement, no mere loss of a holy privilege. It was an exomologesis, a confession of sin by act as well as by word; and in what this confession consisted he shews vividly (*Poenit.* c. 9): "Exomologesis is a discipline for the abasement and humiliation of man, enjoining such conversation as inviteth mercy; it directed also even in the matter of dress and food—to lie in sackcloth and ashes, to hide his body in filthy garments, to cast down his spirit with mourning, to exchange for severe treatment the sins which he hath committed; for the rest, to use simple things for meat and drink, to wit, not for the belly's, but for the soul's sake; for the most part also to cherish prayer by fasts, to groan, to weep, and to moan day and night unto the Lord his God; to throw himself upon the ground before the presbyters, and to fall on his knees before the beloved of God; to enjoin all the brethren to bear the message of his prayer for mercy." The same method of penitence which the writings of Tertullian disclose appears in the epistles of his disciple Cyprian. The stations had not found their way into Africa in his time. Cyprian's usual terms for expressing penitence were "agere poenitentiam," "facere exomologesim," which signify the performance of definite penitential acts. He rarely or never saw occasion to use the censure, which consisted only in expulsion from the Eucharist, and not often the great sentence of excision from the church.

The decrees of the council of Elvira, circ. A.D. 305, throw great light on the course of discipline at the close of the 3rd century. The canons were of exceptional rigour, but the system on which they were promulgated no doubt followed the general lines of discipline then prevailing in the West. They use three grades of censure. For various minor offences the penalty was simple rejection from participation. In these cases no outward acts of penance were performed. The beginning and end of the penalty was the denial of the sacred elements. The second grade of censure consisted in the infliction of strict penitence, the "poenitentia" and "exomologesis" of Tertullian and Cyprian. The mode of carrying out the penance was not defined. It was enough that it should be full and canonical—"vera, legitima, plena," that is to say, according to the rites and austerities then in practice in that province. This penitence was of two degrees—one leading to reconciliation at the end of so many years, the other only at the end of life. A third censure, employed by the *Conc. Eliber.*, was that of expulsion from the church. It was reserved for such great crimes as retaining images in a house (c. 41), or contumacy (c. 20), or a relapse into infamous modes of life (c. 62). In c. 49 the offender was to be absolutely cut off, "penitus abjiciatur," the force of which may be, either that in addition to the ecclesiastical censure he was to be debarred civil and social intercourse with Christians, or that he was to be cut off without a hope of return. This last interpretation would coincide with the remarkable harshness exhibited by the Spanish fathers. Of their eighty-one canons, no less than fourteen specify offences for which excommunication was to be final, "nec in fine dandam esse communionem."[a] On a review of these early authorities there appear to have been up to the close of the 3rd century three distinct ecclesiastical censures—1, rejection from participation for a fixed period; 2, rejection from communion and the prayers of the faithful, together with certain definite acts of penance: this is penitence strictly so-called; 3, excision from the church, whether final or with the understanding that the offender might be readmitted by means of penitence; this censure is excommunication.

1. *Duration of Penance.*—The duration of penitence in the earliest ages is uncertain. The *Apost. Const.* ii. 16, permit a delinquent to be restored after two, or three, or five, or seven weeks of fasting. That the period was short, and did

[a] These canons have sometimes another reading, "in fine," in place of "nec in fine," and also in c. 63 of "vix in fine;" but the harsher reading is the more generally received one. Chiefly on account of the similarity of these canons to the Novatian heresy, Morinus (ix. 19) endeavours to prove that the council must have been held prior to the condemnation of Novatus, in fact before the age of Cyprian.

not approach the ten, fifteen, or twenty years which were inflicted for graver offences after the 4th century, is rendered probable from the absence of any mention of long periods of exclusion in the writings of Tertullian. The same inference may be drawn from the silence of the *Apostolical Canons*. They affix no period whatever to their penalties.[b] The teaching of Montanus and his great convert, Tertullian, who seceded from the church partly on account of her laxity, had the natural effect of rendering the catholic discipline more severe. Still, in Africa under Cyprian, and in Rome under Cornelius, it does not appear that a sentence often exceeded one or two years. The demand of the lapsed to be admitted without penitence, and the curtailment or remission of the period of exclusion by a commendatory letter from a martyr, are clear indications that the sentences were not long. In one instance there are the materials for determining the actual length. In a synod held under Cyprian, in A.D. 251, after Easter certainly, and most probably in the summer, it was resolved among other matters that those of the lapsed who had even sacrificed should be admitted after a term of penance. Cyprian foreseeing signs of the renewal of persecution, directed through another synod on the Ides of May of the following year (*Ep.* lix. 12) that these lapsi should be at once re-admitted (*Ep.* lvii.). Their penitence therefore had not exceeded nine months. It is true that they were reconciled under circumstances of particular urgency; but one or two centuries later, an idolater would not have been admitted in less than several years, under any circumstances. In general it may be stated, that up to the time of Montanus the duration of penitence was very short; after Tertullian it became longer; but frequently in urgent cases it was curtailed, both by councils and bishops, and in some instances remitted entirely. The contrast between this leniency in the African and Roman churches and the crushing severity of the Spanish fathers at Elvira, about a generation later, shews that the system of discipline was not yet organised on a uniform basis.

2. *Rites and Usages.*—Although in the earliest ages the term of penance was short, and part of it was frequently remitted, there was greater strictness than afterwards prevailed in granting it. No one was admitted who did not beg admission from the bishop, with all the outward signs of deep contrition. From the time of Novatus onwards admission was easier, for when penitence was known to involve long years of public humiliation, less scruple was shewn in opening its privileges to all who were content to submit to it. After the 4th century it came to be laid down that penitence was to be denied to none who sought it. Innocent I. A.D. 402–417 (*Ep.* xxv. init.; Labb. *Conc.* ii. 1288), declared that he held it to be an act of impiety to refuse imposition of hands; an opinion upheld by Celestine I. A.D. 422–432 (*Ep.* ii. *ad Episc. Gall.* c. 2; Labb. *Conc.* ii. 1620). Similar resolutions were passed by some of the Frankish councils (*Conc. Andegav.* A.D. 453, c. 12; *Conc. Epaon.* A.D. 517, c. 36). But in earlier times penitence was regarded more in the light of a privilege and concession than of a right, and more caution was used in granting the privilege, from the fact that it was administered once only; if the penitent afterwards relapsed, there was no door by which he could return.

The earliest records exhibit the delinquent outside the door of the church, clothed in sackcloth, and with ashes upon his head, asking the worshippers as they entered the church to implore God on his behalf, and make intercession for him with the bishops and presbyters and the whole congregation. In the *Apost. Const.* ii. 16, already cited, it is directed that the offender is to be kept outside the church, and detained there till he has given evidence of genuine repentance. The length of the exclusion rested absolutely with the bishop. He too was the sole judge of the sincerity of the repentance. The locality of the repentant man who was seeking the peace of the church was outside the door (Tert. *de Pudicit.* 3); there, in his remorse, he threw himself in the dust before the feet of the priests (Tert. *de Poenit.* c. 9), and before the brethren (*ibid.* c. 10), with weeping and supplications for mercy. His self-abasement was a request to be admitted to the grace of penitence; it was the first act of the repenting sinner, begging his repentance might be accepted. The behaviour which befits the repenting sinner is drawn out by Cyprian, in language which there is no reason to suppose is not to be accepted literally (*de Laps.* c. 21): "Men must pray, and entreat with increased continuance; pass the days in mourning, and the nights in vigils and weeping; employ their whole time in tears and lamentations; lie stretched on the ground; prostrate themselves among ashes, sackcloth, and dust; after Christ's raiment lost, wish for no garment beside; after the devil's feast, must voluntarily fast; give themselves to righteous works, whereby sins are cleansed; apply themselves to frequent almsgiving, whereby souls are freed from death." Compare Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 28. The next stage was, that the bishop, satisfied of the man's repentance, and yielding to the intercessions addressed to him, sent the deacon to bring him into the church (*Apost. Const.* ii. 16), and solemnly laid his hands upon his head, and admitted him to penitence. Whether his public confession, which had necessarily been uttered during his abasement outside, was repeated now, or at some later stage, or was spoken again and again at different stages, there is no evidence clearly to shew. [EXOMOLOGESIS, p. 644.] What is certain is, that an open acknowledgment of guilt was required at the beginning of penitence. The imposition of hands, as in confirmation and ordination, was invariably accompanied with prayers, the form of which no doubt varied in different churches. One example is given in *Apost. Const.* viii. 9, of what date is uncertain; and such forms of prayer are found in all the penitential rituals of the 9th and following centuries. At the time of imposition of hands, the bishop assigned to the delinquent his term and degree of penance and

[b] There is one exception to this statement: c. 23 inflicts an exclusion of three years on laymen who mutilate themselves. Morinus iv. 9, without giving any definite reasons, regards the words ἔτη τρία as an interpolation.

thenceforth, and until he was reconciled, he became a penitent, properly so called. After the performance of the various acts of contrition, the fastings and self-mortifications, the penitent was received back into the church. And this reception in the first three centuries took place immediately after the conclusion of the penance, and carried with it all the privileges of full communion. This appears to have been the undoubted use of Cyprian, and of the Roman and African bishops of his age.

### III. The Penitential Stations.

After the close of the 3rd century, discipline became more systematic and more rigid. The Novatian controversies had had a twofold effect on the Catholic system. On the one hand, penitence was very rarely denied to any offender; on the other, its duration was longer, and its austerities sharper. It came to be regarded less and less in the light of a privilege, and more exclusively as a penalty—a weapon in the hands of the rulers of the church, to punish her criminals. In the earliest ages, and before the zeal of Christians was cooled by the influx of the mixed multitude which the cessation of the persecutions introduced, the fastings and mortifications of a repentant sinner were voluntary for the most part, the natural expression of inward grief. There was no fixed time for their continuance; this was determined solely by the earnestness of the repentance, and the discretion of the bishop. But now penitence became a penal sentence, which was to be worked out by certain appointed stages—so many years to be passed in one stage under certain conditions, so many more in another with a relaxation of the conditions, the later stage not to be begun till the earlier was completed; and so, step by step, the outcast was restored to full communion. The stages were the well-known penitential stations. The East was their birthplace. In the councils of Neocaesarea, A.D. 314, c. 3, and Ancyra, A.D. 314, cc. 20, 21, 25, reference is made to the ὡρισμένοι βαθμοί of penance, proving that there were certain stages which were so well known and well established in the church that it was not necessary to define them. The earliest mention of them by distinct names is in the last chapter (c. 11) of the *Canonical Epistle* of Gregory Thaumaturgus. This canon is commonly regarded as of a somewhat later date than the rest of the *Epistle*, but it expresses the view of a period shortly subsequent to that of Gregory of what was then believed to have been the course of discipline in Gregory's age. The definition there given of the stations is this: "Fletus est extra portam Oratorii, ubi peccatorem stantem oportet fideles ingredientes orare ut pro se precentur. Auditio est intra portam in Narthece, ubi oportet eum qui peccavit stare usque ad Catechumenos, et illinc egredi. Audiens enim, inquit, scripturas et doctrinam, ejiciatur, et precatione indignus censeatur. Substratio autem est ut intra portam Templi stans cum Catechumenis egrediatur. Consistentia est ut cum fidelibus consistat; et cum Catechumenis non egrediatur." In the system of discipline carried on by Basil (cc. 22, 56, 57, 58, 64, 66, 75, 77, 80, 81, 83), and his brother, Gregory of Nyssa (*Can. Ep.* passim), the stations bore a prominent place; and their use seems to be taken for granted in the councils of the early part of the 4th century—Ancyra, Laodicea, Neocaesarea, Nicaea. They had then become a recognised, and, so to speak, a canonical branch of the penitential organization of the church. Their working will best be seen by taking the penitent through the several stages. At the outset it is supposed that the delinquent, either by confession or notoriety, or after an examination, stands convicted of a grievous sin; that he has made an open acknowledgment of it, whether before the bishop or the presbytery, or the whole congregation [Exomologesis]; that he has received imposition of hands from the bishop, and is then to undergo his penance through each step of the series. The strict letter of the law sentenced him to begin at the first and lowest of these, but this strictness must in practice have been frequently relaxed. Even when the system was in its greatest force, that is to say, in the Eastern church through the 4th century, some countenance was given to this laxity by the canons themselves. Thus the *Conc. Nicaen.* c. 12, decrees that those who shew their repentance by their dress, and by fear, and by tears, and by submission and good works, may, after a time among the "audientes," share in the communion prayer; the principal and laborious station of the "substrati" being thus omitted. Basil (c. 4) in the same way curtails the penance of one who has been thrice married. The *Conc. Ancyr.* (c. 7) permits certain delinquents, after two years among the "substrati," to leap over the stage of the "consistentes," and be received to full communion. Analogous instances occur in Greg. Thaumat. c. 9; Basil, cc. 13, 61, 73, 80, 81. It was only in rare cases that an offender was sent at all to the *mourners* or the *hearers*. The ordinary course, almost universal in the Latin church, and very general in the Greek, was to remit him at once to the great station of the "substrati." This was the course enjoined by the Council of Ancyra, cc. 5, 7, 8, 16, 24. In Basil, however, a strict adherence to the four consecutive stations was decreed for all great crimes. In the Canonical Epistle of Gregory of Nyssa, the station of "consistentia" does not occur. The penitent is allowed by him to pass from the station below to full communion. These variations are found during the full vigour of the system. When once it had been weakened, it must have been impossible to restore it, and to recall delinquents back to submission to this ideal severity.

1. The Mourners, *flentes*, προσκλαίοντες.—This was the first stage through which the penitent was to pass. It is to be distinguished from the mourning and weeping outside, to which reference has already been made in the discipline of the earlier centuries. The station of the *mourners* was the position of those whose penitence had already begun. The mention of the name is rare among the early authorities; and it is not likely that the thing itself was frequently imposed. It was part of the scheme and framework of the system, held in reserve rather than commonly inflicted. Reference is made to it directly in the last canon (c. 11), which is attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus, and indirectly, in c. 8 of the same

epistle, where certain robbers are held to be undeserving even of *hearing;* that is to say, they were not to be allowed inside the building. The only station then remaining for them would be among the *mourners.* Basil introduces the station by a similar paraphrase. "Polygamists," he says (c. 80), "are not to be received for three years;" and a short time afterwards sentences other culprits to be ejected for three years, and in each case adds, "then they are to be *hearers* for two, kneelers for three," &c. The terms "to be ejected," and "not to be received," signify some stage below that of *hearers,* which can only be among the *mourners.* In many of his canons (cc. 22, 56, 57, 58, 59, 64, 66, 75), the station is mentioned directly, and by name. But this is not the case in the Canonical Epistle of Gregory of Nyssa. He remarks that there is a canon of that sort that habitual fornicators are to be expelled for three years altogether from prayer, and afterwards be *hearers* for three years, &c. The being expelled from prayer is an indirect way of describing the lowest station.

i. *Their Position.*—In the appointment of the ancient churches there was an open area or space set apart in front of the door. All who entered the church necessarily came through this area or approach. This was the place assigned to the *mourners,* and beyond it they were forbidden to pass. The removal of delinquents outside the very doors of the church was a practice as old as Tertullian, who states (*de Pudicit.* c. 4) that for certain monstrous crimes the criminal was not allowed to cross the threshold of any part of the sacred building. At a later period Chrysostom warns (*Hom.* xvii. *in Matt.*) some of his hearers, that if they continue contumacious they shall be prohibited from entering even the porch, as adulterers and murderers are prevented. Morinus is disposed to think that ejection from the building and exposure to the elements is the interpretation of the disputed c. 17 of *Conc. Ancyr.* which sentences those guilty of unnatural crimes to pray *εἰς τοὺς χειμαζομένους, inter hyemantes.*

ii. *Duration and Mode of Penance.*—The *mourners* being placed outside the very doors of the church, could take no part in what was going on inside. They were cut off from all sacred rites whatever. They could hear neither the reading of the Scripture nor the preaching; still less could they join in the prayers or in the sacred mysteries. So far as public worship was concerned, they were to all intents and purposes aliens from the church. There remained to them only their personal devotions, and their hopes by earnestness of repentance and amendment of life to obtain a mitigation of their sentence. Still there were certain duties attached, not exclusively to this station, but to a state of penance generally, and which would be more rigorously enforced in this station whenever it was occupied, by the performance of which the penitent was led to expect that he might make a favourable impression on the church from which he had been expelled. The foremost of these was an open and frequent acknowledgment of his guilt. And this self-abasement, as Ambrose points out (*Poenit.* ii. 10), was not inflicted merely for the humiliation of the offender, but as proof and fruit of his contrition. If pardon, he says, has to be obtained from one in secular power, you go about, and canvass and supplicate people, and cast yourself at their feet, and kiss their very footsteps, and bring forward your innocent children to plead for their guilty parent; and need you be ashamed to use the same earnestness in beseeching the church to intercede to God for you? (See Pacian, Paraen. *ad Poenit,* c. 6.) The dress of the *mourner* was to correspond with his language and position. There were no special regulations allotting a distinctive garb to him, but whatever dress was held to be suitable to severe penance must be held to apply to the station in which the greatest severity was exercised. For a fuller account of the penitential dress see below, under the section *Kneelers,* p. 1593. It remains to point out the length of time for which delinquents were remitted to this lowest depth of penitence. Basil, c. 56, assigns twenty years to a murderer, four of which are to be among the *mourners.* For the same crime the code of Gregory of Nyssa places the murderer for nine years in the lowest station. For manslaughter, (Basil, cc. 58, 59), two of the eleven years of exclusion are to be among the *mourners;* for adultery, four out of fifteen; for uncleanness, two out of seven. One canon (c. 73) sentences an apostate to spend the remainder of his life a *mourner.*

2. Hearers, *audientes, ἀκροώμενοι.*—The notices of this second station are scanty. There is no express mention of any rites or austerities peculiar to it, nor of any ceremony by which the penitent was promoted to it from the stage below. With many of the Latin Fathers—Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine—the "audientes" were the catechumens, and these writers do not use the term at all to express a penitential station. In fact, it is doubtful if the station itself ever obtained a general use in the Western church. It was unknown in Africa; it is not mentioned by Ambrose as part of the Italian system; it is altogether omitted in the *Collectio Canon.* of Martin of Braga, and therefore presumably was not in use in Spain. The only precise and direct reference to the *hearers* among Latin writers is to be found in one of the letters of pope Felix III. A.D. 483–492 (*Ep.* vii. *ad Episc. Univers.* Labbe, *Conc.* iv. 1075), who decrees that those who submitted to a second baptism should undergo the same penalty which c. 11 of *Conc. Nicaen.* laid upon the lapsed, that is to say, three years among the *hearers,* &c. In the East the station was a recognised part of the organization of discipline from the beginning of the 4th century (Gregory Thaumat. c. 11; Basil, cc. 22, 56, 75, &c.; Gregory Nyss. c. 3; *Conc. Ancyr.* cc. 4, 6, 9; *Conc. Nicaen.* cc. 11, 12; *Apost. Const.* viii. 5).

i. *Their Position.*—The c. 11 of Gregory Thaumat. places the *hearer* within the door in the narthex of the church. His position, strictly speaking, was in the porch (*προπύλαιον, πρόθυρον, πρόναος*), but this could not always be enforced in practice. The object of this station was, that he should be a listener to the Scriptures and the sermon. In some buildings he might be able to hear while standing in the vestibule; but as a rule his place must have been assigned within the building at the lowest end of the church. Inside the church was the position as interpreted by the Greek canonists (Balsamon in can. 11, 12;

*Conc. Nicaen.*; Zonaras, in c. 4 *Conc. Ancyr.*; Harmenopulus. *Epitom. Canon.* sec. v. tit. 3). He was so far in advance of the *mourner* that he was spared the abject self-abasement and supplication expected in the lowest stage, and he had moreover the privilege of hearing the Word of God, but he did not as yet receive any imposition of hands, nor share in any intercessory prayer. He was admitted within the walls of the church, but on the same footing with Jews, and heretics, and heathen, and the first order of catechumens; for against none of these classes who wished to enter to listen to the Scriptures were the doors of the church to be closed (4 *Conc. Carthag.* c. 84).

3. Kneelers (*substrati*, ὑποπίπτοντες).—This was the third and principal station in the Eastern system; in the Western, it was not only the principal, but in general practice must have been the only one, with the exception, perhaps, of the *consistentes*. When the Latin fathers speak of penitence, it is the position and the penance of the *kneelers* that they have in their mind. It has already been seen that the two earlier stages entered little into the practical administration of the discipline of the West. The Latin versions by Dionysius Exiguus, and by Martin of Braga of the canons of Ancyra, translate ὑποπίπτοντες and ὑπόπτωσις by *poenitentes* and *poenitentia*. And so the pontifical letter of Felix III. (*Ep.* vii.), already cited, renders the ὑποπεσόντας of c. ii. *Conc. Nicaen.* by "subjaceant inter poenitentes." It therefore appears that, generally, when the word penitence was employed in the West during the period under review, it referred not to the four stations in succession, but to this particular one of the *kneelers*. In this station also was performed the exomologesis of the earlier fathers, and the "plena, legitima poenitentia" of Cyprian and the *Conc. Eliber.* In one of Basil's canons (c. 22) this station is called pre-eminently μετάνοια, *poenitentia*.

i. *Their Position.*—The position of the penitent, or the *kneeler*, is stated by Gregory to be within the door of the church, so that he may go out with the catechumens. He stood within the walls of the building in the part below the ambo. And this position agrees with the decrees of Basil (cc. 22, 56, 75), and is the one assigned by the Greek commentators on the canons (see, for instance, Zonaras and Balsamon in can. 11, 12; *Conc. Nicaen.* can. 4, 5; *Conc. Ancyr.*) The ambo thus served as a point of demarcation between the penitents and the faithful; if the number of the faithful was so great as to extend below the ambo, the penitents were thrust lower still.

ii. *Rites and Prayers.*—In the two lower stations the delinquents were outside the care of the church; as *mourners* they could not enter the building, as *hearers* they could only listen to the reading and preaching of the word; but in the stage of *kneelers* they were again recognised as a part, though an erring part, of the Christian fold. In the first place, they underwent frequent, if not constant, imposition of hands. The 3 *Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 589, c. 11, orders penitence to be administered according to the form of the ancient canons, which appoint, as it proceeds to explain, that the penitent should frequently resort to imposition of hands. And long before this, the 4 *Conc. Carthag.* A.D. 398, c. 80, had ordered the hands of the priest to be laid on penitents at every time of fasting; and even on days of remission (*id.* c. 82), when other Christians were accustomed to stand during their prayers, penitents were not to be exempt from kneeling. Together with imposition of hands, special prayers were offered on his behalf; c. 19 of *Conc. Laodic.* A.D. 320, gives an early account of these prayers. After the catechumens have gone out, the prayers of the penitents shall be offered, and when they have come under the hand of the priest and departed, then the prayers of the faithful. The order of the service is related fully in the *Apost. Const.* viii. 8, 9. After the dismissal of the candidates for baptism, the deacon cried out, "*Orate poenitentes*, and let us pray earnestly for our brethren who are undergoing penance; that the God of mercy would shew them the way of repentance, and admit their contrition and confession, and bruise Satan under their feet," &c. When the prayer was finished, the deacon bade them rise and bow their heads to receive the bishop's benediction. The order of prayer accompanying this rite is then given. At the conclusion of this, the deacon exclaimed, "Depart ye who are penitents." The 3 *Conc. Carthag.* A.D. 397, c. 32, directs these rites, in the case of notorious delinquents, to take place "ante apsidem." An earlier and simpler account of the dismissal of the penitents from church is given in *Apost. Const.* ii. 57. There is distinct reference to this service in Chrysostom. "The first prayer," he says (*Hom.* 71 *in Matt.* p. 624), "which we pray for the energumens, is full of mercy; the second prayer likewise, when we pray for the penitents, is for mercy." Bingham, *Antiq.* XIV. v. 13, raises the question whether these prayers, which were an undoubted part of the Eastern offices, were in use also in the West, but concludes that the usage was the same in both branches of the church. Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 16) gives a graphic account of what he had himself, perhaps, witnessed in a Roman church. "In the Western church, and especially in Rome, the place in which the penitents stand is visible to all; they take up their position in it distressed and sorrowful. When the liturgy is finished, as they may not share in the sacred mysteries, they throw themselves prostrate on the ground with cries and tears, when the bishop, in his compassion, coming to them, falls likewise by their side, raising his voice with theirs, till at length the whole congregation is dissolved in tears. After this the bishop is the first to rise and to take them by the hand; and when he has offered the prayers suitable for sinners performing penance, he dismisses them from the church." The same ceremony of assigning the penitents a special place, and uniting with them in prayer, and dismissing them with the catechumens, was in use in the Frankish church (*Conc. Agath.* c. 60; *Conc. Epaon.* c. 29).

iii. *Dress.*—The delinquent in this stage of penance was to be arrayed in sackcloth. Whether he was required to wear this at all times while under sentence, or only during his public prostration in the church, does not appear. So Ambrose (*ad Virg. laps.* c. 8) exhibits a virgin who had fallen into sin, undergoing penance, clothed in sackcloth, and with ashes sprinkled

upon her head. And so Jerome (*Ep.* 30 *ad Ocean.*) describes the garb of Fabiola, while doing penance in the Lateran church in presence of the clergy and people of Rome, with a garment of sackcloth, with her hair dishevelled, and her face and hands unwashed. So Gregory of Tours (*Hist.* viii. 20), depicts the penance of bishop Ursicinus. It was one of the decrees of the council of Agde (A.D. 506, c. 15), that an offender, from the beginning of his penance, should wear "cilicium," as was the custom throughout the church; and that if he had neglected to change his dress, he should not be admitted among the penitents. The "sicut ubique constitutum est" of c. 15. *Conc. Agath.* is illustrated by Tertullian *de Pudicit.* c. 5; Cyprian *de Laps.* c. 19; Caesarius Arelat. *Hom.* i.; 3 *Conc. Tolet.* c. 12, and by the subsequent directions of the rituals of the 8th and 9th centuries. The sordid garb of penance was to be worn as long as the exclusion continued (Pacian, *Paraen. ad Poenit.* c. 19). Another austerity, enjoined by c. 15, *Conc. Agath.* was cutting off the hair—a direction also found in 1 *Conc. Barcinon.* A.D. 540, c. 6, and 3 *Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 589, c. 12. A man was to shave his head; a woman to wear a veil. This veil was the general dress of a female penitent (Optatus ii. *in fin.*). Ambrose (*Virg. laps.* c. 8) had ordered his penitent virgin to cut off that hair which before she had used as a blandishment. The shaving the head gave place, at a later date, to the opposite practice of neglecting the hair and the beard, and suffering it to grow long and heavy, as a symbol of the weight of sin resting on the penitent's head (Isidore *de Eccles. Off.* ii. 16).

iv. *Penitential Exercises.*—In addition to the public submission to the appointed course of discipline—the prostration in the church, the open confession, the penitential dress, the rejection from the Eucharistic service—certain special acts of self-mortification were required from the penitent. In the earlier ages, and when zeal was warmer, these acts of contrition were left to the conscience of the contrite sinner. All that was absolutely demanded of him by ecclesiastical usage was obedience to the rites of the public censure. Still it was thought becoming, and a suitable token of sincerity, that the private life should be in accordance with the public profession. So Pacian (*Paraen. ad Poenit.* c. 19), speaks of it as a daily duty of a penitent to weep in sight of the church, to mourn a lost life in sordid garb, to fast, to pray, to fall prostrate, to refuse luxury, to hold the poor man by the hand, to entreat the prayers of the widows, to fall down before the priests, to essay all rather than to perish. But, as will be seen when a later period is reached, these private acts of penance came more and more to be added on to the public discipline, till, ultimately, they usurped its place. A still later stage will shew these acts redeemable by money payments. The chief of these penitential exercises was fasting, borne sometimes as a self-imposed austerity, sometimes as an additional penalty inflicted by authority. At a later date these special fastings were an invariable accompaniment of the censures of private penance. In the 4th and 5th centuries, if not invariable, they were always expected (Ambrose, *ad Virg. laps.* c. 9; *de Poenit.* ii. 10; Caesar. Arelat. *Hom.* i.) Sozomen, continuing his account (*H. E.* vii. 16) of the practices of the Western church, states that, in addition to the public formalities, the penitent voluntarily exercised himself in fastings, and in abstinence from meat and from the bath, or in other mortifications which had been commanded him. These austerities were usually assigned, as Sozomen relates, by the penitentiary; but as that office was altogether abolished in the time of Nectarius, the more general practice in the church must have been that the bishop, or priest, under whose ministrations the delinquent ordinarily lived, allotted them. By the end of the 5th century, special penitential fastings were the common practice (Felix III. *Ep.* 7). Towards the middle of the following century, other restrictions were added. The first council of Barcelona, A.D. 540 (cc. 6, 7), not only orders penitents to pass their time in prayer and fasting, with a shaven head and a religious dress, but also forbids them to be present at banquets or to take a part in public affairs, but to lead a frugal life in their own homes. The length to which these deprivations and macerations were carried may be gathered from what is told of a visit to the penitential cells of a monastery by John Climacus in the 6th century (apud Morin. vi. 11). After relating the laborious penance of the prisoners, he adds, "What I saw and heard among them filled me with despair, when I compare my easy ways with the rigour of those saints, and consider what the aspect of the place, and of their whole dwelling was, how dark, and foetid, and sordid, and squalid," &c. In addition to fasting and abstinence from the ordinary enjoyments and luxuries of life, there were two other restrictions laid upon penitents, one of which cut them off from marriage, or, if they were married, from conjugal intercourse; the other, from the profession of arms or any other secular calling. These two restrictions were curiously confined, both as to the date and the part of the church in which they were in force. In the first place, they are not met with in any of the authorities prior to the conversion of the empire. Neither Tertullian, nor Cyprian, nor Pacian, nor the councils of Elvira or Arles, make any reference to penitents being excluded from marriage or marriage-rights, or from bearing arms, or carrying on business, or taking any part in public affairs. So, with regard to the restrictions on public or professional life. Christians were undoubtedly prohibited from undertaking certain public offices (*Conc. Eliber.* c. 56; 1 *Conc. Arelat.* c. 7), not because they were penitents, but because of the taint of idolatry attaching to the offices in question. What has been said with regard to the absence of these restrictions in the West in the first three centuries, applies to the Eastern church absolutely. Neither celibacy, nor retirement from secular life, was ever imposed in connexion with public penance in the East. Such prohibitions were frequently laid upon the clergy, but upon the clergy alone (*Con. Apost.* cc. 81, 82; *Conc. Chalced.* c. 3). Coming to the Western usage, the Latin fathers no doubt counsel seclusion and continence during the time of penance (for example, Ambrose *de Poenitent.* ii. 10), but they do not make them obligatory. The earliest decision on the subject is in a letter (*Ep.* i. 5) of pope Siricius, A.D.

384–398, in reply to Himerius, bishop of Tarragona (Labb. *Conc.* ii. 1017), which prohibits participation in the elements, although it sanctions communion in prayer, to those who, after their penance, had returned to military life and contracted a second marriage. There was always a tendency in such restrictions to increase in severity. Accordingly, the 2 *Conc. Arelat.* A.D. 443, c. 21, casts out altogether from the doors of the church a penitent who, during his penance or afterwards, entered upon marriage a second time. And 3 *Conc. Aurelian.* A.D. 538, c. 25, prohibits a penitent from resuming arms or secular pursuits under penalty of being denied communion to the hour of death. Still severer is a decree of 2 *Conc. Barcinon.* A.D. 599, c. 4, which places marriage during penance on the same footing as the marriage of a nun, and orders both to be utterly expelled from the church. Some of the Frankish councils (2 *Conc. Arelat.* c. 22; 3 *Conc. Aurelian.* c. 24) forbade married people even to be received as penitents. The latest canon appointing these restrictions is the one of Barcelona just quoted. These special penalties may therefore be said to have been in use through the 5th and 6th centuries, and only in the Western church. They will reappear later in connexion with the Western discipline; no longer, however, as an ordinary part of public penance, but rather as special punishments for special great crimes. It is manifest that this discipline strictly enforced would not only lay a heavy burden on those who submitted to it, but would also lead to great practical inconvenience. The number of penitents at this time was very large, and if they were to be excluded, not only during their penance, but for the remainder of their lives, both from carrying arms and from all secular pursuits, their means of livelihood would be cut off. The necessities of the case led to a system of dispensation, upon which much light is thrown in one of the epistles of pope Leo I. A.D. 440–461 (*Ep.* xcii. Labb. *Conc.* iii. 1408, where both the questions and replies are given). He is writing in answer to questions put to him by Rusticus, bishop of Narbonne. In reply to interrog. 10, asking how penitents who plead in a law-suit are to be treated? Leo answers, that a man who is seeking pardon for spiritual wrong must be content to forego his civil rights; and in fact, he prohibits the penitent from appearing in court. In reply to the next question, with regard to trade and business, he decrees that although all matters of buying and selling are likely to stain the soul, still that there are some trades which are honourable, and he gives no decision in the matter. In practice this distinction appears to have held good, that a respectable trade or profession was open to a penitent; but that if he resumed any questionable, still more any discreditable business, he again exposed himself to ecclesiastical censure. And this is in accordance with the language of Gregory (*Hom.* 24 *in Evangel.*), that there are certain trades which can scarcely be carried on without contamination with sin, and it is obligatory on a repentant sinner not to adopt one of them. The restriction with regard to war did not involve the same practical difficulty as secular business, and to this Leo was not disposed to grant any dispensation declaring (*Ep.* xcii. interrog. 12) that it was contrary to all ecclesiastical usage for any one at the conclusion of his penance to resume arms. With respect to continence, the councils in the canons cited above insisted upon strict self-control, both during penance and afterwards. This strictness Leo (*ibid.* interrog. 13) would rather relax, and allow a married man to return to his wife when his penance is over. This decision of Leo is cited with approval by the sixth council of Toledo (A.D. 638, c. 8) where the continence of penitents is the subject of a long disquisition.

4. The BYSTANDERS, *consistentes*, *συνιστάμενοι*.—The fourth and last penitential station. The ecclesiastical term *σύστασις* is given in the c. 11. of Gregory Thaumaturgus, and frequently in the canons of Basil. The *Conc. Ancyr.* uses the word once only, c. 25. The signification of the term is, standing together with the faithful and communicating with them, but in prayer only, and not being dismissed before the Eucharistic service. In the earlier Greek canons the station is more frequently expressed by some paraphrase. The c. 12 of *Conc. Nicaen.* decreed that after an offender had expiated his allotted sentence among the *hearers*, he might communicate in prayer. This communion to which the "consistentes" were admitted, extended no further than the right to share in the Eucharistic prayers. All the other rites of the sacrament, and more particularly reception, were forbidden. Among the prohibited rites was that of bringing oblations. The *Conc. Ancyr.* frequently (cc. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 24) describes this fourth station by the expression "let them be present at the Eucharist without oblation" (χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνησάτωσαν). The c. 11 of *Conc. Nicaen.* expresses the last stage by similar language. See also Felix, *Ep.* iii. 7. Communion in prayer, without the privilege of making an oblation, was therefore tantamount to rejection from actual participation. And this appears to have been the extent of the ἀφορίζεσθαι of the apostolic canons and the *abstinere* of Cyprian and of the councils of Elvira and Arles. The *consistentes* comprised several degrees and classes of penitents. 1. Those who had worked their way up through one or more of the lower stages. 2. Those whose censure only excluded them from participation, either because their offence was a light one, as in the case of the inhabitants of cities absenting themselves from church for three Sundays, or of gamblers (*Conc. Eliber.* cc. 21, 79; 1 *Conc. Arelat.* cc. 3, 4, 5, 6, 11), or because the offender had at once confessed his crime and obtained a remission from penance. (Gregory Thaumat. c. 9; Basil, c. 61). 3 Penitents, who, after reconciliation, had resumed their secular trades, and who had re-married, and who by a decree of pope Siricius, A.D. 384–398 (*Ep.* i. 5), were to be denied participation. Of these classes, the second, which contributed probably the greater part of the whole, were in no strict sense penitents; the third was an exceptional case. The first were the *consistentes* proper. They were admitted once more into communion with the faithful, with the exception of the right of making oblations, and receiving the elements. Whether or not they were exempt from all penitential exercises there is no evidence to shew. Whatever disabilities in the matter of marriage, and arms and public affairs and trade, were imposed upon other penitents, were

laid also upon these, although it is most probable they were spared the humiliation of a penitential dress, and of public imposition of hands.

i. *Their position.*—The position of the *consistentes* was above the ambo with the rest of the congregation. This may be taken as a matter of course. It is nowhere expressly so stated, but as all those below the ambo, catechumens, penitents, energumens, were dismissed before the beginning of the eucharistic service, and the *consistentes* were permitted to remain, it is natural to conclude that their position in church would be above those who were dismissed. But whether they mixed indiscriminately with the faithful, or were set apart by themselves, is not so clear. Basil decrees (c. 4) with regard to some who had contracted a third marriage, that after so many years among the *Hearers* and *Co-standers*, they were to be restored to the *place* of communion (τῷ τόπῳ τῆς κοινωνίας), which would seem to imply that the actual communicant occupied a distinct place in the church; and bearing in mind the orderly arrangement of an ancient Christian congregation, the men on one side, and the women on the other, the monks, the virgins, and the sacred widows, in the front, it seems more likely that the penitents, even when they had reached the highest station, had a separate locality in the church.

IV. From the seventh Century to the ninth.

1. *In the East.* With the beginning of the 5th century, the Eastern system entered upon a new stage. The abrogation of the office of the Penitentiary priest, which took place some time during the episcopacy of Nectarius at Constantinople, A.D. 381–397, may be taken as the point of departure from the earlier practice. The reason and the circumstances of the removal of this church officer are given in Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 16; Socrates, *H. E.* v. 19. The changes which may be traced to this act of Nectarius are—1. The removal of the presbyter whose office it was to superintend confession and penance. 2. The decline of the custom, which dated from the earliest ages, of acknowledging certain crimes openly before the congregation, the supervision of which had been one of the duties of the penitentiary. 3. The selection by the penitent of his acts of penance, instead of their assignment by the penitentiary. 4. The gradual cessation of public penance for secret crimes. 5. The cessation of the public rites of daily imposition of hands and prayers for the penitents, which were the chief ceremonies in the ritual of the station of the ὑποπίπτοντες. Of these changes, the first four followed as a matter of course from the abolition of the penitentiary's office. The public imposition and prayer did not long survive; they may be said to have ceased with the termination of the observance of the stations, and they formed no part of the Eastern discipline at the close of the 5th century. The solemnities observed towards the *kneelers*, who comprised the great body of those who were undergoing public penance, consisted of two parts; the first, the laying on of hands and the prayers; the second, the formal dismissal from the church. The latter of these continued in force after the former had fallen into disuse. Morinus (*Poenitent.* vi. 22) discovers a mention of this solemn dismissal in the *Eccl. Mystagog.*, c. 14, of St. Maximus, who wrote in the 7th century. The disappearance of all the solemnities peculiar to the stations is coincident with the omission of any mention of the stations from the canons of councils. The one exception to this statement is *Conc. in Trull.* c. 87, which sentenced an adulterer to be a *Mourner* one year, a *Hearer* two, &c., &c. Martene (*de Rit. Antiq.* i. 6) suggests that this canon points to the existence of the stations in the 7th century. Morinus, with more reason, regards it rather in the light of an historical reference by the fathers in Trullo, than of a canon on existing discipline. The absence of any reference to the rites and solemnities of penitents is equally marked in the Greek liturgies, as in the canons already cited. Those of Basil and Chrysostom are altogether silent with regard to them. So are the liturgical writings of Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, about A.D. 720. The Syriac liturgies of Antioch and the Nestorians, in common with all the oriental liturgies, mention the ritual of the catechumens, but not that of the penitents. Equally silent is that of St. Mark, which is said to have been used by the churches of Jerusalem and Alexandria. The liturgy of St. James has one direction which may refer to the dismissal of penitents. After the reading of the Gospel, the deacon is to say, Let none of the catechumens, none who are yet uninitiated, none who are unable to pray with us, be present at the mysteries. It is not improbable that the expression "those who are not able to pray with us," may refer to delinquents undergoing penance, but they are not mentioned by name. The same direction occurs in the Abyssinian liturgy (Morinus, *Poenitent.* vi. 22). In the age of the compilation of these liturgies, the old penitential rites of public prayer and imposition of hands, and to a great extent of solemn dismissal, had apparently vanished. In the time of the Greek canonist Balsamon, the 12th century, every vestige of them had completely departed, and they are spoken of in c. 19, *Conc. Laodic.*, as customs of the early ages. It is difficult to determine with any fulness the penitential rites which took their place. The chief source of information is the Penitential book which bears the name of John the Faster, who succeeded to the patriarchate of Constantinople, A.D. 585. The Penitential is published in the Appendix (pp. 615–644) of the great work of Morinus, together with the *Canonarium* of John the Monk, who in the title is called a disciple of Basil, which can mean no more than that the treatise contains some of the traditionary teaching of Basil, or carries on his system. If the date commonly assigned to these books could be depended upon, there would be no difficulty in sketching the outline of the penitential system in the East, in the 6th and following centuries. But the books manifestly contain much later additions, and modern criticism has not yet determined how much is genuine, and how much spurious (Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, p. 4, note). There is little doubt that John left behind him a collection of penitential canons, which for some ages had wide authority in the Eastern church. Nicephorus Chartophylax (*Ep. ad Theod. Monach.*) writing about the year 800, testifies to the general reception of the canons. A council of Constantinople, held under Alexius Commenus about A.D. 1085, replying to certain questions of some monks, condemns (quest. 11), the canonica

system of the Faster for having destroyed many souls by excessive indulgence. The book appears to have passed through the same history as some of the more familiar Penitentials of the West. In its present form it probably contains most of the original instructions of John, but with so much of accretion that it is unsafe to rely upon it in matters of detail. The use and encouragement of minute secret confession are unquestionable, if the Penitential is to be accepted as authentic in any shape. To stimulate confession, the priest was instructed to examine the delinquent in the utmost detail. Then there followed the delivery of the sentence, consisting mainly of fastings, and continuing sometimes for a number of years. Lastly, there came the singular practice, which may be dated from this age, and which continued peculiar to the Eastern discipline, of granting a preliminary absolution immediately after the confession, and after the imposition of penance, but deferring full restoration to communion till the completion of the penance, however long or short it might be. The only vestige of the public penitence remaining was the retirement of the penitent (ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ) from the choir of the church into the narthex while the Mass was being celebrated. He was under instructions to retire at the same time with the catechumens, but he was not, like them, solemnly dismissed, although his retirement was doubtless a remnant of the old rite of formal dismissal. Reference to this practice of the penitent retiring is made in a MS. of Simeon of Thessalonica, *In Sacr. Liturg.*, about A.D. 1000, published by Morinus, Appendix, p. 470. The order of conducting the confession in the Greek Penitential was this: first, the confession, accompanied by a certain ritual of posture and prayer, then a minute interrogation of the delinquent, then a short precatory absolution, and afterwards the assignment of a penance to be performed without any public ceremonial. [See EXOMOLOGESIS, Vol. I. p. 650.] The sentence sometimes extended to ten or fifteen years; the ἐπιτίμια (or penitential exercises) were chiefly confined to restrictions on matters of food and drink. [See FASTING, Vol. I. p. 663.] As, however, the ἐπιτίμια were precise and elaborate and sometimes of long duration, and, on certain festivals, might be omitted entirely, it was customary to assign them in writing. Slaves and servants of all classes were to receive only half the penance imposed upon their masters. The ritual described in the Penitentials was the model for the practice of penitence in the East throughout the middle ages (Leo Allatius *Consen. Eccl. Orien. cum Occident.* iii. 9).

2. IN THE WEST.

i. *Public Penitence.*—The changes which came over the Eastern discipline in the 5th century were longer in making their appearance in the West. But when the change came the same general results followed. The ritual of public imposition of hands, and an order of prayer and solemn dismissal before the eucharistic service, fell into disuse. Morinus infers from the absence of a penitential ritual in any of the early Latin liturgies, the Gregorian or Gelasian sacramentaries, the *Ordo Romanus*, the Ambrosian liturgy, or of any reference to one in the early liturgical commentators, Walafrid Strabo, Raban Maur, Amalarius, that the public rites in the treatment of penitents came to an end about A.D. 700. Another change, dating from about that period, and coincident with the introduction of the Penitentials, was the definition of the distinction between public and private penance. The latter, which was unknown in the early ages, now almost entirely usurped the place of the former; and it grew to be accepted as a custom of the church that public penance should be reserved for notorious offenders, but that for secret sins private penance sufficed. No exact date can be fixed as to the time in which public penitence fell into abeyance. It declined with the gradual decline of primitive church order. In the English church it had disappeared altogether before the close of the 7th century. There is a decree in the penitential of Theodore (A.D. 669–690, I. xiii. 4), which states that reconciliation was not to be publicly granted in his province, because public penance was not in existence. Even as early as the 6th century private penitence had made an inroad on the public discipline; there is a canon of 1 *Conc. Mastiscon.* A.D. 581, c. 18, which deprives certain delinquents of communion till they had made satisfaction by public penance. In the stricter system of former centuries, the deprivation itself would have been a public penance. Morinus (vii. 1) quotes a decree from *Conc. Leptin.* A.D. 743, which he states to have been confirmed by pope Zacharias, that an offender who privately and spontaneously confessed should be dealt with privately; if he was openly convicted, or made a public confession, then he was to pass through penance publicly, in the presence of the church, according to the canons. This decree, which does not appear among the four extant canons of Lestines, was inserted in the later collections of the *Capitularies*, v. 52; and taken with other indirect indications of the decay of public discipline, it may be regarded as representing the general practice of the West at the close of the 8th century. Thus the 2 *Conc. Remens.* A.D. 813, c. 31, called attention to the distinction which ought to be observed between those doing public and private penance: a distinction also made by 6 *Conc. Arelat.* c. 26 in the same year, and repeated in the *Capitulary* issued by *Conc. Ticin.* A.D. 855, (Labb. *Conc.* viii. 149), and in *Conc. Mogunt.* A.D. 847, c. 31, under Raban. Maur. When once the custom became general that some might be exempt from public penitence, there naturally arose a difficulty in enforcing it in cases which had no claim to exemption. In different provinces, zealous and energetic bishops insisted upon the observance of the canons. Thus among the *Capitula* issued by Hincmar, A.D. 852 (Labb. *Conc.* viii. 585), to the clergy of the diocese of Rheims, was one to the effect that if, in defiance of clerical admonition, a notorious criminal refused to submit to public penance, resort was to be had to the extreme censure of excommunication. Hincmar allows a criminal fifteen days' grace, after which, if he still refuses submission, he is to be excommunicated. In England (Theod. *Penitent.* I. xiii. 4) public penitence was in abeyance as early as the close of the 7th century. In France, Jonas, bishop of Orleans (*de Instit. Laic.* i. 10), writing at the beginning of the 9th century, states that a public penitent was scarcely ever seen in the churches, and that the vigour of the ancient

discipline was almost dead. It is not, however, to be supposed that the primitive system was quite gone. Public penitents were still to be seen, who were separated from the faithful in dress, and by their position in the congregation. An evidence of their existence is to be found in the laws passed for their protection. It was a criminal offence in a priest or layman to compel a public penitent to eat flesh or drink wine (*Capitular.* i. 157); to slay him was a crime of special enormity (*ibid.* iv. 18). The 9th century witnessed some revival of the old discipline. The organisation of the stations became again, in a modified form, the rule of the church (see Martene, *de Rit.* I. vi. art. 4). The *Conc. Vormat.*, A.D. 868, c. 30, appointed a penitent to pray for a certain time outside the church doors; at the end of that period he was to be solemnly introduced, but still separated from the faithful, and be placed in a conspicuous corner of the church, and there to stand, unless he had special permission to sit (*Conc. Mogunt.* A.D. 888, c. 16); afterwards he was permitted to mix with the congregation, but reception of the elements came later (*Capitular.* v. 136). If the third stage of non-participation was prolonged, communion was granted on Christmas Day and Easter. Detailed directions for dealing with particular delinquents will be found in the pastoral letters of pope Nicholas I. A.D. 858–867; *Ep.* xvii. *ad Rivol. Episc.*; Labb. *Conc.* viii. 503; *Ep.* xxiv. *ad Hincmar.*; *ibid.* p. 513; *Conc. Nannetens.* A.D. 895, c. 17. In the matter of dress it does not appear that any change was made from the penitential garb in use in the earlier centuries. In some provinces it was the custom for the hair and beard to be shaven, in others to be neglected and suffered to grow long. All the penitentials and rituals to which an "ordo" is attached, speak of hair-cloth and ashes as appropriate to the time of penance. A penitent was also to go barefoot, as appears from the *Ep.* xvii. *ad Rivol. Episc.* of Nicolas I. just cited, which makes an exceptional concession in favour of an individual offender to wear boots or sandals. *Conc. Tribur.* c. 55, forbad also the use of linen. In addition to these austerities, a rigid and long-continued system of fasting was imposed. Gregory III. (A.D. 731–741, *Ep.* i. 7; Labb. *Conc.* vi. 1469) decided, in reply to a question of Boniface, that a parricide should be denied communion till death, should fast the second, fourth, and sixth days of each week, and abstain from flesh and wine as long as he lived. A man who murdered his own son was enjoined by Nicolas I. (*Ep.* xvii. *ad. Rivol. Episc.*) to abstain from flesh all the days of his life, for seven years to drink wine only on Sundays and festivals, and the remaining five years of his penance four days a week. He was allowed intercourse with his wife, but forbidden to bear arms except against the pagans, and if he had occasion to travel he must go on foot. Another criminal was ordered by the same pontiff (*Ep. ad Hincmar.*) to fast till evening all the years of his penance, except at Easter and on the festivals; an exemption extended in another case to the fifty days from Easter till Pentecost. These disabilities and austerities are enforced with some variety in the councils of that period (*Conc. Vormat.* cc. 26, 30, 36; *Conc. Tribur.* cc. 56, 58). Morinus sums up the penalties inflicted after the beginning of the 7th century, as distinguished from those of an earlier date, under four headings. 1. Those which concern dress and habits, including the obligation to go with bare feet, and to wear no linen and to travel on foot. 2. The observance of specified days and modes of fasting. 3. Corporal punishment. 4. Exile. [See CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, EXILE, FASTING, FLAGELLATION.] To this may be added a fifth of incarceration, or SECLUSION in a monastery, involving, of course, an abandonment of secular life. An ancient MS. from Beauvais (Martene *de Rit.* i. 6) gives an account of rites of public penance, which can hardly be later than the 9th century. It is interesting to note in it the vestiges of the old ritual, the detention without the door, the imposition of hands, and the solemn dismissal. "At the beginning of Lent, all delinquents undergoing, or about to undergo, public penance, should present themselves to the bishop before the door of the church, clothed in sackcloth, with bare feet and downcast looks. There the penitentiary priest should be present to examine their cases, and impose penance according to the appointed grades. The bishop should then bring them into the church, and prostrating himself on the ground, together with all the clergy, should sing the seven penitential Psalms; afterwards rising from prayer, he should lay his hands upon them in accordance with the canons, and sprinkle them with holy water and place ashes upon them, and cover their heads with sackcloth, and with groans and sighs announce to them that as Adam was cast out from Paradise, so must they be cast out from the church. He was then to order the deacon to conduct them outside the door, the clergy following them, and saying the sentence, 'In the sweat of thy face,' &c., and the bishop shall close the door upon them; and so they remain outside till the Coena Domini." A Noyon MS. of the 9th century gives a short "ordo" for public penance, which is repeated by the Pseudo-Alcuin, and many rituals of a later date. "Take the penitent on the fourth day in the morning in Capite Quadragesimae, and cover him with sackcloth, and shut him up till Coena Domini." The same codex contains a form for the benediction of ashes, with the direction that when the ashes are laid on the head of the penitent, the priest is to say, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, remember that thou art dust, and that to dust thou shalt return."

ii. *Private Penitence.*—The whole system disclosed by the penitentials points to the prevalence of private penance. In the Greek penitentials the delinquent makes a private acknowledgment of his sins to the priest, he is questioned in private, and the various rites and ceremonies which precede final reconciliation are also private. The Latin, no less than the Greek, penitentials are entirely silent on the essential elements of public discipline. Their contents bear out the statement of Theodore (*Penitent.* I. xiii. 4) that public penance did not exist in the province for the discipline of which he published his book. The clergy had sufficient hold upon the consciences of their flock to compel them to submit to many severe acts of self-abasement and self-denial for their sins. But

the converts of the independent northern races shrunk from the open humiliation of appearing before the congregation with a shaven head, and with the arms and the attire and the characteristic ornaments of a free man laid aside. The whole transaction, the imposition of the penance on the one side, and its performance on the other, was, as it were, a secret one between the delinquent and his priest or bishop. The church, as such, took no part in the matter. The nature of the sins censured varied from some trivial carelessness up to horrible and unnatural crimes. But each offender was alike subjected to penance whether his offence was labouring on the Lord's Day (*Theod. Penitent.* I. xi. 1) or murder (*ibid.* I. iv. 2) or heresy (*ibid.* I. v. 9). For the first of these offences the censure was seven days' penance; for the two last ten years. But in either case the delinquent became a penitent. The sentence was passed by the bishop or the priest, or even by a deacon, but there was no open or public rite connected with it. Fasting and abstinence were the usual penalties, and these were generally expressed in the disciplinary canons of all the penitentials, Irish, Anglo-Saxon, or Frankish. To these the Irish books especially added EXILE from the native land for a fixed period, alms to the poor, and the emancipation of a certain number of servi or ancillae, and in the case of bodily injuries satisfaction to the parents or friends (*Poenitent. Vinniae*, Wasserschleben, pp. 108–224). As discipline decayed, the notion of REDEMPTIONS began to be accepted, and other and easier penalties were introduced, such as the singing of so many psalms, the payment of so many solidi to the poor, so many strokes of a rod, or genuflexions (*Beda Poenitent.* xi. x. Cummean, *Poenitent.* "de divite vel potente quomodo se redimit pro criminalibus culpis," Wasserschleben, p. 464). Both Beda and Cummean give their sanction to the employment of a substitute by any one who was unable to say his psalms, an evasion which sounds perhaps the lowest depths to which the rigour of the primitive system had sunk. In most of the penitential books the quadragesimal season of the year and the legitimae feriae of the week were periods when more severe abstinence was imposed. See below, *Season of Penitence*. On certain days the penitent was free from his punishment; these are stated by Cummean at the conclusion of his prologue, to be all Sundays, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, St. John Baptist, St. Mary Ever-virgin, the twelve Apostles, and St. Martin, because his body was reposing in that province. Several of the Frankish penitentials have attached to them a "ratio" or "ordo ad dandam poenitentiam." These are doubtless of a later age than the body of the canones to which they are appended. They are apparently of a sufficiently early date to throw some light on the system of private penance in the 8th century. The *Penitential. Pseudo-Roman.*, the text of which belongs to the 7th century, has a long prologue, "Quomodo penitentes sunt suscipiendi sive reconciliandi" (Wasserschleben, p. 360). In it the priest is exhorted to fast one or two weeks with the penitent, and even with cries and tears to join in supplication with him. In this latter direction there is a trace of the custom of the earliest ages (Soz. *H. E.* vii. 16). When the penitent comes to confess his sins the priest is to bid him wait a little till he has entered into his chamber for prayer, and if he has no chamber, the priest should say the prayer that followed in his heart. After the prayers, are given further details on the fasting to be imposed and on almsgiving, the alms to be used either for the redemption of captives or the relief of the poor, or to be placed on the altar. Then follow "orationes ad dandam poenitentiam;" and, finally. the prayer, which was to accompany the imposition of hands. This ordo is also published by Martene (*de Rit.* i. 6), from a pontifical from the Benedictine monastery of Jumiéges of the 8th century. Communion was not invariably delayed till after the final reconciliation. In prolonged penitence Theodore permits communion "pro misericordia" after six months or a year. A MS. from the church of St. Gatianus of Tours, attributed by Martene (*de Rit.* i. 6) to the 9th century, contains an "ordo privatae ceu annualis poenitentiae," which discloses some variety of ritual. It directs all priests to exhort their flocks to come to confession the first day of Lent, and if from being on a journey or from being engaged in any business, they are unable to come for reconciliation on Coena Domini, the priest may reconcile them at once. When each one comes to confess, if a layman, he is to lay aside his staff, and, whether a clergyman or a monk, he is to bow himself to the priest, who will then order him to sit before him. Then follow the profession of faith and confession of sin, after which the penitent is to prostrate himself on the ground with groans and tears (prout Deus dederit). The priest is to suffer him to lie there for a time, and then raise him and assign him his penance; then comes a second prostration, and then supplication for the priest's intercession.

## V. SINS AND PENALTIES.

### 1. SINS SUBJECTING TO PENANCE.

i. *Open Sins.*—Only mortalia delicta exposed the delinquent to penitence in the early ages. Lesser offences were punished by the rejection of oblations and the refusal of the elements in holy communion. The faults and defects of daily life were considered to be fully satisfied by daily prayer. Penitence, strictly so-called, which involved an open acknowledgment of sin and a performance of certain acts of austerity and a special dress and a separation from the faithful in church, was restricted to certain grievous sins as defined by the canons. The model on which the penitential code was founded was the decision of the apostles with regard to the newly-converted Gentiles (Acts xv. 28, 29). For the first 400 years the three great sins of idolatry, murder, and adultery, or such as were closely allied to them, and clearly fell under the same category, were in general the only crimes punished by public penance. The slight or apparent exceptions to this statement will be investigated presently. In the moral and homiletical writings of the fathers of that period, the classification of sins and the enumeration of those which could only be expiated by penance are made with more fulness than in the canons of councils. Tertullian

in his tract *De Pudicit.* c. 19, which represents the most rigid notions of that age, yet admits that some sins were matters of daily occurrence to which all were subject, and which consequently needed no penance. Among such he reckons anger and quarrelling, and a rash oath and a failure to keep an engagement, and an untruth told from modesty or necessity. But the three capital crimes he arranges on a level above all others (*ibid.* c. 12), and endeavours to prove, in accordance with the tenets of Montanism, that the church had no power to absolve them, as, he infers, she claimed to do through penance. Nearly all the references to penitence in Cyprian are in connexion with the lapsed, that is to say, idolatry. Although there are two passages which intimate that penance was allotted in the African church to less heinous sins. In *Ep.* xvi. 2 he condemns the laxity with which the eucharist was granted to the lapsed, whereas in lesser sins (minoribus peccatis), sinners do penance for an appointed time, and, according to the rules of discipline, come to confession, &c. In the following, *Ep.* xvii., he speaks again of penance being done for an appointed time for lesser offences which are not committed against God, contrasting, that is, such offences with idolatry, which is directly against the majesty of God. But the general rule of the church was that public penance was restricted to mortal sins. So it is stated by Pacian in his treatise on penance, which manifestly reflects the teaching of Cyprian. Other sins he considers (*Paroen. ad Poenit.* c. 9) may be cured by the compensation of good works, but idolatry, murder, adultery are capital crimes. Augustine clearly lays down that only the gravest sins were visited by public penance. There are some sins, he says (*de Fid. et op.* c. 26), so great as to deserve to be punished by excommunication; others which need not the infliction of that humiliation of penance which is imposed upon those who are properly called penitents in the church; a third class, again, from which none can escape, for which our Lord has left us a remedy in the daily prayer, "forgive us our trespasses." This distinction of light sins, for the cure of which daily prayer is sufficient, occurs again and again in his writings (*Enchiridion*, c. 71; *Hom.* xxvii. t. 10, p. 177; *Hom.* cxix. *de Temp.* c. 8; *Ep.* lxxxix. *ad Hilar.* quaest. 1; *Ep.* cviii. *ad Seleucian.*, cited by Bingham). He tells the catechumens (*de Symbol. ad Catechumen.* i. 7) that those who are seen doing penance have been guilty of adultery or some such grievous act. He distinguishes between *peccatum* and *crimen*, the former, sinfulness from which none is free, the latter, an act of grievous sin (*Tract.* lxi. *in Joan.* t. 9, p. 126; *De Civ. Dei*, xxi. 27; *de Symbol.* i. 7). Ambrose (*de Poenit.* ii. 10) confines penance to graviora delicta. The canonical epistle of Gregory of Nyssa is an elaborate treatise on the nature of crime and of the ecclesiastical discipline suitable to it. Like the Latin fathers, he starts with murder, idolatry, and uncleanness as the three mortal sins, but he bases his classification, not on the decision of the apostolic council (Acts xv. 28, 29), but on the threefold division of the faculties of the soul, the rational, the irascible, and the concupiscible; and all sins punishable by penance he ranks under one of these three headings. Under the first are reckoned idolatry and apostasy, either of which, if committed wilfully and through instability of faith, must be expiated by a life-long exclusion; if under fear or compulsion, then a nine years' penance is sufficient. Under the second heading he includes adultery, which involves the disgrace or injury of another, and simple uncleanness, the former crime requiring double the penalty of the latter. To the irascible faculty he assigns murder, with the distinction of voluntary and involuntary homicide. He then discusses covetousness, which, in the language of St. Paul, he calls a species of idolatry, and which he says springs from a combination of all these faculties, but the censure of which, he adds, has been overlooked by the fathers before him. Of the branches of covetousness he considers robbery with violence and the spoiling of graves for the sake of the clothes and ornaments contained in them, to be the only offences requiring public penance. Simple theft and the robbery of tombstones were marked by no ecclesiastical censure. He declines to attach a penalty to usury and extortion, on the ground that the ancient canons have not done so. By usury, however, he must have meant usury by a layman; in the case of a clergyman it had been distinctly condemned by *Conc. Nicaen.* c. 17. The three capitalia delicta are the principal objects of Basil's canons. He has, in addition, one on perjury (c. 64), another on robbery (c. 61), and another on rape (c. 30); each of which might, without any violence, be brought under the heading of one of the three fundamental sins. The councils of Elvira, Ancyra, Neocaesarea impose penance on these three mortal sins only. In *Conc. Eliber.* cc. 73, 75, the crime of an informer was held to involve murder, and was punished accordingly. And in the same light, to judge from the extreme penalty attached to it, it was regarded by 1 *Conc. Arelat.* c. 14. In course of time, and apparently towards the close of the 4th century, the number of sins for which public penance was exacted began to be enlarged. As in the case of covetousness, in the passage just quoted, Gregory of Nyssa states that it had been overlooked by the ancient fathers, and that therefore he adds it to the list of delicta. Basil (c. 30) says the same of rape, and of polygamy (c. 80), that he had no ancient canons to guide him, and that he made them penal by his own judgment. Still these and similar additions did not materially alter the definition of ecclesiastical crimes, and as long as public penance was in force, the description of 1 *Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 398, c. 2, held good: "that a penitent was one who either on account of murder or various crimes and most heinous sins was doing public penance." Excommunication for small faults was strictly forbidden by *Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506, c. 3. The 5 *Conc. Aurelian.* A.D. 549, c. 2, and 2 *Conc. Arvern.* A.D. 549, c. 2, laid a like prohibition on suspension from communion for light causes; an offender was to be suspended only on those grounds which the ancient fathers had decreed. As the boundaries of the church were enlarged and her relations with the state became closer, the ecclesiastical was framed more in accordance with the civil law. Thus the 2 *Conc. Turon.* A.D. 567, c. 20, inflicted long penance on the abduction of a sacred virgin, on the ground that the Roman law had made it a capital crime.

And the spoiling of graves by clergymen was to be punished by deposition by 4 *Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 633, c. 46, because such an offence was defined to be sacrilege by the public law. Hence it became an axiom of the church that any crime punishable by death by the code of the state was to be expiated by penance. This was the language held by pope Pelagius II. A.D. 578–590, *Ep.* ii., and by Gregory the Great, x. *Ep.* 13, *ad Episc. Passiv. Firman.* (Morinus, v. 5). Under the system administered in England by Egbert the list of mortal sins became considerably enlarged. The following enumeration is given in the Archbishop's Penitential, c. 1, "de capitalia crimina." "Nunc igitur capitalia crimina secundum canones explicabo. Prima superbia, invidia, fornicatio, inanis gloria, ira longo tempore, tristitia seculi; avaritia, ventris ingluvies, sacrilegium, id est sacrarum rerum furtum, et hoc maximum est furtum, vel idolaticis servientem, id est auspiciis et reliqua, adulterium, falsum testimonium, furtum, rapinam, ebrietas adsidua, idololatria, molles, sodomita, maledici, perjuri." His second chapter treats "de minoribus peccatis," but the distinction between *minora* and *capitalia* in his list is altogether arbitrary and unmeaning. The complete account of the sins which required formal penitence must be sought in the penitential books themselves.

ii. *Secret Sins.*—No distinction was made so long as public penitence was in force between secret and notorious crimes. The same penalty was required for each. In the earlier ages, when public confession was practised, it followed as a matter of course that the ensuing penance should be public too. There is nothing to shew in the first four centuries that secret sins, after once they had become known to the church, were treated in any other way than sins which were detected. The only distinction was that, if the offence was spontaneously confessed, the penance was lighter (see below PENALTIES, iv. *Alleviation of*), but it was none the less open penance. Many of the offences censured by the canons could only have been known to the doers of them; for instance, *Conc. Neocaesar.* c. 9; *Conc. Eliber.* c. 76; Basil, *Ep.* cc. 69–71. The very exception which Basil (c. 34) states was allowed in the case of a married woman, implies that open penance was the rule. Her sin, if it was unknown to her husband, must have been expressly a secret one. She was spared open disclosure, not because of its secrecy, but to save her from her husband's vengeance. The Epistle of Leo to the bishops of Campania (*Ep.* lxxx.; Labb. *Conc.* iii. 1373), which is generally regarded as marking a departure from the early practice of open confession, is written throughout on the supposition that, whether the sin was open or secret, the penance was the same. Morinus gives some conspicuous instances of the admission of secret sins being followed by severe sentences. One was that of Potamius, archbishop of Braga, who wrote to the bishops assembled in the tenth council of Toledo, A.D. 656, confessing that he had been guilty of fornication. The crime was altogether unsuspected and the confession spontaneous, yet he was sentenced by the council to life-long penance. See Morinus, v. 11, where this and other instances are detailed at length.

### 2. PENALTIES.

i. *Whether exclusively spiritual.*—The different penalties inflicted by ecclesiastical discipline may be divided into three degrees: i. excision from the church; ii. penance; iii. exclusion from communion. The second of these includes all the austerities and disabilities imposed by the penitential system. The extent and duration of them have been sufficiently discussed in the body of this article. Prior to the conversion of the empire the church had no power to interfere with the civil rights of her members, and her censures must have been exclusively spiritual. "The weapon by which the proud and contumacious are stricken," says Cyprian (*Ep.* iv. 4), "is a spiritual sword." [Compare LAW.] Yet sometimes the rulers of the church did not hesitate to apply to the heathen emperors to uphold their discipline. In answer to such an application, Aurelian commanded the judgment which deposed Paul of Samosata to be enforced by the civil power (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 30), the emperor's authority being confined to compelling Paul to give up the house and church of his see. At a later date the bishops still more readily called in the power of the magistrate, when spiritual censures failed to maintain ecclesiastical order (*Conc. Antioch.* c. 5; 3 *Conc. Carthag.* c. 38; *Codex African.* cc. 68, 93); and no inconsiderable part of the ecclesiastical legislation embodied in the Theodosian Code, and at a later period in the capitularies of the Carolingian kings, had for its object the maintenance of the discipline of the church. What may be termed the natural rights of man were not touched by spiritual censures. A parent under penance did not lose his authority over his children, nor were subjects absolved from their allegiance to a prince, who was censured. One of the Christian emperors was a penitent, others heretics, and another an apostate, but this did not loosen the submission of the church to their imperial authority. With respect to other disabilities affecting penitents, there is no mention of any direct refusal of funeral rites. The 1 *Conc. Vasen.* A.D. 442, c. 2, decrees that penitents dying suddenly in the field or on a journey before the priest could be brought to them might be buried with a sacred service if they were leading satisfactory lives; by implication denying Christian burial to the contumacious and impenitent. The absence of any commemoration after death would follow from the refusal of the rites of burial.

ii. *Persons on whom inflicted.*—All baptized Christians were subject to the censure of the church. Over Jews or heathen outside her jurisdiction of course did not extend. Catechumens who were, as it were, in a middle state, never became penitents. If they were guilty of an ecclesiastical crime they were degraded to a lower class of their own order. The clergy were dealt with on a different footing to the rest of the community (see below, *Penitence of Clergy*). Penance was imposed equally upon women as upon men. Bingham quotes Valesius *in Socrat. H. E.* v. 19; Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* I. xvii. 5, in favour of the opinion that although women fasted and mourned in private, they

were not exposed to open penance for the first three centuries. But no such exemption appears in Tertullian or Cyprian; and in the Spanish church at any rate, women were sentenced to penance. *Conc. Eliber.* c. 5 decrees that a mistress beating her slave to death shall be restored at the end of five years "acta legitimâ poenitentiâ;" and c. 14, in the case of a fallen virgin, makes a broad distinction between her exclusion with or without penance (compare *Ibid.* cc. 8, 10, 12, 13, 63, 65; *Conc. Ancyr.* c. 21). The statement of Basil (c. 34) that the fathers had decreed that an adulteress should not be compelled to publish her crime, could hardly have been inserted if public penitence of women had not been the rule—as in the 4th century there can be little doubt it was the rule. The penitential exercises of Fabiola were commended by Jerome (*Ep.* 30, *Epitaph. Fabiol.*) not because she was a woman, but because they were undertaken spontaneously. A woman submitting to penance was no special object of commendation. (See the instructions given by Ambrose *ad Virg. laps.*) The 3 *Conc. Tolet.* c. 12 gives directions for the penitential dress of a woman. A man under penance was to shave his head, a woman to wear a veil. Female penance must have been so common as to require regulating where the rule prevailed that a married woman could not become a penitent without her husband's consent (2 *Conc. Arelat.* c. 22). (For special female delinquencies, see Theodor. *Poenitential.* I. xiv. "de poenitentia nubentium;" Egbert, *Poenitential.* c. 7, "de machina mulierem.")

Neither wealth nor office was allowed to exempt a delinquent from the censure of the church. Under the heathen empire the mere acceptance of certain magistracies, inasmuch as they involved their holders in idolatrous ceremonials, was an ecclesiastical offence (*Conc. Eliber.* cc. 2, 3; compare the note of Gothofred on *Cod. Theod.* XV. v. "de spectaculis"). By 1 *Conc. Arelat.* A.D. 314, c. 7, all Christian governors of provinces were ordered to take with them commendatory letters, and bring themselves into communication with the bishop, so that if they transgressed against discipline there might be no difficulty in expelling them from communion. Although in the 4th and 5th centuries no consideration of rank checked the great bishops from censuring offenders in high places, as, for instance, the condemnation of Andronicus, governor of Ptolemais, by Synesius (*Ep.* 58), and the governor of Libya by Athanasius (Basil, *Ep.* 47), and the famous expulsion of Theodosius from communion by Ambrose (Bingham, *Antiq.* XVI. iii. 4), yet in practice the right was rarely exercised. (For reasons for this forbearance see Barrow, *Of the Pope's Supremacy*, p. 12.) The age at which a young person came under the discipline of penance is nowhere defined. It is not likely that the church would excommunicate a boy or a girl. A Roman synod under Felix III. (A.D. 487, c. 4) decided that boys who had been baptized by the Arians should remain a short time only under the imposition of hands, and then be restored; for it was not reasonable that their penitence should be prolonged. The *Conc. Agath.* c. 15 exempted the young from severe penance because of the weakness of youth. In the discipline of a monastery a delinquent under age was flogged (Macar. *Reg.* c. 15; Benedict. *Reg.* c. 70; Gregor. *Ep.* ix. 66, quoted by Bingham). And probably in the church at large the weapon of penance was used only against those who had passed their minority.

iii. *Uniformity of.*—It is laid down in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (ii. 48), that great care and discretion were to be exercised in treating offenders; some were to be dealt with by threats, some by terrors, some by being urged to almsgiving, some to fasting, and some by ejection from the church. And for a long time no doubt this discretion was vested in the bishop, assisted perhaps by his presbytery. As the church grew, and intercourse increased between her different branches, a more uniform scale of penalties was adopted. The frequent communications which passed between Rome and Africa, traces of which are preserved in Cyprian's epistles, are the first important efforts after uniformity of discipline. The decisions of the councils of the succeeding age were a further advance in the same direction. Nearly all the twenty-five canons of Ancyra and the eighty-one of Elvira treat of the penalties suitable to ecclesiastical crimes. The same may be said of the twenty-two canons of the first council of Arles, and to a certain extent of the canons of the Apostles. These various judgments of the assembled fathers represent, in fact, so many penitential codes, whose decrees would be the model, if not the rule, for the administration of discipline throughout the church. The appointment of the PENITENTIARY officer in the dioceses of the Greek church would also tend to produce a uniform standard of penalties. The treatise which more perhaps even than the decrees of councils helped to establish a system in the East was the epistle of Basil. For many ages this canonical letter of Basil was the standard which governed the discipline of the East. Hardly less authoritative was the epistle of his brother Gregory of Nyssa. The decisions of the popes on questions referred to them were a further contribution to a body of penitential law; for example, Syric. *Ep.* i. 3, 5, 6; Innocent, *Epp.* i. 7; ii. 12, 13; iii. 2; Leo, *Ep.* lxxix. 4, 5, 6; Felix III. *Ep.* vii.; Nicolas, *Ep. ad Ricol.* The Penitential books were an additional attempt to codify the law. Originating either from famous monasteries, or embodying the decisions of great prelates, they spread far and wide through France and England, and in a less degree through all the churches of the West in the 7th and 8th centuries. The 3 *Conc. Tolet.* c. 11 in the 6th century, and the *Conc. Mogunt.* c. 31 in the 9th, alike complain of the difficulty of maintaining penance at the true canonical standard. The penitentials were no doubt designed to meet the difficulty. The principle laid down by *Conc. Mogunt.* was, that penalties were to be based on the ancient canons, or the authority of scripture, or the custom of the church. The penitentials in themselves possessed no canonical authority, and their multiplication was in some instances regarded with jealousy. "Their errors," said the bishops in 2 *Conc. Cabilon.* A.D. 813, c. 38, "are certain, and their authors uncertain." With the growth of the papal power and the centralization of ecclesiastical jurisdiction at Rome, discipline tended to become more and more uniform.

iv. *Alleviation of—*

*a. By repentance.*—Although the church aimed at uniformity of discipline, the same penalty was not always imposed on the same crime; or if the penalty was originally the same it was not carried out alike in all cases. There would be practical difficulties in the way of insisting on the completion of a merely spiritual sentence extending over twenty or twenty-five years. But in addition to the necessities of the case a mitigation of the penalty was openly granted in certain instances. The first ground of relaxation was earnestness of repentance over and above the formal submission to censure. *Conc. Ancyr.* c. 5 orders the bishop to examine the present and past life of a penitent and shew clemency accordingly. By *Conc. Laodic.* c. 2, perseverance and prayer and confession, and a total abandonment of evil habits, were allowed to move the rulers of the church to pity (see *Conc. in Trull.* c. 102). *Conc. Nicaen.* c. 12 decided that a delinquent who proved his amendment by fear and tears, and submission and good works, and labour and dress, should, after his appointed time among the *Hearers*, join in communion of prayer; that is to say, the laborious station of *Kneelers* might be omitted; those, on the other hand, who thought it sufficient to shew their repentance by merely coming to the church door, were to complete their full sentence. The 4 *Conc. Carthag.* c. 75 speaks to the same effect on "negligentiores poenitentes." Basil (c. 74) considers it an act of duty that those who have the power of binding and loosing should remit part of the penalty of the earnest and diligent. The same sentiment which appears several times in the epistle of Gregory of Nyssa, regulated the administration of discipline throughout the church (Innocent I. *Ep.* i. 7; Leo, *Ep.* lxxix. 6; *Conc. Vormat.* c. 75).

*b. By confession.*—One who spontaneously confessed his crime was generally treated more leniently than after detection. *Conc. Eliber.* c. 76 made a wide distinction in the case of a deacon who allowed himself to be ordained after the commission of mortal sin. If he made a voluntary confession, he might be reinstated at the end of two years, but if others convicted him, he was to do penance for five years, and then be restored to lay communion only. In Martin Bracar. (*Collect. Conc.* c. 25), a priest confessing under similar circumstances might retain the name of priest, but not celebrate; if he was convicted, even the name was to be taken from him. Gregory Thaumaturgus (*Ep.* cc. 18, 19), with reference to robberies which had occurred during the confusion arising from a Gothic invasion, made the station of a delinquent depend upon the manner in which the theft was revealed, whether by conviction or by confession and restitution. Basil (c. 61) diminished the penalty of a thief who confessed by one-half. The same authority, at the beginning of his treatise, gives to spontaneous confession and lapse of time and ignorance an equal power in alleviating penance. (See Ambrose, *Virg. laps.* c. 8; *de Poenitent.* ii. 8; Prosper, *Vit. Contemplat.* ii. 7.) In some flagrant instances, as in the case of an adulterous clerk (3 *Conc. Aurel.* A.D. 538, c. 7), confession was of no avail.

*c. By intercession.*—The accounts of public penance during the first three centuries frequently represent the delinquent imploring the congregation and the widows and the virgins and the clergy to intercede with the bishop for him. And when the length of penalties was undetermined by canon, and rested practically with the individual bishop, such intercessions were a recognised channel by which to obtain a mitigation of penance. With the elaboration of the system which began with the 4th century, these intercessions are rarely heard of, although Augustine mentions incidentally (*Ep.* liv. *ad Macedon.* p. 93), a custom of magistrates interceding with the church for offenders. In Africa a practice arose, which quickly became abused, of granting alleviation of penance to the intercession of martyrs, that is to say, of Christians in prison expecting death during persecution. [LIBELLI, p. 981.]

### 8. PENITENCE DENIED.

I. *Sometimes to the first Commission of mortalia Delicta.*—The grace of penitence appears to have been withheld from certain delinquents in the early centuries, not because the church had any doubt about her authority to grant it, but on the ground that the power of binding was vested with the same sanction as that of loosing, and that to open the door with equal readiness to all great criminals alike would only bring discipline into contempt. This seems the probable explanation of the undoubted effect of some of the early decisions. Cyprian has left it on record (*Ep.* lv. c. 17) that among his predecessors some entirely closed the place of penance against adulterers, and by implication against the other two mortal sins which were of a still graver character; but he adds that in doing so they did not break the verity of the church. How far this exclusiveness was followed in other provinces is one of the many vexed questions of the primitive discipline. See Albaspin. *Observat.* II. vii. 20; Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* I. xvii. 1; Fell not. in Cypr. *Ep.* vii. p. 17, cited by Bingham. By the clear testimony of Tertullian (*de Pudicit.* c. 1), pope Zephyrinus, A.D. 202–218, granted penance to the sins of uncleanness and fornication, and Tertullian founds upon this a charge of inconsistency against the bishop because he was not equally indulgent to murder and idolatry. Morinus (ix. 20) holds that the evidence of Tertullian in this treatise on the usage of the Roman church is not worthy of credence. Martene (*de Rit.* i. 6), on the contrary, cites him as a trustworthy witness. If the ordinary reading of "nec in fine" in many of the canons of Elvira is to be accepted, there can be no doubt that penitence was denied in Spain to idolatry and to murder (see for instances cc. 1, 6, 63, 73, 75). With regard to moechia the decisions were more lenient (cc. 13, 14, 31, 69, 72); except in aggravated cases (cc. 12, 66, 71), when communion was refused absolutely. It may be well to enumerate the exact crimes for which communion was denied by the council of Elvira even at death; idolatry in an idol temple after baptism (c. 1); a baptized flamen sacrificing again (cc. 2, 17); adultery after penance (cc. 3, 47); killing by witchcraft (c. 6); if a woman deserted her husband without cause and re-married (c. 8); parents selling a child for prostitution (c. 12); dedicated virgins becoming prostitutes (c. 13);

betrothal of a daughter to an idol priest (c. 17); adultery by clergy—on account of the scandal (c. 19); murder by a woman of her child born in adultery (c. 63); clergy retaining adulterous wives (c. 65); unnatural crimes (c. 71); aggravated adultery (cc. 64, 72, 79); giving information which leads to a Christian being put to death (c. 73); malicious charges against the clergy (c. 75). These decisions appear to have had at the most only a provincial authority, and not to have governed the general discipline of the church. For the *Conc. Ancyr.* (cc. 9, 16), which was contemporary with *Conc. Eliber.* or only a few years later, granted penance to each of the three mortalia delicta even in their most aggravated forms. And, indeed, throughout the Eastern church, with the exception of a decision of *Conc. Sardic.* c. 2, which rejects certain fraudulent bishops from even lay communion at death, there does not appear any trace of the refusal of the rites of penance for the first commission of any sin sincerely repented of. Nor does any trace of such severity occur later than the *Conc. Eliber.* in the West.

ii. *Generally to a Repetition of Sin once expiated.*—The refusal of penance a second time was one of the unwritten canons of the early discipline. No council passed a decree against its repetition, but in practice its refusal was almost universal from the very beginning. Hermas (*Pastor*, Mandat. ii. 4), considering whether an adulterous wife ought to be received by her husband, determined that she should be taken back, but not often, for to be servants of God there is but one penitence (compare Id. *Similit.* iii. 9). This decision of Hermas is cited and approved by Clem. Alexand. (*Strom.* ii. 13, p. 459, ed. Oxon.). The language of Tertullian is very explicit (*de Pudicit.* c. 7); "God hath placed in the porch a second repentance, which may open to those who knock, but now for once only, because now for the second time, but never again." The "first repentance" which he had in his mind was baptism. A little later (*ibid.* c. 9), he speaks of the "second and only remaining repentance." A passage in Origen (*Hom.* xv. in c. 25 Levit.) gives a clear account of the general practice. "In graver sins the peace of repentance is granted but once only, or seldom; but those common sins which men frequently commit, always admit of repentance, and are redeemed at once." The words "or seldom" are generally regarded as a later interpolation; the date of their insertion probably coinciding with the growth of greater laxity in the Eastern church. There appears some reason for believing that Chrysostom did not hesitate to grant penitence more than once. Socrates (*H. E.* vi. 21) states that he taught that though a synod of bishops had decreed that relapsed penitents should not be readmitted, he was willing to receive them a thousand times. On the accuracy of this statement with reference to Chrysostom see Morinus, v. 37. At the beginning of the 5th century the privilege of frequent penance was taken away from the Massalian heretics by a synod of Constantinople, A.D. 426 or 427, under Sisinnius, one of Chrysostom's successors, because it had been so often abused. From this Bingham concludes (*Antiq.* XVIII. iv. 7) that a repetition of penance was not unknown in the metropolitan province. The relaxation of the early rigour may be partly attributable to the excessive length of the sentences imposed in the Eastern church after the 3rd century. If a delinquent had done penance for fifteen or twenty years, and was willing to pass through the ordeal a second time, it would be almost impossible to reject him. In the Latin church the discipline of a single penance survived longer. The *Conc. Eliber.*, which was so severe in refusing reconciliation even once was not likely to grant it a second time (cc. 3, 7, 74; Pacian, *Ep.* iii. *contr. Sempron.* c. 27). They are rightly reproved, says Ambrose (*de Poenitent.* ii. 10), who think that penance can be performed often, for they wanton against Christ. Augustine (*Ep.* cliii. *ad Maced* n. c. 7) is a witness that even the lowest place in the church was refused to a relapsing penitent. The manner of dealing with such lapsers in the Western church is laid down by pope Siricius (*Ep.* i. *ad Himer.* c. 5); they were not to have the benefit of a second penitence, but might be present, without communicating, at the celebration, and be allowed a *viaticum* at their death. By 2 *Conc. Arelat.* A.D. 443, c. 21, a penitent repeating his sin was to be cast out of the church. By 1 *Conc. Turon.* A.D. 460, c. 8, he was ejected, not only from the church, but from the society of the faithful (*Conc. Venet.* A.D. 465, c. 3). By the 6th century penitence began to be conceded frequently. For the 3 *Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 589, c. 11, complains that in many of the Spanish churches discipline was no longer administered according to the canons, but as often as men sinned and applied to the priest, so often penance was granted. This abuse the council checked. The disappearance of the early rule dates probably from the decline of public discipline, and the substitution of a private system by which a sinner obtained reconciliation as often as he confessed his sin and submitted to penance.

iii. *Till the Hour of Death.*—The ordinary course of penance in the 4th and 5th centuries held an offender in its trammels for half a lifetime for certain mortal sins; if the sins were especially heinous, the penalty extended over the whole life, however long its duration. This severity was not confined to one province. In Spain the *Conc. Eliber.* c. 3, withheld communion till death from a converted flamen who, abstaining from sacrificing, merely exhibited a shew; and all his life he was to be under canonical penance. A consecrated virgin who had fallen was allowed communion at last only if she had passed a life-long penance (*ibid.* c. 13). At a later date the *Conc. Ilerd.* A.D. 523, c. 5, sentenced any of the inferior clergy who, after penance, relapsed into the same sin, to exclusion till death. In France a similar sentence was passed by 1 *Conc. Arelat.* A.D. 314, c. 14, on false accusers of their brethren; and by *Conc. Valentin.* A.D. 374, c. 3, on lapsers into idolatry. In the East the *Conc. Ancyr.* A.D. 314, c. 6, attached this penalty to unnatural crime; and the *Conc. Neocaesar.* c. 2, decreed that a woman marrying two brothers was to be expelled till the approach of death, and then only to be admitted on her assurance that should she recover the marriage should be dissolved. And finally, in Rome Felix III., A.D. 483–492, decided in *Conc. Rom.* c. 2, with regard to the African clergy, who had suffered themselves to be rebaptized in the Vandal persecution, that they were to con-

tinue under penance all the days of their life, and not be present during the prayers of the faithful or even of the catechumens, and be admitted to lay communion only at death. (See Ambrose, *Laps. Virg.* viii. 38.)

4. PENITENCE OF THE SICK.—The sick under discipline may be divided into three classes:— i. those who for some grievous crime had been ejected from the church and fell sick while outside her pale; ii. those who were conscious of undetected sin, and asked for penance on their sickbed; iii. those overtaken by illness while undergoing penance. With regard to the first class, there seems little doubt that for about the first 300 years the full grace of penance was denied to them absolutely. Cyprian (*Ep. ad Anton.* lv. 19) does not shrink from stating this positively. The great council of Arles, A.D. 314, c. 22, at which most of the Western churches were represented, decreed that apostates who had not sought penitence in health were to be debarred from it in illness, unless they recovered, and had an opportunity of proving their sincerity. The denial of penance at the hour of death to those who had scorned it in life was continued in the case of condemned criminals for a long period in France. In Germany this rigour was relaxed in the 9th century by *Conc. Vormat.* c. 80, *Conc. Tribur.* c. 31; in France it was not repealed till Feb. 1396, by a decree of Charles VI. It does not appear that the refusal of reconciliation was necessarily a refusal of all the benefits of penitence; for Innocent I. A.D. 402–417 (*Ep.* iii. *ad Exuper.*), states that the old custom of the church, in the case of repentant delinquents at death, was to grant penance but deny communion, and that this was done in order to maintain a high standard of discipline during the times of persecution, and that afterwards, when persecutions ceased, both penance and absolution were conceded to the dying, and that this henceforth was the law of the Catholic church. There is a saying of Cyprian (*ad Demetriam*, c. 15). "Nunquam sera est poenitentia si sit vera." None the less the great African father denied communion to grievous sinners in their last illness, not however because he doubted the efficacy of death-bed repentance but its sincerity. After the close of the persecutions full reconciliation was granted to all dying men seeking it, whatever their previous career; and the question was authoritatively set at rest by a decree of *Conc. Nicaen.* c. 13. [See RECONCILIATION.] The treatment of the second class of sick, those whose sin had not been detected or confessed till their last illness, was more uniform. Penitence and reconciliation were on no account to be refused them (*Conc. Andegav.* A.D. 453, c. 13). Pope Celestine I., A.D. 422–432 (*Ep.* ii. *ad Episc. Vienn. et Narbon.*), says that he knew of some having denied penitence to the dying, but that he was "horrorstruck at such impiety." Leo I. A.D. 440–461 (*Ep.* cviii. *ad Theod. Episc.* c. 4), not only decided that penitence was to be granted to the sick, but adds that "if they have lost their voice and could only express by signs their desire for penance, or even if they were motionless as well as speechless, and any trustworthy witnesses could testify that they had signified the desire before the arrival of the priest, it was in all cases to be conceded." The first council of Orange, A.D. 441, c. 12, passed a similar decree, having in view probably the case of those overtaken by paralysis, or any similar affliction. The 4 *Conc. Carthag.* A.D. 398, c. 76, had carried the concession even farther, it had granted penance, not only to the helpless, but even to the insensible, if there was evidence that it had been desired by the patient while he was rational (see 12 *Conc. Tolet.* c. 2, 13 *Conc. Tolet.* c. 9). These decrees governed the administration of the penitence of the sick during the middle ages. The third class of sick contained those who were overtaken by illness during their penance. In the 4th and 5th centuries when sentences sometimes extended over twenty years, this class must have been a numerous one. They were on the supposition already penitents. The matter remaining to be considered is the time and manner of their RECONCILIATION. One point in connexion with the penitence of the sick is involved in some obscurity. If a penitent recovered who had been absolved on his sick-bed, was he to complete his original sentence? In the case of light sins, for which an offender had been merely debarred communion, it would follow that when communion was conceded the penalty was at an end. Morinus (x. 14) is disposed to extend the same principle, at any rate up to the time of the spread of the Novatian heresy, to delinquents guilty of greater crimes, and who had been made penitents strictly so-called. He considers their absolution a satisfaction of all ecclesiastical censure. The treatment of the lapsed in the Roman and African churches, and also the silence of the canons of Elvira with regard to the completion of a sentence after reconciliation in extreme sickness, bear out the inference. He makes the same statement, though with some hesitation, with respect to the Greek church in the period prior to the organization of the stations. With the beginning of the 4th century the question becomes clearer. The severity which spread through the treatment of all penitents was extended to convalescents. The sentence left unfinished at the time of a sickbed remission was to be taken up on recovery. This rule was enforced, not only as a matter of principle, but to meet the cases of those, which appear to have been not infrequent, who feigned dangerous illness in order to escape part of their penalty. Originally a penitent once reconciled was sent back on recovery, not to his former position, but only to the station of *consistentia*. The council of Nice (c. 13), after resolving that no one on the threat of death was to be denied his ἐφόδιον (*viaticum*), goes on to decree that should the man revive after receiving it, he was henceforth to communicate in prayer only till his original sentence was finished. In some parts of the church this middle course was the one adopted for a long period. It was approved by Felix III. (*Ep.* vii.), in the treatment of the rebaptized, who in anticipation of death had been permitted to communicate, and is inserted by Martin of Braga in his *Collect. Can.* c. 82. In other provinces greater severity prevailed. Gregory of Nyssa laid it down, that a patient who had been granted participation in the holy mysteries should, if he recovered, return to the station in which his danger and necessity had found him. Synesius (*Ep.* 67) attached the same condition to conceding communion to a certain Lamponianus.

The 4 *Conc. Carthag.* A.D. 398, c. 76, with regard to penitence being given even to one insensible, made it the duty of those who had been witnesses of his contrition, to take care that if he recovered he fulfilled his canonical penance, the duration of which was to rest with the discretion of the priest. By *ibid.* c. 78, no sick man who had received his *viaticum* was to consider his penitence satisfied without imposition of hands; and as this was one of the rites of the *substrati*, it would involve his being remitted to that station. The completion of penance after a sick-bed absolution was for a long time the general rule (1 *Conc. Arausic.* A.D. 441, c. 3; *Conc. Epaon.* A.D. 517, c. 36). The rule was to some degree modified by a decision of 1 *Conc. Barcinon.* A.D. 540, c. 8, that the length of a convalescent's penance should depend on the discretion of the priest, but should in no case involve imposition of hands. From the 6th century, and up to the beginning of the 12th, severity towards the sick increased rather than diminished. An indication of this is seen in 3 *Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 589, c. 12, which required sick penitents, equally with those in health, to shave their heads if they were men, and if women wear a veil, and put on haircloth or some other penitential dress. This injunction, which appears to have been confirmed by 12 *Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 681, c. 2, and by 13 *Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 683, c. 9, must manifestly have depended on the nature of the sickness.

5. *Season of Penitence.*—The godly custom that persons convicted of notorious crimes should be put to open penance, was not confined to the beginning of Lent in the primitive church. Bingham (*Antiq.* XVIII. ii. 2) says there is a perfect silence in the more ancient writers about it. Morinus (vii. 19) traces the origin of the restriction to the quadragesimal seasons to the 7th century, when public penance had ceased to be exacted for secret sin. For the first half of the 5th century Hilary of Arles is a witness (*Vita*, c. 13) that penitence was granted every Sunday. The primitive custom appears to have been to receive the penitent whenever he was brought to the bishop. In the Greek church this custom was never restricted; but in the Latin the various pontificals and rituals of the 8th and 9th centuries disclose a practice of reserving the penitential rites to the beginning of Lent, whether the first Sunday or the previous Wednesday. Even at that date penitence was not exclusively confined to the Lenten season. The *caput jejunii* was held to be the usual and most appropriate time, but there was no law of the church prohibiting the imposition of a state of penance at any season of the year if the case required it.

6. *Minister of Penitence.*—In the administration the bishop had supreme if not exclusive power. The statement, however, of Martene (*de Rit.* i. 6), that he alone received confession, and he alone imposed penance, is too unqualified. For it seems undoubted that the presbyters shared the bishop's jurisdiction. Still, the power resided in the bishop alone, if he saw fit to exercise it. Cyprian frequently claimed and used the sole right of discipline (*Epp.* xvii. xix. xxv. xli. xlii. xlvi. &c.) and his presbyters acknowledged his claim (*Ep. Caldonat.* ap. Cyprian, xxiv.) The *Apostolical Constitutions*, which deal so largely with discipline, are addressed to the bishop. He was to preside over all, as entrusted with the power of binding and loosing (*Apost. Const.* ii. 18); upon him the blame was to be laid if he neglected to exercise his power (*ibid.* c. 10), for he was set in the church to sit in judgment on offenders. [BISHOP, p. 231.] But although Cyprian and others did not hesitate to vindicate their episcopal authority, they frequently acted in conjunction with their presbyters in the difficulties disturbing the church. From the earliest ages there are indications of this association of presbyters with their bishops. Some such association appears in the sentence issued by St. Paul against the incestuous Corinthian (1 Cor. v.). The excommunication emanated from the apostle, but it was to be decreed by the assembled church, "when ye are gathered together," at Corinth. The apostle was present only in spirit to preside over their assembly.

Ignatius, whose epistles shew the great authority possessed by presbyters in the 2nd century, refers (*ad Philadelph.* c. 8) to the penitent coming to the bishop's consistory, εἰς συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. The *Constitutions*, after speaking of the presbyters as the advisers of the bishop, and the council and senate of the church, go on to say that the presbyters, and the deacons shall sit in judgment with the bishop (*Apost. Const.* ii. 28). Tertullian's definition of exomologesis (*Poenitent.* c. 9) comprised submission and supplication to the presbyters. Humiliation before the presbyters is related of Natalis the confessor (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28). In *Conc. Eliber.* c. 74, the "conventus clericorum" is made the judge of the gravity of a perjurer's offence. Cyprian has numerous allusions (*Epp.* xvi. xix. &c.) to the presbyters uniting with the bishops in the administration of discipline. For himself, he said (*Ep.* xiv.), from the beginning of his episcopacy he had resolved to do nothing of his private judgment without their concurrence. Cornelius similarly (*Ep.* xlix. ad Cyprian) would not decide the case of the confessors who had sided with Novatian till he had summoned his presbytery. The councils which condemned Origen (Pamphil. *Apolog.* ap. *Phot. Cod.* cxviii.), Novatian (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43), and Paul of Samosata (*ibid.* vii. 28), were composed of bishops and presbyters, the last-mentioned synod containing deacons also. The first step in the prosecution of Noetus (Epiphan. *Haeres.* lvii. 1), and of Arius (*ibid.* lxix. 3) was to bring them before the presbytery. Before Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, issued his circular letter to the other bishops against Arius, he had previously summoned the presbyters and deacons, not only to hear the letter, but also to give their assent to the judgment (Coteler, *ad Const. Apost.* viii. 28). On the condemnation of Jovinian by Siricius (*Ep.* ii.) a presbytery was summoned, and the presbyters and deacons were associated in the promulgation of the sentence. Similar steps were taken by Synesius (*Ep.* lvii.) in excommunicating Andronicus. The fourth *Conc. Carthag.* c. 23, prohibited a bishop from hearing any cause alone without the presence of his clergy; but it is not clear whether the causes in view were clerical or lay. In many instances of ecclesiastical censures the laity appear to have been present, not in any judicial capacity, but as wit-

nesses, and to stamp the sentence as issuing from the whole body of the faithful.

After the conviction of an offender, it rested with some one to see that the sentence was carried out. In such public rites as imposition of hands and a special locality in the church, there could be no need of supervision. The case would be different with the more private disabilities and austerities. Generally speaking, the superintendence rested with the bishop. This is clear from the numerous passages referring to his authority over penitents; and further evidence in the same direction may be gathered from the laws forbidding a bishop to receive a penitent, without recommendation, from another diocese. (*Can. Apost.* c. 12; *Conc. Nicaen.* c. 5; *Conc. Eliber.* c. 53; 1 *Conc. Arelat.* c. 16.) It would have been impracticable for the bishop to have long maintained this supervision personally. In the earliest ages, when every member of a church was known to the bishop and to each other, he probably did so; the congregation would supply all needful evidence of the performance of an erring member's penalty. But as the dioceses increased in size, he must have found it necessary to delegate his authority. In the East it was transferred to the PENITENTIARY presbyter, appointed by the bishop, and acting for him. In the West the duty of supervision appears to have been committed to a great extent to the deacon. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (ii. 16) appoint the deacon to attend to an expelled member, and keep him out of the church, and afterwards bring him to the bishop. In the 9th century rituals, this duty is laid, not on the deacons generally, but on the archdeacon. He it was who collected the penitents and admonished them, and introduced them to the bishop, and afterwards bore testimony that their penance had been duly performed. Morinus (vi. 17) conjectures that, for at least 300 years prior to the date of these rituals, these same duties fell to the charge of the archdeacon. In the larger dioceses the rural deans shared the duty; and subsequently, as appears from the visitation articles of Hincmar, it became one of the functions of the parochial clergy.

The power of remitting the length or severity of a sentence was one of the privileges of the bishop. He, said the council of Ancyra (c. 5) was to examine the life and conversation of the penitent, and increase or mitigate his penalty. A similar power was recognised by a succession of councils (*Conc. Nicaen.* c. 12; *Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, c. 16; *Conc. Andegav.* A.D. 453, c. 12; *Conc. Ilerd.* A.D. 523, c. 5; 4 *Conc. Aurel.* A.D. 541, c. 8). As the number of penitents increased, more discretion was vested in the presbyter, but always with a reference, and, if necessary, with an appeal to the bishop. Basil, c. 74, gives the power of alleviating penance to those who have the gift of binding and loosing; language which was also used by *Conc. in Trull.* c. 102. By 4 *Conc. Aurel.* c. 28; 1 *Conc. Cabilon.* c. 8, the "sacerdos" was the judge who determined the extent of penance. In the Eastern church, from the time of the Decian persecution till the episcopacy of Nectarius of Constantinople, the penitentiary must have been the executive minister of discipline.

7. *Penitence of Clergy.*—The penitential discipline as it affected the laity was medicinal rather than penal. In its treatment of the clergy, the penal element predominated. Not only was a delinquent clerk exposed to the humiliation of a public censure, but he was also deprived, temporarily or absolutely, of his office, and the rank and emolument of office. And the sentence was the more severe, that in the early ages a degraded clerk was never reinstated. Hence a charge against a clergyman was required to be proved with legal formality, as his guilt involved not only a moral stigma, but a loss of privilege and means of livelihood. This twofold effect, the spiritual and the temporal, of an ecclesiastical censure on the clergy, naturally regulated the administration of discipline towards them. One of the *Apostolical Canons* (c. 24) laid it down, that a bishop, priest, or deacon, for certain crimes, was to be deposed, but not excommunicated, because the Scriptures had said that a man was not to be punished twice for the same offence. The rule was repeated by Basil, cc. 3, 32, 57. Still it does not represent the unvarying discipline for the first three centuries. In general a clergyman was degraded in cases in which a layman was excommunicated. And where this rule held good, a clergyman was not subjected to penitence. But in the primitive ages it frequently occurred that no difference was made between the penance of clergy and laity. The penalty followed the same course as if the delinquent had not been in orders—ejection from the church, and re-admission by penance. (See council of Neocaesarea, c. 1.) The Elviran canons afford a still clearer illustration of clerical penance. A deacon confessing a preordination crime might receive communion at the end of three years, *acta legitimâ poenitentiâ* (*Conc. Eliber.* c. 76). For instances of public penance, see the account given of Natalis (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28); and of the presbyter Felix (Cyprian. *Ep.* xxv. *ad Caldon.*; *Ep. Caldon.* ap. Cyprian. xxiv.); of Novatus (Id. *Ep.* lii. 3); of Trophimus (Id. *Ep.* lv. 8); of bishop Fortunatus (Id. *Ep.* lxv.); and of bishop Basilides (Id. *Ep.* lxvii. 6). Nor did open clerical penance, which was part of the stricter system of a time of persecution, altogether cease with the close of the 3rd century. The first council of Orange, A.D. 441, c. 4, followed by the second council of Arles, c. 29, determined that clergy should be admitted to penance if they sought it. The first council of Orleans, A.D. 511, c. 12, mentions a presbyter, "sub professione poenitentis." The third council of Braga, A.D. 675, c. 4, threatened a clergyman with six months' subjection "legibus poenitentiae." (See also 1 *Conc. Turon.* cc. 3, 5; *Conc. Venet.* c. 16; *Conc. Agath.* cc. 8, 42; *Conc. Ilerd.* cc. 1, 5; 2 *Conc. Tolet.* c. 3; 3 *Conc. Aurelian.* cc. 4, 8.) On the other hand, a statement of Pope Leo, 441–461, seems difficult to reconcile with these authorities. He lays it down (in *Ep.* xcii. c. 2, *ad Rustic.*; Labb. *Conc.* iiii. 1408) that it is not in accordance with ecclesiastical custom for a presbyter or deacon to obtain the grace of penance by imposition of hands. One explanation is that the "ecclesiastica consuetudo" alleged by Leo was prevalent only in the Roman church. Another, that the words of Leo were strictly correct, and

that no presbyter or deacon as such was ever subjected to penance, because he was first degraded and had ceased to be a clergyman. But this explanation, while reconciling the pope's language with canonical decisions, reduces it to a mere truism. The privilege, or inability, in whichever light it may be regarded, which as a general rule protected the higher clergy from open penance, was not extended to the lower orders. The council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, decreed in two canons (cc. 2, 8), that for purposes of discipline monks were to be regarded as laity; a decision repeated by 1 *Conc. Barcinon.* A.D. 540, c. 10; *Conc. in Trull.* c. 81; 2 *Conc. Nicaen.* cc. 5, 13. For a further account of clerical penalties, see BISHOP, p. 228; DEGRADATION; DISCIPLINE; ORDERS, HOLY, p. 1492. [G. M.]

**PENITENTIAL BOOKS**: LIBER POENITENTIALIS; POENITENTIALE; CONFESSIONALE; POENITENTIALES CODICES, CODICELLI, LIBELLI; LEGES POENITENTIUM; PECCANTIUM JUDICIA. The term is applied to collections of penitential canons issued under the name and with the authority of some eminent ecclesiastic, with a view to establish a uniform rule for the administration of discipline; the best known are the Anglo-Saxon penitentials of the 7th and 8th centuries.

The early history of canons of discipline is involved in some obscurity. It is probable that each bishop, with his presbytery, administered the discipline of his diocese on certain general principles which left the details to local regulation. Afterwards, as individual bishops by weight of character gained a reputation in the church, their decisions on matters of discipline obtained more or less the force of church law. Hence the epistles of Basil and his brother Gregory of Nyssa on penance were received as of something like canonical authority. In this view they may be regarded as the earliest penitential books. Of these two sets of canonical laws, that of Gregory is in the form of a letter to Letoius, bishop of Melitine. It attempts to trace the source of all sin to one of the three faculties of the soul, which he designates the rational, the concupiscible, and the irascible, and for each a separate mode of treatment is to be adopted; but there is no regulated scale of penalties for different degrees of sin. The epistle of Basil contains more direct penal enactments. It deals principally with the three capital crimes of idolatry, murder, and fornication, and allots to each form of sin its appropriate punishment. Although stamped with no canonical authority, Basil's epistle evidently had a wide influence on the administration of the discipline of the Eastern church, and eventually received the synodical sanction of the council in Trullo, A.D. 692. Other rudimentary penitentials are to be found in the numerous decretals of the Roman bishops, although no one of these deals systematically with the subject. After the 3rd century the chief authority for the regulation of discipline was in the penitential canons of the councils. In addition to the general council of Nice, the Oriental councils of Ancyra, A.D. 314, Neocaesarea, A.D. 314, Gangra, A.D. 362, and the various African councils of the 4th and 5th centuries, and the Spanish and Frankish from the 4th to the 7th century, contain a copious legislation for the administration of penance. The decrees of these councils had only a provincial, or at most a national, force, and there was no attempt to establish a universal code of penitential law. The nearest approach to systematizing the laws of discipline is in the *Codex Ecclesiae Africanae*, emanating from Carthage, A.D 419. The full development of the penitential system is usually attributed to Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 669–690. But recent investigations have established the genuineness of fragmentary British and Irish penitentials, which indicate that the system was flourishing in the Celtic churches in these islands at a period anterior to Theodore. The nature of the contents of the various penitentials, wherever there is any peculiarity to call for remark, will appear as the list proceeds; but in general it may be said that they had one common characteristic, varying little with the nation for whose guidance they were compiled. They maintain a complete silence on the dogmatical controversies which shook and disunited the Eastern church; in many of them there is little or no reference to the ordinances of the church; their whole purpose and strength are concentrated on the enforcement of practical duties. Among the rude tribes of the north and west, the outward profession of their newly-acquired Christianity was by no means invariably followed by an abandonment of the ferocious and licentious passions of the old heathen life. It was the object of the penitential book to allay, and gradually to extirpate, the vices of heathenism. The pictures which they disclose, especially of the sins of the flesh, is a dark one. But the public denunciation of these crimes and passions in the church, and the determination of her rulers to restrain them, was a step towards the light. The drawing out a catalogue of different vices, and appending a proportionate punishment to each, no doubt fostered the notion that each vice had its price, by the payment of which it might be expiated, and so far tended to blunt the moral sense of the iniquity of sin. On the other hand, the church, by declaring that it was her function to discover and punish vice because it was vice and against God's law, brought home to the people, in the only way these simple races could understand, a belief in God's moral government of the world. An undue multiplication of the books was jealously watched. In the Gallic church, where, to judge from the number of Frankish penitentials which survive, their influence must have been widespread, the council of Châlons, A.D. 813 (c. 38) passes upon them a formal censure; they are said to clash with the authority of the canons; their authors are declared to be uncertain, but their errors certain.[a] The discipline of the penitentials was

[a] The decrees of the Gallican councils against penitentials are very severe. Thus the council of Châlons, A.D. 813, c. 38: "Modus enim poenitentiae peccata sua confitentibus aut per antiquorum institutionem aut per sanctarum scripturarum auctoritatem aut per ecclesiasticam consuetudinem imponi debet, repudiatis ac penitus eliminatis libellis, quos penitentiales vocant, quorum sunt certi errores, incerti auctores." Compare *Conc. Mogunt*, A.D. 847, c. 31; *Conc. Paris*, A.D. 829 c. 32. In the latter the bishops are ordered to burn the penitentials wherever they find them: ["Ne per eos ulterius sacerdotes imperiti homines decipiant."] A

that of the cloister, classifying sin, and pursuing it into every detail; the monastic rules being relaxed, and adapted to the conditions of life of a free people. In the list which follows it will be convenient to arrange the books under the headings of the different national churches in which they were published.

I. British and Irish Penitentials.

1. *Excerpta quaedam de Libro Davidis.*—The date of these fragmentary extracts from the 'Liber' of David, bishop of Minevia, the present St. David's, lies between A.D. 550 and 600 (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Documents*, i. 118). They consist of sixteen canons treating of drunkenness, fornication, homicide, perjury, robbery, usury; and may be considered as the earliest penitential book connected with the British islands.

2. *Sinodus Aquilonalis Britanniae.*

3. *Altera Sinodus Luci Victoriae.* — Two synods held under David, in the year 569. The first contains seven penitential canons, the second nine.

The locality of the synods was probably Llanddewi Brefi, in the neighbourhood of Cardigan (Haddan and Stubbs, i. 117). The state of morals exhibited by these early canons was degraded. The 'Liber Davidis' opens with the penalty for excessive drinking among priests about to minister in God's temple.

4. *Poenitentiale Vinniai.*—This book was first printed by Wasserschleben (*Bussordnungen*, &c. pp. 108–119) from a comparison of the MSS. Cod. Sangall. No. 150, saec. ix; Vindob. Theol. Lat. No. 725, saec. ix; Sangerm. No. 121, saec. viii.; and the Irish canons of the Cod. Paris, No. 3182, saec. xi. xii. It is difficult to identify the Vinniaus, or Finian, whose name it bears. Wasserschleben conjectures the author to be the Finianus mentioned by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Mart. i. p. 391) who, born in Ireland in the year 450, lived for some time in Gaul, then went to Wales, to bishop David, whence, in the end of the 5th century, he returned to Ireland, in order to uphold the faith and discipline which had declined since the death of St. Patrick. If this Finian was a contemporary of David, he lived a century later, but even so he would be earlier than Columban, which corresponds with the conclusion which would be drawn from a comparison of this confessional book with that of Columban, where the greater part of Finian's work is repeated. Wasserschleben divides the book into fifty-three paragraphs. This penitential enumerates the principal crimes of the clergy and laity, with their appropriate punishments. Like the synods under St. Patrick, and the *Liber Davidis*, it shews the influence which the clergy had obtained in temporal matters among the Celtic nations.

5. *Præfatio Gildae de Penitentia.*—The date of this fragment must be placed somewhere before the year 570 (Haddan and Stubbs, i. 113). It comprises twenty-seven sections, several of which are repeated in Cummean and Bede, and in the so-called Roman Penitential. The mode of penance to be inflicted is strictly stated at the outset, and is much more in detail than the penance to be found in any other early book.

6. *Canones Adamnani* (*Addamnari vel Addominari*).—The canons of Adamnan, abbat of the monastery of Hy, the date of which must lie between the years 679 and 704, were probably passed by some Irish synod under Adamnan's influence (Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 111). They consist of thirty chapters, treating almost entirely of unclean food.

7. *Canones Wallici.*—These canons are a collection of national rather than ecclesiastical law. They are found in the Cod. Sangerm. No. 121, saec. viii. with the title "Incipit judicium culparum;" in the Cod. Paris, No. 3182, from whence they were taken by Martene (*Nov. Thes.* t. iv. col. 13), they are called "Excerpta de libris Romanorum et Francorum." For the argument for their Welsh origin, see Haddan and Stubbs, i. 127. Their date is probably the first half of the 7th century.

8. *Canones Hibernenses.*—These canons are found in the same French MSS. with the preceding collection. They are all of great antiquity; some, as apparently iii. "Synodus Hibernensis decrevit," being decisions of synods over which St. Patrick presided. The canons are interesting as specimens of early penitential rules, and as the sources from which later compilations were derived. Wasserschleben (pp. 136–144) has published six collections:—i. "De disputatione Hibernensis sinodi et Gregori Nasaseni sermo de innumerabilibus peccatis incipit." Many of these canons are afterwards used by the compiler of the *Penit. Bigotianum* [infra, p. 1612]. Their spelling of Latin terminations, is remarkable; there are also traces of the use of the old vernacular, as, for example (c. 4), "Poenitentia magi vel votivi mali, si credulus id dem ergach vel praeconis." ii. "De Arreis." This is the earliest notice of redemptions to be found in penitential books, and was the parent from which many later developments of the system drew their origin. The first canon gives a fair instance of the nature of the commutations: "Arreum superpossitionis C. psalmi et C. flectiones genuum vel iii. quingenta et cantica vii. iii. "Synodus Hibernensis decrevit." iv. "De jectione." A curious scale of payments to be made by one who turns a poor man adrift or refuses to succour him. The "jectio" shall be a certain proportion, from a fifth to a ninth, of the composition for murder. v. "De canibus sinodus sapientium." vi. "Item synodus sapientia sic de decimis disputant."

II. Frankish Penitentials.

The discipline of the Frankish church from the 4th century was regulated by the decrees of provincial councils, which are remarkably full of disciplinary canons. It was not till the 7th century that anything approaching to a systematic compilation of the different acts of councils in the form of a penitential was attempted. How well the ground was prepared for such a compilation appears from the numerous penitential

similar feeling is apparent in a letter of bishop Ebbo of Rheims, circa A.D. 830, to Halitgar of Cambray (Canisius, *Lectt. Antiq.* ed. Basnage, tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 87): ["Et hoc est, quod hac in re valde me sollicitat, quod ita confusa sunt judicia poenitentium in presbyterorum nostrorum opusculis atque ita diversa et inter se discrepantia et nullius auctoritate suffulta, ut vix propter dissonantium possint discerni, unde fit, ut concurrentes ad remedium poenitentiae tam pro librorum confusione, quam etiam pro ingenii tarditate, nullatenus eis valeant subvenire."]

works, which were at once drawn up on the basis of the first which was published.

1. *Poenitentiale Columbani.* — This earliest Frankish penitential was the work of the Irish monk Columban, born in the first half of the 6th century, in the province of Leinster. He lived for some time in the great monastery of Bangor, and then crossed to Gaul in the year 590; a few years later he penetrated to Italy, and founded the monastery of Bobbio at the foot of the Apennines, where he died, A.D. 615 [DICT. CHR. BIOG. i. 605]. Among his writings are two penitential books, one 'Regula Coenobialis,' designated in some MSS. 'Poenitentiale,' 'Regula fratrum Hibernensium;' in others, 'Columbani Liber de quotidianis poenitentiis monachorum.' This work, framed on a severe standard, contains a code of monastic rules, and has no concern with the general administration of church discipline. It is remarkable for the frequency with which corporal chastisement occurs among its penalties. Six, ten, or even two hundred strokes might be laid on a careless or offending monk. Columban's other work is entitled 'Liber de Poenitentia,' or 'de Poenitentiarum mensura taxanda.' The work was first published by the Minorite friar Fleming, in the year 1667, from a codex of the monastery of Bobbio. This Cod. Bobbiensis is the only MS. of the penitential known to exist. It consists of two parts, which can never have been intended to form one consecutive set of canons. The first part contains twelve chapters on miscellaneous offences, some of which are also dealt with in part two, and not, in all cases, carrying the same penalty. The second part, which is the true penitential rule, begins with the introduction, "Diversitas culparum diversitatem facit poenitentiarum;" then follows an elaborate comparison between bodily and spiritual disorders. After the introduction come twelve sections on the "capitalia crimina" of the "clerici et monachi;" cc. 13–25, on the "crimina" of "laici;" and the remaining cc. 25–30 on the "minutae monachorum sanctiones." The last chapter of Columban (c. 30) is an injunction laid upon the monks to confess before mass not only actual offences, but thoughts and desires. It is interesting as one of the earliest examples of a practice which was afterwards to be stringently enforced upon the whole church.

In the introduction to the penitential, Columban states that he has composed his work partly from his own discretion, and partly from the "traditiones seniorum." Among these "seniores" must be placed Vinniaus, from whose Irish penitential Columban has borrowed no less than thirteen of his thirty sections. Compare *Columb. Poen.* cc. 1, 2, 4–9, 11, 16, 20, 21, 23, with *Vinniaus. Poen.* 23, 12, 11, 22, 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 8, 9 17, 36, 22, 9.

Columban's book which, from the name of its author, has usually been regarded as an Irish work, Wasserschleben pronounces to be Frankish, composed after he had crossed to the continent. The grounds for deciding against its Irish origin are certainly very strong:—(1) Monkish rules and penalties always emanated from the superiors of cloisters, or from some one in high authority; it is highly improbable that Columban would have been allowed to publish a work of this importance while he was occupying a subordinate position in the monastery at Bangor. (2) No trace of Columban's canons is observable in Theodore, while, on the other hand, they form the basis of numerous undoubted Frankish collections. (3) C. 25 forbids communicating with the heretical sect of the Bonosiaci,[b] who were spread over Gaul and Italy, but were unknown in the British Isles. (4) The arrangement of the materials shews an independent undertaking. At the head of the capitalia crimina, Columban places homicide; afterwards follow fornication, perjury, &c., and this order was adopted by most of the Frankish penitentials; whereas those which rest upon Theodore's work begin with drunkenness. This arrangement was probably due to the prominence which these various vices and crimes attained among the respective races. With the inhabitants of the British Isles drunkenness was the prevailing sin—with the German tribes, murder, and crimes of violence.

2. In close connexion with Columban's work, Wasserschleben (*Bussordnungen*, pp. 360–429) has printed eight anonymous penitentials, all of which show a Frankish origin.

(a) *Poenitentiale Pseudo-Romanum.*—This was first published by Halitgar, bishop of Cambray, in the 9th century, and may be found in Canisius, *Lectiones*, ed. Basnage, ii. 2. Halitgar styles it the Roman penitential, and states, in his preface, that it is one "quem de scrinio Romanae ecclesiae adsumpsimus." It is also printed at length by Morinus (*de Sacrament. Poenitent.* appendix, pp. 565–568). Wasserschleben (*Bussordnungen*, &c. p. 58) is disposed to doubt this statement of Halitgar with regard to the Roman archives, and adduces several reasons for believing it to be an entirely Frankish work. (1) Use is made of Gildas (Ps.-Rom. ix. 1–5; Gild. 9, 12, 21–24. (2) Undoubted reference is made to the Gallic council of Auxerre, A.D. 578 (*Conc. Autis.* cc. 1, 3, 4; Ps.-Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5). (3) A considerable part of the book is borrowed immediately from Columban, and it is itself the source of several chapters of the Merseburg Penitential (*Mers.* 47–51· Ps.-Rom. iii. 4; vi. 8, 9, 10).

(b) *Poenitentiale Hubertense.*—First published by Martene and Durand (*Ampl. Coll.* vol. vii. col. 37) from a MS. from the monastery of St. Hubert at Audain in the Ardennes. The full title is, 'In nomine sanctae Trinitatis incipiunt judicia sacerdotalia de diversis criminibus ex canonica auctoritate sumpta.' It contains a number of decrees, strung together without any connexion or rubrical arrangement.

(c) *Poenitentiale Merseburgense.* — This penitential is a long treatise, comprising 149 sections, and is chiefly interesting from the numerous references to heathen manners and customs: c. 22 denounces those who seek auguries by birds or any other evil devices; c. 23, divination by soothsayers, because they are the works of evil spirits; c. 26 prohibits "sortes sanctorum," which are contrary to reason; c. 27 denounces as sacrilege the resorting to trees, or fountains, or "cancelli," or any other place except to a church, in order to make a vow, &c. [PAGANISM, SURVIVAL OF.]

[b] Bonosus, bishop of Sardica, A.D. 392, denied the perpetual virginity of our Lord's mother; of the tenets of his followers in the 7th century little is known.

(d) *Poenitentiale Bobiense.*—From a MS. of the monastery of Bobbio, of the 7th or 8th century. It is headed "Judicius poenitentialis." It contains 47 sections on miscellaneous offences, and concludes with two prayers for the penitent.

(e) *Poenitentiale Parisiense.*—From a Parisian MS. of the 8th century. It contains 61 sections of the ordinary character.

(f) *Poenitentiale Vindobonense.*—This is from a Vienna MS. of the 10th century. It has a short instruction, headed "Judicium patrum ad penitentes." The greater number of its 102 sections are identical with those of the Merseburg book.

(g) *Poenitentiale Floriacense.*—From a Fleury codex, which was first printed by Martene (*de Rit. Antiq.* ii. 61, ed. Rotomag.) "ex pervetusto codice Floriacensi." It opens with a long "Ordo ad dandam poenitentiam," according to which the priest is to receive confessions. The penitential proper is styled "Judicium poenitentiae;" of its 50 original canons only 10 are extant.

(h) *Poenitentiale Sangallense.*—Taken from a St. Gall MS. of the 9th century. It is introduced by the same "ordo" as the preceding Poen. Floriac. It contains 19 short canons, nearly all of which are to be found either in the Merseburg or the Parisian books.

All these anonymous penitentials, with the exception of those from Vienna and Merseburg, bear the mark of the 7th or, at latest, of the first half of the 8th century. The "ratio" or "ordo" appended to Pseud.-Rom., Merseburg., Floriac., Sangall. are, perhaps, of the 10th or 11th century (Wasserschleben, *Bussord.* p. 56). They treat throughout of private penance, consisting chiefly of fasts on bread and water; sometimes the penance of exile, almsgiving, or psalm-singing occurs. In the Pseudo-Roman and St. Gall collections, there is a division of the subject into chapters according to the principal crimes; in the remainder, the canons are strung together without any system whatever. Different from the Anglo-Saxon practice is the ratio appended to the Pseudo-Roman and Merseburg collections, in which the deacon is permitted to receive the penitent, at least if the priest is not present, or in a case of necessity.

3. *Poenitentiale Cummeani.*—The history of this penitential is involved in much obscurity, and the identification of the Cummean (Commean, Cumian, Cumin, Comin) whose name it bears, is no less perplexing. The *Acta SS. Hibernens.* xii. Januar. mention twenty-one Irish ecclesiastics of that name, but no intimation is given of any of them having written a penitential. In two Swiss MSS. St. Gall, 550 and 150, a penitential is found with the preface, "Cummeani Abbatis In Scotia orti;" and from this it has generally been concluded that both Cummean and his work were of Irish or Scotch origin. Mone (*Quellen und Forschungen*, p. 494, cited by Wasserschleben), suggests that Columba, abbat of Iona, circ. 597, compiled the work, and that Cumin, one of his biographers, wrote the preface. Theiner (*Disquisit. Sacrae*, p. 280) attributed it to a Cummean, abbat of Iona, who died at the end of the 6th century. Kunstmann (*Die Lateinischen Pönitentialbücher der Angelsachsen*, p. 22), although not expressing himself decidedly which Cummean he considers to be the author of the treatise, regards it as the principal source of Theodore's Penitential, and remarks that Theodore's use of it is a further proof of the consideration enjoyed by Irish teachers in England. Wasserschleben (p. 62), with more critical acuteness, points out that the designation "Abbas in Scotia ortus" clearly indicates that Cummean was not in his own country when he composed his book. He therefore looks for some ecclesiastic of that name who lived on the continent, and finds him in a Cummean mentioned in *Acta SS. Hibernens.* 4 Jun. p. 244; in *Annal. Benedict.* ii. p. 282, and in Ughellus, *Ital. Sacr.* t. iv. col. 959, 960, who emigrated to Italy, and died in Columban's monastery of Bobbio in the reign of the Lombard king Luitprand, which extended from A.D. 711 to 744. The fact that this Cummean is called "episcopus" in the *Chronic. Bobiens.* quoted in Ughellus, and the agreement of the date of his death with the date which the internal evidence from the penitential bearing his name indicates, render it highly probable that he is the "Abbas in Scotia ortus." Wasserschleben has published (pp. 460–491) a text taken from the following MSS.—Cod. Sangall. 550, saec. ix.; Cod. Sangall. 675, saec. ix.; Darmst. 91, saec. ix.; Vindob. Theol. 651, saec. x.; Frising. 43; Windbergens. 88. Of these MSS. only the first bears Cummean's name; and it is not clear whether some older MS. has not yet to be discovered of which these are copies. As to the date, it is manifest that, presuming this to be the authentic penitential, Cummean took his work from Theodore, and not the converse; for many passages of the former, in cc. i. ii. iii. iv. v. refer to Theodore by name as the authority for the decisions given. The date, therefore, cannot be earlier than Theodore's death in A.D. 690. On the other hand, Cummean was the source from which Egbert drew some of his canons. Compare *Egbert. Pen.* iv. 14; vii. 7; xii.; with *Cum. Pen.* vii. 8; vi. 8; xiii. This would give the middle of the 8th century as the limit of time on the other side. And this date coincides with that of the Cummean who died at Bobbio in the reign of Luitprand. There is a curious association of Cummean's work with the name of Jerome, the origin of which is of old date. In an Avignon MS. saec. xiii. it is distinctly ascribed to Jerome. In the Cod. Vindob. Theol. No. 725, saec. ix. fol. 40, is contained an "Inquisitio S. Hieronimi de penitentia," followed by two chapters from Theodore, almost the whole of Cummean, and some other additions, the whole, however, anonymous. This is also found under the title "Hieronimi fatentur" in Cod. Merseb. fol. 23, and with the superscription "de duodecim triduanis" in Cod. Vindob. jur. can. No. 116, fol. 21; also in the Cod. Cotton. Vespas. D. ii. 1, p. 3, are some "Canones poenitentiales secundum Hieronymum," which are undoubtedly borrowed from Cummean. And it is remarkable that Egbert, in his preface, mentions Jerome in company with Augustine, Theodore, and others, as authorities on the subject of penitence, but does not mention Cummean; he borrows, however, both from Cummean and Theodore, and it is not improbable that the work of the former was known to him under the name of Jerome.

The Penitential is headed by a long introduction

comprising (1) "de diversis criminibus." (2) "De modis poenitentiae," which prescribes the scale of scourging, psalm-singing, and almsgiving, &c. by which penance could be redeemed, borrowed apparently from Irish sources, see *Canones Hibernenses de Arreis*, p. 139. The code of dispensations concludes with the declaration, which is also found in the Appendix to Bede's Penitential (x. 8), that he who does not know his psalms and cannot fast must look out some respectable man to do it for him, whom he must recompense either by labour or money. (3) "De divite vel potente, quomodo se redimit pro criminalibus culpis." The title of the treatise is 'Exscarpsus de aliis plures poenitentiales et canones.'

4. *Poenitentiale Bigotianum.*—This penitential was first printed, but not completely, by Martene (*Thes. Nov.* tom. iv. col. 22–30), under the title 'Libellus de remediis peccatorum,' which is a variation from that found in the MS. Wasserschleben has printed his edition (pp. 441-460) from Cod. Paris. Reg. 3182 (olim Bigot. 89) fol. saec. xi. pp. 286–299. No name is attached to it, and Wasserschleben gives it the title *Bigotianum*, that being the only MS. in which it is found. The same MS. contains most of the Irish and British fragments, and the compiler has evidently drawn largely from Irish sources. He quotes "canones sapientium et Gregorii" (see supra, *Canones Hibernenses*, p. 1609), the Canones patrum, Vinniaus, Theodore, the Frankish penitentials, Cassian, and the *Vitae Sanctorum*, from which he adduces the examples of the Abbas Pastor, Moyses, Peritus, Antonius. St. Syncletica, and others. This element in the penitential would lead to the conclusion that, like Columban and Cummean, the author was one of the many Irish missionaries who settled in France. The work appears to have been made use of by Cummean, unless, as is not improbable, both were derived from a common source not yet discovered. It is especially rich in material, and the writer has shewn unusual originality in the arrangement of his matter.

5. *Poenitentiale Vindobonenseib.*—This is another anonymous penitential published by Wasserschleben pp. (493–497), from Cod. Vindob. Theol. Lat. No. 725 (olim 667), 8vo. saec. ix. fol. 1–82. It contains part of Cummean's introduction, the same part which is also found in Cod. Sangall. 675, and is designated here "Praefatio Cummeani Abbatis in Scotia orti." Then follow the titles of twenty-four chapters, borrowed from Cummean, Theodore, and Vinuiaus. Then the "Inquisitio Sancti Hieronymi de penitentia," mentioned above; after that the titles of seventeen more chapters from the same sources as the earlier ones, and concluding with "Interrogatt. Augustini et respons. Gregorii."

6. *Poenitentiale Remense.*—Another book based on Cummean, found in Cod. Paris, 1603 (olim regius 4483; Remens. 264) saec. viii. 8vo. fol. 104–138. It is an anonymous work of sixteen chapters.

7. *Poenitentiale XXXV. Capitulorum.*—This is a very systematic compilation of penitential canons published by Wasserschleben (pp. 505–526) from the Cod. Vindob. jur. can. No. 116, 4to, saec. x. fol. 22–41, and Cod. Sangall. 150, fol. 285–318. The work is founded on Theodore, Cummean, and the Frankish Penitentials connected with Columban, and the decisions of the two former authorities, under the designation "Judicium Cummeani," "Judicium Theodori," or "Judicium Canonicum," are frequently cited in succession for the same offence. From the preponderating use made of Cummean's work, and Irish and Anglo-Saxon sources, and from the citation of a "Judicium Scotorum," it is a probable conjecture that the penitential was compiled by some Scotch missionary. The treatise appears to have had a wide circulation, for large excerpts from it appear in a MS. of the Austrian Cistercian Monastery of Holy Cross, saec. x. in the Cod. Valicell. saec. xiii. in the so-called *Collectio Saviniana*, and in the *Collectio Anselmi Lucens* (Wasserschleben, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der vorgratianischen Kirchenrechtsquellen*, pp. 34, 151).

### ANGLO-SAXON PENITENTIALS.

1. *Poenitentiale Theodori.*—The treatise which bears the name of Theodore is the most important of the penitential books, but it is only within the last few years that a genuine text of the work has been published. Whether Theodore was himself the author of the book, and what it was, and whether any set of canons existed which could be proved to be drawn up under the authority of the great archbishop—these till quite recently were open questions. This obscurity is the more remarkable as there was a unanimity of tradition for many centuries that Theodore's was the first Anglo-Saxon Penitential, and it long had a widespread influence in England, and was long the source and model of the penitential regulations in France and Germany. This influence was partly due to the nature of the work itself, and partly to the learning and commanding character of Theodore, whose primacy, extending from A.D. 669 to 690, was a memorable one in the English church. The evidence for the belief that a Penitential did emanate from Theodore is as follows: (1) Egbert, who was consecrated bishop not later than A.D. 733, and who must have been born consequently soon after Theodore's death, twice in his undoubted Penitential quotes Theodore by name; in the preface he speaks of him in company with Augustine, Gregory, and other Fathers, as one of the great authorities on penitence; and in the body of his work (v. ii.) he takes a canon almost verbatim from Theodore's treatise, with the introduction "Teodorus dixit." The *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Vignol. Rom. 1724, tom. i. p. 270) which was first published in the second half of the 8th century, states, "Theodorus Archiepiscopus peccantium judicia, quantos scilicet annos pro unoquoque peccato quis poenitere debeat, mirabili et discreta consideratione descripsit." Identical testimony is given by Paul Warnefrid (Paulus Diaconus) cited by Wasserschleben, p. 15. (3) The *Codex Canonum Hibernicorum*, the date of one MS. of which lies between A.D. 763 and 790 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 174), quotes the work by name, as do also many of the French penitentials and collections of canons. (4) It is spoken of by Rabanus Maurus (*De judic. poenit. laicorum*, c. 6; *opp.* Colon. 1626, tom. vi. p. 119) as "Poenitentialis quem Theodorus constituit." And Regino of Prüm, in his Visitation Instructions requires the ecclesiastics under his jurisdiction to be provided with a copy of either the Roman Penitential, or Theodore's or Bede's. On the other hand (1) Theodore's contemporaries are silent; Bede, who speaks fully of the archbishop's activity in the English church, has not a single reference to

Theodore's Penitential, either in his own treatise or in his History; (2) by the twelfth century the work was unknown, or forgotten, in England.

Before coming to that which can now be confidently accepted as the authentic work ascribed in the 8th century to Theodore, it will clear the ground to give a list of the imperfect or spurious editions of the book that have been published.

(1.) In A.D. 1639 Spelman, in the first volume of the *Concilia*, published the headings of 78 chapters under the title of "Poenitentiale Theodori Archiepiscopi." He took them from a MS. of the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and expressly states that he was not permitted to make a copy of the whole. This MS. seen by Spelman, C. C. C. C. 190, was published, with six chapters at the beginning and twenty-two at the end omitted, by the Record Commission, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 277, seqq. edited by Thorpe. The C. C. C. C. 190 MS. was taken as the text, and MSS. Cotton. Vesp. D. 15, C. C. C. C. 320, were collated with it to supply various readings. In favour of this being the original work there is only the title, which is comparatively modern, and the authority of Spelman founded on a glance at the MS. Against this supposition are these fatal objections: c. 20 consists for the most part of canons from the second Roman council under Gregory II. A.D. 721; c. 38 contains a long passage from a capitulary of Charles the Great, A.D. 789; in almost all the chapters use is made of the Collection of Canons by Halitgar of Cambray, circ. 829; there are numerous citations from the French councils of Orleans, Agde, Châlons. The conclusion from this evidence is, that Spelman and Thorpe's Penitential is a French compilation not earlier than the ninth century. This edition was again published by Kunstmann (*Die Lateinischen Pönitentialbücher der Angelsachsen*, Mayence, 1844), who also published from a Ratisbon MS. a series of 193 canons, under the name 'Canones Gregoriani.' The full title in the MSS. is "Canones Sancti Gregorii Papae urbis Romae," the origin of which heading is doubtless to be found in the replies given to Augustine by Gregory on the ecclesiastical government of England. These "Canones Gregorii" are reprinted by Wasserschleben (pp. 160–180). They consist of a disorderly selection from the genuine work of Theodore.

(2.) D'Achery in the *Spicilegium*, vol. ix. published (A.D. 1669) 120 chapters from various Parisian MSS. under the title "Capitula Theodori." In A.D. 1671 they were republished by Labbe and Cossart (*Concilia*, vi. 1875), and again in A.D. 1723, in the new edition of the *Spicilegium* (i. 486), edited with the notes of Baluze and Martene, when the 120 original canons were increased to 168, of which however the last twenty came from the Irish book of Adamnan (*supra*, p. 1609). In Wasserschleben's collection these canons are printed (pp. 145–160) as "Capitula Dacheriana." The "capitula" are a mixed collection, arranged without any method, containing few canons on penance, and possess no claim whatever to be regarded as the original treatise.

(3.) Jacques Petit published in Paris, in A.D. 1677, with the title *Theodori Poenitentiale*, a work in fourteen chapters, taken from two MSS. from the library of De Thou, together with the "capitula" of D'Achery, and sixty other canons communicated to him from various MSS. by one Nicolas Favier. These fourteen chapters constitute what is now recognised as the second book of the original penitential. The capitula of Favier have no connexion with Theodore, but are from sources as late as the 10th century. This selection of Petit was reprinted by Migne in A.D. 1851, in vol. 99 of the *Patrologia*.

(4.) The obscurity which so long hung over the Penitential of Theodore was at length dispelled by the learning of Dr. F. W. H. Wasserschleben, Professor of Law in the University of Halle. In the introduction to his work, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, published at Halle in A.D. 1851, he has demonstrated (pp. 13–37) that Theodore himself wrote no penitential, but that the treatise which bears his name contains his original decisions, the name of the writer being unknown. Rejecting all previous editions, he has instituted a fresh search into the chief continental libraries, and as the result of his labours, has brought to light a book which he is satisfied is the original treatise issued under Theodore's name. For his text he has made use of the following MSS.: (a) Cod. Vindob. no. 2195 (Salisb. 324), fol. saec. ix. x. fol. 2–40; (b) Cod. Vindob. jur. can. no. 116, 8vo, saec. viii. ix. fol. 1–16; (c) Cod. Sangerm. no. 940 (ol. 912): this is an "apographum" of the Corpus MS. 320, to be mentioned below; (d) Cod. Herbipol. Theol. no. 32, 4to, saec. viii. ix., containing an index of both books, but only the text of the first. The remaining MSS. contain only the second book: (e) Cod. Paris, no. 1603, 8vo, saec. viii. fol. 92–103; (f) Cod. Paris, no. 3846 (ol. Regius, 3665, Teller. Remens. 262), fol. saec. ix. x.; (g) Cod. Paris, no. 1455, fol. (ol. Colbert, 3368, Reg. 3887), saec. ix.; (h) Cod. Sangerm. no. 366, 4to, saec. ix.; (i.) Cod. Darmst. no. 91, 4to, saec. ix. fol. 84, seqq.; (k) Cod. Sangerm. no. 1365, 4to, saec. x. xi.; and 2 Codd. Thuan., from which Petit's fourteen chapters were taken.

(5.) Soon after the publication of Wasserschleben's edition, and before they had themselves seen his text, Professor Stubbs and the late Rev. A. W. Haddan discovered a copy of the true work in England, which only differs from Wasserschleben's text in various verbal readings. This text was published by them in A.D. 1871, in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. 176–203. It is taken from MS. 320 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, an earlier MS. than any of those which are the source of Wasserschleben's publication, being probably not later than the 8th century; although even in this a reference (I. viii. 5) to "quibusdam codicibus" indicates that the original MS. has not yet been discovered. The Corpus MS. is one of those which Thorpe used without seeing its value; but of which Wasserschleben had only an imperfect transcript in Cod. Sangerman. 940. The fact that the researches of English scholars have brought them to the same conclusion as that reached by the eminent German investigator into Penitential literature may be regarded as decisive on this long-vexed question. We now possess a substantially accurate text of the treatise which was known in the early part of the middle ages by the name of the Penitential of Theodore.

The exact date and name of the writer of the Penitential will probably never be discovered. In some of the Parisian and the two Vienna

MSS., the work is described as "Poenitentiale Theodori," or "Canon Theodori de ratione poenitentiae et diversis quaestionibus." In another Paris MS. (Cod. Sangermanens. 1365) it is called "Libellus quem Theodorus archiepiscopus de diversis interrogationibus ad remedium temperavit poenitentium, de quaestionibus conjugiorum cap. xxvii." The full title of the original is wanting altogether in the early Corpus MS., which has lost its first folio; in the only MS. in which it is entire, Vienna 2195, it stands thus—

PRAEFATIO
IN NOMINE DOMINI
INCIPIT PRAEFATIO LIBELLI QUEM PATER THEODORUS DIVERSIS INTERROGANTIBUS AD REMEDIUM TEMPERAVIT PENITENTIAE. DISCIPULUS UMBRENSIUM UNIVERSIS ANGLORUM CATHOLICIS PROPRIAE ANIMARUM MEDICIS SANABILEM SUPPLEX IN DOMINO CHRISTO SALUTEM.

This title is followed by a long preface, written in particularly barbarous and corrupt Latin. Nevertheless it throws considerable light on the authorship of the work. The treatise purports to be a series of decisions on ecclesiastical discipline given by "venerabilis Antistes Theodorus" in answer to the questions of the priest Eoda, surnamed "Christianus." In it use has also been made of a "libellus Scotorum," afterwards referred to (I. vii. 5), the author of which is expressly stated to have been an ecclesiastic. Of this Eoda, who submitted the questions to Theodore, nothing whatever is known; he cannot be satisfactorily identified with bishop Haeddi mentioned at the end of the Penitential, nor with any of the many persons of the age who bore similar names. The identification of the "discipulus Umbrensium," who is represented as the editor of the treatise, is equally remote. The designation signifies either that he was a native of Northumbria who had been a disciple of Theodore, or, more probably, an Englishman of southern birth who had studied under the northern scholars (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 173). The conclusion which is clear, and which can be drawn from the preface, is that Theodore was not the author of the Penitential in the sense of having written it himself, but that it contains his judgments, was drawn up under his personal direction, was published with his authority and during his lifetime, and has always borne his name. The priest Eoda is spoken of as "beate memoriae," and was therefore dead before the publication; but that Theodore himself was yet living seems highly probable, from the verses, first published by Kunstmann, in which, at the conclusion of the Penitential, he commends his soul to the prayers of bishop Haeddi.

For his decisions, next after Holy Scripture, Theodore is indebted to the current ecclesiastical law, and particularly the *Codex Canonum* of Dionysius Exiguus. Comp. *Theod. Poenit.* I. i. 1, with *Can. Apost.* 42; *T. Poenit.* I. ii. 6, with *Conc. Ancyr.* c. 9; *T. Poenit.* I. v. 10, with *Conc. Nicaen.* cc. 11, 12; *T. Poenit.* I. xv. 4, with *Conc. Ancyr.* c. 23. In *T. Poenit.* I. v. 2, pope Innocent is quoted by name, with a reference to a decision of his in *Ep. ad Episc. Macedon.* which is contained in the Dionysian codex. There is further evidence that this collection of canons was known in England in the 7th century; at the council of Hertford, A.D. 673, Theodore brought forward certain "Canones patrum" in order to select those which were suitable for the needs of the English church; and these "canones" in all probability were the collection of Dionysius Exiguus. Traces of Theodore's Greek training are seen in his frequent references to Basil's Epistle to Amphilochius. Five times he quotes Basil by name, in addition to many indirect appeals to his decisions. (Conf. *Theod. Pen.* I. ii. 7, viii. 14, xiv. 3, II. vii. 3, xii. 6; Basil, *Ep.* cc. 58, 18, 4, 9, 21.) A further evidence of Eastern learning appears from his many allusions to Greek practices; one chapter (II. viii.) contains nothing else but a comparison of the different customs and opinions of the Greeks and Romans. Justinian's Novells are another Eastern source on which he drew. (Conf. *Theod. Pen.* II. xii. 7, 11, 12, 21, 23, 32; *Novell. Justin.* cxl., xxxiv. 10, xx. 5, 7, 6.) Theodore must also have been conversant with the British and Scotch sources of ecclesiastical law. *Theod. Pen.* I. ii. 1 is apparently taken from the *Liber Davidis*, c. 6; *Theod. Pen.* I. ii. 7 from the *Sinodus Luci Victoriae*, c. 8. *Theod. Pen.* I. ii. 16 imposes fifteen years penance on incest, but adds that according to another standard life-long exile has been allotted; this is in reference to the *Sinod. Luc. Vic.* c. 6, which inflicts exile on incest. The one canon of Theodore which sanctions commutation of penance (I. vii. 5) is also founded on a Celtic authority; it comes from that same "libellus Scotorum" to which allusion was made in the preface. [REDEMPTIONS.]

2. *Judicium Clementis.*—This fragment was first printed by Kunstmann (*Die Lateinischen Pönitentialbücher der Angelsachsen*, pp. 176, 177) from an Augsburg MS. no. 153. With this Wasserschleben has collated a 10th century MS. from the Austrian Cistercian convent of Holy Cross. Kunstmann identifies this Clement with Willibrord, one of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries to Frisia, in A.D. 692. Willibrord is known to have borne the name of Clement from one of the letters of Boniface to pope Stephen (*Ep.* 107, edit. Jaffé). Haddan and Stubbs have printed (*Councils*, &c. iii. 226) the canons as a fragment illustrating the Anglo-Saxon system of penitential discipline. Wasserschleben, however, without giving his reasons, appears to doubt whether the identification can be authenticated, and has appended the "Judicium" to the Frankish penitential. It comprises twenty sections of no special interest.

3. *Poenitentiale Baedae.*—There is no clue to the exact date of this work. Bede died on Ascension Day, A.D. 735, and assuming, as there is no reason to doubt, that the treatise was written by him, the date of it must be fixed in the early part of the 8th century. The penitential was first published in the *Amplissima Collectio* of Martene and Durand, vol. vii. col. 37, taken from a MS. in the monastery of St. Hubert at Andain in the Ardennes. This edition is incomplete, containing only the latter half of the work. A later and more perfect edition was printed by Wasserschleben (*Bussordnungen*, &c. pp. 220–230) from a Vienna MS. no. 116, 8vo, saec. viii. ix. fol. 17–22, collated with two other codices, Frising. no. 3, and Ransh. no. 73. In this edition the chapters were first divided

into sections. It is reprinted with various readings from the issue of Martene and Durand, by Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, &c. pp. 326-334). In this form it may be accepted with little hesitation as the genuine production of Bede. It bears the title, INCIPIT EXSCARPSUM DOMINI BEDANI PRESBYTERI. It contains twelve chapters. In addition to this authentic treatise of Bede, another has been printed bearing his name. It appears in several editions of his collected works under the heading "Liber de remediis Peccatorum." It is printed in the *Concilia* of Spelman and Wilkins, the former of whom appears to have had some doubt of its authenticity, and to have omitted considerable portions of earlier editions. The best text is that printed by Kunstmann (*Pönitentialbücher*, &c. pp. 142-175) from a Munich MS. of the 11th century (Cod. August. 153), and adopted by Wasserschleben, in whose collection it bears the title "Penitentiale Pseudo-Baedae." Haddan and Stubbs regard it as a compilation from two distinct works, the Penitential of Bede and the Penitential of Egbert.

4. *Poenitentiale Egberti.*—Several treatises have been published bearing the name of Egbert. The discovery of the authentic work involved a no less complicated investigation than was necessary in the case of Theodore's Penitential. Among the documents which, wholly or in part, have been attributed at various periods to the archbishop are—

1. In Wilkins's *Concilia* (i. pp. 113-143) there is printed a work in five books in parallel columns, Anglo-Saxon and Latin, under the title, "Poenitentiale Ecgberti Archiepiscopi Eboracensis." This is reprinted by Thorpe in the *Monumenta Ecclesiastica* appended to the *Ancient Laws* (pp. 343-392), but with a different division. The first is named "Confessionale," the remaining four "Poenitentiale." In addition to which, under the title of *Additamenta*, Thorpe gives a collection of thirty-five other canons in Anglo-Saxon and Latin. A further edition of part of this work is given in Cooper's *Appendix B to the Report on the Foedera*, with the title. "Poenitentialis Ecgberti Archiepiscopi Eboracensis, liber iv[tus]." The grounds for rejecting the claim of any part of this to be accepted as the original work are:—(1) The first three books of Thorpe's "Poenitentiale" are, with one slight exception, a translation of the third, fourth, and fifth books of the Penitential of Halitgar of Cambray, circ. A.D. 829. (2) The fourth book of the "Poenitentiale" is a compilation from Theodore and Cummean. (3) The "Confessionale" is composed of extracts from Theodore, the genuine Penitential of Egbert, and a few additions from the *Poen. Bigotianum* and *Poen. Remense*; although it is not possible altogether to exclude the supposition that Egbert may have translated into Anglo-Saxon some of the older passages both in the "Confessionale" and the fourth book of the "Poenitentiale."

2. Thirty-five canons, purporting to be extracted from the second book of the Penitential, were published by Spelman in the first volume of the *Concilia*; these were adopted both by Labbe and Cossart (*Concilia*, iv. 1601-1604) and by Mansi (*Concilia*, xii. 459). They are taken without any critical attempt to distinguish what is genuine, from a Bodleian MS. to be mentioned hereafter.

3. In addition to the Penitential, a collection of *Excerptiones* has been published by Spelman (pp. 258-278), Labbe and Cossart (vi. 1586-1588), Thorpe (*Ancient Laws*, p. 326 et seqq.), and in a translation in Johnson (*Canons*, ed. Baron. i. pp. 184-223) under the name of Egbert. The source from which these excerpts are taken is MS. Cotton. Nero, A. 1. The fact that they contain extracts from the capitularies of Charles the Great is alone fatal to their claim to be regarded as Egbert's.

4. The *Liber de Remediis Peccatorum* is ascribed in some MSS. to Egbert. On its true history see above, *Poen. Baedae*.

5. The *Pontificale* which was published in 1853 by the Surtees Society, from a Paris MS., bears the name of Egbert, and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. It is, however, as the name implies, a ritual and not a penitential book. Another work, the *Dialogus*, which is equally authentic, has an indirect bearing upon penitence. It is in the form of a series of decisions on ecclesiastical matters in reply to sixteen "interrogationes" submitted to the archbishop (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 403-413).

6. The genuine Penitential was first printed as an anonymous work by Martene and Durand (*Amplissima Collectio*, vii. coll. 40-48) from the same MS. in the monastery of St. Hubert in which Bede's tract is found. The independent researches of Wasserschleben have led him to the conclusion that this must be the original work. His edition is printed in his *Bussordnungen*, &c. pp. 231-247, taken mainly from the Cod. Vindob. jur. can. no. 116, fol. 77-87; it is also found in the following MSS.: Cod. Frising. no. 3, Ranshov. no. 73, Sangall. no. 677, Vat. Palat. no. 485. The genuine Penitential is also to be found in the Bodleian MS. 718, which comprises four books; of these books the first, containing twenty-one *capitula*, which are the first twenty-one *capitula* of the so-called "Excerptiones Egberti" of Thorpe, then the genuine work, then certain confessional prayers of a later date; the remaining three books belong probably to the 10th century. The first book concludes with the words "Finis libri Poenitentialis Ecgberhti Archiepiscopi." Haddan and Stubbs have reprinted (iii. 416-431) Wasserschleben's text, with various readings, from the Andain MS. of Martene and Durand, the Bodleian MS. 718, and the fragment printed in the Surtees edition of the Pontificale. The identification of this edition as Egbert's rests on the ground that it contains no reference to anything of a later date, that it is cited as his by Rabanus Maurus, a pupil of Alcuin, and that it is declared to be the work of the archbishop by the compiler of the Bodleian MS. 718. The exact date of the Penitential cannot be fixed with any accuracy. It was no doubt published while Egbert was archbishop. He died A.D. 766, in the thirty-fourth year of his pontificate, and he probably received the pall as early as 734, for at this date he is known to have consecrated bishop Frithbert of Hexham. The limits of time within which he issued the Penitential cannot then be drawn closer than A.D. 734-766. The full title of the book, with some variation in the Bodleian MS., is EXSCARPSUM DE CANONIBUS CATHOLICORUM PATRUM

Vel Penitentiale ad remedium animarum domini Eamberchti Archiepiscopi Eburacae civitatis.

### Spanish Penitential.

In the Codex Vigilanus, or Alveldensis, in the library of the Escurial (ff. 148, scr. 976) there is a penitential book of Spanish origin, the greater part of which consists of excerpts from Theodore, Cummean, and Frankish penitentials. The substance of the book, therefore, contains nothing noteworthy, but the spelling is remarkable for the interchange of the letters b and v; for instance, *prevent* for *praebent*, *serbandum*, *observari*, *inebriabent*, *noberca*, *abunculus*, *voberit*, *valneaberit*, and *decanus* for *diaconus*. There is a trace of national customs in chapter 84: "Qui in saltatione femineum habitum gestiunt et monstruose se fingunt et majas et orcum et pelam, et his similia exercent, 1 ann. penit." *Majas* is probably connected with the *majo*, *maja*, a boy or girl affectedly and shamelessly dressed; *orcum*, the *orco* of the old Spanish romance, the ogre or wild man of the woods; *pel m* signifies in Spanish a richly-dressed boy, carried with dancing on a man's shoulders. See Wasserschleben, p. 71.

### Greek Penitentials.

A critical investigation into the history and sources of the Greek penitential books has not yet been made. Morinus (*de Sacramento Poenitentiae*, appendix, pp. 616–664) has published two Greek books, one of which has the name of John the Faster, Gregory's contemporary and opponent at Constantinople. Morinus has taken his edition from a 13th century MS. at the "Bibliotheca Altempsiana" at Rome; he professes himself unable to decide to what extent the MS. contains later interpolations into the original work; but he finds extracts in the works of Harmenopulus and Matthew Blastares of the 14th century, which profess to be taken from John's Penitential, but which do not exist in the Roman MS. The title of the edition of Morinus is *'Ακολουθία καὶ τάξις ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων συνταγεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν 'Ιωάννου τοῦ νηστευτοῦ.*

The other book, which he has published as a separate penitential, taken from a Vatican MS. which he had not seen himself, is styled: *'Ιωάννου Μονάχου καὶ Διακόνου, μαθητοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου, οὗτινος ἡ ἐπωνυμία, τέκνον ὑπακοῆς, Κανονάριον, διαγορεύον περὶ πάντων λεπτομερῶς τῶν παθῶν, καὶ τῶν τούτοις προσφόρων ἐπιτιμίων, περί τε τῆς ἁγίας κοινωνίας, βρωμάτων τε καὶ πομάτων καὶ εὐχῶν λίαν συμπαθέστατον.*

In addition to these Morinus has published an *'Ακολουθία τῶν ἐξομολογουμένων*, taken from a 10th century MS. from the Barberini Library in Rome. He calls it a breviary or enchiridion of a penitential. It comprises three headings: the rite of making and receiving a confession, the form of examining the penitent, and the manner of giving absolution; it contains no list of penalties for sins, but refers to an index, from which Morinus infers that at the time when this breviary was in use there was well known in the Eastern church some penitential book, in which the penalties of sins were classified.

The methods and contents of these Greek books have little in common with the Latin penitentials; they bear a closer resemblance to the later "ordo" or "ratio" appended to some of the Frankish books. Morinus has printed the Penitential of Joannes Jejunator and the Canonarium of Joannes Monachus as distinct works. Whether they have any claim to be considered as original and separate treatises, or whether they are based on authentic books not yet discovered, or whether they are altogether productions of centuries as late as the 10th or even 12th, are questions which cannot be satisfactorily determined, till some scholar shall examine the MSS. which survive in the Eastern church with the same completeness and diligence which have been bestowed upon the penitential records in the monasteries and libraries of the West.

For the chief contents of this article the writer is indebted to the very learned work of Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, Halle, 1851, and to the critical notes introducing the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials published by Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. iii. Oxford, 1871. [G. M.]

**PENITENTIARY.** For our knowledge of the office of the Penitentiary Priests, *Presbyteri Poenitentiari*, *οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας πρεσβύτεροι*, we are indebted to the account which Socrates (*H. E.* v. 19) and Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 16) give of the abolition of the office. The appointment dates from the time of the Novatian schism. The number of penitents, particularly of those who had lapsed during the Decian persecution, who flocked to obtain absolution from the church, gave a handle to the Novatian party to denounce the system of Catholic discipline. Penitents also frequently made confession of sins before the congregation which were unfit to be recited in public, and were a cause of scandal, both to the bishop who published them and to the congregation who listened to them. To obviate these difficulties, a special officer called the Penitentiary was added to the ecclesiastical roll, whose duty it was to determine what crimes were too scandalous for public acknowledgment, and particularly to decide what offences excluded the offender from partaking of the Holy Communion, and generally to superintend, under the authority of the bishop, the administration of discipline. The office was in force only till the time of Nectarius, Chrysostom's predecessor in the see of Constantinople. During his episcopacy it was abolished, at least in that part of the church which acknowledged the jurisdiction of Constantinople. The occasion which gave rise to the abolition does not appear to have implicated the Penitentiary personally. A certain lady of rank, who was doing penance under his direction, afterwards confessed that she was at the same time carrying on an intrigue with a deacon of the church. The scandal caused a great outcry, and Nectarius, to prevent similiar disorder for the future, formally abrogated the office. This was in A.D. 391. There hangs some obscurity over the question whether the office was at any time a universal one. Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 16) implies that it existed throughout the West, and was particularly held in esteem in the church of Rome. But the more general

opinion seems to be, from the absence of any mention of the Penitentiary among Latin ecclesiastical writers, that the office was confined to the Eastern church. Compare however, Augusti, *Christ. Archäol.* ix. 122. The chief interest attaching to the abolition of the office is the bearing which it has on the Roman controversy of auricular confession. Both Socrates and Sozomen expressly state that upon the discontinuance of the office, each one was to be allowed to partake of the holy mysteries as his own conscience dictated. From which it seems to follow, that whatever may have been the practice while the Penitentiary Priest was one of the recognised officers of the church, henceforth secret confession was discountenanced, and that there was to be nothing approaching to compulsory confession before coming to the holy sacrament. To weaken the force of this inference it has been suggested that Socrates and Sozomen were Novatians, or at any rate wrote in the interest of the Novatian party; but this suggestion has no foundation. For some account of the controversy, see Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* VI. iv. 8; Bingham, *Antiq.* XVIII. iii. 12.

Ducange quotes Anastasius Bibliothecarius for the authority that pope Simplicius, A.D. 468–483, appointed an officer called *Poenitentiarius Ecclesiae Romanae*, with the duty of superintending the penitents and hearing their confessions, and that this is the origin of the office in the church of Rome. In modern times the chief of the Penitentiaries, *Magnus Poenitentiarius*, is a high official in Rome, and one of the cardinals.

The regular cathedral officer in the Roman Catholic church called the Penitentiary, is one of the appointments of the council of Trent.

[G. M.]

**PENSIONS.** Certain allowances appear from very early times to have been granted from ecclesiastical revenues to ecclesiastical personages under certain circumstances, such as to the clergy who were disabled by sickness or old age, and to bishops who had been driven from their sees, or forced to resign them through bodily infirmity. Thomassin (*Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* iii. 2, c. 29, § 1) says that these were usually given in two different forms, either simply as an annual stipend, or by granting the usufruct of lands belonging to the church; the latter chiefly in the case of strangers who had sought refuge in the diocese. Examples of both kinds of pension will be found in the instances that follow.

The first recorded case of a pension granted by authority is found in the acts of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (act. 10), where Domnus, who had been ejected from the see of Antioch by the "Robbers' Meeting," was, at the request of his successor Maximus, allowed an annual sum from the revenues of the see sufficient to keep him from want, and that his claims might not be a cause of disturbance in future years. The same council (acts 11, 12) allowed Bassianus and Stephen, who had both been uncanonically elected to the see of Ephesus, pensions of 200 aurei each from the property of the diocese.

Abundant instances of the causes for which pensions were allowed, and the different ways in which they were granted, are found in the writings of Gregory the Great. Thus (*Epist.* i. 42) in sending certain clergy to monasteries to do penance for incontinence, he orders that they should receive a sufficient allowance for their subsistence, in order that they might not be a burden to the houses into which they were received. In another place (*Epist.* i. 43) he directs the bishops of Illyria to obey the mandate of the emperor, who had ordered that the bishops who had been expelled from their sees by the war should share homes and revenues of those who had remained undisturbed, but adding a special provision that they only receive sufficient for their sustenance, that they were only to be regarded as guests, and that they should have no authority whatever given them which should even approach to a partition of the see. Again, a pension of forty pieces of gold (*Epist.* ii. 53) was assigned, on the ground of common humanity, to Agathon, bishop of Lipara, who had been deprived of his see by canonical judgment. When a certain Felix, a deacon, who had ceased communion with the church from mistaking the intention of the fifth oecumenical council, applied for readmission, Gregory (*Epist.* iii. 14) entreats the bishop of Syracuse either to restore him to the office of a deacon or to allow him a part of the stipend belonging to it, adding that, in order to take himself a share in the good work, he would add a small annual allowance from the funds of the church of Rome. A bishop of Gaul (*Epist.* xi. 7) who was unable to perform his duties from pains in the head, was to be persuaded to retire, but his maintenance provided from his church.

John the deacon, in his *Life of Gregory the Great*, says that pensions were allowed to bishops for two reasons. First (*Vit. Greg.* iii. 16) when they were driven from their sees and allotted to other bishops for maintenance; second (*id.* iv. 39) when bishops retiring were allowed to receive from their successors a sum sufficient for their maintenance.

An instance of the usufruct of church lands being assigned as a pension is recorded by Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 36) in the case of Euphrasius, bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, who allotted to Quintianus, bishop of Rodés in Aquitania, who had been driven from his see by the Goths, gifts of houses, fields, and vineyards; and the bishop of Lyons also allotted to him certain possessions of his diocese which were situated in the province of Auvergne. A more curious kind of pension comes to light by the same historian, who records (*id.* viii. 20) that when Faustinus, bishop of Aix, had been deposed by the council of Mâcon, it was also ordered that the bishops by whom he had been ordained should each allow him an annual pension of 100 aurei.

An instance of another kind of pension is found in a letter of Hincmar of Rheims to pope Nicholas I. (*Ep.* 17, *Opp.* ii. p. 249), in which he says that Rothadus, bishop of Soissons, having been obliged to relinquish his see, he had procured for him the gift of a good abbey; and that all his fellow bishops had given him assistance in his calamity, partly from motives of pity, and partly that he might not give any further trouble to the see, "ut molestus et seditiosus ecclesiae cui praefuerat esse non decertaret."

Another class of pensions appears to have

existed in connexion with the cathedral clergy. The third council of Orleans, A.D. 538 (c. 18), leaves it entirely to the discretion of the bishop to permit or to refuse a share in the revenues of the cathedral to clergy who had left it for the purpose of entering monasteries or serving other churches. On the other hand, the council of Merida, A.D. 666 (c. 12), provides that the bishop shall have the right of selecting his cathedral clergy from the parish priests and deacons, and that such clergy shall retain the revenues of their parishes on condition of making an adequate allowance to the presbyter who has taken charge of the parish, and to the other clergy connected with the church. The stipend in such cases accruing from the cathedral revenues being described as a gift from the bishop conditional on the good behaviour of the recipient. Thomassin (*Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* iii. 2, c. 29, § 22, 23) thinks that the stipend derived in these cases from the cathedral was called an allowance (pensio) in order that such clergy might not be charged with holding a plurality of benefices.

In these cases the allowance of pensions was right and equitable. Abuses, however, appear to have soon crept in, especially from the right assumed by the Frankish sovereigns of granting pensions at their will settled on property belonging to the church. On the representation of Leo III. this evil was checked by a capitulary of Charles the Great (*Addit.* iii. c. i.) positively forbidding any division or partition of the property of the church, either in his own lifetime or by his successors.

Another class of pensions, attended ultimately with great evils, arose from the practice of appointing bishops, under various circumstances, to at least titular possession of more sees than one. [P. O.]

**PENTECOST.** The word πεντηκοστή (in Latin writers sometimes *Quinquagesima*) was used in a twofold sense by the primitive church, both for the whole period of fifty days between Easter and Whitsun Day, and also more strictly for the single festival of Whitsun Day.

In the early church the whole of the fifty days between Easter and Whitsun Day was regarded as one continuous festival. Thus Tertullian says that all the festival days of the heathen put together will not make up the Pentecost of the Christians, "Excerpe singulas festivitates nationum et in ordinem exsere; Pentecosten implere non poterunt" (*de Idololatr.* c. 12), and speaks of Pentecost as a very large space of time, "latissimum spatium," appointed by the church for the administration of baptism (*de Bapt.* c. 19). In the same sense the canons of the council of Antioch *in Encaeniis*, A.D. 341, speak of the *quarta septimana pentecostes*, *medio pentecostes* (can. 20, Labbe, ii. 579). The *Ordo Romanus* lays down that "Tempus Pentecostes inchoatur a primo die resurrectionis et currit usque ad diem quinquagesimum post Pascha," and the *Apostolical Constitutions* (lib. v. c. 20, ad fin.) extend the term to the whole period as one of festal joy (see Beverigg, *Pandect*, tom. ii. *Annotat.* 27; Cotelerius, *Patr. Apostol.* tom. i. p. 466). Basil the Great speaks of the seven weeks, τῆς ἱερᾶς πεντεκονστῆς (*de Spirit. Sanct.* c. 27). From the continuous festal character of the period, fasting and kneeling in prayer were prohibited, as on Sundays. Tertullian says, "We count it unlawful to fast or to worship kneeling on the Lord's Day, and we rejoice in the same immunity from Easter Day to Pentecost (Tertull. *de Coron. Milit.* c. 3). The same rule was laid down by the council of Nicaea, A.D. 325 (can. 20, Labbe, ii. 37). Ambrose also describes the fifty days as each like a Sunday, when "jejunium nescit ecclesia," and which the tradition of the ancients appoints to be regarded "ut Paschae" (Ambros. *in Luc.* lib. vii. tom. ii. p. 1016). In Sermon 61 (falsely attributed to him) the same prohibition of fasting in Pentecost is found; and in the *Praefat. ad Ps.* 50 it is spoken of as the Christian jubilee, when the debt of sin is remitted, the handwriting against us blotted out, and all Christians rejoice with alleluias. We have also the authority of Epiphanius (*Expos. Fid.* c. 22) for the cessation of fasting and kneeling during this period. Augustine speaks of "dies illi quinquaginta post Pascha usque ad Pentecostem quibus non jejunatur" (*Epist.* 86), though he elsewhere speaks with some doubt as to whether the rule was universally observed (*Epist.* 119, *ad Januar.* c. 17). During this period the *alleluia*, which had been silent during Lent, was heard abundantly in the services of the church (August. *ibid.*). Isidore has a long passage (*De Offic. Eccl.* lib. i. c. 32) on the mode of observing the period, and the absence of all marks of mourning. Cassian is also very full on this subject (*De Institut.* lib. ii. c. 6, 18; *Collat.* xxi. c. 8, c. 11, c. 20). Honorius Augustodunus, in his *Gemma Animae* (lib. iii. c. 136), writes: "Tempus inter Pascha et Pentecosten Quinquagesima nominatur quia a Sabbato quo duo alleluia inchoantur usque ad Sanctam Pentecosten quinquaginta dies computantur quibus alleluia in cantu frequentatur" (cf. Vales. ad Euseb. *Vit. Constant.* lib. iv. c. 64; Balsamon in can. Nic. xx., apud Bevereg. *Pandect.* tom. i. p. 84; Mendoza, in Concil. Illiber. c. xvii. in can. 43, apud Labbe, *Concil.* i. 1261).

Early in the 5th century an ordinance of the youthful devotee Theodosius II., A.D. 425, doubtless emanating from his sister Pulcheria, prohibited all stage-plays, Circensian games, and public spectacles during the period of "quinquagesima" on account of its great sanctity (*Cod. Theod.* lib. xv. tit. v. *de Spectaculis*, leg. 5 tom. v. p. 253). By a custom of the church which was ancient in the time of St. Chrysostom (*Homil.* lxiii. [lxvi.] *cur in Pentecoste Acta leguntur*), and which is still retained in the Greek church, the Acts of the Apostles were read between Easter and Whitsun Day (August. *Tract. in Joann. VI.* § 18; *Serm.* 315; *de Praedest. Sanct.* c. ii. § 4; Chrysost. *Homil.* xxxiii. *in Gen.* 12. In the church of Spain and Gaul the Apocalypse was commanded also to be read at this season under pain of excommunication (*Concil. Tolet.* iv. can. 16, Labbe, v. 1711). In a more restricted sense *Pentecost* stood for the festival of Whitsun Day alone. In this sense it closed the cycle of the Festivals of our Lord, *semestre Domini*, among which it held the third place, after Easter and Christmas. The earliest occurrence of the word in this sense is in the forty-third canon of the council of Elvira, A.D. 305 (Labbe, i. 975), which, referring to the erroneous custom prevailing in some churches of Spain of cele

brating the fortieth day after Easter instead of the fiftieth, *i.e.* Ascension Day, not Pentecost, ordained that "juxta auctoritatem Scripturarum cuncti diem Pentecostes celebremus," warning those who did not do this that they would be regarded as bringing in a new heresy (Hefele, *Councils*, vol. i. p. 155, Clark's transl.). This canon appears to have been ineffectual in checking the irregularity, and Pentecost continued to be observed prematurely in the Spanish church. The first of the canons of the tenth council of Toledo, A.D. 656, insists on observing the right number of fifty days, without which they could not look for the full gift of the Spirit (Labbe, vi. 460). Pentecost, as the anniversary of the descent of the Holy Spirit, the birthday of the church of Christ, was observed as one of the chief Christian festivals from a very early time. It is mentioned by Origen (*Contr. Cels.* lib. viii. p. 392), and, if we give any weight to the doubtful authority of the supposititious work ascribed to Justin (*Quaest. ad Orthodox*, No. 115), still earlier, by Irenaeus. It is clearly defined in the *Apostolical Constitutions*: "After ten days from the Ascension, which, from the first Lord's Day is the fiftieth day, do ye keep a great festival on that day the Lord Jesus sent on us the gift of the Holy Ghost" (lib. v. c. 20). There is a sermon of Gregory Nazianzen's (*de Pentecoste Orat.* xliv. tom. i. p. 712, in which he calls it the "day of the Spirit"—*τίμησον τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πνεύματος*. Chrysostom designates it *μητρόπολις τῶν ἑορτῶν* (*Homil. de Pent.* ii. p. 469.) Augustine also mentions it as one of the chief Christian anniversaries (*Contr. Faust.* lib. xxxii. c. 12), and in his letter to Januarius (*Ep.* 54) speaks of it as one of the unwritten ordinances observed by the whole world, appointed either by the apostles (which was the unfounded opinion of Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxv. § 6) or by oecumenical councils. Among the sermons of Leo the Great are three (*Serm.* 75–77) *de Pentecostes*, and four (*Serm.* 78–81) *de Jejunio Pentecostes*. It was regarded as a day of chief observance, of equal dignity with Easter and Christmas, on which it was the duty of all Christians to communicate, and that not in the smaller country churches, but in the mother churches of the cities (*Concil. Agathens.* A.D. 506, can. 18, 31; Labbe, iv. 1386; *Concil. Aurel.* I. A.D. 511, can. 25; Labbe, iv. 1408). Eusebius designates it (*de Vit. Constant.* lib. iv. c. 64) *μεγίστη ἑορτὴ, πάνσεπτος καὶ πανάγια πεντηκοστή*. The celebration originally lasted the whole of the following week, to the Octave, to which effect a decree was passed by the synod of Mentz, A.D. 813. The vigil of Pentecost was one of the chief seasons for the administration of the sacrament of baptism, second only to Easter Eve. These two were indeed the only times when baptism was permitted in the Western church, except in the case of the sick (*grabatarii*). To those in the Eastern church the Epiphany was added (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xl. *de Bapt.*). In the time of Tertullian it is evident that baptism was permitted during the whole of the fifty days which were known as Pentecost in its wider sense (Tertull. *de Bapt.* c. 19); but subsequently it appears to have been restricted to the actual vigil of the festival (Bingham, *Orig.* XI. vi. 7). Jerome also speaks of Pentecost being, like Easter, one of the solemn times for baptism (Hieron. *Comment. in Zach.* xiv. 8; *Epist.* lxi. *ad Pammach.* § 16; BAPTISM, 69, Vol. I. p. 165).

Fasting being prohibited by the earliest church ordinances during the whole of the Pentecostal period, including the following week, called *Hebdomas Spiritus Sancti*, the usual stationary fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays were originally not resumed till the week succeeding the Octave. Afterwards, when the Ember weeks became fixed, the week succeeding Whitsun Day was observed as a time of fasting and prayer (EMBER DAYS). Leo the Great, in his Pentecostal sermons, lays great stress on the observance of the Pentecostal Fast on the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday (*Serm.* 75–81). The Rogation days date from the time of Mamercus bishop of Vienne, c. A.D. 450, and established by the first council of Orleans, A.D. 511, were unacceptable to the Spanish church as violating the old rules against fasting in Quinquagesima, and they therefore deferred their litanies and processions till after Whitsun Day (Wal. Strabo, *de Offic. Eccl.* c. 28; *Concil. Gerund.* can. ii.). [ROGATION DAYS.] [E. V.]

**PENTECOSTARION.** The *Πεντηκοστάριον*, says Neale (*East. Ch.* Intr. p. 877), "is to the weeks between Easter and All Saints' Sunday what the TRIODION is to those between the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee and Easter;" *i.e.* it is the ordinary office-book of the Greek church for that period of the year. [C.]

**PENULA.** [PAENULA.]

**PEOPLE.** [LAITY.]

**PEPUZA** or **PUZA** (in Phrygia), NOVATIAN SYNOD OF, A.D. 375. According to Socrates (iv. 28), at which it was agreed to keep Easter on the same day as the Jews. But this, he adds, was not the act of the collective body (Mansi, iii. 451). [E. S. Ff.]

**PERA.** This word seems to be used by Cassian in an unusual sense for the sheepskin which formed part of the monk's dress: "pellis caprina, quae melotes vel pera appellatur" (*de Coenob. Inst.* i. 8; *Patrol.* xlix. 74; cf. *Collat.* xi. 3, *ib.* 150). Hence the word has found a place with Isidore: "Melotes, quae etiam pera vocatur," &c. (*Etym.* xix. 24; *Patrol.* lxxxii. 691). It can hardly be supposed that Cassian uses the word in its ordinary Latin sense, for it is not at all likely that the monks under such a rule would be allowed to carry a wallet.[a] Gazet (*not. in loc.*) suggests that *pera* is a transcriber's error for *paenula*; others would read *diphthera*, and Ducange would transfer *appellatur* to follow *melotes*. This, however, seems decidedly feeble. It is perhaps just possible that the word may be Egyptian. [R. S.]

**PEREGRINATIO.** [PILGRIMAGE.]

**PEREGRINUS (1)**, martyr with Hiereneus or Irenaeus, and Hirenis; commemorated at Thessalonica May 5 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*); with Hereneus and Herena (*Hieron. Mart.*).

[a] We find *πήρα* conjoined with *μηλώτης* in *Hist. Lausiaca*, c. 83 (*Patrol. Gr.*, xxxiv. 1185), but here there is more chance of the word being used in the ordinary meaning.

(2) Bishop, martyr; commemorated at Autun May 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 561).

(3) Martyr with Isaurus and others; commemorated July 6 (Basil, *Menol.*).

(4) Martyr with Lucianus and others; commemorated July 7 (Basil, *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 457).

(5) Presbyter at Lyon; commemorated July 28 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. vi. 543).

(6) Martyr at Rome with Eusebius and others under Commodus; commemorated Aug. 25 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PERFECTUS**, presbyter, martyr at Cordova; commemorated April 18 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PERGAMOS, SUPPOSED SYNOD OF**, A.D. 152, when seven bishops under Theodotus condemned the heretic Colorbasius or, as Tertullian calls him (*De Praesc.* c. 50), Colarbasus. But the only record of it is preserved in a work on heresies of doubtful authorship, and even more doubtful credit (Mansi, i. 669). [E. S. Ff.]

**PERGENTINUS**, martyr with Laurentinus at Arretium; commemorated June 3 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 271). [C. H.]

**PERIAPTA.** [PHYLACTERY.]

**PERICOPAE** (περικοπαί) are the sections into which the Scriptures have been divided for the purpose of reading in public. See LECTION, LECTIONARY. [C.]

**PERIODEUTAE** (περιοδευταί). Assistants to bishops, with the duty of itinerating in country districts. The council of Laodicea, A.D. 320 (c. 57), enacts that no bishop shall be appointed in villages or country districts, but only "periodeutae;" but that those bishops already appointed shall perform no act without the authority of the bishop of the city (τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει). It does not appear that the discharge of these functions implied admission to the episcopal office, since at the council of Chalcedon (act. 4) Valentinus and Alexander sign themselves "presbyter and periodeutes." There is no further information about the duties of these officials, or as to the portion of episcopal function they were permitted to discharge. [Compare CHOREPISCOPUS.] [P. O.]

**PERISTERIUM.** [DOVE, THE EUCHARISTIC, p. 576.]

**PERITRACHELION.** [STOLE.]

**PERJURY.** The Christian code, following the old Roman law set a special brand of infamy on perjury (*Cod. Theod.* II. ix. 8). It was visited with no less severity by the discipline of the church. Chrysostom (*Hom.* xvii. *in Matt.* p. 182; *Hom.* xxii. *de Irâ*, t. i. p. 294) placed it in the same category with murder and adultery. By Basil (*ad Amphiloc.* c. 64) a perjured person was allotted eleven year's penance. The first council of Mascon, A.D. 581, c. 17, enacted that he who instigated another to perjury should be debarred from communion for the remainder of his life, and that his accomplice should be incapable for the future of giving testimony. The crime occupied a chapter in each of the early English penitentials. In the penitential of Theodore (I. vi.) it is declared (c. 1) that he who commits perjury in a church shall do penance eleven years; but (c. 2) if under compulsion (the compulsion of his lord, *Bed. Poenit.* v. 1), then only for three quadragesimae. He who breaks a vow taken at the hands of a layman (*Theod. Poenit.* I. vi. 3; *Egbert.* vi. 7) is left unpunished by the Greek canons. But if the vow had been taken at the hands of a bishop, priest, or deacon, or on the altar or a consecrated cross, the penance for breaking it was three years, with a remission of two years if the cross was not consecrated (*Theod.* I. vi. 4; *Bed.* v. 2; *Egbert.* vi. 2). The penance for simple perjury was three years. By the penitential of Bede, v. 4, the false witness was to be punished according to the circumstances of the case; and one (*ibid.* c. 5) who had unwittingly been guilty of perjury and afterwards confessed his offence was to do penance a year. In the Frankish penitential of Cummean, founded on that of Theodore (Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, p. 460, seqq.), the punishment is graduated to the offender's rank. A perjured layman (*Pen. Cum.* v. 1) was to do penance three years; a cleric, five; a subdeacon, six; a deacon, seven; a priest, ten; and a bishop, twelve. By another clause (c. 9), a false witness is punished less severely, but on a corresponding scale. In c. 4, a layman committing perjury through covetousness was to sell all his goods and distribute them to the poor and retire to a monastery; but if covetousness did not lead to the crime, then for three years he was to live in exile, not bear arms, and fast on bread and water, for two more abstain from wine and flesh and give freedom to a slave, for two more years distribute alms, and at the end of seven he might be restored to communion.

The breaking of oaths which ought never to have been made was not a matter likely to come under canonical supervision. There are, nevertheless, a few decisions of councils. The Spanish council of Lerida, A.D. 523, c. 7, declared that any litigant binding himself by an oath to remain at enmity with his adversary should on account of his perjury abstain from communion for a year, and hasten to be reconciled. The lawfulness of breaking such oaths is discussed at length by the eighth council of Toledo, A.D. 653, c. 2. The council supposes one or two extreme cases, such as a man having sworn to slay his father, or compass the pollution of a sacred virgin, and resolves that it is far better he should break his oath than keep it. The opinions of Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Isidore, are cited in support; from the last of whom several decisions are quoted (Isidor. ii. 31; sent. 10, 22) to shew that sometimes it is better to break an oath than observe it. [G. M.]

**PERNOCTATIO.** [VIGIL.]

**PERPETUA**, martyr in Africa with Felicitas, A.D. 203; commemorated Feb. 2 (Basil, *Menol.*); Mar. 7 at Tuburbum in Mauritania (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Usuard. Wand.); Mar. 7 at Carthage (Bed. *Mart.*); same day (Boll.

*Acta SS. Mart.* i. 633). The Sacramentary of Gelasius commemorates the natale of Perpetua and Felicitas, who are named in the "secreta" on Mar. 7 (Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 642). [C. H.]

**PERPETUUS**, bishop of Tours, 5th century, commemorated Ap. 8 (Usuard *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. i. 748). [C. H.]

**PERSECUTION.** [MARTYR.]

**PERSEVERANDA**, virgin; commemorated June 26 (Usuard, *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PERSIA, NESTORIAN SYNODS IN.** (1) A.D. 499, under Babeus, patriarch of the Nestorians, at which leave was given to all the clergy to become "husbands of one wife" (Mansi, viii. 239).

(2) A.D. 544, under Abas I., Catholicos of the Nestorians, which passed eleven canons and asserted in the last of them that they had all been based on the faith of the 318 fathers, *i.e.* the Nicene (Mansi, ix. 125).

(3) A.D. 588, under Iesujabius, patriarch of the Nestorians, which passed thirty canons, and declared in the first for receiving the Nicene faith, the canons of the Apostles, and of the other fathers, besides repudiating the heresies of Arius and Macedonius on the Trinity, and of Eutyches and Manes on the Incarnation (*Ib.* 975). [E. S. Ff.]

**PERSONIFICATION (IN ART).** The fashion of representing the virtues and moral feelings by human figures is one of great antiquity both among writers and artists, *e.g.* Paulinus of Nola (*Epist.* 16, c. 4) tells us that "et spes et nemesis et amor atque etiam furor in simulacris coluntur"; and Christian poets in like manner have embodied the virtues and vices in their verses. Prudentius, for example, in his "Soul's Conflict" (*Psychom.* v. 21), gives this warlike representation of Faith:

> "Prima petit campum dubia sub sorte duelli
> Pugnatura Fides, agresti turbida vultu,
> Nuda humeros, intonsa comas, exserta lacertos."

The middle ages are the period which is more especially rich in the representation of the virtues by human figures; and, although they are beyond the limits of this book, it is worth while to cite the case of the bronze gates of the baptistery at Florence, executed in 1330 by Andrea Pisano, because they preserve the type of representation which is met with in earlier times. Faith is here personified as a female with clasped hands, and Charity, also as a female, with a lighted torch.

An example of personification may be seen on a rich sarcophagus from the cemetery of the Vatican (Bosio, *Rom. Sott.* p. 75), which contained the remains of the popes Leo I. II. III. IV. On a frieze which runs along over a graceful arch surmounting a standing figure of our Lord surrounded by His disciples, are seen two half-length figures, supposed to represent Hope and Charity; the former with clasped hands and eyes raised to heaven, the latter with a lighted torch.

Among similar representations of artists are to be seen Penitence as a female figure in a MS. of Genesis in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and in a MS. of Dioscorides written early in the 6th century (pp. 4–5), a woman holding a mandrake in her hand personifies Invention, proved by the title in Greek character ΕΥΡΕCΙC over her head. On p. 6 of the same MS. Juliana Anicia, daughter of Anicius Olybrius, is represented with female figures embodying Prudence and Magnanimity (Φρόνησις and Μεγαλοψυχία) on either side of her, while Thanksgiving (Εὐχαριστία) bows to the ground before her and seems to kiss her feet. Licetus (*de Lucernis Antiq.* lib. iii. c. 10) says that he found an ancient lamp with figures, representing, in his opinion, Faith and Hope depicted on it; and what gives probability to this view is that Hope is standing in the same attitude and using the same gesture as the figure on the sarcophagus cited above. Such allegorical figures became no doubt more common in the middle than they were in the earlier ages; but there appears sufficient grounds for thinking that they were not rare, if not very common, in the first eight centuries; and that the same attitudes, gestures, and other accompaniments were employed to represent the same ideas in the earlier as in the later centuries (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v. *Vertus et Vices*). [E. C. H.]

**PERVIGILIAE.** [VIGIL.]

**PETER AND PAUL, SS., IN ART.** Representations of the two chief apostles—St. Peter as the apostle of the Circumcision, and St. Paul as the apostle of the Gentiles—had a very early place in Christian art. Eusebius speaks of having seen many such, attributed to the grateful feeling of those who had been converted by these apostles to the faith (*H. E.* vii. 18). Constantine's vision of the two apostles recorded in the acts of St. Sylvester (ap. Fuhrmann *de Bapt. Const.* tom. ii. p. 68), however apocryphal, is a proof that at that time these personages had acquired a recognised type. The earliest known examples of this traditional type, as shewn in the gilded glasses of the catacombs, the bronze medals, the mosaics and sarcophagi, as well as in the early statues and statuettes of St. Peter, correspond in their main features to the portraiture given by Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* ii. 37). St. Peter is usually represented as tall and upright, his hair and beard short and crisp, his face round and somewhat undignified, with a long flat nose and arched eyebrows. St. Paul is shorter in stature and a little bowed, his forehead bald, his beard long and pointed, his face oval, with low eyebrows, and the nose straight and long, and his physiognomy characterized by greater delicacy and refinement. The portraits given in the Greek *Menaea* (Buonarroti, *Vasi antichi*, p. 76) correspond with this type in almost all points, except that they represent St. Peter, as well as St. Paul, as suffering from baldness. Some rare examples, on the other hand, assign to St. Paul a brow well covered with hair.

The earliest representations of the two apostles are those found in the gilded glasses of the catacombs. They are sometimes depicted alone—St. Peter (Garrucci, *Vetri ornati*, tav. x. n. 5, tav. xiv. n. 3), where by a singular caprice of the artist the apostle appears as a beardless,

smooth-faced young man, and St. Paul (*ibid.* tav. vii. n. 5) where the usual type is maintained. In by far the larger number of examples the two apostles are depicted together, either in bust (*ibid.* tav. x. xii. xiii. xiv; Buonarr. tav. x. xi.) [GLASS, p. 731] or standing (Garrucci, tav. ix. xi.) or seated (*ibid.* tav. xiv. xv. &c.). In an example of this last attitude (*ibid.* tav. xv. n. 1–5), the two apostles appear to be engaged in a lively discussion, such as that recorded at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11). Each holds a codex, and St. Peter presents his roll to his brother apostle with a degree of eagerness in keeping with the ardency of his character. The two apostles are in innumerable instances portrayed standing on either side of our Lord, either in person or symbolized by his monogram (*ibid.* tav. xvi. n. 5), according to the custom spoken of St. Augustin as prevailing in his day in Africa (*de Consens. Evangel.* 1–10). [PHOENIX.] In many cases Christ is bestowing on His apostles the crown of life (*ibid.* tav. xii. nn. 1–7). The central place is not unfrequently occupied by a female *orante*. We have instances of the Virgin (?) (*ibid.* tav. ix. 6, 7), St. Agnes (*ibid.* tav. xxi. 1–3), St. Peregrina (*ibid.* n. 6). St. Lawrence also fills the same place (*ibid.* tav. xx. n. 7; Buonarr. tav. xvi. 2). Other saints are sometimes associated with them, *e.g.* St. Pastor and St. Damas (*ibid.* tav. xxiii. n. 2), and St. Philip, St. Simon, and St. Thomas (*ibid.* tav. xxv. n. 6). In the room of the central figure in some instances we see a chaplet of victory (*ibid.* tav. x. n. 2, 4; Perret, tom. iv. pl. xxi. 3), or a flower (*ibid.* tav. x. nn. 6, 8), or several codices (*ibid.* tav. xiii. nn. 2–6). St. Peter is once represented seated, preaching to a standing female (*ibid.* tav. xvi. n. 2). Instead of the more usual PAVLVS, we sometimes find St. Paul designated by his earlier name SAVLVS (*ibid.* tav. xi. n. 3; tav. xvii. n. 7).

Next to the gilded glasses the class of objects on which the two apostles most frequently occur are the sarcophagi and sepulchral slabs of the catacombs. The engravings of Bosio, Aringhi, Bottari, Garrucci, Perret, Maffei (*Mus. Veron.* p. 484), Allegranza (*Mon. Christ. di Milano*, tav. iv. vi.), Bugati (*Mem. di S. Celso*, tav. 1), Millin (atlas, pl. xxxviii. lix. lxiv. lxix.), Le Blant (*Sarcophages d'Arles*), may be referred to for a large and instructive series of examples. The type is almost invariable. Our Lord stands on a hill, from which issue the four rivers of Paradise; on one side St. Peter, with covered hand, receives from Him a half-opened codex; on the other St. Paul bows in reverence (Bottari, tav. xxv.; Marangoni, *Act. S. Vict.* p. 42). A somewhat different arrangement appears in a sarcophagus at St. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna. Our Lord is seated, and gives a roll with His right hand to St. Paul, while St. Peter holds the key and cross on the left. Both apostles are approaching Christ with hasty strides, their garments flying behind them in the wind. A sepulchral slab from the cemetery of St. Callistus, commemorating a Christian named Asellus (Boldetti, p. 193; Perret, vol. v. pl. xi.), bears the busts of the two apostles, rudely incised, with the sacred monogram between them. The hair and beard correspond to the usual type.

Another class of examples is found in the mosaics of the basilicas, for which we may refer to Ciampini's *Vetera monumenta* and our own article on MOSAICS. The frescoes of the catacombs furnish few, if any, instances (Boldetti, p. 64; Bottari, tav. clxvi.). Examples of mosaics will be found in St. Sabina (Ciamp. tom. i. tab. xlviii.), St. Agatha (tab. lxvii.), St. Maria in Cosmedin (tom. ii. tab. xxiii.), St. Lorenzo (tab. xxxviii.), St. Praxedes (tab. xlvii.), St. Cecilia (tab. lii.), the baptistery at Ravenna (*ibid.* p. 234), and at Capua (*ibid.* tab. liv.); the former basilica of the Vatican (*de Sacr. Aedific.* tab. xiii.), and the later mosaics of the side apses at St. Costanza (*ibid.* tab. xxvii.). A bronze medallion found in the cemetery of St. Callistus, engraved by Boldetti (p. 192), and more faithfully by De' Rossi (*Bulletino*, 1864, Nov. Dec.), preserved in the Vatican Library, presents the heads of the two apostles embossed in a style of unusual excellence [see woodcut, and MONEY, p. 1307].



Medallion of SS. Peter and Paul. (Martigny.)

It is difficult to point to an example in which the normal type is depicted with so much dignity and beauty. This fine work of art is placed by De' Rossi in the first half of the 3rd century.

There was no invariable rule as to the position of the two apostles when represented together. In the earlier glasses and other works of art St. Peter generally occupies the right-hand place, and St. Paul the left. In later examples the order was frequently reversed, and this disposition became the rule, especially in the papal bulls (Mamachi, *Orig. et Antiq. Christian.*, tom. v. p. 503). It is evident that no dogmatic importance can be assigned to this change of position.

On the identification of St. Peter with Moses, in the scenes of the Striking of the Rock and the Apprehension, the article OLD TESTAMENT IN ART may be consulted, and that on SCULPTURE for a description of the existing statues of St. Peter. An onyx given by Perret (tom. iv. pl. xvi. 85) represents the apostle walking on the water and our Lord seizing his hand to rescue him. The warning of his Denial is a frequent subject on sarcophagi. There is a very remarkable example on one of the ends of the magnificent sarcophagus of the 4th century discovered in the Vatican (Bosio, 85, 87; Aringhi, i. 317, 319), now preserved in the Lateran Museum. In this and in some other examples the cock stands on the summit of a fluted pillar. The washing of St. Peter's feet by Christ is found on a sarcophagus at Arles almost precisely similar to one given by Bottari (tav. xxiv.)

(Millin, Atlas, lxiv. no. 4). Le Blant, *Sarcophages*, pl. ix. The raising of TABITHA [see that heading] is sculptured on a few sarcophagi. There are examples at Fermo (de Minici's *Monum. di Fermo*, p. 83); St. Maximin (Rostan, *Mônum. iconogr. de l'Église de St. Max.* fig. xii.), and Arles (Le Blant *u. s.* pl. ii. fig. 2, p. 4).

The delivery of the keys to St. Peter appears on a sarcophagus from the Vatican (Bottari, tav. xxi. v.), where the subject is well executed. Another example is found on sarcophagi in the crypt of St. Maximin (*Monum. de S. M. Mad.* tom. i. p. 771), in the museum of Arles (Le Blant, *u. s.* pl. ii. fig. 1), and De' Rossi speaks of having found it on one in the cemetery of St. Priscilla. It also appears on a vase of uncertain age, to which Bianchini assigns a very early date (*Not. in Anastas. Vit. S. Urban.* n. 18), given by Bottari (tom. i. p. 185), and on the mosaic of St. Agatha in the Suburra, A.D. 472 (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* tab. xxvii.). The apostle usually receives the keys or key (in some instances there is but one) in a fold of his garment with marks of the greatest reverence. [KEYS, p. 900.] The apostle carries the keys as a symbol of authority on a sarcophagus at Verona (Maffei, *Mus. Veron.* p. 484), in the mosaic of the triumphal arch of the basilica of St. Paul (A.D. 441) (Ciampini, tom. i. tab. lxviii.), and that of St. Maria in Cosmedin at Ravenna (A.D. 553), where he is in the attitude of offering them at the throne of the Lamb (*ibid.* tom. ii. tab. xxiii.). The sword does not appear as a symbol of St. Paul till a comparatively late period. The earliest example known to Martigny is in a mosaic belonging to the tomb of Otho II. (d. A.D. 983), preserved in the crypt of St. Peter. [E. V.]

PETER, ST., APOSTLE, FESTIVALS OF. Several festivals connected with this apostle have long been observed in the church, the commemoration of the martyrdom, in which he is associated with St. Paul, of his episcopate, commemorated on two separate days, and of his imprisonment.

### (i.) THE FESTIVAL OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.

1. *Early History of Festival.*—A joint festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, primarily and especially connected with the Roman church, can be traced back to the 4th century after Christ. The discussion as to the whole question whether St. Peter ever visited Rome, and if so for how long, and the evidence for Rome having been the scene of his martyrdom, will be found at length under the article POPE. It may suffice here to remark that Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 25) cites Dionysius of Corinth, who, *in a letter to the Roman church*, speaks of Peter and Paul having taught in Italy and having borne witness to the truth *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν*. Eusebius (*in loc.*) also cites the Roman presbyter Caius, as testifying to Rome as the scene of these apostles' triumphs—*ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὠστίαν, εὑρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἱδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.* The same testimony is also borne by Tertullian (*contra Marc.* iv. 5; *de Praescript.* 36).

We have said that a festival in commemoration of this martyrdom can be traced back to the 4th century, the *Natalis Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, observed on June 29. A hymn of Prudentius, on the passion of these two apostles (*Peristeph.* 12), is evidence of the early celebration of the festival in Rome. We cite the first four lines in evidence:

> "Plus solito coeunt ad gaudia; dic, amice, quid sit;
> Romam per omnem cursitant ovantque.
> Festus apostolici nobis redit hic dies triumphi
> Pauli atque Petri nobilis cruore."

Later on we find among the works of St. Leo three homilies (*Hom.* 82–84; vol. i. p. 321, sqq. ed. Ballerini), the first of which dwells on the double commemoration, the second refers to St. Peter alone (relegated to the appendix by Quesnell, as partly spurious, partly a mere cento from the works of St. Leo), and the third is for the octave of the two apostles, the heading, however, being perhaps not genuine. At the beginning of the first of these, St. Leo claims that "in the place where the departure of the chief of the apostles was made glorious, there on the day of their martyrdom should the rejoicing take its rise." The Leonine Sacramentary contains masses for the day, to which we shall again recur (vol. ii. 35 sqq.). We also have sermons for the festival by St. Augustine (*Sermm.* 295–299; *Patrol.* xxxviii. 1348), by Maximus of Turin (*Sermm.* 66–69; *Patrol.* lvii. 663), &c.

It seems also pretty certain that the ancient *Kalendarium Carthaginense* includes this festival, though the MS. is somewhat defective at this point. After St. John the Baptist's day (June 24) come two entries partly lost, then ". . . Jul. Sanctorum . . . Apostolorum." After another illegible line comes the ides of July. As no other festival of apostle is known to have occurred at this time, it seems safe to refer this line to St. Peter and St. Paul (*Patrol.* xiii. 1222). The calendar of Bucherius, which Muratori (*de Rebus Liturgicis*, c. 4; *Patrol.* lxxiv. 877) refers to A.D. 355, has the entry: "iii. calend. Julii Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostiense, Tusco et Basso Coss."[a] It is hardly necessary to add that all Western martyrologies and calendars agree in their recognition of this festival, as the different forms of the *Mart. Hieronymi*, Bede, Florus, Usuard. &c.

On the other hand, the Apostolic Constitutions, a work of distinctly Eastern origin, makes no definite mention of the day, perhaps due to the festival having had a Western origin and gradually finding acceptance in the East. The order is merely given (viii. 33) that slaves are to rest on the great festivals of the Saviour, and also on "the days of the apostles," to which is added a special mention of that of the protomartyr Stephen. As regards the Eastern church, we find a direct statement, *valeat quantum*, made by Theodorus Lector (*Hist. Eccles.* ii.

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[a] Since the consulship of Tuscus and Bassus fell in A.D. 258 (Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, in loc.), the assigned date is either altogether erroneous, as Baronius thinks, or is to be referred to some other event than the martyrdom. Pearson (*Annal. Cypr.* in ann. 258) suggests that it may be the date of the translation of the apostles' remains in the time of the Valerian persecution; and it has even been suggested that the translation fell on the same day as the martyrdom, but this is, of course, mere conjecture.

16; *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxvi. 189), to the effect that a Roman senator named Festus, being sent to Constantinople on political matters, exhorted that "the commemoration of the chief of the apostles,[b] should be held with great honour and reverence." Theodorus adds that the festival had been kept at Constantinople before, but now received a great additional splendour (πολλῷ πλέον ηὐξήνθη τῆς τοιαύτης τὸ φαιδρὸν πανηγύρεως). This is put in the reign of Anastasius I., who died A.D. 518.

What credit we are to assign to the remark of Theodorus, that a festival of St. Peter and St. Paul had been kept at Constantinople before the time of Anastasius I., or indeed to his whole story, it is impossible to say. The absence of any homily for a festival, afterwards so important, in the genuine works of St. Chrysostom, is conclusive against any general celebration of the festival in the East in his day. We may take this opportunity of adding that in the older editions of St. Chrysostom (*e.g.* Saville, vol. v. p. 991) was contained a homily, *εἰς τοὺς κορυφαίους τῶν ἀποστόλων* Πέτρον *καὶ* Παῦλον *καὶ τὸ αὐτῶν μαρτύριον ἐνδοξότατον*. The spuriousness of this is, however, palpable; and Montfaucon contemptuously rejects it (vol. viii. p. 7, *in spuriis*).

Binterim (*Denkw.* v. i. 384) cites as evidence for the early celebration of this festival in the East a discourse of Gregory of Nazianzum and one of Gregory of Nyssa. As regards the latter, first published by Gretser (Ingoldstadt, 1620), it is sufficient to say that it appears to be certainly the work of Maximus Planudes (see *Patrol. Gr.* xliv. 35). The former, delivered in A.D. 381 before the hundred and fifty bishops in Constantinople, does not appear in the passage cited to have anything to do with the subject before us, but to be a bidding farewell to a certain church in Constantinople—*Χαίρετε, ἀπόστολοι, ἡ καλὴ μετοικία, οἱ ἐμοὶ διδασκαλοὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀθλήσεως, εἰ καὶ μὴ πόλλακις ὑμῖν ἐπανηγύρισα* (*Orat.* 42, c. 26; *Patrol.* xxxvi. 489, where see note).

In the Eastern church at the present day the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul is, save the two chief festivals of St. John the Baptist, the only one not immediately connected either with our Lord or the Blessed Virgin, included in those of the first rank. The entry for the day in the Menaea is *τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων καὶ πρωτοκορυφαίων* Πέτρου *καὶ* Παύλου, and in the Greek metrical *Ephemerides* prefixed by Papebroch to the *Acta Sanctorum* for May (vol. i. p. xxxii.) is *τλῆ ἐνάτῃ σταυρὸν* Πέτρος *εἰκάδι, ἄορ ὁ* Παῦλος. The festival of June 29 occurs also in the Ethiopic and Coptic calendars (Ludolf, *ad Hist. Aeth. Comm.* p. 420). Besides this, Ludolf also mentions, but in the Ethiopic calendar only, festivals of Cephas and Saul on September 22, and of Peter and Paul on June 19[c] and July 8; but it is possible that these do not all refer to the two apostles.

In the calendar of the Armenian church given by Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* iii. 1, 645 sqq.), we find commemorations of St. Peter and St. Paul on June 29 and December 27, the former perhaps a Western importation in addition to an already existing celebration. There is also a commemoration of Peter and Paul, who are, however, perhaps not the apostles, on June 1.

In connexion with the twofold nature of the celebration in the Roman church, a difficulty has been needlessly raised on account of a notice in the *Micrologus* (c. 42; *Patrol.* cli. 1009), where, in a discussion on the rule to be observed on the concurrence of two festivals in one day, it is said that one may be postponed to the following day, "as the holy pope Gregory decided to observe the feast of St. Paul after the feast of St. Peter." Now in the Gregorian sacramentary, after the heading, *iii. kalendas Julii. Natalis Petri et Pauli*, comes the heading, *pridie kalendas Julii. Natalis Sancti Pauli.* A sufficient explanation is given by Ménard, that originally the pope celebrated mass twice on the earlier day, once in the church of St. Peter and then in that of St. Paul, the latter service being afterwards transferred to the following day. The hymn of Prudentius we have already cited speaks of the two masses as said in different churches on the same day (*Peristeph.* xii. 57, sqq.).

Confirmation is also to be had from the Gelasian sacramentary, where three masses are given, besides that for the vigil, one for St. Peter *proprie*, one for St. Paul *proprie*, and one for both apostles; all three, however, being for June 29. The presumption naturally is that a mass was specially provided for the service in the church of each of the apostles, and a third for use elsewhere on that day. On the above grounds, and considering too that in the service for June 29 in the Gregorian sacramentary the names of the two apostles are equally dwelt on, it is but reasonable to conclude that the special commemoration of St. Paul, whether held on June 29, as in the Gelasian, or on June 30, as in the Gregorian sacramentary, was due to the desire to give that apostle an equal share of honour, the other commemoration having been held in the basilica of St. Peter.

2. *Liturgical Notices.*—At the risk of a certain amount of repetition, it will be desirable now briefly to review the information derived from our chief extant liturgical monuments. Beginning with those of the Roman church, we find in the Leonine sacramentary a series of masses, in which the one apostle enters as prominently as the other. One of the last of these has the heading, *Item ad Sanctum Paulum*, in which, however, St. Peter is mentioned co-ordinately with St. Paul. To the sacramentary of Gelasius we have already referred; we may repeat here that we have a mass for the vigil of the apostles Peter and Paul. This is followed by three masses, one for each apostle *proprie*, and one for a conjoint celebration. A number of forms are also given for the vespers, and a mass for the octave of the festival (lib. ii. 29, sqq.; *Patrol.* lxxiv. 1166). In the Gregorian sacramentary is a mass for the vigil, for the festival (*Natalis Petri et Pauli* [d]),

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[b] The reading of the text is here τῶν κορυφαίων ἀποστόλου Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου. For this Valesius suggested τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαίου, referring the title to St. Peter only. His second suggestion, to alter ἀποστόλου into ἀποστόλων, seems more reasonable.

[c] In place of the *Peter and Paul* of the Ethiopic calendar, the Coptic calendar gives the *Patriarch Peter*.

[d] It may be noted that Ménard's Cod. Rodradi reads *Natale Sancti Petri*, and his Cod. Rhemensis, *Natale Sancti Petri, proprie*. The earlier of these MSS., however, is not earlier than the time of Charlemagne.

and on the following day is a mass for the *Natalis Sancti Pauli*. There is also a mass for the octave (col.111, ed. Ménard). It may be noted here that in some MSS. of the Gregorian sacramentary there is a twofold vigil given, the second being in the night (*ib.* col. 404). In the Gregorian antiphonary, the vigil bears the name of St. Peter only, and so too the festival of June 29, followed by the nativity of St. Paul on the next day. Into this point, however, we need not further enter. The octave bears both names conjointly.

In the Ambrosian liturgy, there is a mass for the vigil and for the festival of the two apostles, but no commemoration of St. Paul is indicated for the following day.

We pass next to the Gallican church. In the ancient lectionary (Lectionarium Luxoviense), edited by Mabillon, the lections *in festo Sanctorum Petri et Pauli* are an extract from the account of their passion (in place of the ordinary prophetical lection), Romans viii. 15–27, St. Matt. v. 1–16 (Mabillon *de Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. ii. p. 159; *Patrol.* lxxii. 208). The MS. containing this lectionary is assigned by Mabillon to the seventh century, which alone would shew that our festival was observed in Gaul under the Merovingian kings.

We may, however, apparently go with safety much further back. There is extant a fragment of a homily of Avitus, bishop of Vienne (circa A.D. 490), bearing the heading, "dicta in basilica S. Petri, quam sanctus episcopus Tarantasiae condidit" (no. 6; *Patrol.* lix. 294; and the first of the following fragments evidently belongs to this homily). Again, Gregory of Tours mentions the *Natale* of St. Peter and St. Paul among the festivals whose vigils were to be observed in the church of Tours (*Hist. Francorum*, x. 31; p. 531, ed. Ruinart). After such evidence, it is rather curious that we should find in a letter of Catulfus to Charlemagne the remark, "sancti Petri in publico celebrare regno tuo constitues" (*Patrol.* xcvi. 1366). How far any neglect may have occurred, or what special reasons there may have been for urging such a point, it is quite impossible to say.

Mabillon's Gothico-Gallic missal, which he refers to the 8th century, gives a *Missa Sanctorum Petri et Pauli*, which contains a solemn benediction of the people [BENEDICTIONS, Vol. I. p. 196].

The Mozarabic missal gives a mass for the festival of the two apostles (p. 334, ed. Leslie), and in the printed editions this is followed by the *Commemoratio S. Pauli*, but there is no special form for this latter, and it is obviously a later addition. The prophetical lection, epistle, and gospel are respectively Ecclus. xliv. 2–16, 1 Pet. i. 2–15, John xv. 7–17. We may add here that in the *Sacramentarium Bobianum* the epistle and gospel are Rom. v. 7–17 and Matt. iv. 18, John ii. 15–19. As regards the church of Milan, Thomasius's *Lectionarium Ambrosianum* gives 2 Cor. xi. 19, and we may probably gather from a passage in St. Ambrose (*Lib. de Virg.* c. 19, § 121, sqq.; *Patrol.* xvi. 133) that the early part of Luke v. was also read, for he cites verse 5 as from the gospel for the day. As regards the church of Africa, the diocese of Hippo at any rate, we find the epistle was drawn from 2 Tim. iv., for Augustine, in his sermons for this festival, twice cites verse 6 as having been just read—"recole verba quae paulo ante . . . audivimus, Ego, inquit, jam immolor" (*Serm.* 297, § 5; 299; § 3: vol. v. 1772, 1781, ed. Gaume); and that John xxi. 15 formed part of the gospel is seen from one of the same sermons (29̂2; *ib.* 1761).

In the Greek church the epistle and gospel are respectively 2 Cor. xi. 21–xii. 9, and Matt. xvi. 13–19; the gospel at Matins is John xxi. 14–25.

(ii.) THE FESTIVALS OF THE CATHEDRA PETRI.

1. *Early History of Festivals.*—We pass now from this joint celebration of the two apostles to another very ancient festival which regards St. Peter only. The idea dwelt on in this latter is of his episcopate, or perhaps we may more strictly say, of his confession of Christ and our Saviour's declaration in answer (Matt. xvi. 16, sqq.), and whether it were so directly intended or not primarily, it has ultimately been utilised in the interest of the claims of the see of Rome.

Although the main idea of the festival is clear enough, much uncertainty prevails as to its early history. From about the 8th century onwards we constantly find two days bearing the name of the *Cathedra Petri*, January 18 and February 22, although it is true that the former is not unfrequently absent. These are known as the *Cathedra Romana* and *Cathedra Antiochena* respectively,* and are supposed to commemorate St. Peter's two several episcopates. That St. Peter had been bishop of Antioch is maintained, among others, by Leo, who connects the apostle in a like special way with the two churches ("speciali magisterio in Antiochena et Romana urbe fundavit ecclesiam." *Epist.* cxix. 2; vol. i. 1213, ed. Ballerini). Our earlier notices, however, are but of a single festival. It has then to be considered what is the cause of the twofold commemoration, and where did the festival originally take its rise. As regards the latter point, we may safely say the West, from the absence of any trace of such a festival in the East, and from the early date at which it can be traced as existing in the Roman church. As regards the former point, two answers may be given. It is possible that there being one Roman festival, this one commemoration branched out into two, with the notion of giving a fresh impetus to the idea underlying the commemoration, a special element being assigned to each day. On the other hand, it must be remembered that our earliest *Roman* notices fix the *Cathedra Petri* on Feb. 22, and bring in no mention of Rome or Antioch; and further that in Gaul, where the festival had apparently an exceptional importance, there are, at any rate, reasonable grounds for thinking that the festival fell in January. All this would rather point to the conclusion that the Roman and the Gallican churches observed the festival on different days, and afterwards both these commemorations were embodied in the same calendar, and the mentions of Rome and Antioch are but the attempt to account for the twofold occurrence. Lastly, although a weighty objection to the Roman origin of the festival may be urged from the fact of its absence from important Roman records, *e.g.* the Gelasian sacramentary, still an important point

* It may be noted that this arrangement is not quite universal, for some forms of the Gregorian sacramentary have *in Roma* added to the heading of Feb. 22.

the other way is that the first notice of the festival occurs in a Roman calendar, two centuries before any other notice is found. This fact, combined with the *à priori* likelihood that a festival which specially brought into prominence the idea of the primacy of Peter should take its rise in the Roman church, may perhaps justify us in thus striking the balance of probabilities. If so, it must however be admitted that the Roman church did not at first bring the matter into such prominence as at a later time.

We must now enter into the evidence *seriatim*. Our earliest mention of the festival is that in the Bucherian calendar, where the entry is *viii. kal. Mart. Natale Petri de Cathedra* (*Patrol.* lxxiv. 877). This is a rather peculiar use of the word *natale*, but it is obviously equivalent to *festivitas*. In the calendar of Polomeus Silvius, which belongs to A.D. 448, we find on Feb. 22 the entry, *Depositio S. Petri et Pauli*, followed by the words, "cara cognitio, ideo dicta, quia tunc etsi fuerint virorum parentum odia, tempore obitus deponuntur" (see *Acta Sanctorum*; January, vol. i. p. xlv). The reference in the latter sentence is doubtless to the heathen rite of the *feralia* or *parentalia*, celebrated in the latter part of February, to which we must again refer, and this may be illustrated by the entry for the day in the calendar of Furius Dionysius Philocalus, which carries us back a century earlier, Caristia (Kollar, *Analect. Vindobon.* i. 963). As to the meaning of the former clause, the Ballerini, in their notes on a sermon of St. Leo for the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, suggest (vol. i. 498) that there was a confusion in Silvius's mind with the great festival of June 29, aided, it is hinted, by his observing a festival of the *Cathedra Petri* on Jan. 18. It is evident, however, that we cannot speak here otherwise than very doubtfully. What evidence the Leonine calendar might have afforded us, it is impossible to say, as the early part of the sacramentary is wanting. The festival is passed over, as has been already mentioned, in the Gelasian sacramentary. It is given in the Gregorian sacramentary as edited by Ménard (col. 29), though not in the text given by Muratori. In most MSS. of the Gregorian sacramentary, the heading is merely *Cathedra Sancti Petri*; the Cod. Ratoldi prefixes *in Antiochia*. Some editions give *in Roma*. This irregularity tends to confirm us in our notion, that the special ideas of Rome and Antioch are not of the original essence of the festival, but introduced as an afterthought.

In the Ambrosian liturgy there is no recognition of the festival; but in the Gallican church it must have had a rather exceptional prominence, as in Mabillon's *Lectionarium Luxoriense* not only are lections provided for the festival itself, but for three Sundays reckoned from it. It does not seem clear whether this Gallican feast is to be placed in January or February. The much greater prominence of the festival of the latter month in the West generally would favour the view that the latter is meant. Moreover, Mabillon's Gothico-Gallic missal gives us a mass for the day, which *follows* that for the conversion of St. Paul, which fell on Jan. 25. Another argument may be derived from the order of the second council of Tours (A.D. 567) forbidding offerings of food to the dead on this festival. This order we shall cite at length presently. It will be remembered that we have already referred to the heathen practice as prevailing at the end of February. On the other hand, Mabillon reminds us that forms are only given for two Sundays after the Epiphany, and also that after forms for three Sundays following the *Cathedra Petri* come those for the beginning of Lent. This is clearly in favour of the January date. There is also independent evidence that in Gaul the feast of the *Cathedra Petri* fell in January. Mabillon cites from a *Mart. Gellonense*, "xv. kal. Februarii, *secundum Gallos* cathedra sancti Petri apostoli." It will thus be seen that there are reasonable grounds for thinking that the Gallican festival fell in January, but of course the case is not sufficiently strong to be at all pressed.

Be the matter as it may, the majority of martyrologies and calendars recognise the two festivals. Thus in the *Mart. Hieronymi* we have, "xv. kal. Febr. Dedicatio cathedrae sancti Petri apostoli, qua primo Romae sedit"; and "viii. kal. Mart. Natalis cathedrae S. Petri apostoli, qua sedit apud Antiochiam." The martyrology of Bede has the festival in February, but only some forms of it recognise that in January. Both are given in such martyrologies as those of Usuard., Rabanus Maurus, Notker, &c. Wandalbert, on the other hand, gives only the festival of Feb. 22, his notice for which is (*Patrol.* cxxi. 590):

> "Octavoque Petri cathedra et doctrina coruscat,
> Urbs laeta Antiochi quo primum praesule venit."

Binterim, speaking of ancient German calendars, remarks (*Denkw.* v. 1-331) that but few recognise the festival of Jan. 18. It was not till the time of pope Paul IV. (ob. A.D. 1559) that it was definitely and authoritatively established.

2. *Liturgical Notices.*—We have seen that nothing is to be looked for from Roman liturgies before the Gregorian, some forms of which give a mass for the *Cathedra Petri* on Feb. 22. The notion of the festival is made sufficiently plain by words occurring in the service. Thus in the collect we read: "Petro, collatis clavibus regni caelestis, animas ligandi atque solvendi pontificium tradidisti"; or again in the Preface: "Petrum apostolorum principem ob confessionem Unigeniti Filii Tui . . . caelestium claustrorum praesulem custodemque fecisti, divino ei jure concesso, ut quae statuisset in terris, servarentur in caelis."

Attention has been already called to the fact that in Mabillon's *Lectionarium Luxoriense*, lections are provided both for the festival of the *Cathedra Petri* and for three Sundays reckoned from it, *Die Dominico post Cathedram sancti Petri*, &c. (Mabillon *de Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. ii. 119; *Patrol.* lxxii. 181). The epistle and gospel for the festival are respectively Acts xii. 1-17, Matt. xvi. 13-19, John xxi. 15-19; the leaf of the MS. which contained the prophetical lection is wanting. The mass in the Gothico-Gallic missal brings out very strongly St. Peter's confession as its central idea (*op. cit.* lib. iii. 226; *Patrol.* lxxii. 181).

In the Mozarabic missal, which has the one commemoration in February, the prophetic lection, the epistle and gospel are respectively Isa. xxxii. 1-19 (with several omissions),

1 Peter v. 1–6, Matthew xvi. 13–20 (*Patrol.* lxxxv. 718). The same gospel also is found in the *Sacramentarium Bobianum* and the *Comes* of Pamelius; the epistles in these last being respectively 1 Peter i. 3, 4, and Heb. v. 1 sqq.

3. *Miscellaneous Notices.*—We have referred above to the order of the council of Tours in connexion with this festival; we shall now cite part of the rule in question. After protesting against the heathen abuses connected with the calends of January, and still practised in the sixth century, it proceeds: "Sunt etiam, qui in festivitate Cathedrae domini Petri Apostoli cibos mortuis offerunt et post missas redeuntes ad domos proprias, ad gentilium revertuntur errores, et post Corpus Domini sacratas daemoni escas accipiunt" (can. 22; Labbe, v. 863).

We find this practice referred to in the sermons for the *Cathedra Petri* formerly attributed to Augustine, but palpably spurious (*Sermm.* 190–192 in *Append.*; vol. v. 2836, ed. Gaume). Reference is made to a deadly error as still prevalent on that day, "ut super tumulos defunctorum cibos et vina conferunt" (*Serm.* 190, c. 2; cf. 191, c. 3). We may remark here that this festival did not exist at all in Africa in Augustine's time. The custom condemned above, like many other heathen practices, seems to have lasted on in the church for a long time; and, in the 12th century, John Beleth refers to it in such a way as to indicate its long continuance (*Rat. div. off.* c. 83; *Patrol.* ccii. 87). He goes so far as to describe the institution of the Christian feast as mainly designed to counteract the heathen feast. After saying that annually, on a certain day in February, the heathen were in the habit of placing a feast on the graves of their parents, for the refreshing of the spirits of the dead, but which demons devoured, he proceeds to say that this custom was so deeply rooted that holy men instituted the festival of the *Cathedra Petri*, fixing it on the same day on which those abominable things were done by the heathen, so that thereby it should be altogether got rid of. Still the old custom left a trace of itself even on the Christian rite, "unde etiam ab illis epulis festum hoc appellatum est *beati Petri epularum.*"

It may perhaps be worth mentioning here that there is still preserved in the Vatican a wooden chair, which is asserted to be the veritable one in which St. Peter sat. On this and on the whole question of the festival of the *Cathedra Petri*, reference may be made to Phoebeus, *Dissertatio de identitate cathedrae in qua S. Petrus Romae primum sedit: et de antiquitate et praestantia solemnitatis cathedrae Romanae.* Romae, 1666.

### (iii.) The Festival of S. Petri ad Vincula, etc.

Both the Eastern and the Western churches commemorate the imprisonment of St. Peter by Herod Agrippa and his miraculous deliverance. On Jan. 16 is the *Festival of St. Peter's Chain* in the Greek church, and on Jan. 22 in the Armenian church (Assemani, *l. c.*): also August 1 is the Western festival *Natale S. Petri ad Vincula.* Neither of these times, it will be observed, can be meant to represent the actual time of the event, which fell shortly before Easter (Acts xii. 4); but it is probable that in both cases the date has reference to the dedication of a church in memory of it. The Western festival has by some been associated with the chains with which the apostle was bound by Nero; this, however, was certainly not the primary idea, and we shall discuss the point at length presently.

We shall first refer briefly to the Eastern festival. The entry for this in the *Menaea* is, *ἡ προσκύνησις τῆς τιμίας ἁλύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ πανευφήμου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου*; and that in the Greek metrical *Ephemerides* already cited is, *Σειρὴν προσκυνέω Πέτρου δεκάτῃ ἐνὶ ἕκτῃ.* The historical lection for the day in the *Menaea* gives the tradition that the chain from which St. Peter was miraculously freed was found by the Christians and treasured up. Afterwards it was removed to Constantinople and deposited in the shrine of St. Peter, which is in the Great Church, and there his commemoration (*σύναξις*) is observed.

As to the supposed date of this event, nothing is said, and it is quite uncertain when the festival commemorating it arose. There is, indeed, a sermon for it extant of which the Latin translation is given in Lipomannus and Surius (*de probatis Sanctorum Historiis*, vol. iv. 447); the Greek text itself also is found in MSS. in the Vatican Library and elsewhere, but, so far as I am aware, it has not been printed. The sermon, however, is obviously of a date long subsequent to Chrysostom, and Baronius (*not. in Mart.* Aug. 1) assigns it to Proclus or Germanus, patriarchs of Constantinople. Baronius recounts how the empress Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius II., brought from Jerusalem in A.D. 439 the two chains with which the apostle had there been bound, one being sent for a church in Constantinople, and the other given to the empress's daughter Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian III., who built a church on the Esquiline in its honour.[f] As regards this story, we may remark that there is no trace of it in any Greek writer whatsoever. Nicephorus Callistus even, when speaking of Eudocia's journey to Jerusalem, and of the relics thence brought by her (*Hist. Eccles.* xiv. 2), makes no mention of St. Peter's chain. It may be added that this story is equally absent from any but quite late Western records, and may be summarily dismissed. All that may be safely assumed is that at some time a church was built in Constantinople in memory of St. Peter's imprisonment; and there, doubtless in accordance with the taste of the age, chains declared to be his were treasured up.

In the Western church, too, the date on which the festival fell probably had reference to the founding of a church. This is spoken of in many martyrologies as one built and consecrated by St. Peter himself, with no mention of any imprisonment. We cannot claim a very early date for it, for it is absent from the *Kalendarium Carthaginense*, the calendar of Bucherius, and the Leonine and Gelasian sacramentaries. Nor does

[f] This is on the whole the story as told in the modern Roman breviary, which adds that the chain brought from Jerusalem to Rome, when placed by the pope with the one with which the apostle had been bound by Nero, became miraculously joined with it so as to form one chain!

it occur in the Gallican or Mozarabic liturgies. The reference to the dedication of a church spoken of above occurs *e.g.* in the *Mart. Hieronymi*, "Romae, dedicatio primae ecclesiae a beato Petro constructae et consecratae" (though some forms add, "et absolutio ejus a vinculis"), the Martyrology of Bede, in some of its forms (*Patrol.* xciv. 993), Rabanus Maurus (*ib.* cx. 1160), &c. The metrical martyrology of Bede, it may be noted, omits the festival altogether.

That this church, whatever may be its real history, either was originally built in memory of St. Peter's imprisonment, or soon became associated with that idea, may be inferred *e.g.* from the heading for the day in the Gregorian sacramentary *ad Sanctum Petrum ad Vincula.* Wandalbert, in his metrical martyrology, tells us, "Carcere Roma Petrum celebrat vinclisque reductum" (*Patrol.* cxxi. 606). The ancient *Mart. Gellonense* gives (D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, xiii. 408), "Roma ad vincula catenas Sancti Petri osculandas." Similarly Usuard. (*Acta Sanctorum*, July, vol. vi. 399), Notker (*Patrol* cxxxi. 1129), &c. The last-named writer, after speaking of the church erected by St. Peter as the first in Europe, adds that in this were deposited the chains from the prison in Jerusalem.

It may be next asked what grounds we have for judging whether it is the Herodian or the Neronian imprisonment that is referred to. On this, besides our citation from Wandalbert and Notker, we may appeal to the Gregorian sacramentary (*in loc.*; col. 117, ed. Ménard), where the reference in the words "Qui beatum Petrum apostolum *a vinculis absolutum* illaesum abire fecisti" is unmistakable. The homily assigned to Bede (lib. iii. 96, *de Vinculis Sancti Petri*; *Patrol.* xciv. 498) is spurious. This dwells on the chains brought from Jerusalem and the church built in Rome in their honour by pope Alexander I. It seems pretty obvious therefore that the writers who have spoken of the chains as those of Nero have merely wished to strengthen the Roman associations. It may be worth noting that, besides the church of *S. Pietro in Vincoli* on the Esquiline hill, there is also one of *S. Pietro in Carcere* on the Capitoline, the latter clearly referring to St. Peter's imprisonment at Rome, and thus more or less disconnecting the former from that event. This church is mentioned in the Gregorian sacramentary, as edited by Pamelius, under the Monday after the first Sunday in Lent, in a note of the station, *ad Sanctum Petrum ad Vincula.* Durandus (*Rat. Div. Off.* vii. 19) combines both reasons as causing the festival. On the whole of the above question, reference may be made to Papebroch in the *Acta Sanctorum* (June, vol. vii. 410); also Monsacrati, *Dissertatio de Catenis S. Petri ad Benedictum*, *xiv.* 1750.

The familiar English name for this day is Lammas, probably a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon *Hlaf-maesse*, *i.e.* Loaf-mass; seeing that on that day the Saxons offered an oblation of loaves made from new corn (see Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, and Strattmann's *Dict. of the Old English Language*, s. v. *Hlaf*; Wedgewood, *Dict. of English Etymology*, s. v. *Lammas*). Thus, in the Sarum manual, the day is called *Benedictio novorum Fructuum.* Some have chosen to consider Lammas as a corruption of Lamb-mass, on the ground that lambs were offered at this time; and it has been mentioned that tenants of the chapter of the cathedral of York formerly paid a live lamb on Aug. 1. There does not however seem to be much authority for this latter view, though it is certainly curious that we find a Welsh name for the day, *Dydd degwm wyn*, Lamb-tithing day.

Besides the above three festivals, we find in the Ethiopic calendar a commemoration of St. Peter on July 31 (Ludolf, p. 424), with merely the entry, *Peter the Apostle.* Also, in the Armenian calendar (Assemani, *l. c.*), is the notice under May 24, "the finger of the holy apostle Peter," of the reference in which I am quite unaware.

A considerable amount of apocryphal literature has been associated with the name of St. Peter. A passing notice of it may be given here; for detailed information concerning it, reference may be made to the several articles in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature.* Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 3) mentions as works falsely ascribed to St. Peter, his Acts, Gospel, Preaching (κήρυγμα), and Apocalypse. The Gospel of Peter is also referred to by Origen (*Comm. in Matt.* xiii. 55), Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 25; vi. 12), Jerome (*de Viris Illustr.* c. 1), Theodoret (*Haeret. Fabul. Compend.* ii. 2). The last-named identifies it with the gospel used by the Nazarenes. The Gospel and Acts of Peter were condemned as apocryphal by a council held at Rome in the episcopate of Gelasius, A.D. 494 (*Patrol.* lix. 175). Besides Eusebius (*l. c.*) and Jerome (*l. c.*), the Acts of Peter are referred to by Isidore of Pelusium (*Epist.* lib. ii. 99; *Patrol. Gr.* lxxviii. 544); and, according to Philastrius (*Haer.* 88; *Patrol.* xii. 1200), Acts of Peter were in use among the Manichaeans. Acts of Peter and Paul have been published by Tischendorf (*Acta Apost. Apoc.* pp. 1, sqq.), and also Acts of Peter and Andrew (*Apocal. Apoc.* pp. 161 sqq.).

The Preaching of Peter is cited by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 5, 15, &c.), Origen (*Comment. in Joan.* tom. xiii. c. 17), &c. His Apocalypse is cited by Clement (*Ecl. Proph.* 41, 48, 49), and in the Muratorian canon it is classed with the Apocalypse of St. John, though it is added that some are opposed to its being read in the church. An apocalypse of Peter, distinct from the above, existed in Arabic, of which there are MSS. in the Bodleian and Vatican Libraries (Tischendorf, *Apocal. Apoc.* p. xx).

In addition to the above, another work, the Περίοδοι Πέτρου, is mentioned, *e.g.* by Jerome (*adv. Jovin.* i. 262), and is obviously the same as the *Itinerarium Petri* condemned at the Roman council under Gelasius. Jerome also speaks (*de Vir. Ill.* c. i.) of the *Judicium Petri*, and Rufinus (*Expos. Symb. Ap.* 38) mentions, among books not canonical, that "qui appellatur Duae Viae, vel Judicium Petri." The extant fragments of the above works have been collected, with full information concerning them, by Hilgenfeld (*Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum*, Fasc. 5).

Two Syro-Jacobite liturgies, bearing the name of St. Peter, are given by Renaudot (*Liturg. Or. Coll.* ii. 146, sqq., ed. Frankfort, 1847). [R. S.]

**PETER'S PENCE** (*Denarius Petri, Romfeoh*, &c.). It is sufficiently intelligible that the

revenues of the see of Rome, derived originally simply from the patrimony of the Roman bishopric, should have proved inadequate to the papal requirements as the supreme pontiff gradually assumed the supervision of the whole church—a function involving a costly expenditure in every country that acknowledged his supremacy. Among other expedients for meeting this difficulty, the tribute known under the name of Peter's Pence was systematically levied in England (though often disputed and withheld) until abolished in 1534 by Henry VIII. This was a tax of one penny on every hearth collected at the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29).

According to the statement of Leo III. (Pope, A.D. 795–816), the tax was instituted by Offa,* king of the Mercians, in the year 787, out of gratitude to Hadrian I. for that pontiff's authorization of his plan of dividing the province of Canterbury and establishing a new archbishopric at Lichfield (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 455; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i. 220). According to the tradition preserved in the Life of Offa (p. 29) ascribed to Matthew Paris and printed by Wats along with his edition of the *Historia Major* of that writer (1640)—a tradition retailed with amplifications by Walsingham (*Gesta Abbat. Monast. S. Albani*, ed. Riley, i. 5)—Offa made the grant as an acknowledgment of extensive immunities granted to the newly-founded monastery of St. Alban's. The above Life of Offa is, however, to so great an extent fabulous, that this statement is hardly entitled to any credit. A more trustworthy account of the origin of this tax is probably that given by William of Malmesbury, who says that it was instituted in the year 855 by king Ethelwulf, on his visit to Rome, partly, it would seem, in return for the honourable reception previously accorded to his son Alfred by Leo IV., who had also anointed the latter king: "Romam, composito regno, abiit; ibique tributum, *quod Anglia hodie pensitat*, sancto Petro obtulit coram quarto Leone papa, qui etiam antea filium ejus ad se missum honorifice susceperat, et regem inunxerat" (*Gest. Regum Angl.* bk. ii. ed. Hardy, p. 152). "The grant," says Hardy, "appears to have been made after Aethelwulf's return to England, by what Asser calls a commendatory epistle, in which he ordered three hundred mancuses to be sent annually to Rome, one-third of which the pope himself was to have, the remainder to be equally distributed between the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul to provide lights on Easter Eve" (see also Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 646).

In northern Europe, this tax was not instituted until much later: in Denmark, in the reign of Cnut; in Norway and Sweden, by the cardinal-legate, Nicholas, in the years 1152, 1153 (Walter (F.), *Kirchenrecht*, sec. 198). About the same time the payment appears to have been granted by Harald, earl of Orkney, from the county of Caithness (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 250). The tribute appears to have been acknowledged as the pope's due by William the Conqueror, though irregularly paid in England during his reign (Selden, Append. to Eadmer p. 164; Lanfr. *Epp.* ed. Giles, No. x.). [J. B. M.]

* Of a yet earlier institution of the tax by king Ine, for the maintenance of the English school at Rome, there is, as Professor Stubbs says, "a want of evidence;" the statement occurs in Layamon's *Brut*.

**PETROCUS**, abbat in Cornwall; commemorated June 4 according to an ancient English missal (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 400, § 3). [C. H.]

**PETRONILLA**, Roman virgin; commemorated May 31 Usuard., Wand., Bed. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vii. 420). [C. H.]

**PETRUS** [For the Festivals of the Apostle, see PETER]. (1) Martyr under Maximian at Aulana (Usuard.), at Auclara (Florus), surnamed the standard-bearer (*Cal. Byzant.*), Auselanus, Absalmus, Balsamus, &c.; commemorated Jan. 3 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Florus, *Mart.* ap. Bed.; *Cal. Byzant.*); Jan. 4 (Rabanus, Notker, and others; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 129); Jan. 11, Eleutheropolis (Basil. *Menol.*); Assolanus, Jan. 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, brother of St. Basil; commemorated Jan. 9 in the Roman Martyrology, and, according to Baronius, by the Greeks on the same day, but his name is not found in the Greek Menologies (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 588). The *Cal. Armen.* places Peter and Blaze, successive bishops of Sebaste in Armenia, under Jan. 15.

(3) Martyr with Severus and Leucius at Alexandria; commemorated Jan. 11 (Usuard., Notker., *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 674).

(4) Martyr; commemorated Jan. 12 (*Cal. Byzant.*). The name occurs on this day with Philoromus and Zoticus in *Hieron. Mart.*, cf. Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 725.

(5) Surnamed TELONARIUS, martyr under Justinian; commemorated Jan. 20 (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Menaea*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 357).

(6) Martyr; commemorated Jan. 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*); a Petrus of Valentia occurs on this day in *Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Jailer, martyr with Ananias, presbyter, and seven soldiers, in Phrygia under Diocletian; commemorated Jan. 26 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Jan. 27 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(8) AEGYPTIUS, anchorite in Syria; commemorated Jan. 27 (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Menaea*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 771).

(9) Galata, anchorite near Antioch; commemorated Feb. 1 (*Menaea*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 94).

(10) Twenty-first patriarch of Alexandria; commemorated Feb. 13 and Oct. 29 (*Cal. Aethiop.*).

(11) Chamberlain of Diocletian, martyr with Dorotheus and Gorgonius; commemorated at Nicomedia Mar. 12 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. ii. 106; Wright, *Syr. Mart.*).

(12) Martyr in Africa; commemorated Mar. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*).

(13) Deacon, martyr with Hermogenes; commemorated at Antioch Ap. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 479).

(14) Thaumaturgus, "our holy father;" commemorated May 3 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(15) Martyr with Paulus, Andreas, and a virgin Dionysia; commemorated at Lampsacus May 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Florus, *Mart.* ap. Bed.; Usuard. *Mart.*); May 18, Petrus Lampsacenus and Dionysius, martyrs (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 259; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 452).

(16) Exorcist, martyr with Marcellinus presbyter at Rome; commemorated June 2 (Usuard. Wand.; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*).

(17) Presbyter; commemorated June 7 at Cordova, with Aventius, Hieremias, and others (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(18) Athonita, "holy father," anchorite of Mount Athos; commemorated June 12 (Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 261; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 535).

(19) "Our holy father"; commemorated July 1 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(20) Martyr; commemorated at Philadelphia in Arabia Aug. 1, with Cyrillus, Aquila, and others (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(21) Martyr with Julianus and others at Rome; commemorated July 7 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.* with Juliana instead of Julianus; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 187).

(22) Soldier, martyr with Marcellinus, tribune; commemorated Aug. 27 at Tomi (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*); both names in the sacramentary of Gelasius for June 2, being named in the collect and the "secreta," but not in the post-communion (Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 646).

(23) Bishop of the Capitolei, martyr; commemorated Oct. 4 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ii. 494).

(24) Martyr at Seville; commemorated Oct. 8 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bolland. *Acta SS.* Oct. iv. 273).

(25) Martyr with Theodosius, Lucius, Marcus, all soldiers of Christ, under Claudius; commemorated at Rome on the Via Salaria Oct. 25 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*).

(26) Of Alexandria, "holy martyr, our father"; commemorated Nov. 24 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Nov. 25 (Basil. *Menol.*; Usuard., Wand., Bed. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). In *Hieron. Mart.* a Petrus occurs without place or designation on Nov. 25, and a Petrus commemorated at Alexandria on Nov. 26.

(27) Martyr with Stephanus junior and Andreas; commemorated Nov. 28 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(28) Martyr with Indes and Gorgonius; commemorated Dec. 28 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**PHAINA**, one of eight virgins martyred with Theodotus; commemorated May 18 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**PHANON.** [FANON: MANIPLE.]

**PHANURIUS**, martyr, honoured in Rhodes and Crete; his miracles described by an anonymous author of the 8th century, according to a Vatican MS.; commemorated May 27 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vi. 693). [C. H.]

**PHARENSE CONCILIUM.** [WHITBY.]

**PHARMACY.** [MAGIC.]

**PHAROS IN ART.** [LIGHTHOUSE.]

**PHAROS**, a term occurring continually among the papal gifts in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Anastasius and elsewhere, to designate the large chandeliers suspended by chains, or the standing candlesticks in churches. "Pharus est majus lychni seu candelabri vel lucernae genus translatitie a Pharo Alexandrina quae de nocte navigantibus adlucebat" (Alteserra, *Not. in Anastas.* § 13, lin. 45). We find them constructed of gold, silver, and brass, ornamented with dolphins (§ 69), circular like crown (§ 34), in the shape of a cross (§ 1370), of network (§ 415) revolving (§ 423). From holding wax candles they were called *cereostata* (§§ 57, 199), and from the cup or basin which surrounded them *pharocanthari* (*ibid.* 136). Those in St. Peter's were only lighted four times a year, at Christmas, Easter, the festival of SS. Peter and Paul (June 29), and the *Natalis Papae* (*ibid.* 320). [E. V.]

**PHASIC**, martyr with his daughter, a nun; commemorated April 14 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**PHELONION.** [PAENULA.]

**PHERBUTHA**, sister of bishop Simeon, martyr; commemorated Ap. 5 (Basil. *Menol.*). The Bollandists assign Pherbutha or Tarbula, Persian martyr, to Ap. 22 from Vatican and Venetian MSS. (*Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 19). [C. H.]

**PHIALA**, the fountain, or laver, in the atrium, at the entrance of churches, so designated by Paulus Silentiarius in his description of St. Sophia (ii. vers. 177) [CANTHARUS; FOUNTAIN]. In Goar's *Euchologium* (p. 449) we find a prayer for the water of holy baptism, ἐν τῇ φιάλῃ τοῦ μεσαύλου τῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Phiala* is used by Anastasius for a golden basin or cup-shaped lamp, rising from a cluster of porphyry columns in the middle of the font, in the Lateran baptistery, lighted up only at Eastertide, and burning balsam with an asbestos wick (Anastas. *Vit. S. Silvestri*, § 36, lin. 51). [E. V.]

**PHILADELPHUS (1)**, martyr; commemorated Feb. 8 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(2) Son of Vitalius, a praefect in Italy, martyr with his brothers Alphaeus and Cyrinus; commemorated May 10 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**PHILAGRIUS**, bishop of Cyprus, martyr with Marcianus bishop of Sicily and Pancratius bishop of Tauromenium, all disciples of the apostle Peter; commemorated Feb. 9 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 277 "ex Menaeis"). [C. H.]

**PHILANTHES** (PHILANTHUS), martyr at Amasia; commemorated Aug. 18 (Wright, *Syr. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PHILARETUS ELEEMOSYNARIUS**, native of Paphlagonia, under empress Irene; commemorated Dec. 2 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**PHILEAS**, bishop of Thumis, martyr with Philoromus and others, A.D. 304; commemorated

Feb. 4 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 10; Bed. *Mart.* Auct.; Wand., Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 462; *Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PHILEMON (1)**, bishop of Gaza; commemorated Feb. 14 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(2) Martyr with the deacon Apollonius at Antinous in Egypt; commemorated Mar. 8 (Usuard. *Mart.*); Dec. 4 (Basil. *Menol.* "under Diocletian"); Dec. 14 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 277).

(3) Native of Rome, martyr with Domnus; commemorated Mar. 26 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(4) One of nine martyrs of Cyzicus; commemorated Ap. 29 (Bas. *Menol.*).

(5) "Apostle," and his companions; commemorated Nov. 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(6) "Miles," disciple of the apostle Paul; martyr with Archippus at Choni near Laodicea in Phrygia; commemorated Nov. 23 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**PHILETAERUS**, native of Nicomedia, son of Tatianus ex-praefect, martyr under Diocletian; commemorated May 19 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iv. 312; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PHILETUS**, senator, martyr with his wife Lydia and his sons, under Hadrian; commemorated Mar. 27 (Bas. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 687). [C. H.]

**PHILIBERTUS** (FILIBERTUS), abbat in the Isle of Herium in Gaul; commemorated Aug. 20 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Florus, *Mart.* ap. Bed.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 66). [C. H.]

**PHILIP**, APOSTLE, LEGEND AND FESTIVAL OF. Of the life of this apostle, beyond what is told us in the New Testament, but little is known, and in much of this there is a confusion between the apostle and his namesake the deacon. Clement of Alexandria tells us (*Strom.* iii. 52; cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 30) that Philip had children, and that he gave his daughters in marriage. We also gather from the same writer (*ib.* iv. 71) that Philip was not one of those whose life's work was crowned by a martyr's death. All this is possible enough, but the remarks of Polycrates apparently indicate a confusion between the two Philips. He speaks (ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 31; cf. v. 24) of Philip as falling asleep at Hierapolis; as having had two daughters who remained virgins to old age, and a third (presumably a married one, from being thus separated from the other two), who, after *ἐν Ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη*, lay at rest in Ephesus. Eusebius then proceeds to quote from the Dialogue of Caius, where mention is made of the four daughters of Philip, prophetesses at Hierapolis, at which place was their tomb and that of their father. On comparing these notices with Acts xxi. 8, it can hardly be doubted that we have somewhat varying forms of tradition as to the persons there mentioned, more especially when Eusebius himself proceeds to cite this last passage as relevant to the matter. The legends contained in the Apocryphal Acts of Philip are totally undeserving of credit, and it is quite hopeless to try to determine which of the two Philips is indicated.

As regards the festival of St. Philip, we find that he, like most of the apostles, had no special and individual commemoration till comparatively late. Among the earliest witnesses in the west, where St. Philip is as a rule associated with St. James the Less on May 1, are the *Martyrologium Hieronymi*, the metrical martyrology of Bede, and the Gelasian, Gregorian and Ambrosian sacramentaries. In the first of these documents St. Philip is commemorated on two days, April 22 and May 1, besides the mention in the list of apostles at the beginning—"*Kal. Maii.* In civitate Hierapoli provinciae Asiae, depositio Philippi apostoli." On April 22, St. Philip is commemorated alone; on May 1, in connexion with St. James, a mention of Hierapolis being in each case brought in (*Patrol.* xxx. 467, 469). For the notices in Bede and elsewhere, where the two apostles are conjoined, and for the possible reason for the conjunction, reference may be made to the article on St. James the Less. As to the Roman liturgies, nothing need here be added. We must note, however, that the ancient Gallican forms published by Mabillon make no mention of a festival of St. Philip at all, nor was he recognised in the Mozarabic missal.

On passing to the east, we no longer find the two apostles associated. In the Byzantine Calendar, St. Philip (*ὁ ἅγιος καὶ πανεύφημος ἀπόστολος*) is commemorated on November 14, Philip the Deacon being commemorated on October 11. The notice for the former in the metrical Greek *Ephemerides*, prefixed by Papebroch to the *Acta Sanctorum* for May, is (vol. i. p. lii.) *ἤρθης κακκεφαλῆς δεκάτῃ Φίλιππε τετάρτῃ*. In the calendars of the Ethiopic and Coptic churches also, November 14 is the day reserved for St. Philip (Ludolf, *ad Hist. Aeth. Comm.* p. 399), and October 11 for Philip the Deacon. It is true that the latter is spoken of as Philip "the Apostle," but then the Coptic calendar adds the words "one of the seven deacons"; and in this it does but agree with the *Menaea*, which not only applies the name Apostle to Philip the Deacon, but also generally extends the use of the term considerably. In the calendars of the Armenian church, which are given by Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* iii. 1. 645), St. Philip is commemorated on November 17. The "Philip the Apostle" mentioned by the first of the two calendars on February 9, is defined by the second as "Philip, the Deacon and Apostle."

A certain amount of pseudonymous literature is associated with the name of St. Philip, but it will be generally quite uncertain whether the apostle or the deacon is the person intended. We have a gospel of Philip mentioned by Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxvi. 13) as in use among the Gnostics. Acts of Philip were condemned by the council held in Rome in 494 A.D., under the episcopate of Silasius (*Patrol.* lix. 162). It is probably this that is referred to by Anastasius Sinaita as *ἡ περίοδος τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίππου* (cited by Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test.* i. 806). The Greek text, or rather several large fragments of it, was first edited by Tischendorf (*Acta Apost. Apocrypha*, pp. xxxi. 75; *Apocal. Apoc.* p. 141). Syriac *Acta* have been published by Dr. Wright (*Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*). This is a different document from the preceding, and probably refers to Philip the Deacon.

For further information as to the festivals of

St. Philip, reference may be made to Henschenius (*Acta Sanctorum*; May, vol. i. pp. 7 sqq.), Binterim (*Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-katholischen Kirche*, v. 1, pp. 365 sqq.), Augusti (*Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archäologie* iii. pp. 201 sqq.), etc. [R. S.]

**PHILIPPA**, martyr with her son Theodorus at Perga in Pamphylia; commemorated Sep. 21 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**PHILIPPOPOLIS**, see SARDICA, COUNCIL OF.

**PHILIPPOPOLIS** (COUNCIL OF), A.D. 347–8, was held at the town so called on the Maritza, to the north-west of Adrianople. It was composed of seceders from the council of SARDICA; and as all the documents put out by them were dated from that place, and believed generally to have emanated thence, they will be best considered under that head. The documents peculiar to it are given in Mansi, iii. 125 et seq. [E. S. Ff.]

**PHILIPPUS (1)**, commemorated with Hermogenes, martyr, and others, Jan. 24 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Bishop of Gortyna, in Crete, under the Antonines; commemorated Ap. 11 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 12); the *V. R. M.* mentions a bishop Philippius at Gortyna also on Oct. 8, without period.

(3) One of the seven deacons of Act. vi.; natalis at Caesarea June 6 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* June 1, 618; Philippus, in Africa, for this day in *Hieron. Mart.*); Oct. 11 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 271).

(4) Martyr, with six brothers, under the Antonines; commemorated July 10 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Commemorated at Alexandria with Zeus, Narseus, and ten infants, July 15 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta. SS.* Jul. iv. 27).

(6) Martyr with Strato and Eutychianus at Nicomedia, under Aurelian; commemorated Aug. 17 (Basil. *Menol.*). Wright's *Syr. Mart.* has Philippus and four others at Nicomedia under Aug. 1.

(7) Bishop, previously a praefect, father of St. Eugenia, virgin (Basil. *Menol.* Dec. 24); martyr at Alexandria; commemorated Sep. 13. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Acta SS.* Sep. iv. 52).

(8) Bishop, commemorated with Eusebius and Hermes at Adrianople, Oct. 22 (Usuard., Wand., *Hieron. Mart.*; Wright's *Syr. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. 9, 545, from a Fulda MS.; *Mart. Rom.*). The *Mart. Rom.* and *Acta SS.* p. 523 assign this day also to another Philippus, a bishop of Firmum. [C. H.]

**PHILO**, bishop of Calpae, commemorated with Hermogenes, Menas, Philip, &c. Jan. 24 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 593). [C. H.]

**PHILOGONIUS**, "our holy father," bishop, formerly pleader, commemorated Dec. 21 (Basil. *Menol.*); Dec. 20 (Surius, *De Prob. Hist.* Dec. 298). [C. H.]

**PHILOLOGUS**, one of the seventy; commemorated Nov. 4 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**PHILOMENUS**, of Lycaonia, martyr at Ancyra under Aurelian; commemorated Nov. 29 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Rom.*); PHILUMENUS (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**PHILOMINUS**, martyr at Heraclea in Thrace, with Clementinus and Theodolius; commemorated Nov. 14 (Usuard., Wand.; *Hieron. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PHILONIDES**, bishop and martyr at Curium in Cyprus, under Diocletian; commemorated Aug. 30 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 544, "ex Graecis MSS."). [C. H.]

**PHILONILLA**, martyr with her sister Zenais, both of Tarsus, relations of St. Paul; commemorated Oct. 11 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PHILOROMUS**, tribune, martyr with bishop Phileas at Thmuis; commemorated Feb. 4 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*); at Nicomedia Jan. 8 (Wright, *Auct. Syr. Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, 423; Jan. 12 (Notker). [C. H.]

**PHILOSARCAE** was, according to Jerome (*Epist.* 61 *ad Pammach.*), a name given by the Origenists to those who believed in the resurrection of the same identical flesh and bones which were buried. They also called such believers "pelusiotas, luteos, animales, carneos" (Hieron. *Epist.* 65 *ad Pamm. et Ocean.*), as not having attained to the things of the Spirit. The word πηλουσιῶται is explained by Jerome himself (*Comm. in Jerem.* xxix. p. 407) to mean "in luto istius corporis constituti." As the nickname was Alexandrian, there may be some allusion to Pelusium, the force of which is lost (Bingham's *Antiq.* I. ii. 17). [C.]

**PHILOTHEI.** [MONASTERY, p. 1219.]

**PHILOTHEUS**, martyr with Domninus and others under Maximinus; commemorated Nov. 5 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PHILTRE.** The early Christians fully admitted the alleged power of magic to excite love or hatred, though believing themselves to be protected from its influence. Thus in the *Clementina* Appion is made to say that, when hopelessly enamoured in his youth, he "fell in with a certain Egyptian thoroughly versed in the arts of the Magi . . . . who freely taught him the charm (ἐπαοιδήν), by means of which he was successful" (*Hom.* v. 3). Gregory Nazianzen tells us that the legendary Cyprian in his endeavours to corrupt Justina, employed the services of a daemon "whose reward was sacrifices and libations and that close relation which is established through the blood and the odour from the victims" (*Orat.* xxiv. § 10). "Many women," says St. Chrysostom, "that they may become attractive, employ incantations and libations and philtres, and ten thousand other contrivances" (*Hom.* 24 in *Ep. ad Rom.* § 4)

Faith in Christ was a sufficient shield against such darts of the wicked one; but Theodoret tells us of an instance in which the miraculous power of a saint was opposed to them. A woman of rank, whose husband was unfaithful to her, complained to Aphraates that he had been "bewitched by some artifice of magic." The saint "by prayer destroyed the power of the enchantment, and having hallowed a jar of oil brought by her, directed that the husband should be anointed with it" (*Histor. Relig.* 8).

Constantine, in 321, made a law against those who, "furnished with magic arts," were "convicted of having perverted chaste minds to lust" (Cod. IX. xviii. 4, *De Magia*). When the crime appeared among professed Christians of a later period, a severe penance was imposed. "Si quis pro amore veneficium fecerit, et neminem perdiderit, tres annos poeniteat; unum in pane et aqua" (*Poenitentiale*, ad calc. *Sacram. Gallic.* in *Mus. Ital.* i. 392). The old Roman poenitentiale: "Si quis pro amore maleficus sit, et neminem perdiderit; si laicus est, dimidium poeniteat; si clericus, annum unum poeniteat in pane et aqua; si diaconus, tres annos, unum in pane et aqua; si sacerdos quinque annos, 2 in pane et aqua" (Morinus, *de Sacram. Poenit.* 566; Cigheri, *Vet. PP. Theol. Univ.* x. 223). In the 9th century, bishops at their visitations inquired "if there was any woman who professed that she could by certain acts of witchcraft and incantations change the minds of persons; *i.e.* so as to turn them from hatred to love or from love to hatred . . . Haec talis omnimodis ex parroechia ejiciatur" (Regino, *de Discipl. Eccl.* ii. v. 45). [W. E. S.]

**PHLEGON**, one of the seventy; commemorated Ap. 8 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 257; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PHOCAS (1)**, martyr at Antioch, commemorated March 5 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; FOCAS; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.*; *Mart.* i. 366).

(2) Bishop of Sinope, martyr under Trajan; commemorated July 14 (Usuard. *Mart.* FOCAS; Bed. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. 3, 639, from a Vatican Greek MS.); July 22 (Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 264); July 23, "holy martyr" at Sempe (*Cal. Byzant.*); Sept. 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *C. L.* iv. 269); July 23, and Sept. 22 (Basil. *Menol.* and cf. Jul. 6). [C. H.]

**PHOCE**, commemorated with Irenaeus Oct. 7 (*Cal. Arm.*). [C. H.]

**PHOENIX.** It is not part of our duty to trace the story of the phoenix eastward, or connect it with the Simurgh of Persian poetry. It reached Rome through Greece (see Herodotus's account, ii. 73). It is represented on coins and medals of Hadrian, Caracalla, Antoninus Pius, Constans, and Constantine (Münter, *Sinnbilder u. Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christ.*, 1st Heft, p. 95, and tab. iii. fig. 69 and 68). It would easily be adopted in Christian symbolism as an emblem of the Resurrection, and its name would connect it with the palm-tree. See Tertullian on the Resurrection of the Body (c. 25), where he quotes Ps. xcii. of the palm. The name, the tree, and the bird, with its mythical allegory, all connect the Eastern and Greek imaginations with the central Christian doctrine. Hence there is no doubt that a strange bird sometimes represented on mosaics (as in St. Cecilia's at Rome, see woodcut) is intended for it,



Phoenix. (From Martigny.)



Phoenix. (Martigny, pp. 584-5.)

especially when, as in this instance, it bears the Nimbus, or when it is placed on the palm (Bottari, tav. xxii.). As a type of death and resurrection it is connected with baptism (Clemens Romanus, 1st *Ep. to the Corinthians*, c. 25). It is found in the mosaics of SS. Cosmas and Damianus at Rome, and in St. Prassede (Ciampini, *Vit. Monum.* tab. 16, 47, 51); also in the glass given by Dr. Northcote (*Roma Sotterranea*, p. 316) of St. Peter and St. Paul, being attached to the latter in particular, as the special preacher of the Resurrection. This remarkable relic, now in the Vatican library




The Lord with SS. Peter and Paul. (From *Roma Sott.*)

contains the Lord; the chief apostle and the apostle of the Gentiles, the former bearing his cross, the latter with a crown cast behind him; the palm-trees and phoenix; the Pie Zeses; the Lamb below as in a church mosaic, with Jordan intervening, and the four mystical rivers at His feet again uniting in Jordan; the sheep representing the faithful, and the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. (See woodcut.) [R. St. J. T.]

**PHONASCUS.** [PRECENTOR.]

**PHOSTERIUS**, abbat; commemorated Jan. 5 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. 1, 286, "ex Menaeis"). [C. H.]

**PHOTAGOGICA** (φωταγωγικά) are short TROPARIA, referring to God as giver of light, used during Lent in the Greek offices (Neale, *East. Ch.* Intr. p. 924). [C.]

**PHOTIDES**, martyr; commemorated Mar. 20 Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 80). [C. H.]

**PHOTINA**, Samaritan woman who conversed with the Lord (St. John iv.); commemorated March 20 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 80). [C. H.]

**PHOTIUS**, martyr with Anicetus at Nicomedia under Diocletian; commemorated Aug. 12 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 265; *Mart. Rom.* PHOTINUS; Wright's *Syr. Mart.* gives a Photius at Nicomedia with Archelaus and Cyrinus under Mar. 4). [C. H.]

**PHYLACTERY.** Any thing might be so called to which a protective power, not due to natural causes, was ascribed. Thus Gregory of Rome in 603 sends to king Adulovald "phylacteries, *i.e.* a cross with wood of the holy cross of the Lord, and a lesson of the holy Gospel inclosed in a Persian case" (*Ep.* xii. 7 *ad Theodel.*). Gregory himself wore suspended from his neck "phylacteries of relics" (Joan. Diacon. in *Vita Greg.* iv. 80). [LIGATURAE.] But the term was chiefly applied to written charms, and of these we propose to speak now.

The use of "phylacteries" is frequently condemned without explanation, as by the council of Laodicea, probably in 365, which forbids the clergy to "make what are called phylacteries," by Epiphanius, 368 (*De Fide*, 24), by St. Eligius, 640 (*De Rect. Cath. Convers.* 3, 5, 7), by the council of Rome, 721 (can. 12), by Zachary of Rome, 743 (*Ep.* 2 *ad Bonif.* § 6), in a law of Charlemagne, 769 (*Capitulare*, i. c. 6), in a penitential of Angers (Morinus, *de Sacram. Poenit.* 586), &c. But they are often described as written documents. Thus Caesarius of Arles, 502: "Phylacteria diabolica per characteras" (*Serm.* 66, § 3; comp. § 5). Boniface in the council of Leptines, 743: "Phylacteria, *i.e.* scripturas" (can. 33; *Opp.* Bonif. 142, ed. Würdtw.). The *Capitularies of the French Kings*: "Phylacteries or false writings" (vi. 72). The name was not used among the Latins so early as by the Greeks; for St. Augustine, 397, describes them without employing it; "Ligaturae atque remedia . . . sive in praecantationibus, sive in quibusdam notis quos characteras vocant" (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 20, § 30). Neither Isidore, who copies this sentence (*Etymol.* viii. 9 n. 30), nor Hincmar, who borrows it from Isidore (*De Divort. Hloth. et Tetb.* Resp. 15) introduces the word, from which we may perhaps infer that it was not even in their times very familiar to all the Latins.

Written charms are condemned under the name of phylacteries in the decree ascribed variously to Gelasius and Hormisdas *de Apocryphis*: "Phylacteria omnia quae non angelorum (ut illi confingunt) sed daemonum magia arte conscripta sunt, apocrypha" (Hard. *Conc.* ii. 942).

The name was without doubt borrowed immediately from the Jews; and the general restriction of its meaning in practice is due to that circumstance. The Jewish phylacteries (tephillin) were two pieces of parchment, on which were written four texts of Scripture (Exod. xiii. 1–10, 11–16; Deut. v. 4–9; xv. 13–21). One of these was bound on the forehead, the other on the left arm at prayer. They were believed to avert evil from the wearer and to procure blessings for him, owing to the name of God (Shaddai, Almighty) being on them (Beveridge on *Can. Laod.* 36; *Pandect.* ii. 196; Schleusner, *Lex. N. T.* in v.)

The Jewish practice would also naturally suggest the frequent use of the Scriptures as phylacteries. St. Chrysostom, after speaking of the custom of the Jews, adds, that in like manner "many women now suspend the Gospels from their necks" (*Hom.* 72 *in S. Matt. Ev.* § 2) and elsewhere "Do you not see how women and little children hang the Gospels from their necks for a great protection" (φυλακῆς, *Hom.* xix. *ad Antioch.* § 4). St. Augustine mentions a practice of putting the Gospel on the head when it ached. He says that men were so besotted with ligaturae that he rejoiced when he found this done; not because they did it, but "because the Gospel was preferred to ligaturae" (*In S. Joan. Ev. Tract.* vii. 12). This use of the Gospels continued for many ages. Thus Nilus the Younger, who died in 1005, having met with an accident, "took out of his bosom the phylactery which he always carried there (this was a folding book, the treasure of the New Testament) and put it to his eyes and lips and breast" (*Vita Nili*, ix. 63; Bolland. Sept. 26). In the West, however, even this was distinctly pronounced unlawful. St. Jerome commenting on the Jewish practice: "Hoc apud nos superstitiosae mulierculae in parvulis evangeliis, et in crucis ligno, et istiusmodi rebus . . . usque hodie factitant, culicem liquantes, et camelum glutientes" (*Comm. in St. Matt. Ev.* iv. 23). St. Eligius (*u. s.*): "Etsi dicatur, quod res sancta sit et lectiones divinas contineat, quia non est in eis remedium Christi, sed venenum diaboli." [Compare LIGATURAE, p. 990.] [W. E. S.]

**PIATON**, presbyter of Tournay; passio Oct. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. i. 22). [C. H.]

**PICTAVIUM, COUNCIL OF.** [POITIERS.]

**PICTURES.** [FRESCO: IMAGES: MOSAICS.]

**PIENTIA**, martyr with Nigasius in the Vexin; commemorated Oct. 11 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PIGMENIUS**, presbyter and martyr at Rome; commemorated March 24 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 481; Mar. 18 (Wand.)). [C. H.]

**PILATE.** Our Lord's appearance before Pilate is almost the only scene of His passion, except the denial by St. Peter, which is to be found in the catacombs, on sarcophagi, or, indeed, anywhere in very early Christian art. See Bottari, tav. xxiv. where Pilate is seated on a curule chair (John xix. 13); see also the Laurentian MS., and Bottari, tavv. xv. xxii. xxxiii. xxxv. Some expression of anxiety and reluctance is generally given to Pilate, and in

some instances water is being brought for his hands. His action in washing them is frequently represented, and M. Rohault de Fleury (*L'Évangile*, vol. ii. pl. lxxxiii. lxxxiv.) gives six examples, two from the Lateran sarcophagi, probably 4th century, one from St. Apollinare nella Citta at Ravenna, the third (11th century) from St. Urbano at Rome. He refers also to a 6th-century ivory in the Vatican. One of the Lateran sarcophagi was brought from the Liberian Basilica, commonly known as the church of St. Maria Maggiore.

The subject of our Lord before Pilate is twice repeated on the lid of the magnificent ivory casket in the Biblioteca Quiriniana at Brescia (Westwood, *Early Christian Sculptures and Ivory Carvings*, p. 37). He stands before Pilate in a group; and in another before Pilate alone, who is in the act of washing his hands. [R. St. J. T.]

**PILGRIMAGE** (*Peregrinatio*). A pilgrim was one who travelled from a motive of religion to any place considered sacred, because peculiarly associated with the memory of Christ or any of the saints. The growth of that feeling towards such places which led to pilgrimages has been traced in the article on HOLY PLACES, Vol. I. p. 774. We now propose to speak of the chief resorts of early pilgrims, their immediate motives, and other matters of interest connected with them.

I. *The Holy Land.*—Paula and Eustochium, writing in 386, suppose that there had been a constant stream of pilgrims to Jerusalem from the very infancy of the church: "It would be tedious now to run through every age from the ascension of the Lord to the present day, and enumerate the bishops, the martyrs, the men eloquent in ecclesiastical learning, who have come to Jerusalem, because they thought that they had less religion, less knowledge, and had not, as the phrase is, received the finishing stroke of their virtues, unless they had adored Christ in those places whence the Gospel had first shone forth from the Cross" (*Ep.* 46 inter *Epp.* Hieronym. *ad Marcellam*, § 9). The record of earlier visits is scanty; but it is probable that these writers were not mistaken. We must except from the holy places visited by their predecessors the most sacred of all; viz. the sepulchre of Christ and Calvary, which from the time of Adrian to that of Constantine were covered by a vast mound of earth surmounted by a temple of Venus. It is to be observed, however, that Eusebius, who lived in Palestine, and was sixty years old when those sites were uncovered, merely says that the heathen madly thought that by concealing them they should hide the truth (*Vita Const.* iii. 26); from which we should not infer that he was accustomed to see or hear of crowds of pilgrims eagerly inquiring for the scene of every great Christian event. On the other hand, Sozomen, more than a century later, influenced by the opinions and the custom of his own day, clearly supposes that pilgrims would have frequented those sites in great numbers if they had remained exposed. According to him the heathen hoped that through the means which they employed "the true reason of the reverence paid to that place would in the course of time be forgotten, Christians neither daring to frequent it themselves, nor to point it out to others" (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 1). We observe also that the first visitors to the Holy Land of whom we have mention were at least as much inquirers as devotees. Alexander, the first whose name is recorded, is expressly said to have gone there εὐχῆς καὶ τῶν τόπων ἱστορίας ἕνεκεν (Euseb. *Hist.* vi. 11). Origen, his friend, A.D. 230, describes his own visit to the Holy Land as a "search after the footsteps of Jesus and His disciples and the prophets" (*Comm. in Ev. S. Joann.* tom. vi. § 24). Firmilian, about 240, is more vaguely said by Jerome to have gone to Palestine "sub occasione sanctorum locorum" (*De Vir. Illust.* 54).

Helen, the mother of Constantine, is the first pilgrim to the Holy Land of whose visit we have anything like a detailed account. About the year 328, when above seventy years of age, she hastened thither to offer "thank-offerings by means of vows (*or* "prayers;" χαριστήρια δι' εὐχῶν), and to "seek knowledge of the land worthy of veneration." "When she had bestowed suitable worship on the footsteps of the Saviour, in accordance with the saying of the prophet, Let us worship the place where His feet have stood (Ps. cxxxii. 7), she forthwith bequeathed to posterity a fruit of her personal devotion" (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 42) in two churches which she built, "one at the Cave of the Nativity, the other on the Mount of the Ascension" (*ib.* 43). About five years after the visit of Helen, a traveller whose name is unknown, though the diary of his voyage is extant (*Itineraria Romanorum*, Wesseling, Amstel. 1735, pp. 549–617), journeyed from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, whence he returned by a different route from that by which he came. He was evidently a religious pilgrim; for until he finds himself on holy ground, his notes are rarely more than a record of stages and distances. He gives us a long list of sacred places, and often with some remark of interest. On his way from home he saw Tarsus, the birthplace of St. Paul, the site of the house (Sarepta, not mentioned) where the widow sustained Elijah, Mount Carmel, where he sacrificed, the bath of Cornelius at Caesarea, a certain spring claiming miraculous power on Mount Sinai, Stradela, where Ahab sat and Elijah prophesied, the scene of David's victory over Goliath, Mount Gerizim, Jacob's well in Sichar, Luz, where he saw the vision and wrestled with the angel, and where the hand of Jeroboam was withered. Arrived at Jerusalem he saw the pools made by Solomon on either side the temple, the two called Bethesda, a crypt in which Jewish tradition taught that Solomon had confined evil spirits, the pinnacle of the Temptation, the place where Solomon was said to have written the book of Wisdom, his reservoirs, the stone stained with the blood of Zacharias, the marks of the spikes on the caligae of the soldiers who killed him, the house of Hezekiah, the pool of Siloam, the house of Caiaphas, and the pillar at which our Lord was scourged, the site of the house of David, the walls of the praetorium of Pilate. Out of the city he visited Mount Golgotha, and, a stone's throw from it ("eighty steps", Antonini Placentini *Itinerarium*, 19), the crypt in which the body of Jesus was laid," the church lately built there by Constantine,

the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the scene of the betrayal, the monuments of Hezekiah and Isaiah, Mount Olivet and the new church thereon, the Mount of Transfiguration, the grave of Lazarus, the sycamore of Zacchaeus, the fountain made wholesome by Elisha, where was shewn him the vessel that held the salt, the house of Rahab, the site of the pile of twelve stones from the Jordan, the place of our Lord's baptism, the little hill whence Elijah was taken up to heaven, the tomb of Rachel, Bethlehem, and the church built there by Helen, the tombs of Ezekiel, David, Solomon, &c., near it, the spring at which Philip baptized the eunuch, the place where Abraham dwelt under a terebinth tree[a] (Gen. xviii. 4) and dug a well. In returning home he notes all the stages, as before, but only connects one with sacred history, viz. Philippi, where Paul and Silas were imprisoned.

It will be observed that in this careful enumeration of sacred objects and places there is no mention of that which a few years later was the chief attraction of pilgrims to Jerusalem, the supposed cross of Christ. This at once disproves the later tradition of its having been found by Helen [CROSS, FINDING OF, Vol. I. p. 504; HOLY PLACES, iii. Vol. I. p. 776]. Many instances occur of pilgrims going to Jerusalem "to adore the holy cross," see *e.g.* the accounts of John of Sochus (John Moschus, *Pratum Spirit.* 180), Thalelaeus (*ib.* 91), Christopher (*ib.* 105), Theophilus and his two companions *Vita Macarii Rom.* 3), the author of the *Life of Euthymius* (*Vita Euth.* 136), &c.

Paula, the friend of Jerome, visited every sacred place and object of which she obtained information. "Entering the sepulchre she kissed the stone of the resurrection, which the angel had moved away from the door of the tomb; and licked with faithful mouth the very place of the body in which the Lord had lain; as if being athirst she longed for water." "A pillar was shewn to her, supporting the porch of a church, stained with the Lord's blood, at which He is said to have been bound and scourged. The place was shewn to her where the Holy Ghost came down on above one hundred souls of believers." Having "entered Bethlehem, going into the cave of the Saviour, after seeing the sacred lodging of the Virgin and the stall . . . she solemnly affirmed in my presence that she saw with the eyes of faith the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, the Lord wailing in the manger, the Magi worshipping, the star shining above, the virgin mother, the careful foster-father, the shepherds coming by night . . . the infants slain, Herod raging, Joseph and Mary fleeing into Egypt." "Thence she went down to the tower *Ader*, i.e. of the flock, near which Jacob fed his flocks, and the shepherds watching by night were privileged to hear, "Glory to God in the highest," &c. She saw "the glittering cross of Mount Olivet, from which the Saviour ascended to the Father . . . entered the sepulchre of Lazarus, saw the house of Martha and Mary, and Bethphage;" the spot where Christ mounted the ass, the scene of the parable of the good Samaritan, the sycamore of Zacchaeus, the place where the blind man stood by the wayside. She also travelled to many places in Palestine of note in the history of the Old Testament, both before and after her visit to Jerusalem; and lastly went to Egypt, where she would probably have remained among the ascetics of the desert, "ni majus sanctorum locorum retraxisset desiderium" (Hieron. *Ep.* 108 *ad Eustoch.* 9-14). We have omitted much of her tour, but given enough to show that pilgrims were now directed to many holy places which their guides did not profess themselves able to identify when some sixty years before the pilgrim of Bordeaux travelled over the same ground. Paula sketched a similar route for herself and her friend Marcella when the latter should travel to the Holy Land (Paul. et Eustoch. *ad Marc. Ep.* 46 inter *Epp.* Hieron. § 12). Gaudentius of Brescia, A.D. 387, mentions a pilgrimage that he made to Jerusalem, but gives no particulars (*De Dedic. Basilicae* in *Vet. Brix. Episc. Opusc.* 340, Brix. 1738).

At this period and onward the notices of pilgrimages to Jerusalem are very frequent. For thirty-seven years, Melania the elder, who died in 410, exercised hospitality towards Christians who came to that city "for their vow's sake, both bishops, and monks and virgins, and those joined in marriage, towards persons both in high position and those of private condition, . . . inhabitants of Persia, and Britain, and all the isles" (Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* 118). The Arabic collection of canons, falsely ascribed to the council of Nicaea, says, "Faithful sons of the Church of God, when ye enter on a pilgrimage to pray and visit the houses of God, the places of His holiness, and the footsteps of His Christ, load not your bodies with meat and drink," &c. (*Decr. Alia*, 25; Hard. i. 520). Some eminent names are preserved. Philorhomus, a friend of St. Basil, "for a vow went twice on foot to Jerusalem to do honour to the holy places" (*ibid.* 113). Fabiola, who died in 399, sailed thither from Rome, and for a time was the guest and disciple of St. Jerome (Hier. *Ep.* 77 *ad Ocean.* 7). A few years later Marana and Cyra travelled from Beroea in Syria "to Aelia from a desire to behold the sacred places of Christ's sufferings" (Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.* 29). Peter, who was known to Theodoret when the latter was a child, is another example. In 421, Porphyrius of Gaza, then a young man, was seized with a "divine longing to adore the holy and venerable places of God" at Jerusalem. Not content with one visit, some five years later, though in great sickness, he went there again, and "non cessabat quotidie obire loca sancta, innitens baculo" (*Vita Porph.* i. 4, auct. Marco Diac.) About this time also, Mark, his biographer, happened to "sail out of Asia to worship the holy places" (*ibid.* 5). The empress Eudocia went as a pilgrim to Jerusalem in 438 (Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 47). She also spent there the last ten or eleven years of her life, and evinced her religious interest in the holy city by repairing its walls, founding monasteries, and building the church of St. Stephen at the place of his martyrdom (Evagr. *Hist. Eccl.* i. 21, 22). Licinius, bishop of Tours, A.D. 508, "is said to have been in the East and to have

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[a] "Juxta Ebron Mons Mambre ad radicem cujus est illa terebintus, quae *dirps* vocatur, id est, ilex vel quercus, secus quam permultum temporis mansit Abraam" (*Enarratio Locorum Terrae Sanctae*, Baluz. *Miscell.* by Mansi, i. 345).

visited the places of the saints, and to have gone to Jerusalem itself, and often seen the places of the Lord's passion and resurrection, of which we read in the Gospels" (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 39). Martin, a Pannonian by birth, afterwards bishop of the monastery of Dumium, and in 562 archbishop of Braga, "made a rapid voyage to the East to visit the holy places, and so imbued himself with learning as to be considered inferior to no one of his day" (*ibid.* v. 38; Isid. Hispal. *De Vir. Illus.* 45). Many other names might be given; but the details in each case are so scanty and devoid of interest, and so few of them come to us from authors of full credit, that it would be useless to attempt an account of all. There is one traveller, however, who visited Jerusalem in 690, the narrative of whose voyage is of great importance both from its fulness and authenticity. This was Arculphus, a French bishop, of see unknown, who, under the guidance of Peter, a Burgundian by birth, but living as a hermit in the Holy Land, saw the places of chief religious interest therein, and spent nine months at Jerusalem. On his return home, "driven by stress of weather to the western parts of Britain" (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 15), he became a guest of Adamnanus, the ninth abbat of Hy, who took down from his mouth an account of his pilgrimage, and a few years later presented it to king Alfred. The treatise of Bede *de Sanctis Locis* is founded on it, and some extracts are found in his *History* (v. 15–17); but the work itself is extant, and has been printed by Gretser (Ingolst. 1619) and Mabillon (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. 3). From this we may learn that many new discoveries and identifications were alleged to have been made since the days of Paula, by which the faith of the pilgrim was confirmed and rewarded. The cross was not then at Jerusalem, but its place was well supplied by the stone that had been at the door of the sepulchre, the cup used at the last supper ("which the whole people of the city treat with immense veneration"), the sponge, the spear, the handkerchief by which the head of our Lord was covered, a linen cloth woven by the blessed Virgin on which were wrought figures of our Lord and the twelve apostles, a pillar set up where the dead man was brought to life by the touch of the true cross (*De Loc. Sanct.* i. 4, 7–12). The spear, the sponge, the reed, and crown of thorns are mentioned by Gregory of Tours (*Mirac.* i. 7) in the 6th century, but the two latter were not seen by Arculphus. Outside Jerusalem he was taken to the Field of Blood, and the tree on which Judas hanged himself (17, 19). He saw (and is the first to mention) the footprints of Christ on the Mount of Ascension, miraculously permanent in the loose sand (22). At Bethlehem he was shewn a natural basin in the rock full of pure water, which had miraculously appeared on the spot where the water in which the infant Jesus was first washed had been thrown (ii. 3). There too he was conducted to the tombs of St. Jerome, the three shepherds, and Rachel (5–7), while in the valley of Mamre he found those of Adam and the three patriarchs (10). The remains of the oak of Mamre, splinters of which were in great request all over the world, were enclosed and covered by a church (11). In a chapel built near the place of our Lord's baptism, he saw preserved the garments in which He was baptized (16). A comparison of the present list with those given before shews that the taste and spirit of each age ruled the nature of the object proposed to its veneration. As superstition became more gross and childish, new food, such as it craved for, was still supplied.

About the year 725, Willibald, the nephew of St. Boniface, visited the Holy Land. Besides objects already mentioned, he saw the places in which the infants were slain, Dorcas restored to life, and where the Jews strove to take the body of the blessed Virgin from the apostles. He also found in the Church of the Sepulchre two columns marking the places on which the two angels (Acts i. 10) stood, and was told that "whoever could creep between the wall and those pillars was free from his sins" (Willib. *Hodoeporicon* in Basnag. *Thesaur. Monum. Eccles.* ii. p. i. 112, 113, Amstel. 1725). In the Itinerarium of later but uncertain age, falsely ascribed to Antoninus of Placentia, we observe the further progress of what we must, however reluctantly, deem imposture. For, to omit new identifications of place, we there read of the lamp "which had been placed at the head of our Lord when He was buried" (§ 18), of blood seen where He was crucified (*ib.*), of the altar on which Abraham was about to offer Isaac (19), the title which Pilate affixed to the cross, which the writer "held in his hand and kissed." A cross was also shewn as that on which Christ died, though the Itinerary seems to have been written long after that exhibited in Cyril's time had been carried away He also saw the reed and the sponge ("cum qua spongia aquam bibimus") and "the cup of onyx-stone which the Lord blessed at the supper," a likeness of the blessed Virgin, and her girdle and head-band, &c. (20). In the church which had been the house of James, he found the horn with which David and other kings of Judah had been anointed, the crown of thorns, the spear, and many of the stones with which Stephen was stoned (22). The tract is, as the Bollandists describe it, "refertum fabellis plane anilibus" (*Prolog.* in Maii, tom. ii. Migne, n. lxxii. 897). We do not hear of the heavenly fire in the holy sepulchre on Easter Eve, an imposture practised to this day, until the ninth century. It is then mentioned by Bernard, a French pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem in 870 (*De Locis Sanctis*, § 10, in *Acta Bened.* iii. p. 2, p. 524). According to him, an angel came down and lighted the lamps hanging over the sepulchre; "of which light the patriarch gives to the bishops and the rest of the people, that they may make a light for themselves in their habitations." To this pilgrim also were pointed out some objects of reverence of which former travellers make no mention; as the iron gates through which the angel led St. Peter (§ 11), the place of the betrayal (§ 12), four round tables used at the Last Supper, the place where the adulteress was brought to Christ, and the words then written by Him, engraved on marble (§ 13).

II. *Rome.*—St. Chrysostom, throughout a long panegyric on St. Paul, dwells on his wish to visit Rome where his remains were treasured (*Hom.* xxxii. *in Ep. ad Rom.* 2, 3; *Hom.* viii. *in Ep. ad Eph.* 2). At this period Rome could already offer many attractions to pilgrims in the shrines and other memorials of St. Peter and St.

Paul, St. Lawrence, St. Cassian, St. Hippolytus, St. Agnes, &c. (see Prudentius *de Coronis*, hymn. 2, 9, 11, 12, 14).

> "Innumeros cineres sanctorum Romula in urbe
> Vidimus." (Prud. *u. s.* 11, l. 1).

Hence, and from the greater facility of reaching it, Rome became ere long a more common resort of European pilgrims than the Holy Land itself; *e. g.* Paulinus of Nola made an "annual journey" thither (*Ep.* 43 *ad Desid.* 1; *Ep.* 95, Aug. *ad Paul.* 6) "pro apostolorum et martyrum veneratione" (*Ep.* 45 *ad Aug.* 1). He describes himself as spending the forenoon on one of these visits in the memoriae of the apostles and martyrs (*Ep* 17 *ad Sever.* 2). Letters are extant, written at Rome in 449 to Theodosius the younger by Galla Placidia, Valentinian, and his wife Eudoxia, the emperor's daughter, expressions in which show that the writers had gone to Rome from a motive of religion, "to pay worship to the most blessed apostle Peter" (*Concil. Chalced.* p. i. cc. 20–22, Hard. *Conc.* ii. 35–37). Galla, in a letter written to Pulcheria at the same time, says, "Ut Romam freqquentibus concursionibus adaeque desideremus inspicere, causa nobis est amplectendae religionis, ut terminus sanctorum nostris exhiberemus praesentiam" (*ibid.*; in Greek, ap. Cotel. *Monum. Gr.* i. 62). Venantius, in his *Life of St. Remigius*, who died in 533, tells the story of a young girl whose wealthy friends conducted her in sickness from Toulouse "to the tomb of St. Peter in the city of Rome with a very great number of attendants and great devotion" (*Vita*, § 6).

From the foregoing testimonies, we may perhaps infer that during the first five centuries pilgrims went to Rome chiefly, if not entirely, for the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. Compare even the later Gregory the Great, *Epist.* vi. 19; *Hom. in Evang.* ii. 37, § 9. It is evident, however, that visitors from a great distance could not even at that period, and much less could they in the more troubled times that followed, arrive at Rome by a given day with anything like certainty. Hence, after the 7th century at least, we find pilgrims flocking thither at every part of the year. The first visit of St. Boniface was timed by the season and the affairs of his people (*Vita* auct. Willibaldo, v. 14). In his time great numbers went to Rome from England (Eangyth *ad Bonif. Ep.* 30, ed. Würdtus.). The stream had begun to flow about 653, when Benedict Biscop paid his first visit to Rome (Bede, *Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth.* § 2), to be soon followed by Wilfrid, who had been his companion for part of the way. In reference to the journey of the latter, Eddi Stephani, his friend, says expressly that "as yet that road was untrodden by our nation" (*Vita Wilfr.* § 3).

The "limina apostolorum" were the first objects visited by pilgrims and probably by all religious travellers to Rome. Thus Sidonius of himself, "Priusquam vel pomoeria contingerem triumphalibus apostolorum liminibus affusus" (*Epp.* i. 5), where he seems to refer to the shrine on the Ostian Way.

III. *Other Shrines.*—St. Chrysostom says that the burial-places of St. Peter and St. Paul, St. John and St. Thomas, alone among the apostles, were known in his day (*Hom.* xxvi. *in Ep. ad Heb.* 2). Of St. Thomas, Gregory of Tours tells us that "in that part of India in which he first reposed" there was a church in which "by the virtue of the apostle" a lamp burnt perpetually without any renewal either of oil or wick. Thither, he says, "when his festival came, a great assemblage of the peoples gathered, and those from diverse regions coming with vows and merchandise" (*Mirac.* i. 32). A story told by Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 18) seems to imply that Edessa, to which city his body, or a part of it, was translated, was equally frequented on that account. We read little of the tomb of St. John at Ephesus, but it is incidentally mentioned by John Moschus as visited with other shrines by an ascetic of the same name, who was wont to leave home "for the distant deserts, or for Jerusalem to worship the holy cross and the holy places, or for Mount Sinai to pray there, or for the martyrs at long distances from Jerusalem; for the old man was a great lover of martyrs, and would go away at one time to St. John at Ephesus, at another to St. Theodore at Euchaïta, and again into Isauria to St. Thecla at Seleucia, and again to St. Sergius at Saphae, and journey one while to one saint, and another to another" (*Prat. Spirit.* 180). In the East, the tomb of Thecla had many visitors. In the West, St. Felix of Nola was one especially famous. If we may believe the poetical account of Paulinus, multitudes flocked to it at his festival from every part of Italy, even from Rome itself (*Poem.* xiv. *Nat.* iii. 54–85). Perhaps, however, no shrine was so popular with pilgrims in search of health as that of St. Martin at Tours, where he was reported to have performed numberless cures of which very many are recorded by Gregory, 573, one of his successors in the see (*De Mirac. S. Martini*, libr. iv.).

IV. *Mural Inscriptions by Pilgrims.*—The catacombs of Rome have preserved a great number of these *graffiti* traced with a stilus or with charcoal on the walls by the tombs of the most illustrious martyrs. Many of the earliest, ascribed to the 2nd or 3rd century, "merely express the names of the visitors; but others offer pious thoughts and touching prayers" (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* v. "Pèlerinage").

V. *Motives to Pilgrimage.*—(1) *Research.*—The first resort of pilgrims was to the Holy Land; and their purpose, research, which they conducted in a devout and reverential spirit. [See before, § I.]

(2) *Vows.*—If Eusebius is not merely speaking after the notions of his day, Alexander, the earliest pilgrim on record, combined research with the fulfilment of a vow. Vows are ascribed to Helena (*Canonum Nicaen. Arab. Praef.* Hard. *Conc.* i. 525). Palladius, as cited § I., evidently supposes that all who received the hospitality of Melania went to Jerusalem "for their vow's sake." Philorhomus and Eudocia, mentioned before (*ibid.*), had both vowed a pilgrimage; the latter, if she should see her daughter married (Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 47). Paulinus, describing his own visit to Rome, speaks thus: "Ipsum temporis ante meridiam *in votis nostris quorum cura veneramus* per apostolorum et martyrum sacras memorias consumentes" (*Ep.* 17, § 2). Wilfrid, 653, has made vows to visit Rome (Eddi Steph. in *Vita* 4), and long after him Canute, after such a pilgrimage, says of himself, "Hanc quidem profectionem jam olim devoveram" (Gul. Malmesb.

*de Reb. Gest. Reg. Angl.* ii. 11, fol. 41 B, Lond. 1596). So a nun in Flodoard makes a vow with others "ut iret ad locum sancti pignoris," viz. a relic of St. Helen (*Hist. Eccles. Remens.* ii. 9).

(3) *Baptism.*—It is probable that many catechumens sought the Holy Land from an early period that they might be baptized in the Jordan. Constantine, in 337, when asking for baptism of the bishops at Nicomedia, says, "I intended formerly to do this at the stream of the Jordan; at which our Saviour is recorded to have received the washing for an example to us" (Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv. 62). Eusebius (*De Locis Hebraicis*) says of "Bethabara beyond Jordan where John was baptizing" (St. John i. 28), "where also many of the brethren to this day are anxious to receive the washing"; or as St. Jerome paraphrases his words, "desiring to be reborn there, are baptized in the life-giving flood" (*De Sit. et Nom. Loc. Hebr. Opp.* tom. iii. col. 182, ed. Vallars.). If Pseudo-Amphilochius may be trusted, St. Basil and Eubulus intreated the bishop of Jerusalem that they might "receive divine regeneration in the river Jordan," which was permitted (*Vita Basil.* 4). See another example, *Prat. Spirit.* 138. The eve of the Epiphany was the usual time for such baptisms, at which the people carried away of the consecrated water to sprinkle their ships with it before they went to sea, and dipped themselves "pro benedictione," and linen clothes which they kept for their burial (*Itinerarium* Antonini Plac. 11). In the account of the pilgrimage of St. Willibald, written in 765, we read, "On the Jordan, where the Lord was baptized, there is now a church raised on stone piers, and beneath the church is now dry land, where the Lord was baptized" (*Hodoeporicon* S. Will. in Basnage, *Thesaur. Monum.* ii. p. i. p. 111).

A similar sentiment seems to have led some catechumens to Rome. Thus Ceadwal, king of Wessex, A.D. 688, resigning his crown, "went to Rome, desiring to obtain for himself this special glory, viz. to be washed in the fount of baptism at the thresholds of the blessed apostles" (Bede, *Hist. Eccl. Angl.* v. 7).

(4) *Devotion.*—The object of most pilgrims, however, is best described as prayer in some holy place or before some holy thing. Faith was confirmed and devotion inflamed by sight; and the more fervent the prayer the more acceptable was it deemed, from whatever cause its greater fervour might arise. Peter the Galatian visited Palestine, that "gazing on the places that had witnessed the saving sufferings he might in them worship God the Saviour; not as if He were circumscribed by place, . . . but that he might feast his eyes with the contemplation of the things he desired" (Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.* 9). This is the spirit which we observe in Paula (*Epist. ad Marcell.* § 5; *Ep.* 46, inter Hieron. *Epp.*). We have already (§ 1) seen such emotions ascribed to Paula by St. Jerome in terms which shew how highly he valued and respected them; though reason and experience led him to warn the ordinary Christian against the same pilgrimage. [See HOLY PLACES, § II. Vol. I. p. 775.]

The motive of such pilgrims was therefore a loving desire to trace the footsteps of Christ and the saints; while they knew and confessed that an equal devotion elsewhere would have met with an equal reward. This is implied by Theodoret (above); and so St. Jerome: "I dare not confine the omnipotence of God to one narrow corner of the world. . . . From Jerusalem and from Britain the court of heaven is equally open." (*Epist.* 58 *ad Paulin.* 2, 3; comp. Paula, *u. s.* § 10.) St. Chrysostom: "It is not necessary to make a pilgrimage, or travel to distant lands, or to undergo dangers and toils; but only to have the will" (*Hom.* i. in *Ep. ad Philem.* § 2). "There is no occasion to cross the sea, and to make a long pilgrimage. Let us, every man and woman, both when gathered at church and remaining at home, call on God with great earnestness and He will certainly grant our prayers." (*Hom.* iii. *ad Antioch.* 2.) Gregory of Nyssa, dissuading from the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, says, "Change of place does not make God nearer;" but wherever thou art, God will be with thee there, if the tabernacle of the soul be found such that the Lord may dwell in thee and walk in thee" (*de Eunt. Hieros.* ii. 1087).

(5) *Prayer for a Specific Benefit.*—There was, nevertheless, some inconsistency on this point in the teaching of the fathers of that period. They sometimes spoke as if God were more easily propitiated at the shrines of the martyrs than elsewhere. [See PATRON SAINTS].

Where once this opinion of the prerogative of prayer at a martyr's shrine became general, it necessarily gave a great impetus to pilgrimages. Men were ready to travel any distance to obtain certainly a benefit, which prayer could not procure for them at home. The restoration of health was the boon most commonly sought; but nothing was supposed to be beyond the power or the goodwill of the martyr. Some, therefore, asked for children (Basil. *Hom.* in xl. Mart. 8), some for success in business (id. *Hom. in Mam.* 1) or war (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* ii. 37), or for the continuance of peace (*ibid.* iii. 28), or for the detection of guilt and vindication of innocence (Aug. *Epist.* lxxviii. 3). Others prayed for the souls of the departed. To a son who is represented asking, in reference to a pious father, "Why should I pray for him, why give alms, why fast, why visit the bodies of the saints?" the assurance is given, "It is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead (2 Macc. xii. 46), . . . and to make pilgrimages that they may be released from their sins" (Pseudo-Aug. *Serm. ad Fratr. in Eremo*, 44; *Opp.* S. Aug. app. v). With equal confidence men undertook pilgrimages as a means of obtaining spiritual benefits for themselves. Thus Caesarius, A.D. 502, thought that grace to overcome sinful habits would be granted to the pilgrim: "Frequenting the threshold of the saints, they would implore their help against the sins themselves" (*Serm.* 60, § 3). Victory over sin would insure its forgiveness; and this, also, the penitent pilgrim asked for in direct terms. *E. g.* Lothair, A.D. 560, "in the 51st year of his reign, sought the threshold of St. Martin with many gifts, and arriving at Tours, at the tomb of the said prelate, unfolded all the actions which he had done amiss, and prayed with great groans that the blessed confessor would beg the mercy of God for his faults" (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* iv. 21). Similarly, Pepin, in 768, went to Tours to implore St. Martin "that he would deign to beseech the mercy of God for his crimes" (Fredegar. *Hist. Greg. Con-*

*tin.* iv. 135). In England also, during the same century, we find persons planning a visit to Rome, "that there they might obtain the pardon of their sins" (Cangyth *ad Bonif. Ep.* 50 inter *Epp. Bonif.* ed. Würdtw.). Wilfrid went to Rome, "ab ea [*sc.* sede Apostolica] omnem modum maculae solvendum sibi credens" (*Vita*, § 3).

Such voluntary penitents were known by their habit from the 6th century downwards, but I cannot discover what its pecularities were. Venantius Fortunatus, 560, relating an old tradition, represents one whom he calls "righteous and holy" as "going the round of very many villages and cities in the winter season, wearing the habit of a penitent, in search of the medicine of his soul" (*Vita S. Maurilii*, 24). I do not take this as evidence of a practice much earlier than the age of the writer.

(6) *Penance.*—Pilgrimages voluntarily undertaken in the hope of obtaining the pardon of sin, naturally suggested the imposition of pilgrimage as a public penance. Morinus (*de Sacram. Poenit.* viii. 17, § 1) supposes that this custom did not begin before the 7th century; but even if Caesarius (*u. s.*) refers to voluntary pilgrimages only, a passage in Gregory of Tours is sufficient to prove it earlier. He relates that, about the year 539, "a certain fratricide, bound with iron rings for the enormity of his crime, was ordered to make the circuit of the places of the saints for seven years" (*de Glor. Confess.* 87). The penance here described was afterwards common in the cases of aggravated murder, the rings being made from the weapon with which the crime had been committed: "Ipso decernente pontifice, ex ipso gladio ferrei nexus componantur, et collum peccatoris, venter atque brachia, strictim innectantur ex ipsis ferreis vinculis" (*Mirac. SS. Floriani et Florentii*, Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. vi. iv. 2; see also Baluze, *Not. in Capit. Reg. Franc.* ii. 1198).

The earliest canons which prescribe pilgrimage as a penance do not, as we shall see, mention the holy places; but that they were visited by the professed penitents may be shewn from other documents. The *Poenitentiale* of Theodore of Canterbury, A.D. 688, condemns a bishop, for certain sins, to be deposed, to be twenty-five years in penance, to fast five on bread and water, and to "end the days of his life in pilgrimage" (Morinus, *u. s.* vii. 15, § 1). Egbert, archbishop of York, 732, of a homicide: "For we will that he perform penance in a foreign land ten years" (*Poenitentiale*, i. p. i. 24). [EXILE.] The murderer of an ordained person was to "leave his country and possessions and go to Rome to the pope, and then do as the pope should order him" (*Poenit.* iv. 6). The council of Châlons-sur-Saône, 813, while condemning pilgrimages from wrong motives, yet declares that the devotion of those who, having confessed sin to their parish priest and received his counsel to that effect, "desire to visit the thresholds of the apostles or any of the saints, persevering in prayer, giving alms, amending their life, and correcting their manners, is altogether worthy of commendation" (can. 45). From this century downwards, many great criminals resorted to Rome to obtain mitigation of the penance imposed by their own bishop. Nicholas I., 867, writing to a bishop with reference to such a case, says: "Undique etenim venientes admodum plurimi, suorum facinorum proditores, quantum dolorem inferant pectori nostro, plus singultu reminiscimur quam calamo scribi queat. Inter quos videlicet istum Wimarum ad apostolorum limina festinasse cognoscite." This man had murdered his three sons; yet the pope lightened his penance (*Epist.* Nic. 136 *ad Rivoladrum*). We see here one of the many ways in which the action of the popes, ever anxious to keep up by exercise the authority which they had acquired, tended to the destruction of all discipline. In such pilgrimages also we trace the origin of *reserved cases*, i.e. of the practice of referring some great sins to Rome for absolution.

VI. *Letters of Commendation.* — Pilgrims received letters from their bishops, abbats, or other superiors, to attest their *bonâ fide* character, addressed to the secular as well as ecclesiastical authorities. Forms of such letters are extant. One runs thus: "Quatenus praesens portitor ille, non (ut plerisque mos est) vacandi causa, sed propter nomen Domini, itinera ardua et laboriosa parvipendens, ob lucrandam orationem limina sanctorum Apostolorum Domini Petri et Pauli adire cupiens," &c. (Marculfi *Formulae*, ii. 49; *Indiculum Generale ad Omnes Homines*). Another says of the pilgrim: "Petiit nobis ut ad basilicam S. Petri patris vestri pro suis culpis, vel pro nostra stabilitate, valeat ambulare ad orationem. Propterea has literas cum salutatione per ipsum ad vos direximus ut in amore Dei et S. Petri ipsum ad hospitium recipiatis," &c. (*Formulae*, Bignon. xv. *Capit. Reg. Fr.* ii. 503, *Charta Tractoria*). Such letters were given to public penitents on whom a pilgrimage was imposed. Thus in a third form the bishop or abbat, after reciting the crime, adds: "Nos pro hac causa, secundum consuetudinem vel canonicam institutionem, dijudicavimus ut in lege peregrinorum ipse praefatus vir annis *tot* in peregrinatione ambulare deberet." He therefore begs them, as the penitent is only wandering "pro peccatis suis redimendis," to give him shelter, fire, bread and water, "et postea sine detentione liceat ei ad loca sanctorum festinare" (Marculf. App. 10, *Tractoria pro Itenere peragendo*). This shews conclusively how the period of exile was expected to be spent. Among the extant letters of Alcuin is one in favour of a pilgrim friend addressed "amicis per diversas nominum dignitates." He calls it "litterae precatoriae" (*Ep.* 210, *Commend. ad Amic.*). The bishops of Rome furnished pilgrim penitents with similar letters for their return home. The form in the *Liber Diurnus Rom. Pont.* begins thus: "Praesentium latores pro sua devotione liminibus beatorum principum apostolorum praesentati, petierunt ut, a nobis relaxati, valeant ad propria remeare" (cap. vi. tit. x. *Item Tractoria*).

VII. *Other Encouragements and Helps.*—Hospitality to pilgrims, both on the road and on their arrival at the shrine, was inculcated as a sacred duty. Men were reminded that what they did unto them was done unto Christ (*Car. M.* 802, *Capit.* i. 27), and that they might hope to find that they had entertained angels unawares (*Conc. Aquisgr.* 789, can. 75). The council now quoted addressed a decree to all laymen and clerks: "Hoc nobis competens et venerabile videtur ut hospites, peregrini et pauperes sus-

ceptiones regulares et canonicas per loca diversa habeant" (*ibid.*). In 802 Charlemagne proclaimed a law that "none within his dominions, rich or poor, should venture to deny hospitality to pilgrims; that is," he explains, "let no one for the love of God and his soul's health refuse shelter, fire, and water, either to pilgrims walking through the land for God's sake or to any traveller" (*Capit.* i. 27). Of Charlemagne himself, Eginhard says: "He loved travellers [peregrinos] and bestowed great pains on their entertainment; so that their number seemed (without unreasonable complaint) burdensome not to the palace only but to the kingdom" (*Vita*, § 21). This was in accordance with the teaching of Alcuin: "Regum merces in miserorum juvamine, et maxime peregrinorum sacra sancti Petri principis apostolorum limina petentium, magna apud divinam constat esse clementiam" (*Ep.* 26 *ad Angilbertum*). Herard of Tours, 858, charges his presbyters to "love hospitality above all things" and to "undertake the care of widows, pilgrims," &c. (cap. 18).

In many places permanent hostels were erected for the reception of strangers, especially religious pilgrims. Such a house was called *xenodochium* ("xen.; id est locus venerabilis in quo peregrini suscipiuntur"; *Capit. Reg. Franc.* ii. 29) or *hospitale peregrinorum* (because in it were entertained "peregrini et pauperes, in quibus specialiter Christus suscipitur"; *Capit.* Carol. Calv. tit. xxviii. 10). "On the mount of Nitria," says Palladius, "was a xenodochium in which the monks entertained any guest who presented himself throughout the time of his stay, even if he wished to remain there two or three years" (*Hist. Laus.* 7). Claudia, the mother of St. Eugenia, "built a xenodochium at Alexandria, and settled lands to serve for the reception of travellers" (*Vita Eugen.* 19; Rosweyd, 346). John the Almoner, who became patriarch in 609, is said to have built several in the same city (Leontius, *Vita Joan.* 49). There appears to have been such an institution at Rome in the 7th century; for pope Martin, in his exile, A.D. 654, speaking of the hospitality accorded at Rome to Pyrrhus the heretic, when he went "ad vestigia beati Petri," says: "Quisquis venit illuc miserabilis homo hospitari, omnia ad usum praebentur ei, et nullum immunem suis donis S. Petrus repellit venientium illuc; sed panis mundissimus et vina diversa dantur, non solum ei, sed et hominibus ei pertinentibus" (*Commemoratio*, Hard. *Conc.* iii. 684). Zachary of Rome, 742, ordered frequent gifts of food to be taken "peregrinis qui ad beatum Petrum morantur" (Anast. Bibl. *Vit. Pont.* 93), where the last word seems to imply a residence provided for them. Leo III., 795, gave lands "pro alimoniis Christi pauperum, seu advenis, vel peregrinis, qui ex longinquis regionibus veniunt" (*ibid.* 98), and he is supposed to have built for their use the hospital of St. Peregrinus, which was afterwards largely endowed by Paschal, A.D. 817 (*ib.* 100). Louis the Godly, A.D. 814, assigned a property near Vienne to this use: "Reddimus etiam ibi quandam villam quae vocatur Fasiana, quam volumus ad susceptionem peregrinorum et alimonia pauperum ibidem futuris proficere temporibus" (*Praecept.* Lud. Pii, Baluze, *Capit. Reg. Fr.* ii. 1404). The council of Aachen, 816, ordered canons to provide a "house of reception in which the poor could be gathered," over which a brother should be set "to entertain strangers and pilgrims who came there" (*Capit.* i. 141).

VIII. *The Washing of Pilgrims' Feet.*—This was an observance on which great stress was laid. Thus Caesarius of Arles, A.D. 502, enumerates among the acts of Christian virtue "sanctorum peregrinantium pedes humiliter abluere" (*Serm.* 62, § 3; similarly, 57, § 4; 67, § 2). Another Western homilist enforces the duty at some length from our Lord's example and words, St. John xiii. 4 (*Serm.* 149, § 1, in App. iv. ad *Opp.* S. Aug. ed. Ben.) The monks of Fulda, in a petition to Charlemagne, say: "Quod peregrinorum susceptio et lavatio in eis pedum non negligatur, sed secundum regulam et secundum priorum nostrorum consuetudinem, quandocunque venerint, misericorditer suscipiantur, et ab omnibus patribus lavatio pedum eis exhibeatur" (*Libellus*, c. 13, in Baluze, *Not. ad Capit Reg. Fr.* ii. 1086). In the same age some monks sent by their abbat to gather hints from the monastery at Reichenau report to him that there "they wash the feet of pilgrims every week-day, with psalmsinging on their way to it and back" (*Capit. Monach.* 3, Baluze, u. s. *App. Actor. Vet.* ii. 1380). Monks were especially tied to this observance on Maundy Thursday, the day on which the precept (*mandatum*) was given. Thus the council of Aachen, 817: "That the Maundy (if it be the time of the Supper) both of the fathers and of travellers [peregrinorum] take place" (can. 24, *Cap. Reg. Fr.* i. 583). These latter testimonies probably refer to all travellers, religious and secular; for the original rule of Benedict (c. 53) included all. Compare S. Fructuosi *Regula*, c. 10. St. Columba, 560, expecting visitors, says: "Draw water to wash our guests' feet" (*Vita* auct. Adamn. i. 4).

IX. *Protection on the Road.*—From an early period pilgrims were put under the especial protection of the law. A decree of Dagobert, A.D. 630, says: "Let no one dare to molest or hurt a traveller abroad; for some go about for God's sake, others for necessary business. Nevertheless, the same peace is necessary for all" (Tit. iii. 4; comp. *Cap. Reg. Fr.* v. 364). Pepin of Italy, 793: "Touching strangers and pilgrims, who, in the service of God, are hastening to Rome or to other places to the bodies of the saints, that they go and return in safety under our protection" (*Leg. Longob.* i. ix. 28). Charlemagne, writing in 796 to Offa, king of the Mercians, promises safe-conduct to English pilgrims passing through his dominions: "Touching pilgrims who desire to go to the threshold of the blessed apostles for the love of God, and the health of their own souls, let them go in peace, without any molestation" (Baluze, *Capit. Reg. Fr.* i. 274).

X. *Exemption from Toll.*—The words "without any molestation," used by Charlemagne above, intimated freedom from every impost paid by travellers to the crown. For he proceeds: "But if any, not in the service of religion, but in pursuit of gain are found among them, let them pay the appointed tolls at the proper places." This, however, was already an old privilege, having been granted by Pepin in 755: "Touching pilgrims who travel for the sake of God,

that they take from them no tolls" (in *Synod. Vernensi*, 22). Two years later, at Metz, he expressed this more fully: "That ye on no account detain those who are on their way to Rome or elsewhere for the sake of God at the bridges and dams or on the ferry-boat, nor make any accusation against any pilgrim on account of his baggage, nor take any toll of them" (*Syn. Met.* c. 6).

XI. *Evils of Pilgrimage.*—The moral danger to the pilgrim is obvious, and bad results were early noticed. Gregory of Nyssa, A.D. 370, urged against pilgrimage to the Holy Land that not only was there no command for it, but pilgrims suffered a spiritual loss through it. He dwells on the wickedness of those cities in the East, through which they had to pass, and asserts that it penetrated into the lodgings and hostels which they were obliged to frequent, and asks in a proverb, "How can one pass through the smoke without smarting eyes?" (*De Eunt. Hieros.* ii. 1085.) Nor does he deem Jerusalem itself less wicked, or less full of danger. [See HOLY PLACES, II. vol. i. p. 775.] St. Jerome (*ibid.*), A.D. 393, gives similar testimony. Our countryman, Boniface, bears witness to the existence of the same evils in Europe. For, writing to Cuthbert of Canterbury, about 743, he alleges that the pilgrimage to Rome was almost certainly fatal to female chastity: "They are ruined in great part, few remaining chaste." "There are very few cities in Lombardy, or France, or Gaul, in which there is not an adulteress or prostitute of the English nation; which is a scandal, and the disgrace of the whole church." (*Epist. ad Cudb.* 8.) He suggested that women should be restrained by authority from making the pilgrimage. In France the council of Châlons-sur-Saône, 813, denounced other evils of which pilgrimages were the occasion: "A very great error is committed by certain persons, who ill-advisedly travel to Rome or Tours and certain other places under the pretence of prayer. There are presbyters and deacons and other clerks, who living carelessly think themselves thereby cleansed from their sins, and entitled to return to the exercise of their ministry, if they reach the aforesaid places. There are also laymen, who think that they are sinning, or have sinned, with impunity, because they frequent those places for prayer. There are also some of the powerful who, to gain revenue, under pretence of the journey to Rome or Tours, make a great gathering, oppress many of the poor, and affect to do for the sake of their devotions, or of a visit to the holy places, that which they do in truth from covetousness alone. There are also poor persons who undertake it either merely to have a better plea for begging (of whose number are they who, wandering to all parts, falsely assert that they are going there), or because they are so senseless as to think themselves cleansed from their sins by the mere sight of holy places" (can. 45).

XII. *Nomenclature.*—At a later period a pilgrim to Rome was called "Romipeta" or "Romeus"; in Auvergne, "Romoneou"; in Provence, "Romieu"; &c. (Ducange); in France generally "Romier"—names given at length to all vagrants; whence probably the English verb "to roam." Similarly, it is said, a pilgrim to the Holy Land (Sancta Terra) was a "saunterer." Those who had been there, brought home branches of the palm, and were thence called "palmers," "palmarii," "palmati," French, "paumiers"; and sometimes in France, "ramiers" (Gretser *de Sacr. Peregr.* ii. 11).

On this subject, Zaccaria (*Bibliographia Selecta*, iii. ix. 2, in Fleury's *Discipl. Pop. Dei*, Ven. 1761) refers us to P. F. X. Mannhart *de Antiquitatibus Christianorum*, § 5, n. 84 seqq., Aug. Vindel. 1767; to his own *Annus Sanctus*, ii. iv. 4 (*Dell' Anno Santo*, Rom. 1775); to Petrus Lazerus *de Sacra Vet. Christ. Romana Peregrinatione*, Rom. 1774; and Jo. Stallenus, *Vindiciae Religiosae Peregrinantium*, Colon. 1643. See also J. Gretser *de Sacris et Religiosis Peregrinationibus*, Ingolst. 1606; A. A. Pellicia *de Christ. Eccles. Politia*, ii. 13; v. 5, § 2, Neap. 1777; P. Molinaeus *de Peregrinationibus Superstitiosis* (with which is printed Gregory of Nyssa's *Ep. de Eunt. Hieros.*), Hanov. 1607; T. M. Mamachus, *Orig. et Antiq. Christ.* tom. ii. *De Peregr. Vet. Christ. in Palaest.*, Flor. 1749; J. H. Heidegger, *Dissert. de Peregr. Relig. in specie Hieros.*, *Rom.* &c. [W. E. S.]

**PILLAR SAINTS.** [MORTIFICATION.]

**PINNAS**, Scythian martyr with Innas and Rimas; commemorated Jan. 20. (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**PINYTUS**, bishop of Gnossus in Crete; commemorated Oct. 10 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. v. 9). [C. H.]

**PIONIUS**, martyr at Smyrna; commemorated Feb. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 40). [C. H.]

**PIONUS**, presbyter and martyr with Metrodorus at Nicomedia; commemorated March 12 (Florus, *Mart.* ap. Bed.); Pion and Metrodus, two martyrs at Smyrna, occur on this day in *Hieron. Mart.* [C. H.]

**PISALIS**, PISELIS, PISELUM (Gallice, *Poêle*), or PYRALE, the same as the CALEFACTORIUM, a chamber in a monastery heated in winter, either by an open fireplace as at St. Gall, or with hot-water pipes, which served as the common room of the brethren, for social intercourse. Its usual place was under the dormitory on the east side of the cloisters ("Reginboldus . . . aedificavit primum dormitorium subtus autem pisalem;" *Act. Murensis Monast.* p. 9, ap. Du Cange.) At St. Gall it had an outlet communicating with the *necessarium*. Fires were lighted in it from November 1. "A calendis Novembris concedetur fratribus accessus ignis, locus aptus fratribus designetur cujus refrigio hybernalis algoris et intemperies levigatur" (*Concord. Regular. S. Dunst. Cant.* Mon. Angl. i. xxxiv.). Adelard (*Statuta Corbeiens.* c. 6), speaks of the *Piselum* as only in temporary use, "*piselo* . . . tempore quando illo uti necesse est" (ap. Du Cange, *sub voc.*) Du Cange is in error in identifying it with the wardrobe. At St. Gall, the house of the novices and the infirmary had each their separate *Pisalis* for the use of the inmates. [See CHURCH, Vol. I. p. 383, MONASTERY.] [E. V.]

**PISCICULI.** [FISH: ΙΧΘΥC.]

**PISCINA**, a designation of the font, for which Optatus gives a mystical reason in connexion with the acrostichal name of Christ (ἰχθὺς, *piscis*), "Hic est piscis qui in baptismate per invocationem fontinalibus undis inseritur, ut quae aqua fuerat a pisce etiam piscina vocitetur" (Optat. lib. iii. p. 62, Paris, 1631). *Piscina* was also the designation for the *infundibulum*, or basin to the right (south) of the altar, in which the ministering priest washed his hands before he commenced the Eucharistic service (Cyril. Hieros. *Catech. Mystagog.* v. 2; August. *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.* c. i. 101; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, IV. i. 112). [E. V.]

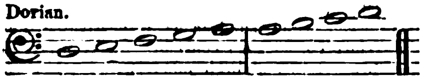
**PISTIS**, martyr with Elpis, Agape, and their mother Sophia; commemorated Sept. 16 (Basil. *Menol.*), Sept. 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 269). [C. H.]

**PISTUS**, martyr with his brothers Theognis and Agapius sons of Valerius and Bassa; commemorated Aug. 21 (Basil. *Menol.*); a martyr of the same name, with no mention of the family, occurs on this day in *Hieron. Mart.* [C. H.]

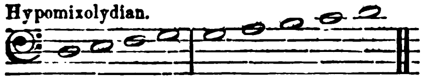
**PLACIDUS**, martyr with Euticius and others in Sicily; commemorated Oct. 5 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iii. 114; *Hieron.* PLACITUS). [C. H.]

**PLAGAL**. The name given to four scales or modes added by St. Gregory to those fixed for the church chants as settled by St. Ambrose. The former were called Authentic (*v.* AUTHENTIC), and bore the names Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Mixolydian, ranging respectively through the octaves D—d, E—e, F—f, G—g. The Plagal modes were called Hypodorian, Hypophrygian, Hypolydian, and Hypomixolydian, and were placed a fourth below these respectively, ranging from A—a, B—b, C—c, and D—d; but their "final" or "tonic" was the same as before, viz.: D, E, F, G. Thus the Hypomixolydian mode differed from the Dorian, although it was contained in the same octave D—d, in that the division of the octave in the respective cases were thus:—

Dorian.



Hypomixolydian.



The prevailing note, or "dominant," was lower than the corresponding authentic dominant, being respectively F, a, a, c (see also MUSIC). These modes were called the 2nd, 4th, 6th, and 8th; and at an earlier period Plagis prothi, Plagis deuteri, Plagis triti, Plagis tetrardi. Each was considered as "related" to the corresponding authentic mode. This may be illustrated, but not represented, by the modern use, in which A minor is said to be the "relative minor" of C, or in which, by some authorities, C minor is claimed to be, in another sense, a "relative minor" of C. An illustration of the fact that two modes may consist of the same notes, may be given by the different treatment of the versicles and responses now in use in cathedrals: assuming the priest's reciting note to be G, on week-days they are often, and perhaps usually, heard sung harmonised with the plain song in the Treble, and, for the most part, in the tonality of G; but on Sundays and festivals, when Tallis's harmonies are used, the same plain song is put into the Tenor, and the prevailing tonality is C.

In consequence of the relationship between the authentic modes and their corresponding Plagals, more extended compositions are to be found in both combined, a practice the modern musicians have largely imitated. [Compare Mendelssohn's *Lieder ohne Worte*, i. 5; ii. 2, &c.; Handel's chorus, "He saw the lovely youth" (*Theodora*); Beethoven's Fifth Symphony; Mozart's Pianoforte Quartett in G minor; Weber's Overture, *Der Freischütz*, and many others.] This changing of modes or scales was known in the time of Euclid, by whom it is called μεταβόλη (Introd. Harm.); but although apparently unrestricted by him, it would seem to have been restricted by the church composers to the pair of authentic and plagal modes corresponding to each other. A very good example of this, but of a later period, is the plain song tune to the *Dies Irae* (Hymnal Noted No. 46); the first two stanzas are set in the Hypodorian mode, the third and fourth in the Dorian itself. [J. R. L.]

**PLANETA**. In a previous article [PAENULA] we have endeavoured to trace out the history of the word under which the eucharistic super-vestment in the Greek church is designated. In the western church, since the end of the 8th century, this vestment has been almost universally known as *casula*, but so far as notices are found of such a vestment as in use before that date, the word used is *planeta*.[a] Like *casula*, however, and φαινόλης, the word is not restricted to its eucharistic meaning, and we shall presently cite instances in which it is found for a dress worn by laymen.

In all probability, we may assume that the *paenula*, *planeta*, and *casula* were to all intents and purposes the same dress, differing, that is, merely in points of detail: and as regards the two latter words, while it is true that later liturgiologists absolutely identify them (*e.g.* Rabanus Maurus, *infra*), shewing that in process of time all distinction had been lost, yet it is clear that at an earlier period a slightly different idea was conveyed by the two terms; the *planeta* being a more costly, and the *casula* a commoner dress, the latter term also being perhaps a provincial or popular name for the more general expression *paenula*.

Thus we find the *casula* as a dress of monks and peasants and working men (see the article), but references are met with to the *planeta*, as something too costly for monks to wear, and as actually in use by senators and nobles. Our earliest instance of the use of the name occurs early in the 5th century. Cassian, writing not later than 417 or 418 A.D., when describing the dress of the Egyptian monks, mentions the

[a] We may note that in the Anglo-Saxon Glossary of Aelfric, *planeta* is defined by *caeppe*; though conversely *caeppe* is defined *pallium*, *vestis sacerdotalis*. This may indicate a certain latitude in the use of the word.

*mafors*, or the short cloak which they wore covering the neck and shoulders. "Thus," he says, "they avoid at once the cost and the ostentatiousness of *planetae* and *birri*" (*de Coenobiorum Institutis*, 1–7; *Patrol.* xlix. 72). The exact term used by Cassian is, it may be remarked, *planctica*, which we may assume to be a diminutive of *planeta*. In like manner, Isidore of Seville, two hundred years later, in his *Rule* forbids to his monks the use of the *planeta*:—"orarium, birros, planetas, non est fas uti, neque indumenta vel calceamenta, quae generaliter caetera monasteria abutuntur [*i.e.* do not use]" (*Regula Monachorum*, c. 12, § 2; *Patrol.* lxxxiii. 882).

The *planeta* would thus appear to be a dress whose costliness rendered it unsuitable for the use of simple monks, whose duty it was to avoid luxury. It was apparently a full flowing robe, for Cassian (*supra*) contrasts it with the *angustum palliolum* which the monks were to wear. With this agrees the notice given us by Isidore of the derivation of the word. As there are some difficulties connected with the passage, we give it at length. "The casula," he says, "is a robe with a hood, derived as a diminutive from *casa* [a house], because it covers the whole person—a sort of miniature *casa*. Similar is the origin of *cucullа*—a sort of miniature *cella*. I may add that the Greeks hold that one of their names for these robes, *planetae*, is derived from their free and flowing borders[b] [sic et Graeci planetas dictos volunt, quia oris errantibus evagantur]. Hence the term *planetary* stars; that is, roving stars; stars which roll here and there with a roving maze and motion of their own" (*Etym.* lib. xix. 24; *Patrol.* lxxxii. 691). On this passage one or two remarks may be briefly made. After the derivation of *casula* has been given as a "little house," follows the mention of the *planeta*, introduced by the words *sic et*. Of course, however, the derivation in the latter case is on a totally different groove; therefore the *sic* points to a similarity not of the derivation, but of the thing itself. That is to say, Isidore practically identifies the *planeta* with the *casula*. Again the derivation of *planeta* is of course from the Greek, and as will be seen. Isidore distinctly implies that the name *planeta* was actually given to the dress by the Greeks. Excepting, however, a remark of Rabanus Maurus, which we shall presently quote, there does not appear to be any further evidence forthcoming to shew that the word *planeta* is ever used in Greek in that sense. This might tend to prove that the word passed from Greek into Latin in its astronomical sense, and that the then Latin word developed this new metaphorical meaning. Whether, however, the difficulty is to be explained by supposing that evidence of usage existed to Isidore, that is not forthcoming to us, or whether Isidore was misled into his statement by the Greek derivation, does not appear.

It has been already remarked that the *planeta* seems to have been a dress of a somewhat costly description, suitable for men of rank. This can be shewn not only by the prohibitions to monks we have already cited, but by direct instances. In a life of Fulgentius (ob. A.D. 533), by one of his disciples, a description is given of his triumphal return to Carthage after his exile. A heavy storm of rain coming on, the *nobles* used their *planetae* to form a shelter for Fulgentius—"tantum fides nobilium crevit, ut planetis suis super beatum Fulgentium gratanter expansis, repellerent imbres et novum tabernaculi genus artifiosa caritate componerent" (c. 29; *Patrol.* lxv. 146). Again, in the well-known representation of Gregory the Great, with his father and mother, which is described by his biographer, John the deacon, in the 10th century, not only Gregory himself, an ecclesiastic, wears the *planeta*, but also his father Gordianus, a senator. The former wore a "planeta super dalmaticam castanea" (lib. iv. c. 84; *Patrol.* lxxv. 231); and as to the latter, "Gordiani habitus castanei coloris planeta est, sub planeta dalmatica" (c. 83). It may fairly be inferred from hence that, as late as the end of the 6th century at any rate, the *planeta*, whatever its use by ecclesiastics, whether for official use or otherwise, was also a dress which any gentleman might fairly use. In another passage of the same biography (lib. ii. c. 24; *op. cit.* 104), the reference is not quite clear. A certain person having been excluded by Gregory from communion for adultery, sought the aid of sorcerers, who undertook that the bishop's horse should throw him as he rode in procession. The plan, however, was readily foiled by the bishop. In the narrative the expression occurs: "When the sorcerers recognized the prelate, *ex planetatorum mappulatorumque processionibus*." The *mappula*, whatever its nature may have been, was, as we have shewn in a previous article [MANIPLE], a special privilege of the chief ecclesiastics of the Roman church in Gregory's time. The *planeta* we have seen to be worn by laymen as well as clerics. It seems to us, therefore, impossible to define the matter very exactly here; we can only say that the two sets of people specified were the officials of high rank in attendance on the bishops of Rome; but whether these are to be viewed as exclusively clerical, or formed of clerics and laics both, is doubtful. Ducange (s. v. *Planeta*) explains the two classes as deacons and subdeacons respectively; and Marriott (p. 202, n.) considers the *planetati* to be presbyters and high officials, and the *mappulati* to be deacons and subdeacons. We doubt, however, whether the evidence is sufficient to justify us in coming to a definite conclusion.

Thus far, we have seen that in the 6th century the *planeta* was not an exclusively clerical dress, either at Rome or in North Africa. Further, there appears to be no allusion whatever in the records of the first six centuries which points to the *planeta* as part of the *ministerial* garb of the Christian clerics. So far as it was worn by clerics, it was in virtue of their official rank, not their clerical profession, the privilege being one shared with laymen.

The earliest instance in which the *planeta* is referred to as something specially pertaining to the Christian ministry is in a canon of the fourth council of Toledo (633 A.D.). Here it is ordered that if a bishop, priest, or deacon shall have been unjustly deposed, and shall afterwards be found innocent, he is still not to regain

[b] Cf. Honorius Augustodunensis (*Gemma Animae*, i. 207; *Patrol.* clxxii. 606): "Haec vestis [casula] et *planeta*, quod *error* sonat, vocatur, eo quod errabundus limbus ejus utrinque in brachia sublevatur."

his lost rank till he shall have received before the altar, from the hands of a bishop, the external badge of that rank. This is in the case of a bishop, stole, ring, and pastoral staff; in the case of a priest, stole and *planeta*; in the case of a deacon, stole and alb, and so forth (can. 28, Labbe, v. 1714). A later notice, but of a less definite character, is found in the *Regula Canonicorum* (c. 8; *Patrol.* lxxxix. 1102) of Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, A.D. 743–766, which orders that canons living "foris claustra" and in the city must attend the chapter every Sunday, "cum planetis vel vestimentis officialibus."

From about the year A.D. 800, the term *planeta* was in great measure superseded by *casula*, the two words being thenceforward viewed as absolutely synonymous (see *e. g.* Rabanus Maurus *de Inst. Cler.* lib. i. c. 21; *Patrol.* cvii. 309). [Casulam . . . hanc Graeci planetam nominant], Honorius Augustodunensis [*supra*]; Innocent III. *de Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, i. 42; *Patrol.* ccxvii. 789 [casula vel planeta]. For further illustrations on this point, see Ducange (*s. v.*).

We may call attention here to a similar extension of the use of the term *planeta* to that which we have already referred to as existing in the case of the *phenolion* in the Greek church. In an *Ordo Romanus* (viii. 1; *Patrol.* lxxviii. 1000), we find the *planeta*, as a garment, worn at ordination by acolytes, sub-deacons, and deacons. Whether these differed in shape from the priestly *planeta* is doubtful; but as the matter falls outside our period we shall not pursue the subject further (cf. *ib.* xiv. 54; *Patrol.* lxxviii. 1170).

*Literature.*—For the matter of the foregoing article, we are mainly indebted to Bock, *Gesch. der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelälters*, vol. i. p. 427; vol. ii. pp. 101, 245; Hefele, *Beiträge zu Kirchengeschichte, Archäologie und Liturgik*, vol. ii. p. 195; Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, App. C.; and Ducange, *Glossarium*, s. v. [R. S.]

**PLANETICUS, PLANETARIUS**, an astrologer. The former word seems to have originated in a false reading of St. Augustine, *Confess.* iv. iii. 4: "Illos *planeticos* quos mathematicos vocant," where we should read *planos*. Thence it found its way into Gratian, *Decr.* p. ii. c. 26, qu. 2, cap. 8. PLANETARIUS occurs in John of Salisbury: "Mathematici, vel planetarii, dum professionis suae potentiam dilatare nituntur, in erroris et impietatis mendacia perniciosissime corruunt" (*Policraticus de Nugis Curial.* ii. 19). [W. E. S.]

**PLATO**, martyr at Ancyra, brother of martyr Antiochus; commemorated Nov. 18 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.* with Romanus); June 22 (Wright, *Syr. Mart.*); July 22 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. v. 226, from the Greek and Latin Fasti. [C. H.]

**PLATONIA**, a broad thin slab of marble (πλάτυς), used for inlaying or veneering walls or floors. Rubeus (*Hist. Ravennat.* lib. v. p. 238, apud Ducange, *sub voc.*) speaks of "tabulam marmoream quam appellabant Graeca voce platoniam," and in Simon Dunelm., ad ann. A.D. 794, we read of "platonia, id est, marmor parieti infixum." In this sense it occurs frequently in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Anastasius. Liberius is stated to have ornamented the tomb of St. Agnes "de platoniis (*platinis*, Muratori) marmoreis petris" (§ 52); Sixtus III. erected at St. Laurence's outside the walls an altar and silver cancelli "supra platonias porphyreticas" (*ibid.* § 65); and Leo III. at St. Peter's "ex metallis marmoreis platonias posuit diversisque picturis mirae magnitudinis opus decoravit" (*ibid.* § 416). When the catacombs became objects of pious devotion, it was customary for the rude walls of their more sacred shrines to be faced with these *platoniae*. Of this we still see remains in the so-called papal crypt in the cemetery of Callistus, the work of Sixtus III. in the earlier half of the 5th century, thus described by Anastasius:—"Fecit platoniam in coemiterio Callisti in Via Appia ubi nomina episcoporum et martyrum scripsit commemorans" (*ibid.* § 65). The custom is mentioned by Prudentius:

> "Nec Pariis contenta aditus obducere saxis
> Addidit ornando clara talenta operi."
> *Peristeph.* xi. 183.

From being the most celebrated of the sepulchral crypts treated in this manner, the subterranean vault *ad catacumbas*, contiguous to the apse of the basilica of St. Sebastian, from which the designation *catacomb* has passed to all similar cemeteries, in which tradition asserts the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul originally reposed, after having been lined with marble by pope Damasus, A.D. 380—"aedificavit platoniam ubi corpora apostolorum jacuerunt, id est, beati Petri et Pauli" (*ibid.* § 54; cf. Beda *de Sex Aetat. Mundi*, ad ann. 4328—became known as the *Platonia*, and was generally designated by that name. It is a rudely triangular chamber, with curved sides and a rectilinear base, its walls excavated with thirteen plainly-arched arcosolia with stucco ornaments. Under the altar is a well-shaped cavity in two compartments, where it is said the bodies of the apostles were placed (Marchi, *Monumenti*, tav. xxxix. xl. p. 216; Perret, tom. i. pl. 5; Bosio, pp. 178–187). [E. V.]

**PLAUTUS**, martyr in Thrace with Euticus and Eraclea; commemorated Sept. 29 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*, spelling the companions otherwise and giving other companions; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PLAYS.** [ACTORS: THEATRE.]

**PLEBS.** (1) Sometimes used merely for the laity belonging to the church. Thus Augustine addresses his epistle to the church at Hippo, to the clergy, the elders, and the whole laity, "universae plebi." And, again (*Collat. Donat.* die 1, § 5), says that the people (plebes) refused to acknowledge two bishops in one church. The sixth council of Paris, A.D. 829 (c. 25), rebukes certain archdeacons for extortions practised, not only on the parochial clergy, but even on the faithful laity, "in plebibus parochiae suae."

(2) But it is more generally used in the sense of an ecclesiastical division, either a diocese, or a parish. Thus the first council of Carthage, A.D. 348 (c. 5), provides against the ordination of a layman from another diocese, "de plebe aliena," without the knowledge of the bishop of the diocese to which he belongs;

and (c. 12) listens with approbation to the complaint of one of their number, that another bishop was in the habit of holding visitations in certain parishes of his diocese, "circuit plebes mihi attributas." The second council of Carthage, A.D. 390 (c. 20), *Cod. Eccl. Afric.* (cc. 98, 99), makes regulations for the allotment of parishes (plebes) to their proper dioceses. The third council of Carthage, A.D. 397 (c. 20), provides that no bishop shall interfere with parishes out of his own diocese, "plebes alienae." A council held at Rome, A.D. 826 (*Synod. Rom.* c. 16), speaks of the parishes under the jurisdiction of the bishop, "subjectis plebibus." The council of Meaux, A.D. 845 (c. 29), orders that bishops should visit the "plebes" under their jurisdiction. A Capitulary of Charles the Great (tit. v. c. 4) speaks of the presbyters in charge of their respective plebes.

(3) Thomassin (*de Eccl. Discip. Vet. et Nov.* i. 2, c. 5, § 8) thinks that the word was especially applied to the great parish churches which were in charge of archpresbyters, in which alone baptism was administered, and which possessed some jurisdiction over the inferior parishes. Thus in the council held at Rome, A.D. 826 (*Synod. Rom.* c. 8), mention is made of the "plebes baptismales." The first council of Pavia, A.D. 850 (c. 6) speaks of the appointment of penitentiaries by the bishops and archpresbyters of "plebes;" and (c. 13) speaks of archpresbyters of "plebes" who were to exercise a certain authority, not only over the laity, "vulgus," but over the presbyters of the inferior parishes, "qui per minores titulos habitant," and to have authority in their own parishes as the bishop in the cathedral church, "sicut ipse matrici praeest, ita archipresbyter praesit plebibus," yet in due submission to episcopal authority. [P. O.]

**PLOTINUS**, martyr, with forty-nine others, at Melitene; commemorated Nov. 21 (Wright, *Syr. Mart.*). [C. H.]

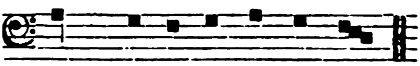
**PLURALITIES** (*Pluralitas beneficiorum*).—The office of a clergyman is of such a nature as to be for the most part incompatible with other employment; nor is it possible for one person adequately to discharge duties in two churches. Hence it has from ancient times been forbidden that one man should hold office in different places. The council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) ordered (c. 10) that no person should be borne on the roll of two churches in respect of the same office. Gregory the Great (Joannes Diac. *Vita Greg.* ii. 54; *Decretum*, p. i. dist. lxxxix. c. 1) desired that one office in the church and no more should be committed to one person; the members of Christ must subserve each its own use. The sixteenth council of Toledo (A.D. 693) ordered (c. 5) in the most emphatic manner that more than one church should on no account be committed to the charge of a single presbyter; and the second council of Nicaea (A.D. 787) enjoined (c. 15) that no clerk should hold preferment in two churches, for a man cannot serve two masters. A main object of this canon, as that of the council of Chalcedon previously quoted, was to compel clerks to remain in the church were they were first ordained (Walter, *Kirchenrecht*, § 221, 9th ed.; Van Espen, *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, p. ii. sec. iii. tit. 3). [C.]

**PLUTARCHUS**, martyr at Alexandria with Serenus and others; commemorated June 28 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PLUVIALE.** [COPE, p. 458.]

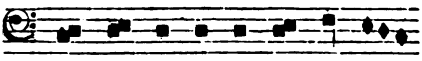
**PNEUMA.** This word is quite as frequently as not met with in the form NEUMA; sometimes also in the form NEUPMA, which seems to point to the orthography of Pneuma; and in the form Neuma the origin seems to have been lost sight of and the word considered to be of the first declension, as we find *Neumae* and *Neumas.* It is applied to a musical passage, consisting of a number of notes, which were either sung to one syllable, or to no words at all, in that case probably on the vowel a (ah). This appears to have been used in the Jewish worship as a substitute for the instrumental performance of "Selah" (see DIAPSALMA), or may have been considered a meaning of that obscure word. It is also thought to be a technical meaning of the term "jubilare" used in the translation of the Psalms, so Belethus (quoted by J. M. Neale *de Sequentiis ad H. A. Daniel Epist. Crit.*), "In hujus fine neumatizamus, id est jubilamus, dum finem protrahimus et ei velut caudam accingimus," and this was mystically referred to the eternal rejoicing of the saints: "Solemus longam notam post *Alleluia* super literam A decantare quia gaudium sanctorum in coelis interminabile et ineffabile est;" and the absence of words is explained thus, "quia ignotus nobis est modus laudandi Deum in patria" (Neale, *ut sup.*). The Pneuma must have attained considerable magnitude within the period of this dictionary, because immediately afterwards Notker developed out of it the practice of singing sequences (Neale); it would seem very probable that it had been found inconvenient from its length. A very similar proceeding has taken place in the present century in oratorio music; one seldom now meets with long florid passages[a] such as are to be found in songs, and even in choruses, in the works of Handel and Haydn.

The first tone is generally quoted as a specimen of a short Pneuma of three notes:—

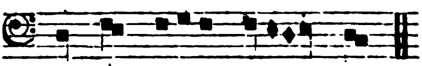


Et in secula se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

The following is given in Guido Aretinus (*de Modorum Formulis* apud Coussemaker, vol. ii. pp. 78, &c.), in a "Communion" of the second mode:—



Et in se - cu - la, se - cu - lo -

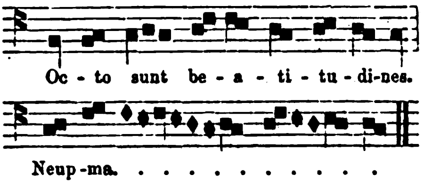


- rum. A - men. . . . . . .

In Walter de Odyngton (Coussemaker, i.

[a] These pneumata or passages were at a later period called "divisions;" thus Shakspere "Some say the lark makes sweet division" (*Romeo and Juliet*, iii. 5).

pp. 218, &c.) occurs the following as an independent Pneuma, apparently; under the eighth mode:—




Some of considerable length appear in the *Tonarius Reginonis Prumensis*, in the notation spoken of above under the article MUSIC, that presents the appearance of short-hand writing, anterior to the invention of the stave; they are put with the NONANNEANE, or NOEACIS; one notably may be mentioned, standing at the head of the *Differentie* iv[ti] toni; also in this MS., additions made by a later hand at the beginning of each section, *e.g.* "Quarta vigilia venit ad eos," are supplied with a notation, and apparently, a Pneuma.

Amongst other uses for Pneumata one was to enable the chant to end satisfactorily, so that there could be no doubt as to the mode in which it was composed. [J. R. L.]

**POEMEN**, "our father," anchorite in Thebais, confessor; commemorated Aug. 27 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 266; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* vi. 25). [C. H.]

**POENITENTIA.** [PENITENCE.]

**POITIERS, SYNOD OF** (PICTAVENSE C.), A.D. 590, to adjudicate on a quarrel between the royal nuns Chrodieldis and Basena and the abbess of the convent of St. Radegund, their superior, when they were both excommunicated (Mansi, 955–958). [E. S. Ff.]

**POLIANUS**, martyr in Africa under Decius or Valerian; commemorated Sept. 10 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**POLIUS** with Timotheus and Eutichius, all deacons; commemorated in Mauritania Caesariensis May 21 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*, POLUS). [C. H.]

**POLLIO**, martyr in Pannonia; commemorated Ap. 28 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**POLYAENUS (1)**, martyr with Acacius and Menander, disciples and fellow-martyrs of Patricius, bishop of Prusa; commemorated May 19 (Basil. *Menol.*).

**(2)** Martyr with Hermas and Serapion; commemorated Aug. 18 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**POLYANDRON.** This word is used by modern antiquaries for a common sepulchre containing any number of bodies above four. Cells (loculi) were arranged in three or four, or even in as many as twelve tiers one above another, in the sides of a vault or catacomb, and in order to make the most of the space, they were adapted to the different ages and sizes of the bodies to be placed in them. Three such parallel rows of niches are to be seen in the cemetery of Cyriaca, intended respectively for tall, middle-sized and short bodies (Marchi, *I Monumenti*, &c. tav. xv.). Curiously enough, such cells are sometimes found excavated in a *crooked* line, so that it would seem that the body must have been bent to fit into them (*id.* tav. xviii.). Tracings for blocks of niches that have never been executed are occasionally found (*id.* p. 124 and tav. xxviii.).

These receptacles for the dead are not always made in the walls of catacombs, but are sometimes under the floor, as in the ancient Christian cemeteries at Chiusi (Cavedoni, *Cimit. Chiusi*, p. 20) and in other places (Marchi, *I Monumenti*, &c. tav. xxi. xxvi. &c.).

The bricks which were used to close the mouth of these cells at Rome were obtained from the brickyards in the neighbourhood. They are generally marked with the name of the factory and of the maker, and sometimes with those of the consuls. The last-mentioned mark would of course be strong evidence of the period of burial. A considerable number of drawings of these inscribed bricks may be seen in Boldetti (*Osservazioni*, &c. p. 528 et seq.) and in Fabretti (*Inscript. Antiq.* t. viii.) (Martigny, *Dict. des. Antiq. chrét.* s. v.). [E. C. H.]

**POLYCARPUS (1)**, bishop of Smyrna, martyr; commemorated Jan. 26 (Bed., Wand., Usuard., Notker., *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Hieron.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 691); Jan. 27 at Nicaea (Wright, *Anc. Syr. Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, 424); Feb. 23 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 253; *Hieron. Mart.*, Polycarpus of Asia).

**(2)** Presbyter and confessor; commemorated Feb. 23 (Usuard. *Mart.*, Policarpus; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 369).

**(3)** Of Alexandria, martyr under Maximianus; commemorated Ap. 2 (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. i. 58).

**(4)** Martyr with Thraseas, Gaius, and eight others at Eumeneia in Phrygia; commemorated Oct. 27 (Wright, *Syr. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**POLYCHRONIUS**, bishop and martyr of Babylon in the Decian persecution; commemorated Feb. 17 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 5). [C. H.]

**POLYEUCTUS (1)** of Melitina, flourished under Decius and Valerian, martyr; commemorated at Melitina Jan. 7 (Wright, *Anct. Syr. Mart.* in *Journ. St. Lit.* 1866, 423); Jan. 22 at Nicomedia (*ibid.* 424); Jan. 8 (Notker.); Jan. 9 (Basil. *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 250); Feb. 13 (POLIOCTUS, martyr in Melitana, Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; POLYEUCTUS of Melitina, Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 651, cir. A.D. 259); Feb. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*, POLICTUS of Melitana); May 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*, POLIOCHUS of Caesarea in Cappadocia); May 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*, POLIEUCTUS of Caesarea in Capp.; Usuard. *Mart.*, POLYEUCTUS, with Victorius and Donatus in Mauritania Caesariens; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. v. 5, the same); Dec. 19

(Basil. *Menol.*, POLYEUCTUS, martyr of Caesarea).

(2) Confessor with Timotheus; commemorated May 20 (Wright, *Syr. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr at Caesarea in Cappadocia, with Victurus, Donatus, Quintus; commemorated May 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Under Jan. 7, *Hieron. Mart.* has Polioctos and Candida at Melitana; Poliartus, Filoronius, Candidianus, elsewhere. Under Feb. 14 the same Martyrology has Candidianus, Poliarctus, Filoronis, in Graecia. Florus under Jan. 11 commemorates Poliuctus, Candidianus, Filotimus; and on the same day the Bollandists have Polyeuctus, Candidianus, Philoromus (*Acta SS.* Jan. i. 666). [C. H.]

**POLYGAMY.** [MARRIAGE, ix. p. 1101.]

**POLYMITUS** (POLYMITUM, POLYMITA VESTIS). This, as the name implies, is a garment woven with various coloured threads. Thus Isidore defines it (*Etym.* xix. 22; *Patrol.* lxxxii. 686), "*Polymita* multi coloris. Polymitus enim textus multorum colorum est." Caesarius of Arles forbids to nuns the use of "plumaria et acupictura et omne polymitum" (*Reg. ad Virg.* 42; *Patrol.* lxvii. 1116). Jerome (*Epist.* 64 *ad Fabiolam*, c. 12; *Patrol.* xxii. 614) uses the word in describing the Jewish priestly girdle. The word also occurs in the *Capitulare de Imaginibus* of Charlemagne (i. 12; *Patrol.* xcviii. 1033), where the "vestis polymita sive varia" is the "coat" of Joseph, symbolising the church gathered out of many nations. For further references, see Ducange's *Glossarium*, s. v. [R. S.]

**POLYXENA**, virgin, sister of Xantippe, the wife of Probus praefect of Spain in the reign of Claudius, disciples of St. Paul; commemorated Sept. 23 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**POMPA.** [MARRIAGE, p. 1109.]

**POMPEIUS** (1) Martyr with Terentius under Decius; commemorated Ap. 10 (*Mart. Rom.*); Daniel (*Cod. Liturg.* iv. 257) gives the two names as one, POMPEIUS TERENTIUS, which may be by a typical error omitting a comma between them.

(2) Of Italy, martyr in Macedonia with Peregrinus and others under Trajan; commemorated July 7 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PONTIANUS** (1) Martyr at Spoletum under one of the Antonines; commemorated Jan. 19 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*; *Mart. Rom.*); Jan. 14 (Notker, Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 932, and some other Martyrologies).

(2) Deacon, martyr at Carthage with St. Cyprian; commemorated Mar. 8 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*, PONTIUS).

(3) Martyr at Rome with Eusebius and others under Commodius; commemorated Aug. 25 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*).

(4) Pope and martyr under Maximinus; natalis commemorated at Rome Nov. 20 (Usuard., Wand., *Vet. Rom. Mart.*); Oct. 29 (Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*); Aug. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr at Rome with Praetextatus, under Maximinus; commemorated Dec. 11 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PONTIFEX.** The derivation of this word by Varro, from *pons* and *facere*, "inasmuch as," he says, "the Roman pontiffs built the Pons Sublicius and afterwards frequently restored it" (*de Ling. Lat.* v. 83), may be compared with a capitulary of Charles the Great which commences thus: "De pontibus vero vel reliquis similibus operibus que *ecclesiastici per justam et antiquam consuetudinem* cum reliquo populo facere debent" (Pertz, *Legg.* i. 111). Richter, however, considers the theory that its Christian use was derived from the Roman emperors highly improbable, and inclines to regard it as a reminiscence from the Levitical service in the temple, carrying with it the notion of a mediatorial office (*Lehrbuch d. Kirchenrechts*, p. 204). In Christian literature the title first comes prominently before us, as sarcastically applied by Tertullian to the bishop of Rome: "Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium, Pontifex scilicet maximus, quod est episcopus episcoporum, edicit," &c." (*de Pudicitia*, c. i.). Cyprian employs language which sufficiently proves that such pre-eminence was unrecognized in the African church of his day: "neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum . . . quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suae arbitrium proprium" (*Alloc. in Conc. Carth.* ann. 256; Gieseler, I. i. 361). The author of the Life of Fulgentius, speaking of the return of the orthodox bishops to Africa, says that Hilderic, the Vandal monarch, "Carthaginiensi plebi proprium donavit *antistitem*" (*i.e.* a metropolitan) "cunctisque in locis ordinationes *pontificum*" (*i.e.* bishops) "fieri clementissima auctoritate ordinavit" (Baronius, ann. 522, c. x.). This alone suggests some doubt as to the genuineness of the 39th canon of the African code, which enjoins that "no primate shall be called a prince of priests, or pontiff" [AFRICAN COUNCILS, p. 38]. Similarly the monks of Carthage in the year 525, in a petition to Boniface, bishop of that city, address him not only as "apostolica dignitate praeditus," but also as "Christi venerandus *Pontifex*" (Thomassin, ed. Bourassé, ii. 366). Hilary of Arles is styled "*summus* Pontifex" by Eucherius, bishop of Lyons (Migne, l. 773). Anastasius first applies the term to Pelagius I., of whose ordination in the year 555 he says, "et ordinaverunt eum pontificem" (Migne, *Patrol.* cxxviii. 109). Pelagius himself uses the title when speaking of his predecessor, Leo the Great (Sirmond, i. 310).

There is, however, abundant evidence that long after the 6th century, especially in the language of the civil legislator, the title continued to be applied to all bishops indiscriminately. It is of frequent occurrence in the Gothic and Lombardic codes, and in the capitularies of Charles the Great, *e.g.* "Ut unusquisque sacerdos cotidianis adsistat orationibus pro *pontifice* cujus gubernatur regimine" (Pertz, *Legg.* i. 87). In a capitulary of the council of Aachen (A.D. 803) metropolitans are designated as "summi pontifices." Segebodus is styled "totius Gothiae provinciae archipontifex" (*Gallia Christiana*, vi. 168). In the 10th century, Bruno, primate of Cologne, is designated simply as "pontifex" (Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.* v. 430), while in a charter of the year 962, given by Bertha, queen of Hungary, the pope of Rome

is styled "Pontifex pontificum apostolicae sedis." But in the year 1000 we find the archbishop of Arles designated as "Pontifex summus" (Ducange, s.v.), and Lanfranc, in the 11th century, is referred to by his biographer, Milo Crispinus, as "Primas et pontifex summus" (Migne, *Patrol.* cl. 10). D'Achery indeed, in a note on the latter passage, states that these titles were commonly given to bishops of distinguished sees. [J. B. M.]

PONTIFICAL (*Liber Pontificalis Pontificale*, 'Αρχιερατικόν), a book of offices peculiar to a bishop, as those of ordination, confirmation, &c. The later pontificals admitted offices common to priests and bishops, as *e.g.* that of baptism, but with special directions for their performance by the latter.

The early SACRAMENTARY was also a pontifical. Thus the Gelasian gives the prayers said by the bishop over public penitents on Ash-Wednesday and Maundy Thursday (*Liturg. Rom. Vet.* Murat. i. 505, 549); the forms of ordination of bishops, priests, and all the inferior clergy (512, 513, 515, 619-629); the benediction of nuns (629); of the holy oils and chrism (554); of baptism, as performed by the bishop on Easter-eve and the eve of Whitsunday (568, 591); the orders of confirmation (570, 597); and of the dedication of a church (609).

The "Ordo Romanus, qualiter Missa pontificalis celebretur," probably compiled about 730 [ORDO], may be regarded as a partial pontifical in its earliest form. The first part (*Mus. Ital.* ii. 3-16) describes a pontifical mass, but it gives also directions for the especial services of Lent and Holy Week as celebrated by a bishop, including the making of holy oil, and chrism, and the baptisms of Easter-eve (17-29), and for those of Easter-day, Whitsunday, St. Peter's day, and Christmas (29). An appendix contains, with many further instruetions, the method of making the AGNUS DEI. Such a directory was necessary at a time when the sacramentaries, as *e.g.* the Leonian, or Veronese Gelasian (Mur. *u. s.* i. 294-483), were almost without rubrics. The necessary parts of this Ordo were afterwards transferred, sometimes, it seems, without any alteration, as in the *Codex Eligianus*, printed by Ménard (*Opp.* Greg. M. iii.; i. coll. 1-240) to the sacramentaries as rubrics.

The Gregorian sacramentary, as edited by Grimoald, who became abbat of St. Gall in 841, omits the ordinal, and the offices of confirmation and the dedication of a church (Ménard, Praef. in *Sacram. Greg.* xii.; Pamelii *Liturgicon*, index *Sacr. Grim.* ii. 390-394). This shews that some offices assigned to bishops were already to be sought for in another book, *i.e.* in a "pontifical." It may be doubted also whether the *Benedictiones Episcopales* ("sub finem Colonien. praecipui cod. *alia manu script.*") originally belonged to this sacramentary (Pamel. ii. 478).

It is probable that pontificals were in use at least in England a full century before the time of Grimoald,[b] though the name does not appear to have been finally fixed at that period. (1) The earliest extant is probably that of Egbert, archbishop of York, from 732 to 766, now in the National Library at Paris, no. 138. In order to exhibit the full contents of an early pontifical we will give the headings of the several offices in this book, only premising that the extant copy appears to have been written in the lifetime of Egbert. "Literis Saxonicis ab annis circiter 950 eleganter scriptum," said Martene in 1699 (*De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* ed. 1764, i. p. xx.). It contains the ordinatio episcopi (with proper missa and benediction); confirmatio hominum ab episcopo dicenda (with benedictions); ordo de sacris ordinibus, qualiter in Romana aecclesia presbiteri, diaconi, subdiaconi, vel ceteri ordines clericorum benedicendi sunt (with missae); ratio qualiter domus Dei consecrandus est (with missae), which is preceded by a form to be used by the priest when he gives notice of the intended consecration (*Pont.* of Egbert, p. 26; Surtees Soc. vol. xxvii.), and followed by a "missa in dedicatione oratorii," a proper benediction for the dedication of a church, a missa "in dedicatione fontis," and the office to be used "in consecratione cimiterii" (with missa); reconciliatio altaris vel loci sacri, with missa in reconciliatione ecclesie, and a proper benediction. The second part (pp. 58-136) consists chiefly of episcopal benedictions, but other rites occur. We have (1) benedictions for Sundays and other holidays (58-93); (2) for occasional use as at ordinations, super regem, pro iter agentibus, super synodum, &c. (pp. 94-100); (3) Missa pro regibus in die benedictionis, followed by the unction and prayers; (4) consecratio abbatis vel abbatissae, benedictio virginis monialis, consecratio viduae, consecratio crucis, ordo ad sanctimonialem benedicendam; (5) benedictions of fruits, bread, houses, bells, &c.; (6) the Roman rites for Maundy Thursday, the blessing of the Paschal Lamb and other feasts, the blessing of incense on Easter eve; (7) Benedictio armorum,—panis ad infirmum,—casei et butyri, et omnis pulmenti, ad sponsas benedictio, orationes ad libros benedicendos, benedictio vini, pro oculorum infirmitate, orationes dicende cum adoratur sancta crux, ad palmas benedicendas vel ramos. Several of the offices are given by Martene (i. 92, 275; ii. 31, 188, 199, 214, 246, 285, 294; iii. 101, 108). Morinus (*de Sacram Ord.* ii. 230) refers to the same century the pontifical known as the Benedictional of archbishop Robert now in the public library at Rouen, no. 27. It is so called from the episcopal benedictions preceding the offices in the MS. A full account of it is given by Mr. Gage in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxiv. pp. 118-136. The extant copy seems to have been written at the instance of Aethelgar of Canterbury, 989. The Ordinationum Ritus are printed by Morinus, *u. s.* 230-235; and in his work *De Sacram. Poenit.* he gives the absolutio dicenda ab episcopo super conversum et poenitentem (p. 478); see also p. 374). This pontifical seems to have been only slightly known to Martene, as he merely refers to it twice (ii. 163; iii. 88). The latter writer assigns to the same age ("annorum 900") the pontifical formerly in the Abbey library at

[b] Zaccaria (*Biblioth. Rit.* i. vi. 2) says: "Inter Latinorum Pontificalia celebriora sunt S. Protadii, ii. 626," &c I can obtain no information about the Pontifical of Protadius, and suspect that the statement is a mistake arising from the fact that certain lauds or acclamations at the enthronement of a bishop are ascribed to Protadius, bishop of Besançon, who died in 625 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* lxxx. 409).

Jumièges, now no. 362 in the public library at Rouen; which is also described by Mr. Gage in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. 244–250. He also gives *in extenso* the order of the consecration of a church, with proper missa and benediction (251–274). Martene has transcribed from it, ordo ad catechumenum ex pagano faciendum (i. 15); qualiter suscipere debeant poenitentes episcopi vel presbyteri (275); ordo ad unguendum infirmum (301); ordinationum ritus (ii. 37); benedictio monachorum (162), the same as in *Bened.* Roberti (163); virginum (189); regum (214); ecclesiarum (250); reconciliatio loci sacri (285); benedictio scrinii (shrine) vel arcae (300); formula excommunicationis (322); ordo ad energumenos adjuvandos (347); ordo ad benedicendum oleum infirmorum, oleum catechumenorum et sanctum chrisma (iii. 88; the same as in *Ben.* Rob.). Martene also describes (in 1699) "Remensis archimonasterii S. Remigii antiquum pontificale ante annos 900 literis Longobardicis exaratum, Tirpini archiepiscopi Remensis nomine vulgo appellatum" (i. xxii). See offices cited by Martene in i. 68; iii. 10.

The foregoing are, if I mistake not, the only pontificals extant which are assigned to the period ending with the death of Charlemagne. It may be well, however, to mention some others of note to which a less antiquity is ascribed. (1) There is one which was given to a monastery by Prudentius, bishop of Troye, who died in 861 (Zaccar. *u. s.* 169; Martene, i. 192, 303, ii. 384, iii. 133, 153). (2) A MS. described by Jos. Hartzheim in his Catalogue of the Cathedral library at Cologne, 1752, as "Pontificale Remense," but probably English, as the following petition which he cites from it appears to indicate:—"Ut regale solium, videlicet Saxonum, Merciorum, Nordanhumbrorumque sceptra, non deserat" (Egbert, *Pont.* pref. x.). (3) That of Rheims "circa tempus Hincmari (845) exaratum" (Zacc. 167). (5), (6), (7), (8) Those of Noyons (by Radbodus) (Mart. ii. 47, 260), Sens (iii. 88), Poitiers (i. 68, 93; iii. 74, 101, 133, 153), and Cahors (i. 93; ii. 45, 262, 333), the copies of which are of the 10th century. (9) The pontifical of Dunstan of Canterbury, who died in 988, is in the National Library at Paris, no. 943. Martene gives from it the rites of ordination, which agree with those in the MS. formerly at Jumièges (ii. 37), the benedictio monachorum (163), and the ordo qualiter domus Dei consecranda est (255).

The Greeks and Orientals do not appear to have put their episcopal offices into a separate volume until long after the 9th century.

In the church of Rome Clement VIII., in 1596, supplanted all the other pontificals of his obedience by a new edition of the Roman (Catalani, Proleg. in *Pontif. Rom.* ii. 5). [W. E. S.]

**PONTIFICALIA.** [BISHOP, p. 239.]

**PONTIUS (1)**, deacon, martyr at Carthage with St. Cyprian; commemorated Mar. 8 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS. Mart.* i. 750; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*, PONTIANUS).

**(2)** Martyr under Valerian; commemorated May 14 at Cimela, a city of Gaul (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 272). [C. H.]

**POOL OF BETHESDA.** [BETHESDA.]

**POOR, CARE OF.** The care of the poor was from the date of the *Apostolic Canons* formally entrusted to the bishop. This indeed was but a detail of the very wide rule that the bishop was to have the care of everything that concerned the church. (*πάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐχέτω τὴν φροντίδα. Can. Apost.* xxxvii. Labbe, i. 34 B.) The argument of the fortieth canon is, that since he was entrusted with the souls of men he ought certainly to be entrusted with money.

The comment of Zonaras on the forty-first of the *Apostolical Canons* is, that the care of the poor was committed to the bishop, who had the control of ecclesiastical property with this view; but that the bishop was to make the distribution to the poor through the agency of the priests and deacons, in order to avert from himself the suspicion of applying the funds to his own uses (Bevereg. *Pandect*, tom. i. p. 29). A similar provision is made by the council of Gangra (A.D. 325) which provides (can. 8) that no one shall either give or receive offerings apart from the bishop or him whom the bishop appoints to make distribution to the poor (*ὁ ἐπιτεταγμένος εἰς οἰκονομίαν εὐποιΐας.* Labbe, ii. 418 B).

Bishops are enjoined by the tenth canon of the third council of Tours (A.D. 813) to have "maximam curam et solicitudinem circa pauperes;" yet they are to dispense what is collected by the churches, not indiscriminately, but "cauta circumspectione." In fulfilment of this duty they are authorised by the following canon to pay what is necessary out of the treasury of the church in the presence of the presbyters and deacons (Labbe, tom. 7, p. 1262 d, e). The same presence of witnesses (cum testibus) when the bishop makes these payments is insisted on in the *Capitula* (cap. 12) of Charlemagne of the year 813. The right of the poor to the property of a bishopric was admitted by John the Almoner, patriarch of Alexandria, when he founded a monastery and endowed it with the revenues of the see. To justify such an alienation, he pleaded that the "patrimony of the poor" could not be better administered than by being given to those who were devoted to evangelic poverty. [PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH, C. (4).]

Pope Gregory's answer to the first question of Augustine of Canterbury is most explicit on the subject of the poor. "It is the custom of the apostolical see to deliver to ordained bishops precepts that of every oblation which is made there ought to be four portions, one, to wit, for the bishop and his household, on account of hospitality and entertainment; another for the clergy; a third for the poor; a fourth for the repairing of churches." (See Bede's *Eccl. Hist. of the English Nation*, Gidley's transl. p. 65.)

By a later council (*Conc. Aquisgran.* c. 142, A.D. 816) the obligation to care for the poor is specially extended to canons. Canons might have their own private dwellings, yet they were to maintain "intra claustra" an abode for the poor and aged.

In the last of the eighty Arabic canons of the council of Nicaea (A.D. 325) it is directed that in every town there should be appointed an officer (to this day at Rome called *Procurator pauperum*), whose duty it was to care for the poor. He might be either cleric or layman; he was to

live near the church, and, having the control of funds, he was to provide not only for the sick, but also for those who were in prison. For those who were improperly imprisoned, he was to obtain liberation; the others were to be helped so that they wanted neither for food nor clothing. In France a similar order was made by the fifth council of Orleans (can. 20). Every Sunday the archdeacon or the dean (praepositus) was to visit the prisons, and to supply the wants of poor prisoners out of the funds of the church. Justinian ordered the same to be done on Wednesday or Friday. Other poor captives, too, the bishops might help. Some of the "slaves of the church" they might liberate, make them a grant of money not exceeding twenty shillings (solidi), besides house, vineyard or plot of ground (*Conc. Agd.* 7). Other slaves there were to protect when enfranchised (*ib.*). Gregory of Tours makes it a special feature in his eulogy of Maurilion, bishop of Cahors, that he stood between the poor and those who might oppress them "defendens pauperes ecclesiae de manu malorum judicum." It was at the request of Meroveus, bishop of Poictiers, that King Childebert readjusted the public imposts according to their ancient distribution, greatly to the relief of the poor of his diocese (Greg. Tur. *Hist.* ix. 30). When the same officers that had been at Poictiers passed on to Tours, they were resisted by Gregory himself, who at length obtained from the king a confirmation of the immunities that had been conferred upon the city of St. Martin. In England, Cuthbert of Lindisfarne thought that the distressed would betake themselves to his body even after death. The concourse, he urged, would be troublesome to the monastery, and therefore it was for the advantage of the brethren that he should be buried beyond its precinct (Bede, *Life*). Nor was it only what it is the fashion to call "the deserving poor" that were to be helped; but if any one of the faithful had wasted his property in drinking, and feasting, and wickedness, still he was not to be deserted. Whatever may have been the practical effect of the church's care of the poor, in theory at least she always discouraged idleness in the able-bodied. The bishop was to give food and raiment so far as he could to those who needed them; but it was only to those "qui debilitate faciente non possunt suis manibus laborare" (*Conc. Aurel.* i. can. 16, qu. Thomassin. part ii. liv. iv. ch. 5).

So paramount did the claims of the poor appear in the eyes of Christians, that St. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, did not hesitate in a time of distress to sell even the treasures of the church in order to provide relief. The story is told at length by Sozomen how a man recognised upon an actress a piece of work which he had presented at the altar; how a merchant had sold it to the actress; how the bishop sold it to the merchant; and how the bishop was deposed in consequence (Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 25).

Certain forms of distress are the subject of special enactment. The leprous, as being in the worst case of all, were especially commended to the care of the bishop (*Con. Aurel.* v.).

It appears that the clergy became in some cases so poor as to need alms. A bishop or priest was bound to supply such an ecclesiastic with what was necessary, on pain of excommunication, or even of deposition in case he would not amend (*Can. Apost.* lix. Bevereg, *Pandect.* tom. i. p. 38).

Gregory of Tours relates that Crodin took pleasure in building magnificent houses and furnishing them sumptuously, then, asking bishops who were poor to dine with him, he presented them the whole property, in order that "the poor being maintained by it might obtain for him pardon with God." The same writer applies the term *matricularii* to the poor who were on the roll of the church (*De Mirac. B. Mart.* iii. 22).

The fund for the relief of the poor was spoken of by St. Gregory the Great under the phrase *Res pauperum* (S. Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lvi. lviii.). In the former of these two letters he gives his authority for the payment of a distressed man's debt out of that fund. The care of the poor was not confined to the giving of money or its equivalents. In one of the letters of St. Gregory the Great, the defence of the poor (defensio pauperum) is enjoined upon a bishop as his duty (*Ep.* xxxvi.). The ordinary rules of courtesy were even to be strained in their favour; "the poor and aged persons of the church are more to be honoured than the rest" (*Conc. Carth.* iv. 83, A.D. 398); and those who ridiculed the invitation of the poor to the houses of others were anathematized (*Conc. Gangr.* can. 11).

It ought to be observed that by the 11th canon of the council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), it is enacted that poor persons, and those requiring help, should be provided with PACIFICAE.

Sometimes a house for the reception of the poor was maintained by private munificence. Such a house probably was the "xenodochium in portu Romano situm," of which it would seem from the letter of St. Jerome that Fabiola was the foundress (St. Hieron. *Ep.* xxx. *ad Oceanum*). The council of Aix (A.D. 816) required that canons should provide in their precinct a "receptaculum ubi pauperes colligantur." This receptacle was lower down called "hospitale" (Labbe, vii. p. 1403, A, B). Further particulars of such establishments are given under HOSPITAL, HOSPITALITY. [H. T. A.]

## POPE.

**POPE.** (A) Meaning of the name. (B) Theory of the office.

bishops, as seen in the appointment, confirmation, ordination, consecration, and translation of bishops; in the acceptance of their resignations; in the creation of new bishoprics, p. 1671.
(iii.) Claim to present to all benefices, p. 1675.
(iv.) Claim to temporal power: (1) patrimonium; (2) political sovereignty, p. 1676.
See Appeal, Bishop, Council, Legate.

(A) Pope [a] (*abbas*, *papa*, father), a word derived from the Greek πάππας, or πάπας, but often erroneously derived from the Latin, "pater patrum," *e.g.* Adam Scotus, in the 12th century, says: "Ipsos enim papas, id est, *patres patrum*, mos solet ecclesiasticus appellare, et ut sic vocarentur instituit" (*de Tripart. Tab.* Migne, Patrol. cxcviii. 394), a false etymology, that may be explained by the fact that Greek was originally the official language of the church both in the East and in the West; but that the knowledge of it subsequently became almost extinct among "the Latins" in mediaeval times. Walafrid Strabo, who possessed some knowledge of Greek, writing in the 9th century, compares the word to that of "church" as one borrowed by Teutonic races from the Greek in order to express a previously unfamiliar idea: "*Kyrch* a Kurios, et *papst* a papa, quod cujusdam paternitatis nomen est et clericorum congruit dignitati" (Migne, cxiv. 927).

The earliest ecclesiastical use of the word appears to have been to denote the spiritual relationship existing between a teacher of Christianity and the convert brought by his agency into communion with a recognised Christian body; in many cases the convert assumed the name of his spiritual father. At a later period the term began to be restricted to bishops and abbats. Severus, a deacon at Rome of the time of Marcellinus (A.D. 296–304), having received permission from Marcellinus to open a double tomb in the catacombs, speaks of having done so—"jussu papae sui Marcellini" (De' Rossi, *Insc.* i. p. cxv.). Subsequently, as will be shewn in the course of this article, the title was limited to the bishop of Rome in the West and to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople in the East, and finally was claimed by the pope of Rome exclusively, although still the customary mode of addressing priests in the Greek church.[b]

The theory of the Papacy, as defined at the council of Florence, involves the assumptions: (1) That Peter had been invested by Christ Himself with a certain pre-eminency among the other apostles. (2) That he was the founder of the church at Rome, and that the inspiration and authority especially vouchsafed to him had been given in equal measure to his successors, the bishops of that church. (3) That the bishop of Rome might thus rightfully claim supremacy over the whole Christian church and over all Christian fathers and teachers. We have to inquire into the historical evidence for these assumptions.

(I.) (i.) On the question of the supremacy of St. Peter among the Apostles, and of his presence in Rome, so far as it depends on Scriptural authority, see Peter in Dict. of the Bible.

When we turn to the evidence afforded by uncanonical writers, we find that either Paul and Peter are designated as joint founders of the church in Rome, or Peter assumes the foremost place, while Paul receives but slight notice, or is altogether unmentioned.

The earliest testimony is probably that of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth. In a fragment of the Catholic epistles of this writer, preserved by Eusebius (*E. H.* ii. 25), he expressly refers to Paul and Peter as teachers and founders of the churches at Corinth and Rome, and also as having suffered martyrdom at the same time. Replying to Soter (bishop of Rome, A.D. 168–177) and the Roman clergy, who had addressed to the community at Corinth a hortatory letter, he says: ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νουθεσίας, τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν γενηθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε. Καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες[a] ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες, ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν (Eusebius, *E. H.* ed. Heinichen, i. 180).

The main statements of Dionysius are supported by the independent testimony of two yet earlier writers—that of Peter's martyrdom by Clemens Romanus, and that of his teaching at Rome by Ignatius. The language of the former writer is explicit. "Let us," he says, "set before us the holy apostles. Peter, through unjust envy, endured not only one or two, but many persecutions, and thus, having suffered martyrdom, passed into his place of reward in glory:" καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης (*Epist. ad Corinth.* i. v.; Hilgenfeld, *Nov. Test. ext. Can. Rec.* i. 8; Migne, *S. G.* i. 217).

The meaning of Ignatius is perhaps less free from ambiguity, but the passage occurs in his Epistle to the Romans, the genuineness of which is generally admitted, and is supported by the Syriac version. Addressing "The church which presides in the place of the region of the Romans" (ἥτις προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων), he says, "I teach you not as did Peter and Paul; they were apostles, I am one condemned; they were free, but I am, as yet, in bonds:" Οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ δὲ κατάκριτος· ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος (Cureton, *Corp. Ign.* p. 47).

The event foreshadowed in John xxi. 18, 19, may fairly be recognised in the above passage from Clemens, a passage strikingly confirmed by that in the Muratorian canon: "Lucas optime Theophilo comprendit, quia sub praesentia ejus singula gerebantur, sicuti et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat" (see Westcott, *Canon of the New Test.* p. 499, ed. 1870). Here, though the text is obviously corrupt, the meaning is

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[a] Throughout this article the dates placed after the name of a bishop or pope of Rome denote the assigned duration of his office. For reasons which will be apparent in the course of the article, I have preferred to use the term "bishop of Rome" up to the middle of the 5th century, and after that date to employ the term "pope."

[b] Martigny (*Dict. des Ant. chrét.*) says that the Greeks employ the word to denote both bishops and priests, but with a different accent and inflexion, placing the accent, when employing it with respect to a bishop, on the first syllable; when speaking of a priest, on the second; but this is doubtful.

[a] Alii φοιτήσαντες (Migne, *S. G.* xx. 68); but see Heinichen's note *ad loc.*

sufficiently clear; viz. that Luke related only those events of which he was an eye-witness, and that consequently the martyrdom of St. Peter is not recorded by him. It is also worthy of note that, as no tradition ever assigned any other place than Rome as the scene of Peter's martyrdom, every allusion to that event is also an indirect confirmation of his visit to the capital.

Irenaeus is the next writer after Dionysius, whose testimony is of a like tenor; and, as the disciple of Polycarp and subsequently a bishop of the Western church, he can hardly be supposed to have given expression to a tradition at variance with the prevalent Christian belief of his age. He speaks of Peter and Paul as "preaching the gospel and founding the church in Rome" (ἐν Ῥώμῃ, εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν), and represents this as occurring at about the same time that St. Matthew composed his gospel (*Ad. Haer.* iii. 1). A passage in the Latin version of the same treatise refers to the church at Rome as that "greatest and most ancient church of universal fame which the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul, founded and organized"—"maximae et antiquissimae et omnibus cognitae a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romae fundatae et constitutae ecclesiae" (*ib.* iii. 3; ed. Harvey, ii. 9).

The language of Tertullian, in his enumeration of the apostolic churches, is equally definite. "How happy that church," he exclaims, "for which apostles poured forth their whole teaching with their blood; where Peter shares the passion of his Lord, where Paul is crowned with the fate of John!" (*De Praescript. adv. Haer.* c. 36).

In the 4th century the passages are numerous, even in the most authoritative writers, which corroborate the belief expressed in the foregoing statements, and wherein the bishopric of Rome is habitually referred to as "Petri sedes." See Leo Magnus, *ad Sicilienses Episc.* (Mansi, v. 1305); *ad Theodosium Aug.* (ib. vi. 14); Concil. Chalced. *Allocutio ad Marc.* (ib. vii. 455); Anastasius II. P. (Thiel, *Epist. Rom. Pont.* i. 624). "Petrus, cujus sedem tenemus, locum gerimus," Vigilius P. (Mansi, ix. 358), &c. Augustine refers to the tradition that both apostles were buried at Rome, as one of universal acceptance: "jacet Petri corpus Romae, dicunt homines; jacet Pauli corpus Romae," &c. (*Serm.* 296; Migne, xxxviii. 1355). The seventh book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, which belongs probably to about the year A.D. 300, represents both Paul and Peter as ordinary bishops of Rome—Paul ordaining the first bishop, Linus; Peter the second, Clemens (Cotelerius, *Pat. Apost.* i. 385).

The passage from Dionysius is not the only one which Eusebius adduces, in support of what was certainly his own belief and that of his age, viz. that Peter lived, taught, and suffered at Rome. "Also," he says, "a certain ecclesiastical writer, Caius by name, who lived about the time of Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome, disputing with Proclus, the leader of the Cataphrygians, gives the following statement respecting the places where the earthly tabernacles of the aforesaid disciples were laid: 'And I can shew you the trophies (τὰ τρόπαια) of the apostles; for if you will go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian road, you will find the trophies of those who have laid the foundations of the church, and also suffered martyrdom'" (*H. E.* ii. 25). In addition to these extracts, however, Eusebius also hands down another tradition, of which his acceptance is alone sufficient to occasion grave inquiry as to his judgment and authority as a writer. In the fourteenth chapter of the same book he not only states that Peter visited Rome, but assigns the object of his journey thither. The apostle, whom he designates as τὸν καρτερὸν καὶ μέγαν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων προήγορον, was "sent on," he says, "by divine foreknowledge to Rome, *to vanquish Simon Magus*, and to be a light and saving doctrine to souls in the West" (Migne, *Series Graeca*, xx. 170–2). This statement is repeated by a somewhat later writer, Cyril (bishop of Jerusalem, 351–86), who, in his *Catachesis* (bk. vi. c. 15), refers to Peter and Paul as "ecclesiae praesules," and describes their victory over Simon Magus at Rome (Migne, *S. G.* xxxiii. 362).

The relevancy of these traditions to our inquiry becomes apparent when we add, that they are regarded by certain critics as not only in themselves devoid of any historical basis, but *as indicating the source from whence sprung the whole story of Peter's presence and martyrdom in Rome.* According to Lipsius, the origin of this story is to be found in certain doubtful or spurious writings which he respectively classifies (α) as Ebionite or Jewish-Christian sources, (β) the Catholic or anti-Judaistic sources, (γ) certain Gnostic Acta, extant only in fragments.[d] Of these the first are now represented by the Clementine Homilies (ed. Lagarde, 1865), which are considered to belong to the second half of the 2nd century, and by the Clementine Recognitions (ed. Gersdorf, 1838), which are referred to the period A.D. 212–230. With respect to the relative antiquity of these two treatises some difference of opinion exists, but there appears to be little doubt that one of them is derived from the other, and that the latter in turn is founded upon yet earlier treatises known as the Κηρύγματα Πέτρου and Περίοδοι Πέτρου (Hilgenfeld, *Nov. Test.* &c. iv. 32; Lipsius, *Die Quellen d. röm. Petrussage*, p. 14).

The Catholic or anti-Judaistic sources are mainly represented by the Πράξεις Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου (ed. Thilo, *Acta Petri et Pauli*, i. and ii. 1837–8; Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, 1851), a collection extant in three different recensions, and not supposed to belong to a period anterior to the 5th century (Lipsius, *u. s.* pp. 52–4). It stands, however, in close connexion with two earlier productions, a certain Πράξεις Παύλου and a Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, which, in the opinion of Lipsius, "breathe the religious atmosphere of the 2nd century." Of these the former is referred to by Origen (*de Princip.* i. 2, 3), and appears (Hilgenfeld, *u. s.* iv. 68–73) to have been held in high esteem in the church, and to have been regarded by many as of canonical authority. By Eusebius, however (*E. H.* iii. 25), it is included among the spurious writings (νόθοι) along with the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Apocalypse of St. John [APOST. CONST. p. 120]. The

[d] For a full account of this literature the reader may refer to the articles ACTS OF THE APOSTLES (APOCRYPHAL) and CLEMENTINE LITERATURE, in DICT. OF CHRIST. BIOG.

relation of the latter treatise, the Κήρυγμα, which exists only in fragments (Hilgenfeld, *u. s.* iv. 52–67), to the former is not clearly ascertainable, but both expressly contravene a still earlier tradition, said to have taken its origin in Galat. ii. 11–17, of a permanent hostility between the two apostles. The Πράξεις Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, which must be regarded as essentially a compilation from these two earlier treatises, is explicit in its language on this point: "We have believed, and do believe, that even as God separates not the two great lights which he has made" (the sun and the moon), "even so He permits not you to separate Peter from Paul or Paul from Peter" (Tischendorf, *u. s.* c. 5).

The theory which Lipsius has endeavoured to establish—that all the extant sources of the Petrine legend may be traced back to a yet older Ebionite version of the *Acta S. Petri* as to their common and sole origin, and that this Judaistic treatise forms accordingly the sole basis for the tradition of St. Peter's presence in Rome—has been disputed by many eminent scholars, among whom Hilgenfeld (see *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1872–1878) has given a full discussion of the question. Any attempt to summarize these arguments is beyond the scope of the present article; and equally so is any examination of the startling theory of Lipsius, that the passage above referred to in the Epistle to the Galatians became the origin of "eine immer weiter ausgesponnene Sagenbildung," which found a natural conclusion in the tradition of a final and decisive contest between the true and the false apostle at Rome.

Against the theory of the two apostles' joint residence and labours, the fact that none of the epistles written by Paul from Rome (Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon), though conveying many salutations, contain any allusion to Peter, presents an argument of no great weight, especially if we assume, as certain evidence suggests, that their labours were bestowed on two distinct churches. If, therefore, it be proposed to assign Peter's arrival in Rome to a date subsequent to that of Paul, and also to the composition of the epistles written by the latter during his first imprisonment (at the same time accepting the various statements with respect to Paul's second imprisonment, and a renewal of his labours in the West during an interval of some years), the evidence in favour of such a theory is strong, if not conclusive. The allusion to Silvanus, the friend of St. Paul, in the first epistle of Peter (v. 12), and that to Paul himself in the second (iii. 15), admit of a far more natural interpretation when understood as written from Rome, at a time when the two apostles were labouring there contemporaneously, if not conjointly, in connexion, however, with two distinct communities; the labours of Peter being bestowed on a Judaizing church, those of Paul on a church composed exclusively of Gentiles. Even the tradition respecting Simon Magus, amid much that is pure invention, probably points to a real attempt at the introduction of heretical doctrine. He is said to have been a supporter of the heresy of the Patripassians, and the church of Rome, from the earliest times of which we have authentic record, is distinguished by its uncompromising opposition to heterodoxy in every shape.

(ii.) *The evidence for the succession from the time of St. Peter.*—The difficulty which attaches to a belief in the tradition concerning Peter extends also to that respecting his earliest successors. According to the lists accepted as authoritative by the Romish church, the succession was preserved unbroken, the duration of each bishop's tenure of office being accurately known to us, not only in years, but even in months and days. On the other hand, a critical investigation of these lists, and a comparison of them with other and earlier sources of information, disclose considerable discrepancies with respect not only to the periods of office, but also to the simple order of succession.

The original sources for the chronology of the bishops of Rome during the first three centuries may be divided into two classes:

(A.) The Greek or Eastern lists.

(B.) The Latin or Western lists.

This classification is not indeed altogether free from objection, for the lists in the first class were undoubtedly derived from Roman sources, while those in the second class were, in all probability, originally drawn up in Greek, which, up to the middle of the 3rd century, was the official language of the Roman church. It is, however, to be observed that the Greek lists are distinguished by certain points of difference, which appear to indicate that they were transcribed from those of the west prior to the time when the official lists of the Roman church were adopted in their final form.

In the following summary of the main facts concerning these different sources, and the conclusions that have been drawn from them, the Roman episcopal succession will be more easily considered if divided into two portions: (α) that extending from Peter to Urban (ending A.D. 230); (β) that from Pontianus to Liberius (A.D. 230–352). After the time of Liberius no difficulties present themselves that here call for discussion, and for the purpose of the present article it will be sufficient to limit our consideration almost entirely to the earlier of the foregoing divisions.

(A.) The first list of which we have any knowledge is that which was known to Hegesippus, who in his visits to the apostolic churches collected information concerning the succession of the bishops from the time of the Apostles, with the design of thereby establishing the evidence of an unimpeachable tradition of Christian doctrine. His statement with respect to Rome is, that during his residence in that city he made out a list of the episcopal succession down to the time of Anicetus,—γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, διαδοχὴν ἐποιησάμην μέχρις Ἀνικήτου (Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 22; the conjectural reading of Savile, of διατριβὴν for διαδοχὴν, is rejected by the best authorities; see Heinichen's note *ad loc.*). This list is no longer extant, but we learn from Eusebius that, according to Hegesippus, Anicetus was the immediate predecessor of Soter,—a statement, as we shall hereafter see, of considerable importance, inasmuch as the early Latin lists uniformly place Anicetus before Pius, and Pius before Soter.

The list contained in Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* bk. iii. c. 3) represents Peter and Paul as the joint founders of the church at Rome, and they, it is added, "Lino episcopatum administrandae eccle-

siae tradiderunt" (ed. Harvey, ii. 10). The names, as preserved in the original Greek, are as follows:—

οἱ ἀπόστολοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος.
ἀπ' ἀποστόλων.

1. Λῖνος.
2. Ἀνέγκλητος.
3. Κλημης.
4. Εὐάρεστος.
5. Αλεξανδρος.
6. Ξύστος.
7. Τελέσφορος, ὃς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἐμαρτύρησεν.
8. Ὑγῖνος.
9. Πίος.
10. Ἀνίκητος.
11. Σώτηρ.
12. Ἐλεύθερος.

It may fairly be assumed that this list represents the official record of the succession accepted at Rome in the time of Eleutherus, the contemporary of Irenaeus.

Eusebius has transmitted to us a double list,—that in the *Chronicon* (bk. ii.), and that in his *Ecclesiastical History*; of these the former is contained not in the version by Jerome, but in the Armenian translation. It extends from Peter to Gaius, the last bishop before the Diocletian persecution, and includes the periods of office:—

| Bishop. | Duration of Office | Date from Abraham. | A.D. | Imperial Year. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Petrus | ann. xx. | 2055 | 39 | Gaii iii. |
| Linus | ann. xiiii. | 2082 | 66 | Neronis xii. |
| Linus | ann. viii. | 2095 | 79 | Titi i. |
| Clemens | ann. viiii. | 2103 | 87 | Domitiani vii. |
| Euarestos | ann. viii. | 2110 | 94 | Domitiani xiiii. |
| Alexander | ann. x. | 2119 | 103 | Trajani vi. |
| Xestos | ann. xi. | 2130 | 114 | Trajani xvii. |
| Telesphoros | ann. xi. | 2140 | 124 | Adriani viii. |
| Hyginos | ann. iiii. | 2150 | 134 | Adriani xviii. |
| Pius | ann. xv. | 2154 | 138 | Antonini i. |
| Nikitos | ann. xi. | 2168 | 152 | Antonini xv. |
| Soter | ann. viii. | 2180 | 164 | Marci iiii. |
| Agripinos | ann. viiii. | 2185 | 169 | Marci xiii. |
| Eleuterrios | ann. xv. | 2189 | 173 | Marci xiii. |
| Bector | ann. xii. | 2202 | 186 | Commodi vii. |
| Zephrinos | ann. xii. | 2216 | 198 | Severi vii. |
| Callstatos | ann. viiii. | 2229 | 211 | Caracallae ii. |
| Urbanus | (wanting) | 2236 | 218 | Elagabali i |
| Pontianus | ann. viiii. | 2246 | 228 | Alexandrii vii. |
| Anteros | mens. i. | 2256 | 238 | Gordiani i. |
| Fabianus | ann. xiii. | 2250 | 233 | Gordiani i. |
| Cornelius | ann. iii. | 2264 | 246 | Philippi iii. |
| Lucius | mens. ii. | 2268 | 250 | Philippi vii. |
| Stephanus | ann. ii. | 2268 | 250 | Philippi vii. |
| Xestos | ann. xi. | 2271 | 253 | Galli ii. |
| Dionysius | ann. xii. | 2279 | 261 | Gallieni viii. |
| Felix | ann. xviiii. | 2289 | 271 | Aureliani i. |
| [Eutychianus] | mens. ii. | 2296 | 278 | Probi ii. |
| Gaius | ann. xv. | 2296 | 278 | Probi ii. |

Here, among the more important inaccuracies, will be noted the insertion of the name of Agrippinus of Alexandria, apparently by pure oversight, as twelfth in succession; the repetition of the name of Linus in the second place instead of that of Anencletus; the omission of the name of Eutychianus in the twenty-sixth place. The duration of Peter's episcopate, it will be noticed, is given as twenty instead of five-and-twenty years.

The following table, taken from Lipsius (p. 14) exhibits the chief points of difference between the foregoing list and that in the *Ecclesiastical History* down to the time of Urban. Here a certain affinity is undeniable, as in the enumeration from Clemens to Soter the only point of divergence is that in the *Chronicon* a year more is assigned to the episcopate of Xystus than is allowed in the *E. H.* On the other hand, the differences in the first four places and those that occur after Eleutherus appear to place it almost beyond doubt that the two lists were derived from entirely distinct sources. The assigned imperial years of the two lists are altogether at variance.

| | Date of Termination of Office. | |
|---|---|---|
| | Imperial year. | A.D. |
| Petrus [ann. xxv.] | | [42–67]. |
| Linus, ann. xii. [*Chron.* xiiii.] | Titi ii. | 79. |
| Anencletus, ann. xii. [*Chron.* xiii.] | Domitiani xii. | 92 (91). |
| Clemens, ann. viiii. | Trajani iii. [? iiii.]. | 99 (100). |
| Evarestus, ann. viii. | Trajani xii. | 108. |
| Alexander, ann. x. | Adriani iii. | 118. |
| Xystus, ann. x. [*Chron.* xi.] | Adriani xii. | 128 (127). |
| Telesphorus † anno xi. mo. | Antonini i. | 138 (137). |
| Hyginus, ann. iiii. | —— | 142. |
| Pius,† anno xv. mo. | —— | 157 (156). |
| Anicetus, ann. xi. | Aurelii viii. | 168 (167). |
| Soter, ann. viii. | Aurelii xvii. | 176 (175). |
| Eleutherius, ann. xiii. [*Chron.* xv.] | Commodi x. | 186. |
| Victor, ann. x. [*Chron.* xii.] | Severi viii. [? viiii.]. | 200. |
| Zephyrinus, ann. xviii. [*Chron.* xii.]. | Elagabali i. | 218 (217). |
| Callistus, ann. v. [*Chron.* viiii.] | Alexandri i. | 222 (221). |
| Urbanus, ann. viii. [*Chron* viiii.] | —— | 230. |

The version of the *Chronicon* by Jerome, which is now generally admitted to be much more than a mere translation, exhibits even in the list of the Roman bishops considerable deviations. The only two dates which exactly agree, *i.e.* are the same in the patriarchal and the Christian eras, and also in the imperial year, are those given under Anencletus and under Anteros and Fabian; the imperial years are, in fact, derived from the *Ecclesiastical History*.

(B.) Among the Latin lists is the *Catalogus Liberianus*, contained in the compilation of the chronicler of the year 354, and extending to the bishopric of Liberius. It has been edited by Mommsen (*Abhandlungen der philolog.-histor. Classe der königl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. i. (1850), pp. 582–5, and 634–7), to whom we are indebted for the first correct text, and also for original research with respect to its sources and compilation. The *Catalogus Liberianus* is the most ancient source of the *Liber Pontificalis*, and, according to Mommsen, is in turn derived from a yet older list, that originally contained in the *Chronicon* of Hippolytus, bishop of Portus, a work to which the chronicler of the year 354 is to be found having recourse in other portions of his treatise. In the *Chronicon* of Hippolytus the list itself is no longer extant, but the heading, "Nomina Episcoporum Romae et quis quotannis praefuit," is alone preserved. A comparison of the *Catalogus Liberianus* with that given by Augustine (*Epist.* 53; Migne, xxxiii. 195) and that in Optatus (*de Schism. Donat.* ii. 3) seems conclusively to prove that all three lists preserve essentially the same tradition, the main discrepancies being (1) that neither Augustine nor Optatus makes mention of "Cletus;" (2) that the *Catalogus Liberianus* (as known to us from existing MSS.) omits the names of Anicetus, Eleutherus, and Zephyrinus; while (3) in Optatus the name of Alexander is (by a palpable blunder) left out before that of Sixtus and put in the place of that of Eleutherus.

The omissions in the *Catalogus Liberianus* are, however, clearly shewn to be owing to carelessness on the part of transcribers or some such cause, by corresponding gaps in the consular dates between Telesphorus and Hyginus, Pius and Soter, and Soter and Victor: and this evidence, taken in conjunction with the fact that the *Catalogus Felicianus* (the oldest existing version of the *Liber Pontificalis*) which was undoubtedly derived from the *Catalogus Liberianus*, contains missing names, sufficiently justifies the conclusion of Mommsen that they originally existed in the latter list.

On comparing the following lists with those before given, we see that the lists from Augustine and Optatus support the Eastern omission of Cletus. In the opinion of Lipsius, these two writers have preserved to us a more ancient form of the Western tradition, and it would consequently appear to be a legitimate conclusion that the insertion of Cletus in the *Catalogus Liberianus* is an interpolation; Cletus and Anacletus, in all probability, representing one and the same person. Of this, the statement of the author of the treatise against the Theodotians, who wrote in Rome during the episcopate of Zephyrinus, that Victor was the *thirteenth* bishop ἀπὸ Πέτρου (Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 28) affords a strong corroboration. Similarly, Jerome, while referring to a difference of tradition with respect to the order of succession, knows nothing whatever of "Cletus:"—"Clemens, de quo apostolus Paulus ad Philippenses scribens, ait, 'Cum Clemente et caeteris cooperatoribus meis quorum nomina scripta sunt in libro vitae' (Phil. iv. 3), quartus post Petrum Romae episcopus: siquidem secundus Linus fuit, tertius Anacletus, tametsi plerique Latinorum secundum post Petrum apostolum putent fuisse Clementem" (*de Viris Illust.* c. xv.; Migne, xxiii. 854). On the other hand, Augustine and Optatus differ from the Eastern lists in placing Anicetus before Pius, while the chronicler of the year 354 altogether omits Anicetus.

| *Catalog. Liberian.* | *Augustinus.* | *Optatus.* |
|---|---|---|
| Petrus. | Petrus | Petrus. |
| Linus. | Linus. | Linus. |
| Clemens. | Clemens | Clemens. |
| Cletus. | — | — |
| Anaclitus. | Anacletus | Anacletus. |
| Aristus. | Evaristus. | Evaristus. |
| Alexander. | Alexander. | — |
| Sixtus. | Sixtus. | Sixtus. |
| Telesforus. | Thelesphorus. | Telesphorus. |
| Higinus. | Iginus. | Iginus. |
| [Anicitus]. | Anicetus. | Anicetus. |
| Pius. | Pius. | Pius. |
| Soter. | Soter. | Soter. |
| — | — | Alexander. |
| [Eleuther]. | Eleutherus. | — |
| Victor. | Victor. | Victor. |
| [Zypherinus]. | Zephirinus. | Zypherinus. |
| Calixtus. | Calixtus. | Calixtus. |
| Urbanus. | Urbanus. | Urbanus. |
| Pontianus. | Pontianus. | Pontianus. |
| Antheros. | Antherus. | Antherus. |
| Fabius. | Fabianus. | Fabianus. |
| Cornelius. | Cornelius. | Cornelius. |
| Lucius. | Lucius. | Lucius. |
| Steffanus. | Stephanus. | Stephanus. |
| Sixtus. | Xystus. | Sixtus. |
| Dionisius. | Dionysius. | Dionysius. |
| Felix. | Felix. | Felix. |
| Eutychianus. | Eutychianus. | — |
| Gaius. | Gaius. | — |
| Marcellinus. | Marcellinus. | Marcellinus. |
| Marcellus. | Marcellus. | Marcellus. |
| Eusebius. | Eusebius. | Eusebius. |
| Miltiades. | Miltiades. | Miltiades. |
| Silvester. | Sylvester. | Sylvester. |
| Marcus. | Marcus. | Marcus. |
| Julius. | Julius. | Julius. |
| Liberius. | Liberius. | Liberius. |

The following table (p. 1657) affords a comparative view of four lists which appear, beyond all reasonable doubt, to have been in existence in the 4th century, with such emendations as, in the opinion of Lipsius and other critics, are called for and justified by the conclusions derived from a critical study of the texts. These lists are as follows: (1) The *Catalogus Liberianus*; (2) The list in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius; (3) That derived from his *Ecclesiastical History*; (4) That used by Jerome. Of these, (1) and (2) appear to be derived from independent sources, while (3) and (4) shew unmistakable signs of a common origin.*

* A fifth and a sixth list, the former of no independent value, and the latter (the Leonine) of the time of Leo the Great, compiled from lists (1) and (2), may also be consulted in Lipsius (*Chronologie*, &c., pp. 28–76).

| I. | | II. | | III. | | IV. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Petrus, | 25 years. | Petrus, | 25 years. | Petrus, | 25 years. | Petrus, | 25 years. |
| Linus, | 12 „ | Linus, | 14 „ | Linus, | 12 „ | Linus, | 11 „ |
| Clemens, | 9 „ | Cletus, | 8 „ | Anencletus, | 12 „ | Cletus, | 12 „ |
| Anaclitus, | 12 „ | Clemens, | 9 „ | Clemens, | 9 „ | Clemens, | 9 „ |
| Aristus, | 13 „ | Evarestus, | 8 „ | Evarestus, | 8 „ | Evarestus, | 9 „ |
| Alexander, | 7 „ | Alexander, | 10 „ | Alexander, | 10 „ | Alexander, | 10 (12) years. |
| Sixtus, | 10 „ | Xystus, | 11 „ | Xystus, | 10 „ | Xystus, | 10 years. |
| Telesphorus, | 11 „ | Telesphorus, | 11 „ | Telesphorus, | 11 „ | Telesphorus, | 11 „ |
| Hyginus, | 4 „ | Higinus, | 4 „ | Hyginus, | 4 „ | Hyginus, | 4 „ |
| Pius,[f] | 16 „ | Pius, | 15 „ | Pius, | 15 „ | Pius, | 15 (19) years. |
| Anicetus, | 12 „ | Anicetus, | 11 „ | Anicetus, | 11 „ | Anicetus, | 11 years. |
| Soter, | 9 „ | Soter, | 8 „ | Soter, | 8 „ | Soter, | 8 (9) years. |
| Eleutherus, | 15 „ | Eleutherus, | 15 „ | Eleutherus, | 15 „ | Eleutherus, | 15 years. |
| Victor, | 9 „ | Victor, | 12 „ | Victor, | 10 „ | Victor, | 10 (15) years. |
| Zephyrinus, | 19 „ | Zephyrinus, | 12 „ | Zephyrinus, | 18 „ | Zephyrinus, | 18 years. |
| Calixtus, | 5 „ | Callistus, | 9 „ | Callistus, | 5 „ | Callistus, | 5 „ |
| Urbanus, | 8 „ | Urbanus, | 9 „ | Urbanus, | 8 „ | Urbanus, | 9 „ |

Into the various difficulties arising from the discrepancies between the different lists in the enumeration from Sixtus down to Liberius, it is impossible here to enter. The chief difficulty is that which relates to the succession and the duration of the episcopates of Pius and Anicetus. On referring to the three lists above given (the *Cat. Lib.*, that from Augustine, and that from Optatus), it will be seen that while the name of Anicetus is wanting in the first list, in the other two it is placed before that of Pius. Mommsen, in his restoration of the text of the *Catalogus Liberianus*, also assigns to Anicetus the place immediately preceding Pius, and gives ann. iiii. m. iiii. d. iii. as his period of office—*i.e.*, from the consulship of Gallicanus and Vetus (A.D. 150) to that of Praesens and Rufinus (A.D. 153). Lipsius, however, relying mainly on the Eastern lists and the authority of Hegesippus, does not hesitate in his attempted harmony (as above given) to place Anicetus after Pius, and to assign to him twelve years of office—the original Latin list, in his opinion, having become corrupted by a succession of errors of transcription, as follows:

*Original Latin List.*

Higinus, ann. iiii.
Pius, ann. xvi. (Euseb. xv.).
Anicetus, ann. xii. (Euseb. xi.).

(*a*.) Higinus, ann. iiii.
Anicetus, ann. xii.
Pius, ann. xvi.

(*b*.) Higinus . . . . [ann. iiii.].
. . . . ann. xii. Anicetus (*noted in margin*).
Pius, ann. xvi.

| (*c*.) | (*d*.) |
|---|---|
| Higinus, ann. xii. | Higinus, ann. xii. |
| Anicetus, ann. iiii. | [Anicetus]. |
| Pius, ann. xvi. | Pius, ann. xx. |

Additional evidence of considerable importance as regards the relative duration of these two episcopates is presented in the fact that Polycarp visited Rome during the episcopate of Anicetus —according to one tradition, in the second year of that bishop's tenure of office (see Gieseler, I. i. 242; Robertson, *Church Hist.* i. 29; Neander, i. 407; Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 14; v. 24; Migne, *Series Graeca*, xx. 193). This, if we accept the Eusebian chronology, in the *Eccles. Hist.*, would be about A.D. 158–159; while according to the *Catalogus Liberianus* (as restored by Mommsen) it would fall in the year 151—a much earlier date than is conjectured for that of Polycarp's visit by any writer of authority. The most recent investigation of the date of Polycarp's martyrdom, that of Mr. Waddington, may be regarded, however, as affording conclusive proof that it must be assigned to the year 155 or 156 (*Mémoire sur la Chronologie du Rhéteur Aelius Aristides*, in *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscrip.* xxvi. (1867); see also his *Fastes Asiatiques* in Lebas and Waddington's *Asie Mineure*). Such a conclusion, moreover, is in perfect harmony with the Eusebian chronology as corrected by Lipsius; for if we assign to Anicetus twelve years of office, terminating with the year 167, and deduct from this date eleven years, it gives the year 156 as that of his *second* year of office —the traditional year of Polycarp's martyrdom. It only remains to be added that Waddington's conclusions have been substantially accepted by Renan, Hilgenfeld, and Lipsius, and, although assailed by Wieseler (*Christenverfolgungen der Caesaren*, 1878), have been triumphantly vindicated by Lipsius (*Jahrb. für protest. Theol.* 1878, 4, p. 751 sq.).

Into the minor difficulties attaching to the different lists in the enumeration from Sixtus (or Xystus) to Liberius (after which time no doubt of much importance attaches to the accuracy of the official records) it is unnecessary that we should here enter. With respect to the earlier period, in which both the main interest and the chief difficulty centre, we may perhaps conclude that authentic tradition is wanting until we reach the name of Xystus, or at the earliest that of Alexander. Of certain special reasons for caution in accepting the prevalent tradition, we shall have occasion to speak at the close of this article; but while admitting to their fullest extent the arguments which suggest the necessity for such caution, it may be said that they cannot be regarded as sufficient to invalidate the historical existence of the characters whose names are recorded as those of Peter's immediate successors. "These names," says Lipsius,

[f] The duration of Pius's tenure of office is given in the text of the *Cat. Lib.* as ann. xx. m. iiii. d. xxi.; this however is contradicted by the dates there given of the consular years of his accession and decease, and is also at variance with II., III., and IV. On these grounds Lipsius considers himself justified in altering the period to sixteen years.

"are those of men who occupied a conspicuous position in the church at Rome in the first and second generations after the apostles. Linus, referred to in 2 Tim. iv. 21 as among the circle of Paul's friends during his imprisonment, belongs to the former, and Anencletus, or Cletus, Aristus or Evarestus, to the latter generation."

(II.) DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPTION OF THE OFFICE: (1) *in relation to other churches;* (2) *in relation to the civil power.*

(i) *In relation to other churches.*

It will now be of service to notice some of the principal facts which illustrate the gradual acceptance by the church at large of the theory of the Roman supremacy; and here it cannot but be looked upon as of peculiar significance, that in the earliest times the history of the church at Rome appears involved in the greatest obscurity. From the date of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (A.D. 58) up to the episcopate of Victor (A.D. 193–202), its annals are a blank, save when some incidental allusion in the controversies of the time reveals an occasional fact.

The growing importance of the bishopric is however clearly shown by the saying of the emperor Decius, preserved by Cyprian, to the effect that he would sooner hear of the appearance of a rival to his throne, than of the appointment of a new bishop to the Roman see (*Epist. ad Antonian.;* Migne, iii. 774). The theory set forth by Cyprian himself of the essential unity of the church, may perhaps justly be regarded as tending to support that of the primacy of the bishop of Rome. He speaks, for example (*Epist.* 55, *ad Cornelium*), of the "chair of Peter," and "the principal church of Rome, from whence the priestly unity derived its origin"—"ad Petri cathedram atque ad ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est, .... litteras ferre." This language, however, when compared with other passages (*Epp.* 7, 52, 57, 72; Epist. ad Q. *de Haereticis Baptizandis; de Unitate Eccles.* c. 4) seems, at most, only to prove that he regarded the bishop of Rome as "primus inter pares;" he speaks for example (*Epist.* 52) of pope Cornelius as "collega noster," and distinctly affirms that the other apostles were invested with an equal share of honour and power with Peter,—"pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis" (*de Unitate,*[g] c. 4). The phraseology of the bishops of Rome themselves, when addressing other bishops, is confirmatory of this view. In the 4th, and earlier part of the 5th, century we find "Julius . . . fratribus" (Mansi, ii. 1211); "Liberius fratri Eusebio" (iii. 204, 207, 209); "Liberius episc. dil. fratri Eusebio" (*ib.* 205); "dil. fratribus et coepiscopis nostris Liberius urbis Romae episcopus" (*ib.* iii. 208); "Zosimus *episcopus* urbis Romae Hesychio *episcopo* Salonitano." "Leo episcopus urbis Romae," "Felix episc. s. ecclesiae cath. urbis Romae Acacio," "Gelasius Romanae ecclesiae episcopus," &c. In these latter quotations the limitation implied in the addition "urbis Romae" is of no small significance.

With the fourth century, the evidence that favours the Roman theory becomes more abundant and more decisive. Much of it, however, relates to the technical question of jurisdiction and will be found under APPEAL; much, again, to those relations of the bishop of Rome to the general episcopate, which it has been found more convenient to treat in the fourth division of the present article; our enquiry here will consequently be limited to ascertaining the extent to which the authority of the bishop of Rome was admitted by the church at large in connexion with the definition of doctrine and the maintenance of discipline.

At the council of Nicaea the first signatures are those of Hosius, Vito, and Vincentius, the latter two being further described as "presbyteri Romani," subscribing "pro venerabili viro papa et episcopo nostro sancto Silvestro;" and, if it were possible to accept the statement of Gelasius, Hosius himself (the eminent bishop of Corduba and president of the council) was really the legate of Sylvester on this occasion: *ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον τοῦ τῆς μεγίστης Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπου* (Mansi, ii. 692; Gelasius, *Hist. Conc. Nicaeni, ib.* ii. 805). This theory indeed is still accepted by Catholic writers (Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* i. 24–38; von Schulte, *Concilien*, p. 65), but is rejected by Milman, Greenwood, Robertson, and others, on the ground of apparent interpolation and confusion; for at the council of Sardica, eighteen years later (A.D. 343) we find the subscriptions of Hosius and Vicentius appearing in the same places, but without any addition to indicate that they attended in a legatine capacity from Rome.[h]

The alleged canons of the council of Sardica undoubtedly conferred on Julius, bishop of Rome, the power of hearing appeals; but the fact that the canons appear to have been unknown to the church for many years after (Greenwood, i. 155), and that when adduced by Zosimus (A.D. 417–8), their authority was denied by the African bishops (Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, bk. ii. c. 4), is strongly against their genuineness (Gieseler I. ii. 199). And even if their genuineness were admitted, it is still most probable (though we find Sozomen and Socrates in the following century representing their scope as general) that they implied a departure from the rule of the church, and were designed to have effect during the episcopate of Julius only (Baur, *Christliche Kirche*, ii. 245).

With respect both to Sylvester and to Julius we have, moreover, other evidence which distinctly contravenes a contrary assumption. A letter addressed to the former by the council of Nicaea, asks for a confirmation of the council's decision by *a synod of all the bishops of Rome:* "episcopos totius vestrae apostolicae urbis in unum convenire, vestrumque habere concilium . . . . ut firmetur nostra sanctimonia" (Mansi, ii. 719); and similarly Julius, when he summoned the accusers of Athanasius to Rome, and was met by the demand why he assumed to write alone, replied that the views he upheld were not his alone,

[g] The passages in this chapter which assign to Peter a supremacy among the other apostles do not occur in the earlier MSS., and are attributed by Gieseler (*Kirchengesch.* i. 364) to Romish transcribers; it is certain that they involve the writer in a contradiction of *himself.*

[h] An additional proof of a certain tampering with the text is furnished by the statement of the *Libellus Synodicus*, which gives a third version of the function filled by Vito and Vincentius, as that of the *presidents of the Council*: ἧς ἐξῆρχον προκαθεζόμενοι, Βίτων καὶ Βικέντιος πρεσβύτεροι, τὸν τόπον ἐπέχοντες Σιλβέστρου τοῦ πάππα Ῥώμης καὶ τοῦ διαδόχου αὐτοῦ Ἰουλίου" (Mansi, ii. 747).

but those of all Italy and all her bishops: "nam tametsi solus sim, qui scripsi, non meam tamen solius sententiam, sed omnium Italorum, et omnium in his regionibus episcoporum scripsi" (*ib.* ii. 1230).

Even so late as the time of Innocent I., Chrysostom, when entreating the interposition of the Roman pontiff against his rival Theophilus, appeals not only to Rome but to the collective episcopate of Italy,—*κύριοί μου τιμιώτατοι καὶ εὐλαβέστατοι* (Migne, *S.G.* lii. 534).

It is however undeniable that, as already observed, a great accession of influence, if not of directly admitted authority, was gained by the see of Rome as the result of the policy of Julius and his successors in connexion with the Athanasian controversy. The bishop of Rome was from that time regarded as the foremost defender of orthodox doctrine; and the discharge of such a function at a time when, according to the assertion of Pacianus, heresies were so rife that their bare enumeration would fill an "immense volume" (Migne, xiii. 1053), was in itself an inestimable service to the church. Yet, notwithstanding, the fourth century passed away leaving the Roman supremacy still unrecognised. Of this the implicit testimony of Jerome affords almost conclusive proof. In one of his most notable letters (*ad Rusticum*; Migne, *Patrol.* xxii. 932), he takes occasion to enforce, by various analogies, the expediency of admitting a central and single authority. He adduces examples from the animal kingdom, from the imperial power, from the judicial power, from the military power, and from domestic rule, and finally goes on to say,—"singuli ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archipresbyteri, singuli archidiaconi; et omnis ordo ecclesiasticus suis rectoribus nititur" (*ib.* 942), but, remarkably enough, makes no reference to the bishop of Rome.

Under Innocent I. the claim to supremacy was urged with fresh vigour and increased boldness of assertion. In a letter to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium, he says that the authority handed down from St. Peter is entitled to the obedience of all ("ab omnibus debere servari"), especially, he goes on to say, "when it is clear that throughout all Italy, Gaul, the Spains, Africa, and Sicily, together with the intermediate islands, no one founded churches save those whom the venerable apostle Peter and his successors ordained to the priestly office" (Coustant, i. 855; Mansi, iii. 1028), thus entirely ignoring the labours of St. Paul in the West. Writing (about A.D. 415) to Alexander, bishop of Antioch, he claims precedence for Rome over that see, as the city to which "the honour temporarily conferred on Antioch (the presidency of St. Peter) was transferred, and in which it was consummated," "quod illa in transitu meruit ista susceptum apud se consummatumque gauderet" (Mansi, iii. 1054).

We may perhaps infer with Milman (*Lat. Christianity*, bk. ii. c. 4) that the Roman supremacy was, by this time, generally admitted *in Italy*, for we find Leo I. writing to the bishop of Aquileia (which see was not included in the Roman diocese) as one subject to his immediate jurisdiction (Migne, *Patrol.* liv. 590). In Africa, however, in the time of Zosimus (A.D. 417–8), the independence of the episcopate is amply attested by its condemnation of "transmarina judicia" as a lawful court of appeal for presbyters in that province (APPEAL, p. 129). That the ability of Leo, aided by the decree of Valentinian, would have overcome this spirit there can be little doubt; but in the year before Leo's accession Carthage was taken by Genseric, and the province became subject to Arian domination.

It was during the pontificate of Leo (A.D. 440–61) that, by general admission, the Petrine prerogative first received full and distinct enunciation. As already stated, the decree of Valentinian III. must be looked upon as virtually the act of Leo, who claimed that he and his successors derived from St. Peter a supreme if not immediate jurisdiction over the whole church: "*per omnes* ecclesias cura nostra distenditur, exigente hoc a nobis Domino, qui apostolicae dignitatis beatissimo apostolo Petro primatum fidei suae remuneratione commisit" (*Epist. ad Episc. Illyr.* Mansi, v. 1231; cf. *Epist. ad Dioscurum*, ib. v. 1240). Of the exclusive character of this claim, his language in his sermon on the fourth anniversary of his pontificate leaves no doubt: "et tamen de toto mundo unus Petrus eligitur, qui et universarum gentium vocationi et omnibus apostolis cunctisque ecclesiae patribus praeponatur, ut quamvis in populo Dei multi sacerdotes sint multique pastores, omnes tamen proprie regat Petrus quos principaliter regit et Christus" (Migne, *Patrol.* liv. 16).

Though, after the invasion of Genseric, the political power had lapsed almost completely into Leo's hands, the prestige resulting therefrom is treated by him as altogether subordinate: "Roma, quae tamen per apostolici sacerdotii principatum amplior facta est arce religionis quam solio potestatis" (*De Vocatione Gent.* bk. ii. c. 6); "Civitas sacerdotalis et regia per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius praesidens religione divina quam dominatione terrena" (quoted by Neander, tr. Torrey, iii. 226).

Yet notwithstanding the unlimited jurisdiction claimed by Leo, it seems probable that even he regarded his powers as visitatorial in their character, to be exercised beyond the Roman diocese only when occasion called for interference; and we may perhaps assent to the view that "he would himself have been shocked at that unmitigated religious despotism for which his name and his authority were vouched by his successors" (Greenwood, *Cath. Petri*, i. 437).

Under Hilary (A.D. 461–7), Leo's successor, the claims ratified by the decree of Valentinian were pressed still more unreservedly in the provinces; and his celebrated letter to the Gallic bishops embodies little less than a claim not only to *universal*, but also to *immediate* legislative authority in the church (see Thiel, *Rom. Pont. Epist.* i. 141–6).

How successfully these claims were urged, may be seen when we compare the language of Avitus of Vienne, at the commencement of the 6th century, with that of Hilary of Arles. In his letter to the Palmary synod (A.D. 502) he ascribes to pope Symmachus superiority to all earthly tribunals, and says that he can be judged only by God; he also distinctly implies the universal character of the Roman episcopacy: "At si Papa Urbis vocatur in dubium, episcopatus jam videbitur non episcopus vacillare" (Migne, lix. 248–9).

In the pontificate of Hormisdas (A.D. 514–23) a further advance is discernible in the successful

effort made to include the East (which had never accepted the decree of Valentinian III.) in the enunciation of the foregoing theory; and the form of confession subscribed by John, the patriarch of Constantinople, on the return of the Eastern church to orthodoxy, although evasive in expression, was regarded as recording a signal victory for Rome: "Sanctissimas Dei ecclesias, id est, superioris vestrae et novellae illius Romae, unam esse accipio; illam sedem apostoli Petri et istius augustae civitatis unam esse definio" (*ib.* lxiv. 444). We find accordingly John I. (A.D. 523–6) refusing to hold intercourse with Epiphanius, the patriarch of Constantinople, until his right to take precedence had been recognized: *προτραπεὶς ὑπὸ Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ πατριάρχου οὐ κατεδέξατο ἕως προεκάθισεν τοῦ Ἐπιφανίου ὁ Ῥώμης* (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, *Corp. Hist. Byzant.* XXVI. i. 261). In the same spirit Pelagius II. (A.D. 578–90), while denouncing the assumption by John of Constantinople of the title of "oecumenical patriarch," asserted in the most unequivocal language the universal primacy of the see of Rome: "cum generalium synodorum convocandi auctoritas apostolicae sedi beati Petri singulari privilegio sit tradita" (Migne, lxxii. 739).

John, however, so far from discontinuing the title, again subscribed himself thus in the letters in which he acknowledged the formal notification of the accession of Gregory the Great. This drew from Gregory (A.D. 590–604) a still more emphatic condemnation of what he designated as "a haughty and damnable distinction;" "moreover," he adds, "it is known to all that the apostle Peter *is the chief of the universal church*. Paul, Andrew, John—what were they other than chiefs of *particular* churches?" (Migne, lxxvii. 743).

The remarkable extension given by Gregory the Great to the power of the pontificate will be noticed under the two divisions with which it is most closely associated; (1), the relations of Rome to the episcopal order; (2), the extension of the church's patrimonium. In the West we have evidence that important exceptions continued to exist to the recognition of the pope as universal metropolitan. In Spain, it is observed by Baxmann (*Politik der Päpste*, i. 116), that the only instance of Gregory's assertion of such jurisdiction (see infra, p. 1673) was at Malaga, where the imperial government still held its ground. In support of the conclusion to which this fact plainly points, it may be noted that the language of Gregory's illustrious contemporary, Isidore of Seville, is singularly wanting in any such recognition of the Roman prerogatives as the papal assumptions of the preceding century might appear to demand. Isidore admits indeed (*ad Eugen. Episc. Tolet.*; Migne, lxxxiii. 574), that the "potestas" and "dignitas" conferred on Peter, and transmitted from him to *all bishops*, were given "specialius Romano antistiti;" but in a more formal treatise (*de Officiis Eccl.* ii. v. 5) he expressly affirms that all bishops are to be regarded as equal, just as the other apostles were equal to St. Peter, "siquidem et caeteri apostolorum cum Petro *par consortium honoris et potestatis* effecti sunt . . . quibus decedentibus successerunt episcopi, qui sunt constituti per totum mundum in sedibus apostolorum." Similarly in his *Origines* (VII. xi.) he assigns "sedes apostolicae" to patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops alike: "Patriarcha Graeca lingua summus pater, quia primum, id est apostolicum, tenet locum" . . . Archiepiscopus Graece summus episcoporum, tenet enim vicem apostolicum," &c.

Among those Western nations which were indebted for their conversion to the direct agency of Rome, we perceive, however, an increased and not unnatural disposition to acknowledge a filial rather than a fraternal relation to the parent see; while after Gregory's death, the course of events—the subjugation of Syria and Egypt by the Saracens, with the involved loss of Jerusalem to Christendom, and the extinction of the churches of Antioch and Alexandria—powerfully contributed to the establishment of the papal autocracy. In England, from the time of the council of Whitby (A.D. 664), the Gregorian traditions, as enforced by Augustine, Theodorus, Wilfrid, and others, were readily accepted, though a strong spirit of resistance to the Roman claims to immediate jurisdiction is from time to time discernible. The British church appears to have almost refused to regard the English churches as Christian (Bede, *E. H.* ii. 20). The representatives of the English church taxed their antagonists, in return, with spurning "in tyrannous pertinacity the tradition of the Roman church" (see letter of Aldhelm to to Geraint; Bright, *Early English Church Hist.* pp. 419–423). From England this teaching was in turn diffused over Frankland. In this latter country, however, more than one important change in the relations to the papacy is to be noted. From the time of Caesarius of Arles (A.D. 500) the churches in Aquitania and Burgundy, converted from Arianism to Catholicism, appear to have assumed towards the Roman see an attitude of unquestioning deference. Of this the frequent acceptance of the pallium (*infra*, p. 1673), as well as other evidence, is sufficient proof. But in Neustria and Austrasia, among the purely Frankish population, this was not equally the case. The Merovingian kings usurped the popular rights in appointing bishops to vacant sees (Guizot, *Essais*, pp. 192–3); and the relations which the genius of Gregory the Great succeeded in establishing (Mansi, x. 34, 293; Sirmond, i. 420, 454, 456) were not sustained. After the death of queen Brunehaut the intercourse with Rome appears to have come to an end. The council of Paris (A.D. 615), which restored the canonical form of episcopal elections, makes no reference to the papal authority. Guizot observes that from the death of Gregory the Great to the time of Gregory II. (A.D. 604–715), not a single document exists which can be cited as proof of intercommunication between the rulers of Frankish Gaul and the papacy (*Civil. en France*, ii. 235). It was the great result of the mission of St. Boniface that it restored the spirit of allegiance to Rome in yet more than its original force; and the principle which he distinctly enunciated of the duty of referring all difficulties of an important character to the see of Rome for solution, marks an all-important era in European church history: "eodem modo quo nos Romana ecclesia ordinatos cum sacramento constrinxit, ut si sacerdotes vel plebes a lege Dei deviasse viderim et corrigere non potuerim, fideliter semper Sedi Apostolicae

et Vicario sancti Petri ad emendandum indicaverim; sic enim, ni fallor, omnes episcopi debent metropolitano, et ipse Romano Pontifici, si quid de corrigendis populis apud eos impossibile est notum facere" (Migne, lxxxix. 764).

At this point we enter upon the commencement of a remarkable fusion between the political and ecclesiastical aspects of our subject, which may be reserved for further comment until towards the close of the outline relating to the development of the conception of the papacy.

(ii) *In relation to the Civil Power.*—The relations of the State to the Christian community under Constantine the Great and his successors were largely determined by motives of policy. We find Constantius, whose conception of Christianity was extremely defective, avowing his belief that the whole State was more effectually aided by "religion" than by all the services and endeavours of his subjects, and declaring it to be his anxious desire "to rejoice in and to be exalted by the faith." (*Cod. Theod.* bk. xvi. tit. ii.; ed. Hänel, p. 1490.) Similarly, Valentinian III., in the edict already quoted, speaks of the favour of heaven as chiefly to be gained by the Christian "faith and religion." According to Godefroy (*Novellae*, p. 49) the terms "religion" and "faith," as here and elsewhere employed by the Roman lawyers, are to be understood in a sense very different from that in which these terms were used by the church itself, and denoted simply the body of privileges ("privilegia ecclesiae" or πολιτεία ἐκκλησιαστική, as they were respectively termed, in the West and the East), conferred upon Christianity as a recognised organization by the State.

In such a compact with the new religion, the emperors, with whatever admixture of higher motives, undoubtedly saw their own political gain; and in like manner the bishops of Rome, in their efforts to assert their jurisdiction over the whole church, discerned a similar advantage in a coalition with the imperial power. This advantage was not, however, to be gained without a corresponding loss of independence and ecclesiastical freedom. "The laws of the Christian emperors," says an able writer, "from Constantine to Leo the philosopher, manifest the absolute subordination of the spiritual to the temporal authority. The minutiae of church government, the relations of the clergy among themselves and to the state, their duties, their morals, and their actions, monastic regulations, the suppression of heresies—all the details, in fact, of ecclesiastical life, internal and external, are prescribed with the assurance of unquestioned power, and with a care which shews how large a portion of the imperial attention was devoted to the management of the church." (H. C. Lea, *Studies in Church History*, p. 16.) At Rome, however, as regards the chief pontiffs, this language must be accepted with considerable qualification. Exactly in proportion as the imperial power declined in vigour, they are to be seen assuming a bolder policy towards both the church and the state. The removal of the imperial court to Ravenna, under Honorius, was followed by the new assumptions that mark the pontificate of Innocent I. The feebleness of Valentinian III. was in some measure compensated by the vigour of Leo.

So long as the Western empire continued to exist, the traditions of papal Rome were those of at least professed deference to the temporal power; but when, in 476, the Western succession came to an end, the language and demeanour of the popes towards the emperors of the East were characterised by a different tone. A comparison of the letters of Gelasius (A.D. 492–6) with those of Leo I. illustrates this difference. The latter pontiff invariably addresses the emperor with great deference, and admits in the most explicit manner the imperial prerogative in relation to the church. To Theodosius II. he writes, with reference to the assembling of a general council at Rome, "clementia vestra *concedat*" (Mansi, vi. 53); to Marcian, "differri ad opportunius tempus sacerdotalem synodum *juberetis*" (*ib.* vi. 83). Gelasius, on the other hand, while admitting the Roman sovereignty of Anastasius, unflinchingly asserts the supremacy of the church itself in all matters of doctrine. The tone of Symmachus (A.D. 498–514) is equally bold, "An quia imperator es, contra Petri niteris potestatem?" (Thiel, *Epist. Rom. Pont.* p. 703.)

During the ascendancy of the Gothic power in Italy (A.D. 476–553), the claims of its monarchs were restricted to the right of interference at the papal elections (see III. ii. "Election"). Theodoric the Great, indeed, proclaimed complete liberty of religious profession, "Religionem imperare non possumus, quia nemo cogitur ut credat invitus" (Cassiod. *Variar.* ii. 27; v. 37). The relations of the Greek emperors and the Gothic sovereigns are, however, justly characterised by Greenwood (*Cath. Petri*, ii. 125) as "of some moment to the progress of papal history," the imperial policy being directed towards an alliance with the pope, in order to gain assistance in its scheme for the re-annexation of Italy. John I. was received at Constantinople (A.D. 525) with distinguished honours; and to the suspicions thereby excited in the breast of Theodoric we may attribute his death in prison on his return to Italy. In the year 530, a decree of Justinian declared Constantinople to be supreme over all the churches, "Constantinopolitana ecclesia omnium aliarum est caput" (*Just. Codex*, i. tit. ii. 24, ed. Kriegel, p. 22); but in 534, on the eve of the expedition of Belisarius, an endeavour was made by the emperor to enlist the sympathies of John II. on his side, by a remarkable letter, wherein, after addressing the pontiff as "Sanctissimus Archiepiscopus almae urbis Romae et Patriarcha," he assures him that he has resolved to subject and unite all the clergy of the regions of the East to the Romish see, "Ideoque omnes sacerdotes *universi orientalis tractus* et subjicere et unire sedi vestrae sanctitatis properavimus" (*ib.* i. tit. i. *ad. fin.* ed. Kriegel, p. 13).

The selection of John I. as ambassador from Theodoric to the emperor, and that of Agapetus for a like commission by Theodotus, the Gothic monarch, in 535, are evidence of the growing importance of the papal office in relation to the civil power. After the imperial supremacy had been restored in Italy by the arms of Belisarius and Narses, the exarchs of Ravenna succeeded to the authority before wielded by the kings of the Ostrogoths, and the papal elections regularly awaited their confirmation (III. ii. "Election"). Rome herself descended to the second rank in Italy, and the treatment of Silverius (A.D. 536–8) and of Vigilius (A.D. 538–55) proves how com-

pletely the popes were now at the mercy of the emperor. Yet, notwithstanding, the Roman see still represented the highest and most influential authority among the Italians themselves, and the Pragmatic Sanction of Justinian (A.D. 554), which fixed the civil organization of Italy, was issued at the request of Vigilius (Gibbon, c. xliii.).

With the establishment of the Lombard supremacy, that of the Byzantine court was again reduced to little more than a shadow; and it may be regarded as the key to much of the state policy of Gregory the Great, that his chief aim was to extricate the papacy from the dangers by which it was menaced by these two powers. His aversion from the conquerors did not prevent him from gaining over Agilulph, the king of the Lombards, to the Catholic as opposed to the Arian interest (*Paulus Diac.* bk. vi. cc. 9 and 10). And though he continued to profess allegiance to the emperor, there can be no question that his sympathies with the empire were to a great extent estranged by the assumption by his rival at Constantinople of the title of "oecumenical patriarch." The relations which this pope sought to establish both with Frankland and with England stand in very close connexion with those existing between the papacy and the Lombard and Byzantine courts (Baur, *Gesch. d. Kirche*, ii. 251; Baxmann, *Politik d. Päpste*, i. 26).

The decrees of the Quinisext council (A.D. 691), of which the thirty-sixth canon was an endeavour to revive that theory of episcopal pre-eminence which regarded it as resting solely on a political foundation, and the efforts of Justinian II. to thrust them on the acceptance of the West, mark the last stage of interference on the part of the Eastern emperors with the papal power. In the pontificate of Gregory II. (A.D. 715–731) the dispute concerning image worship completed the rupture between East and West; the estates of the Roman see in Sicily and Calabria were confiscated by the emperor Leo; and although Gregory continued to profess a nominal allegiance to the emperor, it would appear that it was mainly from motives dictated by yet stronger feelings of animosity to the Lombards that he and his successors, to use the somewhat exaggerated expression of Gibbon (c. xlix.) "spared the relics of the Byzantine dominion" (Greenwood, ii. 481). Nothing, however, could exceed in plainness the terms in which Gregory repudiated the right of the emperor to interfere in questions of dogma, and maintained that the spheres of the imperial and papal authority were entirely distinct: "Scis imperator, sanctae ecclesiae dogmata non imperatorum esse, sed pontificum, quae tuto dogmatizari debent. Idcirco ecclesiis praepositi sunt pontifices *a rei publicae negotiis abstinentes*, et imperatores ergo similiter ab ecclesiasticis abstineant, et quae sibi commissa sunt, capessant" (Mansi, xii. 960). The significance of this passage is enhanced when we consider that it is from the pen of one whom Gibbon styles "the founder of the papal monarchy."

It is, however, to the relations of the see of Rome to the Lombard power that we must refer that alliance with the Frankish monarch which paved the way for the assertion of that very political power which Gregory II. professed to disclaim. "Placed between a heretic and a robber" (to use the expression of Bryce), the Roman pontiff fled for assistance to the Frank, and the appeal of Gregory III. to Charles Martel for aid against the Lombards marks the commencement of that new conjunction which resulted in the claims of mediaeval popedom. The title of "papa universalis" which Gregory I. had denounced as blasphemous, was claimed by his successors in the 8th century, and the aspiration to political influence which Gregory II. disavowed, grew, in the middle ages, into an assertion of political supremacy.

Other circumstances favoured these results. The *Orbis Christianus* no longer coincided with the *Orbis Romanus*, and the want of a bond of union between the nations of the West was painfully felt. This want the papacy could in a great measure supply; and the celibacy of the popes, and the elective character still preserved by their office, served to diminish the jealousy with which a line of hereditary rulers might have been regarded.

Under these circumstances, the appearance of Boniface in Frankland as the papal legate was attended with signal success, and was productive of results which can hardly be over-estimated in their importance. The "familiar" relations which this prelate had already entered into with Rome, the oath whereby he bound himself to perpetual fidelity to the supreme pontiff (Sirmond, i. 512), and the strenuous manner in which he upheld the theory of the Catholic unity, the duty of subjection on the part of the whole clergy to the successor of St. Peter, and the superiority of the pope to all earthly tribunals ("quia cunctos ipse judicaturus a nemine est judicandus") constitute a crisis in European history. (See Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* iii. 553–4; Labbe and Cossart, iii. 1925; Greenwood, *Cath. Petri*, ii. 361–71).

The main facts in relation to the compact with Pippin and Charles are stated elsewhere (see IV. iv. "Political Sovereignty"). It will be sufficient here to observe, that although the elective character of the papal office was preserved, the validity of each election, at least throughout the reign of Charles the Great, was entirely dependent on the sanction of the Frankish monarch, to whom the pope acknowledged a kind of feudal relation. We find, for instance, that when Leo III. announced his election to Charles, the latter, in reply, expressed his pleasure at receiving the assurance of humble obedience and the pledge of fidelity to the throne offered by the pontiff, "gavisi sumus seu in electionis unanimitate, seu in humilitatis vestrae obedientia et in promissionis ad nos fidelitate" (*Carolina*, ed. Jaffé, p. 354).

It is, however, at least questionable, whether the coronation of Charles at Rome (an event but imperfectly understood and very variously interpreted) was not, to a great extent, a skilful readjustment of the mutual relations of the empire and the papacy. As the pope required the consent of the emperor, before his election could be regarded as valid, so the emperor henceforth received the formal award of his crown from the pope.

Though the power of the Frankish episcopate largely increased with the decline of the Carolingian dynasty, the papal and the royal supremacy were still held to be inextricably linked together. Thomassin quotes, in proof of this, the

language of the fourth council of Tours (A.D. 849), addressed to Nomenoë, duke of Armorica, who, at the same time that he revolted from his allegiance to Charles the Bald, sought to render the metropolitan of his province independent of Rome: "omnem laesisti Christianitatem dum Vicarium B. Petri apostolicum, cui dedit Deus primatum in omni orbe terrarum sprevisti" (Sirmond, iii. 70). Similarly, Lewis the German, when he sought to bring over the council of Chiersy to his side in his contest with his brother Charles, received for reply that they could never desert one who had been inaugurated so solemnly by the Frankish bishops, "quemque sancta Sedes Apostolica, mater nostra, litteris apostolicis ut regem honorare studuit et confirmare" (Sirmond, iii. 129).

In the memorable struggle between Nicholas I. and Hincmar (arising out of the divorce of queen Theutberga by her husband, Lothair II.) these theories were asserted by pope Nicholas with unanswerable force against the French bishops. He maintained that even the imperial dignity and power were the gift of the holy see; and in the sequel Hincmar was compelled to restore Rothrad to the see of Soissons, and Lothair to receive back his consort. In support of this simultaneous exercise of the papal prerogative in the civil and in the ecclesiastical domain, we find Nicholas appealing to the False Decretals, a collection of spurious pontifical decrees which, it was alleged, had been compiled by Isidore of Seville, but of which the Roman archives presented no trace, their first appearance belonging to the years 829–840, when they were brought to light at Mentz. In these the sole legislative power of the pope was formally and systematically laid down. "The papacy," says Milman, "became a legislative as well as an administrative authority. Infallibility was the next inevitible step, if infallibility was not already in the power asserted to have been bestowed by the Lord on St. Peter, by St. Peter handed down in unbroken descent, and in a plenitude which could not be restricted or limited, to the latest of his successors" (*Lat. Christianity*, bk. v. c. 4).

### III. Distinctive Features of the Office.

(i) *Titles.*

*Papa.*—This title, as already stated, was of wide and various use before its final limitation to the Roman pontiff. In the East its ecclesiastical use has always been comparatively vague, including not only bishops and priests but even readers. We find, for example, the emperor Isaac Comnenus, in the 11th century, speaking of a "lector" as "papa." "Quando episcopus facit simplicem papam sive lectorem" (Lupus, *Opera*, v. 214). In the 5th century, Avitus, bishop of Vienne, writing to the patriarch of Jerusalem, addresses him as "Papa, Apostle, and Prince of the Universal Church:" "Papae Hierosolymitano. Exercet apostolatus vester concessos a Divinitate primatus, et quod principem locum in universali ecclesia teneat, non privilegiis solum studet monstrare, sed meritis" (*Epist.* 23; Migne, *Patrol.* lix. 239). In Alexandria the title appears to have been first borne by Heraclius, who was elected patriarch in the year 222: "ejus tempore appellatus est patriarcha Alexandrinus Baba, id est avus" (*Eutychii Alexand. Patriarchae Annales*, Migne, *S. G.* cxi. 381–3). It has been asserted that the title was also borne by the archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, but this is denied by Assemann, (*Biblioth. Orien.* i. 14), who says that the archbishop was styled "Primas, Catholicus, et Patriarcha," but never "Papa."

In the West it would appear from the testimony of Walafrid Strabo (*supra*, p. 1652), that throughout our period the title was not necessarily restricted to its modern use. In its actual employment, however, it appears to have been confined at an early period to bishops. Its limitation to the pope of Rome was gradual, commencing, probably, in the 6th century; and, as we should naturally expect, among the communities more directly under the influence of the Roman see. Liberatus of Carthage speaks both of the "bishop of Rome" and of the "pope of Rome," but, according to Thomassin, after the time of Agapetus (A.D. 535–6), restricts the title of "papa" to the pope: "Agapetus papa ordinatur;" "Papae et senatui Romano scribens rex," &c. (*Breviar.* cc. 18, 21, 22). In other parts of the West, the title continued for some time longer to be applied without restriction to all bishops. Of this a passage in Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* iv. 26) affords a good illustration. In the year 563 Clothaire I. presented one Emerius to the see of Saintes without the consent of the metropolitan Leontius. Leontius accordingly sought to annul the appointment, and at a council, convened at Saintes, Emerius was deposed, and one Heraclius elected in his place. Heraclius was thereupon advised to despatch a messenger to the court of Charibert, king of Paris, to gain his support. On entering the royal presence, the messenger exclaimed, "Salve rex gloriose, *sedes enim apostolica* eminentiae tuae salutem mittit uberrimam!" To which the king replied, "Numquid Turonicam[1] adiisti urbem, ut *papae illius* nobis salutem deferas?" It is difficult to avoid concluding from this passage that both Saintes and Tours were styled "sedes apostolicae" in the 6th century, and their bishops "papae." So also Clovis, when addressing the Gaulish bishops in the year 508, styles them "apostolica sede dignissimi papae" (Mansi, viii. 346); and they appear themselves to have claimed the title "apostolici" at the first council of Orleans, A.D. 511 (Mansi, viii. 367). Thomassin, however, observes, that at the third (A.D. 538), fourth (A.D. 541), and fifth (A.D. 549) councils of Orleans, and that of Clermont (A.D. 549), only Rome is styled "apostolica sedes." He also cites a letter of Avitus (*Epist.* 31), written circa 525, as referring to the pope simply as "papa;" but in the same letter (Migne, *Patrol.* lix. 248–9) the expression "papa Urbis" also occurs, while in another (*Epist.* 7) Avitus appears to attribute equal dignity to the "papa Constantinopolitanus," referring to this pontiff and the Roman pontiff as a double constellation in the ecclesiastical firmament, "velut geminos apostolorum principes . . . . velut in coelo positum religionis signum pro gemino sidere." Fortunatus of Poitiers, writing in the latter half of the 6th century, inscribes a letter to

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[1] Ruinart, who is followed by Migne (lxxi. 166), reads "Romanam" for "Turonicam," but see note to Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* iii. 20.

Felix, bishop of Nantes: "Domino sancto et apostolica sede dignissimo patri, Felici papae" (*Misc.* iii. 4; Migne, lxxxviii. 119); and writing to Euphronius, bishop of Tours, inscribes the letter "Domino sancto .... papae" (*ib.* iii. 1; Migne, lxxxviii. 115).

It is supposed by Thomassin and by Phillips (*Kirchenrecht*, v. 603) that, with the end of the 6th century the title began to be entirely restricted to the pope of Rome, who was now generally recognised as "pater patrum." We find, however, that at the sixth general council, that of Constantinople in the year 680, Honorius is referred to as "papa antiquae Romae," and Cyrus as "papa Alexandriae" (Mansi, xi. 214). The following titles assumed by, or given to, pope Agatho, in the Acts of the same council, appear to indicate that such titles were largely enhanced, at discretion, by the use of adjectives, or a more amplified description: "episcopus servus servorum Dei;" "episcopus sanctae Dei catholicae atque apostolicae ecclesiae urbis Romae;" "sanctus nuper ordinatus papa in apostolica sede antiquae Romae;" "sanctissimus et beatissimus archiepiscopus antiquae Romae;" "sanctissimus et beatissimus papa;" "sanctissimus papa;" "orthodoxus papa" (*ib.* xi. 202, 209, 285, 298, 322, 330, 346).

In the 9th century the dissociation of the title from ordinary episcopal dignity is attested by the fact that we find Gregory IV. (A.D. 827-44) reproving the Frankish bishops for addressing him by the incongruous titles of "frater" and "papa;" when it would, he says, have been more fitting to have shewn simply the reverence due to a father: "Romano pontifici scribentes, contrariis eum in praefatione nominibus appellastis, fratrem videlicet et papam; dum congruentius esset solam ei paternam reverentiam exhibere" (Migne, civ. 207).

The use of this title in addressing any other ecclesiastical dignitary than the pope of Rome was formally forbidden by Gregory VII. in the council of Rome of the year 1073: "ut papae nomen unicum sit in toto orbe Christiano, nec liceat alicui se ipsum vel alium eo nomine appellare" (Gieseler, *Kirchengesch.* i. ii. 405, with note).

*Pontifex maximus* and *pontifex summus.* [See PONTIFEX.]

*Episcopus universalis* or *oecumenicus.*—This title first assumes significance in the time of Pelagius II. (A.D. 578–590), who, as we have already seen, strenuously denounced its assumption by John the patriarch, and at the same time disclaimed it for himself (Baronius, *ad ann.* 587). His remonstrance appears to have produced no effect on John, for we find his successor, Gregory the Great, repeating both the remonstrance and the disclaimer. According to Gregory, the council of Chalcedon had already distinctly affirmed the exclusive right of the Roman pontiff to this title, but no pope had hitherto assumed to himself this "audacious name," lest such an assumption should seem to involve the denial of the title to his episcopal brethren: "Numquid non, sicut vestra fraternitas novit, per venerandum Chalcedonense concilium hujus apostolicae sedis *antistites* .... *universales* oblato honore vocati sunt. Sed tamen nullus unquam tali vocabulo appellari voluit, nullus sibi hoc temerarium nomen arripuit, ne si sibi in pontificatus gradu gloriam singularitatis arriperet, hanc omnibus fratribus denegasse videretur" (*Epist.* v. 18; Migne, lxxvii. 743). Authorities, however, concur in holding Gregory mistaken in his supposition that the title had been sanctioned by the council of Chalcedon (Gieseler I. ii. 228; Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* ii. 325; Schaff, p. 662); Leo was only styled οἰκουμενικὸς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος in an accusation preferred against Dioscurus by two deacons of Alexandria (Mansi, vi. 1006, 1012); and that he himself assumed the title in his correspondence is a statement that probably rests upon a forgery (see Gieseler, *u. s.*). Boniface II. (A.D. 530–2) appears to have been thus styled by Stephen, metropolitan of Thessaly; and Boniface III. (A.D. 606), who according to Anastasius (Muratori, *Script.* III. i. 135) obtained from the emperor Phocas a decree entitling the see of St. Peter to rank as "caput omnium ecclesiarum," is said to have openly assumed the title. Gieseler (I. ii. 488) refers its earliest appearance *as self-assumed* to the *Liber Diurnus*, which appeared A.D. 682–5; and Leo II. (A.D. 682) was saluted as "papa oecumenicus" by the emperor (Mansi, xi. 713). After the 7th century its occurrence is not unfrequent. It is given by the Roman senate to Stephen IV. in the 8th century (Mansi, xii. 625); to the same pontiff by the Lateran council of the year 769 (*ib.* xii. 713); and to Leo III. by a synod held in Rome in 799 (*ib.* xiii. 1071). It was used by Charles the Bald in addressing John VIII. in the year 876, on the occasion of that monarch's receiving the imperial dignity from the latter. In the proposals of the commissioners presented to Lewis the Pious (A.D. 825) the pope is referred to as he "who, by apostolical authority and the reverential deference of the world, is exalted to the universality" (Baronius, ad ann. 825). Hallam, however (*Middle Ages*, c. vii. pt. 1), quotes Gratian (*Decretum*, ed. 1591, p. 303): "Nec etiam Romanus pontifex universalis appellatur," and says that a distinction is made by the canonists between "universalis ecclesiae episcopus" and "episcopus universalis;" "that is, the pope has no immediate jurisdiction in the diocese of other bishops, though he can correct them for the undue exercise of their own."

*Apostolicus* [see APOSTOLICUS].—The latest of the episcopal titles claimed exclusively by the pope. Charles Martel, in the 8th century, when recommending Boniface to the Frankish bishops, addresses them as "domini et apostolici in Christo patres episcopi" (Migne, lxxxix. 699). To the evidence of Rupertus Tuitiensis (quoted in APOSTOLICUS) may be added that of Adam Scotus, who, speaking of the pope, says, "Ipsi quippe sunt principales, et maximi sedis apostolicae in ecclesia Romana successores; unde et ipsos specialiter *apostolicos* sancta ecclesia vocare consuevit" (*de Tripart. Tab.*; Migne, cxviii. 394).

*Servus servorum Dei.*—This title was not originally restricted to the bishop of Rome. Augustine (*Epist.* 217, *ad Vitalem*) superscribes a letter "August. episc. servus Christi et per ipsum servus servorum ipsius." Fulgentius (*Epist.* 5) styles himself "servorum Christi famulus" (Gieseler, I. ii. 214). Its earliest use as assumed by the Roman pontiffs appears to have been by Leo the Great, who so styles him-

self in a letter addressed to the emperor Theodosius II. (Migne, *Patrol.* cv. 23). It is adopted again by Gregory the Great, with the design, probably, of contrasting his own humility with the arrogant assumption of the title of "universalis" by John of Constantinople (*Vita a Joh. Diac.* ii. 1). His contemporary, Didier of Cahors, refused to permit himself to be addressed by any other title. In the 9th century it began to be limited to the pope. Leo III. habitually styles himself "episcopus, servus servorum Dei" (Jaffé, *Carolina*, p. 336, et passim).

*Claviger.*—The use of this title appears to date from the middle of the 8th century. Pope Hadrian was styled "clavicularius regni coelorum" (Mansi, xii. 828; xvii. 130-1); in a dedicatory poem addressed in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Charles the Great to that monarch, the same pontiff writes, "Pollicite sacra dona *clavigeri* aulae *Petri*" (Maassen, *Gesch. d. Canonisch. Rechts*, i. 965-7).

(ii.) *Election.* This, as is generally allowed by ecclesiastical writers, was, in the earliest times, by the clergy and laity of the church of Rome conjointly with the bishops of the neighbouring dioceses, and in no way differed from that observed in election to other bishoprics. [BISHOP; ORDINATION.]

With respect to the election of pope Cornelius (A.D. 251) St. Cyprian tells us that he was raised to the dignity "by the divine decree, the testimony of nearly all the clergy, the assent of the people, and by the college [ELECTORAL COLLEGES] of venerable priests, and by good men" (*Epist.* 55; Migne, iii. 771). The emperor Valentinian II. in a letter respecting the election of Siricius (A.D. 385), says: "We hold it to be the right of the Roman people that they should enjoy concord and elect the best man for bishop" (Coustant, *Epist. Roman. Pont.* i. 639). In the disputed election of Boniface I. (A.D. 418) it was alleged as decisive in his favour that he had been elected by the Roman clergy, "amid the acclamations of the people and the chief men of the city, and that 70 priests had subscribed the act of election in the presence of nine provincial bishops" (*ib.* i. 1007).

The method observed was consequently the same as that observed in other episcopal elections; but almost as soon as the see of Rome rises into historical importance—from the time, that is to say, of Constantine the Great, we find that the act of consecration was always deferred until the ratification of the popular choice by the emperor (or by the exarch of Ravenna) had been received. In the manner in which this imperial prerogative was exercised,—according as it was invoked by the bishop, restricted to a mere formality by the emperor, or enforced in a spirit which virtually destroyed the freedom of the election—we are presented with valuable evidence with respect to the position of the papacy throughout our period.

The earliest instance of encroachment by the civil power on the popular rights was the act of the emperor Constantius, who deposed Liberius (A.D. 356) and installed Felix II. in his place. The new pope was elected by three eunuchs; but the letters which represent Athanasius as stigmatising these proceedings as "incredibile facinus," and asserting that the voice of the church was silenced by the imperial will: "Qui in locum ecclesiae palatium suum succedere voluerit" (Baronius, ann. 370 and 372) are spurious. The clergy and people, on hearing of the banishment of Liberius, pledged themselves by solemn oath in assembly never to accept another bishop during his lifetime.

At this period the growing importance of the office is attested by the fierceness of the contests for its possession. Ammianus Marcellinus, referring to the state of Rome, says that he "should naturally expect that those who were desirous of this high office would shrink from no expedient of faction to gain it" (xxvii. 3); and the scenes that marked the contests between Ursicinus and Damasus (A.D. 366-384), and Ursicinus and Siricius (A.D. 385-399) afforded the emperors Valentinian I. and II. more reasonable grounds for intervention (Socrates, *H. E.* ii. 27; iv. 29). Under Honorius a law was enacted that whenever two candidates for the vacant chair conducted the contest in an uncanonical manner neither should succeed to the vacancy, but that the Roman clergy should proceed to make another choice (Baronius, ann. 419). The law, however, as emanating from a secular source, has never been held by the canonists to be binding on the church (*Dict. Grat.* v. *Illud autem*, D. 96).

Bribery and other scandals continued, notwithstanding, to mark each fresh election; and in the pontificate of Siricius (A.D. 468-483) —a time when jealousy of the rival see of Constantinople almost absorbed that of the civil power as represented by Odoacer,—we find this pope actually invoking the interference of that monarch. In view of the election that would follow his own decease, Simplicius requested Basilius, the prefect of Odoacer, not to sanction such election, unless it should be conducted under his auspices, and the proceedings throughout be subject to his supervision (Hardouin, *Conc.* ii. 977). To this request Basilius assented; and, on the death of Simplicius, Odoacer asserted his right of confirming the election of the new pope —the Roman clergy being thus compelled to acknowledge the authority of an Arian monarch. On the same occasion a royal ordinance was promulgated prohibiting the application of church funds to electioneering or other party purposes.

The elections of Gelasius and Anastasius II. were conducted in due form (save that the former pontiff refused, in the first instance, to notify his election to the patriarch of Constantinople according to custom); but on the election of Symmachus another disgraceful contest ensued between his party and that of Laurentius, and the arbitration of the civil power, in the person of Theodoric the Great, was again invoked. Theodoric appears to have contented himself with convening an assembly of the clergy (A.D. 499) which he left free to frame whatever laws might be deemed necessary; and under the presidency of Symmachus the following canons were enacted: (1) A direct adaptation of the ancient Roman law *de Ambitu*, whereby any presbyter, priest, or deacon, canvassing or soliciting votes, was rendered liable to degradation and excommunication; (2) The penalty of the anathema on any person guilty of the same offence; (3) That a majority of votes should decide an otherwise valid election; (4) Immunity and reward to any person (even an accomplice) who should

divulge any attempts at electoral intrigues and malpractices (Baronius, *ad ann.* 499).

In the difficulties which involve the history of the *Synodus Palmaris* (A.D. 502) two points in relation to our subject may be regarded as sufficiently ascertained: (1) That the synod repealed the enactment of Odoacer; (2) That it did this solely in order to repudiate the precedent thereby established for civil interposition, for the law concerning the alienation of church property was forthwith re-enacted in all its details by the same synod (Hardouin, ii. 975).

The elections of Hormisdas and John I. present no particular feature; but after the latter had died in confinement, a victim to the displeasure of Theodoric, that monarch assumed to himself the right of both nominating and appointing Felix IV. (or III.). This invasion of their privilege called forth energetic remonstrance alike from clergy and people; and Theodoric was ultimately prevailed upon to decree, that in all future elections the choice should rest with them, though he still reserved to himself the royal right of pronouncing upon such choice before the act of consecration (Cassiodorus, *Variar.* viii. 15).

The elections of Boniface II., John II. and Agapetus, conducted under Gothic auspices, mark another period of open and shameless bribery; and almost the last act of the expiring Roman senate was to issue a decree (ann. 532) declaring that any person convicted of giving or promising a reward for the purpose of bringing about the election of a candidate, should forfeit the right of suffrage, while the bribe was made recoverable by action against the receiver (*ibid.* ix. 15). This decree was subsequently ratified by a rescript from Ravenna, which extended its operation to all the metropolitan sees of Italy; and Athalaric, the successor of Theodoric, gave order that "the laudable decree of the most noble senate" should be engraved on marble, and placed in the vestibule of St. Peter's (*ib.* ix. 16).[k]

The right of a pope to influence in any degree the election of his successor appears to have formed a subject of deliberation at the synod of 499 (see Greenwood, *Cath. Petri*, ii. 69). In principle, however, such interference had been virtually condemned by Hilary, who had forbidden the bishops of Tarraconensis to nominate their successors (Thiel, i. 167). The theory was now revived by Boniface II., who obtained from a synod in the year 530 a decree empowering him to appoint a successor, and actually nominated a deacon, Vigilius, who was afterwards pope. But a second synod reversed the decree ("quia contra canones fuerat hoc factum"), and Boniface himself publicly committed the writing to the flames,—in the language of Anastasius, "reum se confessus *majestatis*" (Murat. *Script.* I. ii. p. 127.)

The restoration of the imperial authority in Italy was followed by renewed interference with the papal elections. A law of Justinian (*Novellae*, cxxiii. c. 25) shews that bishops were required to maintain a resident agent or secretary at the residence of their metropolitan; the metropolitan, again, at the residence of his patriarch. The growing dependence of the Roman see on the emperor is probably indicated by the fact, that Agapetus (A.D. 535–6) was the first pope who maintained an apocrisiarius permanently at the Eastern court (Thomassin, ed. Bourassé, i. 141). From this time the influence exerted by that court over the papal elections may be inferred from the number of apocrisiarii (*e.g.* Pelagius I., Gregory I., Sabinian, Boniface III. Martin I.) who succeeded to the papal throne.

The illegal deposition and murder of Sylverius (A.D. 536–7) was followed by the uncanonical election of Vigilius, at the dictation of Belisarius, who, however, according to Liberatus, condescended to observe the usual formalities: "Convocatis presbyteris et diaconibus et clericis, mandavit eis ut alium sibi Papam eligerent" (Migne, lxviii. 1040). But the election, to quote the language of Greenwood (ii. 146), "by every known rule of canon law was void from the beginning." Pelagius I. (A.D. 555–60) the successor to Vigilius, was installed without even these formalities, and his unpopularity was such that only two bishops and a single presbyter could be found to officiate at his consecration (Greenwood, ii. 162). It is not until the year 578, when the Lombard invasion had paralysed the power of the Byzantine court for interference, that we again meet with a really independent election,—that of Pelagius II.

The successor of Pelagius, Gregory the Great, was summoned to the papal chair by the unanimous and spontaneous voice of the electors; "Clerus, senatus, populusque Romanus sibi concorditer pontificem delegerunt" (*Vita a Joh. Diac.* bk. i. c. 39). For nearly three quarters of a century from his time, no election calls for particular comment, if we except, perhaps, that of Eugenius I. (A.D. 654) whose installation at the dictation of the imperial power during the lifetime of his predecessor, was in open disregard of the canonical requirements. The changes that mark the relations of the papacy and the empire during this period, are, however, important. In the first instance, the emperor is to be seen endeavouring to retain his control over the Roman see by delegating his authority to the exarchs of Ravenna,—the course adopted by Heraclius in 639. The exarchs appear to have sympathised with the see of Ravenna in its endeavours to establish "autocephaly," and rendered themselves obnoxious to the Roman pontiffs by an arbitrary exercise of their powers. At the earnest entreaty of pope Agatho, Constantine Pogonatus, in the year 682, reassumed these powers to himself, and finally, on the succession of Benedict II. in the year 684, in consideration of the great expense and delay (sometimes extending to a twelvemonth) involved in referring each election to Constantinople, consented altogether to forego his right of sanction; from this time nothing more was required than a formal notification from Rome, while the act of consecration no longer awaited the imperial sanction. Baronius speaks enthusiastically of this concession: "Restituta Romana ecclesia in pristinam libertatem;" and the election of John V. in the year 685, is regarded by many

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[k] This decree may be regarded as retaining its validity until the time when the papal elections became vested in the College of Cardinals. Baronius, and most of the Catholic writers since his time, have sought, somewhat disingenuously, to give a different aspect to this undeniable intervention of the secular power (see *Annal.* 533; Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, v. 748).

canonists as the first really free election. (See Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, v. 758.)

The number of Greeks or Syrians who appear as Benedict's successors clearly prove, however, that the influence of the exarchs was still potent. Constantine's concession had been made, moreover, *on the condition that the election was unanimous*; and the contests that preceded the elections of Conon (A.D. 686), and Sergius (A.D. 687), placed the newly-acquired freedom again in jeopardy. In the former case the "militia" and the clergy of Rome supported different candidates; in the latter the interference of the exarch of Ravenna was solicited, and his support gained by a bribe of one hundred pounds of gold.

It was not, consequently, until the outbreak of the iconoclastic controversy, and the loss of the exarchate, that the prerogatives of the Eastern emperor in relation to the papacy came definitively to an end. The last pope who solicited the imperial confirmation of his election was Gregory III. (A.D. 731–41); and the acts of the Lateran synod of 769 exhibit for the first time the discontinuance of the imperial year in the official records of the proceedings of the Western church (Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* iii. 435; Mansi, xii. 703–21).

The Lombard kings appear to have attempted no interference with the papal elections; but in Rome itself the growing importance of the influence wielded by the pontiff invested his office with a corresponding value in the eyes of political parties. The forcible installation of Constantine II. (A.D. 767), a layman, by the intervention of the armed nobility, marks another innovation on the canonical method of procedure. Strictly speaking, Constantine was not a layman, for the party who raised him to the see compelled the bishop of Praeneste previously to admit him to priest's orders,—"ut orationem clericatus eidem Constantino tribuerit" (Anastasius, xcvi. 8), and the same bishop consecrated him deacon and subdeacon,—"subdiaconus atque diaconus ab eodem episcopo, in oratorio sancti Laurentii, intra eundem patriarchium, contra sanctorum canonum instituta consecratus est" (*ib.* xcvi. 10). As, however, these offices had not been filled for the period required by the canons, the clergy of Rome refused to recognize the validity of Constantine's orders, in addition to which he could only claim to be "diaconus forensis," instead of "diaconus cardinalis" (Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, v. 761). After he had been deposed and blinded, he was brought before the Lateran synod of 769, and asked how he had dared, being only a layman, to occupy the papal chair, "cur praesumpsisset apostolicam sedem *laicus existens* invadere" (Anast. xcvi. 42). He appears not to have dared to refer to his own uncanonical admission to orders, but pleaded in defence the precedents of the archbishop of Ravenna and the bishop of Naples, both of whom had been consecrated to their respective offices while still only laymen. It was accordingly enacted by the synod that "no one should be eligible to the papal dignity who had not previously risen, step by step, and been duly made a cardinal deacon or presbyter" (*ib.* xcvi. 45; Muratori, *Script.* III. i. 177).

It has been inferred from a subsequent clause of this decree, that the laity were at the same time excluded from all real influence in papal elections, and permitted only to express assent and approval after the selection had been made by the clergy (Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* iii. 438; Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri*, ii. 403, note). But it is evident that if such were the design of the synod, it either failed to be carried into effect or was soon set aside, for we are told by Anastasius of the election of Leo III. (A.D. 795), "cuncto populo Romano electus est" (Muratori, *Script.* III. i. 195); of that of Stephen V. (A.D. 816) "a populo Romano est electus" (*ib.* III. i. 212); and of that of Paschal I. (A.D. 817) "una voluntate a cunctis sacerdotibus seu proceribus, atque omni clero, nec non et optimatibus, vel cuncto populo Romano in sedem apostolicam Pontifex elevatus est" (*ib.* III. i. 213). It would therefore appear that the view of Fleury (ix. 464) is more likely to be correct, viz., that the popular or lay ratification of the clerical choice continued to be essential to the validity of the election (see Thomassin, II. ii. 13, § 7).

The statement that pope Hadrian, at a Lateran synod, A.D. 774, made over to Charles the Great the right of appointing to the see of Rome, together with that of investiture to all ecclesiastical dignities in the empire, may safely be dismissed as a mere fiction.[1] The utmost that the Frankish monarch claimed, was the ancient imperial prerogative of confirming each papal election. Phillips (*Kirchenrecht*, v. 763) and Thomassin (II. ii. 25) concur in their belief that throughout the rule of the Carolingian dynasty these elections took place in due canonical form.

On the other hand, it is not to be denied that the stratagem whereby Leo III. exhibited himself to Christendom as the bestower of the imperial dignity on Charles (A.D. 800) introduced novel elements in the papal relations to the political power, and that these in turn served to render the respective rights of the clergy, the people, and the emperor, in elections to the Roman see doubtful and conflicting. In this manner these elections became one of the chief causes of the strife between emperor and pope in the middle ages (see Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, iii. 150; v. 763; Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, bk. iv. c. 12; Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, c. 5; Standenmaier, *Gesch. der Bischofswahlen*, pp. 55–70). In the year 867, on the election of Hadrian II., we are told by Anastasius that the "missi" of the emperor (Lewis II.) were in Rome, and were indignant that they were not invited to be present at the ceremony and take part therein. Whereupon they were assured that the omission was not designed as a slight on the emperor ("Augusti causa contemptus"), but in order that no precedent might be afforded, to be pleaded on future occasions, for the presence of the imperial envoys at the papal elections (Migne, cxxviii. 1382).

(*a*) *Qualifications.*—These, throughout our period, appear to have been identical with those for the episcopal office generally, viz., (1) that

[1] "Hadrianus autem Papa cum universo synodo tradiderunt Carolo jus et potestatem eligendi Pontificem, et ordinandi apostolicam sedem," &c. (Gratian, *Decretum*, I. lxiii. 23; Migne, *Patrol.* clxxxvii. 335). This passage, taken from the *Chronica* of Sigebertus Gemblacensis, who wrote in the 12th century, is not found in the original MS. of that author, but is supposed to have been added by his continuator, Anselmus; in either case, it resolves itself into a baseless 12th century tradition. See Migne, clx. 147, 270–1, n.; also Hirsch (S.), *De vita et scriptis Sigeberti monachi Gemblacensis*, Berol. 1841.

the elected should be fifty years of age; (2) that he should be one of the clergy of the church over which he was called to preside; (3) that he should have been duly and regularly admitted to the subordinate offices of deacon and presbyter (see BISHOP, p. 129). No instance of translation from another see occurs within our period, the earliest having been that of Formosus, who was translated, in the year 891, from the bishopric of Portus (Bower, *History of the Popes*, v. 66). The absence of information respecting the exact age of each pontiff at the time of his election, a fact attributable to the obscure origin of the majority, does not enable us to determine how far the limitation with respect to age was adhered to. Gregory the Great was probably about forty-six at the time of his accession; Leo the Great was just fifty; Damasus, Pelagius I., Pelagius II., and Sergius I. were considerably above the latter age. That prior admission to the priestly office was looked upon as indispensable may be inferred from the fact referred to above, that even in the case of the forced and irregular promotion of Constantine, in 767, it was deemed necessary that he should first go through the forms of admission to the diaconate and to the priestly office. The precedents pleaded by Constantine sufficiently prove that no exception existed in favour of the Roman see. Nationality was not regarded, and seven of the bishops of Rome in the first three centuries were of Greek extraction; while the fact that from A.D. 687–767 three were Greeks, four Syrians, and only one a Roman, indicates the influence exerted at this period over the elections by the exarchs of Ravenna.

(β) *The Electors.*—These were originally the neighbouring bishops, in conjunction with the clergy and laity of the church of Rome. Such at least is the tenor of the evidence afforded by a letter of St. Cyprian (*Epist.* 52) concerning the election of Cornelius (A.D. 251), and his statement is appealed to by the canonists as satisfactory proof of the due observance of the canonical forms as soon as we have any information respecting these elections: "Factus est Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum paene omnium testimonio, de plebis, quae tunc affuit, suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio" (Gratian, *Decret.* II. causa vii. qu. 1, c. 5). From the 5th to the 8th century it would appear that (1) the whole body of the clergy, (2) the magistrates ("judices") as representatives of the "optimates," (3) the militia ("schola" or "generalitas militiae," who really represented the civic class, while the "civium universitas" remained in the background) made up the component elements of the electoral body (*Lib. Diur.* II. i.–vii.). In the year 769, we find Stephen III. (IV.) presiding at a synod, which refers in one of its decrees to the papal elections as being made by the "proceres et primates ecclesiae" (Gratian, *Decret.* I. lxxix. 5). In this body Thomassin considers we may recognise the college of cardinals,[m] but the formal decree for the election of the pope by this body was not promulgated until A.D. 1059, when the second Lateran council decided that from that time the choice, "judicium," should rest with the cardinal bishops, while the cardinal priests and deacons, the laity and the emperor, should be consulted only for their assent (Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, v. 792–796; Gratian, I. dist. xxiii. 1).

(γ) *Method of Procedure.*—The order of the proceedings as prescribed in the *Liber Diurnus* (Migne, *Patrol.* cv.) is supposed by the editors to be derived from that observed at four papal elections, viz., that of Boniface V. (A.D. 618), of Leo II. (A.D. 682), of Conon (A.D. 686), and of Gregory II. (A.D. 715).

(1) Immediately on the pope's decease, a letter ("nuntius") was despatched to the exarch at Ravenna, conveying a formal announcement of the event. Originally this letter purported to be written in the name of the whole body of the clergy; but from the time of Pelagius II. (*Lib. Diur.* II. i.) it appears to have been written in the names of the archpresbyter, the archdeacon, and the "primicerius" or chief notary. (2) After the funeral rites, and a solemn three days' fast, during which time the electors were enjoined to supplicate the divine direction in their new choice, the clergy, "optimates," and "populus" assembled and gave their votes, and the decree was drawn up and received their signatures. (3) The election was then announced by a deputation to Constantinople, and awaited the imperial sanction.[n] (4) It was similarly announced to the exarch at Ravenna, and his confirmation besought; if, as at certain periods was the case, this authority was not vested in his office, he was desired to use his influence in obtaining the sanction of the emperor. From the time of Honorius (A.D. 626–38), however, Gregorovius (*Gesch. der Stadt Rom*, ii. 124) considers that the *Liber Diurnus* shews that although the election was also notified to the imperial court, the greater importance was attached to the consent of the exarch. (5) Letters were also sent to the judges, the archbishop, and the apocrisiarius at Ravenna, and to the "patricius," the patriarch, and the apocrisiarius at Constantinople; and the decree ("decretales paginae") was deposited in the archives of the Vatican. (6) When the confirmation of the election had been received, the new pope was conducted to St. Peter's,—"ad confessionem sancti Petri." (7) On arriving there he made a public confession of faith before the relics ("corpus") of the apostle. (8) After receiving consecration and ordination,[o] he repeated this confession. (9) Finally, he delivered a sermon in the city, copies of which were sent to all the churches.

Somewhat as the day of martyrdom was spoken of as the birthday of the martyr, in the community to which he belonged, so the day of their election to the papal office was described by the popes as "dies natalitius." Thus Leo

[m] According to Milman (*Lat. Christianity*, bk. i. c. 1), the bishops of the adjacent towns, Ostia, Tibur, Portus, &c., were "the initiatory college of cardinals"; but this term, when it first comes under our notice, seems to have included only the presbyters and deacons of the Roman Church (see CARDINAL, 292).

[n] It appears to have been also the custom for the emperors to notify their accession to the papal court at Rome (see Thiel, *Epist. Rom. Pont.* i. 703).

[o] Ménard, in his notes on the *Liber Sacramentorum* of Gregory the Great (Migne, lxxviii. 517), quotes from an ancient MS. at Corbey, to which however he assigns no date, an order of ordination in which parts are severally assigned to the bishops of Alba, Portus, and Ostia.

Magnus, preaching on the anniversary of his accession, says,—"Illi ergo hunc servitutis nostrae *natalitium diem*, illi ascribamus hoc festum, cujus patrocinio sedis ipsius meruimus esse consortes" (*Serm.* iv. c. 41; Migne, *Patrol.* liv. 19).

The ceremony of foot-kissing, of which the earliest mention is on the installation of Valentine, A.D. 827, took place on the formal induction of the new pontiff into the Lateran as its possessor.

iii. *Insignia of the office.*—The distinguishing insignia probably belonged to a period later than A.D. 800; although a tradition is preserved by Aimoin (*Hist. Franc.* i. 24; Migne, cxxxix. 660) that the emperor Anastasius sent a gold crown, adorned with gems, to Clovis, king of the Franks, and that he, at the suggestion of St. Remy, sent it to the pope. Rocca (*de Tiarae Pontificiae Origine*, *Thes.* pp. 7, 8) considers that the allusion in the spurious donation of Constantine to the "diadema, videlicet coronam capitis nostri," proves that the pope had already assumed a crown, as distinguished from the ordinary episcopal mitre. The crown was designed to symbolize the temporal power. Innocent III. says "In signum spiritualium contulit mihi mitram, in signum temporalium dedit mihi coronam; mitram pro sacerdotio, coronam pro regno" (*Serm.* iii.; Migne, ccxvii. 665). The earliest reference to the double crown occurs, according to Richter (*Kirchenrecht*, p. 201) in the year 1297, in the pontificate of Boniface VIII.; according to Phillips, (*Kirchenrecht*, v. 612) as early as that of Nicholas II. (A.D. 1059–61). Von Heffner (*Trachten des christl. Mittelalters*, p. 38) assigns the earliest mention of the triple crown to the time of Clement V. (A.D. 1305–14); Phillips not earlier than that of Urban V. (A.D. 1362–70). The *upright* pastoral staff ("pedum rectum") surmounted by the cross, is probably referred to as the "ferula pastoralis" in the account of the deposition of Benedict V. in the 11th century (Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* i. 626), and cannot be traced farther back than this. The cross was borne by the pope in common with all the other bishops; the pallium [PALLIUM] in common with other metropolitans, but the pope claimed the exclusive right to wear it on all occasions (Richter, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 218).

### IV. PREROGATIVES SPECIALLY CLAIMED FOR THE OFFICE.

i. *Claim to universal authority in the church, as specifically asserted* (1) *in the granting of dispensations*, (2) *in the conferring of privileges.*

(1) Theories of a universal jurisdiction and of special powers, as prerogatives of the Roman pontiff, almost necessarily involved his right to exempt, under circumstances of an exceptional and peculiar character, particular communities or dioceses from customary canonical observance. The precedents afforded in our period for the exercise of such a power are few, but among the best ascertained are—

(a) *Dispensations from penalties attaching to non-observance of the canons.*—The power to grant these is justly described by Thomassin as in its very nature peculiar and singular, for, he observes (*Vet. et Nova Discip.* II. iii. 27, § 14), all canonical discipline must soon have come to an end, if each bishop had possessed the power of remitting at pleasure the obligations imposed by a canon of the church; and if in any exceptional emergency a bishop or local synod ventured on such an exercise of power, the act was always held to require the confirmation of a general council or of the pope. The view of this writer with respect to the conditions under which such power could be exercised are given under INDULGENCE, p. 835; but the following instances are deserving of note, as illustrating more precisely the gradual development of its exercise by the Roman pontiff.

The important part assigned to Melchiades (A.D. 311–14) in relation to the Donatist schism [CAECILIANUS, DICT. CHRIST. BIOG.] is cited by Catholic writers as one of the earliest and most important instances. Melchiades restricted his condemnation to the author of the schism, and permitted those Donatist bishops who had been ordained by Majorinus to re-enter the pale of communion, and to retain possession of their sees on declaration of their readiness to renounce their schismatical tenets. In cases where a Catholic bishop had been established, he endeavoured to provide another cure for the Donatist bishop, "ita ut quibuscumque locis duo essent episcopi, quos dissensio geminasset, eum confirmari vellet qui fuisset ordinatus prior, alteri autem eorum plebs alia regenda provideretur" (Augustine, *Epist.* 43; Migne, xxxiii. 167). This policy is warmly praised by Augustine as indicating the personal action of Melchiades; but it should be noted that he also speaks of him as enacting these measures at Rome "cum multis collegis suis." The instance is however unquestionable proof of the growing deference paid to the church of Rome and its bishop.

Other instances, cited by Thomassin and Phillips, as occurring in the times of Damasus and Siricius, are referred to under INDULGENCE, p. 835. In the time of Anastasius I. (A.D. 398–401) application was made to that pontiff by the African bishops to sanction a general dispensation to the Donatist clergy. It had previously been decreed, at a council held at Capua (A.D. 389), that no such dispensation should be granted unless under conditions that afforded a prospect of a complete suppression of the schism. The church of Africa accordingly deemed it necessary to gain the approval of the Roman see before it ventured to set the decision aside; but at the same time it is to be noted that they do not attribute autocratical authority to the bishop of Rome, but simply such pre-eminence as might be claimed by the representative of an apostolic see, "Placuit ut litterae mittantur ad fratres et coepiscopos nostros, *et maxime ad sedem apostolicam* in qua praesidet Anastasius" (*Cod. Can. Eccl. Afric.* c. 68).

Symmachus vindicates a similar exercise of the papal perogative on the part of his predecessor Anastasius II. (A.D. 496–8) in relation to certain of the Gallican churches, although admitting it to have been "praeter ecclesiae consuetudinem et antiqua praedecessorum nostrorum statuta;" he also in the same letter takes occasion to enunciate the general rules that may be supposed to regulate such exercise of supreme ecclesiastical authority, maintaining that "what is done contrary to the canon is not necessarily a breach of the canon, which is violated only by a wanton disregard for precedent," and that it would often be "cruel to insist upon a law when

its observance was likely to be attended with detriment to the church, it being the design of all laws that they should benefit, not injure" (Thiel, *Epist. Rom. Pont.* p. 657).

The doctrine of expediency, as thus laid down, and depending on the discretion of the pontiff, is illustrated in the policy of Boniface I. (A.D. 418–22). On the one hand he refused to permit Patroclus, bishop of Arles, to assume the functions of a metropolitan in another diocese by ordaining a successor to a vacant bishopric "contra patrum regulas," quod nequaquam possumus ferre patienter, quia convenit nos paternarum sanctionum diligentes esse custodes" (*Epist.* 12); on the other, in the permission which he accorded to Perigenes to assume the bishopric of Corinth, he appears directly to have departed from adherence to canonical law (Coustant, ed. Schoenemann, p. 723).

A certain dispensing authority is undoubtedly implied in the permission accorded by Celestine I. (A.D. 422) to the Nestorians, to be received again into the church (*ib.* pp. 871–6).

The language of Leo I. is distinctly that of one who assumes to be the censor of the whole church, and bound to interfere, "quoties aliqua contra instituta canonum et ecclesiasticam disciplinam praesumpta vel commissa cognoscimus" (*Praef. in Decret.*); and he asserts that compliance with the canonical discipline is an essential condition of communion (can. 5); yet, notwithstanding we have a conspicuous instance of the exercise of the dispensing power by this pontiff. In a letter to Flavianus, bishop of Constantinople (Mansi, v. 1365, 1406), he condemns the heresy of Eutyches, but at the same time enjoins that the latter should be restored to communion, and to the administration of his monastery, on abjuration of his errors, "sedis enim apostolicae moderatio hanc temperantiam servat, ut et severius agat cum obduratis et veniam cupiat praestare correctis." In a letter to the emperor Marcianus he severely condemns the presumption of his rival Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, in ordaining a bishop to the church of Antioch, "contra instituta canonum;" and says that his opposition to this measure has been withdrawn solely from a desire to restore the faith and from a love of peace, "quod nos amore reparandae fidei et pacis studio retractare cessavimus" (*Epist.* civ.; Migne, liv. 1153).

Thomassin considers that a yet earlier exercise of the dispensing power in the East is to be found in the action of Damasus in relation to Flavianus, bishop of Antioch. On this occasion Theophilus, of Alexandria, is represented by Socrates, the historian, as having sent a messenger to Damasus to suggest that it would be for *the welfare of the church* if, in order to bring about concord among the laity, he *would condone the offence of Flavianus* (Soc. *H. E.* v. 15)—λυσιτελεῖν εἰπὼν δι' ὁμόνοιαν τοῦ λαοῦ, παριδεῖν τὸ φθάσαν Φλαβιανοῦ πλημμέλημα (Migne, *S. G.* lxvii. 281).

In the time of Leo's successor, Hilary, the prevalence of grave irregularities in Spain, in the appointment of bishops to vacant sees, and in their removal from one diocese to another, rendered it advisable to appeal to Rome. Hilary granted a general dispensation with respect to appointments which had already taken place, but forbade similar disregard of the canons in future, "ut nihil deinceps contra praecepta beati Apostoli, nihil contra Nicaenorum canonum constitutum tentetur" (Thiel, p. 166).

Gelasius, at the time when the Gothic invasion had deprived Italy of half its clergy, yielded to imperative necessity, and dispensed with the observance of the canonical periods with respect to ordination (Hardouin, *Conc.* ii. 897).

Up to this period, the evidence seems fairly in harmony with the view of Thomassin, that dispensations were presumed to be in conformity with the precept of Augustine, that the weal of the church, not the interest of individuals, should be consulted in the exercise of the dispensing power, the conditions being (1) that the matter in question should be of primary magnitude in relation to the church; (2) that the good accruing should be clearly discernible, either in the avoidance of some evil to which the *observance* of the canon might afford admission, or in the gain of benefits which might otherwise be lost; (3) that such dispensations should have effect only with respect to past irregularities, and not be construed into precedents in the future. In the language of pope Martin I., "Canones ecclesiasticos solvere non possumus qui defensores et custodes canonum sumus, non transgressores."

With the advance of the 7th century, however, and especially in the contact with Teutonism, we find the papal dispensation solicited and conferred in connexion with irregularities of a kind that afforded precedents for some of the worst abuses of mediaeval times—the appropriation of revenues of bishoprics, monasteries, and cures for secular purposes. The extent to which this abuse had grown under Charles Martel, in Frankland, rendered hopeless the efforts of Boniface towards obtaining satisfactory restitution, and he accordingly obtained from pope Zacharias permission to forego the duty of demanding full reparation to the churches and monasteries. The pontiff himself, indeed, appears to have partially condoned these spoliations, on the consideration that they had been made in behalf of the Christian state in its struggles against the pagan and the infidel—the Saxon and the Saracen (*Epist.* x.; Migne, lxxxix. 941).

Other facts relating to the same period seem to indicate that this prerogative had already grown into an abuse. We find, for example, a Frankish noble pleading the papal indulgence for an unlawful marriage, an irregularity differing in character from those of the kind which the instructions of Gregory the Great to Augustine might be held to condone, where the marriage tie had been contracted while the parties were still pagans, "in quibus se per ignorantiam ante lavacrum baptismatis astrinxerunt" (*Epist.* xi. 64; Migne, lxxvii. 1190). Certain of the clergy, again, alleged that notwithstanding that they led immoral lives they had received the papal licence to continue to perform their sacred functions, "revenientes ab apostolica sede dicunt se Romanum pontificem licentiam dedisse ministerium episcopale in ecclesia ministrare." Boniface appears to have treated these representations as mendacious, "quia Apostolicam sedem nequaquam *contra decreta canonum* audivimus judicasse" (*Epist.* 49; *ib.* lxxxix. 747); but the mere

fact that they were alleged points to a wider and less defensible exercise of the dispensing power.

Boniface himself received from Zacharias permission to *nominate* his successor to the see of Maintz, but the concession was made with express limitation to his case, "praesentibus cunctis tibi successorum designa, *ut huc veniat ordinandus. Hoc nulli alii concedi patimur* quod tibi charitate cogente largiri censuimus" (Migne, lxxxix. 920); the *installation* of his successor during his lifetime was peremptorily forbidden, as "contrary to every ecclesiastical rule."

It is worthy of note, that Zacharias was not willing to delegate any general dispensing powers to Boniface, "quaecunque repereris sacris canonibus deviare nulla ratione patiaris sacrum ministerium tractare" (*ib.* lxxxix. 928).

At the eighth oecumenical council it was declared in the most explicit terms that it was the legitimate function of the pope to exercise powers of this description for "the healing of the wounds of the catholic and apostolic church" (Hardouin, v. 730). And at the third council of Soissons, A.D. 866, the language of Herardus, archbishop of Tours, points to this function as one to which the Gallican clergy had frequent recourse in their appeals to Rome (Migne, cxxi. 777.)

(2.) *To confer privileges.*

(*a*) *On monasteries, with respect to episcopal jurisdiction.*—The exercise of this prerogative may certainly be traced farther back than the period assigned by Guizot and other writers as that of its earliest use (see BISHOP, p. 232; Guizot, *Hist. de la Civ. en France*, ii. 111), viz., the 8th century. Before the time of Gregory I., his predecessors appear to have warned members of the episcopal order that they had no canonical right to celebrate mass in the monasteries of their dioceses (Baxmann, *Politik der Päpste*, i. 101)—a theory of monastic privilege which would derive support from the original character of such societies as *lay* communities. The hard pressure of the "jugum clericorum" would appear indeed to have frequently induced these societies to place themselves under the protection of a bishop of a different diocese (see Gieseler, *Kirchengesch.* I. ii. 425). By degrees they began habitually to look to Rome as the quarter from whence they were likely to receive the most effectual protection; and in the pontificate of Gregory I. we have a well authenticated instance of a papal response to such appeals in a letter written by this pope to Luminosus, abbat of St. Thomas at Rimini, wherein he states that he has deprived Castorius, the bishop of the diocese, *and his successors*, "of all power of injuring the monastery" (*Epist.* ii. 42; Jaffé, *Regesta Rom. Pont.* p. 114). In the same year, at a Lateran synod (A.D. 595), it was enacted that the property and revenues of all monasteries should be free from episcopal control (Mansi, x. 485). Special privileges appear to have also been conferred by Gregory on several of the Frankish foundations, to protect them from the already conspicuous rapacity of the Gallican bishops (*Epist.* vii. 12; ix. 111; xiii. 8–10). In the year 628, Honorius I. conferred on the famous monastery at Bobbio, entire freedom from all ecclesiastical control save that of the Pope (Jaffé, p. 157). The abbey at Fulda, founded in 744 by Sturm, the disciple of St. Boniface, was similarly placed by Boniface, in whose diocese it was situated, directly under the papal protection, to the exclusion of the authority of the bishop of the diocese. Similar privileges were conferred in 750 on Monte Cassino by pope Zacharias. Engel (*de Priv. et Jur. Monast.*) enumerates no less than fifty distinct privileges, granted by papal authority to monastic foundations at a somewhat later period.

(*β*) *On bishops, with respect to residence.*—The earliest instance on record occurs nearly at the close of our period, when Charles the Great, at the council of Frankfort (A.D. 794), notified that he had received from pope Hadrian formal permission to retain archbishop Angilramn at his palace, "propter utilitates ecclesiasticas;" on the same occasion he announced a like permission with respect to bishop Hildebald, and solicited the assent of the council to these arrangements, which was unanimously granted (Sirmond, ii. 201). As Thomassin observes, these formalities clearly prove the importance attached, at that time, to such departures from canonical obligations.

(*γ*) *With respect to minor details.*—Among these may be named the right to open private chapels for public worship, to wear ecclesiastical dress of a particular kind (DALMATIC), and others, of which, however, the examples are doubtful and extremely rare before the 9th century.

ii. *Claim to authority over all bishoprics and bishops.*

As regards elections to the episcopal office, the outline of facts presented under BISHOP (pp. 216–219), and other evidence cited by Thomassin (II. ii. cc. 1–30), appear to render it probable that during the greater part of our period the canonical mode of election was maintained—such election, however, always depending on the confirmation of the metropolitan, and generally upon that of the king or emperor. That this mode of election was fully recognized by the see of Rome, is shewn by a letter addressed to the bishops of Tarraconensis to pope Hilary, in which, after complaining that Silvanus, bishop of Calagura, contrary to law and custom, had ordained a bishop in opposition to the popular wish—"postponens patrum regulas et *vestra* instituta despiciens, nullis petentibus populis, episcopum ordinavit"—they assert that they have recourse to the papal see, as "unicum remedium" (Thiel, *Epist. R. P.* p. 156). This last expression probably indicates the real character of the authority wielded by the see of Rome in the West, where as the one apostolic see, its decision was from time to time invited in relation to questions of an extraordinary and unusual character. On the other hand, the absence of all evidence of any claim on the part of the pope to exercise a veto in ordinary elections, seems conclusive against the existence of such a right. Canonists who maintain that it was both claimed and exercised, are compelled to resort to the singular hypothesis that the power of the metropolitan was held by him simply as the delegate of the bishop of Rome; and that the re-assumption of a direct discharge of such functions by the latter, was merely a changed method of administration rendered imperatively necessary by the inordinate preten-

sions of patriarchs and metropolitans, the growth of heresy and schism, and the decline of discipline (Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, v. 314–8; Roussel, *Hist. Pontif. Jurisd.* ii. 12; Zaccaria, *Anti-Febronius*, ii. 4).

The question will admit of being more concisely investigated, if considered as it presents itself in relation (1) to the East; (2), to the West; (3), to pagan communities.

(1.) *In the East.*—Even here it is alleged (Phillips, *ib.* v. 319) that the papal authority in elections to bishoprics was recognized, and that the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria exercised merely delegated powers. In support of this view, Phillips quotes a letter from Damasus (A.D. 366–84) to Paulinus, bishop of Antioch. But the language of this letter (respecting the genuineness of which some doubt may be felt) implies, at most, only a general supremacy, of an honorary character, conceded to the bishop of Rome. If, indeed, we remember that the authority of Damasus was disputed in Rome itself by his brother bishops, it seems scarcely necessary to enquire whether it was recognized in the East. The evidence cited under II. (A) will serve in some measure to prove the unsoundness of such a theory; while in relation to the decree of Valentinian III. (A.D. 455) it is to be observed that after the political severance of the two divisions of the empire in A.D. 438, this could have had no legal force in the East, unless by the consent of the eastern emperor, which was never granted (Gibbon, v. 279; Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri*, i. 459).

A letter of Innocent I. (A.D. 402–17) to Alexander, bishop of Antioch, which may reasonably be accepted as genuine, seems, however, almost decisive.[p] Here, after distinctly interpreting the sixth canon of the council of Nicaea as recognizing the right of the bishop of Antioch to ordain metropolitans for the whole of the Eastern diocese, Innocent goes on to say: "Itaque arbitramur, frater carissime, ut sicut metropolitanos auctoritate ordines singulari, sic et caeteros non sine permissu conscientiaque tua sinas episcopos procreari. In quibus hunc modum recte servabis, ut longe positos litteris datis ordinari censeas ab his, qui *nunc eos suo tantum ordinant arbitratu;* vicinos autem, si aestimas, ad manus impositionem tuae gratiae statuas pervenire" (Migne, *Patrol.* xx. 547–9). Of his own authority in relation to such ordinations, Innocent says nothing; but, as Thomassin (II. ii. 8, § 3) points out, after interpreting the language of the council of Nicaea in the sense above described, holds that as regards the bishops of the different provinces included in the Eastern diocese, those in the provinces nearer to Antioch were to be summoned to the metropolis to receive ordination at the hands of its bishop, while those in the more remote provinces were to receive ordination from their respective metropolitans, their elections being confirmed by the bishop of Antioch.

Finally, we have satisfactory proof with respect to the earliest consecration of an eastern bishop by the pope. Agapetus, in a letter to Peter, bishop of Jerusalem, after referring to his own consecration (Mar. 13, A.D. 536) of Mennas, patriarch of Constantinople (Liberatus, c. 21; Migne, lxviii. 1059), expressly states that "since the time of the apostle Peter, the Eastern church has never received a bishop at the hands of the pope" (Hardouin, ii. 236).

(2.) *In the West.*—Here the evidence, though conflicting, is such that it is not difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. The view of Thomassin, that the method above recognized by Innocent as the canonical mode of procedure in the East, may be supposed to have corresponded to that in force in the West, is in the highest degree probable. The claim already referred to (*supra*, p. 1659) as put forth by Innocent, of the original foundation of all the bishoprics of the West by St. Peter and his successors, points to a theoretical supremacy of Rome over the entire episcopate. With respect to the suburbicarian bishops (SUBURBICARII), their ordination was, of course, directly subject to the papal approval as to that of their supreme metropolitan. The papal sanction was also necessary throughout the Roman patriarchate. Of this a letter written by Celestine in A.D. 429, to the bishops of Calabria and Apulia, affords direct evidence. He here expresses his surprise that the churches of those districts, after electing *laymen* to the episcopal office, should venture to look for his confirmation of such elections—"de nobis pessime sentientes quos credunt hoc posse facere" (Migne, *Patrol.* l. 436).

In the theory above indicated by Thomassin (who appears, however, scarcely to have apprehended its full significance), we have the key to much of the subsequent history of the extension of the papal authority over the whole episcopate. Towards the close of the 4th century we are able, for the first time, to trace with any certainty the presence of metropolitan bishops in the West. The importance of this fact in relation to our whole enquiry is considerable; for, as will be seen, it compels those who assert that the papal prerogatives were admitted and exercised at a much earlier period, to have recourse to the singular hypothesis that during the time when the evidence for a general recognition of the authority of the bishop of Rome is especially defective, that authority was most directly exerted.

At the same time, it is not to be denied that the bishop of Rome claimed a certain nominal authority over all patriarchs and metropolitans, and their elections would appear to have been usually notified to the Roman see, not, however, in order to obtain the ratification necessary to validity, but as a spontaneous recognition of the honorary primacy of its bishop. Of this almost conclusive evidence is afforded in two letters addressed by Leo the Great (A.D. 444) to the bishops of Illyricum. Here, after claiming to have authority, derived from St. Peter, over all churches (*supra*, p. 1659), he formally appoints Anastasius, metropolitan of Thessalonica, his delegate to consecrate metropolitans in Illyricum, and to convene synods (Mansi, v. 1233). Illyricum, however, over which the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of Thessalonica was thus extended, was included in the Roman patriarchate; it accordingly seems reasonable to infer

[p] The letter is contained both in the collection of Dionysius Exiguus and in the *Collectio Hispana:* see Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen des canonischen Rechts*, i. 246, n. 17.

with Thomassin that in other provinces, *not* included therein, the authority of the Roman pontiff was neither recognized nor asserted, either directly or by delegation,—"quid conjectandum restat de episcopis longinquioribus et qui ne Romani quidem patriarchatus finibus claudebantur" (Thomassin, II. ii. 8, § 11).

The earliest instance that points to a more general recognition of this authority, is perhaps that contained in the preamble of a letter addressed to Hilary by a synod of Barcelona (A.D. 465), soliciting his confirmation of the uncanonical translation of one Irenaeus from a neighbouring bishopric to that of Barcelona, and implying that their appeal is not simply dictated by a sense of the importance attached to the papal decisions, *but is the course binding upon them as a matter of church discipline*:—"Etiamsi nulla exstaret necessitas ecclesiasticae disciplinae, expetendum revera nobis fuerat illud privilegium sedis vestrae" (Mansi, vii. 924). Inasmuch as, however, Hilary, in his reply, takes occasion to rebuke them for ordaining bishops to different sees without obtaining the sanction of Ascanius, their metropolitan, it is evident that in Spain a delegated authority was all that was at this time asserted by the pope (Thiel, *Epist. Rom. Pont.* i. 166). In support of this view we may refer to the language of Gregory the Great, at a yet later period, in certain instructions to his legate when the latter was about to set out for Spain. Here it is clearly implied that his jurisdiction did not ordinarily extend to bishops in that province, for in referring to a certain bishop named Stephen, Gregory says that "inasmuch as Stephen had *neither a metropolitan nor a patriarch*," a certain matter in dispute must consequently "belong to the apostolic chair, as the head of all the churches, and be decided by it" (*Epist.* xiii. 45; Migne, lxxvii. 1254).

Generally speaking, however, the evidence exhibits the authority of the pope as advancing from the time of Leo the Great, towards that of a universal metropolitan in the West; and again, at a period later than that which we are here called upon to treat, from that of a universal metropolitan to an immediate and ordinary jurisdiction over the whole episcopate. Among the means whereby this great extension of the papal power was brought about, the encouragement given to the practice of appealing to Rome [APPEAL] must be regarded as the most effectual. It will indeed be found that nearly all the precedents afforded by our period, which canonists are wont to cite in support of the Florentine canon (*supra*, p. 1652) represent, in reality, exceptional cases, which, viewed in their proper light, tend rather to an exactly opposite conclusion.

In no relation were appeals to Rome more frequent than in connexion with *elections*, and in these cases the pontiff nearly always appears as the defender of popular rights and of canonical discipline against laxity or tyranny on the part of the metropolitan. Leo himself asserts in the plainest language that the wishes of the laity and the concurrence of the electing bishops are essential to an ordination to a bishopric,—"Nulla ratio sinit ut inter episcopos habeantur qui nec a clericis sunt electi nec a plebibus sunt expetiti" (*Epist.* 167; Migne, liv. 1420). Thomassin (II. ii. 10, § 4) considers that among the distinguishing excellences of Gregory the Great's character his marked abstention from interference in episcopal elections, even within the Roman province, claims special notice. It would appear indeed to have been this pontiff's great aim to preserve to every church its rights and freedom on such occasions. When, for example, the church at Panormus, in Sicily, were in great perplexity with respect to the choice of a new bishop (owing to the want of a suitable candidate for the office) he desired them to send deputies to Rome who should elect a bishop there: "quod tamen nos *non voluntate impulsi* loquimur, sed necessitate compulsi; quia quantum est ad nostrae authoritatis judicium, de suis volumus ut debeant habere pastorem" (*Epist.* xiii. 15; Migne, lxxvii. 1229). Even when he vouchsafed advice to a church with respect to its choice (as in the case of Constantine of Milan) he abstained as much as possible from all appearance of dictation, "quia antiquae meae deliberationis intentio est, ad suscipienda pastoralis curae onera, pro nullius unquam misceri persona" (*ib.* iii. 29; *ib.* lxxvii. 644). At the same time the language of his biographer, Joannes Diaconus, proves that the selection of fit persons for the office in his own diocese was to Gregory a matter of the liveliest interest, "ab ipso suae consecrationis exordio *per omnem diaecesim* suam, episcopos undecunque meliores invenire potuit studiosissime ordinavit" (*Vita*, iii. 7; Migne, lxxv. 86).

But notwithstanding Gregory's genuine moderation, events in the political world contributed very powerfully during his pontificate to augment the authority of the Roman see. Of this we have undeniable evidence in the frequency with which the pallium [PALLIUM] was solicited at his hands. Instances of the bestowal of this vestment before his time are exceedingly rare; among the best authenticated being its presentation to Caesarius of Arles by Symmachus, in the year 513 (Jaffé, no. 477), to the metropolitan of Arles by Vigilius (A.D. 537–555), and to the same dignitary by Pelagius II. (A.D. 578-590). Gregory assigns the fact of its bestowal by his predecessor, as a reason for not subjecting "the bishop of Arles" to the authority of Augustine (Bede, *E. H.* i. 27). By Gregory it appears to have been bestowed[q] on the metropolitan of Hispalis (Mansi, x. 199), on the metropolitan of Arles (*ib.* ix. 1231), on the bishops of Augustodunum in Gaul (Migne, lxxvii. 1014), of Salona in Dalmatia (*ib.* ix. 1166), of Prima Justiniana in Illyricum (*ib.* ix. 1189), on Augustine as archbishop of Canterbury (*ib.* x. 394), on the metropolitan of Nicopolis in Epirus (*ib.* x. 6), on the bishops of Messana, Syracuse, and Panormus in Sicily (*ib.* x. 7, 13, 367), and on the metropolitan of Ravenna. Boniface IV. (A.D. 608–615) sends it to Florianus, metropolitan of Arles, and writing to Theodoric, king of the Franks, speaks of the act as "secundum antiquam consuetudinem" (Jaffé, *Regest. Rom. Pont.* p. 155). Honorius I. (A.D. 625–628) refuses to send it to Hypatius, bishop of Nicopolis, until the latter shall have purged himself from the accusation of having been accessory to a brother's

[q] The vestment itself is not mentioned in all these instances, but the language implies its bestowal as the invariable accompaniment of the authority expressly granted.

death (Mansi, x. 581); he promises it to the bishop of Grada (Jaffé, p. 157); sends it to Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, and to Paulinus, archbishop of York (Mansi, x. 580); and decrees that metropolitans using it in the streets or "in litaniis" shall be deprived of the right to wear it (*ib.* x. 585).

The theory that the acceptance of the pallium did not involve any special profession of allegiance to the pope of Rome (Thomassin, II. ii. 45, § 10; Greenwood, *Cath. Petri.* ii. 220), can hardly be looked upon as valid after the 7th century. Gregory himself, it is true, appears to have considered that its bestowal must be preceded by the express wish and personal application of the receiver, and also be sanctioned by the consent of the reigning prince (Migne, lxxvii. 781). So early however as the year 581, a canon of the first council of Mâcon forbids metropolitans to celebrate mass without it, "ut archiepiscopus sine pallio missas dicere non praesumat" (Sirmond, i. 371); and we find that its bestowal on Tilpin, archbishop of Rheims, in the year 772, was understood to entitle him to appeal to the pope from the authority of a local synod (Flodoard, *Hist. Remens.* bk. ii. c. 17).

(3.) The question of the significance to be attached to its bestowal will be further illustrated by the following evidence for the papal authority over bishops and bishoprics (3) *in pagan lands.* In this relation the evidence is far more plainly favourable to the theory of Roman supremacy. A bishop sent from Rome to evangelize a heathen community was directly accountable to the pope. He was known as "episcopus consecratus in sorte praedicationis," as Boniface was styled by Gregory II. (*Epist.* 5; Migne, lxxxix. 503), a relation compared by Phillips to that which Titus, when in Crete, bore to St. Paul,—and was empowered both to create new bishoprics as occasion might arise, and to ordain those who might be elected to fill them. When the district in which he laboured had been, to a certain extent, brought under ecclesiastical organization, if the distance precluded a special journey to Rome, his ordination was delegated to another bishop. Of this an instance occurs in connexion with the archbishoprics of York and Canterbury in the time of Honorius, who empowered the surviving archbishop to ordain a successor on a vacancy occurring in either see (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 18).

It would appear, however, to be beyond doubt that in pagan lands such powers were only delegated for a time by the Roman pontiff, and were resumable at pleasure. Of this, strong presumptive evidence is afforded in the 28th canon of the council of Chalcedon, already quoted (*supra*, p. 1664). The endeavour here made to claim for the see of Constantinople rights precisely corresponding (*ἴσα πρεσβεῖα*) to those of the see of Rome, involves the assertion of the right of the bishop of Constantinople to ordain, not merely the metropolitans of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, but also the bishops "in sorte praedicationis" among the pagan communities still existing in those provinces, *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἐπισκόπους τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων* (Mansi, vii. 427). The proviso in this latter clause would seem to have been designed to complete the parallelism between the jurisdiction of the primate of Constantinople and that of the Roman pontiff, an attempt which was met by the indignant repudiation of Leo.

Among such communities themselves the theory that prevailed appears to have varied with the particular conditions and circumstances. At first, the papal claims would be received with ready assent, such as a sense of filial gratitude would naturally dictate. When, however, ecclesiastical power became associated with political power, there arose a spirit of greater independence, like that from time to time exhibited among those nations of the West whose conversion belonged to a much earlier period. We learn, for example, from Bede (*H. E.* iii. 29) that Wighard was sent to Rome to receive his consecration as archbishop of Canterbury at the hands of pope Deusdedit, "to the end that he might ordain catholic priests for the churches of the English nation throughout all Britain;" archbishop Theodore, again, was ordained at Rome by Vitalian (*ib.* iv. 1). Yet notwithstanding, only a few years after the ordination of Theodore, we find Alfrid, king of Northumbria, refusing to recognise the right of Wilfrid to the bishopric of York, though the election of the latter had twice been confirmed by popes Agatho and John V. "I will not," said the monarch, "alter one word of a sentence issued by myself, the archbishop, and all the dignitaries of the land, for a writing coming, as ye say, from the apostolic chair" (Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, bk. iv. c. 4).

Again the tone of English ecclesiasticism changes, and within little more than half a century Boniface, in Frankland, announces to Cuthbert, in terms already referred to (*supra*, p. 1660) a full recognition, on the part of the Frankish bishops and their metropolitans, of the supreme and final authority of the pope—"Decrevimus . . . subjectionem Romanae ecclesiae fine tenus vitae nostrae velle servare; sancto Petro et vicario ejus velle subjici; . . . *metropolitanos pallia ab illa sede quaerere* et per omnia praecepta sancti Petri canonice sequi desiderare, ut inter oves sibi commendatas numeremur" (*Epist.* 63; Migne, lxxxix. 763). But it is evident that this deferential spirit was succeeded by something approaching to insubordination; for, a few years after, Boniface writes to entreat the indulgence of pope Zachary for the non-fulfilment of the above engagements, especially "de palliis a Romana ecclesia petendis," "quia quod promiserunt tardantes non impleverunt, et adhuc differtur et ventilatur" (*Epist.* 75; Migne, lxxxix. 778). "How difficult it was to overcome the repugnance of the Teutonic prelates, is manifest in the fact that St. Lull, the especial disciple of St. Boniface, in whose favour the latter exercised the exceptional privilege accorded him of nominating a successor to the primatial see of Mainz, though appointed in 754, had not yet sought the pallium in 772, when Adrian I. wrote to Tilpin of Rheims, ordering him to investigate the doctrine and virtues of Lull, and, if the result was satisfactory, to give him a certificate, on the strength of which the pallium would be sent to him. It was evident that some additional inducements were necessary to overcome this aversion and to bind the hierarchy to the throne of St. Peter" (Lea, H. C. *Studies in Church History*, p. 138). Thomassin, indeed, is of opinion that the oath administered by Boniface was an

*entirely exceptional measure*, justified, however, to a certain extent, by the neglected state into which ecclesiastical discipline had fallen in Frankland; and he maintains (II. ii. 44, § 11; 45, § 7) that throughout the reign of Charles the Great there is no trace of any oath of obedience taken either by Frankish metropolitans or bishops to the pope. This assertion can be accepted only in conjunction with his peculiar view, that the acceptance of the pallium did not involve any acknowledgment of submission to Rome, for both the bishops of Bourges and of Metz received that vestment at the hands of Hadrian I. (Mansi, xii. 834; xiii. 909). On the other hand, throughout Charles's reign it is evident that the papal pretensions in Frankland assumed a very modest guise, and were little more than honorary in character; the relations established between the papacy and the Frankish monarchy secured to the latter full powers over the church within its own dominions; and we find Leidradus, metropolitan of Lyons, when writing to Charles, implying that his appointment to his episcopal dignity had been due entirely to the monarch himself, "ad regimen ecclesiae Lugdunensis destinare voluistis" (Migne, xcix. 871).

In the year 877, pope John VIII. at the synod of Ravenna, ordered that all metropolitans should be deprived of their sees who failed to apply for the pallium within three months of consecration—"a regulation," says Lea, "which met with little more respect than previous like attempts" (*Studies in Church Hist.* p. 87).

*Resignations.*—It is confirmatory of the negative conclusions to which the foregoing evidence points, that the resignation of the episcopal office seems never to have required the assent of the pope. Instances adduced to the contrary are of far too dubious a character, and too rare to be accepted as in any degree tending to invalidate this general fact. A letter, addressed by Leo I. in 458, to Rusticus, bishop of Narbonne, who has intimated his wish to seek "vacationem ab episcopatus laboribus," on account of his despondency at the religious condition of his diocese, proves nothing more than that Leo, on this occasion, assumed the part of a friendly adviser (*Epist.* clxvii.; Migne, liv. 1415). The same observation applies to another instance, the remonstrance of Martin I. (A.D. 649–55) with Amandus, bishop of Maestricht, under similar circumstances (*ib.* lxxxvii. 155).

Examples cited by Phillips, belonging to the 9th century, that of one Vilicarius applying for the papal license to resign his charge, when permission had been withheld by the provincial synod, and that of Wenilo, archbishop of Sens, soliciting the intervention of Nicholas I. to procure the deposition of Herimann, bishop of Nevers, who was incapacitated for the discharge of his duties by imbecility, undoubtedly carry more weight. But the evidence collected by Thomassin (ed. Bourassé, ii. 919–22) is far more convincing, as tending to establish the conclusion that, even in the 9th century, the authority of the pope was appealed to only as a last resource, and generally with the view of confirming the decision of a provincial council (see also Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Eccles. Discipl.* II. ii. 53, § 1, 2, 3, and 11), but that usually such questions were held to be rightly within the cognizance and authority of the diocesan bishops.

iii. *Claim to present to all benefices.*

This claim on the part of the Roman pontiff, which Milman affirms to have been "unknown until the 12th century" (*Lat. Christianity*, bk. xiii. c. 10), is certainly not to be recognized within our period. The precedents cited by the canonists are, for the most part, taken from instances of the exertion of metropolitan authority within the Roman diocese, or are only to be looked upon as cases wherein the advice of the pope was sought and given, without any notion on either side that it partook of the nature of a command.

We find, for example, Innocent I. instructing Marcianus, bishop of Naissus, in Illyricum, to appoint to offices in the church the presbyters and deacons whom his predecessor, Bonosus, prior to his sentence and degradation, had consecrated to such offices—"eos recipiendos esse censemus" (Coustant, ed. Schoenemann, p. 573). It is to be observed, however, that the authority here exercised relates to matters within the province of Illyricum, over which, ever since the time of Damasus, Rome had asserted metropolitan jurisdiction [METROPOLITAN, ad fin.]; the instance consequently fails as proof of the more general application (see Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 7–9).

A more relevant instance is that of Celestine I. who, when writing in the year 430 to the clergy and laity of Constantinople, enjoins that all bishops or priests whom Nestorius had deposed or excommunicated shall be regarded as still possessing their benefices and privileges—"aperte sedis nostrae sanxit auctoritas, nullum sive episcopum, sive clericum, seu professione aliqua Christianum, qui a Nestorio vel ejus similibus . . . vel loco suo vel communione dejecti sunt, vel ejectum vel excommunicatum videri" (Coustant, pp. 816–829). Here, however, it is to be remembered that the interference of Rome had been invoked by the contending parties, and that its assertion in the Eastern capital represented an altogether abnormal condition of affairs. When Leo the Great, some years later, appears as intervening between Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, and the archdeacon Aëtius, whom the former had deprived of his office, his language—"quem tamen pietati vestrae commendare praesumo" (Migne, *Patrol.* liv. 1156), is of a very different character; and the argument of Phillips (*Kirchenrecht*, v. 490) that, to quote the language of John of Salisbury, "the requests of the pope are mandates," involves the anachronism of confusing the status of the papacy in the 5th and the 12th centuries.

Other instances, such as when Simplicius inflicts a penalty on Gaudentius, bishop of Aufinum, for ordaining priests, "contra statuta canonum ac nostra praecepta," and directs two other bishops to deprive him of the future exercise of such power, "totam penitus auferri praecipimus potestatem" (Thiel. *Epist. Rom. Pont.* p. 176); or when Gelasius issues stringent regulations to the bishops of Lucania, Bruttii, and Sicily, with respect to the ordination of the clergy and their appointment to cures (*ib.* pp. 360–379), are invalid as a general argument, from the fact that they occur within the Roman diocese, where, at this period, such authority was unquestionably wielded by the Roman pontiff.

In all but the last of the foregoing instances, it will be seen that the occasion for the papal interference arose out of an exceptional position of affairs, and thus turns very much upon the fundamental question of appellate jurisdiction [APPEAL, p. 130]. Other instances, cited by Phillips and Thomassin, belonging to the pontificate of Gregory the Great, exhibit again the following important qualifying conditions: (α) that they occur within the diocese over which the Roman pontiff claimed metropolitan rights; (β) that Gregory himself appears, where practicable, to have first consulted the bishop of the district; (γ) that they occur at a period when political circumstances might warrant an occasional extraordinary exertion of the papal influence. For example, when Gregory bestows the monastery of St. Theodorus at Messana on Paulinus, bishop of Taurinae, he first consulted with the metropolitan of the district, Felix, bishop of Messana, to whom he writes: "quod etiam te voluisse, jam ejus [sc. Paulini] relatione didicimus" (*Epist.* bk. i. 41; Migne, lxxvii. 528); while, when writing to Felix, a subdeacon, with reference to the same transaction, he says:—"quam rem venerabili Felici ejusdem civitatis episcopo nos significasse cognosce, *ne praeter suam notitiam in dioecesi sibi commissa, ordinatum quippiam contristetur*" (*Epist.* i. 42; *ib.* lxxvii. 529). With reference to the ordination of Paulinus himself to the bishopric of Lipara, Gregory writes to Paulinus, to say that he has already expressed his wish in the matter to Maximianus, the metropolitan: "Maximiano fratri et coepiscopo scripsimus ut fraternitatem tuam ecclesiae Liparitanae ex nostra auctoritate praeesse constituat" (*Epist.* ii. 17; *ib.* lxxvii. 580). Similarly, when recommending a deacon as a proper recipient of a stipend, he writes to the same Maximianus: "sive ut officium diaconatus expleat, seu certe ut sola ejusdem officii pro sustentanda paupertate sua commoda consequatur, *in tuae fraternitatis volumus hoc pendere judicio*" (*Epist.* iv. 14; *ib.* lxxvii. 695).

But to whatever point we may assume the papal authority to have advanced in this respect, with the age of Gregory, it may be regarded as certain that it was not only held in check, but almost entirely set aside, by political events after his time. Neither in England, nor in Frankland under the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties (save for a brief period following the arrival of Boniface), was there any disposition to admit the assertion of these claims; and it is not until nearly the close of the 12th century that the appearance of "epistolae monitoriae," "praeceptoriae," and "executoriae" indicate that such powers were asserted and enforced.

(iv.) *Claim to temporal power.*

(1) *Patrimonium.*—The foundation of the church of St. John Lateran by Constantine the Great, is probably the only foundation of the kind in Rome which can be attributed with much probability to that monarch. At the same time he bestowed upon the bishop of Rome for a residence, that portion of the Lateran palace [LATERAN] which was known as the "domus Faustae" (Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. Stadt Rom*, i. 87), and here the first Lateran synod was held, in the year 313. It was in the same reign that the church acquired the right of possessing estates, and receiving bequests of landed property from individuals. The revenues thus obtained were always supposed to be devoted to charitable purposes, a law of Constantine of the year 326 pronouncing it fit that "the poor should be sustained by the riches of the churches" (*Cod. Theod.* xii. i. 6). Under this plea the church at Rome soon acquired widespread possessions; and in the year 432 we find Celestine, the bishop, writing to Theodosius II., and entreating his protection for certain estates of the see in Asia, which a lady named Proba, the representative of an ancient house, had bequeathed for the maintenance of "the clergy, the poor, and certain monasteries" (Coustant, ed. Schoen. p. 879). Long before the time of Gregory the Great, the "patrimonium Petri," as it was termed, was represented by large estates in Southern Italy, Sicily, Corsica, Africa, and Dalmatia. "Ever since the extinction of the Western empire had emancipated the ecclesiastical potentate from secular control, the first and most abiding object of his schemes and prayers had been the acquisition of territorial wealth in the neighbourhood of his capital. He had, indeed, a sort of justification—for Rome, a city with neither trade nor industry, was crowded with poor, for whom it devolved on the bishop to provide" (Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 42). In pursuance of this theory, we find Gregory himself speaking of such property as "res pauperum" (Migne, lxxvii. 834); his allusions to it are frequent. He refers, for instance, to lands in Gaul, "patrimoniolum ecclesiae nostrae quae illic constitutum est" (Letter to Brunichild, Migne, lxxvii. 836); in Sicily near Catana (*ib.* lxxvii. 593), but these latter appear to have been wrested from the church by Leo the Isaurian, A.D. 730 (Le Quien, i. 97); in Sardinia (Migne, lxxvii. 926), in the Cottian Alps, in Illyricum, and in the cities "of Otranto, Gallipoli, perhaps Norcia, Nepi, Cuma, Capua, Corsealano, Naples, Palermo, and Syracuse" (Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, ii. 115).

The "donatio patrimonii Alpium Cottiae," presented to the Roman see in 703, by Aripert, king of the Lombards, was wrested from its possession by Luitprand, who, however, moved by the remonstrances of Gregory II., again restored the territory (Anast. *Greg.* II.; Muratori, *Script.* III. i. 154). After this time no further reference to this patrimony is discoverable, and it appears to have been finally lost to Rome in the troubles that marked the second quarter of the 8th century.

(2) *Political sovereignty.* The commencement of the political authority of the Roman pontiff is perhaps to be discerned in the discharge of certain civic duties, with which, like the bishops of other important cities, he was entrusted on behalf of the imperial power (Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, iii. 37). These functions date back as far as the 4th century. The supreme civil authority of the city appears, however, to have been wielded by the prefect, and at a later period by the "dux" or duke of Rome. The beginning of a really independent authority has been referred (Sugenheim, *Entstehung und Ausbildung des Kirchenstaates*, p. 9) to the occasion when Peter the "dux" having been driven from the city, in the pontificate of Gregory II., it is

supposed that a kind of republic was formed, with the pope as chief administrator. This conjecture, however, is wanting in any real historical basis (Gregorovius, ii. 258), and the commencement of the "States of the Church" is more correctly referred to the year 727, when, according to Anastasius, Luitprand, after he had taken and plundered the town of Sutri, the possession of the emperor, offered it, at the request of Gregory II., as a gift to the apostles Peter and Paul (Muratori, *Script.* III. i. 157).

The real "donatio" dates from the year 754, when Pepin le Bref, at a council held at Quiercy, bestowed upon Stephen III. the territory which he had wrested from the Lombards, consisting of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, a tract of country to the east of the Apennines, stretching northwards from Ancona and the city of Comaclum. According to Anastasius, Desiderius, the vanquished Lombard monarch, had already vowed to present this territory to the Roman pontiff (*ib.* III. i. 171; Jaffé, *Regest. R. Pont.* 193–4).

The munificence of Pepin was rivalled by that of his son. When, in the year 774, Charles (who was then little more than thirty years of age) visited Rome, the donation of his father was made the ground for soliciting a yet larger grant. It is difficult to acquit Hadrian on this occasion of deliberate falsification of the deed conveying Pepin's grant, for when read by that pontiff to the monarch it was found to include territories *before unheard of as part of the original gift.* "Some of these," says Greenwood, "had never belonged to the exarchate of Ravenna, as it existed under the Greek dynasty, nor had ever been comprised within it at any time since the Lombard invasion of 568. Of this deed, as read by the pope, Charlemagne himself was entirely ignorant." The territory conceded by Charles, "per designationem confinium," was marked, according to Anastasius, by a line commencing at the port of Luna and taking in Corsica, then passing on to Surianum, Mons Bardonus, and Vercetum, from thence to Parma, Reggio, Mantua, Monselice, taking in the whole exarchate of Ravenna (sicut antiquitus erat), together with the provinces of Venetia and Histria, and the duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum (Muratori, *Script.* III. i. 186). "It should be observed," continues Greenwood, "that Spoleto and Beneventum had been in fact all along integral portions of the Lombard kingdom; moreover, it is known that Pippin did not dismember that kingdom in favour of the pope, and that those duchies were not comprised in the surrenders which Pippin extorted from Aistulph in pursuance of the treaties of Pontyon and Quiercy. . . . The donation executed by Charlemagne, at the request of Hadrian, was, in fact, an *entirely new grant,* comprising indeed much of the older claim, but extending it to at least double the area stipulated for in the prior donation" (*Cath. Petri,* ii. 414; Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* iii. 541).

Out of these successive donations arose the story of the "Donation of Constantine," first alleged as a fact in a letter of Hadrian to Constantine and Irene, 26th Oct. 785 (Mansi, xii. 1056; xiii. 527). According to this fabrication, Constantine the Great, on being cured of the leprosy by the intercession of pope Sylvester, determined, on the fourth day from his baptism to quit Rome and found a new capital on the Bosporus, in order that the supreme ecclesiastical power of the West might have free scope, and no longer be overshadowed by the presence of the imperial authority. He accordingly not only made over to Sylvester the Lateran palace, but also invested him with the diadem, the phrygium, the collar, and the purple cloak, "et omnia imperialia indutamenta." The clergy of Rome were to be attired in similar fashion. Finally, Rome itself, together with all the provinces of Italy and the West, were presented to Sylvester as "universal pope"—"ubi enim principatus sacerdotum et Christianae religionis caput ab imperatore coelesti constitutum est, justum non est ut illic imperator terrenus habeat potestatem" (Gratian, *Corp. Juris Can.* Dist. xcvi. cc. 13, 14).

This forgery (first challenged by Cusanus and Valla in the 15th century) having long been abandoned as spurious by the chief authorities in the Romish church itself (Döllinger, *Papstfabeln,* pp. 52–62), it will be unnecessary here to adduce the data for such a conclusion.

*Authorities.*—Histories: Gibbon, Baur, Neander, Gieseler, Milman, Robertson, Bingham; Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Eccl. Disciplina,* ed. 1773; Phillips (G.), *Kirchenrecht,* vol. v.; Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri,* vols. i. and ii.; von Schulte (J. F.), *Concilien, Päpste und Bischöfe,* 1871; Richter (A. L.), *Lehrbuch d. kath. u. prot. Kirchenrechts,* 1874; Du Pin *de Antiq. Ecclesiae Disciplina;* Baxmann (R.), *Die Politik der Päpste,* vol. i. 1868; Lipsius (R. A.), *Petrus-Sage* and *Chronologie der Römischen Bischöfe;* Coustant (Petrus), *Pontificorum Romanorum Epistolae,* 1796; Thiel, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificorum,* 1867; Wiltsch, *Kirchliche Geographie und Statistik,* 1846; for councils, Mansi, Sirmond, and Hefele. [J. B. M.]

**PORCH.** [Narthex.]

**PORCH** [compare Narthex]. Dr. Neale (*Eastern Ch.* Introd. p. 215) says of Eastern churches that "the προαύλιον, or porch, is usually, where it exists at all, at the west end, and reaches from the north to the south of the narthex: it is sometimes a lean-to against the west end of the narthex, but oftener it forms with the narthex one lean-to against the west end of the nave . . . Occasionally . . the προαύλιον, though at the west end, is simply like an English porch; and sometimes there are north and south porches. . . . The north, south, and west sides are open between the piers on which the προαύλιον is supported; the east side . . is usually adorned with mosaics or frescoes, usually of infernal punishments. Commonly the προαύλιον opens with three doors into the narthex . . . Against the east side there is a seat of marble or stone, or—in poor churches—of wood." [C.]

**PORPHYRIUS** (1), reader, martyr at Magnesia with Charalampus; commemorated Feb. 10 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(2) Slave of the martyr Pamphius, martyr with Julianus and Theodulus; commemorated Feb. 16 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Rom.*).

(3) Bishop of Gaza; commemorated Feb. 26 and Mar. 2 (Basil. *Menol.*); Feb. 26, holy father

and confessor (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 254; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 643).

(4) Slave of Onesiphorus (2 Tim. iv. 19) and martyr with him; commemorated July 16 (Basil. *Menol.*); Nov. 9 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(5) Man of God, instructor of the martyr Agapitus; commemorated Aug. 20 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*, PORPHIRIUS; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 26).

(6) Martyr under Julian; commemorated Sept. 15 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. v. 37).

(7) Of Ephesus, martyr under Aurelian; commemorated Nov. 4 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Rom.*); a Porphyrius occurs with others in Africa in *Hieron. Mart.* [C. H.]

**PORRECTIO VASORUM.** [INSTRUMENTA, p. 862; ORDINATION, p. 1508.]

**PORTER.** [OSTIARIUS.]

**PORTICUS.** [NARTHEX.]

**PORTRAITS.** It is probable that very many of the Oranti, or praying figures in the catacombs, both male and female, may be portraits or memorial figures of the dead. Such representations were quite in accordance with Roman family habits of sepulchral observance, and respect for ancestors passed away; and would be, in fact, a kind of Christian "Imagines." Those of Probus and Proba (see woodcut) are beautiful and pathetic in a high degree. Two medallion portraits, one of which, to judge by the engraving, must have been a marked likeness of considerable merit, occur in the cemetery of St. Priscilla (see Bottari, tavv. clx. clxi.). Both the medallions appear to be



Probus and Proba. (Bottari, tav. xvii.)

of military men, and Bottari mentions a conjecture that seventy-two soldiers martyred under Numerianus, with Claudius their tribune, may have been buried in that spot. They seem to be of the same rather early date, as their proportions are relatively good, and small loculi have been cut through the pictures into the wall.

Many figures in the mosaics are undoubtedly portraits, as those of Justinian and Theodora in the church of St. Vitale at Ravenna. (See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting in Italy*, i. 27, and Gally Knight's *Italian Architecture*, where the colours of the mosaic are beautifully given; also Ricci's series of photographs, and the copies at South Kensington.) The marked countenances of many saints of the Eastern church in all mosaics, and, indeed, on many cups and glasses, can hardly be ideals. (See Buonarroti, *Osservazione*, &c., x.–xiii.) [R. St. J. T.]

**POSSESSED.** [DEMONIACS; EXORCISM.]

**POSTURES OF DEVOTION.** [GENUFLEXION; PRAYER.]

**POTAMIA,** martyr with Julius at the city of Thagora; commemorated Dec. 5 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**POTAMIAENA,** martyr at Alexandria with Plutarchus and others; commemorated June 28. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*, POTAMIOENA; *Mart. Rom.*; *Hieron. Mart.*, POTAMINA; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 6, distinguishes her from a virgin of Alexandria of the same name commemorated on June 7.) [C. H.]

**POTAMIUS,** martyr with Nemesius in Cyprus; commemorated Feb. 20 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 173). [C. H.]

**POTENTIANA,** virgin martyr at Rome; commemorated May 19 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iv. 296). [C. H.]

**POTENTIANUS,** martyr with bishop Sabinianus at Sens; commemorated Dec. 31 (Usuard., Wand. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**POTITUS,** martyr under one of the Antonines; commemorated Jan. 3 (Florus, ap. Bed. *Mart.*); Jan. 13 (*Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 754). [C. H.]

**POTTERY.** The greater part of the objects made of clay, which bear Christian devices, symbols, or inscriptions, will be found under LAMPS; but there are also some others, for the description of which a few words may suffice. There is a class of small flat, circular, terracotta bottles, with two handles attached to the body a little below the neck, the short neck rising a little above them, which appear to have been designed for holding holy oil. On all of them, either on one side or on both, a standing figure is represented between two animals, sometimes very rudely modelled, but which appear in every case to have been intended for camels. Some of these, probably the greater number, are uninscribed; but a few bear the name of Menas, who died a martyr for the faith in the persecution under Galerius Maximinus or Maximianus at Alexandria (see Garrucci's remarks in *Archaeologia*, vol. xliv. p. 323, on the confusion of the two saints of the same name). To this saint, as it seems most probable, this whole class of ampullae or chrismaria belongs, which were in all likelihood made exclusively in Egypt as memorials of pilgrimage to his tomb (which was nine miles distant from Alexandria) and to hold oil brought from it. They are supposed by M. de Rossi to have been manufactured

in the 6th and 7th centuries. They may be arranged chronologically as follows:—

(1) On one side the inscription ΕΥΛΟ ‖ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ‖ ΑΓΙΟΥ Μ ‖ ΗΝΑ[a] in four lines on the body of the cruse, followed by a small rude cross of four nearly equal limbs: below in another line three pellets, all enclosed in a circle, and this again in a wreath. On the other side a draped figure with extended arms, an *orante* (details of drapery, &c., obscure); below each arm a very rudely designed animal, on each side of the head a cross as before, all inclosed in a circle, surrounded by a circle of beads, and that again inclosed in a circle. Height (when perfect) about 4 inches; diameter of body, 2⅜ inches. Figured and described from an example found at Arles, in De Rossi's *Bullett. di Arch. Crist.* for 1869, pp. 20, 31, 32. De Rossi (*u. s.*) notes that other specimens occur in museums (public or private) in Paris, Rome, London, and also in Montauban (found at Memphis) as well as Marseilles, Aix and Turin (also found in Egypt). Another in the Halles Museum at Brussels, of pale yellow clay, has ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ only, as it would seem, but the description is defective (De Rossi, *Bull.* 1872, pp. 25–30).

(2) On both sides an *orante* as before, but with distinct circular nimbus (no crosses near the neck), dressed in military costume; the cloak (*paludamentum*) is buckled round the right shoulder, and the cuirass comes down nearly to the knees. A rude animal (a camel) is on




Clay Oil-cruse of St. Menas. (De Rossi.)

either side his body. Across the body of the cruse, near the neck of the figure, Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΜΗΝΑC (ΜΗΝ ligated) in one line. Diameter of body of cruse, nearly 4½ inches; the height must have been fully 6 inches. Figured and described by De Rossi, *Bull.* 1869, pp. 44, 46. Found at Alexandria. (In the Florence Museum.)

(3) A nimbed orante, nearly as in No. 2 (without crosses); very rude camels on either side, but in place of Greek inscription S. M. (*i.e.* S. Menas) on either side of the neck (the S is clear, the M is much blurred). The reverse has a Maltese cross inclosed in a circle or wreath of palm branches; this again is included in a circle in which three pellets alternate with one barleycorn, there being twelve pellets and four barleycorns. Of hard red clay; part of one handle missing. Height, 3½ inches; diameter of body, 2¼ inches. Found in Lower Egypt; formerly in the Allemant collection. (See below, under No. 4.)

(4) Uninscribed. On both sides an orante, as No. 1, with the same adjuncts. Three specimens from Alexandria in the Florence Museum (De Rossi, *Bull.* 1869, p. 46). Two others of soft pale yellowish clay, diameter of body about 3 inches, height nearly 4 inches; both from Lower Egypt (Allemant, *Collect. d'Antiquités égypt.* part of Nos. 520–531, p. 85, Lond. 1878; now in the collection of the writer, as well as the foregoing, forming part of the same lot). One said to have been found in the cemetery of St. Cyriaca in 1830, now in the Le Noirs collection, is figured in Perret, *Catacombes*, vol. iv. pl. xx. n. 6. The *ampullae* with full inscriptions would (as De Rossi observes) naturally be the most ancient, those with shorter inscriptions would come next, and those with no inscription would be latest of all, the type having then become known (*Bull.* 1872, p. 30).

(5) There remains another example of this class, which entirely resembles no. 3 on the side bearing the figure of Menas, except that it has two crosses in place of S. M.; but the reverse has a monogram plainly reading ΠΕΤΡΟΥ inclosed within a circle, and this again within a circle of scroll-work. Clay of a yellowish colour. Height, 3½ inches; diameter of body, 2¼ inches. Preserved in the College of the Barnabite Fathers in Moncalieri, near Turin (De Rossi, *Bull.* 1872, p. 26. tav. ii. nos. 4 and 5).

De Rossi, while fully admitting that this figure between camels must be Menas, thinks with great probability that the Peter of the reverse is St. Peter, bishop of Alexandria, also a martyr, who died in the persecutions of Diocletian. His cemetery near Alexandria is mentioned by the monk Epiphanius, a writer of the 11th century, in close connexion with the sepulchre of St. Menas (pp. 5, 6, ed. Dressel. Lips. 1843). It is just possible, however, that Peter may be the potter's name.[b]

[a] Eulogia, a word used primarily for the bread in the Eucharist, then for loaves distributed after it to the faithful, is also extended to 'other pledges of heavenly blessings' (De Rossi), and occurs not only on these fictile *chrismaria*, but on one of those metal ones preserved in Monza Cathedral, where we have ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ (*sic*) ΤΟΠΩΝ, on which Kirchoff observes (in Böckh. *C. I. G.* n. 8977) that the sacred oil is so called 'ut pote Domino pro sacrificio oblatum,' and refers to Du Cange, *Gloss.* i. p. 447; see De Rossi, *Bull.* 1869, p. 31, and 1872, p. 7: also EULOGIAE.

[b] Since most of the above was in type, Mr. Franks has kindly called the writer's attention to a paper in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xliv. by Mr. A. Nesbitt "On a Box of Carved Ivory of the Sixth Century," representing the Acts of St. Menas; at the conclusion (pp. 329, 330) is a description of the flasks of the same saint, which were in the British Museum in 1876. They are nineteen in number, and except one, which was found in Calymnos, were all found in Egypt; eleven are inscribed, eight are not so. They more or less resemble those which have been mentioned above; some, indeed, are exactly like no. 3 (above). Two of them have profile heads of St.

The camels, which are the invariable concomitants of Menas, were suggested by M. de Rossi to be reminiscences of the desert of Libya, of which Menas was governor during his life, and regarded as the protector after his death. But the Acts of St. Menas say that he, before undergoing martyrdom, ordered that his body should be placed after his death on camels, and that the beasts should be left free, and "that they would see the glory of God manifest," *i.e.* by their bearing it to the spot where God willed that his sanctuary should be erected (Garrucci, *u. s.*).

There are in the British Museum a few other flasks bearing different types and of different forms, which were probably used for the same purpose.

(1) Ampulla without handles. On one side three arches with coronae hanging from them: cross and two branches above them; below (retrograde) ΚΥ ЄΛЄΗ CON; below the inscription a rude bird. On the other side the same types with a continuation of the inscription (also retrograde) TH CIONKET (*i.e.* Κύριε, ἐλεῆσον τῇ Σιονκέτ, a woman's name). Height between 3 and 4 inches. From Egypt.

The following small ampullae have two small perforated handles:

(2) Greek cross on both sides impressed with concentric circles; similar markings in the two upper compartments on both sides of the body; circles round the neck.

(3) Greek cross on both sides; rays between the limbs; extremities of limbs forked. Recently brought from Egypt by the Rev. G. J. Chester.

(4) Figure (of a saint) at full length, holding long cross in left hand, and grasping snake by the head with the other; the same types on both sides. This and the preceding are narrower in form than no. (2).

Other kinds of fictile vessels, bearing marks of Christianity, occur but rarely. There is an amphora, found in the cemetery of St. Cyriaca, now in the Lateran Museum, which is stamped in intaglio upon the neck with SPES I | N DEO (De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1872, p. 12).[c]

A few Christian stamps on brick and tile are now to be mentioned. A fragment of brick found in Rome has XMΓ KACCIOY stamped upon it in a circular form, and in the centre the usual chrisma (☧) rudely drawn within a circle. Cassius is doubtless the master of the brick-kiln. X.M.Γ, as De Rossi gives reasons for thinking, may stand for Χριστὸς, Μιχαὴλ, Γαβριὴλ (*Bull.* 1870, pp. 7–31, tav. iii. n. 2). A fragment of tile, found at Piacenza, has the same chrisma, also very rude, accompanied by some scarcely legible marks, which may perhaps form the word NIKA (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 32, tav. ii. n. 2). A brick found in the Roman catacombs in 1849 has a stamp bearing two concentric circles. Within the outer circle is the word CLAVDIANA (the name of the owner of the manufactory); accompanied by an ivy-leaf: within the inner circle is the chrisma of the ordinary form (Perret, *Catacombes*, t. iv. pl. xx. n. 13, and t. vi. p. 119). But it is in Spain perhaps more especially that tiles and bricks stamped with Christian inscriptions have been found; they have been collected by Hübner (*Inscr. Hisp. Christ.* pp. 65, 66). Some are not altogether intelligible; the more remarkable of the others are as follows: (1) BRACARI VI | VAS CUM TVIS (in two lines); between them A ☧ ω (Hübner, n. 193, who mentions that many examples of this tile have been found in various parts of Hispania Baetica). (2) Chrisma with loop to left; followed by CHIONI VIVAS (retrograde) (n. 196). (3) Alpha and Omega (Ω), chrisma between them in one line in a line below FELIX ASELLA. This form of the Omega, if correctly given, is perhaps unique in this connexion (n. 197). Others have SPES IN DEO and the chrisma (n. 203, 6). Tiles of the same general character, some of early date, some of Ostrogothic times have been met with in Italy (De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1872, p. 12). Fragments of tiles found in Strasbourg in a tomb were stamped with a label inclosing the inscription ARBOASTIS EPS FICET (fecit). He died about 679 A.D., and was evidently in possession of the manufacture of these tiles (Le Blant, *Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule*, n. 350, pl. 39, n. 233).

On a vase, probably a cup, of red clay, found between Saint-Léger-sur-Dheune and Chagny are scratched three Latin crosses, two of them with a rude heart-shaped figure at the base, and the third surrounded by a like figure; on the upper rim is inscribed in retrograde and inverted letters the potter's name PISTILLVS, which occurs on other examples of Gaulish pottery; also, both near it and near the crosses, the letters ZVY (in various combinations), which have not been explained. Supposed to belong "aux premiers temps du christianisme." Shape nearly cylindrical, slightly increasing above; no handles. Height said to be 0·138; breadth, 0·009 [0·039?]. (Le Blant, *u. s.* n. 6, pl. 1, n. 2.) Remains of tile and also of pottery have been found in Christian tombs in Gaul,[d] belonging in some cases to vases too large to have been placed there when whole,

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Menas (?) with curly hair. The other variations need hardly be mentioned here. In the same paper (pp. 322, 323) are remarks relating to these flasks by Padre Garrucci in a letter to Mr. Nesbitt. One is figured in the *Revue Archéologique*, vol. i. (1844), p. 405, and others in a recent volume of the same work, not seen by the writer. The Museum has acquired other flasks of St. Menas since 1876; among them is a large example (from Egypt) which may possibly be intended for some other saint. It shews a naked figure with nimbus between two bulls and two other animals, perhaps meant for bears.

[c] A piece of a handle of a wine amphora found at Binchester, now preserved in the Museum at Newcastle, has the potter's name V R F I enclosed in an oblong label, a Greek cross (approaching the Maltese) being inserted between R and F. Dr. Bruce (*Roman Wall*, p. 411, 3rd ed.) is unwilling to recognise it as a Christian symbol, probably rightly.

[d] Perret (*Catacombes de Rome*, vol. iv. pl. iii. and pl. vi.) figures many pieces of pottery, which (as he justly remarks) would be of little interest, were they not found in the catacombs (the exact localities are not given): among them are jugs (two forms), open cups without handles (either plain or with protuberances), and others with loops for suspension; also long pointed amphorae, others with swelling bodies and flat bottoms. Described in vol. vi. pp. 109, 110. As they are the ordinary Roman pottery of the period no more need be said about them. See also Guenebault, *Dict. Iconogr.* s. v. "Vases."

on which are scratched the proper names of the persons buried,* accompanied sometimes by the cross or chrisma, or the symbols occur alone. (See Le Blant, u. s. pl. 17, 18, 19, 20.) One which M. Le Blant supposes to be of the 4th century (n. 155) has VIVAS IN DEO, followed by a palm scratched on a piece of glazed red pottery of classic times (Samian ware); and the Louvre has similar fragments with Greek Christian inscriptions drawn with the point. A terracotta weight (n. 160) has VRSVS, with palm and chrisma engraved on its sides.

It may be added that on fragments of Egyptian pottery a few Greek Christian inscriptions are written in ink, containing verses from the Gospels and from the hymn trisagion, which were perhaps used as charms. They are probably of the 7th or 8th century. (Böckh, *C. I. G.* Nos. 9060–9063). [C. B.]

**POVERTY, VOWS OF.** In order to arrive at a correct and philosophical view of this wide subject, it must be remembered that the self-imposition of poverty is not exclusively, is not (it might be said) even principally Christian.

As an example of it in Greek paganism it will be enough to cite the case of Crates, the wealthy Theban, casting away a mass of gold when he went to live the life of philosophy at Athens.

In the ancient religion of India it is generally understood that voluntary poverty occurs; but to remove all vagueness and doubt upon the subject, one or two authorities may be conveniently presented here.

In the code of Menu, then, which is of supreme obligation, we find this direction laid down for the man who would make progress in religion:—"From devout Brahmins let him receive alms to support life" (*Institutes of Menu*, ch. vi. 27, Calcutta, 1794). At a later period we meet with the same ideas in a still more precise form in the Institutes of Akbar, where one of the five subdivisions of the state called Jowg Sumpergeyat is Appergerreh, "not holding any worldly possessions, but considering them as the cause of every kind of unhappiness." (Institutes of Akber, translated from the Persian by F. Gladwin, Calcutta, 1786, vol. iii. p. 140.) And finally, in our own century, the devout Hindu who professes penance is thus described by Mill:—"Repairing to a forest . . . and leaving all property and all worldly duties behind him, he is there directed to live on pure food, on certain herbs, roots, and fruit, which he may collect in the forest, to wear a black antelope's hide, or a vesture of bark, to suffer the hairs of his head, his beard, and his nails to grow continually" (*History of British India*, bk. 2, ch. 6). It will be observed that these are phrases which might be exactly applied to the life of many a Christian hermit.

In the history of monasticism the vow of poverty is one factor of the famous triplet which constituted profession (religionis professio)—obedience, poverty, and chastity, (continentia, castitas). The vow is divided by canonists into two classes: (1) simplex, (2) solenne. The *solemn* vow is that made with certain approved formalities in a religious body; when these formalities are absent the vow is termed *simple*. It was probably under a vow of this latter kind (if under any at all) that the early ascetae practised poverty. It is mostly under a vow of the *solemn* kind that the religious Orders have in subsequent times undertaken that life. (See Aquinas, *Summa. Secunda Secundae*, q. 88, and Cajetan's *Comment.*) Aquinas argues that even if a monk becomes a bishop he is not absolved from his vow of poverty. He ought to have nothing of his own, but ought to be, as it were, the dispenser of common property (*ib.* q. 88 xi.).

We can, however, trace the *fact* of a self-inflicted poverty, long before we have any satisfactory evidence of a *vow* to undergo it. There is no occasion to seek the prototype of such a life in that disdain of material things which is in one degree or another a characteristic of most forms of religious thought, and which, as we have seen above, found expression in the Brahmanism of ancient India, and the polytheism of ancient Greece, as well as in modern Christianity. The ultimate motive of the system is to be found, no doubt, in the infirmities of man himself; but when we are considering it as a feature in the asceticism which is specifically Christian, it is enough to notice that the germ of it was ready from the first, both in the life our Lord Himself and in certain texts of the New Testament. Just as there were words in Scripture which seemed to demand, and in some cases actually produced, the sacrifice of self-mutilation, so there were words which seemed to imply that possession was, if not a sin, at least a hindrance to Christian life. It was inevitable that "Go and sell all that thou hast" should be taken in the full severity of the letter.

Whatever be the solution of the vexed question as to the origin and name of the early Ebionites, it seems certain that they made a profession of poverty, esteeming the world, and all its allurements, as the property of Satan (see Mr. Soames' learned note on Mosheim, *Hist.* bk. i. cent. 2, part ii. ch. v. s. 2).

In the middle of the first century of the Christian era we learn from Philo (quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 17) that the Therapeutae divested themselves of their property before withdrawing into the wilderness. The Greek historian suggests that this was probably intended as an imitation of the practice of the first Christians in the Acts, who sold their lands and laid the price at the Apostles' feet. The spirit of voluntary poverty in early days is well illustrated in the life of St. Spyridion, bishop of Trimython in Cyprus, in the 4th century, who was so far a devotee of poverty that he lent his money without interest (Sozom. *Eccl. Hist.* i. xi.). But the life of poverty, says the Greek historian just now quoted, was carried to "the summit of exactness and perfection" by Antony, the great monk (ὁ μέγας μοναχός). Many other instances of the same form of asceticism in the 4th century are recorded in the first book of Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*.

In the following century we reach the time of St. Benedict of Nursia, the founder of the celebrated monastic rule that bears his name. The formal vow of poverty was one of the three vows that were exacted of all postulants for the order,

* A brick found at Adamas in Spain (probably scratched) reads: "CAMILLA IN DEO DECEDIT E VITAE (Hübner, u. s. n. 194).

the other two vows being those of chastity and obedience.

It is important to notice that we can find no trace of the formal vow of poverty earlier[a] than the Benedictine rule. It appears from the Novellae of Justinian that in his times the profession of religious life was not accompanied by any particular solemnity. Even in the monasteries of earlier days, such as St. Antony's for example, there was no formula of profession. It is obvious, however, that poverty is an essential feature of the monastic life. And this perhaps may be some explanation of a fact which might otherwise occasion some surprise—that in the formula of profession St. Benedict makes no express mention of the poverty. The novice is indeed asked three questions, which no doubt, are meant severally to correspond with the poverty, the chastity, and the obedience; but the stern demand of absolute poverty is at least very mildly phrased; it is in fact simply the question that is put throughout Christendom to every candidate for baptism, "Vultis abrenuntiare saeculo huic, et pompis ejus?" (Martene *de Monach. Rit.* v. 4, vol. iv. p. 223, fol. 1764). The rule, however (cap. 33), describes the condition with great minuteness of detail—no property, not even book, nor paper, nor pen, nothing at all, was the professed to have.

Precautions were always taken against inconsiderate entrance into the monastic life. And it was the concern of princes as well as of pastors to secure the existence of proper safeguards against hasty renunciation of all title to possession. We are not therefore surprised to find that simultaneously with the very rise of formal profession the emperor Justinian regulates admission by a decree (Nov. 5). Laymen were to make a novitiate of three years. [NOVICE.]

We find St. Gregory distinctly enjoining poverty on Augustine of Canterbury: "But because you, my brother, having been instructed in the rules of the monastery, ought not to live apart from your clergy in the church of the English, which by the aid of God was but lately brought to the faith, you ought to institute that conversation which was our fathers' in the beginning of the early church; among whom none of them said that anything was his own of those things which they possessed, but all things were common to them" (Bede's *Eccl. Hist.* i. 27; Gidley's transl. p. 65).

Amongst the examples of the life of poverty we may cite some famous names. St. Anthony, whose life was written by St. Athanasius, has perhaps the right to stand first. St. Olympia had the distinction of being under the guidance of St. Chrysostom (see Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 9). There are the pupils and friends of St. Jerome—Fabiola, Paula, Eustochium, and others. A little later we have John the patriarch of Alexandria (A.D. 616), surnamed Eleemosynarius. Other examples collected by Zoeckler (*Kritische Geschichte der Askese*, 1863) are more or less grotesque: Bisarion the abbot, who covered a corpse with his cloak, gave his coat to a beggar and went stark naked himself; Eleemon, who sold every one of his books, and himself performed the office of a midwife to a poor woman in the vestibule of a church; Macarius, who was so indifferent to worldly possessions that he helped the thief to complete the plunder of his dwelling; Pambo, who at once distributed amongst the poor the three hundred pounds of silver with which a lady presented him; and Agatho, who so dreaded possession that he would not even receive the solitary piece of gold that was offered him for distribution to the poor. [H. T. A.]

[a] The so-called rule of Caesarius of Arles, who is slightly earlier than St. Benedict, is ascribed by Cave to Tetradius, whom he makes exactly contemporary with St. Benedict (*Hist. Lit.* i. p. 513).

**PRAEBENDA.** A word probably derived from the daily rations issued to soldiers (Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* iii. 2, c. 16, § 1), and signifying the portions of food, raiment, or money, allowed to a monk or cleric. Gregory the Great, writing to Paschasius, bishop of Naples (Ep ix. 9), speaks of a hundred solidi which were to be paid to the clergy. These allowances were distinct from the benefice [PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH]. A Capitulary of Charles the Great (*Addit.* iii. c. 112) provides that canons who have benefices should not claim a share in the allowances allotted to their poorer brethren, "stipendia fratrum unde pauperiores vitam sustinent nequaquam assumant." Those who offended against this statute were to be deprived of both prebend and benefice, "utrisque careant et beneficio et praebenda," and to forfeit any ecclesiastical preferment they might happen to hold. The same monarch (Sirmondi, *Conc. Gall.* iii. p. 637) complains that certain of the clergy neglected their parishes in order to hold a prebend in the monastery of Monte Falco. The development of the prebendal system belongs to a period beyond our present limits. [P. O.]

**PRAECENTOR.** [PRECENTOR.]

**PRAECO.** As it was the duty of the deacon at certain points of the liturgy to proclaim to the people the subjects to be prayed for, and generally to direct them by his voice in the performance of their acts of worship, he sometimes received the name of κήρυξ, or *praeco*, the herald or proclaimer [DEACON, p. 529 f.] Synesius (*Epist.* 67, p. 209, Migne) calls the deacons ἱεροκήρυκες; and the word κηρύττειν is used of the deacon's proclamations, as "κηρυττέτω, μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων" (*Constt. Apost.* viii. 5). [PROSPHONESIS.] (Bingham's *Antiq.* II. xx. 10.) [P. O.]

**PRAEFATIO.** [PREFACE.]

**PRAEFICAE.** [MOURNING.]

**PRAEJECTUS,** bishop and martyr at Auvergne with Amarinus; commemorated Jan. 25 (Usuard. *Mart.*: Bed. *Mart.*, PROJECTUS; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 628). [C. H.]

**PRAEPEDIGNA,** martyr with her husband Claudius and Maximus at Ostia under Diocletian; commemorated Feb. 18 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.* at Rome; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PRAEPOSITUS** (Eng. *Provost*, Fr. *Prévôt*, Germ. *Probst*). The word *praepositus* is applied (1) like the kindred Greek words, προεστὼς, προϊστάμενος, προστὰς, and πρόεδρος, both to bishops and to presbyters [BISHOP, p. 209]; (2) to the person who presides over a body of canons [CANONICI]; (3) to the second in com-

mand under the abbat in a monastery, the *prior claustralis*, and to the head of a subordinate house or priory [PRIOR]. It is also applied (4) to that member of a chapter who takes charge of the administration of the capitular estates, (5) to the bailiff or steward who manages an estate, and (6) to the ADVOCATUS ECCLESIAE. (Ducange's GLOSSARY, *s. u.*) Compare PRINCEPS. [C.]

**PRAESANCTIFIED.** [PRESANCTIFIED.]

**PRAESIDIUS.** [PRESIDIUS.]

**PRAETEXTATUS**, martyr with Pontianus at Rome under Maximinus; commemorated Dec. 11 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PRAGMATIUS**, bishop of Autun; commemorated Nov. 22 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PRAXEDIS**, virgin; commemorated at Rome July 21 (Bed. *Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; *Kal. Antiquiss.* Patr. Lat. cxxxviii. 1190; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. v. 130). One of the earliest churches of Rome was dedicated to her (Ciamp. *Vet. Mon.* ii. 143, 2); her figure adorned church doors and was represented with a lampas ardens. (*Ib.* i. 27. 2.) [C. H.]

**PRAYER.** It is unnecessary to say that the importance of prayer as a means of spiritual growth is everywhere insisted on by Christian teachers, especially in the well-known tracts on Prayer by Tertullian and Origen, and in that on the Lord's Prayer by Cyprian. Cyprian in particular (*De Orat. Dom.* c. 4) warns us that we should endeavour not to offend the eye of God either in our postures or the tones of our voice; that God will have us worship Him in secret, as well as in the assembly of the brethren. Origen, too (*De Orat.* c. 31), insists that the outward accompaniments of prayer are not indifferent, for the gestures are expressive as well as the voice. And again (*c. Celsum*, vii. 39 and 44; *De Orat.* c. 20), he describes how the Christian in his prayer closes, so far as may be, the avenues of sense, and abstracts himself from earthly things. He prays in a low voice, for the heart and not the lungs is powerful with God (Tertullian *de Orat.* c. 13). See further on Prayer as an ascetic exercise, ROSARY, HOURS OF PRAYER. On forms of prayer, see LITURGICAL BOOKS.

Christian teachers, from the apostles onward, insist constantly on the necessity of *common* prayer. When ye assemble frequently, the power of Satan is broken (Ignat. *ad Ephes.* c. 13). If the prayer of one or two has so much power, much more has that of the bishop and the whole church (*Ib.* c. 5). The Teacher of peace and unity did not prescribe mere individual, but common, prayer. I am not to pray to "*my* Father," but *our* Father; not for *my* daily bread, but *our* daily bread (Cyprian *de Orat. Dom.* 8). When the feeling of community in prayer was so strong, it follows that frequent attendance on divine service was insisted on. "Before all things," says the writer of the Clementine Homilies (*Hom.* iii. c. 69), "assemble yourselves together more constantly. I would it were hourly, at any rate on the accustomed days of assembling; for while ye do this ye are within the walls of inviolability (ἀσυλίας)." It was from the conception of prayer as a duty that public prayer itself came to be called *officium* (Tert. *de Orat.* c. 14). Especially was attendance required at the Sunday services (*Apost. Constt.* vii. 30). But daily attendance at church, morning and evening, was enjoined on clergy and laity alike (*Ib.* ii. 59). Origen (*in Genes.* Hom. 10, c. 3) reproves those who came to the house of the Lord only on festival days, as if all days were not holy to the Lord. The Arabic canons which bear the name of Hippolytus (c. 21, p. 79, quoted by Probst, *Kirchl. Disciplin*, p. 362) desire the priests, sub-deacons, and readers, and the whole people to assemble together in the church at cock-crow, and give themselves to prayer, the saying of psalms, and the reading of Scripture. Even for the sick the true medicine is to attend at church and enjoy the prayers, except indeed those who are dangerously ill. The Greek Διατάξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων (c. 22, in Hippolyti *Opera*, ed. Lagarde, p. 83 = *Apost. Constt.* viii. 34) desire prayer to be made at dawn, at the third, sixth, and ninth hour, at evening, and at cock-crow. And if it be impossible by reason of unbelievers to approach the church, the bishop is desired to hold meetings for worship (συνάξεις) in his own house; for it is not the place that sanctifies the man, but the man the place. But if even this be impossible, every man is enjoined to say psalms, read Scripture, and pray by himself, or by two or three together. The injunction is added, that one of the faithful is not to pray with a catechumen even in private. When such provision was made even for a time of persecution, it is easy to see how strong was felt to be the obligation to prayer, and especially to public prayer. And the acts of martyrs frequently shew the same thing. The martyrs Saturninus and Felix, for instance, avowed in the midst of tortures that they had held assemblies for worship (collectas), and gloried in their obedience to the law of God (cc. 10 and 12, in Ruinart, pp. 386–7).

And as attendance at Catholic worship was earnestly enjoined, so was attendance on non-Catholic worship earnestly forbidden. One who joined in the worship of Jews or heretics was excommunicated (*Can. Apost.* 64). If any one despises the church of God, and turns aside to the abominations of the heathen, or to a meeting of Jews or heretics, how shall he give account to God in the day of judgment? (*Apost. Constt.* ii. 61, § 2).

For the general arrangement of the place of worship see CHURCH, p. 378. To this may be added that the space nearest to the presbytery was occupied by the virgins, widows, and presbyteresses (πρεσβύτιδες) of the church, standing or sitting (*Apost. Constt.* ii. 57, § 8; cf. Tertullian *de Exhort. Cast.* c. 11). With these were probably the ascetics. The sexes were separated [SEXES, SEPARATION OF] probably from about the 3rd century (*Ap. Constt.* ii. 57, § 4). The *Apostolical Constitutions* inform us that the younger part of the congregation, if the seats were not sufficient for all, had to stand; children stood beside their parents; women not yet purified after childbirth took their place among the catechumens.

Men and women were desired to go to church in seemly dress, with simple and unaffected mien, pure in body and in heart, fit to pray to God (Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* iii. 11, p. 300, Potter). The women covered their heads in church, according to the apostolic precept (1 Cor. xi. 5); the men bared their heads, as bondsmen of Christ, while in Judaism and heathendom alike men prayed with covered head, as a sign of freedom. [HEAD, COVERING OF.] Devotional quiet was maintained during the service; the deacon was to prevent whispering, or sleeping, or laughing, or beckoning (*Apost. Constt.* ii. 57, § 8). And this direction was not, it appears, superfluous; for Origen (*In Exod.* hom. 12, § 2) complains that there were some who, while scripture was read, withdrew into corners and amused themselves with worldly conversation, even turning their backs upon the reader. Strangers who brought commendatory letters from another diocese were conducted by the deacon to their proper place; a foreign presbyter sat among the presbyters, a foreign deacon among the deacons; a bishop was received with honour by the bishop of the place (*Ap. Constt.* ii. 58).

The hours of prayer, afterwards observed only by the clergy, were originally intended to be observed so far as practicable by the laity also. There is nothing in the passage above quoted from the *Apostolical Constitutions* (viii. 34) to limit the observance of the hours to the clergy; and even at a later period efforts were made to induce the laity to attend at the hours of prayer, as well as at the Eucharistic service, at least on festivals. Thus a capitulare of the year 801 (quoted by Van Espen *de Horis Can.* pt. i. c. iii. § 2) says: "It was ordered not merely that clerics should perform the offices at meet times, but also that they should ring bells to rouse the people to pray." And Theodulph of Orleans (*Capit. ad Presb.* 23, 24) begs those who can do no more at least to pray twice a day, morning and evening, in the church, if a church is near, if not, wherever they may chance to be when the time comes. On the sabbath (Saturday) he enjoins all Christians to come to church with lights [for the service of the eve], to come to the vigils or matin office, and again with their oblations to the mass [on Sunday]. See HOURS OF PRAYER; LITURGICAL BOOKS; LITURGY; OFFICE, THE DIVINE. [C.]

*Postures of Prayer.*—It was the custom in the earliest times of Christianity to pray standing, with the hands extended and slightly raised towards heaven, and with the face turned towards the east. Exceptions may no doubt be cited even from the New Testament, but that this was the most common attitude is evident from the testimony of primitive monuments. Frescoes, sarcophagi, sepulchral monuments, ancient glass, mosaics in the earliest basilicas, above all the Roman catacombs, exhibit the faithful, more especially women, praying in this attitude [ORANTI]. Many of these female figures are richly dressed, and, as though wearied with the length of their prayers, have their arms supported on either side by men, who to judge from their dress were servants; a probable allusion to the support which Moses received from Aaron and Hur, and a possible hint not of their weariness, but of their lengthened devotions. The presence of serving men may, like the rich dress, also indicate the position in life of the deceased, though the rich dress may also have had a religious significance [PARADISE]. Tertullian (*Apologet.* xxx.) explicitly declares this to have been the Christian attitude of prayer—"illuc suspicientes (in coelum) Christiani manibus expansis quia innocuis, capite nudo quia non erubescimus"—though this description does not exclude kneeling nor involve turning to the east, while it adds the bare head to the previous description.

There is abundant evidence from ancient art and ancient literature to shew that the raising the hands toward heaven was an ordinary attitude of prayer among the Egyptians, Etruscans, and Romans; but Tertullian (*de Orat.* xi.) attaches a different motive to the Christian elevation of the hands to any that could have entered into the mind of a pagan. Contrasting the mere elevation with the expansion of the hands he says: "nos vero non attollimus tantum sed expandimus, e dominica passione modulantes." The same desire to imitate the position of our Lord upon the cross is related in Ruinart (*Acta Martyr. Sinc.* p. 235) of Montanus, and in Usuard (*Martyrol.* xii. *Kal. Feb.*) of Fructuosus, Augurius, and Eulogius. Pagan may readily be distinguished from Christian *orante* on ancient monuments, the pagan figures raising the hands vertically with the elbow forming a right angle, the Christian extending the arms horizontally, expressing, according to Tertullian (*de Orat.* xiii.) more humility and self-control; "ne ipsis quidem manibus sublimius elatis, sed temperate ac probe elatis." In the early church the catechumens as well as the faithful prayed standing, but whereas the latter raised the eyes to heaven, the former bent them towards the earth, to indicate that they had not yet acquired by baptism the right of sons to raise their eyes to the Father in heaven.

For the prevalence of the attitude of kneeling in the early church, see GENUFLEXION. (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v. *Prière, Attitudes de.*) [E. C. H.]

**PRAYER, THE LORD'S.** [LORD'S PRAYER.]

**PREACHING.** *κήρυγμα, praedicatio; διδασκαλία, doctrina, instructio, institutio.* Sermons were known as *ὁμιλίαι, tractatus*, homilies; *λόγοι, sermones*, sermons. Preachers were *διδάσκαλοι, tractatores*, doctors, or expositors. [HOMILY and HOMILIARIUM.]

I. In the first place we find our Lord applying to Himself the prophecy of Is. lxi. 1, "He hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor" (Luke iv. 18); and giving an express commission to preach to the Twelve (St. Luke ix. 2), and it would seem to the Seventy (St. Luke x. 9). To the former it was repeated with great solemnity immediately before the Ascension (St. Mark xvi. 15); and we find St. Paul (1 Cor. i. 17) claiming with considerable emphasis this function of preaching (Οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλέ με Χριστὸς *βαπτίζειν*, ἀλλ' *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι*) as peculiarly belonging to him. Very naturally, therefore, and for an obvious reason, the preaching of the Apostles is described by the term, *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι*; and *εὐαγγέλιον* (in the singular) means not only the record of the life and teaching of Christ, but also the communication by *preaching* of the

knowledge of the Incarnation. See St. Luke iii. 18, iv. 18; Acts v. 42; Gal. i. 11. This usage is generally *confined* to the preaching of our Lord and His apostles, and it is generally true of them; but there is apparently one exception at least in Acts viii. 4, even in the very first period of the spread of the gospel.

II. At a somewhat later stage of the primitive church, when congregations had been formed in various places, we learn from the epistles of St. Paul that those to whom extraordinary spiritual gifts had been committed, were in the habit of preaching and expounding in the public assemblies of Christians. See 1 Cor. xiv. 31 (where, however, it is to be noticed that the word εὐαγγελίζω is not employed). Certain rules are laid down there for these "preachings." It does not, however, appear under what further limits or restrictions this custom of general ministration was permitted; and as these extraordinary endowments died out in or shortly after the apostolic age, this "ministry of gifts" was speedily replaced by one devolving on the natural depositaries, the clergy. Hilary's comment on the Epistles (in the works of St. Ambrose) states this definitely, but it is not clear whether upon any kind of authority, or as a mere theory: Ut cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum et evangelizare et baptizare, et Scripturas in ecclesiâ explanare. At ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores et caetera officia in ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de clero auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, praesumere officium, quod sciret non sibi creditum vel concessum" (*Com. in Ephes.* iv.).

III. Women, however, were never permitted *in the church* to assume the character of public preachers; neither in the apostolic age, as we learn from 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35; 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12; nor afterwards was this ever permitted in any case. The fourth council of Carthage (can. 99) expressly declares this: "Mulier quamvis docta et sancta, viros in conventu docere non praesumat." To the same effect the *Apostolical Constitutions* (lib. iii. cap. 9). The allowing of women to preach was, however, a mark of many heretical sects. Thus Tertullian: "Ipsae mulieres haereticae quam procaces, quae audeant docere" (*De Praescript.* cap. 41). And the Montanists even made this a leading principle of their sect, and its two prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla, were quite as prominent in the teaching of their followers as Montanus himself.

IV. Among the Catholics, however, preaching was in the earliest age especially the duty of the bishop. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. c. 67) describes the presiding brother (προεστώς) as exhorting the assembly. St. Chrysostom, commenting on the phrase used by St. Paul, "A bishop must be apt to teach" (διδακτικόν), refers to this as especially required of the bishop (*Hom.* x. in 1 Tim. iii.), and declares in another place that "he who was without the power of preaching ought to be far from the throne of teaching" (πόῤῥω ἔστω θρόνου διδασκαλικοῦ). Similarly Cyril of Alexandria speaks of the episcopal office as ἀξίωμα διδασκαλικὸν (*Ep. ad Monach. in Conc. Ephes.*). The same phrase was used by the sixth general council in degrading Macarius, bishop of Antioch, for heresy. It was understood that a bishop undertook to preach as one of the distinctive duties of his office; and St. Ambrose complains that he, although unlearned in theology and unprepared, was obliged to undertake it: "Cum jam effugere non possimus officium docendi, quod nobis refugientibus imposuit sacerdotii necessitudo .... Ego raptus de tribunalibus atque administrationis infulis ad sacerdotium, docere vos coepi quod ipse non didici. Itaque factum est, ut prius docere inciperem, quam discere. Discendum est igitur mihi simul et docendum, quoniam non vacavi ante discere" (*De Offic. Minist.* i 1). And St. Chrysostom developes the same idea at length, and with great beauty, in the fourth book of his treatise *De Sacerdotio*. St. Augustine, when he writes to blame the custom of the auditors standing throughout the sermon, which he says, by fatigue of the body, takes away the attention of the mind, so that they should rather sit, says, "Antistites sedentes loquuntur ad populum" (*De Rud. Catech.* c. 19). The passage is interesting on another ground, since we learn from it that in the province of Africa the custom was for the preacher to sit and the people to stand: whilst in some other churches both preachers and people used to sit.

In the African churches it would seem, from this and other passages, that the duty of preaching was reserved wholly to the bishop; and to this fact we must refer the frequent use of such phrases as *me tractante* and *tractante Episcopo* in the Epistles of St. Cyprian (*Epp.* 52, 56, 83). It was for centuries altogether unknown in these churches that any but bishops should preach; and Possidius, in his *Life of St. Augustine*, relates that when Valerius, the bishop of the diocese, was induced by Augustine's remarkable powers to allow him to preach frequently before him, he introduced a marked departure from the customs of the province: (*Vit. Aug.* cap. 5). But the example once given was afterwards followed, and it became more usual for presbyters to preach by licence from the bishop, "postea bono praecedente exemplo, accepta ab episcopis potestate, presbyteri nonnulli coram episcopis populo tractare coeperunt verbum Dei" (*ibid.*). But in the Eastern Churches presbyters were more generally permitted to preach; for the same author intimates that it was from their example Valerius derived the idea, and disregarded accordingly the outcry made against him. St. Jerome was so jealous of the rights of presbyters, that we need not be surprised to find him stigmatizing the refusing to them the privilege to preach in the presence of bishops as "a very bad custom in certain churches." The ecclesiastical historians have some scattered notices upon the subject. Socrates (lib. v. c. 22) asserts that at Alexandria presbyters were not permitted to preach; and that this restriction began from the time when (the presbyter) Arius troubled the church by his novel speculations respecting the Incarnation; which has somewhat the air of a theory invented *ex post facto* to account for the custom. But he records in another place (vii. 2) in his notices of Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, that the latter constantly preached while yet a presbyter. And almost the entire career as a

preacher of St. John Chrysostom is comprised in the sixteen years which intervened between his ordination as deacon and his elevation to the episcopal throne of Constantinople. To this period, amongst many other of his works, must be referred the orations on the martyr Babylas. The sermon that he preached before the bishop and a large congregation on the occasion of his ordination as presbyter is still extant; and it needs only to mention the celebrated orations *On the Statues*, as falling likewise within the time of his presbyterate.

Similar instances from other churches might easily be adduced; and there is nothing to shew that they were in any respect exceptions. The power and the duty of preaching were primarily in the bishop; but he might and usually did authorize presbyters who were capable of discharging it to do so.

A case is recorded by Paulinus in his *Carmen de Vitâ Felicis* of this Felix being appointed by Quintus, as the newly-elected bishop of Nola, to preach there: "Ergo sub hoc coram Felice antistite vixit Presbytero, et crevit meritis, qui crescere sede noluit [he had refused to be himself chosen bishop]. Ipse illum tanquam minor omnia Quintus observabat, et os linguam Felicis habebat. Ille gregem officio, Felix sermone regebat."

V. The case was somewhat different with regard to deacons. The power of preaching was not, in the earliest times, committed to them; and where the terms κηρύσσειν and κήρυγμα are applied to them, and the deacon is called κήρυξ (or PRAECO), it is to be understood of his calling the congregation to prayer, giving notice of the various stages of the service and such like. It was noted as a thing unusual even among the Arians that Leontius, the (Arian) bishop of Antioch, permitted Aetius, a deacon, to preach publicly in the church (Philostorg. *Hist.* lib. iii. c. 17). Yet great numbers of sermons and similar discourses are extant from the pen of Ephrem Syrus of Edessa (d. A.D. 399), who was never more than a deacon; and we must apparently conclude that these were preached, and that we have here another exception to the ordinary rule. The *Com. in Ephes.* already quoted, asserts positively "nunc neque diaconi in populo praedicant." At a later period in the West, the council of Vaison (A.D. 529) gave permission in a canon to deacons to read "the homilies of the holy fathers," when the priest was prevented by sickness from preaching (can. 2). And it is said of Caesarius of Arles in his *Life* that when himself unable to preach through sickness and age, he appointed not only presbyters but also deacons to do so. But the context shews (cap. 28) that they were merely to read discourses or homilies "Ambrosii, Augustini, seu parvitatis meae vel quorumcunque Doctorum Catholicorum."

It may, however, safely be said that deacons were as a rule confined to reading, and were not suffered to preach; and that this rule was not broken through except in rare and unfrequent instances.

VI. It would seem that monks or other laymen were sometimes permitted to preach. Eusebius (*Hist.* lib. vi. c. 19) relates the well-known case of Origen, who, while a layman, was requested by Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, to preach before him; and Alexander defended this, when challenged, as a well-known practice when a layman was well qualified to preach. In doing so, he quotes the instances, otherwise unknown to us, of Euelpis at Larandae, bidden to preach by the bishop Neon; of Paulinus at Iconium, and of Theodorus at Synnada. This freedom does not appear, however, to have existed in the West. We find pope Leo, in an epistle to Maximus, bishop of Antioch, telling him that monks or other laymen, however learned, should not be allowed to usurp the right of teaching or preaching, but only the priests of the Lord (*Ep.* 60 or 62). But the very caution would seem to shew the existence of such a practice; and doubtless monks at all events, who were capable of preaching and expounding Scripture, would habitually do so in their own communities. With respect to this practice, nevertheless, St. Jerome writes: "Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis, habet officium" (*Ep.* 55 *ad Ripar.*), and in the epistle to Heliodorus, "Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum: clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor."

VII. It was not at all uncommon in large churches having many clergy, or at times when bishops were assembled, to have several sermons preached one after another, in the same assembly; the bishop, if there were one present, or the person of greatest dignity, coming last. We find in the so-called *Apostolical Constitutions* the following rule, which no doubt represents the practice of the period when it was written: "When the gospel is read, let the presbyters one by one, but not all, speak the word of exhortation to the people, and last of all the bishop, who is the governor or pilot of the ship" (lib. ii. c. 57). And it is clear from various allusions in the discourses of St. John Chrysostom, preached by him at Antioch while still a presbyter, that the bishop was to preach after him, as when he says: "It is now time for me to keep silence, that our master may have time to speak" (*Hom.* 2, *de Verbis Esai.* tom. iii). St. Jerome, writing to Pammachius, mentions an instance when two bishops, Epiphanius and John, bishop of Jerusalem, had preached one after the other in the church at Jerusalem (*Ep.* 61, cap. 4).

There are many decrees of ancient councils enforcing the duty of frequent preaching, and directing when and how often sermons should be preached. The eleventh council at Toledo recommended to bishops diligently to fit themselves by reading and study for the discharge of this duty: "ut qui officium praedicationis suscepimus, nullis curis a divinâ lectione privemur. Isidore, bishop of Seville (d. 636 A.D.), in his work on "*Ecclesiastical Offices*," lays down that to a bishop the knowledge of Scripture is necessary because he has to labour in preaching. The Trullan synod enjoined upon bishops "to preach in their churches every day, or at least on Sundays, teaching all the clergy and people with pious and orthodox discourse, collecting out of the divine Scriptures knowledge and right judgments. And if controversy should arise about the Scripture, they should interpret it no otherwise than as the lights and doctors of the church have expounded it in their writings" (can. 19). A letter from St. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz (d. 754 A.D.), not long after explains sufficiently his idea of the importance of preaching as a duty of the clergy: "Lullum constituere

faciatis Praedicatorem et doctorem Presbyterorum et Populorum. Spero quod in illo habeant Presbyteri Magistrum, et Monachi regularem doctorem, et populi Christiani fidelem Praedicatorem et Pastorem." Still more emphatic is the second canon of the sixth council of Arles (A.D. 813): let priests learn the holy Scriptures and the canons, and let their whole business consist in preaching and teaching, and let them build up others as well in the knowledge of faith, as in the practice of good works." A council of Mentz in the same year exhorts "bishops not to fail to preach in person or by a deputy, on Sundays and festivals" (can. 25). The second at Rheims repeats this order with the additional direction, that the bishop's sermon shall be in the vernacular tongue, in order that he may be understood (can. 14, 15). And the third of Tours in a very similar canon goes so far as to require that he shall be careful to translate his discourse "in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Theotiscam" for the same reason (can. 19). As in other parts of the duty of the clergy, so with this, the emperors thought it their duty from time to time to supplement and support ecclesiastical regulations by the enactments of their own secular law. The title of one of the laws in the Theodosian code issued by the three emperors, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, is *de munere seu officio episcoporum in praedicando verbo Dei*. The same law was inserted into the code of Justinian (lib. ix. tit. 29, *de Crimine Sacrilegii*, Leg. 1). It would be long to quote other provisions to the same effect, and we close this list with the remark that this subject was naturally not overlooked in the multifarious legislation of Charlemagne, and of his successors. These capitularies contain many provisions very similar to those already quoted. A collection of "tractatus atque sermones et omelias diversorum Catholicorum patrum," for the various Sundays of the ecclesiastical year is still extant, which was compiled by Paulus Diaconus at the command of that sovereign. [HOMILY, p. 782.]

VIII. As to the days when it was usual that sermons should be preached, the Lord's day or Sunday was the principal occasion for this, and it is thought that it was at first the only appointed day. For Justin Martyr (*Apol.* c. 87) seems to exclude any other days by the description he gives of the Christian worship "On the day which is called Sunday." The report of Pliny to the emperor Trajan speaks of the Christians being accustomed to meet on a stated day, "stato die ante lucem convenire" (lib. x.; *Ep.* 97. This would be about A.D. 105). We may perhaps then conclude that the celebration of the Eucharist and with it the preaching of the sermon were invariably held on Sundays; not that they were never held at other times. And, in fact, we learn from Tertullian not many years later, that Wednesday and Friday, the "stationary days" or days of special meeting, were observed in a similar manner with celebration of the Holy Commumion, and no doubt therefore with sermon, which, as we have seen, was a usual part of the Eucharistic service (*De Orat.* cap. 14). [STATIONS.] The *natalitia* or anniversaries of the martyrs were also times of abundant preaching. St. Chrysostom, in his homily on the martyrs (*Hom.* 65) remarks upon this, and mentions that the whole city went forth to celebrate their memory at their tombs.

Likewise the great festivals and fasts of the Christian year were naturally the occasion for the delivery of sermons. In Lent it was customary to have sermons every day. The homilies of St. Chrysostom upon the book of Genesis compose a Lenten course of this kind; and the homilies "On the Statues" were similarly preached upon every day in Lent. Pamphilus says of Origen that he was accustomed to address the people almost every day (*Apol. pro Orig.* tom. i.). The *Apostolical Constitutions* also have an order directing public prayers and preaching to be held on every Saturday also, excepting that preceding Easter day or on the Lord's day (lib. ii. c. 59). [SABBATH.] It would seem that it was the practice in the Egyptian monasteries, where there were constant services every day, for a sermon to be preached daily, and this was usually in the afternoon, "post horam nonam," according to St. Jerome (*Ep.* 22, *ad Eustoch.* cap. 15).

It was in fact a general custom to have evening preaching as well as morning upon occasions of particular devotion [compare VIGIL]. In several of Chrysostom's discourses he plainly alludes to their being preached in the afternoon: e. g. *Hom.* 10, *ad Popul. Antioch.* St. Augustine makes it clear that he preached sometimes in the afternoon as well as in the morning, by expressions which he uses: *e.g.* in his second sermon on Psalm lxxxviii., where he says, "Ad reliqua Psalmi, de quo in matutino locuti sumus, animum intendite et pium debitum exigite." And Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia (d. A.D. 427), refers in his *Tractatus* to his having preached twice on the vigil of Easter (*Tract.* 4). Some of the discourses of St. Basil on the *Hexaemeron*, or six days of creation, were likewise preached in the evening (*Hom.* 2, 7, 9). It is, perhaps, needless to multiply instances of a practice widely spread in all the churches, and naturally to be expected.

A remarkable statement is made by Sozomen (*Hist.* lib. vii. c. 19), that at Rome neither the bishop nor any other were known to preach publicly to the people up to his time (A.D. 440). This declaration is repeated by Cassiodorus in his *Historia Tripartita*, and without hinting that it is incorrect. Valesius, in his note on this passage, observes, in corroboration of Sozomen, that no sermons by any bishop of Rome are extant before those of Leo the Great. His pontificate commenced only in A.D. 440—*i. e.* in the same year in which Sozomen's *History* breaks off. There is indeed an oration delivered by pope Liberius in St. Peter's church on the Feast of the Nativity, upon the occasion of a profession of virginity by Marcellina, sister of St. Ambrose, and other ladies. But he argues (1) that this oration was not properly an ὁμιλία, or sermon, but an address and exhortation to Marcellina; and (2) that it was an exception to ordinary rule, probably to do honour to a person of high rank. Bingham's suggestion is that the homilies of famous writers might be read in place of a sermon. Perhaps, however, all that Sozomen's statement need be taken to mean is that it *was not the habit* to preach constantly, as in other churches; or that instead of formal sermons there were merely familiar and unstudied

addresses for which the title of *Sermon* was not arrogated; and that the Roman church had produced no great preachers, such as Origen, Athanasius, or Chrysostom, in the East. And when we remember how few of the clergy were in the habit of preaching during the Middle Ages, and in the centuries preceding the Reformation, the statement is credible enough. Bingham's argument, from the expressions of Justin Martyr in his *Apology*, does not seem to be of much weight, since Justin was essentially Greek by birth, long residence, culture, and experience; and it is by no means certain that in the passage in question he is describing the services of the *Roman* church.

IX. Sermons were commonly written, but occasionally preached *ex tempore*. Origen was a distinguished instance of the latter practice. Eusebius (*Hist.* lib. vi. c. 36) relates, however, that it was not until he was sixty years of age that he ventured to preach unwritten sermons in the churches; and these were taken down by ταχυγράφοι, or shorthand writers. It is related by Sozomen concerning St. Chrysostom upon his return from banishment, that he was obliged by the people to go into the great church, and deliver to them an extemporal discourse, "καὶ σχέδιόν τινα διεξῆλθε λόγον" (*Hist.* lib. viii. 18). And in many of his sermons still extant, we have allusions to incidents taking place during the delivery of them, sufficient to prove that the prepared sermon had been embroidered by the preacher's ready eloquence with these spontaneous additions. The historian Socrates (*H. E.* vii. 2) relates of Atticus, afterwards bishop of Constantinople, that though, whilst he was in the order of presbyters, he used to preach from memory discourses which he had previously prepared, yet afterwards, having acquired confidence by industry and practice, he began a course of *extempore* (ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου) and more popular preaching. Ruffinus says in his *History* (lib. ii. cap. 9) of Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil, that there were noble monuments of their ability extant in the sermons which they spoke *ex tempore* in the churches; but it is doubtful whether he means anything more than *memoriter*. This remark cannot, however, apply to that passage in a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (died A.D. 482) to Faustus, bishop of Reggio, in which he refers to "praedicationes tuas, nunc *repentinas*, nunc cum ratio poposcerit *elucubratas*," where the distinction between the two classes of sermons is clearly expressed. It is evident that to preach in this unpremeditated manner was a matter of frequent occurrence with St. Augustine. In one of his sermons on the Psalms (*Hom.* Ps. lxxxvi.) he intimates that it had been prescribed to him by the bishop then present in church. In his book *De Doctrina Christiana* he gives such detailed directions for the practice of sacred oratory as to make it abundantly clear that he contemplated a habit of preaching similar to that common in modern times, viz. the careful preparation beforehand of a discourse, followed by oral and unassisted delivery of it. In his treatise *De Catechizandis Rudibus* he gives two sermons of different lengths as models for the inexperienced preacher. Yet, however careful had been the preparation, they were wont to depend somewhat on the inspiration of the moment, and in this they considered they were depending upon the help of the Holy Spirit, promised by our Lord in the Gospel (St. Matt. x. 19, 20. There is an exquisite prayer for "a humble wisdom which may build up, and a most gentle and wise eloquence, which knows not how to be puffed up," preserved in the works of St. Ambrose (*Orat. apud Ferrar. de Conc.* lib. i. cap. 8), which he is said to have habitually used before preaching; but it does not appear whether privately or not. But these quotations might be increased to any number, for the habit of commencing the sermon with a prayer was a constant one among the later fathers.

Another preface to the sermon which was commonly used was known as the Pax, "Peace be unto you," to which the congregation would reply, "And with thy spirit." This was called in Greek πρόσρησις, the address or salutation: but St. Chrysostom speaks of it as the Peace, Ἀντιδόντες τῷ διδόντι τὴν εἰρήνην (*Hom.* iii. *in Coloss.*).

It was not uncommon to use a short prayer before the sermon, but there does not appear to have been any prescribed form for this. It was a matter of individual choice; and from the various specimens of such prayers which are now extant, they would seem to be very similar to those which are frequently embodied by modern preachers in the exordium of the sermon. Thus in the commencement of one of St. Augustine's homilies upon the Psalms, we find "attendite ad Psalmum; *det nobis Dominus aperire mysteria quae hic continentur*" (in Psal. xci.). A similar but longer one occurs in Psalm cxxxix. "Adjuvet [Dominus] orationibus vestris, ut ea dicam quae oportet me dicere et vos audire (Comp. also *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, cap. 4 and *Hom.* in Psal. cxlvii.). St. Chrysostom also says, "First prayers and then the word, Πρότερον εὐχὴ καὶ τότε λόγος, *Hom.* xxviii.; but is here probably referring to the general prayers, perhaps of the Ante-Communion office, which, at all events, usually and preferably preceded the sermon (*Constit.* lib. viii. cap. 5).

X. The text was always taken out of some part of the Scriptures; but it appears from some homilies of St. Chrysostom that preachers would sometimes dispense altogether with a text. The subjects, however, were always of a serious and religious nature. St. Gregory Nazianzen, in his first *Orat. Apol. de Fugâ*, gives a list of these, which includes the chief doctrines of the Christian faith; and St. Chrysostom gives a not dissimilar one (*Hom.* 24, *de Bapt. Christ.* tom. i.).

XI. From the facts here presented it will be tolerably evident what was the method of preaching generally adopted in the earliest ages of the church. There was little scope for the rhetorical arts of the orator in the earliest Christian assemblies; and probably Thomassin is very right when he concludes: "et Apostolos, et Episcopos, et Presbyteros qui prioribus his saeculis concionabantur, sermones effudisse extemporaneos, inornatos, ex abundantiâ cordis, et plenitudine intima charitatis" (*Vet. et Nova Descrip. Eccles.* part ii. book iii. c. 83). At a later period, when a great burden of doctrinal teaching and polemical discussion was thrown upon a far more cultured and leisurely class of clergy, the typical discourses of the age became much more elaborate and literary in their character, even while, no

doubt, the great bulk of the popular preaching remained comparatively unchanged. Of this period Origen, Tertullian, Athanasius, and Jerome, may be taken as representatives. By the end of the 4th century, however, the rhetoric of the schools has completely made its way into the pulpit; and in the brilliant group of Christian orators who flourished at that period, St. John Chrysostom, the two Gregories, of Nazianzus and of Nyssa, and St. Basil, we have the typical examples of a greatly altered style of Christian preaching. About this time it became usual to preach sitting in the *ambo* instead of in the more distant *cathedra*, in order to be better heard. The custom of applauding the preacher by clapping the hands and stamping the feet (κρότος) extended itself by degrees into the church, and shewed the great change which had passed over the habits of Christians. St. Chrysostom is said to have inveighed against this objectionable custom in an eloquent sermon, *which was loudly applauded*. Rhetoric, in fact, speedily passed into mere unreal and factitious artifice in that luxurious age, and the sermon seems to have in some places sunk to be little higher than an intellectual exercise. Accordingly, in Constantinople and other great cities, popular preachers were loaded with rewards, with fame, and it would seem with recompense of a more substantial kind. The historian Socrates (*Hist.* lib. vi. cap. 11) tells a story of a certain bishop from Ptolemais, Antiochus by name, who was very famous for his eloquence, and having come to Constantinople and preached in a great many churches there, obtained by so doing a large sum of money, and then returned home. Possibly this prevalent *secularity* of tone into which the practice of preaching had fallen, may not be unconnected with the disuse of it in the Roman church, and it would seem throughout great part of Western Europe, where at this time a much greater simplicity of manners and even ignorance prevailed. Here, however, Hilary, bishop of Arles (d. A.D. 449), was renowned for his preaching, which seems to have been in some respects a return to a higher and purer type of pastoral address. It is, nevertheless, too much like the inflated compliment of the previous century, when we are told by a contemporary: "Si Augustinus post Hilarium fuisset, judicaretur inferior." The writer of his life gives the following account of his preaching:—"Temporalis vero ejus praedicatio, quantum flumen eloquentiae habuerit, quas sententiarum gemmas sculpserit, aurum supernorum sensuum repererit, argentum splendentis eloquii abundaverit, descriptionum varias picturas, et rhetoricos colores expresserit, ferrum spiritalis gladii acumen in truncandis haereticorum venenatis erroribus exercuerit, non dicam dicere, sed ne cogitare me posse protestor; sedilibus praeparatis in jejunio ab hora diei septima usque in ejus decimam epulis plebem spiritalibus saginabat, pascendo esurire cogebat, esurientes nequaquam pascere desistebat. Si peritorum turba defuisset, simplici sermone rusticorum corda nutriebat, at ubi instructos super venisse vidisset, sermone, vultu pariter in quadam gratia insolita excitabatur, seipso celsior apparebat; ut ejusdem praeclari doctores temporis, qui suis scriptis meriti summi claruere, Silvius Eusebius, Donnolas, admiratione succensi in hac verba proruperint, Non doctrinam, non eloquentiam, sed nescio quid super homines consecutum."

XII. When we come to the 8th century, and the beginning of the 9th century, we must conclude, if we may judge from the few specimens that remain, that there was but little preaching, and that what existed shews a singular mixture of piety and dense ignorance. It would probably be correct to say that there was little or no popular or public preaching at all; the written compositions that remain to us from that age emanated almost in every case from the monastic institutions, and were intended for use within their own walls and for their own members. On the one hand, they display considerable knowledge of the letter of Scripture, care and acuteness in reasoning upon it, and ardent, if simple, piety. On the other, the temper of the age was utterly uncritical, and accepted indiscriminately historical truth, and the most crude and incredible legends. The *Homilies* which are extant under the name of Aelfric (whether written by him or not, they are apparently a work of that age) afford numerous examples of this characteristic. And on the other hand, they have many passages of considerable spiritual insight and remarkable earnestness and beauty. [S. J. E.]

XIII. *Literature.* F. B. Ferrarius, *De Veterum Christi. Concionibus*, lib. iii. (Mediol. 1621, often reprinted); J. Hildebrand, *Exercitationes de Veterum Concionibus* (Helmstadt, 1661); E. Leopold, *Das Predigtamt im Urchristenthum* (Lüneburg, 1846); Moule, *Christian Oratory of the First Four Centuries* (Cambridge, 1864); Paniel, *Geschichte der christl. Beredsamkeit* (Leipzig, 1839 ff.); Tzschirner *de Claris Eccl. Vet. Oratoribus* (Leipzig, 1817–1821); Th. Harnack, *Geschichte und Theorie der Predigt* (Erlangen, 1878). Collections of sermons of the fathers are found in Combefis, *Bibliotheca Patrum Concionatoria* (Paris, 1662); Pelt et Rheinwald, *Bibliotheca Concionatoria* (Berlin, 1829 f.). [C.]

**PREBEND.** [PRAEBENDA.]

**PRECARIAE, PRECARIUM**, an agreement, lease, or charter (Ducange, *Gloss.*), by which a life interest in church property was created, 1, in return for the conveyance of an estate to the church in fee simple; 2, at a fixed quit-rent, in return for feudal services.

I. In the first case the property appears sometimes to have been given over with a bare reservation of the life interest. Thus Augustine (*Sermo* 356, Migne, *Patrol.* t. v. page 1572), speaking of one Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, tells a story of a man who, not expecting to have children, conveyed his whole property to the church, retaining merely a life interest (retento sibi usufructu); when children were born to him, the bishop, contrary to his expectation, restored the property to him. In most cases, however, the arrangement evidently partook largely of the nature of a bargain. Thus the third council of Tours, A.D. 813 (c. 51), replies to the complaints made by certain heirs, who alleged that they had been unfairly disinherited, because the property to which they had a rightful claim had been conveyed to the church under the title of "precariae," that no one ever conveyed property to the church without receiving either as much as he had given, or twice or thrice as much in the shape of life interest (usu fruc-

tuario), and that, if the donor made it a condition, his children or relations were allowed to hold the property on the same terms that had been agreed on with himself. It is added that even relations who had no legal claim were habitually permitted, as a matter of grace, to hold the property which had been conveyed away from them (de quâ illi jam erant per legem exclusi) if they were willing to hold it as a fief (in beneficium) from the church. This they allege to be the invariable custom and method of the church. It is probable, however, that complaints continued to be made by heirs who considered themselves unjustly deprived of their inheritance, and that such assertions were not altogether without reason may be gathered from the fact that the council of Meaux, A.D. 845 (c. 21), found it necessary to declare in the most positive terms that no one should dare to accept "precariae," except on condition that the owner should retain a life interest in the property, and receive an annuity of twice the amount from the property of the church (si res proprias et ecclesiasticas usufructuario tenere voluerit). In case, however, the owner preferred to convey the property at once (ad praesens demiserit) he was to receive a life interest to the amount of three times the value from church property, but only for his own life.

II. The second class of "precariae" consisted of lands held from the church by military tenure, on condition of rendering certain feudal services, and paying a certain fixed quit-rent. The occasion of the foundation of these precariae is found in the proceedings of the council of Leptipa. A.D. 743 (c. 2), where an edict is recited of Carloman the Elder, providing that, on account of the cruel wars then prevailing, and the necessities of the state from the invasions of surrounding nations, the church should allot some estates for the assistance of the army, to be held on lease and at an annual rent (precario et censu), on condition that the tenants should pay a rent of twelve denarii for every farm building (casatâ) to the church to which the property belonged. It was carefully provided that the estate should revert to the church at the death of the original holder, but if the necessity of the case required, or the sovereign willed it, the lease should be renewed or regranted. These leases might also be revoked even before the death of the holder, in case the church or monastery to which they belonged was in actual need.

A capitulary of Charles the Great (A.D. 779, c. 13) provides for the renewal of "precariae" already subsisting, and the granting of them in cases where they did not exist. From the wording of the capitulary it appears that there were two classes of these leases, some dependent directly on the church, and others in which the sovereign was concerned, for it directs that a distinction should be made (sit discretio) between the precariae founded by the will of the sovereign (de verbo nostro factas) and those granted by the free will of the church from its own property. Another edict (*Addit.* iv. § 32) further provides that those who refuse to pay their quit-rent, their tenths, and nones, or defer to seek a renewal of their leases, shall forfeit their fiefs, which shall return in absolute and perpetual possession to the church to which they belong. See also *Capit.* v. c. 198.

As might have been expected, the holders of these leases were engaged in a continual effort to assert hereditary rights over the estates so held, and indeed to claim them as their absolute property, on payment of the fixed quit-rent. Such claims were absolutely negatived by imperial decrees. A capitulary of Charles the Great (*Capit.* vii. c. 104), after reciting the evils that had fallen upon states in consequence of seizing the property of the church, expressly provides that no one shall hold church lands except as "precariae"; that, on the death of the holder, they shall be delivered up to the church, and that the bishops shall elect either to receive them or to regrant them on the same conditions. It is emphatically added that the property shall be delivered to the bishops of the particular church to which it belonged, and dealt with them according to the law (canonice).

The mistrust of the bishops indicated in the careful wording of the latter provision does not seem to have been altogether unfounded. There are traces, even in the slender notices of precariae which are found in the records of councils, not only that the sovereign occasionally found them a convenient method of appropriating, with a colour of legality, the estates of the church, but that bishops sometimes used them, as leases of church property have been used in later days, to further their individual interests. Thus the council of Meaux, A.D. 845 (c. 22), apparently referring to the precariae mentioned in the capitulary of Charles the Great, above quoted, protests that the sovereign has no power to issue precepts concerning precariae created by the church (praecepta regalia super precariis ecclesiasticis fieri), and also (c. 21) decrees that certain "precariae" which had been granted by bishops who were in illegal occupation of sees which were really vacant, should be resumed, and granted, if desirable, by proper ecclesiastical or civil authority (cum authoritate ecclesiastica vel civili). The latter expression seeming to indicate that the state had some power of granting "precariae" out of the estates of the church. The same council decrees (c. 22) that "precariae," according to ancient rule and custom, should be renewed every five years.

It was evident from these decrees that the system of "precariae" was never altogether free from unfairness and dishonesty, though there is no express mention of the abuses which it fostered in times later than our present limits. That donors of property regarded the system with at least suspicion may be inferred from the fact that gifts were sometimes made subject to the special provision that they should not be granted as precariae. Thus the second council of Vermez, A.D. 853 (c. 2), revoked the concession as a "precariae" of a certain monastery belonging to the abbey of St. Dionysius, because the donor of the property in question had made it a condition that it never should be granted as a fief or "precariae" (nec beneficiario nec precario jure distrahendum). [P. O.]

**PRECENTOR**, the leader of the singers in the chanting of the psalms and the other musical portions of the church service, "qui vocem praemittit in cantu" (Isidor. *Origg.* lib. vii. c. 11); "qui cantando voce et manu incitat, ut servus qui boves stimulo minans dulci

voce bobus jubilet" (Honorius Augustod. *Gemma Animae*, i. 17). Other names were ὑποβολεὺς, (a prompter); φωνασκὸς, *monitor*, *suggestor*, *psalmi pronuntiator* or *praenuntiator*, *archicantor*. We find no distinct mention of this office before the 4th century. We then have abundant evidence of the custom of dividing the psalms and canticles between one leader, who recited the first half of the verse, and the people who took it up and sang the latter half, "praecinebant cantores, populus vero succinebat" (Coteler. *in Constit. Apostol.* note 34, p. 260). At Caesarea, we learn from Basil's letter to the Neocaesareans (*Epist.* 207 [63], § 3), the psalmody was sometimes antiphonal; sometimes one began the strain, and the rest responded (οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηχοῦσι). We see that the same custom was adopted at Alexandria from Athanasius's narrative of his escape from the soldiers who were sent to apprehend him. When the church was beset with the military force, he directed the deacon to commence the 137th Psalm, and the people to respond at the close of each verse "For His mercy endureth for ever," and then quietly to disperse (Athanas. *de Fug.* § 34, p. 717). The custom at Antioch was the same, as we learn from Chrysostom, "He who chants, chants alone, and, though all utter the response, the voice is wafted as from one mouth" (*Homil.* xxxvi. *in* 1 *Cor.* xiv. § 9). A similar direction is given in the *Apostolical Constitutions*—"Let some person sing the hymns of David, and let the people join at the conclusion of the verses" (τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω) (lib. ii. c. 57). Sidonius Apollinaris is evidence of the same custom in the Gallican church in the 5th century—"Psalmorum hic modulator et phonascus" (lib. iv. *Ep.* 11). These leaders of the chant formed a distinct class, called ὑποβολεῖς (Socr. *H. E.* v. 22), originally belonging to the order of "lectores" (Martène *de Ant. Eccl. Discipl.* c. iii. § 89), of whom, in Justinian's time, there were as many as twenty-six attached to the church of Constantinople (Justin. *Novell.* iii. c. 1). They were forbidden to wear an *orarium* (Can. Laodic. 23; Labbe, i. 1500), as being a too distinctly clerical symbol, and, on the other hand, were prohibited from singing in a secular dress (Canon 11, Bracar. II.; Labbe, v. 841). In process of time, the name *praecentor* became restricted in the Western church to a single person, or sometimes two persons—the *Gemma Animae*, speaks of those "qui chorum utrimque regunt" (i. 74)—who had the chief regulation of the musical portion of the service, and conducted it himself, *per baculum*, beating time with a *baton*, and proclaimed from the *ambo* the title of the psalm (Cassiodor. *Praef. in Ps.* c. 2). The narrative of Beda makes us acquainted with several persons bearing this title of office, such as James, the chanter, who—"magister ecclesiasticae cantionis juxta morem Romanum"—nobly remained in Northumbria when Paulinus fled after Penda's victory at Hatfield (Beda, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 20). Stephen Eddi (Haedde), the biographer of Wilfrid, after James, "primus cantandi magister Nordanhymbrorum ecclesiis" (*ibid.* iv. 2). Putta, afterwards bishop of Rochester, whose special skill in chanting had been derived from the disciples of pope Gregory (*ibid.*). Maban, the chanter of Hexham (*ibid.* v. 20), and, above all, John, the praecentor, *archicantator* of St. Peter's at Rome, sent by pope Agatho, at Benedict Biscop's request, A.D. 680, to teach the monks of Wearmouth the Roman style of singing and reading, and to arrange the yearly cycle (*ibid.* iv. 18), "which, in its results, affected the whole church of England" (Bright, *Early English Church History*, p. 314). [E. V.]

**PRECES.** I. While always capable of a more general meaning, this word was largely used to denote a series of short petitions, especially such as were dictated to the people by the ministers of common prayer. In this usage there was a distinction between *orationes* and *preces*, orationes being longer forms of prayer, complete in themselves, as collects. We observe the restricted use of "preces" in St. Cyprian, 253: "Fratres nostros . . . . in mentem habeatis in orationibus vestris, et eis vicem boni operis in sacrificiis et precibus repraesentetis" (*Epist.* 62 *ad Januar.*). Here preces = the eucharistic litany, in connexion with which the names of benefactors were given out [LITANY, NAMES, OBLATION OF]. St. Augustine, after speaking of the several petitions of the Lord's Prayer, says, "*Preces* istas Jurisperitus coeli dictavit" (*Serm.* 114, § 5).

The preces of the West were at first always bidden or dictated by the deacon, like those of the East (thence called "diaconica"), from which they were derived. Thus, Germanus of Paris, 555, speaks of the "Levites singing the preces for the people" (*Expos. Brev. Lit. Gall.* c. De Prece). So Isidore of Seville, about 610: "Ad ipsum (diaconum) quoque pertinet officium precum" (*Epist. ad Leudefr.* 8). But at Rome, as we infer from the language of Pseudo-Innocent, the litany was already said by the priest before the beginning of the 6th century: "De nominibus vero recitandis, antequam preces sacerdos faciat," &c. (*Epist. ad Decent.* c. 2.)

II. The preces were peculiarly the prayer of the people, and even of their children, as St. Chrysostom expressly tells them (*Hom.* 71 or 72 in *S. Matt. Ev.* § 4), and naturally dropped out of common use in the liturgy when the people no longer understood the language in which they were required to respond. Vestiges of them, however, remain in the ancient sacramentaries. There are two metrical litanies given for use on Easter eve in the Besançon sacramentary, found by Mabillon at Bobio, and assigned by him to the 7th century. They are preceded by the rubric. "Incipit Precis (*sic*) de eodem Die" (*Mus. Ital.* i. 319). See *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 304, ed. 2.

These "preces" contain seven verses each. The same sacramentary gives, in a part for general use, three collects headed *Oratio post Precem* (282), one of which refers very distinctly to the litany which originally preceded it. Two similar prayers in the Gothico-Gallican Missal retain the old headings, "*Collectio post Precem*" (*Liturg. Gall.* 190), and "*Post Prec.*" (251). Both pray that the people may be heard, thus implying that they had been praying. There are two similar prayers, with the heading "Post Precem" in the Frankish Missal of the 7th century (*ibid.* 324–5). In two Gallican liturgies (*Miss. Goth.* in *Lit. Gall.* 243; *Miss. Gall. Vet.* 359) we find for use on Easter eve sets of twelve or thirteen short intercessory prayers, each introduced by a request

[PREFACE (II.)] from the priest to the people that they would pray for some object or class of persons, as for those then and there keeping Easter, those in exile and unable to keep it; for the clergy; for devoted virgins; givers of alms, &c. In a third we find only the requests—"bedes" in the stricter sense—the prayer being left to the silent devotion of the people, except that the priest says a general "Collectio" at the end (*Sacram. Gallic.* (the Besançon) in *Mus. Ital.* i. 320). In the last these bedes follow immediately the metrical litany cited above. It is obvious that the form of this office is derived from a litany as bidden piece-meal by the deacon according to the practice of the East, and of the churches of Gaul and Spain. They were probably also a substitute for such a litany. That which had been the common eucharistic litany was retained on Easter eve, after its disuse at other times (*Sacram. Gelas. u. s.* i. 564; *Ord. Rom.* i. *Mus. Ital.* ii. 26, 35); but it had become little more than the repetition of Kyries, and the recitals of a long string of saints' names (see examples, *Miss. Moz.* Leslie, 187; Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. c. i. 18, Ordd. 6, 21). At this stage, I would suggest, the want of the intercessions in the old litanies was felt; and the churches in Gaul sought to restore them in another form by introducing the prefaces and collects above described.

The Hispano-Gothic *preces* came between the PROPHECY and the epistle; and those for the first five Sundays in Lent were retained in that place to the last, and are still so used in the liturgy as celebrated in the parish churches of St. Justa and St. Mark at Toledo (*Miss. Mozar.* Leslie, 94, 105, 117, 128, 139). The Ambrosian Missal still retains two sets of preces for alternate use on the second and three following Sundays in Lent. They are said by the deacon after the introit. Traces of the eucharistic preces are also found in the earlier Roman sacramentary. The heading to Missae, "Orationes et Preces," is of frequent occurrence, though the latter had disappeared (*Lit. Rom. Vet.* Murat. i. 349, Leon.; 493, 504, &c., Gelas.). The later Gregorian corrects this by the omission of *et Preces*. See the various codices: Mur. ii. 7, 10, &c.; Pamel. *ibid.* ii. 187, 196, &c.; Ménard, *Opp.* S. Greg. ed. Ben. iii. 82, 96, &c.; Rocca, *Opp.* S. Greg. ed. Autv. 1615, v. 68, 73, &c. Allusions to the preces of the people, similar to those of the Gallican collects cited above, are frequent in the Roman. Thus: "Exaudi, Domine, supplicum *preces*" (*Sacr. Leon. ib.* i. 517); "Suscipe, Domine, *preces* populi Tui" (Gelas. 572); "*Preces* populi Tui . . . . exaudi" (686), &c. Nor were these expressions rejected by the Gregorian reviser, as they were easily understood of the whole office when the proper "preces populi" had fallen out. They occur, of course, here in the collect for the day, which in the Roman rite followed the litany. See examples, *Sacr. Greg.* Mur. ii. 19, 26, 27, 31, 34, &c. Several of our own collects preserve this allusion to the preces. The following are among the more obvious examples: Coll. for Septuagesima (comp. *Sacr. Greg. u. s.* 26), tenth Sunday after Trinity (*S. Gr.* 169), and twenty-third after Trinity (*ibid.* 175).

III. The petitions dictated by the deacons for the catechumens and penitents before their dismissal were also called "preces." Germanus (*u. s.*) tells us, in the dialect of his day, that after the lessons "deprecarent pro illos Levitae, diceret sacerdos collecta; post prece exirent posteà foris qui digni non erant stare dum inferebatur oblatio." The Hispano-Gothic preces for penitents in Lent are extant (*Miss. Mozar.* Leslie, 99-147).

IV. At Rome the canon in the liturgy was sometimes called *Prex.* Thus Vigilius, 538, after speaking of the general "Ordo precum in solemnitate missarum," says to a correspondent, Profuturus of Braga, "Ipsius canonicae *precis* textum direximus subter adjectum, quem Deo propitio ex Apostolica traditione suscepimus" (*Nova Collect. Conc.* 1470, Par. 1683, § 5; in Labb. and Hard. "ad Eutherium"). Gregory I. in 598: "Orationem vero Dominicam idcirco post *precem* dicimus, quia mos Apostolum fuit ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationem hostiae consecrarent" (*Epist. ad Joan. Syrac.* vii. 64). He had been blamed, "quia orationem Dominicam mox post *canonem* dici statuistis" (*ibid.*) [W. E. S.]

**PREFACE (I.).** A form in every liturgy serving as an introduction to the anaphora or missa fidelium.

*The Benediction.*—In most offices the preface began, after the first liturgic period, with a benediction by the priest, derived from 2 Cor. xiii. 14, to which the people responded, or with the ordinary mutual salutation of the priest and people. This part of the preface cannot claim an apostolic origin, for it is not mentioned by Cyril of Jerusalem in his close account of the liturgy of his church, A.D. 350 (*Catech. Myst.* v. 2, 3), nor in the West do we find it in the Gelasian sacramentary (Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 695), nor attached to the canon as borrowed from Rome by the Franks in the 8th century (*Lit. Gall.* Mabill. 326), nor have I met with any reason for supposing that it had a place in any purely Gallican liturgy. Yet the benediction is very ancient in the East. St. Chrysostom, 398, alludes to it; the priest "does not touch the offering without first praying that the grace from the Lord may be on you" (*Hom.* i. *in Pentec.* 4). Theodoret, A.D. 423, thought it universal, for he calls it "the commencement of the mystical liturgy in all the churches" (*Epist.* 146, *ad Joan. Oecon.*). In the liturgy of St. James, used at Jerusalem, it appears in this form: "The love of the Lord and Father, the grace of the Son and God, and the fellowship and gift of the Holy Ghost be with you all" (*Codex Liturg.* Assem. v. 32). Similar expansions or variations of the apostolic benediction are found in all the Syrian liturgies (Renaudot, *Collect. Lit. Orient.* ii. 21, 30, 126, 134, &c.), in the Egyptian rites of St. Gregory, Coptic and Greek (*ibid.* i. 27, 98), in the Armenian (Neale, *Hist. East. Ch.* Introd. 530), and the Clementine (*Constit. Apost.* viii. 12). The Nestorian liturgies, which in their more ancient parts represent those of Constantinople and Mopsuestia before the schism, are more faithful to the text of Scripture, but they read "us" for "you" at the end, and add "Now and for ever, world without end" (Ren. *u. s.* ii. 589, 617, 626; *Missa Malabar.* Raulin, 312). St. Basil and St. Chrysostom differ from St. Paul only by giving in the

second clause "the love of the God and Father" (*Euchologion*, Goar, 165, 75). A few Eastern liturgies do not use this benediction. St. Mark and the Greek Alexandrine of St. Basil have instead, "The Lord be with you all" (Ren. i. 144, 64), the Coptic SS. Basil and Cyril, "The Lord be with you" (*ibid.* 13, 40).

The Mozarabic is the only Western liturgy which follows here (with its own variations) the more common oriental form: "The grace of God the Father Almighty, the peace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with us all evermore" (*Miss. Moz.* Leslie, 4). The Milanese has, "The Lord be with you" (*Ritual. SS. PP.* Pamel. i. 300); and this (probably borrowed from Milan) is found in all the extant copies of the Roman Gregorian (Pamel. ii. 178; Rocca, *Opp.* Greg. v. 63, ed. 1615; Murat ii. 1; Ménard. *Opp.* Greg. ed. Ben. iii. 1; Gerbert, *Monum. Eccl. Aleman.* 232; &c.).

The common response to both benedictions is, "And with thy spirit." This is recognised by St. Chrysostom (*u. s.*): "And ye respond to him, 'And with thy spirit.'" In a few liturgies, as the Nestorian (*u. s.* 589, 626), and the Syro-Jacobite of Eustathius of Antioch (*ibid.* 235) and Jacobus Baradatus (347), the people answer, *Amen.* The Mozarabic is peculiar: "And with men of good will." Several versicles and responses with the kiss of peace follow before the *Sursum Corda* is said (*Miss. Mozar.* Leslie, 4, 227).

Theodoret evidently regarded this benediction as the opening of the Missa Fidelium, and we should infer from St. Chrysostom that it was a part of it, and near the beginning. In the liturgy of Milan (*u. s.*) it is preceded by the rubric, *Praefatio in Canonem*, and in some Oriental rites (the Coptic St. Basil and St. Cyril, Ren. i. 13, 40) by the title ANAPHORA, or by the rubric, "The priest says the canon" (*Lit. Nestor. ibid.* ii. 589, 617). It is nevertheless not improbable that originally it was the close of the former and less sacred part of the liturgy, as suggested by Mr. Trollope (*Lit. of St. James*, 67). This opinion derives countenance from the facts, that in the Mozarabic the peace is given (Leslie, 4); in the Armenian, the deacon utters his cry of "The doors, the doors" (Neale, *u. s.*); in the Nestorian, the gifts are signed (Ren. ii. 589, 617, 626); between the salutation and the *Sursum Corda*; and also from the response, *Amen*, to the former in the very ancient rite of Nestorius (626).

*Sursum Corda.*—The next member of the preface is *Sursum Corda*, "Lift up your hearts," as it is commonly given. In one form or another this is found in every perfect liturgy, whence it is reasonably inferred to be apostolic. The earliest Greek writer who quotes it, Cyril of Jerusalem, 350, has Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας (*Catech. Myst.* v. 3), which evinces its superior antiquity both by its simplicity and its exact correspondence to the common and earlier Latin form, *Sursum Corda.* To the latter, St. Cyprian, 252, is the earliest witness: "Sacerdos, ante orationem praefatione praemissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo, *Sursum Corda*" (*de Orat. Domin.* 152, ed. 1690). St. Augustine: "Si in terra obruis cor tuum, erubesce; quia mentiris cum respondes quando audis, *Sursum Cor.*" (*Serm.* 346, § 4). The singular *cor* for the *corda* of St. Cyprian is so frequent in St. Augustine (see also *Serm.* 25, § 7; 53, § 14; 86, § 1; *Enarr.* ii. *in Psalm.* 31, § 21; &c.) as to indicate a difference between the liturgies of Carthage and Hippo. A later writer, compiling a sermon from St. Augustine (*Serm.* 261, § 1), changes his *cor* into *corda* (*Serm.* 177, § 2, in App. iv. ad *Opp.* Aug.). Caesarius of Arles, 502 has the plural: "Dicente Sacerdote *Sursum Corda*" (*Serm.* 40, § 4). Germanus of Paris, 555: "Sursum corda ideo sacerdos habere admonet, ut nulla cogitatio terrena maneat in pectoribus nostris" (*Expos. Brev. Lit. Gall.* Migne, lxxii. 94).

The liturgies of Rome and Milan have *Sursum Corda* (*u. s.*). So, as we have learnt from Caesarius and Germanus above, had the Gallican; so has the Mozarabic (*u. s.*), but in that it is preceded by the versicle and response: "Aures ad Dominum. R. *Chorus.* Habemus ad Dominum." It is singular that no Greek liturgy preserves the exact words cited by St. Cyril. St. Clement (*u. s.*) has, Ἄνω τὸν νοῦν; St. James (*u. s.*), Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας, which latter is the form cited by St. Chrysostom (*Hom.* ix. *de Poenit.* ii. 349), and by Anastasius Sinaita (*Orat. de Sacra Synaxi*, Gretseri, *Opp.* xi. 454). The Greek St. Basil and St. Chrysostom give, Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας; as do also the Greek liturgies of Alexandria (Ren. i. 64, 99). And this also is cited in the same passage by Anastasius, as if he were familiar with both forms. St. Mark (*u. s.* 144), gives, Ἄνω ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας. The Nestorian *Liturgy of the Blessed Apostles* preserves the simple form, "Lift up your minds" (Ren. ii. 589); but it is greatly enlarged and paraphrased in those ascribed to Nestorius and Theodore: "Above in the height of the highest, and in the awful place of praise, where the fluttering of the wings of the cherubims ceases not, neither is there any intermission to their hallelujahs, or to the song of Holy, Holy, Holy, of the seraphim, thither lift up your hearts" (Badger's *Nestorians*, 223; Ren. ii. 617, 626). One *Ordo Communis* of the Syrian Melchites and Jacobites is also marked by the verbosity of the nation: "Above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, be lifted the minds and understandings and hearts of us all" (Ren. ii. 21); but with one exception (*Xystus*, 135) all the other Syrian forms in which it is expressed, including the common St. James, give, "Lift up your hearts" (*ibid.* 32, 127, 146, 155, &c.). In two only the salutation and its sequel is represented by the beginning, "The love," &c. (ii. 256, 513), where the rest, including the *Sursum*, is doubtless to be taken from the Ordo Communis. The Coptic liturgies as translated give, "Lift up *your* hearts" (*Bas.* Ren. i. 13; Neale, 532), and "Sursum Corda" (*Greg. Cyr.* Ren. 28, 40), but the original Greek which here is still employed in the service ("ex antiquitatis reverentia," Ren. i. 226, 227; ii. 641) is, Ἄνω ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας (i. 13). The clause before us has dropped out of the very corrupt Liturgia Communis or Canon Universalis of the Abyssinian church (Ren. i. 513), but, from the statement of Renaudot, appears to be in all their other liturgies (226). In the Armenian it is said by the deacon: "Lift up your minds on high with the fear of God" (Neale, 530).

The response, "We lift them up unto the Lord," is noticed among the Greeks by Cyril of

Jerusalem (*u. s.*): "Then ye answer, Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον." Yet it does not appear in the liturgy of Jerusalem, though found in some form or other in every other. St. Chrysostom (*Hom.* ix. *de Poen.*) cites it in the same words as does also Anastasius Sinaita (*u. s.* 455, 456), and this is the common reading in the Greek liturgies—in St. Clement, St. Mark, and the Greek Alexandrines, in St. Basil and St. Chrysostom. Renaudot renders the Syrian Ordo Communis (ii. 21), "Sunt ad Dominum;" and so Masius, the Syrian St. Basil (586); but the former gives the "Habemus ad Dominum" in every other Syrian liturgy, except that of Xystus, where we read, "Habemus ad Te, Domine" (135). The Nestorian liturgies: "Sunt ad [apud *Malab.* u. s. 312] Te, Deus Abraham, Isaac, et Israel, rex gloriae (*Beat. Apost.* gloriose, *Nest.* pergloriose, *Mal.*); but Theodore (*u. s.*) simply, "Sunt apud Te, Deus." The Armenian (*u. s.*) has, "We have lifted them up to Thee, Father Almighty."

Among the Latins, St. Cyprian (*de Or. Dom.* u. s.), St. Augustine (*Serm.* 227, 345, § 4, &c.), Caesarius (*Serm.* 40, § 4), and others, quote from their liturgies "Habemus ad Dominum." According to St. Augustine, "quotidie per universum orbem humanum genus una paene voce respondet, *Sursum corda se habere ad Dominum*" (*De Ver. Relig.* 3, § 5). The Roman and Ambrosian liturgies give this formula, which the testimony of Caesarius proves to have been used in Gaul. The Mozarabic only has, "Levemus ad Dominum" (Leslie, 4, 227).

*Eucharistia.*—Another versicle is then said, properly, as in most liturgies, by the priest, but in the Armenian by the deacon. St. Cyril of Jerusalem gives it thus, Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ (*Catech. Myst.* v. 4); but it is not found in the liturgy of his church (St. James). It occurs in the same words in St. Clement (*Const. Ap.* viii. 12), in St. Basil, in St. Chrysostom (Goar, 75, 165), and in the Greek Alexandrine of St. Basil and of St. Gregory (Renaud. i. 64, 99), but St. Mark has, Εὐχαριστῶμεν τ. κ. (144). The Armenian adds, "With all our hearts" (Neale, 530). The Coptic rites have the same as the Greek, "Let us give thanks unto the Lord" (εὐχαριστῶμεν, 13, 28, 40). There are frequent variations in the Syrian. The *Ordo Communis* adds, "with fear" (Ren. ii. 21), to which Xystus adds, "and worship Him with trembling" (135). St. Basil: "Let us reverently," &c. (586; *corr.* 550); others: "Let us give thanks" (126, 170); but most resemble the Greek, "Let us give thanks unto the Lord" (146, 177, 187, 203, &c.); while St. James, which is used both by orthodox and heretics, agrees with the more common Western form, "Let us give thanks unto our Lord God" (31, 163). The Nestorian liturgies are peculiar. The Blessed Apostles (*ibid.* 589) and the Malabar (Raulin, 312): "An oblation is offered unto God, the Lord of all," which Theodore (Ren. ii. 617) and Nestorius (626) expand by long interpolations.

St. Augustine, in the Latin church, quotes the clause thus: "Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro" (*Serm.* 68, § 5; similarly, *Serm.* 227; *Epist.* 187 *ad Dard.* § 21). This agrees with the Roman sacramentaries (Murat. Pamel. &c. *u. s.*). The Milanese (Pamel. i. 300) omits "Domino." The Mozarabic: "Deo, ac Domino nostro Jesu Christo, filio Dei, qui est in coelis, dignas laudes dignasque gratias referamus" (Leslie, 4). When the Gallican churches adopted the Roman canon, they took its preface with its several parts (see *Miss. Franc.* in *Liturg. Gall.* 327). Before that, the *Sursum Corda*, &c. were not written in their liturgies, nor do they even appear before the contestatio in the oldest sacramentary in which the Roman canon was inserted, viz. that of Besançon (*Mus. Ital.* i. 279), though we learn from Germanus (*u. s.*) that they were not omitted. They were probably still said from memory until the suppression of the Gallican rites in the 8th century.

The response to which St. Chrysostom refers is found in nearly every liturgy. St. Cyril (*Cat.* u. s.) gives Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον. It is the same in the Greek St. James, St. Clement, the Alexandrine Basil and Cyril (all as above), and in the Coptic (Ren. i. 13, marg.). The common Greek St. Chrysostom and St. Basil enlarge it (*u. s.*) by a reference to the creed which in them precedes the *Sursum Corda*: "It is meet and right to worship the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the consubstantial and undivided Trinity"; but copies are extant of the 9th and 10th century that retain the brief original (Goar, 99; Bunsen, *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, iii. 215). The Syrians have not changed it; but the *Ordo Communis* (*u. s.*) adds a distinct clause: "O God, have mercy on us." It is preserved in all the Nestorian liturgies (*u. s.*); but in that of Nestorius it is followed by an exhortation from the deacon to remember the mercy of God in the redemption of man, and by the words (also said by him), "Peace be with us all." In the rest he only says after it, "Peace be with us."

St. Augustine bears witness to the practice of Latin Africa: "Et vos attestamini '*Dignum et justum est*' dicentes, ut ei gratias agamus qui nos fecit sursum ad nostrum caput habere cor" (*Serm.* 227; comp. *de Don. Persev.* 13, § 33; *de Bono Viduit.* 16, § 20). This is to a letter the response of the people in the Roman, Milanese, and Hispano-Gothic liturgies (*u. s.*). In the Gallican it is written at the beginning of many of the contestations, without any rubrics to distinguish the parts of the priest and people, viz. "*Immolatio Missae.* Dignum et justum est. Verè dignum et justum est nos Tibi gratias agere," &c. (*Lit. Gall.* 188, 197, &c.; 330, 371)

*The Contestation.*—The next part of the preface is strictly and properly, according to St. Chrysostom as quoted above, the commencement of the Eucharist. It is often itself called the Preface, partly perhaps for that reason, but more certainly because, being variable, it is the only part which appears under that title in the collections of proper prayers. The Goths of Spain called it the *Illatio*, either because this word, used by them in the sense of *oblatio*, was like the Greek anaphora, the name of the office that followed, or because it originally denoted the "illation of the gifts" (*Conc. Valent.* 524, can. 1) = the great entrance of the Greeks, which took place at this part of the service. "Quinta" [oratio], says Isidore of Seville, "infertur Illatio in sanctificatione oblationis, in qua etiam et ad Dei laudem terrestrium creaturarum virtutumque coelestium universitas provocatur" (*De Off.* i. 15, § 2). The word is once used as equivalent to *preface* in a collection of Roman prefaces at the end of the Vatican MS. from

which Muratori prints the Sacr. Gregor. viz. in the rubric, "In Exaltatione S. Crucis eadem inlatio dicenda, quae et in inventione S. Crucis" (ii. 334). The Gallican churches often called this prayer *immolatio*, because it began the more sacrificial part of the liturgy. This may be illustrated by the rubrics, Ἀρχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς (*Lit. S. Bas. Alex.* Ren. i. 64; *S. Greg. A.* 99), and Ὁ ἱερεὺς ἄρχεται τῆς ἀναφορᾶς (*S. Marci.* 144), in some Eastern liturgies. "Immolatio" occurs in the Besançon sacramentary (*Mus. Ital.* i. 345), in the Gothico-Gallican (*Lit. Gall.* Mabill. 188, 191, 202, &c.), and in the Missale Gallicanum Vetus of Thomasius, &c. (*ibid.* 334, 368, 370, &c.). In the Gallican liturgies it is also called the "contestatio" for an obvious reason, viz. because the celebrant in its first words joins his testimony with that of the people to the fitness and justice of giving thanks unto God.

The Roman words of contestation are, "Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine Sancte, Pater Omnipotens, aeterne Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum" (Murat. Pamel. &c. *u. s.*); the Milanese, "Verè quia dignum et justum est," &c. (Pam. *u. s.*). The Mozarabic varies: "Dignum et justum est, nos tibi gratias agere," &c. (Leslie, 5, 17, &c.); "D. et j., vere aequum et salutare est, Domini nostri Jesu Christi adventum in mirabilibus praedicare," &c. (for Advent, 9); "D. et j., verè dignum et honorificum est," &c. (12); and so on, the clause which follows also varying. The Gallican varied also: "Verè dignum et justum est [aequum et salutare, *Lit. Gall.* 191] nos tibi semper, hic et ubique (269) gratias agere [et gloriari in operibus tuis, 269] Domine," &c. (188); "Vere aequum et justum est nos tibi gratias agere, vota persolvere," &c. (197). The Franks early adopted the constant Roman formulae with the canon, and indicated it by the same symbol Ɏ (*Lit. Gall.* 317–319, &c.; comp. *Sacram. Gelas.* Mur. i. 494–496, &c.).

There is the same similarity amid variety in the Greek and Oriental rites. In the Alexandrine St. Basil the priest repeats the words Ἀ.κ.δ. thrice, and then makes a direct address to God, which begins like that of the Greek St. Basil. The more ancient Syrian rites (as St. James, St. Basil, &c. *u. s.*) are faithful to their Greek originals; but many of the later have no express *contestation*. In the liturgy of Nestorius (*ib.* 627), and in the Nestorian Blessed Apostles (589), the priest prays for himself between the response and the contestation.

The celebrant next, in every liturgy, declares the reason why God should be thus glorified; in some, as in the Clementine, in the Nestorian Theodore and Nestorius, in St. Mark and St. Basil, Greek and Syrian, and some other Syrian forms, at great length. St. Chrysostom and the Armenian are here shorter than St. Basil, but longer than St. James, the original of all three. The following is one of the shorter Oriental forms: O Thou who art, Master, Lord, the God of Truth, existing from eternity, and reigning to eternity, who dwellest in the highest for ever, and lookest down on lowly things, who hast made the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all things that are therein; the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by whom Thou hast made all things visible and invisible, who sittest on the throne of the holy glory of Thy kingdom, who art adored by every heavenly power" (*Lit. Bas. Gr. Alex.* in Renaud. i. 64). St. Cyril (*Catech. Myst.* v. 6) refers to this part of the liturgy of Jerusalem at sufficient length to show that it resembled very closely, and may even have been identical with, the preface as it now stands in St. James. The Eastern rites have no changing or "proper" prefaces.

The common Western prefaces are here much shorter than any of the original Eastern, the reason of the eucharistia being expressed in a few epithets only: "Domine, sancte, Pater Omnipotens, aeterne Deus" (*Rom. Ambr.*). But all the Western missals admitted many proper prefaces; and in the Mozarabic and Gallican liturgies the whole ground of the doxology is stated in the addition proper to the day, which sometimes begins with the foregoing Roman formula, but very often not. *Ex.* "Dignum et justum est te auctorem et sanctificatorem jejunii conlaudare, per quod nos liberas a nostrorum debitis peccatorum. Ergo suscipe clemens jejunantium preces," &c. (*Missa Jejunii* in *Miss. Goth.* No. 24, *u. s.*).

*Proper Prefaces.*—Though proper prefaces cannot be traced to the East, they were nevertheless very early in the West. In one for Christmas Day in the Mozarabic rite we read: "Post multa tempora in hac die, *ante non multa tempora* . . . nobis natus est Christus" (Leslie, 39). A "contestatio" in the Gallican fragment discovered by Mone is thought both by him and the English editors to have been written during the persecution at Vienne and Lyons in 177. This is suggested by the apparent age and the matter of the prayer, and by a comparison of it with the epistle from the Christians of those cities to their brethren in Asia and Phrygia (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 1). See *Gallican Liturgies*, Neale and Forbes, Miss. 5, p. 12.

The Milanese missal has above 120 proper prefaces, one for every missa. They are yet more numerous in the Mozarabic, and they appear to have varied in the several Gallican rites, whenever the other prayers varied. Hence, in the Besançon and Gothico-Gallican sacramentaries, we find above seventy. They were equally numerous at Rome in the 6th century, for Vigilius, 538, tells us that on saints' days, as well as at Easter, the Ascension, and Epiphany, "they added proper chapters adapted to the days" (*Nova Collect. Concil.* 1470); that is, they had a proper missa for every such day, and a missa was not complete without its preface. The so-called Leonian sacramentary, or Veronese Gelasian, must have contained more than 300; but the rule for their use is not very certain. The later Gelasian limited this profusion to Easter, Ascension-tide, and Pentecost (Murat. *u. s.* i. 572–606), while the Gregorian reduced the number to eight, of which two were said on Christmas Day, that at the second celebration being for St. Anastasia, and the others severally at the Epiphany, Easter, on Ascension Day, at Whitsuntide, and on the feasts of St. Peter and St. Andrew (*ibid.* ii. 8, 9, 16, 66, 85, 101, 131).

There were also in some rites proper prefaces for special services; as for the benediction of oil and chrism [see MISSA, x. (2)] (*Sacr. Gelas.* Mur. *u. s.* i. 555, 556, 557; *Sacr. Greg.* ii. 55); of the paschal light (*Missale Goth.* Mab. *u. s.* 241;

*Miss. Gall. Vet.* 357; *Miss. Moz.* Leslie, 177; *Miss. Ambros.* Pamel. i. 345; *Sacr. Greg.* Mur. ii. 143); at baptism (*Miss. Goth.* u. s. 247; *Miss. Gall. Vet.* "Contestatio Fontis," 363; not in the Roman, Milanese, or Mozarabic); at marriage (*Sacr. Gel.* u. s. i. 721; *Greg.* ii. 245); at ordination (*Sacr. Greg.* 244, 427, 439).

The variable part of the canon "Communicantes," &c. is headed by the title *Praefatio* in the mass for Maundy Thursday (*Sacr. Greg.* u. s. 54), but this is by error.

*The Reference to the Angelic Hosts.*—In every liturgy the eucharistic preface leads up to the angelic hymn, after a reference, which is nearly universal, to the heavenly spirits by whom it was first sung. They are claimed as fellow-worshippers. "This divine saying handed down to us, which proceeded from the seraphim we repeat, that we may have communion in our hymnody with the supramundane hosts" (Cyr. Hier. *Cat. Myst.* v. 5). Most of the Greek liturgies here enumerate the orders of the angels. Thus St. James (who associates with them "the spirits of the just and of the prophets, the souls of the martyrs and the apostles"): "Angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, and authorities, and awful powers (see Col. i. 16), and the cherubim with many eyes, and the seraphim with six wings, who with two wings cover their faces, and with two their feet, and flying with two, shout one to another with mouths never resting, with doxologies never silent (*ecphonesis*), chanting with clear voice the triumphal hymn of Thy exalted glory, crying aloud, giving glory, shouting, and saying, Holy, Holy," &c. (Assem. v. 33). Compare the Clementine (*Const. Apost.* viii. 12), St. Mark (Renaud. i. 134), St. Basil (Goar, 165), St. Chrysostom (*ib.* 75), the Greek Alexandrine Basil and Gregory (Ren. i. 65, 99). See also the Coptic Basil, Gregory, Cyril (*ib.* 13, 28, 46). Similarly, the early Syrian liturgies, St. James (Ren. ii. 31), St. Basil (586), &c. St. Chrysostom, however (Goar, 76), only names the angels, archangels, cherubim and seraphim, while the Armenian is yet more simple: "He . . . hath granted us to form part, with the heavenly host, of a spiritual company, and with cherubim and seraphim boldly to sing sacred songs, to cry, to call, and say, Holy," &c. (Neale, *Introd.* 534). Nor are the several orders, as in Col. i. 16, mentioned in the Nestorian liturgies (Ren. ii. 589, 617, 628; *Malab.* Raul. 312); though this part of the preface is long in them; but we cannot infer from these facts that they were not named in the apostolic originals; for the passage above cited from St. James is fully recognised in St. Cyril's quotations from the liturgy of Jerusalem (*u. s.*).

The prefaces of St. Mark and the Coptic St. Cyril, which is derived from it, are strangely interrupted by very long forms of intercession and by the reading of the diptychs, which are introduced immediately before the reference to the angelic hosts now under consideration (Ren. i. 41, 146).

In the West this part of the preface is variable. There were four forms of it in the Roman liturgy, of which the most common is as follows: "Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis, cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia coelestis exercitus hymnum tuae gloriae canimus, sine fine dicentes, *Sanctus*," &c. (Murat. *Sacr. Leon.* i. 312, 314, &c.; *Gelas.* 501, 503, &c.; *Greg.* ii. 8, 9, 10, &c.). For the others, see *Sacr. Gel.* i. 494, 575, &c., *Greg.* ii. 322 (*Quem laudant*); *Leon.* i. 315, *Gel.* 517, 554, &c.; *Greg.* ii. 2, 192, &c. (*Per quem Te*, or *Per quem majestatem*); *Gel.* i. 572; *Greg.* ii. 90 (*Sed et supernae virtutes*). These forms are found in the Gallican and Ambrosian liturgies, but often varied, and with several others; *e.g.*—"Ante cujus sacratissimam sedem stant angeli atque archangeli, et sine cessatione proclamant, dicentes, *Sanctus*," &c. (*Miss. Goth.* in *Lit. Gall.* 198); "Congratuletur innumerabilis multitudo angelorum exercitus, cum quibus innumerabilem gloriam tuam canimus, sine fine dicentes, *Sanctus*," &c. (*Miss. Ambr.* Pamel. i. 300). In the Mozarabic rite no preface seems in this part to follow any other. Some are very ambitious, while others are as simple. *Ex.* "Cum angelis atque archangelis laudantibus atque ita dicentibus, *Sanctus*," &c. (Leslie, 15).

*The Hosanna.*—Even the hosanna which followed the *sanctus* is included by Isidore (*de Off.* i. 15, § 3) in the illation ("in qua etiam et ad Dei laudem terrestrium creaturarum virtutumque coelestium universitas provocatur et *osanna in excelsis* cantatur"); but this will be more properly noticed in a separate article on the SANCTUS itself.

(II.) A short address in which the people are taught the intention of the prayer or office which follows. The word is chiefly so used in the liturgies of Gaul. In a complete Gallican missa a preface follows the "*Collectio post Precem*." The collect which it precedes and explains is usually headed *Collectio sequitur*, but often merely *Collectio* [MISSA, X. (3) (c)]. It begins the Missa Fidelium, and corresponds exactly to the "Missa" of the Goths in Spain [MISSA, V.]

In certain intercessions said on Easter Eve in the churches of Gaul [PRECES, § ii.] the several prayers are preceded by short addresses which are called prefaces in the *Missale Gothicum*. E.g. "*Oratio pro Infirmis. Praefatio.* Let us beseech the God of all health, and Lord of all power for our brethren and sisters, who are afflicted in the flesh by various kinds of sickness, that the Lord will grant unto them the heavenly gift of His medicine; through," &c. "*Oratio sequitur.* O Lord, to whom it is an easy thing to raise the dead to life, restore to the sick their former health," &c. (*Lit. Gall.* 245). The Missale Gothicum has twelve such prefaces, the *Gallicanum Vetus* (*ib.* 359) thirteen, each followed by the prayer for the object announced in it.

The Ambrosian missal has a Praefatio chrismatis, in which the bishop on Maundy Thursday invites the people to pray for the benediction of the chrism (*Rituale SS. PP.* Pamel. i. 341). In the Gelasian sacramentary (Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 621) the bishop begs the prayers of the congregation for those whom he is about to bless or ordain in forms entitled "Praefatio Ostiarii, Lectoris, Exorcistae," &c., and the phrase is retained in the Gregorian pontifical (*ib.* ii. 405, 406, &c.). [W. E. S.]

**PRESANCTIFIED, MASS OR LITURGY OF.** Any communion of the reserved elements might be so called; but in practice

these phrases were applied only to those public communions in Lent for which the elements had been expressly consecrated on a previous day. In the East, consecrations were forbidden from an early period throughout Lent, except on Saturdays and Sundays; in the church of Rome they were equally forbidden on Good Friday and Easter Eve; in Italy, *i.e.* in the province of Milan, on every Friday in Lent. Hence those who wished to communicate on those days received of the *presanctified*, i.e. of the previously consecrated gifts.

*The East.*—The foundation of the rite was laid early in the East. The council of Laodicea, probably about 365, says, "It is not lawful to offer bread in Lent, except on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day alone" (can. 49); which appears rather to state and confirm an old custom than to establish a new. In an age when communions were valued, and RESERVATION for whatever reason practised, the final result would soon develop itself; but we have no decree respecting it earlier than that of Constantinople in 691: "Let the sacred liturgy of the presanctified [gifts] be performed on all the days of the fast of the holy Forty Days, except the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, and the holy day of the Annunciation" (can. 52). The Greek liturgy of the presanctified (which see in the *Euchologion*, Goar, 190) was probably compiled by Germanus of Constantinople some twenty-four years after the date of the council there (Goar, 210).

Only the Greeks celebrate a *proper* liturgy of the presanctified. The Maronites do not even reserve on the liturgic days of Lent (Abraham Ecchellensis, *Epist. ad B. Nihusium* in Leon. Allat. *de Eccl. Occid. et Orient. Consens.* ad calc. 1663). They celebrated every day in Lent, except on Saturday; but the exception was only a part of their Jewish observance of that day.

*The West.*—Probably the earliest notice of a restriction on celebrations in the West occurs in the epistle of Pseudo-Innocent to Decentius: "It is an established fact that the apostles were in grief during those two days (Good Friday and Easter Eve), and also that they hid themselves from fear of the Jews. Nor, indeed, is it doubtful that during the said two days they fasted to such a degree that the tradition of the church holds that the sacraments of the church should not be celebrated at all during those two days" (§ 4; Hard. *Conc.* i. 997). The writer is stating, of course, the rule of Rome. It is probable that Easter Eve was not long thus a *dies clausus;* but the history of the rite is very obscure. The present rule, which only prescribes reservation on Maundy Thursday for the communion on Good Friday, was probably introduced in the 7th century. A monastic rule of that age, which appears to be in great part a translation from the Greek, says, "Let the sacraments of the altar be consecrated [on the Thursday] in a large glass paten, that when the Jews shall seek Christ for the passion on the sixth day [of holy week], He may on that day be hid in our minds" (through reception of the sacrament; *Regula Magistri*, 53; Holsten. *Cod. Reg.* ii. 406). The Gelasian sacramentary, the MS. of which is of the 8th century, directs that, after certain prayers proper to Good Friday, "the deacons go into the sacrarium, and come forth with the body and blood of the Lord, left from the preceding day, and set them on the altar." The Lord's Prayer with its preface and embolis having been then said, as before other communions, "all adore the holy cross and communicate" (*Litury. Rom. Vet.* Murat. i. 562). This procedure is recognized by the Roman *Order of a Pontifical Mass*, compiled (it is thought) about 730. The bishop, "when they have said *Amen* (after the 'Libera nos'), takes of the SANCTA, and puts it into the cup, saying nothing; and they all communicate in silence" (*Ordo R.* i. 35, in *Mus. Ital.* ii. 23). Similarly, in a monastic ordo, seemingly of about the same age: "Let the deacon take the body and blood of the Lord, which was left previously on the day of Coena Domini, and was consecrated, and put it on the altar, and let all partake of the body and blood of the Lord in silence" (*Breviar. Eccl. Ord.* in *Thesaur. Nov. Anecd.* Mart. et Dur. v. 108). The Gelasian rubric is found copied into the rites of Noyons, Rheims, Riès, and Gellone, all preserved in MSS. of the 9th century (Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iv. 23, § 27).

It was from Rome that the Gallican church thus received the rite; for it is not found in her earlier books. The remains of the Gothico-Gallican missal (*Litury. Gall.* Mabill. 237–239), the Gallicanum Vetus (*ibid.* 349–354), the Besançon sacramentary (*Mus. Ital.* i. 315–318), and the Gallican lectionary (*Lit. Gall.* 128–133), give proper prayers and lessons for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, but there is no allusion in them to the mass of the presanctified. Nor do we find any in the writings of Germanus, or in any other Gallican authority.

Nor do we discover any trace of it in the original office of Gothic Spain. It is not mentioned by St. Isidore (*de Offic.*), nor by any of the Spanish councils. On the other hand, the council of Toledo, 633, complains that "throughout some churches the doors of the basilicas were closed on the 6th feria of our Lord's passion (*i.e.* on Good Friday), and neither was office celebrated nor the passion of the Lord preached." The council therefore ordered—not that a mass of the presanctified should be celebrated—but that the mystery of the cross should be preached on that day, "and that all the people should in a loud voice implore the pardon of their sins"; that by this means they might be prepared for their communion on Easter Day (can. 7). The service for Good Friday, now found in the Mozarabic missal, is of a late date: "missa praesanctificatorum adjecta videtur" (Mabillon, *Comm. in Ord. Rom.* 11; *Mus. Ital.* ii. lxxv.).

We have no evidence of the practice of Roman Africa later than that of St. Augustine, who refers more than once to the service for Good Friday ("solemniter legitur passio, solemniter celebratur," *Serm.* 218; so again 232), but gives no hint of the peculiar rite in question.

*The Communion.*—The mass of the presanctified originated in the desire to communicate on Good Friday, or on other days when consecration was prohibited. On Good Friday (Parasceve), says Amalarius, "the body of the Lord is not consecrated. It is necessary that they who have the wish to communicate have the sacrifice from the preceding day" (*de Eccl. Off.* i. 12). This was at first a general communion, "ut populus qui reficiendus erat

haberet in fundamentum Corpus Domini" (*ibid.* iv. 20). So according to the Gelasian rubric, the *Ordo Romanus*, and the *Breviarium*, quoted above, "all communicate." Yet when Amalarius (about 820) went to Rome, he found this custom already obsolete there: "In that station in which the apostolical salutes the cross, no one there communicates" (*u. s.* i. 15).

The reader may refer to Leo Allatius *de Missa Praesanctificatorum apud Graecos Dissert.* ad calc. Op. *de Eccl. Occ. et Or. Consens.* Col. Agr. 1648, pp. 1530–1607; Io. Bona, *Rerum Liturg.* i. 15, § 5, with Sala's notes; *Notitia Eucharistica*, pp. 897–903, 2nd ed.; and to more brief notices in Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. iii. i. § 18; Merati, *Novae Observ. in* Gavanti, *Comm. in Rubr.* i. 79; Z. B. van Espen, *Comment. in Jur. Vet. Canones*, can. Trull. 52, Opp. vii. 147, Ven. 1781; Cave, *Diss.* ii. ad calc. *Hist. Liter.* v. Λειτουργικόν.

[W. E. S.]

**PRESBYTER.** [PRIEST.]

**PRESBYTERESS.** 1. *Presbytera* (rarely, and apparently later, *presbyterissa*) is sometimes found in ecclesiastical Latin from the 6th century and onwards for the wife of a presbyter, especially for a wife who had come under the rule which, in some parts of the Western church, made married continence compulsory. Conc. Turon. A.D. 567, c. 19, and Conc. Autissiodor. A.D. 578? c. 20, forbid a presbyter from associating with his *presbytera*; S. Greg. M. *Epist.* 9, 7, implies that in such cases the wife went to a monastery, where, however, she did not become a *monacha* or adopt the monastic dress. Rather later the word is found for the widow of a presbyter (= the earlier "vidua," or "relicta, presbyteri." 1 Conc. Tolet. c. 18, Conc. Epaon. c. 33, 1 Conc. Aurel. c. 13), viz. in Roman councils under Gregory II. in A.D. 721, c. i. and under Zachary in 743, c. 5, both of which anathematize any one who marries either a *presbytera* or a *diacona*.

2. For the use of πρεσβῦτις, *presbytera*, and *presbyterissa* in the sense of a church officer, see WIDOWS AND VIRGINS. [E. H.]

**PRESBYTERY (1).** The part of the church occupied by priests (βῆμα, θυσιαστήριον, ἄδυτον, ἄβατα, Πρεσβυτερεῖον) (Sic in Suidas) Presbyterium, Sacrarium, Sanctuarium, Altarium. (Secretarium in second council of Arles, can. 15, acc. to Martene).

According to the most ancient arrangement of churches, the presbytery was the part behind the altar which contained seats for the bishop and priests. It was early described in the West as follows: ". . . loco, ubi sacerdotes, reliquive clerici consistunt, quod presbyterium nuncupatur . . ." (Synodus Romana sub Eugenio 2 (824), ap. Ducange. Quoted as Clemens Papa i. in Labbe, vol. i. 116).

The presbytery was divided from the rest of the building by rails (κίγκλιδες, cancelli), which were meant to render it inaccessible to all but clergy (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. x. 4). That it was separated by rails "à reliquâ aede" appears in the Roman synod under Leo IV. The first council of Bracara (can. 31) prescribes that it is "not lawful for laymen to enter the sacrarium to communicate, but only for the clerics." A Roman synod, under Leo IV., in the 9th (qu.) century, forbids those who are not in orders to enter it. [CANCELLI; CHANCEL; CHOIR.]

In later times some ambiguity has crept in as to the use of the term *presbytery*, the doubt being whether it applies to a space before the altar or behind it, and whether the presbytery forms, strictly speaking, any part of the choir of a great church, or is to be carefully distinguished and architecturally separated from it. These later uses it does not belong to the present volume to discuss at length; but with regard to the precise latitude of the term in early centuries this much may be said, that no ancient passage has been found where presbytery does not mean the part of the church which contained the altar. In later times the usage of the word is certainly twofold, it being sometimes identical with *choir*,[a] and sometimes pointedly distinguished from it. [H. T. A.]

**(2)** *Presbyterium*, πρεσβυτέριον (πρεσβυτερεῖον), are sometimes used to denote the body of presbyters taken collectively that is, as equivalent to τὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων συνέδριον. This use is found in the New Testament in reference to both Jewish (St. Luke xxii. 66; Acts xxii. 5) and Christian (1 Tim. iv. 14) presbyters. Other early instances are, in Greek, S. Ignat. *ad Ephes.* c. 2, 4; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6, 13, p. 793, ed. Pott.; Origen, *Hom. xi. in Hierem.* c. 3, vol. iii. p. 189, ed. Delarue; S. Basil. *Epist.* 81 (319) *ad Innocent.* vol. iv. p. 174; and, in Latin, S. Cyprian. *Epist.* 48 (45, ed. Hartel, p. 610); Collat. Carthag. c. 130, Migne, P. L. vol. xi. 1298. For the functions of the presbyters acting collectively see PRIEST.

**(3)** The same words are also used to denote the office of a presbyter. Early instances of this are, in Greek, Origen. *Hom. in Matt. XV.* c. 26, vol. iii. p. 690, ed. Delarue; S. Athanas. *Apol. c. Arian.* c. 47, vol. i. p. 131; S. Epiphan. *c. Haeres.* 68, 2, p. 717; and in Latin, S. Cyprian. *Epist.* 49 (52, ed. Hartel, p. 619), 34 (39, ed. Hartel, p. 584); Pont. Diacon. *Vit. S. Cyprian.* c. 3; S. Siric. *Epist.* i. c. 13; S. Innocent. I. *Epist.* 38 *ad Maxim. et Sever.*; 2 Conc. Hispal. c. 5.

[E. H.]

**PRESENTATION.** [PATRON.]

**PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.** [MARY, FESTIVALS OF, § 1, p. 1140; § 5, p. 1144.]

**PRESIDIUS,** confessor in Africa; commemorated Sept. 6 (Usuard. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PRIAMUS,** martyr in Sardinia, with Aemilius, Felix, and Lucianus; commemorated May 28 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PRIEST or PRESBYTER.** I. *Names for:* (1) Πρεσβύτερος, *presbyter* (in inscriptions sometimes πρεσβοίτερος, *e.g.* on a tomb at Melos of the 3rd or 4th century, *Corpus Inscr. Gr.* vol. iv. No. 9288; *praesbiter*, *Inscr. Hisp. Christ.* ed. Huebner, No. 67, *presbiter*, *ibid.* No. 174, 189; *praesbyter*, De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ. Rom.* No. 303, *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* ed. Mommsen, vol. iii. No. 755; praesviter, *ibid.* No. 975); in use in Egypt of the officers of a temple, *e. g.* at Diospolis in the time

[a] Just as in modern English the term *choir* is often applied to that eastern limb of a cathedral which strictly comprises presbytery as well as choir.

of Cleopatra, *Corpus Inscr. Gr.* vol. iii. No. 4717, and of the "headmen" of a village, Reuvens 3*me Lettre à M. Letronne sur les Papyrus grecs du Musée de Leide*, p. 32, cf. C. I. G. vol. iii. p. 294; of its use among the Jews for the members both of the local courts and of the chief court at Jerusalem the most trustworthy and concise account will be found in Schürer, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 402 sqq.; that it had become a title, and was not confined to persons of advanced years is clear from (*e.g.*) Philo, vol. ii. p. 481, ed. Mangey (so in Christian times, S. Cyrill. Alex. *in Isai. III.* vol. iii. p. 55, ed. Aubert; Isidore of Seville *de Eccles. Off.* 2, 7, and hence Pseudo-Anacletus, *Epist.* ii. c. 22, explains that Christian presbyters are so called, not on account of their age, but "propter sapientiam," though he adds, "quod si ita sit mirum est cur insipientes constituantur"); it was also in use for a professor in some of the philosophical schools; cf. Schweighäuser's note to Epictet. *Diss.* i. 9, 10. Its Christian use begins with the N. T. *e.g.* Tit. i. 5, and is continued through sub-apostolic to modern times; *e.g.* for early references, Clem. R. 44, 5, 47, 6, Hermas, *Vis* 2, 4 (where Origen *de Princip.* 4, 11, vol. i. p. 168, preserves the Greek form, which the common Latin version renders by "seniores," the Palatine by "priores"), Papias ap. Euseb. *H. E.* 3, 39 (where, as is well known, the precise application of the term in both the expressions οἱ πρεσβύτεροι and ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης has been frequently discussed: a convenient index to the literature of the subject will be found in the note to the fragments of Papias in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Patres Apostolici*, fasc. i. 2, p. 90, ed. 1878), Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6, p. 793, ed. Pott.; of its use among non-Catholic Christian churches, the most interesting example (which is also probably the earliest existing inscription on a Christian building) is that of the inscription on a Marcionite church at Lebaba (Devi-Ali) near Damascus, dated A.D. 318, ap. Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, vol. iii. No. 2558; that it was in use among the Arians appears from (*e.g.*) Victor Vitens. *de Persec. Vandal.* 5, 13. (2) Ἱερεύς, *sacerdos:* the early instances of the use of these terms in reference to the officers who were commonly called presbyters are open to much dispute; it has sometimes been questioned whether Cyprian does not reserve them exclusively for the episcopate, but *Epist.* 35, vol. ii. p. 325, *Epist.* 40. 3, vol. ii. p. 334, clearly refer to presbyters, cf. *id. Epist.* 14, 3, vol. ii. p. 263, where (as in Optatus, i. 13, p. 14), even deacons are included, "presbyteris et diaconibus non defuit sacerdotii vigor;" from the 5th century onwards, there is no doubt of their common application to presbyters, *e.g.* Socrat. *H. E.* i. 27; Const. Apost. 2, 25; 8, 46 (where presbyters are ἱερεῖς, bishops ἀρχιερεῖς); 1 Conc. Turon. A.D. 461, c. 1, 4 Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 3, 4, 10; S. Greg. M. *Dial.* 1, 11; so in the epitaph on pope Damasus the grades are marked "lector, levita, sacerdos," Gruter, p. 1164, 11, from a Palatine MS.; cf. the confused but important testimony of Malchus of Philadelphia, *de Byzantinis* ap. Corpus Hist. Byzant. vol. i. p. 55, ed. Venet. τῶν βαρβάρων ἔχων ἱερέα ὃν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ καλοῦσι πρεσβύτερον. In course of time, however, the inclusion of both for bishops and presbyters under a single term was found inconvenient, and presbyters were sometimes specially designated as *secundi sacerdotes* (law of Theodosius and Valentinian, probably A.D. 430 ap. Haenel, *Corpus Legum ante Justinianum Latarum*, No. 1183, p. 241, who quotes as his authority a Corbey MS. given by Sirmond in his *Append. Cod. Theodos.* c. 20, and his own paper in the *Act. Soc. Reg. Saxon.* Lips. 1852, 8, p. 81), or *secundi ordinis sacerdotes* (S. Leon. M. *Serm.* 48 [47], c. 1, vol. i. p. 181, Sidon. Apollin. *Epist.* 5, 25, p. 126), or *minoris ordinis sacerdotes* (S. Greg. M. *Hom. in Ezech.* lib. ii. Hom. 10, c. 13, where, however, deacons may be included, as they probably are, in *Statt. Eccles. Antiq.* c. 27, "inferioris gradus sacerdotes")—or simply *ordo secundus* (Fredegodi, *Vit. S. Wilfrid*, c. 8, Migne. P. L. vol. cxxxiii. 987), or οἱ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου (*Epist.* Constant. M. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* 10, 5); so "presbyteros in secundo sacerdotio constitutos," Optat. *de Schism. Donat.* 1, 13, p. 14; so in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals *Epist. Anaclet.* 3, c. 28. "Sacerdotum ordo bipertitus est, S. Innocent I. *Epist. ad Decent.* c. 3, "presbyteri licet sint sacerdotes pontificatus tamen apicem non habent."

The English word "priest" is the later form of the Anglo-Saxon "priost" (Cotton MS. Augustus, ii. 79, A.D. 805-831, a Kentish charter, printed in *Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, vol. i.) or "preost" (frequently found, *e.g.* Conc. Bergh. c. 7 ap. Wilkins, *Councils*, vol. i. p. 60; Leg. Aelfr. *ibid.* p. 193), the derivation of which from "presbyter" is probable, but by no means certain: in the *A.-S. Chronicle*, an. 661, *id.* Thorpe, p. 54, the MS. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has "maesse preost," the Bodleian MS. "preost," but Cotton MSS. Tiberius A. 6 and B. 1, have the abbreviation "prb." The *A. S.* "sacerd" = "sacerdos" has not survived in modern English.

II. *Nature of the Priesthood, and its Relations to Bishops and Deacons.*—In one of the two passages in which the word ἐκκλησία is placed by the Evangelists on the lips of our Lord, it is mentioned not merely as an assembly, but as one to which disputes could be referred, and whose decision in relation to such disputes ought to be respected. The ἐκκλησία was conceived, in short, as a court of discipline. As such it continued among Christians the functions which had come to be fulfilled by the synagogue among Jews; nor was it separated from the synagogue even in name, ἐκκλησία and συναγωγή being convertible terms not only in the LXX, but also in most early Christian writers. (See Harnack's elaborate note in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* for 1876, p. 104; and also Bickell, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, Bd. ii. p. 1·.) But the Jewish synagogue only possessed disciplinary powers by virtue of its practical amalgamation with the συνέδριον, that is, by virtue of the presence in it, though properly distinct from it, of a body of πρεσβύτεροι—a corporation or college of elders, who formed the local court for administrative as well as judicial purposes. It is therefore natural to suppose that when the Jews who became Christians met in assemblies and formed communities which bore the accustomed names, they continued in these assemblies and communities the main features of the accustomed organization. And this is in fact the case. Presbyters are found

from the first in the Judaeo-Christian community at Jerusalem (Acts xi. 30; xv. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23; xvi. 4; xx. 17), at Ephesus (Acts xx. 17), in the churches of Asia Minor which were organized by Barnabas and Saul (Acts xiv. 23), and in the churches which are addressed by those of the apostles who were most conservative of Jewish usages, St. Peter and St. James (James v. 14; 1 Pet. v. 1). (It must be noted as a significant fact that they are not once mentioned by St. Paul, except in the Pastoral Epistles.) It is a fair inference that officers who bore the same name in analogous communities had analogous functions, and that the Christian, like the Jewish, presbyters were officers primarily not of worship but of discipline. This inference is corroborated by the fact that all the references to them which exist in both the canonical and the extra-canonical writings of the apostolic and sub-apostolic age refer to discipline. (1) In the canonical writings, excluding of course those passages in which the reference is not to organization but to the possession of χαρίσματα, every passage in which church officers are mentioned speaks of either the exercise of authority or of the practice of its correlative, obedience. In 1 Thess. v. 12, τοὺς προϊσταμένους are spoken of as νουθετοῦντας; in Heb. xiii. 17, obedience is enjoined to the leaders of the community as being those who "watch for your souls;" in 1 Peter v. 1, the presbyters are regarded as shepherds, and are exhorted to exercise control, μὴ ἀναγκαστῶς ἀλλ' ἑκουσίως, not as masters over slaves (κατακυριεύοντες), but as being themselves examples of the qualities which they require in others; in the Acts of the Apostles it is on questions of church discipline that the apostles and elders meet in the council of Jerusalem (c. xv.), and afterwards at the end of St. Paul's second missionary journey (xxi. 18, 25); in the Pastoral Epistles, among the qualities which are enumerated as desirable in bishops and presbyters fitness for teaching (διδακτικός) and soundness in the faith (ἀντεχόμενον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου) are altogether subordinated to the possession of the moral qualities which are necessary in a moral governor, and which in the *Apostolical Constitutions* are expressly taken as correlative to the exercise of discipline. (2) In the extra-canonical writings of the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic age the same position is held by the presbyters, and obedience to them is similarly enjoined—*e.g.* Clem. R. i. 57; Ignat. *ad Trall.* 3, *ad Magnes.* 2; Polycarp, *ad Philipp.* 5; and the Ebionites appear to have kept up the original distinction, which had apparently become in most cases obliterated among the Jews themselves between the ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, or proper officers of the synagogue, and the πρεσβύτεροι, or proper officers of the συνέδριον (S. Epiphan. *adv. Haeres.* xxx. 18).

Whether the institution of presbyters existed in the first instance outside the limits of the Judaeo-Christian communities is doubtful. There is no evidence that it did so; the presumption is that it did not, for when St. Paul, writing to churches which were presumably non-Jewish in their character, recognizes the existence of church officers, he designates them by other names—προϊστάμενοι (1 Thess. v. 12), ἐπίσκοποι (Phil. i. 1).

(i.) ***Relations of Presbyters to Bishops.***—What were the primitive relations of presbyters to bishops is a question which cannot be overlooked, and yet to which, with the evidence at present available, only a tentative answer can be given. Most probably, as the former were of Jewish, so the latter were of Gentile origin, and as the former presided over Jewish, so the latter, in the first instance, presided over Gentile communities. Hence, when the distinction between Jewish and Gentile communities began to fade away, the two sets of officers, fulfilling, as they did, analogous functions, were regarded as having equivalent rank. This point must be taken as having been conceded by almost all important writers upon the subject in both ancient and modern times—*e.g.* in ancient times, S. Hieron. *Comm. in Ep. ad Tit.* c. i. id.; *Ep.* 146 (85) *ad Evang.*; Theodoret, *Interp. Ep. ad Philipp.* c. i. v. 1; *Ep.* i. *ad Timoth.* c. iii. v. 1; *Ep. ad Tit.* c. i. v. 7; S. Isidor. Hispal. *de Eccles. Off.* lib. ii. c. 7; Hrabanus Maurus *de Clericorum Instit.* lib. i. c. 6; and in modern times, to take only writers whose tendencies are strongly hierarchical, Probst (*Sacramente*, p. 215); Döllinger (*First Age of the Church* (E. T.), vol. ii. p. 111). (The evidence upon which this opinion is based will be found in a convenient form in Bp. Lightfoot's edition of *The Epistle to the Philippians*, pp. 189 sqq., and in Gebhardt and Harnack's edition of Clement of Rome, *ed. altera*, p. 5, and of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, p. 25: see also Baur, *Kirch. Gesch.* 3te Aufl. i. p. 270. It must, however, be noted that there is a tendency in many writers to press the evidence too far, and to infer an original *identity* of bishops and presbyters, whereas all that can be legitimately inferred is, as stated above, an *equivalence* of rank.) As inter-communion increased between Judaeo-Christian and Gentile communities, those who passed from one to the other tended to use the names bishop and presbyter as interchangeable; but how the two offices came to co-exist as distinct offices in the same community is the most difficult point in the whole complex question; nor does it seem possible upon existing evidence to give any other than the general answer that there was a fusion of the Judaeo-Christian and the Gentile organizations, and that this fusion was a gradual one. But whether this or some other be the true explanation of the co-existence of the two offices, the fact of such co-existence must be admitted, although its universality may be denied. Out of that fact two other questions spring: (1) How was it that the relative rank of the two offices changed from one of equivalence to one of subordination; (2) and how was it that the title ἐπίσκοπος rather than any other attached itself permanently to the head of the ecclesiastical organization.

(1) To the first question many answers have been given in both ancient and modern times; when, as early as the end of the 4th century, Aerius appealed to St. Paul's language as evidence that bishops and presbyters were μία τάξις, μία τιμή, καὶ ἓν ἀξίωμα, Epiphanius, though admitting that the difference between the two orders lay only in the power of ordination (this is expressed by the contrast between πατέρας γεννᾶν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ = to ordain, and τέκνα γεννᾶν τῇ ἐκκλ. = to baptize), propounded the theory that in some cases bishops had been appointed and not presbyters, and in others presbyters, but not

bishops. In either case, however, deacons were necessary, and hence St. Paul speaks sometimes of deacons and bishops, sometimes of deacons and presbyters. Assuming that Timothy was (1) a bishop, (2) a bishop in the later sense, he regards the command, "Rebuke not an elder" (1 Tim. v. 1), as conclusive proof of the superiority of the one order to the other (S. Epiphan. *adv. Haeres.* lxxv. 3–6, p. 906). Almost contemporary with this was the theory of Jerome, that the episcopate rose out of the presbyterate as a safeguard against schism. At first there were several presbyters in one church, but afterwards one was elected to preside over the rest: "quod postea unus electus est qui caeteris praeponeretur *in schismatis remedium* factum est, ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet" (Hieron. *Ep.* 146 [85] *ad Evangel.*). So also in his *Comment. in Ep. ad Tit.* c. i. "idem est ergo presbyter qui et episcopus et *antequam, diaboli instinctu, studia in religione fierent* et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephae, communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiae gubernabantur"). Later theories on the subject are so numerous as to make the discussion of them an almost endless task; and it must be sufficient here to refer to the more important of those which have been advanced during the present century, viz. those of Rothe, *Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche u. ihrer Verfassung*, 1837 (which is adopted in effect by Döllinger, *First Age of the Church* (E. T.), vol. ii. p. 112); Baur (1) *über der Ursprung des Episcopats*, 1838 (which is mainly a criticism of Rothe's theory), and (2) *Kirch. Geschichte*, 3te Auflage, Bd. i. pp. 272 sqq.; Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, pp. 399 sqq.; Herzog *über die Abfassungszeit der Pastoralbriefe*, 1872; Hackenschmidt, *Die Anfänge des katholischen Kirchenbegriffs*, 1874.

Without here adding another complete theory to those which have been advanced already, or treading unnecessarily upon debatable ground, it may be useful to point out that in all probability the question does not admit of a single answer, and that the relations of presbyters to bishops varied widely in the several groups into which the churches of the first two centuries may be arranged. (*a*) The case of Jerusalem stands on a peculiar footing. The Acts of the Apostles preserve the tradition, which is confirmed by later authorities, that James had a kind of presidency over the Judaeo-Christian community which existed there. The nature of that presidency is uncertain. The Clementines speak of him as "episcopus" (*Recogn.* i. 66), or "archiepiscopus" (*ibid.* i. 73: so also in later times, *e.g.* Conc. Ephes. c. 30); but there is no contemporary evidence of his having possessed the designation, nor, even if the tradition of the 2nd century be admitted as to the possession of the designation, is there any such evidence to shew how far the relation in which he stood to the other apostles, or to the "elders," was analogous to that which existed between the bishops and presbyters of later times. The most probable conjecture is that in this case the conception of a visible head of the church arose from the belief in the nearness of the Second Advent (Gfrörer, *Allgem. kirch. Gesch.* i. p. 271); James, as the Lord's brother, was regarded as occupying His place until He came. It is also probable that, as Gfrörer thinks, after the fall of Jerusalem, men's thoughts turned to Rome as the centre of the Christian organization, and that the Pseudo-Petrine literature of the 2nd century, which originated at Rome, had for its chief object to impress the hierarchical ideas, of which it is full, upon the Roman mind. Even in the earlier books of the Apostolical Constitutions, which probably reflect the ideas of the 3rd century, the bishop is not only *ἄρχων καὶ ἡγούμενος*, but *ἐπίγειος Θεὸς μετὰ Θεόν* (*Const. Apost.* ii. 26). (*b*) In the larger communities, such as Rome or Ephesus, in which the influence of a single apostle had for some years dominated, it was natural that the monarchical idea should tend to prevail after the apostle himself had passed away. The existence of such a dominance is here assumed. The clearest and most recent summary of the controversy will be found in A. Hilgenfeld's article, *Noch einmal Petrus in Rom und Johannes in Kleinasien*, in the Zeitschrift f. Wissensch. Theologie, 1877). In such communities, therefore, there is strong historical evidence to shew that from early times there was a recognized and permanent president. But here also there is no evidence to shew the precise relation in which such a president stood to the presbyterate. It is, however, a significant fact that Irenaeus speaks of the early heads of the Roman church as *presbyters* (in the letter to Victor of Rome in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24; so of Polycarp, in the letter to Florinus, in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20). (*c*) In the case of the churches of other cities, in which, it must be borne in mind, there is no evidence of the existence of a president or bishop until the middle of the 2nd century, it appears to be sufficient to point to the general analogy of the contemporary communities, after which in so many respects the early churches were modelled. Democratical as those communities were in the main, they still had a president. We find such a president (*a*) in the Greek associations, under several titles —*e.g.* *ἀρχερανιστής*, at Rhodes, C. I. Gr. No. 2525 b. Foucart, No. 46, and at Syros, Ross, *Inscr. Gr. Ined.* No. 107, Foucart, No. 44; *ἐρανάρχης*, Diog. Laert. vi. 63; *ἀρχέρανος* at Amorgos, Foucart, No. 45; *ἀρχιθιασίτης*, at Delos, C. I. Gr. No. 2271, Foucart, No. 43; *ἀρχισυνάγωγος* (of a college of priests), C. I. Gr. 2007 f.; so also among the *ἔφηβοι*, *γυμνασιάρχης*, C. I. Gr. Nos. 274, 2885, cf. Le Bas et Wadd. No. 223; (*b*) in the Roman *Collegia*, very frequently, and under various titles, *e.g.* "Magister," at Rome, Orelli-Henzen, *Inscr. Lat.* Nos. 6010, 6011, Mommsen, C. I. Lat. vol. iii. No. 1339, id. *de Coll. et Sodal. Rom.* p. 106; "praefectus," at Perusia, C. I. Lat. iii. No. 3432, at Salona, id Vid. No. 502; "patronus" (= Greek *προστάτης*, Plut. i. 25, which may be compared with the Christian *προϊστάμενοι*), *e.g.* C. I. Lat. iii. Nos. 975, 984, 1209.

These special circumstances of particular churches, and the general analogy of contemporary communities, seem adequate to account for the fact that towards the middle of the 2nd century, if not earlier, there was a tendency to place a single officer at the head of the ecclesiastical organization. But the question still remains, nor has it hitherto been answered, except upon purely speculative grounds, why, assuming the existence of this tendency, should this single

officer have been called *ἐπίσκοπος*. The key to the problem, which is afforded by inscriptions which have only come to light in recent times, is one of the most important contributions of epigraphical science to early Christian antiquities. (1) At Salkhad, in the Haurân are several inscriptions which contain the word *ἐπίσκοποι* (Le Bas et Waddington, No. 1990, cf. No. 1990, 2298, 2412e; Wetzstein, *Ausgewählte Gr. u. Lat. Inschriften*, No. 47, *in Abhandl. der Berl. Akad.* 1863; Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, 2 series, vol. v. part 2, p. 259). It appears from these that the officers so designated had the charge of the funds of the temple (τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ), and that out of these they had erected the building of which the most important inscription formed part. (2) In entire harmony with this is an inscription which was found at Thera. (Ross. *Inscr. Gr. Ined.* fasc. No. 2, 198; Rhangabé, *Antiquités helléniques*, vol. ii. No. 764; but in a more exact form Wescher, *Revue archéologique*, vol. xiii. (for 1866), pp. 245 sqq.):—

δέδοχθαι · ἀ[ποδε-
ξαμένος τὰν ἐπαγγελίαν τὸ μ[ὲν ἀρ-
γύριον ἐγδανεῖσαι τὸς ἐπισκό[πος
Δίωνα καὶ Μελέϊππον . . . .

"It has been decreed (sc. by the community that the *ἐπίσκοποι* (Dio and Meleippus) shall accept the money and place it at interest . . ." This seems to shew that the *ἐπίσκοποι* of the Greek associations were their officers of finance. Such also were in all probability the *ἐπίσκοποι* of the early Christian churches. One of the most important features of those churches was that they were charitable societies. In an age which, like our own, was marked by great extremes of wealth and poverty, and under circumstances which cut off many of their members from the ordinary pursuits of life, they tended to gather round them more and more every year the poor and the dependent. They dispensed hospitality to travelling brethren, they tended the sick, and, what was probably the weightiest burden, they supported the widows and orphans of those who had died in poverty, or by martyrdom. All this required not only funds, but a dispenser of funds. It was not possible to distribute a common fund satisfactorily by means of a number of officers with equal powers, not necessarily acting in concert. A presiding officer became indispensable, and the officer so appointed was known by the title which was in current use to designate the financial officer of a community. This function of the Christian bishop continued to be a primary one, even after many other functions had clustered round his office. It is not sound to reason from the functions of bishops in the 3rd and 4th centuries to their functions in the first; but at the same time, the fact that the bishops were the custodians and dispensers of church funds in the later period corroborates the inference which is drawn from other data that they were so also in the earlier. (As the point is only incidental to the subject of the present article, the evidence in favour of the view which is here stated cannot be fully given; it must be sufficient to refer to the stress which is laid in the Pastoral Epistles upon the necessity of a bishop being *ἀφιλάργυρος* and *φιλόξενος*; to the fact that in Hermas (*Sim.* 9, 27) the bishops, who are distinguished from the *ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι* of c. 25, are regarded chiefly as ministers of hospitality; to the fact mentioned in Justin (*Apol.* i. 67) that the collections of the faithful were deposited in the president (*προεστώς*, the title *ἐπίσκοπος* is not given), and that he had the care of widows and orphans and prisoners and strangers; and to the long series of ecclesiastical canons and imperial edicts which regard the bishop specially in the light of trustee of church property. The union of financial and disciplinary character in the same person has a close parallel in the *curatores* = *λογισταί* of the Roman municipalities under the later empire. For the authorities as to the functions of these important officers see Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, pp. 487–490. It is a coincidence which is worth mentioning that the *curator* had the title of *pater civitatis*.

It is not difficult to see that such an officer in such communities must, from the mere nature of his position, have had considerable power. But several collateral as well as several derivative causes were at work to increase that power, and to account for the altered status of the presbyterate at the end of the 2nd century as compared with the end of the first.

1. The custodian of the church funds was also the custodian of the list of persons among whom those funds were to be divided. He kept the *κανών* or *κατάλογος*. [MATRICULA.] Like the corresponding lists of contemporary communities (which, however, were rather lists of contributories than of recipients), this list was probably arranged in classes, the presbyters, the deacons, the "widows," and the "virgins," being severally ranked together. Hence, like the Roman censors, the custodians of this list seemed to have assumed the function of determining upon the right of particular persons to be admitted to or excluded from the several classes. Hence also the bishop, as custodian of the list, was the proper officer for giving certificates of membership. When a Christian claimed the hospitality of a foreign church in his travels, or when he passed permanently from one church to another, and claimed a place on the roll of a new community, such a certificate was indispensable. The jealous care with which the right of giving it was guarded (Conc. Antioch. c. 7) shews the importance which was attached to it, and supports the inference that it played no inconsiderable part in the exaltation of the episcopate in relation to the presbyterate.

2. The presbyterate also lost ground in the 2nd century through the large development within the churches of opinions which were at variance with the general currents of apostolic doctrine. The authority of apostolic doctrine was generally admitted, and the appeal to it was not made only on the Catholic side. Gnostics, Ebionites, and Ophites, the followers of Carpocrates, of Basilides, and of Valentinus, all traced back their opinions to an apostolic source, and maintained that they were the inheritors of an unwritten apostolic tradition (cf. Iren. i. 25, 5; 30, 14; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 7, 13, p. 882; 7, 17, p. 900, ed. Pott.). It became necessary to distinguish the true from the false tradition, and the former was found not merely in the tradition of apostolic as distinguished from non-apostolic churches (Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* 1, 21, "non alia agnoscenda

erit traditio apostolorum quam quae hodie apud ipsorum ecclesias editur"), but specially in the tradition which had been handed down by the heads of those churches (Iren. 3, 2, 2, "quae per successiones *presbyterorum* in ecclesiis custoditur;" cf. id. 4, 26, 2 (and 4, 33, 8), with the same general reference, "cum *episcopatus* successione charisma veritatis acceperunt;" cf. Tertull. *de Praescript. Haeret.* c. 32, 26). Hence, in other churches also the chief officer was the depositary and conservator of the faith. It was safer in the hands of a single person than if it were shared by a number of persons. Thus the bishop, who had by this time begun to be prominent above the presbyters, was regarded as a sort of incarnate tradition, the pure and uncorrupted spring of apostolic truth (cf. Clem. *Recogn.* 3, 65, ab ipso" [sc. from the bishop] suscipite doctrinam fidei, cf. *ib.* 3, 61, *Hom.* 3, 60, 66; *Ignat. ad Ephes.* 3; so also in the following century, Cyprian, *Epist.* 69, 5, vol. ii. 402, "inde enim schismata et haereses obortae sunt et oriantur dum episcopus qui unus est et ecclesiae praeest . . . contemnitur"). The coherence of this function of the episcopate with that which was mentioned in the preceding paragraph is strongly marked by Tertullian (*de Praescr. Haeret.* c. 20), "Communicatio pacis et appellatio fraternitatis et contesseratio hospitalitatis, quae jura non alia ratio regit quam ejusdem sacramenti una traditio."

These causes operated with different degrees of force in different communities; and it is by no means certain when the subordination of the *ordo* of presbyters to a single officer first became general. The evidence, whether for the existence of bishops or for their superior authority, cannot be pressed farther than the facts warrant. (*a*) It may be admitted, for example, that Hegesippus is a trustworthy witness, and that a presiding officer existed from the first at Jerusalem without also admitting that such an officer had the attributes which in later times attached themselves to the episcopate. (2) It may be admitted that assuming the genuineness, or approximate genuineness, of the shorter letter of Ignatius to the Romans (cf. Renan, *Ignace d'Antioch*, a review of Zahn and Pfleiderer in the *Journal des Savants*, 1874, p. 45), bishops existed as chief officers of certain churches in Asia Minor early in the 2nd century, without also admitting that they existed in Egypt or in Gaul. (3) It may be admitted that bishops existed as church officers without also admitting that they occupied in relation to the presbyterate the same position which they occupied afterwards. Irenaeus, for example, was cognizant of the distinction, but (*a*) in using "successiones presbyterorum," 3, 2, 2, and "successiones episcoporum," 3, 3, 2, as convertible terms; (*b*) in speaking of the office of "presbyteri" as "episcopatus," 4, 26, 2; (*c*) in applying the τοὺς ἐπισκόπους of Isaiah, 60, 17, to πρεσβυτέρους, 4, 26, 5, he clearly implies that there was no essential difference of function between them. (This conclusion cannot be avoided by the assumption which Döllinger makes that Irenaeus uses the word "presbyteri" in an unusual sense, *Hippolytus and Callistus*, E. T. p. 313.)

But by the beginning of the 3rd century the organization of almost all churches had begun to conform to a single type, bishop, presbyters, and deacons. In some places the older organization lingered on, and here are many indications that the presbyters did not allow their privileges to be curtailed without a struggle. That struggle came to a head in Montanism, and the triumph of the episcopate over the presbyterate was by no means secure until Montanism was crushed (cf. Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, pp. 519 sqq.). Even so stern a disciplinarian as Cyprian found some rebels against his rule (cf. e.g. *Epist.* 9, 11); and his quarrel with Novatus was based to a great extent upon the fact that the latter, though only a presbyter, had ignored Cyprian's claims as bishop by ordaining Felicissimus as deacon, *Ep.* 49 (52); Felicissimum satellitem suum diaconum nec permittente me nec sciente sua factione et ambitione constituit.

When this type was once established, several circumstances combined to render the subordination of the presbyterate more complete. The original causes of both the rise and the aggrandizement of the episcopate still remained, but new causes became more active. Of these new causes the most important were (1) the institution of synods, (2) the assimilation to the organization of the empire, (3) the rise of the parochial system" [for which see ORDERS, HOLY, III.; PARISH].

But even after these influences had begun to operate, the difference between the two orders was rather a difference of rank than of function.

The bishop was "primus inter pares" (cf. Ambrosiast. *Comm. in Epist. I. ad. Timoth.* c. 3, 7, ap. S. Ambros. *Op.* vol. ii. p. 295, "episcopi et presbyteri una ordinatio est; uterque enim sacerdos est, sed episcopus primus est"); there was no function which he discharged which might not also, save only as a question of order, be discharged by a presbyter; even in his proper field of finance he was not an absolute monarch, but the executive officer, at first of the community, and afterwards of the presbyteral college; (of this there are indications even so late as *Statt. Eccles. Antiq.* c. 23, ut episcopus nullam causam audiat absque praesentia clericorum suorum; alioquin irrita erit sententia episcopi nisi clericorum praesentia confirmetur; *id.* c. 32, irrita erit donatio episcoporum vel venditio vel commutatio rei ecclesiasticae absque conniventia et subscriptione clericorum). The one function which Epiphanius and Chrysostom claim as peculiar to bishops is that of ordination (S. Epiphan. *adv. Haer.* lib. 3, tom. i., *Haer.* 74, 3, p. 906; S. Chrysost. *Hom.* 2 *in Ep. I. ad. Timoth.* c. 3, Migne, ii. p. 553); but we have elsewhere stated the grounds which exist for believing that this was an acquired and not a primary function of bishops, and if so, it could not have been part of the original difference between them and presbyters [see ORDINATION]. In the course of the 5th and 6th centuries the subordination became more complete; but as the decrees of councils enable us to trace it step by step, its progress will be sufficiently clear from the following section on the functions of presbyters. It will, however, be convenient to give, by way of contrast to the statements of Epiphanius and Chrysostom, the elaborate canon in which the second council of Seville summed up the differences of function which had come to be recognized at the beginning of the 7th century; the canon is more important than most local canons,

because the president of the council was the learned antiquarian Isidore, who is not likely to have expressed merely local customs as general rules; it may be added as an indication, that the tendencies of the council were not ultra-episcopal; that the preceding canon had restored to his office a presbyter who had been deprived by the sole authority of his bishop "sine concilii examine . . . . Episcopus enim sacerdotibus ac ministris solus honorem dare potest, auferre solus non potest." The canon in question begins by disallowing the action of Agapius, bishop of Cordova, who had frequently commissioned presbyters in his absence to erect altars and consecrate churches: it then proceeds to state in detail (1) what presbyters could not do under any circumstances, (2) what they could not do either in the presence of a bishop or without his commission; "nam quamvis cum episcopis plurima illis [sc. presbyteris] ministeriorum communis sit dispensatio quaedam novellis et ecclesiasticis regulis sibi prohibita noverint; sicut presbyterorum et diaconorum ac virginum consecratio; sicut consecratio altaris, benedictio vel unctio; siquidem nec licere eis ecclesiam vel altarium consecrare nec per impositionem manus fidelibus baptizatis vel controversis ex haeresi paracletum Spiritum tradere; nec chrisma conficere nec chrismate baptizatorum frontem signare; sed nec publice quidem in missa quenquam poenitentium reconciliare nec formatas cuilibet epistolas mittere. Haec enim omnia illicita esse presbyteris quia pontificatus apicem non habent quem solis deberi episcopis auctoritate canonum praecipitur; ut per hoc et discretio graduum et dignitatis fastigium summi pontificis demonstretur; sed neque coram episcopo licere presbyteris in baptisterium introire nec praesente antistite infantem tingere aut signare, nec poenitentes sine praecepto episcopi reconciliare, nec eo praesente sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi conficere, nec eo coram posito populum docere vel benedicere aut salutare nec plebem utique exhortari" (2 Conc. Hispal. A.D. 619, c. 7).

(ii.) *Relations of Presbyters to Deacons.*—The primitive relations of presbyters to deacons are hardly less obscure than their relations to bishops; but one point at least is clear, that it was a relation of superiors to inferiors in rank. Deacons appear to have been mainly out-door relieving officers, whose function was to find out and to report the circumstances of worthy recipients of church funds. They were thus brought into intimate connexion with the bishops, who were the custodians and dispensers of church funds. With the growth of the supremacy of the bishops, and also with the extension of the eleemosynary system, there was a corresponding increase in the importance of deacons. Of this there is abundant evidence in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, which perhaps from this point of view may be treated as a "Tendenz-schrift." For example, *Const. Apost.* 2, 26, the bishop sits as it were in the place of God, the deacons stand by him as the heavenly powers stand by the side of God; *ibid.* 2, 28; the laity are to make their requests known to the bishop through the deacons, even as we approach God through the Lord; *ibid.* 2, 30, as the Son is the messenger and prophet of the Father, so the deacons are the messengers and prophets of the bishop. So also in the place which deacons and presbyters respectively occupied in the ritual, the presbyters, who were only coadjutors of and concelebrant with (σύμμυσται, Διατ. Κλήμ. 17 [20]) the bishop, tended to be crushed out. In the "Pontificial High Mass" of those days the bishop and the deacons seemed to share the service between them. The presbyters might take the bishop's place, but when he was present they appeared to have little share in the liturgy. Even down to modern times the gospeller and the epistoler are regarded as deacon and sub-deacon respectively. It is therefore natural to find in early councils traces of a struggle for supremacy between presbyters and deacons. It is clear from 1 *Conc. Arelat.* c. 15, and 1 *Conc. Nicaen.* c. 18, that the deacons had begun to assume to themselves the place in the liturgy which was afterwards reserved exclusively for priests, *i.e.* bishops and presbyters (the obvious meaning of these two canons has been obscured by the interpretations of those who have viewed them only by the light of later usage, *e.g.* Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Bd. i. p. 360; Hefele, *Councils*, E. T. vol. i. p. 429). But upon these assumptions these councils put an effectual check, and a few years afterwards the council of Laodicaea (c. 20) made the further regulation in support of the presbyterate that a deacon must not sit in the presence of a presbyter except with the presbyter's permission (cf. *SS. Apostolorum Epitimia*, ii. 7, ap. Pitra, *Jur. Eccl. Gr.* vol. i. p. 105, which, although Pitra speaks of the canons in general as an instance of "protervam illam byzantinorum mentiendi pruriginem," is supported by *Statt. Eccles. Antiq.* c. 39). The rise of the sacerdotal theory, which made the same distinction between presbyters and deacons which had existed in the Mosaic legislation between priests and Levites, settled the question in the East, nor are any other conciliar regulations respecting it found until *Conc. Trull.* c. 7, which so far modifies the earlier rule as to allow a deacon to take precedence of presbyters when he is acting as the deputy of a metropolitan or patriarch. In the West it is clear from Jerome that the struggle was even stronger and more lasting since he is at the trouble formally to refute those who thought that a deacon was superior to a presbyter (S. Hieron. *Epist.* 146 [85] *ad Evangel.*); and although the canon of the council of Arles, and the growth of the sacerdotal theory, which have been mentioned above, prevented any revival of the claim to what were considered to be sacerdotal functions (unless account be taken of 2 *Conc. Arelat.* c. 15), the claim for precedence was continued, as is seen from *Conc. Andegav.* A.D. 453, c. 2; 1 Barcinon, A.D. 578 (?), c. 4; 4 Tolet. A.D. 633, c. 39; *Statt. Eccles. Antiq.* c. 37. It may be added that in the strenuous effort which was made by Novatian to uphold the authority of the presbyterate against the episcopate, he seems also to have endeavoured to dispense with the diaconate (cf. Coustant's interpretation of his letter, ap. Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, vol. iii. pp. 21, 78).

(iii.) *Functions of Presbyters.*—The sketch which has been given of the origin of the presbyterate, and of its early relations to the episcopate, has to some extent covered the ground of the present section; it has at the same time shewn, from the great variations which took place in those relations, the difficulty of

framing any statements on the subject which will hold good for more than a particular period, or a particular group of churches.

The functions of the presbyterate may be mainly grouped according as they relate (1) to discipline, (2) to the sacraments, (3) to teaching, (4) to benediction. The functions of presbyters in regard to ordination will be gathered from the special article on that subject. [ORDINATION, V. *Minister of Ordination.*]

(1) *Discipline.*—It has been mentioned above that the original conception of the presbyterate, as gathered both from the analogy of the corresponding office among the Jews, and from the words of early Christian writers, was that it had the general control of the morals of the churches, and constituted a court of discipline. The same function continued, though its relative importance decreased, even after the episcopate had attained its final supremacy, and after the officers of the church had become officers rather of worship than of government. The most significant indications of this are found in the Ordinals of the Western church; the tenor of both the addresses to the people and the prayers shews this to have been the leading element in the conception of a presbyter's functions at the time when those Ordinals were framed. Presbyters are said to be appointed to help bishops in the government of the people as the seventy were appointed to help Moses. The prayer is that they may exhibit in their own lives the virtues which they require in others. In the earliest ordinal of the later type (Missale Francorum, ap. Muratori, *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 450) there is only a slight reference to any other functions, but all the later Ordinals have added a prayer, or prayers, that the presbyter may "offer acceptable victims for the sins and offences of the people," and the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals (*Epist. Fabrian.* 2, c. 17; Hinschius, p. 163, make sacrificing the prominent function. The question of the general bearings of this function of discipline upon Christian morals is too intricate to be properly discussed here; it will be sufficient for the present purpose to treat briefly of its judicial or quasi-judicial exercise. In that respect an important distinction must be drawn between the functions of the *Ordo Presbyterorum* in a church acting in concert and the functions of an individual presbyter acting alone; it is the more necessary to bear this distinction in mind, as the ignoring of it underlies much of the confusion which exists in many of the discussions to which the subject of the presbyterate has given rise.

There are good grounds for thinking that in the earliest period of church history the presbyters were little more than the presidents and executive officers of the community, liable to be overruled by its voice, and bound to carry out its decisions. The most pertinent proof is the account of the judicial process in a Christian community in Tertull. *Apolog.* c. 39 (judicatur magno cum pondere et apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumque futuri judicii praejudicium est si quis deliquerit ut a communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis saluti commercii relegetur. *Praesident probati quique seniores,* honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti"). But there can be no question that in time, though there may be a doubt as to the particular time, the *ordo* of a church (1) assumed an authority apart from the community, (2) came to consist of two elements, the presbyters and the bishop [the discussion as to the place of deacons in relation to the *ordo* must, for brevity's sake, be here omitted].

(*a*) The presbyters and bishop, acting together, formed the court to which offences against morals or church order were referred, and by which the affairs of the church generally were administered. In this capacity they formed a συνέδριον (Ignat. *Epist. ad Trall.* c. 3), and are designated as such even so late as the 4th and 5th centuries, *e.g.* by S. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* 42, 11, p. 750; S. Basil. *Epist.* 81 [319], p. 174; S. Sixti III. *Epist.* 2 *ad Cyrill. Alex.*; Synesius, *Epist.* 67, p. 208. Hence, in terms which are borrowed from similar courts under the empire, they are also spoken of as σύμβουλοι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, βουλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *e.g. Const. Apost.* 2, 28, and in Latin as a "consilium" (*Statt. Eccles. Ant.* c. 22). And since the smallest number of persons who could form a συνέδριον among the Jews was three, one of the earliest documents which refers to ecclesiastical organization requires each bishop to appoint two presbyters, presumably to form such a court, Διατ. Κλήμ. c. 20, Pitra, *Jur. Eccl. Gr.* vol. i. p. 83; Bickell, *Gesch. des Kirchenrechts*, vol. ii. p. 122.

(*b*) The bishop, as head of this body, was an integral and essential part of it. His consent was ordinarily necessary to the validity of its acts. He was the officer by whom sentences were pronounced, and by whom the restoration of penitents to church privileges was effected. It is probable also that in emergencies in which immmediate action was necessary he had a discretionary and quasi-independent power. But without such an emergency even Cyprian declined to act alone. He will not judge the case of the sub-deacons Philomenus and Fortunatus, and the acolyte Favorinus, since many of the clergy are absent, though in the meantime, in his capacity of finance-officer, he orders that the accused persons shall not receive their monthly allowance (*Epist.* 28 [34], c. 3).

(*c*) Individual presbyters sometimes claimed for themselves a similar discretionary power: "audio tamen quosdam de presbyteris nec evangelii memores, nec quid ad nos martyres scripserint cogitantes, nec episcopo honorem sacerdotii sui et cathedrae reservantes, jam cum lapsis communicare coepisse et offerre pro illis et eucharistiam dare, quando oportet ad haec *per ordinem* perveniri (St. Cyprian. *Epist.* 11 [17], c. 2). But the claim was disallowed. In the East the general rule was laid down that individual presbyters must not act without the bishop's consent (Conc. Laod. c. 57, ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου; so *Can. Apost.* c. 39, where Balsamon limits the rule to the administration of church funds, but Zonaras understands it of excommunication); but the penitentiaries who were appointed at Constantinople after the Novatian schism were presbyters (Socrat. *H. E.* 5, 19), and much later archbishop Theodore, who must be taken as an authority for at any rate contemporary usage, expressly states that "among the Greeks a presbyter may, if there is necessity, reconcile a penitent" (Poenit. Theodor. 2, 3, 8, ed. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c., vol. iii.).

In the West their powers in this respect were limited by many conciliar enactments, the repe-

tition of which, however, shews that they were not unfrequently struggled against. The earliest canon is that of Elvira (Conc. Illib. A.D. 306, c. 32), the main purport of which appears to be that a presbyter (or deacon) must not readmit a penitent even in peril of death without consulting his bishop; but the text of the canon is somewhat uncertain, and has given rise to some controversy (cf. the notes of Aubespine on the canon, printed as an appendix to his edition of Optatus, Paris, 1631; F. de Mendoza. *Dissert. de Can. Conc. Illib.* ap. Mansi, ii. p. 243; Petavius *de Poenit. et Reconcil. Vet. Ecclesiae Moribus Recepta*, c. 2, 4). There is a similar variety in the African canons on the same subject; 2 Conc. Carth. c. 4, coincides with the version of the canon of Elvira which is given above (the text as given in Mansi, iii. 694, is slightly different from *id.* iii. 86-7, but the purport is the same); but the African code allows a presbyter to act in similar cases without consulting his bishop (Cod. Can. Afric. c. 43). The Gallican canons agree with the latter rule; 1 Conc. Araus. A.D. 441 (under S. Hilary of Arles), c. 1. specially of heretics; so *totidem verbis*, 2 Arelat. c. 26; so also Conc. Epaon, A.D. 517, c. 20. Conc. Agath. A.D. 506, c. 44, 2 Conc. Hisp. A.D. 619, c. 7, lay down the converse rule that a presbyter must not readmit a penitent publicly in church; and the latter of the two councils prohibits such an action even upon the delegation of a bishop; but archbishop Theodore expresses the opinion that such a delegation was permissible (Poenit. Theod. 1, 13, 3, ed. Haddan and Stubbs), leaning herein, as in other points, rather to the Eastern than to the Western use. It may be noted as an indication of the drift of opinion and usage that the Jumièges Pontifical of the end of the 8th century (Pontif. Gemmeticense, Martene, *ordo iii.*) treats the receiving of penitents as an ordinary function of bishops and presbyters in distinction from deacons. The Apostolical Constitutions (8, 27) deny the right of individual presbyters to depose (καθαιρεῖν) inferior clerks, but allow them to suspend (ἀφορίζειν) such as, being subject to their authority, deserve suspension; (the Coptic version, as translated by Tattam, c. 73, makes the distinction to lie in their having power to put out, but not power to anathematize). Whether a single presbyter had power to excommunicate in early times is doubtful: the earliest mention of such a power is probably in the *Judicium Clementis*, which gives summary power in certain cases of misbehaviour in church to a bishop, presbyter, or any clerk (Judic. Clem. c. 20, ap. Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 226, from Kunstmann *Pönitent. Bücher der Angelsachs.* p. 176).

(2) *The Sacraments;* (i.) *The Eucharist.*—In the earliest period it is probable that in the Eucharist, as in the administration of discipline and church funds, the bishops and presbyters acted together (this practice of "concelebration" survived at Rome long after it appears to have ceased elsewhere; it is mentioned by Amalarius of Metz in the 9th century, *de Eccles. Offi.* i. 12, three centuries later by Innocent III., *de Myst. Miss.* iv. c. 25, and by many mediaeval writers). They jointly offered or blessed the offerings, and jointly distributed them to the people. In the absence of the bishop the presbyters could perform these functions without him; the power to offer or bless the Eucharistic offerings, and to give them to the people, was probably regarded as inherent in the office of a presbyter; and it may be inferred from the fact of its being the function of which an erring presbyter was first deprived Conc. Neocaes. c. 9, that it was regarded as the chief independent function of his office. Outside the city church in which the bishop and his presbyters ordinarily thus acted together, a single presbyter seems to have exercised this power without question; he might "break bread" with confessors in their prison, or as in apostolic days "from house to house." At Rome the presbyters of the several *tituli*, which were practically equivalent to the urban parishes of later times, were restrained from consecrating the Eucharist themselves, and used instead that which the bishops sent them; but the words of the earliest enactment respecting this, state expressly that the practice was merely designed as a mark of unity of communion, and admit that presbyters have ordinarily the right of consecration (S. Innocent I. *Epist. ad Decent.* c. 5). But elsewhere there does not appear to have been any restriction whatever, except those which were imposed by the general rules of seniority and precedence, *e.g.* Conc. Neocaes. c. 13. In time, however, there came to be restrictions of place. 2 Conc. Carth. A.D. 390 (?) c. 9, forbids a presbyter from performing his office "in quolibet loco" without the permission of his bishop. The requirement that the altar upon which he offers should previously have been consecrated by a bishop, is probably of much later date; the first positive enactments are in the Liber Pontificalis (*Vit. S. Siric.* c. 2), and in the Carolingian capitularies, Karoli M. *Capit. General*, A.D. 769, c. 14, Pertz, vol. i. p. 32; the fact that it is so elaborately vindicated by the Pseudo-Isidore (Decret. Felicis IV. *ad Omnes Episcopos*, Hinschius, p. 700) and also the fact that it occurs as a positive enactment, not based upon early canonical authority, so late as the 10th century, *e.g.* in the capitularies of Atto II. of Vercelli, circ. A.D. 950, c. 7, ap. D'Achery *Spicil.* vol. i. p. 403, are significant indications of its late date. In the absence of such a consecrated altar, fixed or portable, Archbishop Theodore allows a presbyter to perform mass provided that he holds the elements in his hands (Poenit. Theodor. 2, 2, 2, ed. Haddan and Stubbs).

(ii.) *Baptism.*—The admission of a new member into the community was in early times the work of the whole church. In the most solemn form of the ceremony bishop, presbyters, deacons, and laity, ἡ πᾶσα ἱερὰ διακόσμησις, and πάντα τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πληρώματα (S. Dionys. Areop. *de Eccles. Hierarch.* 2, 4, where a comparison with 3, 14 shews that Pachymeres is wrong in understanding the expressions of the κλῆρος only) had each their appropriate part. In the less solemn forms of the ceremony the Eastern Church seems to have allowed either a bishop or a presbyter to preside (*Const. Apost.* 7, 22; so *ibid.* 3, 20, βαπτίζειν is a distinct and proper function of a presbyter); but in the Western Church the function of a presbyter in this respect seems always to have been regarded as delegated and not original; on this point the statements of Tertullian and Jerome leave no room for reasonable doubt; the former says, *de Baptismo*, c. 17, "dandi [se baptismum]

quidem habet jus summus sacerdos qui est episcopus. Dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate propter ecclesiae honorem;" the latter says, *Dial. c. Lucif.* c. 9, *Op.* ed. Migne, vol. ii. 164, "inde [sc. from the necessity for unity in the church] venit ut sine chrismate et episcopi jussione neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeant baptizandi." In both East and West when the full ceremonial took place, there was a division of labour; the best account of the part of each order of clergy in the East is to be found in the treatise of St. Dionysius Areopagite quoted above: the earliest complete account of Western usage is to be found in Mabillon's *Ordo Romanus*, i. c. 43, *id.* vii. c. 11. In both of these a distinction is drawn between the immersion in water, which might be performed by deacons and even by acolytes, and the other ceremonies, of which the chief were the anointing with the chrism and the imposition of hands, which were shared between the presbyters and the bishops. If the bishops were absent, the Eastern church allowed a presbyter to do all that, if present, the bishop would have done; but although there was for some time a variety of usage in the West (as is shewn, *e.g.*, by the fact that Gregory the Great [*Epist.* 4, 9, vol. ii. p. 689] reserves the final anointing on the forehead for bishops, whereas in *Epist.* 4, 26, vol. ii. p. 705, he allows it to presbyters), it ultimately came to be the Western rule that a presbyter might anoint with the chrism, provided that he used chrism which had previously been consecrated by a bishop, and also that he did not anoint on the forehead (S. Innocent, *Epist. ad Decent.* c. 3, ap. Hinschius, p. 528), but that he must not in any case impose hands (Theodulph. Aurelian. *de Ordine Baptismi*, c. 17, Migne, P. L. cv. 235). In other words a presbyter might baptize, but a bishop must confirm; (it is important to note that when Photius objected to this Western uasge, and asked "Whence came the law that presbyters should not confirm?" *Epist.* i. 13 (2), ap. Migne, P. G. vol. cii. 726, the Latins were not able to give any better authority than the Decretals and the Liber Pontificalis, see *e.g.* the arguments of Aeneas of Paris ap. D'Achery, *Spicileg.* vol. i. p. 141). When the later system of dioceses and parishes began to prevail, there was some variety of usage. (*a*) Sometimes there was only one baptistery in a diocese, and to it all candidates for baptism had to come. (*b*) But more frequently the parochial presbyter had the right of baptizing in his own parish, and such baptism by a parochial presbyter did not confer the full status of church membership until it had been followed by "confirmation." Jerome thought that the baptism was spiritually valid without such confirmation (S. Hieron. *Dial. c. Lucif.* c. 9), but the later view doubted this (see *e.g.* Poenit. Theodore, 2, 4, 4, ed. Haddan and Stubbs; Joann. Diac. *Epist. ad Senar.* c. 14, ap. Migne, P. L. vol. lix. 406; Isaac Lingon., *can.* 11, 8, ap. Migne, P. L. vol. cxxiv.), and out of this doubt probably sprang the revival of the chorepiscopate in France in the 8th and 9th centuries (Hraban. Maur. *de Instit. Cler.* i. 5, "ordinati sunt chorepiscopi propter pauperum curam qui in agris et villis consistunt ne eis solatium confirmationis deesset:" on the other hand, in the vigorous polemic against the chorepiscopate which is made by the author of the false decretals, this privilege is denied to them, e.g. *Leonis Papae de Privilegio Chorepiscoporum*, Hinschius, p. 628, *Damasi Papae de Chorepiscopis*, *ibid.* p. 514). (*c*) The parochial presbyter had the delegated right of using, but not the right of consecrating the baptismal chrism. This was the African rule, 2 Conc. Carth. c. 3 = *Cod. Eccles. Afric.* c. 6 (but it appears from John the Deacon that in his time, *i.e.* in the 9th century, African presbyters had the right of consecrating the chrism, *Epist. ad Senar.* c. 8, Migne, P. L. vol. lix. 404; Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* i. 2, 74), and 1 Conc. Tolet, c. 20, enacted that it should henceforth be the Spanish rule; as such it was conformed by 2 Conc. Brac. A.D. 563, c. 19, 2 Conc. Hisp. A.D. 619, c. 7; but it is rather implied than directly stated by the Gallican councils, *e.g.* conc. Vas. A.D. 442, c. 3, and probably did not exist in the East (cf. Poenit. Theod. 2, 3, 8, ed. Haddan and Stubbs). Where the rule existed, the parochial presbyters were bound to obtain the chrism from the bishop once a year, usually just before Easter; so *Statt. Eccles. Antiq.* c. 36; 1 Conc. Tolet. c. 20; Conc. Vas. c. 3; Conc. Emerit. A.D. 666, c. 9, further enacts that he who is charged by the bishop to convey the chrism to presbyters is not to exact pay for it. (*d*) The right of baptizing except in emergencies was apparently not personal to the parochial presbyter, but had to be exercised in an authorized place; the Trullan council (c. 31) will not allow it to be exercised in private chapels without the bishop's authority, and the Frankish and Carolingian capitularies appear to deny the title of even parish churches to be baptisteries, unless they are expressly constituted such by the bishop; "ut publicum baptisterium in ulla parochia [*i.e.* diocese] esse non debeat nisi ibi ubi episcopus constituerit cujus parrochia est" (Pippini Capit. Vernense, A.D. 755, c. 7, Pertz, *Legum* 1, p. 24 = Conc. Vern. ap. Mansi, xii. 577; so also Capit. Ticinense, A.D. 801, c. 16, Pertz, i. p. 85).

(3) *Preaching and Teaching.* — The Jewish presbyters were not, as such, teachers; and since (1 Tim. v. 17) by making special mention of those who labour in the Word and doctrine" implies that some presbyters did not so labour, it may be inferred that teaching was not an inherent function of the Christian presbyterate. The Διαταγαὶ Κλήμεντος (c. 16) contemplate the case of an unlettered presbyter, and the earliest list of presbyteral functions (Polyc. *Epist. ad Philipp.* c. 6) treats a presbyter, wholly as a disciplinary officer; nor is there any mention of presbyters in connexion with teaching in either Clement or Ignatius. The Clementines also indicate that, whereas the bishops had to do with the doctrine, the presbyters had to do with the morals of the members of the church (*Recogn.* 3, 65). But the function of teaching, although not inherent in the presbyterate, was not incompatible with it. There were "presbyteri doctores" (S. Cyprian, *Epist.* 24, vol. i. p. 287; *Acta Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, ap. Ruinart, c. 13); preaching (ὁμιλεῖν) was a function from which a lapsed presbyter was deposed (Conc. Ancyr. A.D. 313, c. 1); and it is clear that the Alexandrian usage of excluding presbyters from preaching was either temporary or local (Socrat. *H. E.* 5, 22). It was, in short, a delegated function;

it was committed to the "wiser" presbyters (S. Chrys. *Hom.* 3 *in Epist.* i. *ad Corinth. Op.* ed. Migne, vol. x. p. 26), and therefore, in some churches, could not be exercised in the presence of a bishop (S. Hieron. *Epist.* 52 [2] *ad Nepot.* c. 7, who objects to this exclusion; 2 Conc. Hisp. A.D. 619, c. 7). But after the establishment of the parochial system, the privileges of presbyters in parishes became extended in this and in other respects; and the Western church seems to have thenceforth counted preaching as an ordinary function of a parish presbyter (3 Conc. Vas. A.D. 529, c. 2; Conc. Cloves. A.D. 747, c. 9); so the ninth-century writers on church institutions, *e. g.* Hraban. Maur. *de Instit. Cleric.* i. 6; cf. Quesnel, *Dissert.* xi. *in S. Leon. M. Op.* c. 12).

(4) *Benediction.*—The Christian churches continued the Jewish practice of blessing both persons and things, and since the blessing of persons assumed a superiority in the person who gave the benediction over the person who received it (cf. Heb. vii. 7), in the Christian, as in the Jewish, assemblies, it was a function of the president. Ordinarily it was thus a function of the bishop; but, in the absence of the bishop, a presbyter might bless, whether publicly in church or privately elsewhere (*Const. Apost.* 3, 20; 8, 27; S. Basil. *Epist.* 2 *ad Amphiloch.* c. 27, where suspension from this function is the punishment of a presbyter who has contracted an unlawful marriage). But in the West the rights of presbyters in this respect became much restricted. In the 5th century, Conc. Regiens, c. 5, allows presbyters to give the benediction in private houses and in the country, but not in church; and early in the following century Conc. Agath. c. 44 expressly forbids a presbyter to give it in church; but 2 Conc. Hispal. (A.D. 619, c. 7) narrows the prohibition to cases in which the bishop is present, and this has continued to be the Western rule.

[For the conditions of admission to the priesthood, see ORDERS, HOLY; for the mode of appointment and admission, see ORDINATION; for the relations of priests to synods and councils, see COUNCIL, p. 473.] [E. H.]

**PRILIDANUS**, martyr with Urbanus and Epolonus, three youths, who suffered with bishop Babylas at Antioch; commemorated Jan. 24. (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.* PRILIDANIUS; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.* PARILIDANUS, under Numerian; *Mart. Rom.* PRILIDIANUS.) [C. H.]

**PRIMATE.** The word primate ("primas") seems to have come, like some other ecclesiastical terms, from the civil law. From its first use, in which it was applied generally to the chief men of a community, it came to be used in an official sense (*a*) of the presidents of the Jewish communities, after the title "patriarch" had ceased, *Cod. Theodos.* 16, 8, 8, 29; (*b*) of the "decuriones" of a municipality, *Cod. Theodos.* 7, 18, 13; 12. 1, 4; (*c*) of the heads of the *bureau* of a provincial governor, *Cod. Theodos.* 9, 40, 16; 12. 6, 3, cf. Bethmann-Hollweg, *Der Römische Civil-prozess*, Bd. iii. p. 142. It is a probable inference from the Pseudo-Isidorian *Epist. Anacleti*, ii. c. 26, that it was also applied in the post-Imperial organization of the West to officers who had judicial functions corresponding to those of ecclesiastical primates; out of the existence of such officers no direct trace can be found. (For the Carolingian "primates palatii," see Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, Bd. iv. 277.)

In its ecclesiastical use it is found in three senses. (The use of its Greek equivalent ὁ πρωτεύων, which is found in several Syrian inscriptions, one of which bears the date A.D. 514, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Nos. 8627, 8630, 8631, is here omitted, because there is no clue to its precise signification.)

(1) Its earliest sense seems to be that of seniority, whether in respect of age or of office. Leo the Great uses "primatus" of seniority among presbyters (*Epist.* 19 (18) *ad Dorum Benevent.* vol. i. p. 735). Pope Hilary (*Epist.* 8, ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. lviii. 25) transfers the power of ordaining bishops from Hermes, metropolitan of Narbonne, to Constantius, bishop of Usez, as being "aevo honoris primas;" just as in a similar case Leo the Great (*Epist.* 10, vol. i. p. 641) transfers the functions of metropolitan from Hilary of Arles to Leontius, expressly on the ground of his seniority. The word was consequently used in Africa to denote the senior bishop of the province, who there held the place which in most other parts of the Christian world was held by the bishop of the civil metropolis. The exact title of this bishop was "primae sedis episcopus," and 3 Conc. Carth. c. 26 = *Cod. Eccles. Afric.* c. 39 enacts that he is not to take the appellations "summus sacerdos," or "princeps sacerdotum;" but the word "primas" is used, apparently with the same meaning, in 2 Conc. Carth. c. 12; 3 Conc. Carth. 28 (in 3 Conc. Carth. c. 7 = *Cod. Eccles. Afric.* c. 19, there is an important variety of reading between "primatem" and "primates"); to this African usage Gregory the Great, *Epist.* i. 74, vol. ii. p. 559, expresses strong objections.

(2) The word is occasionally used in reference to the office or status of a metropolitan: *e. g.* in the dispute between the bishops of Vienne and Arles, which was settled by Conc. Taurin. A.D. 401, c. 2; in 1 Conc. Brac. A.D. 563, c. 6: so also sometimes in the Latin translations of the Greek canons, *e.g.* in Dionysius Exiguus Can. Apost. 35 ap. Sirmond; *Codex Can. Vet. Eccles. Roman.*, in Ferrandus, *Breviatio Canonum*, c. 4, ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. lxvii. 950, "metropolitani vel primatis;" in Martin of Braga, *Capit.* c. 4, ap. Mansi, ix. 849; and in S. Leon. M. *Epist.* 108 (83) *ad Theodor. Forojuliens.* vol. i. p. 1173 (in the plural).

(3) The title was not in ordinary use until the 9th century, and it was then applied to a new distinction which was created among bishops, chiefly by the influence of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals. In the Eastern divisions of the empire the church had closely followed the gradations of civil rank. The provinces (ἐπαρχίαι), each of which had its civil *praeses* or *consularis*, and its ecclesiastical metropolitan, were grouped into *dioeceses*, each of which had its civil *vicarius*, *comes*, or *praefectus*, and its ecclesiastical exarch or patriarch [PATRIARCH (2)]. But in the West each province was in almost all respects a separate ecclesiastical unit; there was no officer corresponding to the civil *vicarius*: there was no appeal from the provincial synod and the provincial metro-

politan, except the appeal, which was oftener claimed than allowed, to the bishop of Rome. The earlier policy of the Roman see was to support the authority of metropolitans; *e.g.* S. Leo M. *Epist.* 108 (83) *ad Theodor. Forojul.* vol. i. p. 1173, objects to direct appeal from a bishop to Rome. But its later policy was the reverse of this: and from the 6th to the 8th centuries the influence of metropolitans visibly declined, so that Pippin consulted pope Zachary as to the best means of reviving it (S. Zachar. pap. *Epist. ad Pippin*, ap. Mansi, vol. xii. 326). It was accordingly revived under the Carolingians (Pippin, *Capit. Verm. Duplex*, A.D. 755, c. 2; Caroli Magn. *Capit.* A.D. 779, c. 1), and the revived office played an important part in political as well as in ecclesiastical affairs (see Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, vol. iii. p. 351 sqq.). But both the suffragan bishops and the Roman see found the metropolitans inconvenient: the former preferred a remote to a near superior, the latter disliked the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline by judges who, if supported, as they seemed likely to be, by the influence of the temporal power, might weaken its direct control over the Western churches. In addition to this there appear to have been, in the troubled times which followed the death of Charles the Great, several cases in which bishops had met with severe, if not unjust, treatment at the hands of metropolitans. The author of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals consequently introduced into the West the Eastern distinction between metropolitans and exarchs, to the latter of whom he confined the word *primate*, which had hitherto been occasionally used for any metropolitan, and which he identified with the earlier Eastern equivalent of exarch, viz. patriarch, *Epist.* Annic. c. 3, "nulli archiepiscopi primates vocentur nisi illi qui primas tenent civitates quarum episcopos et successores eorum regulariter patriarchas vel primates esse constituerunt, nisi aliqua gens deinceps ad fidem convertatur, cui necesse sit propter multitudinem episcoporum primatem constitui. Reliqui vero qui alias metropolitanas sedes adepti sunt non primates sed metropolitani nominentur:" so Anaclet. *Epist.* ii. c. 26; Zepherin. *Epist.* c. 2; Felic. i. *Epist.* c. 4; Steph. *Epist.* ii. c. 10; Julii *Decret.* c. 12: so also Benedict. Levit. *Capit.* iv. 439, ap. Pertz, *Legum*, vol. ii. pars 2, p. 130; Capit. Angilramni, c. 22, ap. Hinschius, *Decret. Pseudo-Isidor.* p. 762. The letter of pope Hormisdas which Hincmar of Reims quotes in his controversy with Hincmar of Laon as giving a primacy to the see of Reims, with a reservation of the rights of metropolitans, resembles the false decretals too closely to be treated as genuine (Hincmar Remens. *Opusc. in Causa Hincmar. Laudun.* c. 16, ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. cxxvi. 338). After this date the title was in frequent use, especially in reference to the metropolitans to whom the bishops of Rome entrusted in their respective districts the powers of the Roman see.

The functions of primates in the later sense of the term, so far as they differ from the ordinary functions of metropolitans, are almost wholly judicial. In the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which are the foundation of all subsequent canon law on the subject, an accused bishop who suspects the impartiality of his metropolitan and comprovincials, may claim to be tried by the primate, Clement. *Epist.* i. c. 29; Anaclet. ii. c. 26; Felic. i. c. 4; Zepherin. c. 2; Jul. c. 12: so also *Capit.* Angilram. c. 5; a primate has also an immediate jurisdiction in the case of a metropolitan who oppresses his suffragans or otherwise exceeds the limits of his authority, Annic. 3, 4; Vict. 6; and also in all "majores ecclesiarum negotia," Clement. i. c. 29; Anaclet. ii. c. 26; Steph. ii. c. 10. But while in some passages the decretals make this jurisdiction of the metropolitan alternative with an appeal to Rome, Vict. 6, Jul. 12, in other passages they make the validity of the sentence of the primate contingent on its confirmation by the Roman see, Zeph. 2, Damas. 8, elsewhere they appear to give a final authority to the primate and his synod, Pelag. II. *ad universos episcopos*, and elsewhere on the contrary they ignore primates, and give an immediate appeal from the metropolitan to Rome, Felic. ii. c. 20.

(The best account of primates in the later sense of the word will be found in P. de Marca, *Dissertatio de Primatu Lugdunensi et ceteris Primatibus*, first published in 1644, and edited by Baluze in 1659.) [E. H.]

**PRIMICERIUS.** The name of these officials [" primus in ceram relatus" (Ducange *Gloss.*), the first entered on the wax tablet, or roll, of the clergy] sufficiently indicates their office as the head or leader of an ecclesiastical corporation. The word appears to be identical with the "primiclerus," or head of the inferior clergy, of the Spanish church. (*Conc. Emerit.* cc. 10, 14.)

1. The office is frequently mentioned in connexion with the ecclesiastical notaries. In the council of Chalcedon frequent mention is made of Aetius, the primicerius of the notaries. In the council of Ephesus (act. 1) the task of reciting the edict of the emperor Theodosius was allotted to Peter, a presbyter of Alexandria and primicerius of the notaries. Anastasius the librarian, in his life of pope Julius, says that he caused all the records (monumenta) belonging to the church to be placed in the care of the primicerius of the notaries. In the postscript to the works of Aratus (*Bibl. Patrum*, t. vi. p. 700) it is said that Vigilius gave the poems in charge to the "primicerius" of the school of notaries. Gregory the Great, writing to Antoninus, a sub-deacon of Salonica, during the vacancy of the see (*Epist.* iii. 22), directs him to take an inventory of the property belonging to the see, and hand it over for safe keeping to Respectus the deacon, and Stephen the primicerius of the notaries.

2. A letter from Remigius of Rheims (Sirmondi *Conc. Gall.* i. p. 205) mentions a primicerius of the lectors, "primicerium scholae clarissimae militiaeque lectorum."

3. Chrodegang, in his rules for the chapter of Metz (last chapter), speaks of a primicerius of the MATRICULARII, who was to exercise a general supervision over them, and to whom, with the archdeacon, was entrusted the distribution of their allowances.

4. They were also members of the cathedral body, with authority, apparently as the deputy of the archdeacon, over the inferior clergy. The council of Merida, A.D. 666 (c. 10), orders that every cathedral should have an archpresbyter

an archdeacon, and a primicerius; and (c. 14) divides the offerings into three parts—one belonging to the bishop, another to the presbyters and deacons to be divided among themselves, and the third to be handed over to the primicerius, and by him allotted at his discretion to the subdeacons and inferior clergy, according as he knows them zealous and diligent in their duties. Isidore of Seville, in his epistle to Ludifred, bishop of Cordova (Isidori *Op.* p. 413), states that the primicerius has charge of the acolytes, the exorcists, the psalmistae, and the lectors. In the *Ordo Romanus* (tit. 25) the primicerius is said to occupy a position like that of the archpresbyter under the archdeacon, and to have special charge of the teaching and discipline of the deacons and the other inferior clergy. [CHAPTER, p. 349.]

It is certain that this office, though subordinate to that of the archdeacon, was reckoned one of trust and honour. In a letter of Pope Martin (*Ep.* 15) the duty of presiding over the see of Rome, in the absence of the pope, is allotted to the archdeacon, the archpresbyter, and the primicerius. A letter of John IV. to the church of England (Baronius A.D. 639, 6, 7) is signed by John himself, the archpresbyter, the primicerius, and the consiliarius, the primicerius taking precedence of the consiliarius. [P. O.]

**PRIMITIAE.** [FIRST FRUITS.]

**PRIMITIVUS (1)**, one of the eighteen martyrs of Saragossa; commemorated Ap. 16 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(2) Martyr with others at Rome under Hadrian; commemorated June 10 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*).

(3) One of the seven sons of Symphorosa, martyred with her at Tibur under Hadrian; commemorated June 27 (Usuard. *Mart.*). In *Hieron. Mart.* a Primitivus occurs for this day in Spain. [SYMPHOROSA.]

(4) Martyr with Bonus and others, clerics of bishop Stephanus at Rome, under Valerian and Gallienus; commemorated Aug. 1 (Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PRIMUS (1)**, martyr with Cyricus and Theagenes at Peparethus in the Hellespont; commemorated Jan. 3 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*)

(2) Martyr, commemorated Jan. 22 at Nicomedia (Wright, *Auct. Syr. Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, 424).

(3) Martyr with Felicianus under Diocletian; commemorated at Rome on Mons Coelius, June 9 (Usuard., Wand., *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 149; *Hieron. Mart.* at Nomentum.) For the inscription and mosaic in memory of these two saints in the church of St. Stephen, the protomartyr on the Coelian hill at Rome, whither their bodies were removed cir. 773 by pope Hadrian I., see Ciampini *Vet. Mon.* ii. 111–113 and plate 32. [C. H.]

**PRINCEPS.** The bishops, as the chief officers in the Christian church, were honoured at an early period with this and synonymous designations. [BISHOP.] But according to the different idea which moulded the development of the Celtic ecclesiastical polity in the British Isles, and framed it after a monastic rather than a diocesan or purely episcopal model, these terms received a corresponding destination. The ecclesiastical unit in the early Irish church was the monastery, whose head was the abbat, the praesul, primarius, or princeps of the monastic family. Hence in the *Annals of Ulster* (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* iv.) the abbat is called abbas or princeps concurrently from A.D. 681, until in the 10th century the princeps has all but superseded the abbas in the list of obits. During the 9th and 10th centuries the princeps is found occasionally as a secular prince (A.D. 808, 809, 835), but very much more frequently he is evidently the monastic head, and appears at times also as bishop (A.D. 825, 857, 873, &c.), Ferleighinn (A.D. 878) and tanist abbat at one monastery and princeps or abbat of another (A.D. 895–6, "proximus abbati Cluanae mac nois et princeps Damhinisensis"). Desgabair is "dominatrix Princeps Troeit moir," *i.e.* at Drogheda (A.D. 792). But the princeps seems also at other times to have been subject, though only second to the abbat, and as exercising a certain authority in the monastery as either successor or Erenach (Reeves, *S. Adamnan*, 364). In the continental monasteries the princeps was usually a subordinate, as is probably intended in the *Rule of S. Pachomius*, "Vestimenta . . . accipient, qui huic rei praepositi sunt, et inferentur in repositorio, et erunt in potestate Principis monasterii" (Du Cange, *Gloss.* t. v. 447 a). In Wales Gwengad, prince of Penaly, and Sadwrn, prince of the city of Taff, sign charters as clerical witnesses in the 6th century (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 141, 292–293), while Gwonocadwy, prince of Penaly, and Sadoc, presbyter, sign after king Morgan among the laity, though both probably clerics (*Ib.* 143, 395).

The monastic praepositus was of a lower rank as "habens potestatem ordinandi, abbate absente, omnia, quae abbas praesens facit" (Du Cange, *Gloss.* t. v. 405 a), as head of an affiliated house, under the direction of the parent house and its abbat (Reeves, *S. Adamnan*, 59, 60, 65, 78, 86, 127, 339); or oeconomus to the monastery (*Ib.* 339, 365) having charge of its secular affairs ("praepositus domus"), as the episcopal oeconomus was "praepositus ecclesiae." They thus as oeconomi or erenachs might come by violent deaths probably in the discharge of their secular duties to the monastery (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 604, 731, 813, 817, &c.). Their office was praepositatus or praepositura, and the prioress was Praeposita, sometimes Praepositissa. (Du Cange, *Gloss.* t. v. 404 sq.) [J. G.]

**PRINCES, ALLEGIANCE TO** (*Hominium*, *Homagium*, *Hominatus*, *Sacramentum fidelitatis*). It is almost superfluous to say that the general duty of obedience to the temporal sovereign was recognized by the primitive Christians as resting upon the precepts of the New Testament itself. The very remonstrances indeed which are there addressed to Christians—"Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God"—may be thought to be indicative of a spirit of resistance amongst certain individuals of the body; but the general mind

and practice of the early church are no doubt correctly sketched in the boast of Tertullian (*Ad Scapulam*, cap. iv.), "The Christian is the enemy of no man, much less of the emperor."

But besides this general allegiance which Christians were so ready to acknowledge as due from them to the secular power, there was a submission of a more special and technical character, which was professed on the assumption of ecclesiastical office. It was not, however, until bishops so grew in temporal importance as to be formidable opponents or themselves possible rivals of a sovereign, that a formal profession of fealty could have had much significance. Hence we must not expect to find such professions recorded amongst quite the earliest annals of Christianity. In process of time a recognition of general allegiance occurs in the inscription of episcopal acts, as when Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria, is spoken of (Conc. Trull. act. 13) as holding his position by the mercy of God and the will of the emperor. It may, however, be doubted whether this allegiance ever rested upon an oath in the East; for it was specially enacted by the emperor Justinian (Cod. lib. 1, de Ep.) that bishops should never be made to swear, their simple promise being as inviolable as the most solemn oaths.

It is indeed not in the East, but in the West, and specifically in Spain, that the first beginnings of the oath of fidelity are to be sought. The Spanish monarchy, says Thomassin, was elective, and ecclesiastics were sometimes tempted to transfer to a fresh aspirant the allegiance which they had promised to the existing ruler. Hence arose the solemn oath of fidelity by which laics and ecclesiastics alike were bound to their princes. The seventh council of Toledo (cent. vii.) speaks of the oath as an accepted usage, and brands its violation as "perjurium." By the tenth council of Toledo in the same century the penalty was decreed to be deposition, without power of restoration, except by the will of the prince himself. The penalty was actually carried into effect in the case of Sisbert, metropolitan of Toledo at the close of the 7th century (*Conc. Tol.* xvi. can. 6).

The oath of allegiance to the temporal sovereign was not confined to bishops on their taking office. The second canon of the tenth council of Toledo (cent. vii.) enacts penalties against any ecclesiastic (religiosus), from a bishop down to a clerk of the very lowest order or a monk, who with profane intention violates his "generalia juramenta in salutem Regiam gentisque aut patriae data." By this term "generalia juramenta" it is not to be understood, as Thomassin justly remarks, that every humble clerk or monk took an oath of allegiance before the sovereign, but that at the coronation or in the senate or at the councils the bishops and superiors took the oath in their own name and in that of their inferiors. In England, however, it is impossible to forget that an oath of allegiance personally and individually administered may form one of the preliminaries of admission into holy orders.

The form of the oath is given in the fourth council of Toledo (A.D. 633), "Whosoever of us, or of the peoples of the whole of Spain, shall, by any conspiracy or purpose, violate his oath of fidelity which he promised for the condition of his country and the race of the Goths, or for the preservation of the king's health," &c. This formula was reiterated, and response was made by the whole clergy or people. "Qui contra hanc vestram definitionem praesumpserit, Anathema, Maranatha," &c. (can. 75). The fifth council of Toledo determined (can. 7) that this general decree for the preservation of the kings and the kingdom should be renewed in all the councils of Spain. In some subsequent councils the renewal actually took place. On the other hand, the relation thus sketched has been sometimes reversed. It is laid down by Bellarmine (*de Offic. Princ. Christ.* cap. 5) that "the bishop is the father and pastor and doctor as well of the prince as of the rest of the people; and in accordance with these names the prince ought to be subject to the bishop, not the bishop to the prince."

The form of the oath of allegiance under Charlemagne was this: "Promitto partibus Domini mei Caroli Regis et filiorum ejus quia fidelis sum et ero diebus vitae meae sine fraude et malo ingenio." It may be added on the authority of Hofmann (*Lex. s. v.* Fideles) that laymen only took the oath, bishops being bound to a simple promise.

In early times we find traces only of a promise, rather than an oath, of fidelity. St. Leger, bishop of Autun, on being pressed to recognize Clovis III. as king, replied that he would sacrifice life rather than the fidelity which he promised before the Lord to Theodoric (Thomassin, pt. ii. Liv. ii. c. 38). About the same period St. Eloi, bishop of Noyon, on being pressed to swear fidelity to the king over the relics of the saints, excused himself till the king at length desisted, at the same time assuring him that he should henceforth have more confidence in him for having avoided the oath than he should have had if he had sworn.

In the African church we do not find any objection to an oath of fidelity in general, but only to an oath with whose terms the bishops were imperfectly acquainted. Huneric, king of the Vandals, required that the Catholic bishops should swear to the contents of a paper unknown to them. They suspected treachery, and refused. They were not "irrational animals," they pleaded that they should swear lightly and inconsiderately without knowing what the paper contained. We may infer from these expressions that they did not object to an oath altogether, but only to an oath blindly and thoughtlessly taken. It was afterwards declared to them that it was a kind of oath of fidelity, expressing their desire that Huneric should be succeeded by his son Hilderic. Some at length took the oath, while the rest persistently refused. But one and all the bishops were in evil case. For those who took it were banished for having transgressed the prohibition of the Gospel, "Swear not at all;" while the non-jurors were equally banished, as being unwilling that the son of the king should reign after him.

In the East the early bishops resented the attempt to impose upon them an oath of any kind. The attempt of Theodosius the younger to exact an oath of the bishops drew from Basil of Seleucia the vigorous protest, "Hitherto we know not that an oath was presented to bishops"

(*Conc. Chalc.* Act. 1). In the same council we find a similar objection to oaths of any kind felt by a presbyter: "Five and twenty years," cries Cassian, "I have been in communion, in business (as a barrister) at Constantinople, and God knows I never swore to any man: and now when I am a presbyter, will you force me to swear?" The solemn affirmation upon the Gospels was in those days felt to constitute the strongest possible obligation upon a Christian in matters of every kind.

A gradual relaxation, however, took place in the stiffness of their ideas; so that by the time of the Trullan council (A.D. 680) we find George the deacon, who was what we should call chancellor and librarian of the church of Constantinople, taking an oath on the book of the Gospels, "By those holy Scriptures and by Him who spake in them."

The ceremonies practised at the profession of fidelity have been different in different countries. The subject was required to extend his hands between those of his lord. A remnant of this may perhaps be seen when a degree is conferred in Cambridge. This was known as Homagium Manuale. In Spain the subject kissed the hand of his lord. Compare the practice when a modern English bishop "does homage." The subject knelt on both knees before a prince, while the prince himself was seated.

Besides the authorities already quoted, the reader may consult Theiner, *Codex Diplomaticus*. Rom. 1861, vol. i. [H. T. A.]

**PRINCES, CONSENT OF.** The privileges conferred upon the clergy [IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE CLERGY] appear to have had the effect of inducing men of wealth to accept ecclesiastical offices in order to escape from their duties and obligations as citizens. This disposition was kept in check by a long series of imperial decrees, all enunciating the same principle, that the liability of all property to render certain services to the state, must not, under any circumstances, be evaded. A law of Constantine (*Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. 2, leg. 3) provides that no decurion, or son of a decurion, or anyone liable to public duties by possession of property, should escape his obligation by enrolling himself among the clergy (ad clericorum nomen et obsequium confugiat), and that in future no one should be permitted to be ordained but those who were of small fortune, and not liable to civic duties. The clergy who had been ordained after the issue of this decree, and in defiance of its provisions, were to be again enrolled in their curiae, and made to discharge their public duties, but those who had been ordained before the passing of the law were not to be molested. Another edict of the same emperor (*ibid.* leg. 6) provides that the clergy should be chosen from those who were liable to no civic duties, nor of sufficient fortune to discharge public offices, for, it is added, it is reasonable that the rich should provide for the necessity of the state, and the poor be provided for from the wealth of the church.

The principle of these laws was somewhat modified in later edicts, which more distinctly laid the obligation to render public services on the estate itself rather than on the donor, and in cases of disobedience substituted a forfeiture of property for a recalling to personal service. [ORDERS, HOLY, p. 1484.] [P. O.]

**PRINCIPPUS,** martyr with Agathonicus and others under Maximinus; commemorated Aug. 22 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**PRIOR, MONASTIC.** 1. Title. 2. *Prior Claustralis*: (α) His status; (β) mode of election; (γ) duties; (δ) priors different from deans. 3. *Prior Conventualis.* 4. Small priories. 5. Prioresses. The title "Prior" for a monastic official is much later in date than the office itself. According to Du Cange the word was not so used before the time of pope Celestine V., towards the end of the 13th century (Du Cange, *Glossar. Lat.* s. v.). But the office so designated is as old probably as the beginning of monasticism, certainly as the first attempts to organize the coenobitic life; "praepositus" and "praelatus" being the words used in the early days (Martene, *Commentar.* in *Reg. S. Benedicti*, c. 65; cf. Greg. Magn. *Dialog.* I. cc. 2, 7). In one passage where Benedict of Casino enjoins on the younger monks the duty of being reverent to their "priors" ("priores suos nonnos appellent juniores"), it is supposed with reason that he means their elders or superiors in the monastery (Bened. *Reg.* c. 63). Ménard contends that wherever in the rule of Benedict the term "prior" is used in the singular number and absolutely, not relatively, it signifies the abbat himself, and quotes, in support of his argument, a passage from Caesarius of Arles (Ménard, *Comment.* in Bened. Anian. *Concordia Regularum*, c. 47; cf. Caesarii, *Regula ad Virgines*, c. 3). Where Benedict in his rule orders that if any monk has an urgent question to ask during the hours of silence, he must ask it of the "prior," Ménard, with other commentators, explains the word to mean the abbat or some monk senior in standing, or higher in official position than the others present (Bened. *Reg.* c. 6. *Comment.*). Similarly in the chapter of the rule about the reader for the week, the "prior" only is allowed to interrupt the reader, if necessary, and to interpose a remark; here Ménard understands the abbat to be intended, Boherius, the monk, at the head of the table (*Ib.* c. 38). Again, on the quantity of liquor permissible, the "prior" to whose discretion it is left to order in extraordinary cases a larger quantity than the hemina or pint, is supposed by Boherius to be the father-abbat himself. Martene cites Haeften to shew that the deans (decani) in a monastery were sometimes called priors, the first dean being the prior, the second the sub-prior, and so forth (Martene, *u.s.* c. 21). But this was not usual.

There is a distinction to be observed between the prior of the cloister ("prior claustralis"), a subordinate officer of the abbat, and the prior of the convent ("prior conventualis") who exercised supreme authority within a monastery of his own (Alteserrae *Asceticon*, ii. 8). In the latter sense the Greek equivalent of prior is HEGUMENOS, according to Alteserra, who quotes a canon of the second council of Nicaea which speaks of the abbat *or* the Hegumenos; but perhaps this is a mere tautology (*ib.* cf. ii. *Conc. Nicaen.* A.D. 787. c. 14). Alteserra quotes also a passage from Evagrius, equally precarious

in its application, where Cyril is called Hegumenos of the "sleepless monks" (ἡγούμενος τῶν Ἀκοιμήτων) (Evagr. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 19). Later Latin writers, according to Alteserra, in their affectation of Greek fashions, were fond of styling priors Hegumeni; but the instances which he cites from Paulus Diaconus relate to monks in the Eastern empire (Alteserra, *u. s.*).

The prior of the cloister ranked next in the monastery to the abbat, and, subject to the abbat's veto, exercised similar authority (Bened. *Reg.* c. 65; cf. *Concil. Aquisgran.* A.D. 817, c. 55). He was the abbat's lieutenant (secundus domus), acting in the name of his superior officer (Ménard, *Commentar.* in Bened. Anianens. *Concord. Regul.* c. 27), doing nothing on his own independent responsibility, but always as subject to the approval of the abbat—head of the abbat's executive, but in theory nothing more (Fruct. *Reg.* c. 20). Practically an ambitious prior was apt to usurp the abbat's functions, especially if his abbat were of less energetic temperament. According to the ancient Egyptian rule ascribed to Pachomius, the monks might complain to the abbat of the prior's behaviour (Pachom. *Reg.* 127–8). The prior was inspector and controller of the deans (*Ib.* c. 12), the first in order of whom took precedenee in the monastery next after the prior (*Conc. Aquisgr.* u. s.).

By primitive custom in the West the prior was appointed by the abbat alone (Bened. *Reg.* c. 65). A rule, calling itself the Rule of the East ("Regula Orientalis"), but probably compiled by Vigilius Diaconus in France during the 5th century (Ménard, ad *Codex Regularum Benedicti Anianensis*), says that the prior is to be appointed by the abbat, with the concurrence of the brethren (cum consilio et voluntate fratrum). Gregory the Great seems to have appointed priors and abbats on his own authority by letter (*e.g.* Gregor. M. *Ep.* vii. 42; ix. 42). It was the rule for the prior to be elected from among the inmates of the monastery; in other words, the election was to be "gremial" (Martene, *Commentar.* Bened. *Regula*, c. 65; cf. *Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 817, c. 31). Priors often, as was to be expected, were selected for the office of abbat; deans in the same way were often promoted to be priors.

The tenure of the office of prior was for life, conditionally always on good conduct. A faulty prior rendered himself liable to public correction after four admonitions, which were to be administered to him, according to Martene, by the abbat in private. In the case of an ordinary monk the warning was to be given twice, in the case of a dean thrice, before proceeding to punish. The several degrees or stages of punishment, according to Hildemarus, quoted by Martene, were public rebuke, excommunication, extra fasting, flagellation if necessary, deposition, expulsion from the monastery (Martene, *Commentar.* ad Bened. *Reg.* cc. 21, 45). Recourse was requisite occasionally even to the last and severest penalty (*e.g.*, Ardo, *Vita S. Benedicti Anianens.* n. 24). Gregory the Great is quoted by Martene as specifying profligacy, insubordination, or wastefulness as valid reasons for deposing a prior (Martene, *u. s.*).

The prior's first and especial duty was to look closely after the discipline of the monastery, and to report any breach of discipline to the abbat (Pachom. *Reg.* 152, 154; Bened. *Reg.* cc. 63, 65; *Reg. Tarnatensis*, c. 23; Fruct. *Reg.* c. 11; *Concil. Mogunt. I.* A.D. 813, c. 11). He was to watch over the conduct of his brethren day and night, in the refectory, in the dormitory, and elsewhere (Hieron. *Ep. ad Eustochium;* Augustine, *De Moribus Ecclesiae*, c. 31). In the sleeping-chamber the prior was to be the first to rise in the morning, the last to go to his bed; he was to remain standing in the middle of the room, till all the rest were asleep, to guard against any irregularity; at midnight, after the appointed lection, the prior was to expound (Fruct. *Reg.* c. 5; *Concil. Aquisgran.* c. 31). He was to lead the brethren forth to their labours in the field, and to superintend their noonday repose afield in the heat of summer (Pachom. *Reg.* c. 58; Stephani *Reg.* c. 55). He was empowered to enforce discipline by the lesser excommunication (Fruct. *Reg.* c. 11; *Reg. Tarnat.* c. 6). It is related by Bede how St. Cuthbert was transferred by his abbat from Melrose to Lindisfarne, as prior, to keep order among the monks on the island (Bed. *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 27). It was another part of the prior's office, in order that the abbat might have more leisure for spiritual concerns, to look after the temporal possessions of the monastery, a responsibility which increased with the increasing wealth of monasteries, but which he shared with steward or oeconomus. On him also devolved, together with the care of the monastic property, the charge of the litigations in which the brotherhood might be engaged (Isidori Hispal. *Reg.* c. 20). He was also to superintend the food and clothing provided for the monks severally, not excluding the abbat's portion, rendering his account duly from time to time to his superior (Fruct. *Reg.* c. 11). To discharge rightly these various and important duties the prior was required to be diligent, obedient, trustworthy; grave and sedate in character, but not too advanced in years to be still active (Pachom. *Reg.* 128; Ferreol. *Reg.* c. 17; *Reg. Cujusdam*).

It is easy to see that the prior, holding so important a position in the monastery, might become a rival to the abbat rather than an assistant. He presided in the abbat's absence (Basilii *Regula*, c. 45), and it was hardly to be expected that an ambitious man, after once tasting the sweetness of authority, should abdicate cheerfully. In case of any slackness or delinquency on the part of the abbat, the prior was to set matters right (Gregor. M. *Epist.* iv. 4); after once reproving his superior, he was scarcely likely to receive orders from him submissively; in short, though intended to be a comfort and support to his commanding officer (Ferreol. *Reg.* c. 17; Fruct. *Reg.* c. 11), he proved too often a thorn in his side. All this Benedict anticipated with his shrewd, statesmanlike instinct. He was jealous of anything like a divided allegiance; he was afraid of insubordination and dissension from what might practically come to be two abbats in the same monastery. The prior would fancy himself a second abbat; he would make a party among the brethren; he would play the part of Absalom to David, seducing the subjects from their loyalty to their ruler. Benedict much preferred deans to a prior as the abbat's executive; they would be more amenable to control, less factious and

self-asserting. Thus the reins of government would be in the abbat's own hands. If, however, for some special reason, a prior should be indispensable to a monastery, he was to be chosen by the abbat, with the advice of the brethren in chapter, that is of all the brethren, according to some commentators, and according to others of the elders only (Benedicti *Regula Commentata*, c. 65). The wisdom of the great reformer's policy has been demonstrated again and again by experience. His canon on this point was reaffirmed by Charlemagne in the council of Maintz (*Conc. Mogunt. I.* c. 11). Lay abbats subsequently found it far more convenient for their purposes to be represented by deans than by a prior (Altes. *Ascet.* ii. 9). Lay priors, another innovation on the primitive strictness of the Benedictine rule, were prohibited by Charlemagne (*Capitul.* A.D. 805, c. 15).

The forms of institution are of comparatively recent origin (Bened. *Reg. Comment.* u. s.).

The conventual prior was a later development of monasticism, and was, of course, essentially more independent than his claustral brother. Next in rank to him in larger monasteries was the sub-prior (Anselmi *Epist.* iii. 29. Ad monachos Cantuar). Among the "canonici regulares" the bishop was supreme generally, but the prior in questions relating to the rule, or while the see was vacant (Altes. *Ascet.* v. s). The conventual priors were summoned to provincial synods, and in some cases to the election of bishops. They were sometimes styled "summi priors," or "majores"; they were to be over twenty-five years of age, and in priest's orders. They exercised the same powers of discipline in their priories as the abbat in his abbey—they were elected as he was; but their investiture belonged to the abbat, under whose jurisdiction they nominally were. The order of Premonstratensians was at first under priors, afterwards under abbats (Altes. *Ascet.* v. s.). Very small priories were invariably discouraged by those who desired to preserve the true monastic spirit. Priories of this kind were the result of several different causes. Sometimes they were simply an overflow from a monastery more than usually popular for the abbat's sake, or for some other reason; sometimes they were the consequence of a monastery, which had known better days, being annexed in its decrepitude as an appendage to another more flourishing; sometimes the priory was merely an outpost of the monastery which gave it birth, on some detached grange or farm. Whatever might be its origin, a priory on a very small scale was only too apt to degenerate into laxity and secularity. Benedict, in the very commencement of his rule, reprobates strongly the vicious custom of two or three monks herding together promiscuously, being really neither hermits nor monks (Bened. *Reg.* c. 1). Monks of this description were termed "Sarabaitae," or "Remoboth." Bernard calls such priories "synagogues of Satan" (Bernard. *Epist.* 254 ad Guarinum abbatem). It was ordered by a council at Aachen that no priory should consist of fewer than six members (*Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 817, c. 44). Peter the Venerable, of Clugny, required at least twelve, and this became the rule of the Cistercians and Carthusians (Bened. *Reg. Comment.* c. 1). It is matter of notoriety in the history of the English reformation in the 15th century that the most flagrant immoralities were generally found in the smallest monasteries. [CELLITAE, p. 328.]

The office of prioress, under an abbess, was very similar to that of the claustral prior. She was to be firm and discreet; old in character though not in years; she was to superintend the behaviour of the nuns, chiding and, if necessary, whipping them for their faults; she was held responsible in particular for their clothes and dormitories (*Regula Cujusdam*, c. 2). The nuns, by this rule, which is one of more than ordinary strictness, were only allowed to make any communication to their abbess through their prioress (*Ibid.* c. 22). [See also ABBAT, ABBESS; BENEDICTINE RULE; DISCIPLINE, &c.] [I. G. S.]

**PRISCA**, virgin martyr, commemorated at Rome Jan. 18 (Usuard., Notker., Bed. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 183); her natale commemorated in the sacramentary of Gregory Jan. 18, her name being mentioned in the collect (Greg. *Sacram.* in Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii. 19). [C. H.]

**PRISCILLA**, martyr with her husband Aquila; commemorated Feb. 13 (Basil. *Menol.*); July 8 in Asia Minor (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PRISCILLIANUS**, martyr with Priscus and Benedicta; commemorated at Rome Jan. 4 (Usuard., Notker., *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 165). [C. H.]

**PRISCUS (1)**, presbyter, martyr with Priscillianus and Benedicta; commemorated at Rome, Jan. 4 (Usuard., Notker., *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 165).

**(2)** Martyr with Malchus and Alexander under Valerian at Caesarea in Palestine; commemorated Mar. 28 (Usuard., Wand., *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 711).

**(3)** Martyr with a great multitude in the district of Auxerre; commemorated May 26 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vi. 365).

**(4)** Disciple of Christ, martyr at Capua; commemorated Sept. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; *Kal. Antiquiss.* Patr. Lat. cxxxviii. 1191; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 213); his natale observed in the sacramentary of Gelasius, Sept. 1. his name being mentioned in the collect, in the post-communion, but not in the "secreta" (Galas. *Sacram.* in Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 666).

**(5)** Martyr at Tomi with Crescentius and Evagrius; commemorated Oct. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. i. 30; *Hieron. Mart.* has a Priscus for this day, but not the place nor the companions). [C. H.]

**PRISON.** [DECANICUM.]

**PRIVATUS (1)**, bishop, martyr in the diocese of Gabala (Mende); commemorated Aug. 21 (Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 432).

**(2)** Martyr; natalis commemorated in Phrygia with Dionysius, Sept. 20 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.* at Synnada in Phrygia with Dormidonus and others; *Mart. Rom.*).

(3) A soldier; commemorated with pope Callistus at Rome, Oct. 14 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PRIVILEGE OF CHURCHES.** [SANCTUARY.]

**PROAULION.** [PORCH.]

**PROBORTIA** "Of the Lights"; commemorated Jan. 2, 3, 4, 5 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**PROBUS (1)**, martyr with Tarachus and Andronicus; commemorated Oct. 12 (Basil *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 271; Usuard. *Mart.* Oct. 11, Nov. 13; Florus, May 13; *Hieron. Mart.* in Cilicia, Oct. 9; natalis, Sept. 27, *ibid.*; Wand., *Vet. Rom. Mart.*, *Mart. Rom.* at Tarsus, Oct. 11).

(2) Martyr with Archadius and Paschasius by the Vandals in Africa; commemorated Nov. 12 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*); Nov. 13 (*Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PROCESSION.** I. The word *procedere* was used by the early Christians in the especial sense of leaving the house and *going forth* for some stated and grave purpose; in particular and chiefly for going to a religious service. Tertullian, A.D. 192, addressing Christian women says, "With you every reason for going forth (procedendi) is of a solemn character: either some sick brother is to be visited, or the sacrifice is offered, or the word of God is ministered" (*De Cult. Foem.* 11). Dissuading from marriage with a heathen, he says, "If you have to go to a service (si procedendum erit), never will household business be more urgent" (*Ad Uxor.* ii. 4). See other examples in St. Jerome (*Ep.* 128 *ad Gaud.* 3; *Ep.* 107 *ad Laet.* 9; *Ep.* 22 *ad Eustoch.* 17), St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8, § 22), Uranius (*De Obitu Paulini*, 11), Ennodius (*Vita Epiphanii Ticin.* Migne, lxiii. 214), and Pseudo-Ambrose (*Serm.* vii. 3, inter *Opp.* Ambr.). When the fame of a saint attracts many to a church in which his relics lie, "major est (it is said) pro meritis ejus frequentia procedendi" (Passio S. Quirini, 4; in Ruinart, *Acta Mart.* 439, ed. 1731).

Hence processio acquired the conventional sense of going to church. Tertullian: "Where the fear of God is, there is .... devout attendance, and a modest going to church (processio) and an united congregation" (*De Praescr. Haer.* 43). This usage led to the application of the word to the assembly or to the service itself. Thus Leo of Rome, A.D. 445, writing to the bishop of Alexandria of an Alexandrian presbyter, who had sojourned some time at Rome: "Nostris processionibus atque ordinationibus frequenter adfuit" (*Epist.* 11, al. 81, *ad Diosc.* 2). The context shews that by *processionibus* we are to understand congregations for the celebration of the Eucharist. Gelasius of Rome, 484, advised a bishop to suspend the services (processionem) of a certain church, because the lord of the place seized all the oblations (*Victori Episc.* Hard. ii. 927). In the version of the seventeenth canon of Laodicea, probably about 365, by Dionysius Exiguus, 533, we find the word *συνάξεσι* (religious assemblies [SYNAXIS]) rendered by *processionibus* (Hard. *Concil.* i. 783). The *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*, compiled in the 9th century, gives the form of letter by which the bishop of Rome sanctioned the consecration of monastic oratories. This was permitted, "sic tamen ut non illud publica processione a conditore aliquatenus teneatur" (v. 13). So of a baptistery added to an old church: "Nihil illic juris fundatori ulterius jam debere, nisi processionis gratiam, quae Christianis omnibus in commune debetur" (*ibid.* 20).

II. Processions in the ordinary sense (Processus, Processio, Litania, Letania, Laetania, Rogationes, Supplicationes, Pompa, Λιτανεία, Λιτή, Περίπατος) were common in the early church. Having regard to such passages as Num. x. 33; Josh. vi. 13; 2 Sam. vi. 4, 5; 1 Chron. xiii. 7, 8; 2 Chron. xx. 27, 28; Ps. lxviii. 25, &c. the first Christians probably believed that they had the sanction of Scripture. They certainly inherited a taste for them from their Greek and Roman forefathers, and appear to have taken the more ancient processions in some respects as their model. [See, for instance, Δαφνηφορία and TRIUMPHUS in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.*] In the triumphal processions from the Campus Martius to the Capitol (to omit what is less to our purpose) flowers were strewn, images were carried, incense burnt, and songs of praise sung (Livy, iii. 29, xxxix. 7; Pliny, v. 5; Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 2, 3–6; *De Arte Am.* i. 213–220; *Pontica*, ii. 1, 35–40, iii. 4, 23–40). Many features of these ancient rites reappear under Christian sanction after the conversion of the empire. The people naturally clung to every custom of their fathers not condemned by the gospel, and their rulers indulged them in it.

A. *Processions in the Churches.*—These were probably in use in larger churches with many clerks before the toleration of Christianity.

(1) *Processions before the Service.*—The earliest *Ordo Romanus* about 730 describes an elaborate rite. All met and rested in the SECRETARIUM, or by the door of it, the bishop was led out by the archdeacon and the second deacon, each taking a hand. "The sub-deacon, following with a censer, goes (procedit) before him . . . and the seven acolytes of the region, whose turn comes on that day, precede the pontiff up to the altar, carrying seven stands of lighted wax candles. But before they come to the altar, the deacons take off their planetae in the presbytery, and the sub-deacon of the region takes them, and hands them to the acolytes of the region to which they belong" (*Ordo Rom.* i. 8, in *Mus. Ital.* ii. 8; Comp. *Ord.* ii. 4, p. 48; iii. 8, p. 55; v. 5, p. 65; vi. 2, p. 70). (Compare *Capit. Reg. Franc.* v. 372.) The Greeks have for many ages had a procession in monasteries on the vigils of the greater feasts (*Diataxis* Philothei, in *Euchologion*, Goar, 8; comp. *Lucernarii Orationes*, 40–43).

(2) *For the Procession before the Reading of the Gospel*, see ENTRANCE; GOSPEL. For that on PALM SUNDAY, see p. 1549.

(3) *After the Gospel.*—This eastern rite is thus described by John Maro: "After the reading of the gospel the ancients used to go out (of the bema) and make a procession or circuit through the church. And first in the procession were carried lights that mystically denoted the prophets and John the Baptist, who glow and shine as stars before the Sun of Righteousness. But the deacons and presbyters who went in proces-

sion with songs of praise represent symbolically the evangelists and twelve apostles who went forth and preached before Christ" (*Expos. Minist.* u. s. 9).

(4) *After the Liturgy.*—"Then the seven candlestands and the subdeacon of the region precede the pontiff to the secretarium. But as he descends into the presbytery, let the bishops first say, 'Jube, domne, benedicere.' *Resp.* 'Benedicat nos Dominus.' *Resp.* 'Amen.' After the bishops, the presbyters, then the monks, then the school (choir), then the milites draconarii, *i.e.* those who bear the standard (see the notes of Lindenbrogius and the Valesii to Ammianus, xx. 4), after them the bearers of the wax candlestands, after whom the acolytes who keep the sacred gate [RUGA], after them, without the presbytery, those who carry the crosses, then the junior churchwardens;—and he enters the secretarium." This is the description of the procession to the vestry after a pontifical mass at Rome in the 8th century (*Ordo Rom.* i. 21; comp. *Ord.* ii. 15; iii. 18).

B. *Public Processions.*—The earliest allusion to them appears to be in the writings of St. Basil. When, in the year 375, the clergy of Neocaesarea objected that the method of psalmody in use in his church, as elsewhere in the East, was unknown in the days of Gregory Thaumaturgus, who died about 270, Basil replied, "So were the litanies which ye now practise" (*Epist.* 207 *ad Neoc.*). These were evidently of a penitential character, for he adds, "I do not say this as accusing you, for I would that ye all lived in tears and constant penitence." But we find that in the West processions were at the same period used on festive occasions also, at least by the monks; for St. Ambrose, in 388, speaks of monks "singing psalms after the custom and ancient use, as they went to the celebration of the feast of the Maccabean martyrs" (*Epist.* 40, § 16, *ad Theodos.*). About the same time the Arians at Constantinople sang hymns antiphonally as they went through the city to their church; whereupon St. Chrysostom, to counteract the effect of such public demonstrations, organized processions of the orthodox, in which silver crosses, given by the empress, and lighted tapers, were borne, and psalms sung (Sozom. *Eccl. Hist.* viii. 8; Pallad. *Dial. de Vita Chrys.* 15).

(1) *The Procession on St. Mark's Day.*—On the 25th April (VII. Kal. Maii) a procession ("obstitit in mediâ candida pompa via," Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 906) was held by the Romans in honour of the goddess Robigo, and prayers offered to her for the preservation of the fruits of the earth from mildew (Ovid, *u.s.* 905–942; Pliny, xviii. 69; Varro, *De Re Rust.* i. 1; *De Ling. Lat.* vi. 3).

A document issued by Gregory of Rome in 591 speaks of a "laetania quae major ab omnibus appellatur," which was held on a Friday in that year, with a procession from the church of St. Lawrence, "qui appellatur Lucinae," to that of St. Peter, as if it were already an old custom, "solemnitas annuae devotionis" (*Charta Epist.* lib. ii. praef.) Referring to some of the most ancient MSS. of the Gregorian sacramentary, we find set down for the 25th of April, "Letania majore ad S. Laurentium in Lucinae" (*Liturg. Rom. Vet.* Murat. ii. 80; *Rituale PP.* Pamel. ii. 285). This procession also ends at St. Peter's, as the last prayer ("in atrio") proves by its reference to the intercession of that saint. The inference is that this procession is the same as that of which St. Gregory speaks. His procession, therefore, took place on the 25th of April, and, from its antiquity, may be supposed with probability to have been a Christian substitute for the heathen Robigalia, formerly held on the same day. In France the procession of St. Mark's day was traditionally held to be celebrated "pour les fruits de la terre" (De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, 307).

Other churches took this rite avowedly from Rome. The council of Cloveshoo, 747, orders litanies "on the seventh day before the calends of May after the custom of the church of Rome" (can. 16). The second council of Aachen, 836, recognizes the "Roman" observance of the 25th of April as the custom of the empire, and decrees its continuance (can. 10; see also *Capit. Reg. Franc.* vi. 74). Similarly Herard of Tours, 858, "De Letania *Romana* vii. Kalendas Maii rememoretur" (*Capit.* 94). This procession was observed in France during the last century at Nantes, Orleans, Rouen, &c. (De Moleon, 79, 186, 306, &c.).

(2) *The Procession of the Litania Septiformis.*—On the 29th of August, 602, Gregory I. of Rome ordered a sevenfold procession of clerks, laymen, monks, nuns, matrons, widows, poor persons and children (*i.e.* probably those supported by the alms of the church) to depart in separate bands from seven several churches, and all to meet in the church of St. Mary (*Sermo* inter *Epist.* Greg. xi. 2, given also at length by Amalarius, *De Eccl. Off.* iv. 25). [LITANY, p. 1003.]

(3) On ROGATION DAYS, see that heading.

(3) *Occasional Public Processions.* (1) *At times of Public Calamity.*—These were very common, especially in the West. Thus Gregory of Tours tells us that at Limoges, about 580, when very violent rains were falling, near the harvest, after a night spent in watching and prayer, "the deacons took the relics of the saints, suitably and reverently covered with a silken pall, and went forth in white dresses to a procession" (*Vita S. Aridii*, 8). A similar rite was observed at Rome under Adeodatus, A.D. 671, when the letaniae took place daily during the rains (*Liber Pontif.* n. 78). In a plague at Rheims, 546, "having taken a pall from the tomb of the blessed (Remigius), and arranged it like a bier, and having lighted wax candles on crosses and stands, they raised their voices in canticles, and so went the circuit of the city; nor did they pass any hospice without including it in their perambulation" (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Conf.* 79; see also *Hist. Franc.* iv. 5; *Vitae PP.* vi. 6). Gregory I. in 600 advised a procession twice a week to stay the threatened invasion of Sicily (*Epist.* ix. 45). Public processions with similar objects were also frequent in the East; *e.g.* during an earthquake at Constantinople in the time of Theodosius II. (Cedrenus, i. 600). A similar procession was celebrated every year in memory of the great earthquake in the twenty-seventh year of Justinian (*Id.* ii. 674).

None of the processional prayers now in use proper to a special object, as relief in a drought, deliverance from storms, &c. (Goar, *Euchol.* 766–769), appear to be of primitive antiquity. Some of them are ascribed to one of the patriarchs named Callistus, who sat about 1400 (*ibid.* 785).

It is probable that all litanies ordered for a special purpose were sung in procession, though it is not always so expressed. [LITANY.]

(4) *The Processions after Baptism.*—So long as many were baptized on the eves of Easter and Pentecost, it was the custom for the neophytes to leave the church after their baptism, and again to repair to it on the seven following days in procession, clothed *in albis*, there to receive the holy communion. The earliest witness is Gregory Nazianzen, A.D. 370, who, preaching on Easter Day, says: "Beautiful yesterday was the wearing of white and the carrying of lights, which we observed together both in private and public, men of almost every rank, and the whole magistracy, lighting up the night with a fiery blaze" (*Orat.* 45, § 2). There is direct testimony in the West to the repetition of these processions during the week after baptism. Thus Amalarius: "Our baptized, their past sins done away, are conducted daily to the church, a lighted pillar of wax" (an allusion to Exod. xiii. 21) "going before them" (*De Eccl. Off.* iv. 33; Pseudo-Alcuin. *de Div. Off.* 21).

(5) *Before Baptism.*—When Clovis was to be baptized, A.D. 496, there was a procession, with all the usual accompaniments, to the baptistery (Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* i. 13), a ceremony probably common in the case of great personages, but of which other examples do not occur to me.

(6) *Before laying of the first stone of a Church, &c.*—A law of Justinian, 527, says: "We decree that, before all things, no one be free to commence the building of a monastery or oratory before the most God-loving bishop of the city, coming thither, pour out prayers on the spot, and, a public procession having been instituted, set up a cross, and make the fact manifest to all" (*Novella*, 67).

(7) *At the Dedication of Churches.* — Processions on such occasions were evidently usual within our period, both in the East and West; but they seem to have been somewhat differently managed. When the first encaenia of St. Sophia at Constantinople were celebrated in 530, there was a procession (lite), which "started from the holy Anastasia, Menas the patriarch being seated in the imperial chariot, while the emperor joined in the procession (συλλιτανεύοντος) with the people" (Theophanes, *Chronogr.* ad an. i. 338, ed. Nieb.). At the second encaenia (the church having been restored after injury from an earthquake), after vigils kept in the church of St. Plato, a procession was formed, in which the emperor himself again took part, "the patriarch Eutychius riding in a chariot, and dressed in his apostolical habit, holding the holy gospels in his hands, the people all chanting, "Lift up your heads," &c. (*ibid.* 360). The Western rite is best seen in the early English pontificals. [CONSECRATION, p. 431.] The English pontifical, formerly at Jumièges, now No. 362 in the public library at Rouen, directs the first procession to go round the church thrice before it enters (Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* ii. 250; or *Archaeologia* for March, 1833, p. 259).

(8) *Ad Stationes.*—In the cities of the West, from the 7th century downwards, there were processions on many of the greater days from one church, at which the people collected by appointment, to another, at which the service took place. Hence the phrases "collecta ad Sanctum M." (used first for the gathering, then for the prayers, at the church of St. M.), and "statio ad S. N." (the church at which the procession stopped and entered on the chief service of the day. See Ménard's notes to the sacramentary of St. Gregory, *Opp.* Greg. iii. 604, 662; ed. Ben. and art. STATION).

(9) Other processions which may be mentioned are, that on Easter Eve, on the Annunciation (Goar, *Eucholog.* 34), at the translation of RELICS, or with relics at other times, and at funerals [OBSEQUIES, § xiv.]

C. *Procession held at the will of the Bishop.*—From a spurious addition to Gennadius (*De Vir. Illust.* 99), we infer that in the 5th century processions were celebrated irregularly, as the bishop thought them required for the good of his flock. For it tells us of Honoratus, bishop of Marseilles, 490: "Litanias ad supplicandam Dei clementiam cum plebe sibi credita pro viribus agit." A law of Justinian, 527, made the concurrence of the bishop necessary: "Omnibus autem laicis interdicimus ne supplicationes publicas peragant sine religiosissimis episcopis, et qui sub eis sunt reverendissimis clericis." The context shews that these "supplicationes" were made in processions: "Sed et venerabiles cruces, cum quibus sacerdote in supplicationibus ingrediuntur non alibi quam in locis venerabilibus reponuntor" (*Novella*, 123).

On the foregoing subject the reader may consult Jac. Gretser *de Eccles. Roman. Processionibus*, lib. ii. Ingoldst. 1604; Nic. Serrarius *de Sacris Process.* Col. 1607; Jac. Eveillon *de Process. Eccles.* Par. 1641; Christianus Lupus *de Sacr. Process.* Bruxell. 1690; D. Vatar, *Des Processions de l'Église*, Par. 1705; or the shorter notices of S. J. Durandus *de Rit. Eccl.* ii. 10; Al. Aur. Pellicia *de Christ. Eccl. Politia*, I. v. 11; Ménard, *Sacramentorum Liber Gregor.* n. 471; J. B. Casalius *de Vet. Sacr. Christ. Ritib.* c. 30.

[W. E. S.]

**PROCESSUS**, martyr with Martinianus, said to have been baptized by the apostles Peter and Paul; commemorated at Rome in the cemetery of Damasus July 2 (Bed., Wand., Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*). *Hieron. Mart.* has also May 31 for his natale. In Gregory's sacramentary the natale of these saints is observed on July 2, and both are mentioned in the collect (Greg. *Sacram.* Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii. 105). Pope Paschal I. erected an oratory to them, in which their bodies are believed to lie (Ciamp. *de Sac. Aedif.* 57, 1).

[C. H.]

**PROCESSUS.** In the liturgy of Gothic Spain, a part of the church which might be either a chamber in the sacrarium, a part of it, or a place close to it, was so called, obviously because the clergy formed in it before they entered the church in procession. Thus, on Easter-eve, the deacon and clerks, after vesting, "enter the processus," in which is "a seat set for the pontiff according to custom." There he gives tapers to all present, which he afterwards lights with the "new fire" (See LIGHTS, § v.). This is followed by a procession of the clergy through the vaulted way towards the choir. "Vadunt per bubata ad chorum" (*Missale Mozar.* Leslie, 174, 175, 521).

[W. E. S.]

5 S 2

**PROCHORUS**, one of the seven deacons; commemorated Ap. 9 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.* at Antioch; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. i. 828); by the Greeks July 28 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 264; Boll. *l. c.*). [C. H.]

**PROCLUS (1)**, martyr with Hilarius, both natives of Ancyra, under Trajan; commemorated July 12 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 263; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iii. 279, or PROCULUS with HILARION or HILARIUS; *Mart. Rom.*).

**(2)** Deacon, Sept. 19. [PROCULUS (2).]

**(3)** "Our father," patriarch of Constantinople; commemorated Oct. 24 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. x. 637); Nov. 20 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**PROCOPIUS (1)**, confessor with Basilius, under Leo Iconomachus; commemorated Feb. 27 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*, bishop of Decapolis; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 254, Decapolita).

**(2)** Martyr, commemorated July 8 (Wand.; Basil. *Menol.* Dux Alexandriae, magnus martyr in city of Aelia); in Palestine (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*); *Cal. Byzant.* "glorious and holy martyr;" Daniel (*Cod. Liturg.* iv. 262), "great martyr" at Caesarea; *Hieron. Mart.* PROCOBUS, which Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 577 from the same passage read PROCOPIUS, with Quartus and Felix at Caesarea Capp. [C. H.]

**PROCULUS (1)**, martyr at Interamna with Efybus and Apollonius, all disciples of Valentinus presbyter of Interamna; commemorated Feb. 14 (Bed. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 756, cf. p. 862); Ap. 14 (Usuard. *Mart.* at Interamna; *Mart. Rom.*; *Hieron. Mart.* at Interamna with Valentinus and others).

**(2)** Deacon, martyr with Januarius; commemorated Sept. 19 (Basil. *Menol.* PROCLUS at Puteoli; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*, at Naples; Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*).

**(3)** Bishop, martyr at Autun; commemorated Nov. 4 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*).

**(4)** Presbyter, martyr at Narnia; commemorated Dec. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

**PROCURATIONS.** The fees due at visitations to bishops and archdeacons from the parishes within their respective jurisdictions, intended to cover the expenses of their journeys. A series of canons and decrees of councils were found necessary to keep these fees within their lawful limits, and to prevent extortion under various pleas. The second council of Braga A.D. 570 (c. 2) prohibits a bishop when he visits his diocese, "per dioceses suas ambulat," from taking any fee beyond two solidi, the honorary payment due to the office, "honorem cathedrae suae," especially forbidding him to claim the third part of the offertories made in parish churches, which is allotted to the lighting and repairs of the churches themselves. The seventh council of Toledo A.D. 646 (c. 4), after reprehending the extortionate practices of the bishops of Gallicia, re-enacts the canon already quoted of the council of Braga, fixing two "solidi" as the legal fee, but exempts from payment the churches belonging to monasteries. It also provides that when a bishop visits his diocese he is not to be unfairly burdensome to any particular parish, nor to demand an unreasonable number of horses for conveyance (see Bruns. *Councils*, i. p. 264, note) nor to remain more than one day in any parish. The council of Merida, A.D. 666 (c. 11), provides that all clerics, whether presbyters, abbats, or deacons, should receive a bishop at his visitation with all due honour, and provide him with all things reasonably necessary according to their means, "prout habuerint aut ratio permiserit." The second council of Châlons A.D. 812 (c. 14) rebukes the oppressions and exactions sometimes practised by bishops at their visitations, and (c. 16) forbids them to exact anything for the lamps and oil of their churches, and (c. 17) speaks of an annual tax (censum) of 12 or 14 denarii, which some bishops were in the habit of exacting, and emphatically prohibits it, "quod penitus abolendum est." In the same council (c. 15) the archdeacons are rebuked for certain exactions from their presbyters and parochial clergy, and exhorted to be content with their legal dues. It was probably to excessive demands made under the name of procurations that the council of Paris A.D. 829 (cc. 25, 31) referred when they denounced the extortions practised in some places by the bishops (episcoporum ministros), not only on the presbyters but on the laity agents. The fourth council of Valentia A.D. 855 (c. 22) orders that no visitation fee shall be claimed if the parish has not been visited that year, and the second council of Ticine in the same year limits the quantity of bread and wine and meat which a bishop may demand at his visitation.

The same principle that procurations were only intended to cover the legitimate expenses of a visitation pervades all legislation on the subject. A Capitulary of Ludwig the Pious (l. i. c. 100, Sirmondi *Conc. Gall.* ii. 432) expressly prohibits bishops from becoming a burden to their flocks when they visit their parishes for the purpose of preaching or confirming, and orders them so to arrange their visitations that they may not be burdensome or unwelcome (importuna vel onerosa). Hincmar of Rheims appears to have been most anxious to check all extortionate practices under the name of procurations, and his writings clearly indicate the abuses which had crept into this part of the system of the church. Thus, in his epistle to the clergy of Laon (Sirmondi *Conc. Gall.* ii. 660) he warns the bishops not to oppress the parishes which they visit, nor to exact more than the contribution (collatio) which had satisfied their predecessors, nor to require a separate contribution from each church and its dependent chapelries, but only one paid in due proportion by the whole parish; nor were they to claim or exact, under pretence of receiving a voluntary contribution (accipiat, id est rapiat), any subsidies (adjutoria) in money or provisions under the plea of meeting expenses incurred in the reception of the king or his ambassadors, or for the adornment of the cathedral church. Again in his precepts to his archdeacons (*id.* ii. 378) he forbids them (c. 1) during their visitations of their country parishes, either when accompanying

him or by themselves, to be guilty of oppression by demanding things not necessary, or by taking with them a superfluous retinue, or their own relations, to be quartered upon the parishes which they visited; or (c. 2) by visiting their parishes too frequently, so as to live at their expense and save their own income; or (c. 5) by demanding as offerings (eulogiae) any contribution either in money or in any other way from the presbyters when they came to attend a synod, or to obtain the chrism, or for enquiry into their ministry, beyond such as they might be disposed to make willingly.

A Capitulary of Charles the Bald (*id.* iii. 2, 3) enacts (c. 1) that bishops were to receive either a definite quantity of provision or the two "solidi" allotted to them by the councils of Braga and Toledo (c. 4); that the bishops should choose the richer parishes for their visitations, and that four parishes might unite to share the expenses of a visitation; and (cc. 5, 6) that they might visit parishes once a year and receive procurations, but could require nothing from parishes not visited. If they visited any parish more than once in the same year, they were to pay their own expenses. [P. O.]

**PROCURATOR.** In its general meaning a person in charge of the interests of another as agent or factor (see Ducange, *Gloss.*), but more usually applied in a more limited sense to lawyers in the civil, or proctors in the ecclesiastical, courts.

These employments were in general forbidden to the clergy, as involving secular business inconsistent with their office and position. Augustine (*de Op. Monach.* c. 15) draws a distinction between occupations which are carried on by manual labour, and those whose nature it is to distract the mind with cares and anxieties about secular business (ipsum animum occupare curis colligendae sine corporis labore pecuniae), and expressly numbers "procuratores," probably using the word in its general meaning, among the latter class. So Jerome (*ad Nepot.* c. 16) asks how the clergy, who are bidden to renounce all care for their own temporal possessions, can possibly undertake to be managers (procuratores et dispensatores) of the houses and estates of others. The decrees of the church speak with united voice in the refusal to admit into the number of the clergy any who were actually engaged in managing the affairs of others. The first council of Carthage, held in the year A.D. 348, expressly decreed (cc. 8, 9) that no "procuratores," or those in any way engaged in the affairs of others (obnoxii alienis negotiis), should be admitted to number of the clergy, till they were free from their secular obligations, lest disgrace should be brought upon the church. The third council of Carthage, A.D. 397 (c. 15), prohibits not only bishops and priests, but any of the clergy from being procuratores, or seeking their livelihood by any ignoble or dishonest occupation, giving as a reason that those entrusted with the service of God must not be entangled in secular affairs. The council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (c. 3), forbids any belonging to the clerical or monastic orders to charge himself with any secular business (ἐπεισάγειν ἑαυτὸν κοσμικαῖς διοικήσεσιν) making, however, exceptions in case of any business imposed upon them by law, or committed to them by the bishop of the diocese, or undertaken on behalf of widows and orphans. The council of Tarragona, A.D. 516 (c. 11), forbids any monk to take any part in any legal business (forensis negotii susceptor aut executor existat) except on behalf of the monastery, and under order of the abbat. This exception, however, was not allowed by Justinian, who in one of his laws (*Novell.* cxxiii. c. 6) positively prohibits any bishop or oeconomus, or clergy of any grade or any mark, from acting as manager (procuratorem litis), either on their own behalf, or of any church or monastery. Later councils, however, appear to have insisted on retaining the principle that the clergy might act as advocates in certain cases. The council of Verno, A.D. 755 (c. 16), forbids any of the clergy to conduct any legal business, except on behalf of widows and orphans, or in cases where the property of the church was concerned, and then acting under orders for their bishop or abbat. In like manner, the council of Mayence, A.D. 813 (c. 14), forbids any of the clergy to act as agents or managers (conductores aut procuratores) in any secular matters, except in defence of widows and orphans. See also LAWYERS, p. 947. [P. O.]

**PROEORTIA.** The προεορτία of the Greek church corresponds in the main to the Eve or VIGIL of the Latins. But some of the greatest festivals have a προεορτία of more than one day. Thus the προεορτία of the Epiphany begins on January 2, of Christmas on Dec. 20 (Neale, *Eastern Ch.* Introd. p. 764). [C.]

**PROFANATION.** [SACRILEGE.]

**PROFESSION.** For the profession of faith in Baptism, see BAPTISM, §§ 43, 46; CREED, § 4, p. 489; INTERROGATIO, p. 865. To these it may be added that the form of profession given by the council of Lestines (*Concilium Liptinense*, A.D. 743) is one of the oldest specimens of a liturgical formula in a Teutonic language. It is given as follows by Professor Swainson (*The Nicene and Apostles Creeds*, &c., p. 22):—"Gelobistu in got alamehtigan fadaer. Ec gelobo in got alamehtigan fadaer. Gelobistu in crist godes suno. Ec gelobo in crist godes suno. Gelobistu in halogan gast. Ec gelobo in halogan gasto." That is: "*Q.* Believest thou in God the Father Almighty? *A.* I believe in God the Father Almighty. *Q.* Believest thou in Christ God's Son? *A.* I believe in Christ God's Son. *Q.* Believest thou in the Holy Ghost? *A.* I believe in the Holy Ghost." [C.]

**PROFESSIONS.** [TRADES.]

**PROHIBITED BOOKS.** I. *Heathen Precedent.*—The suppression by public authority of books adverse to the prevailing religion was common long before the Christian era; *e.g.* the Athenians scandalized by a declaration of Protagoras, B.C. 411, that he was uncertain of the existence of gods, "called in his books from their possessors by the voice of a public crier, and burned them in the market-place" (Diogen. Laert. *Vitae Philos.* ix. 8, § 3; sim. Lactant. *de Irâ Dei*, 9). Another instance, in which the

actors were Greeks, is recorded in the First Book of Maccabees (i. 56): the officers of Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 168, "rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, and burnt them with fire." Examples are frequent among the Romans. During the second Punic war, B.C. 213, when foreign superstitions were gaining a footing in Rome, a senatus consultum was passed, and published by the praetor urbis, to the effect that any one possessed of "books of soothsaying, or prayers or written treatises on the art of sacrificing," should give them up to the praetor by a certain day (Livy, *Hist.* xxvi.). On a discovery of the nature of the Bacchanalian rites, B.C. 186, the consul Posthumius, when explaining the cause of their suppression to the people, declared that the magistrates had often been charged with the duty of "forbidding the performance of foreign rites . . . collecting and burning books of soothsaying, and abolishing every mode of sacrifice not after the Roman custom" (*ibid.* xxxix. 16). Five years later the Greek books found near the tomb of Numa were immediately burnt "per victimarios . . . in conspectu populi, quia aliquâ ex parte ad solvendam religionem pertinere existimabantur" (Valerius Max. *Memorab.* I. i. 14. Compare Plutarch in *Numa*, Reiske, i. 298; Lactant. *Instit.* i. 22). When Augustus became Pontifex Maximus, he collected and burnt above two thousand "libri fatidici" (Suetonius, *Octav.* 31). The works of political opponents were exposed to the same fate. Thus the writings of Labienus, about 12 B.C. (Seneca, *Controvers.* vi. Praef.), those of Cremutius, A.D. 25 (Tacitus, *Annal.* iv. 35), those of Fabricius Veiento, A.D. 63, of Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio ("monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum," Tacit. *Agricola*, 2) were in the same manner publicly destroyed. The books of the Manichaeans were also under the ban of heathen princes. Thus Diocletian and Maximian, A.D. 289, ordered the teachers of the "Persian doctrine to be burnt with their abominable books" (Baron. ad ann. 288; iii. 252, ed. 1738), and Cabades, king of Persia, A.D. 516, after a great slaughter of the sect, caused their books to be burned throughout his dominions (Theophanes, *Chronogr.* ad ann. i. 263, ed. Bonn).

II. *Christian Books suppressed by Jews and Heathens.*—When Christianity began to acquire strength, this familiar mode of suppression was applied both by Jews and Gentiles to all writings that were supposed to teach or favour it. Addressing the Jews of his day, Anastasius-Sinaita, A.D. 561, says: "Your fathers, who were then completely worsted, . . . commanded that none of the Jews should possess in writing an account of the things done by Christ, or seek after them at all, or read them" (*Disput. adv. Judaeos*; Migne, *Ser. Gr.* lxxxix. 1246). The existence of such a law explains, as nothing else can, the total silence of Philo and the probable silence of Josephus on that subject; or if the passage in his *Antiquities* (xvii. 4, § 3) be not an interpolation, it accounts for the very brief notice which the facts on that supposition extorted from the latter. The Jews hoped that the new religion would die out if left to oral tradition. The heathens were influenced by the same policy. "Through the agency of wicked demons," says Justin Martyr, "death was decreed against those who read the books of Hystaspes, or the Sibyl, or the prophets" (*Apol.* i. 44; comp. Clem. Alex. *Stromata*, VI. v. 43). Diocletian ordered "the destruction of the Scriptures by fire," in edicts published throughout the empire (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* viii. 2). In every persecution, in fact, they were demanded of the Christians for this purpose, and many were required to attest their abjuration of the gospel by burning its sacred records themselves. Those who gave them up were conventionally termed "traditores" [TRADITOR], a name which, according to St. Augustine, came into use some forty years after the death of St. Cyprian (d. 258), when a great "burning of the divine books" took place in Africa under Maxentius (*De Baptismo*, v. 1; vii. 2; Optat. *de Schism. Donat.* i. 13).

III. *Christian Prohibition of Heathen Books.*—The works of the heathen were, on the other hand, proscribed by the Christians, but not without discrimination. Some writers were more severe and strict than others, but we are evidently to understand their denunciations for the most part of those books only which had a bearing on religion, or encouraged a loose morality. The *Apostolical Constitutions* (i. 6) in both recensions say: "Refrain from all the books of the Gentiles; for what hast thou to do with strange discourses or laws, or with false prophets, which even turn the light-minded from the faith?" Gregory Nazianzen, A.D. 363, hearing that his namesake of Nyssa, instead of reading to the people as before the "sacred and refreshing books" of holy Scripture, had turned to the "brackish and undrinkable" founts of heathen knowledge, accused him at once of "desiring rather to be called a rhetor than a Christian" (*Epist.* 12, al. 43). St. Basil, the brother of the latter, has left a discourse addressed "to the Young on the Way to profit by the Hellenic Literature." His opinion is that much good may be obtained from it by those who resolutely put aside the evil part, and study to bring the innocent into the service of religion. Then, "if the two literatures are at all in harmony with each other, the knowledge of them both will be of great service to us; but if not, to have compared them, and ascertained the difference will tend not a little to the confirmation of the better" (§ 2; ii. 175). St. Jerome, 378, referring to Eph. vi. 4, says: "Let those bishops and presbyters read it who train their sons in secular literature, and make them read comedies, and sing the shameful writings of the actors," &c. (*Comm.* iii. *in Ep. ad Eph.* u. s. See also *Epist.* 22 *ad Eustoch.* § 30; comp. Aug. *in Ps.* 103, *Enarr.* S. ii. § 4; *in Ps.* 31, *Enarr.* S. ii. § 18; *De Anima et ejus Orig.* ii. 17, § 23). One ground of abstinence from even the more innocent productions of heathen writers is mentioned by Germanus, the monk, in Cassian (*Collat.* xiv. 12), viz. the distractions that arise at prayer from images suggested by a study of poetry and history. Paulinus of Nola (*Poema*, 10) tells us that hearts devoted to Christ are closed to Apollo and the Muses. The council of Carthage, 398, decrees: "Ut episcopus Gentilium libros non legat, haereticorum autem pro necessitate temporis" (can. 16). Much later Gregory I. strongly denounces a French bishop who was said to teach belles-lettres, "quia in uno se ore cum Jovis laudibus Christi laudes non capiunt"

(*Epist.* ix. 48). John the Deacon says that Gregory "forbade the reading of Gentile books to all pontiffs without exception" (*Vita Greg.* iii. 33). Isidore of Seville, about 630, says that the Christian is "forbidden to read the fictions of the poets," on account of their tendency to corrupt the mind (*Sentent.* iii. 13). Of Gentile books in general he says: "Cavendi sunt tales libri, et propter amorem sanctarum scripturarum vitandi" (*ibid.*).

Monks were especially bound to renounce the works of heathen writers. Isidore of Pelusium, A.D. 412, writing to one, says: "What is there among them to be preferred to ours? What is there that is not full of falsehood and matter for laughter in the subjects which they study? Are not their divine principles framed out of passions? Are not their manly actions for the sake of passions? Are not their conflicts for passions? Shun, therefore, the reading of the shameful stuff, for it hath a terrible power to reopen wounds that are skinned over," &c. (*Epist.* i. 63). St. Nilus, 440, to a monastic collector of books: "The rubbish and ashes and mud of the books of the Gentiles why dost thou with such diligence rake together, to no profit, but to hurt, after renouncing them in a monastery" (*Epist.* ii. 73). To a disciple he says: "Read not the books of the heathen, neither historical nor tropological, nor touch the old literature at all; but read the New Testament, and the accounts of the martyrs, and the lives of the fathers, and the sayings of the aged" (iv. 1). Isidore of Seville, in his *Regula Monachorum*: "Let the monk be careful not to read the books of the Gentiles, or the volumes of the heretics; for it is better to be ignorant of their pernicious tenets than by experiment to run into any snare or error" (viii. 3). Eginhard, who had been secretary to Charlemagne, but afterwards an abbat, to his son, a monk at Fulda: "Grammatica et rhetorica, caeteraque liberalium artium studia, vana sunt, et valde nociva servis Dei nisi per gratiam Divinam bonis moribus subesse noscantur, quia scientia inflat, caritas vero aedificat. Melius mihi quidem est ut te mortuum videre contingat quam inflatum et scatentem vitiis" (*Epist.* 30, *ad Vussin.* Migne, 104, col. 519).

It is probable that in no single instance are we to understand a Christian writer as desiring the absolute suppression, without qualification or exception, of the entire body of the ancient literature. This was, for example, very far from the meaning of St. Jerome, who elsewhere defends the appeal of Christian writers to the testimony of the heathen, and instances Cyprian, Quadratus, Aristides, Justin Martyr, Clemens of Alexandria, and many others, as men who had made a good use of secular learning (*Epist.* 70 *ad Magnum Orat.*). Long before this we find Origen exhorting Gregory Thaumaturgus to study the philosophies of the Greeks as προπαιδεύματα to Christianity, and "geometry and astronomy as likely to be useful in the interpretation of the holy Scriptures" (*Epist. ad Greg.* § 1, ed. Lomm. xvii. 49). It is clear that these pursuits were even carried to a dangerous excess by some, and that so early as the 5th century. For a proof we may refer to the applause which Sidonius, bishop of Clermont (472), bestows on the secular poems of Consentius (*Epist.* viii. 4), and to the spirit in which he compares the work of Mamertus (*de Statu Animae*) with the productions of various heathen, as well as Christian, writers (iv. 3). The poem of Mamertus himself (*Contra Poetas Vanos*) "bears evidence of its writer having carefully studied some of the Roman poets" (Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biogr. n. Mamertus*); nor does he in the course of it condemn the study of them as sinful, but rather as unsatisfactory, and fit for children only, desiring to direct his friend to the higher themes which the gospel can supply (*Biblioth. Vet. PP.* v. pt. i. 979).

IV. *Spurious and supposititious Writings claiming to be Christian.*—These were very numerous at an early period, and as their object was in almost every case to recommend some heresy, cautions against them abound from the 3rd century downwards. Thus one of the apostolic canons (n. 60): "If anyone shall publicly set forth as holy in the church the books of the impious with false titles (ψευδεπίγραφα) to the destruction of the people and the clergy, let him be deposed." We may remark that the canon is evidently dealing with a well-known class of writings. The *Apostolical Constitutions*, in the longer Greek recension: "You must not regard the names of the apostles, . . . for we know that the disciples of Simon and Cleobius have compiled poisonous books in the name of Christ and His disciples . . . Also among the ancients some have composed apocryphal books of Moses and Enoch, and Adam and Esaias, and David and Elias, and the three patriarchs, that are pernicious, and opposed to the truth" (vi. 16).

For details of this literature see DICT. CHR. BIOG. s. vv. ACTS, APOCRYPHAL; APOCALYPSES, APOCRYPHAL; EPISTLES, APOCRYPHAL; GOSPELS, APOCRYPHAL; CLEMENTINE LITERATURE; PSEUDEPIGRAPHIC LITERATURE; the several names of the supposed authors of apocryphal works, and the titles of anonymous works.

V. *Fictitious Martyrologies.*—Stories of persecutions and martyrdom were naturally popular, and were easily made the vehicle of heresy. A decree against such false or tainted narratives by the council in Trullo (A.D. 690) shews that the danger from this source was still recognized, and that the church in the East was still vigilant against it, at the end of the 7th century: "We command that the martyrologies falsely compiled by the enemies of truth to do dishonour to the martyrs of Christ, and lead those who hear them to unbelief, be not read publicly in the church, but that they be delivered to the fire" (can. 63). An illustration occurs in the document transcribed in the next section, viz. in *Passio Quirici, &c., Passio Georgii.*

VI. *The Roman Index Librorum Prohibitorum.*—The earliest example of a list of proscribed books proceeding from Rome is a document variously ascribed to pope Gelasius (A.D. 494), or to Hormisdas (514), but more probably of the 8th century. It will be well to give this *in extenso* with such notes as may appear useful. We print it from Hard. *Conc.* ii. 940, where it occurs among the decrees of a Roman council, said to have been held in the time of Gelasius:—

"*Notitia Librorum Apocryphorum qui non recipiuntur* (al. *qui recipi non debent*).

"In primis Ariminensem synodum a Constantio Caesare Constantini Augusti filio congregatam (A.D. 359, Arian against its better mind), medi-

ante Tauro praefecto, ex tunc et nunc, et usque in aeternum, confitemur esse damnatam.

"Item itinerarium (= περίοδος) Petri apostoli, quod appellatur Sancti Clementis, libri octo (*al.* novem, *al.* decem), apocryphum. (The *Recognitions* of Clement (Ἀναγνωρισμός), so called by Rufinus, who translated it (*De Adult. Libror. Origenis* ad calc. *Opp.* Orig. xxv. 386, ed. Lomm.); otherwise "Clementis Itinerarium, Gesta, Historia, Historiae, Chronica, and Clemens; and from Peter, Petri Periodi and Itinerarium, Petri Actus, *i. e.* by Clement [see Photius, *Biblioth.* 113], other than those Acts of Peter, of which Peter is the alleged author; and the Disputatio Petri cum Apione;" (Cotel. *PP. Apost.* i. 484.)

"Actus nomine Andreae Apostoli, apocryphi. (See Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25; Philastr. *de Haer.* 88; Epiphan. *Haer.* xlvii. 1, lxi. 1, lxiii. 2; Innoc. *Epist. ad Exuper.* 7; Turribius, *Epist.* § 5 inter *Epp.* Leon. M.)

"Actus nomine Thomae apostoli libri decem, apocryphi. (Twofold, one Manichaean mentioned by Turribius (*u. s.*), and Augustine (*De Serm. Dom.* i. 20, § 65), and another put forth by the Encratites and Apostolics; Epiph. *Haer.* xlvii. 1, lxi. 1).

"Actus nomine Petri apostoli, apocryphi (Eusebius, *u. s.* iii. 3; Philastrius, *Haer.* 88; Hieron. *Viri Illustr.* 1; Isidorus Pelus. *Epist.* ii. 99).

"Actus nomine Philippi apostoli, apocryphi.

"Evangelium nomine Thaddaei, apocryphum.

"Evangelium nomine Matthiae, apocryphum (Origen *in S. Luc. Ev. Hom.* 1, in init.; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 25; Ambr. *Expos. Ev. Luc.* i. 2; Jerome *Praef. in Comm. super Matth. Ev.*; Innoc. *u. s.*; Bede, *Comm. in S. Luc. Ev.* i. 1).

"Evangelium nomine Petri apostoli, apocryphum (Origen, *Comm. in Matth. Ev.* x. § 17; Eusebius, *u. s.* iii. 3, 25, vi. 12; Jerome *de Vir. Illust.* 1; Theodoret, *Haer. Fab.* ii. 2).

"Evangelium nomine Jacobi minoris, apocryphum. (The Protevangelium, because treating briefly of the infancy of Christ. Mentioned by Origen, *Comm. in S. Matth.* x. § 17; Epiph. *Haer.* xxx. 23; Innoc. *u. s.* Probably quoted by Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 78 (see the *Protev.* c. 18), Clemens Alex. *Strom.* vii. 16, § 93 (comp. *Protev.* 19), and Epiph. lxxix. 5 (comp. *Protev.* 1, 2).)

"Evangelium nomine Barnabae, apocryphum.

"Evangelium (*al.* evangelia) nomine Thomae, quo (*al.* quibus) utuntur Manichaei, apocryphum (*al.* apocrypha). (Written by Thomas, a Manichaean; see Origen *in Luc. Hom.* 1; Hippol. *Refut. Omn. Haer.* v. 7; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 25; Cyril. Hier. *Catech.* iv. 21, vi. 18; Amb. *u. s.*; Jerome, *Praef. in Comm. super Matth.*; Innoc. *u. s.*; Leontius Byz. *de Sectis*, iii. 2; Petrus Siculus, *Hist. Manich.* 16; Bede, *u. s.*; Pseudo-Athan. *u. s.*)

"Evangelium (*al.* evangelia) nomine Bartholomaei apostoli, apocryphum (*al.* apocrypha). (Jerome, *u. s.*; Bede, *u. s.* Possibly under this name is condemned by mistake the Hebrew copy of St. Matthew, taken by St. Bartholomew into India; Euseb. v. 10.)

"Evangelium nomine Andreae apostoli, apocryphum (Innoc. *u. s.*, who ascribes it to Xenocharides (or Nexocharides) and Leontius; August. *c. Advers. Leg. et Proph.* i. 20, § 39).

"Evangelia quae falsavit Lucianus, apocrypha. (The forger more commonly known as Leucius Charinus; see below.)

"Liber de Infantia Salvatoris, apocryphus. (Irenaeus, *c. Haer.* i. 20, § 1, ascribes a story found in this to the Marcosians. Anastasius Sinaita perhaps refers to it, *Hodegus* 13. Pseudo-Jerome seems to speak of this, or a part of it (*Epist. ad Chromat. et Heliod.* inter *Opp.* Hieron.) under the title of *Liber de Nativitate S. Mariae.* He ascribes it to Seleucus (= Leucius). Its full title is *Libellus de Miraculis Infantiae D. J. C.*, but the first twenty-four chapters have been known as *Liber de Nativitate Mariae, et de Infantia Salvatoris.*)

"Evangelia quae falsavit Esitius (*al.* Isicius), apocrypha. (St. Jerome (*Epist. ad Damasum*) couples Hesychius with Lucianus as giving name to books held genuine by a few.)

"Liber de Nativitate (*al.* Infantia) Salvatoris, et de Maria et obstetrice (*al.* ejus), apocryphus. (Probably, from the matter, the *Protevangelium* Jacobi before mentioned under another title.)

"Liber qui appellatur Pastoris, apocryphus. (The *Shepherd* of Hermas. No book is more frequently cited by early writers, as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clemens Al., Origen, Athanasius, &c. It proceeded from Rome, and the ground of its condemnation here is only matter of conjecture.)

"Libri omnes quos fecit Leucius discipulus diaboli, apocryphus. (This arch-forger is so called by Evodius (*de Fide c. Manichaeos*, 4, inter *Opp.* Aug. App. vi. ed. Ben.; but the older editions give *Leontius* and one Vatican MS. *Locutius*), by Innocent (*u. s.*) as author of a 'book under the name of Peter and John,' by Turribius (*u. s.*), Photius (*Biblioth.* 114), according to whom all the 'Apostolorum Periodi,' containing 'Acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul,' were written by 'Leucius Charinus.' St. Augustine writes the name *Leutius* (*Acta cum Felice*, ii. 6; but some MSS. give Levitico or Lentitio). His full name, Leucius Charinus, is also thought to be disguised under 'Xenocharides and Leonidas' in Innocent (*u. s.*). Atto Vercell. calls him Seleucius (Hard. *in loc.*); Pseudo-Jerome (*u. s.*), Seleucus, and in the present document he has appeared as Lucianus; and so Jerome; *Ep. ad Damas.*, as above.)

"Liber qui appellatur Fundamentum, apocryphus. (Ascribed to the founder of the Manichaeans, Aug. *de Nat. Boni*, 42, 46; comp. *Acta cum Felice*, ii. 1. It was in the form of an epistle.)

"Liber qui appellatur Thesaurus, apocryphus. (Cyrill. Hier. *Catech.* vi. 13. It is ascribed by him to Manes, but by Archelaus, A.D. 278, *Disp. cum Manich.* (Galland. *Biblioth.* iii. 569), to Terbinthus or Turbo (572). See Photius, 85.)

"Liber de Filiabus Adae Leptogeneseos, apocryphus. (Mentioned by Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 6; Jerome, *Ep.* 78 *ad Fabiol.* 18; Cedrenus, *Compend. Hist.* 9, ed. Nieb.)

"Centones de Christo, Virgilianis compaginati versibus, apocryphi. ('Proba, uxor Adelphi, centonem ex Virgilio de Fabrica Mundi et Evangeliis plenissime expressit . . . Et quidam Pomponius ex eodem poeta . . . Tityrum in Christi honorem composuit: similiter et de Aeneide'; Isid. Hispal. *Etymol.* i. 39, § 26.)

"Liber qui appellatur Actus Theclae et Pauli apostoli, apocryphus (Tertullian *de Bapt.* 17; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv. 69, xxi. 22, xxiv. 10; Greg.

Nyss. *Hom.* xiv. *in Cant. Cant.* i. 676; Jerome, *Ep.* 21 *ad Eustoch.* § 40; Aug. *de Sanc. Virginitate*, 44, § 45; and many others.)

"Liber qui appellatur Nepotis, apocryphus. (The work of a Judaizing Egyptian bishop of that name, Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 24; Vigilius, *de Trib. Capit.* 60.)

"Liber Proverbiorum, qui ab haereticis conscriptus, et sancti Xysti nomine praenotatus est, apocryphus. (The *Sententiae* of Sextus Pythagoreus mistaken for a Christian book in the unfaithful translation of Rufinus, and ascribed to Xystus of Rome; Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 30; Jerome, *adv. Jovin.* i. 49, *Ep.* 133 *ad Ctesiph.* 3, *Comm. in Jerem.* xxii. 24, *Comm. in Ezek.* xviii. 5; Aug. *de Nat. et Grat.* 64, § 77, *Retract.* ii. 42; Gennadius, *de Vir. Illust.* 17.)

"Revelatio quae appellatur Pauli apostoli, apocrypha. (Probably the Ἀναβατικόν (founded on 2 Cor. xii. 2), a Cainite forgery. See Tertull. *Praescript.* 24; Epiphan. *Haer.* xxxviii. 2; Aug. *Tract.* 98 in S. Joan. *Ev.* § 8; Sozom. *H. E.* vii. 19, &c.)

"Revelatio quae appellatur Thomae apostoli, apocrypha.

"Revelatio quae appellatur sancti Stephani, apocrypha. (*Epistola Luciani de Revelatione corporis Stephani.* Probably condemned, because the writer was mistaken for Leucius. See Aug. *Serm.* 318, § 1, 319, § 6; Gennad. *de Vir. Illustr.* 46. There is a Latin translation by Avitus inter *Opp.* Aug. App. vi. ed. Ben.)

"Liber qui appellatur Transitus, id est, Assumptio sanctae Mariae, apocryphus. (Pseudo-Jerome, *ad Paul. et Eustoch. de Assumpt. B. V.*; Bede, *in Acta Apost. Retract.* 8, 13; Pseudo-Alcuin, *Opp.* Alc. P. ix. *Hom.* 3, *de Nat. M.*)

"Liber qui appellatur Poenitentia Adae, apocryphus. (Gnostic; and probably the same as the Apocalypsis Adae; Epiph. *Haer.* xxvi. 8; Cedrenus, *u. s.* 17.)

"Liber Ogiae (Thiel's second copy ascribed to Hormisdas reads Eugenio, *Epist. Rom. Pontif.* i. 396; others variously), qui ab haereticis cum dracone post diluvium pugnasse fingitur, apocryphus. (Probably the Manichaean *Book of the Giants*; Timoth. C. P. *de Haeret. Recept.* in Meursii *Varia Divina*, 117; Photius, *Biblioth.* 85.)

"Liber qui appellatur Testamentum Job, apocryphus.

"Liber qui appellatur Poenitentia Origenis, apocryphus.

"Liber qui appellatur Poenitentia sancti Cypriani, apocryphus. (The *Confessio S. Cypriani*, a spurious tract, in which he is made to represent himself as having practised magic, &c., before his conversion; printed by Fell, *ad Calc. Opp.* Cypr. 53, 2nd pagination. See below.)

"Liber qui appellatur Poenitentia Jamrae et Mambrae, apocryphus. (2 Tim. iii. 8.)

"Liber qui appellatur Sortes sanctorum Apostolorum, apocryphus. [SORTILEGY.]

"Liber qui appellatur Laus (*al.* lusus; *Thiel*, 466, Lusa, 937, Jus) Apostolorum, apocryphus. (The true reading is most probably *Jussa*, by which we are to understand the *Constitutions*. This is confirmed by the immediate mention of the canons in some MSS.)

"Liber qui appellatur Canones Apostolorum, apocryphus.

"Liber Physiologus qui ab haereticis conscriptus est et beati nomine Ambrosii signatus (*al.* praenotatus), apocryphus.

"Historia Eusebii Pamphili, apocrypha. (But see below, sect. VIII.)

"Opuscula Lactantii (*al.* Firmiani), apocrypha. (Not a theologian, and therefore falling into some minor errors, though probably orthodox in intention.)

"Opuscula (Julii) Africani, apocrypha. (Condemned for no better reason, we presume, than that the Chronicon of Eusebius was founded on his Chronica).

"Opuscula Postumiani et Galli, apocrypha.

"Opuscula Montani Priscillae et Maximillae, apocrypha. (See Apollon. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18; Petrus Siculus *Hist. Manich.* 23.)

"Opuscula omnia Fausti Manichaei, apocrypha. (The writer confuted by St. Augustine.)

"Opuscula Commodiani, apocrypha. (On account of some errors in his poems, partly akin to those of Lactantius in reference to the Millennium, the Resurrection, &c.)

"Opuscula alterius Clementis Alexandrini apocrypha. (This author could hardly have been understood in the West in the 8th century, and we may conjecture that his 'gnostic' was ignorantly confounded with the heretic so called.)

"Opuscula Tascii Cypriani, apocrypha. (The saint's full name was Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus. As the 'Opuscula beati Caecilii Cypriani Martyris et Carthaginiensis episcopi' are fully approved in the former part of the alleged decree of Gelasius, Hard. *ibid.* 939, the reference here must be to the magician Cyprian of romance, with whom he was confounded, Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 18; Prudent. *de Cor.* 13. See before.)

"Opuscula Arnobii, apocrypha. (His work *Adv. Nationes* was a very able defence of the Gospel and exposure of paganism, but written before he was fully instructed in Christian doctrine.)

"Opuscula Tychonii, apocrypha. (A Donatist, who yet wrote against his own party, A.D. 390. See Aug. *de Doctr. Christ.* iii. 30-37, where his *Book of Rules* is dissected.)

"Opuscula Cassiani (*al.* Cassionis) presbyteri Galliarum, apocrypha. (John Cassian, the Semipelagian founder of monachism in the Latin church.)

"Opuscula Victorini Pictaviensis (*al.* Petabionensis), apocrypha. (Bishop of Pettaw on the Drave, a Millenarian.)

"Opuscula Fausti Regensis Galliarum, apocrypha. (The Semipelagian, A.D. 472.)

"Opuscula Frumentii Caeci, apocrypha.

"Epistola Jesu ad Abagarum regem, apocrypha. (Received by Eusebius, *H. E.* i. 13, Darius, whose epistle to Augustine is extant (*Ep.* 230 inter *Epp.* Aug. § 5), Procopius (*de Bello Persico*, ii. 12) and others.)

"Passio Quirici (*al.* Cyrici) et Julittae, apocrypha. (By Manichaeans or other heretics. So Theodorus Icon. who wrote the more trustworthy *Martyrium* printed by Ruinart, *Acta Martyrium*, 419, ed. 2. Condemned also by Nicephorus, the Confessor, A.D. 806, *Const. Eccl.* 13, *al.* 46, *Spicil. Solesm.* iv. 390.)

"Passio Georgii, apocrypha. ('Of all the Acts of St. George which we possess now—and they are sufficiently numerous—there are none that can claim any credence, or that do not carry on their face visible marks of false-

hood' (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* v. 81). Two *Martyrdoms of St. George* are condemned by Nicephorus, *u. s.*)

"Scriptura quae appellatur Contradictio Salomonis, apocrypha.

"Phylacteria omnia, quae non angelorum (ut illi confingunt), sed daemonum magis arte (*al.* nominibus) conscripta sunt, apocrypha. [See PHYLACTERY.]

"Haec et omnia his similia quae Simon Magus (A treatise called the *Great Demonstration* or *Revelation*, Ἀπόφασις Μεγάλη, was ascribed to him, Hippolytus, *Refut. Omn. Haer.* vi. 9-14, 17, 18), Nicolaus (Rev. ii. 6), Cerinthus (His *Revelations* are condemned by Caius in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 28), Marcion, Basilides, Ebion, Paulus etiam Samosatenus, Photinus et Bonosus et qui simili errore defecerunt (For the proscription of a book by Marcellus *de Subjectione Christi*, supposed to favour the heresy of Paul, see Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* i. 36; ii. 20), Montanus quoque cum suis obscaenissimis sequacibus (The law of Arcadius, 398, ordered their books to be burnt, *Cod. Theodos.* XVI. v. 34. See also Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18; Petrus Siculus, *Hist. Manich.* 23), Apollinaris [*Vita Ephrem Syri* inter *Opp.* Greg. Nyss. ii. 1041.], Valentinus (A Gnostic hymn and psalm; Hippol. *u. s.* v. 6; vi. 37), sive Manichaeus (For names of Manichaean books, see Timotheus C. P. *de Haer. Recept.*, Petr. Sic. *u. s.* 16, and the formulary of renunciation required of converts to the church in Cotel. *P.P. Apost.* note to Clem. *Recogn.* iv. 27. Gelasius, A.D. 482, and Hormisdas, 574, collected and burnt the books of the Manichaeans [*Vitae Pontif.* Anast. Bibl. nn. 50, 52, 53], a fate to which a law of Justinian also condemned them, 527, L. i. tit. 5, *De Haer.* xvii. 2. See *Fundamentum*, *Thesaurus*, above), Faustus Africanus (The Manichaean mentioned before), Sabellius, Arrius (see the *Epistle* of Constantine, 325, to the 'bishops and peoples' after the council of Nicaea, condemning Arian books to the flames [Socr. *H. E.* i. 9]. When the Goths of Spain became Catholic, the king collected and burnt the Arian books [Fredegar. *Chron.* 8], Macedonius, Eunomius (Public edicts against them in 397; *Philostorg. Hist. Eccl.* xi. 5; and 398 *Codex Theodos.* XVI. v. 34. See Photius, *Biblioth.* 45, 46, 137, 138), Novatus, Sabbatius, Callistus (The 15th bishop of Rome, who having 'mixed up the heresy of Cleomenes, the disciple of Noetus, with that of Theodotus, framed another stranger heresy,' and left a short-lived party in the church of Rome called from him Callistians; Hippol. *Refut. Omn. Haer.* ix. 1, &c. In one MS. [Codex Justelli] the name is omitted from this list; in another it is disguised under *Calipsus.*), Donatus, Eustathius, Jovinianus, Pelagius, Julianus Eclanensis, Caelestius, Maximinus, Priscillianus ab Hispania (Leo M. *Ep.* 15 ad Turrib. 15, 16; Turrib. *u. s.*; Conc. Brag. 561, *c. Prisc. Haer.* 17), Nestorius Constantinopolitanus (Nestorian books ordered to be burnt; Conc. Eph. 431, *Acta* i. *Relat. ad Imp.* Hard. *Conc.* i. 1444; a law of Valentinian, 435, *Cod. Theodos.* XVI. v. 66, Hard. i. 1715; Liberatus Diac. *Breviarium*, 10; Justin. *Novell.* 42), Maximus, Lampetius, Dioscorus, Eutyches (To be burnt, and the readers fined, by a decree of Valentinian and Marcian; Conc. Chalc. 451, P. iii. c. 10, Hard. ii. 680; see also Justin. *Nov.* 42; Socr. *H. E.* iii. 31), Petrus et alius Petrus, e quibus unus Alexandriam (Mongus, a Monophysite, died 490), alius Antiochiam (Fullo, also a Monophysite, died about 490) maculavit, Acacius Constantinopolitanus (The supporter of Mongus against Rome) cum consortibus suis; necnon et omnes haeresiarchae eorumque discipuli, qui schismatica docuerunt, vel conscripserunt, quorum nomina minime retinentur; non solum repudiata, verum etiam ab omni Romana Catholica et Apostolica ecclesia eliminata, atque cum suis auctoribus auctorumque sequacibus, indissolubili vinculo in aeternum confitemur esse damnata." See the above names in DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY.

VII. *Other Books proscribed for alleged Heresy.*—The *Notitia* of Pseudo-Gelasius does not profess to be complete. The tracts of Aetius (Conc. C. P. 359, Theodoret, *H. E.* ii. 28), of Monothelite authors (Conc. C. P. A.D. 690, Actio 13, Hard. iii. 1353), of the Iconoclasts (Conc. Nic. ii., A.D. 787, can. 9), of the Saracens (Nicholas I. *Resp. ad Bulg.* 103), &c. were equally ordered to be destroyed. On the *Harmony* of Tatian or *Gospel of the Four*, see Epiph. *Haer.* xlvi. 1; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 29; Theodoret, *Haer. Fab.* i. 20. The extant harmony ascribed to him is now restored to Ammonius of Alexandria A.D. 228 (Galland, *Biblioth.* ii. Proleg. c. 19, p. L). For the Helchesaites and their book, see Hippol. *Refut. Omn. Haer.* viii.; Origen *in Ps.* 82; Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 38; Timoth. Presb. *de Recept. Haeret.* in Cotel.; *Monum. Graec.* iii. 390; Epiph. *Haer.* 19, *c. Ossen.*; 53, *c. Samps.*

VIII. *Modified Judgments.*—In the earlier part of the Pseudo-Gelasian decree it is said of certain "new narratives of the invention of the cross, and the invention of the head of John the Baptist," "When they come into the hands of Catholics, let the sayings of the blessed Paul the apostle go before, prove all things: hold fast that which is good." On the works of Rufinus, the reader is referred to the judgment of St. Jerome. Some of the works of Origen which Jerome does not reject may be read. "Reliqua autem omnia cum auctore suo dicimus esse renuenda" (Hard. *ibid.* 940). On the works of Origen see especially Jerome, *Epp.* 86-100, 124; *Epist. Synod.* Theophili, inter *Epp.* Hieron. 92, § 1; Socr. *H. E.* vi. 7, 10; Soz. *H. E.* viii. 11, 14; Sulp. Severus, *Dial.* i. 3; *Vita Pachomii*, 17. The *Chronica* and *Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius*, though the latter is condemned in the *Notitia Apocryphorum*, are for their utility not "altogether to be rejected, but the lukewarmness of the First Book, and his defence of Origen are noted" (Hard. *u. s.*).

IX. *Suppression effectual.*—When the bishops could appeal to no express law of the empire, they could at least excommunicate for the offence of reading books condemned by the church: and they did so. *E. g.* the patriarch of Constantinople, 595, punished a priest of Lycaonia for possessing and reading a book "in which many heretical things were contained." He fled to Rome, but was not received to communion there, until he made a declaration of having done it "in simplicity," professed the orthodox faith, condemned everything heretical in the book, manifest or latent, and pledged himself never to read it again (*Epist.* Greg. M. v. 64).

X. Much information on the foregoing subject, and brought down to a later period, may be

found in Jac. Gretser *de Jure et More prohibendi, expurgandi, et abolendi, Libros Haereticos et Noxios*, Ingolst. 1603; in the *Supplementum Duplex* to the same work, Ingolst. 1604; and the later *Epimetrum sive Auctarium*; all printed together in the 13th volume of his works, Ratisb. 1739. On the suppression of works on Magic, see MAGIC, p. 1076. [W. E. S.]

**PROHIBITED DEGREES.** In order to prevent incest, marriage has been forbidden in all civilized nations between persons related to one another by blood or through marriage. How far the prohibition should extend has differed in different nations or in the same nations at different times.

The words "prohibited degrees" are not free from ambiguity. They mean that marriage is forbidden between persons related or connected with each other within certain degrees or steps of nearness. Thus, in the direct line father and daughter are related in the first degree; the same man and his grand-daughter are related in the second degree; the same man and his great-granddaughter are related in the third degree, and so on, whether in the descending or ascending line. The principle here is plain—there is one step between father and daugnter, two between grandfather and granddaughter, three between great-grandfather and great-granddaughter; consequently they are related to one another in the first, second, and third degrees respectively. But when we pass from the direct line to the collateral line, a confusion arises, owing to a different manner of calculation adopted by canonists and civilians. According to the canon law, brothers and sisters are related in the first degree, because there is but one step from each to the father, in whom their blood unites. First cousins are said to be related in the second degree, because from each there are two steps to the grandfather in whom their blood unites; and similarly the children of first cousins, commonly called second cousins, are said to be related in the third degree, because each is separated by three steps from the common grandfather. When one of the parties is distant only two steps from the common stirps, and the other three steps, they are said to be related to each other not in the second but in the third degree.

But the civil lawyers calculate otherwise. According to them, the brother and sister are related in the second degree, because from the brother to his father is one step, and from the father to his daughter (that is, the brother's sister) is a second step. On the same principle an uncle and niece are related in the third degree, because from the uncle to his father there is one step, from that father to his son a second step, and from that son to his daughter (the uncle's niece) a third step. First cousins, according to this calculation, are related only in the fourth degree, because from one cousin to the grandfather there are two steps, and from the grandfather to the other cousin there are two steps more.

Consequently, when we speak of "prohibited degrees" of propinquity, we must understand whether we are speaking the language of the canon or of the civil law. In the Digest, lib. xxxviii. tit. x. (*Corpus Juris Civilis*, tom. i. p. 1423, Paris, 1627), an enumeration is made of all relationships in the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh degrees, but it will be seen at once how much these must differ from the relationships calculated on the principles of the canon law (see Vinnius, *In quatuor libros Institutionum Commentarius, De Nuptiis*, § 4, p. 53, and *De Gradibus Cognationum*, p. 507, ed. 1672; Selden *de Jure Gentium*, v. ii. *Op.* vol. i. p. 558, Lond. 1726; Brouwer *de Jure Connubiorum*, lib. ii. c. 9, p. 442, Delphis, 1714). Degrees of affinity are calculated in the same way as those of consanguinity; a man is therefore in the first degree of affinity (according to the method of calculation adopted by the canon law) with his brother's wife, in the second degree with his cousin's wife, in the third degree with the wife of his second cousin.

It is necessary to have a clear apprehension of what is meant by consanguinity or affinity in the different degrees, in order to follow the changes of the canon law as it varied its prohibitions from time to time.

The early Christians found two tables of prohibitions already framed, one contained in the books of Moses, the other in the Roman law. They supplemented these lists by two other tables, which they created for themselves by Imperial legislation and by the decrees of councils.

*The Mosaic Code.*—In the law of Moses, marriage is forbidden with the following blood relations:—Mother (Lev. xviii. 7), daughter (Lev. xviii. 17), sister and half-sister (Lev. xviii. 9; xx. 17; Deut. xxvii. 22), granddaughter (Lev. xviii. 10), aunt (Lev. xviii. 12, 13; xx. 19). In this list the mother, daughter, and sister are related in the first degree of consanguinity, the granddaughter and aunt in the second degree. The grandmother and the niece are omitted. By the same law, marriage is forbidden to the following relations by affinity: — Mother-in-law and grandmother-in-law (Lev. xviii. 17; xx. 14; Deut. xxvii. 23), daughter-in-law (Lev. xviii. 15; xx. 12), brother's wife (Lev. xviii. 16; xx. 21), except in one case where it is sanctioned by a positive enactment for a special political purpose (Deut. xxv. 5), step-mother (Lev. xviii. 8; xx. 11; Deut. xxii. 30), step-daughter (Lev. xviii. 17), step-granddaughter (*ibid.*), aunt by marriage, or uncle's wife (Lev. xviii. 14; xx. 20), "a wife to her sister" (Lev. xviii. 18). In this list the wife's mother, the wife's daughter, the wife's sister (if such be the meaning of the expression "a wife to her sister"), the step-mother, the daughter-in-law, the brother's wife would be related in the first degree of affinity, the wife's granddaughter and the uncle's wife in the second degree.

Whether marriage with two sisters successively is either allowed or forbidden, or not touched by Lev. xviii. 18, is a question which has been hotly contested. The verse, as translated in our version, reads thus: "Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her lifetime." These words cannot be construed to condemn successive marriage with two sisters. If they refer to such marriage at all, they must be regarded as permitting it; for the words "in her lifetime" cannot be understood otherwise; but the Hebrew words may be translated in such a way as to give a very different sense to the verse. Accordingly the marginal reading runs,

"Neither shalt thou take one wife to another," in place of the words, "Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister." Thus rendered, the verse forbids not merely the simultaneous marriage of two sisters, but of any two women; in other words, it is a prohibition of polygamy. Though the marginal reading was first suggested only in the 16th century, there is no doubt that grammatically the Hebrew phrase may be so rendered (see Exod. xxvi. 3, 5, 6, 17, and Ezek. i. 11, 23), and it is rendered in some such manner in every other place in the Bible where it occurs. The objections taken to such rendering are minute and arbitrary. But though grammatically unassailable, it lands us in this difficulty, that the verse, if so interpreted, appears to be a distinct prohibition of polygamy, and yet there are other passages which seem equally clearly to permit it (Ex. xxi. 7–11; Deut. xxi. 15–17; xvii. 17). And it cannot be denied that, if polygamy was to be forbidden, we should expect it to be forbidden in a more unmistakable manner. To this objection it may be replied that the verse does not contain a general prohibition of polygamy, but that it commands a man not to take one wife to another "*to vex*" the latter. According to this interpretation, the verse would neither be a prohibition to marry two sisters during the lifetime of both of them, nor consequently a permission to marry a wife's sister after the decease of one of them, nor again would it be a prohibition of polygamy in general, but it would be an injunction addressed to a polygamist forbidding him to marry a woman who would be likely "to vex" a wife whom he had already married, from being known to have a spite against her, or any other reason. If this is the true interpretation of the verse, as seems probable, it has no bearing upon our subject. Marriage with a wife's sister is not forbidden by the Mosaic tables unless it come under the general prohibition, "None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him to uncover their nakedness" (Lev. xviii. 6), where there is no doubt that the expression "near of kin" denotes those related not only by consanguinity but by affinity. The fact of a wife's sister being in the first degree of affinity and the argument from analogy make it likely that she is included under the generic term, "near of kin," but she is not specifically named.

*The Roman Code.*—By the Roman code marriage was forbidden with the following blood-relations (natural or adopted):—Mother, daughter, grandmother, granddaughter, sister, half-sister,[a] and aunt. Marriage with a niece was likewise regarded as incestuous, but when Claudius desired to marry Agrippina, he obtained from the senate a decree, "quo justae inter patruos fratrumque filias nuptiae etiam in posterum statuerentur" (Tac. *Annal.* xii. 7), thus causing marriage with a brother's daughter to be legalized, though marriage with a sister's daughter still continued illegal. The innovation introduced in Claudius' favour, though afterwards acted upon by Domitian, was never sanctioned by public feeling.

The marriage of first cousins was also originally disallowed, but by the 2nd century A.C. it had come to be regarded as unobjectionable.[b]

According to Roman law, therefore, marriage with blood relations was forbidden to those related in the first and second degrees of proximity, except so far as the ancient severity was relaxed by custom in respect to cousins, and in respect to brothers' daughters, for the sake of indulging the desires of Claudius.

By the same law, marriage was forbidden with mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, step-mother and step-daughter (natural or adopted), that is, with those related in the first degree of affinity, omitting the brother's wife and the wife's sister.

It will be seen that the Mosaic and the Roman tables almost coincide. The chief difference is that the Roman table named the niece, until altered at the instance of Claudius, while the Hebrew table omits to name her, though she at least is undoubtedly covered by the expression, "near of kin." The Koran, basing its regulations on the Mosaic code, specifies the niece, and adds foster-mother and foster-sisters (*Sur.* iv. 20).

We may note in passing that the Greek tables of prohibition were less austere than those of the Romans, as would be expected from the character of the two peoples. In Athens and Sparta marriage with half-sisters and nieces was permissible. But Greece was chaste in comparison with Persia and Egypt, in the first of which marriage with mothers was the custom, and in the last marriage with sisters (see Selden, who enters at length into the question of gentile licence (*De Jure Gentium*, v. 11; *Op.* vol. i. p. 553).

*The Imperial Code.*—The Christian Imperial code was not a separate whole in itself. It took up the old Roman law where it found it, and enlarged, curtailed, or otherwise modified it, according to the altered needs of the times (see Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. iv. leg. 17, *de Cognatis et Affinibus*). In respect to marriage there were three questions on which opinion was divided: 1. Marriage with a niece; 2. Marriage with a deceased wife's sister; 3. Marriage with a first cousin.

The shock given to public opinion and religious feeling by the legislation which sanctioned the marriage of the emperor Claudius with his brother's daughter Agrippina was not got over. Domitian indeed followed the example of Claudius, and married the daughter of his brother Titus; but such marriages were forbidden by Nerva, who prohibited all marriages with a niece, whether she were the daughter of the brother or of the sister. By the time, however, of Caracalla we learn from Ulpian that marriage with a brother's daughter was again permissible, and this continued to be the law down to the time of Constantine. Sozomen reports (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. i.

[a] The consanguinity and affinity resulting from adoption was called legal relationship. It ceased to be an impediment to marriage in the case of brothers and sisters by adoption as soon as the adoption itself had ceased by the death of the adopting parent or the emancipation of either the adopted or the real child. Legal relationship was acknowledged by the church as an impediment (Nicholas, I. *Resp. ad Bulgar.* c. ii.).

[b] Spurius Ligustinus, A.C. 171, says, while recounting the good things that he had done or which had befallen him, "Pater mihi uxorem fratris sui filiam dedit" (Liv. xlii. 34). Vitellius, in arguing for Claudius's marriage with his niece, A.C. 50, says: "Conjugia sobrinarum diu ignorata tempore addito percrebuisse" (Tac. *Annal.* xii. 6).

cap. viii. p. 21, Cantab. 1720) that Constantine passed some laws to restrain unlawful marriages, but no such laws have come down to us. Constantius, in the year 339, took up the question of marriage with a niece, and not only utterly forbade it, whether she were the daughter of a brother or of a sister, but imposed the penalty of capital punishment on any guilty of the offence, thus restoring the Roman law (except as regards the penalty) to the state in which it was before the innovation of Claudius, and at the same time bringing it (with the same exception) into accordance with Christian feeling (*Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. xii. leg. i. tom. i. p. 294).

In the year 355, Constantius took up the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister and with a deceased brother's wife. These marriages he forbade as peremptorily as those with the niece; but allowing that they were regarded in old times as admissible, he did not impose such extreme penalties; but he denied them the name of marriage, and declared the children born of them to be illegitimate (*Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. xii. leg. 2, tom. i. p. 296). This legislation was confirmed by Theodosius the Great, Arcadius, Theodosius junior, and Anastasius. The frequent repetition of this law shews that it was frequently infringed, and we have a remarkable example of its infringement in the marriage of the emperor Honorius with the two daughters of Stilicho. In Constantius' law, marriages with a deceased brother's wife and a deceased wife's sister are placed upon the same footing, and no distinction is drawn between cases in which the previous marriage had been dissolved by death and those in which it had been dissolved by divorce—in both alike the second marriage is made unlawful. This continued to be the law of the empire.

Theodosius the Great took in hand the question of marriage between first cousins. We have seen that the earliest Roman law did not permit these marriages (Tac. *Annal.* xii. 6), but by the year 171 A.C. they had come to be looked upon without any disapprobation (Liv. xlii. 34). Theodosius condemned them utterly in a law made in the year 384 or 385. This law is no longer extant, but it is referred to in the writings of St. Ambrose[c] and St. Augustine, and by Arcadius and Honorius, in their subsequent laws of A.D. 396 and 409, in a way to dispel all doubt as to its bearing. St. Ambrose says: "Theodosius the emperor forbade under the severest penalties the union of first cousins, whether born of the father's brother or sister" (*Epist.* lx. (al. lxvi.) *ad Paternum*, Op. tom. ii. p. 1018; Paris, 1690). St. Augustine says, that within his own memory such marriages had been allowed by the civil law, but that at the time that he was writing the *De Civitate Dei* (about A.D. 428) they were prohibited (*De Civitate Dei*, xv. 16, Op. tom. vii. p. 459, ed. Migne). Arcadius states that the punishment inflicted by the Theodosian law (for it is to that to which he clearly refers, *Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. xii. leg. 3, tom. i. p. 297) consisted of *Ignes* and *bonorum proscriptio*, explaining thus the meaning of St. Ambrose when he speaks of its penalty as being *severissima*. Honorius refers to it as a law of his father's (*Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. 10, tom. i. p. 287). In the year 396 Arcadius repeated the prohibition of marriage between first cousins, removing only the terrible penalties which his father had imposed; eight years later, A.D. 404, he changed his mind, and made the marriage of first cousins lawful for the Eastern empire. (See two very valuable notes of Gothofredus on *Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. x. and tit. xii. leg. 3, tom. i. pp. 288, 298). Five years later (A.D. 409) Honorius published a law by which the same marriages were declared to be only legitimate in the Western empire by the rescript or dispensation of the emperor, causing thus a difference of sentiment and of law in East and West (*Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. 10; *Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. iv. leg. 19). Arcadius' law of A.D. 404 was adopted by Justinian, and its provisions became acknowledged as the rule of the Eastern empire. In the West also, marriages with cousins became freely permissible, but were never looked upon with so much favour as in the East. The barbaric codes for the most part regard them as unlawful.

*Canon Law.*—The canons of the early church, in so far as they deal with prohibited degrees of marriages, are concerned with the same three cases that we have seen engage the attention of the civil legislator, and also with attempted marriages between step-parents and step-children. Thus the council of Elvira, A.D. 305, imposes the penalty of a five years' excommunication on any one who marries his deceased wife's sister, can. lxi., and that of perpetual excommunication on any one who marries his stepdaughter, can. lxvi. (Hefele, *History of the Councils*, Eng. transl. i. pp. 164, 165). The council of Neo-Caesarea, A.D. 314, imposes perpetual excommunication on a woman who marries two brothers, can. ii. (*ibid.* p. 224). The Apostolical Canons declare that a man who has married two sisters or his niece may not be a clergyman can. ix. (*ibid.* p. 465).[d] A Roman synod under Innocent I. A.D. 402, forbids marriage with a deceased wife's sister, can. ix. and with a deceased uncle's wife, or the son of an uncle, *i.e.* a first cousin, can. xi. (*ibid.* ii. p. 429). The council of Agde, A.D. 506, defines as incestuous those who marry their brother's widow, wife's sister, stepmother, cousin, uncle's widow, uncle's daughter, stepdaughter, or any kinswoman, can. lxi. (Labbe, *Concil.* tom. iv. p. 1393). The first council of Orleans, A.D. 511, forbids marriage with a brother's widow or a deceased wife's sister, can. xviii. (*ibid.* p. 1407). The council of Epaone, A.D. 517, forbids marriage with a brother's widow, wife's sister, stepmother, cousin, uncle's wife, or daughter, stepdaughter, or any kinswoman, can. xxx. (*ibid.* p. 1580). The council of Auvergne, A.D. 533, repeats the legislation of the councils of Epaone and Agde, can. xii. (*ibid.* p. 1805). The second council of Orleans, A.D. 533, forbids marriage with a stepmother, can. x. (*ibid.* p. 1718). The third council of Orleans, A.D. 538, prohibits marriage with stepmother, stepdaughter, brother's widow, wife's sister, cousin, and uncle's widow, can. x. (*ibid.* tom. v. p. 297). This canon was renewed

[c] The authorship of this law is frequently attributed to St. Ambrose, but this is disproved by Gothofredus, *Comment. in tit.* 10, *lib.* iii. *Cod. Theod.* tom. i p. 290.

[d] The word *consobrinam*, found in Haloander's version of the canon, has no place in the original.

by the fourth council of Orleans, A.D. 541, can. xxvii. (*ibid.* p. 326). The third council of Paris, A.D. 557, prohibits marriage with brother's widow, stepmother, uncle's widow, wife's sister, daughter-in-law, aunt, stepdaughter, stepdaughter's daughter, can. iv. (*ibid.* p. 816). The second council of Tours, A.D. 567, recites the marriages forbidden in Leviticus xviii. and adds to them those with niece, cousin, wife's sister, and confirms the canon of 1 Orleans, Epaone, and Auvergne, can. xxi. (*ibid.* p. 872). The *Capitulary* of Martin of Bracara, A.D. 573, forbids marriage with two sisters, cap. lxxix. (*ibid.* p. 914). The council of Auxerre, A.D. 578, forbids marriage with stepmother, stepdaughter, brother's widow, wife's sister, cousin, uncle's widow, can. xxvii. 33 (*ibid.* p. 957). The third council of Lyons, A.D. 583, renews the ancient canons against incest, can. iv. (*ibid.* p. 974). So, too, the second council of Mâcon, A.D. 585, can. xviii. (*ibid.* p. 987). The fifth council of Paris, A.D. 615, renews the legislation of Orleans, Epaone, Auvergne, Auxerre, can. xiv. (*ibid.* p. 1652). The council in Trullo, A.D. 691, forbids marriage with cousin (uncle's daughter), and prohibits a father and a son marrying a mother and a daughter, or two sisters, and two brothers marrying a mother and a daughter, or two sisters, can. liv. (*ibid.* tom. vi. p. 1167). The first Roman council under Gregory II., A.D. 721, forbids marriage with brother's wife, niece or grandchild, stepmother and stepdaughter, cousin, all kinsmen, and any one married to a kinsman, can. v.–ix. (*ibid.* p. 1456). See also the *Judicia* of Gregory III. *Jud.* xi. (Hard. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1873). Pope Zachary, A.D. 743, forbids marriage with two sisters, Ep. vii. c. xxii. (Labbe, *Concil.* tom. vi. p. 1512). The first Roman council under pope Zachary, A.D. 743, forbids marriage with cousin, niece, mother-in-law, brother's wife, and all relatives, cap. vi. (*ibid.* p. 1547). The same council states, that pope Gregory had allowed marriage after the fourth degree, on account of the rudeness of the persons with respect to whom he was writing, but as a general rule it lays down the principle that there should be no marriage where any relationship is known, cap. xv. The council of Vermerie, A.D. 752, pronounces that those married in the third degree of relationship are to be separated, while those in the fourth degree are only to do penance, can. i. (*ibid.* p. 1657). The council of Metz, A.D. 753, prohibits marriage with stepmother, stepdaughter, wife's sister, niece, granddaughter, cousin, aunt; any offender to be fined, and if unable to pay the fine to be sent to prison in case he is a freeman, and if not, to be beaten with many stripes, cap. i. (*ibid.* p. 1660). The council of Compiègne, A.D. 757, orders separation of those who are (even one of them) in the third degree of propinquity, can. i. (*ibid.* p. 1695). The sixth council of Arles, A.D. 813, makes the same prohibitions as previous councils, can. xi. (*ibid.* tom. vii. p. 1236). The council of Mayence, A.D. 813, forbids marriage in the fourth degree, can. liv. (*ibid.* p. 1252).

The impediment of affinity was considered to be created by illicit connexion, as well as by marriage (Council of Agde, can. lxi. Hard. *Concil.* tom. ii. p. 1004).

Prohibitions on the ground of spiritual relationship belong both to the civil and to the canon law. They were first introduced by the emperor Justinian, who passed a law, A.D. 527, forbidding any one to marry a woman for whom he had stood as godfather in baptism, the tie of the godfather and godchild being so analogous to that of the father and child as to make such a marriage appear improper (*Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. 4, leg. 26). The council in Trullo, A.D. 691, prohibited marriage between the godfather and the child's mother, ordering that all who should hereafter enter upon such marriages should be separated, and do penance, can. liii. (Labbe, *Concil.* tom. vi. p. 1167). The first Roman council under Gregory II., A.D. 721, anathematizes all who marry their *commatrem*, can. iv. (*ibid.* p. 1256). Pope Zachary, A.D. 741, forbids the marriage of the godfather with mother or child, Ep. vii. c. xxii. (*ibid.* p. 1512). The first Roman council under pope Zachary, A.D. 743, forbids marriage with "presbyteram, diaconam, nonnam, monacham, vel etiam spiritualem commatrem," cap. 5 (*ibid.* p. 1547). The council of Metz, A.D. 753, forbids marriage with "commatre suâ aut cum matrinâ spiritali de fonte et confirmatione episcopi," cap. i.; that is, it prohibits the marriage of the father with the godmother of his child, and the marriage of the child with his godmother, and the marriage of the confirmed person with the person who presented him for confirmation (*ibid.* p. 1660). The council of Compiègne, A.D. 757, lays stress on the spiritual relationship created by confirmation. If a husband offered for confirmation the son of his wife by a previous husband he thereby became so nearly connected by spiritual kinsmanship with his own wife as to have to put her away, and he was not allowed to marry again, can. xii. (Hard. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 2005). The council of Mayence, A.D. 813, forbids marriage with the godchild or the godchild's mother, or the mother of the child offered for confirmation, can. lv. (Labbe, *Concil.* tom. vii. p. 1252). This kind of relationship is recognized also by pope Nicholas I., A.D. 860, in his reply to the Bulgarians (Hard. *Concil.* tom. v. p. 343). For a list of spiritual relatives between whom marriage was prohibited in later times, reference may be made to the council of Saltsburg, A.D. 1420, can. xv. (*ibid.* tom. viii. p. 980). The council of Trent found it necessary to restrain these extravagances by confining spiritual relationship to sponsors and the child and the parents of the child, to the baptizer and the baptized and the parents of the baptized, to the confirmer and the confirmed and the parents of the confirmed, and to the presenter for confirmation and the confirmed and the parents of the confirmed (*Conc. Trident.* Sess. xxiv.; *De Reform. Matrimon.* cap. 2; Hard. *Concil.* tom. x. p. 151).

It will be seen from the above review that during the whole of the eight first centuries marriages were never allowed, either by civil or canon law, in the first degree, whether of consanguinity or affinity, nor, with one exception —that of cousins—in the second degree. The first degree of consanguinity comprises the mother, the daughter, and the sister. With regard to these no question has ever been raised among Christians. The first degree of affinity comprises the stepmother, the wife's mother, the wife's daughter, the son's wife, the wife's sister, the brother's wife. The repetition of prohibitory canons shews that it was necessary to guard

against the force of temptation by again and again re-affirming the law of the church with respect to these cases, but there is no wavering or hesitation as to what was the law binding upon Christians. The prohibitions of marriage with the stepmother, stepdaughter, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, and wife's sister are as decided as those of marriage with the mother, daughter, and sister.

The second degree of consanguinity comprises the grandmother, the father's sister, the mother's sister, the son's daughter, the daughter's daughter, the brother's daughter, the sister's daughter, the first cousin. Marriage with all of these was unanimously prohibited, with the one exception of the cousin, on which, as we have seen, great differences of sentiment existed. The second degree of affinity comprises the following: Grandfather's wife, wife's grandmother, father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, wife's father's sister, wife's mother's sister, son's son's wife, daughter's son's wife, wife's son's daughter, wife's daughter's daughter, brother's son's wife, sister's son's wife, wife's brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter. With regard to these there has been no difference of sentiment. The church of England in its "table of kindred and affinity, wherein whosoever are related are forbidden in scripture and our laws to marry together," confines itself to the relationships of the first and second degree (omitting, what the early church omitted, that of cousins), for within these two degrees are practically comprised all the relatives that a man could or would marry; but during the period with which we have to do marriages within the third and fourth degree were also pronounced unlawful, and, indeed, the prohibition was extended by the end of the 6th century to the seventh degree; and so it continued until in the Western church it was once more reduced to the fourth degree by the Lateran council under Innocent III. in the year 1215.* Two inferior kinds of affinity, arising from the second marriage of a sister-in-law, and of that sister-in-law's second husband, were also abolished by the fourth Lateran council; and the affinity caused by illicit connexion was declared by the council of Trent not to extend beyond two degrees (Sess. xxiv. c. 4).

It is not necessary to quote the judgments of the great church teachers with respect to any prohibition, except that which related to the marriage of cousins. For on all other cases there is an universal agreement; and we have only to say that every writer who deals with the subject at all, witnesses to the prohibitions of the canon and civil law, and endorses sometimes one and sometimes another of them. Thus St. Ambrose insists upon the prohibition of marriage with a niece in writing to Paternus, who had proposed a marriage between his son and granddaughter (*Epist.* lx. al 66; Op. tom. ii. p. 1018). St. Basil argues with great force and ingenuity, in his letter to Diodorus, against marriage with a wife's sister[f] (*Epist.* 197; Op. tom. iii. p. 213, Paris, 1638). But on the subject of the marriage of cousins there is no such consensus. St. Augustine gives it as his opinion that such marriages are not contrary to the divine law, as they were not contrary to Roman law until the legislation of Theodosius the Great. Until that time, that is, the end of the 4th century, no objection appears to have been taken to these marriages by the church; but when the state changed its mind, and after having vehemently condemned them for twenty years, once more declared them permissible, the church, which had followed the imperial lead in the first instance, did not change back again so readily. From the 5th century onwards ecclesiastical authority first frowned upon the marriage of first cousins, and then condemned them, partly as being in the second degree of propinquity, and partly for physiological reasons, as stated by pope Gregory in his fifth answer to St. Augustine of Canterbury. "Sed experimento didicimus, ex tali conjugio sobolem non posse succrescere. Et sacra lex prohibet cognationis turpitudinem revelare. Unde necesse est ut jam tertia vel quarta generatio fidelium licenter sibi jungi debeat; nam secunda quam prae diximus, a se omni modo debet abstinere" (Bede *Hist. Eccles.* i. 27, p. 49, Oxon. 1846). We have already noted that they were condemned by the councils of Agde, A.D. 506, of Epaone, A.D. 517, of Auvergne, A.D. 533, by the third council of Orleans, A.D. 538, by the fourth council of Orleans, A.D. 541, by the second council of Tours, A.D. 567, by the council of Auxerre, A.D. 578, and by others, including even the great Eastern council in Trullo, A.D. 691. But these prohibitions did not begin till after the legislation of Theodosius, out of which they sprang at the end of the 4th century. It is noticeable that

* The growth of the enlargement of the area of prohibitions may be studied in the history of our own country. In the time of Augustine of Canterbury, A.D. 601, marriages in the first and second degrees of relationship were forbidden, those in the third degree being counted of doubtful legality. (See Gregory's *Answers to Augustine*, answer v.; Johnson's *English Canons*, vol. i. p. 69, Oxf. 1850) Seventy years later, in the time of Theodore of Canterbury, A.D. 673, marriages in the first, second, and third degrees were forbidden, and those in the fourth were only not to be dissolved (*Theod. Paenit.* ed. Petit, c. xi. p. 12). By the time of Lanfranc, A.D. 1075, the prohibition, in England as elsewhere, had been extended to the seventh degree. (See Lanfranc's *Canons*, made in London, can. vi.; Johnson's *English Canons*, vol. ii. p. 14.) It was owing only to the "rudeness" of the English that marriages so far as the seventh degree were not forbidden as early as even the time of St. Augustine. Gregory explains that elsewhere he prohibited them to that extent. (See his *Rescript to Felix, bishop of Messana*; Hard. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 518.) On like grounds Gregory II. "concedes" marriages after the fourth degree to the Germans (*Epist. ad Bonif.*; *ibid.* p. 1858).

[f] Under the shadow of the system of dispensations the practice of marriage with nieces and sisters-in-law has become once more not unfrequent. Cardinal Guibert, archbishop of Paris, in an address to his diocese made at the beginning of Lent, 1877, which is devoted to the question of marriage, complained that in Paris the infractions of the rules as to intermarrying within the prohibited degrees had become alarming in their number. "Marriages between uncles and nieces, and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, which used to be unknown, or almost unknown, have multiplied in these latter times to a degree which saddens us, inasmuch as it is a grievous weakening of the principles of the Christian faith." The archbishop can complain of the evil, but he cannot forbid it, and he acknowledges that the state of things is worse in the rest of France than in Paris. (*Mandement de S: Ém. le Cardinal-Archevêque de Paris pour le Carême de* 1877.)

prohibitions of marriage on the ground both of cousinhood and of spiritual relationship originated not with the church, but with imperial legislation.

For *Literature*, see MARRIAGE, p. 1113.

[F. M.]

**PROJECTUS**, martyr, commemorated Jan. 25 (Bed. *Mart.*, PRAEJECTUS; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*; Notker.; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. 2, 636, deacon, mart. at Cesala, 8th cent. [C. H.]

**PROKIMENON** (προκείμενον). A short anthem consisting of a verse and response, generally, but not always, taken from the psalms, and often chosen so as to point the lesson contained in the Epistle for the day. It answers on the whole in the Greek liturgy to the Western Gradual, notwithstanding that it is sung before the Epistle, while the place of the Gradual is between the Epistle and Gospel. The custom in both cases doubtless arose from the earlier custom of singing a psalm between every two lections. [GRADUAL.] In the liturgy of St. Chrysostom the prokimenon is preceded by a proclamation of the deacon, viz. ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυῒδ, Σοφία, though no psalm is sung there. The words ψαλμος τῷ Δαυῒδ are repeated after the Epistle, where again no psalm, but only "Alleluia," is sung. This probably represents a remnant of the ancient custom, and supports the inference that, as the Gradual of the West stands for the psalm between the Epistle and Gospel, so the Prokimenon represents that which used to divide the Old Testament lection (now disused in that liturgy) from the Epistle.

A Prokimenon is also sung in the Vesper office of the Greek church, and on Sundays and festivals in that of Lauds also. The ordinary Vespers prokimenon is invariable for the day, but on the other occasions it refers to the Epistle, as in the liturgy. [C. E. H.]

**PROMUS**, martyr with Areus and Elias; commemorated Dec. 19 (Basil. *Menol.*).

**PRONAOS.** [NARTHEX.]

**PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH.** [Compare ORDERS, HOLY, p. 1490.]

### A. SOURCES OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

1. *Lands.*—In the earliest days of the church those who had lands and houses sold them and gave the price to the church fund (Acts iv. 34). This continued to be the custom of the church of Rome (Theod. Lector. *Coll.* ii. p. 367), which, as Valesius thinks had no immovable property until the time of Gregory the Great, excepting of course church buildings and cemeteries. So Augustine would never purchase land or houses, but if such were given or bequeathed to the church he accepted them (Posid. *Vita Aug.* c. 24).

We find the church in possession of land before it was a body recognized by the state. Alexander Severus adjudged to the church a piece of common land to which the vintners also laid claim (Lamprid. 49). In A.D. 261 Gallienus restored the cemeteries. The edict of Constantine A.D. 313 declares that the Christians are known to possess places belonging not to any individual but to the whole body, and he commands Anulinus to restore the houses, gardens, and other property to the several churches (Euseb. *Hist.* x. 5). From this time immovable property was given to the church in abundance. Sometimes the donor reserved the usufruct to himself or some near relative, as Ambrose (Surius, Apr. 4), but many bestowed all their farms and property absolutely. Augustine (*Ep.* 199) rebukes Eudocia for impoverishing her household in this way.

(For the alienation of church property, see ALIENATION.) The statute of limitations did not apply to church property; recovery was not barred for a hundred years (*Cod. Just.* 1, 2, 23), which was afterwards reduced to forty (*Nov.* cxxxi. 6), the regular limit being thirty. An annual charge upon land by gift or legacy could not be redeemed (*C. J.* 1, 3, 46), A.D. 530, or in any way cease to be paid in perpetuity; if alienated it could be recovered with interest (*ibid.* 57), but it might be exchanged with another church.

*Leases.*—The usufruct of church property could be enjoyed by a layman for his lifetime or a term of years, in return for an equivalent paid at death or the end of the contract (*Nov.* vii. 4). Justinian forbade church estates to be let according to the ius colonarium (a kind of beneficial lease (*Nov.* vii. praef.). EMPHYTEUSIS was permitted only for the life of one tenant and two specified heirs (*Nov.* vii. 3); it was forbidden in perpetuity (*ibid.* 7) unless the estate was profitless and could not be improved (*Nov.* cxx. 1). An ordinary lease was limited to twenty years (C. J. 1, 2, 24), which was afterwards extended to thirty (*Nov.* cxx. 3).

Another method of granting church money or farms was per precariam, so called either "quia illud precario possidet" or "quia precibus obtinetur" (Ducange). This is sometimes regarded as a kind of benefice. One form was a lease for one or a few, generally five, years, and rent was paid; sometimes the terms were the same as the emphyteusis of Justinian (*Nov.* vii.), of which kind forms are found in Marculphus, ii. form. 39, 40.

The earliest notice of precariae is in a canon ascribed by Gratian to some African council (Labbe, *Conc.* ii. p. 1178), which permits a rector to revoke any precariae made by his predecessor to the injury of the church. [PRECARIAE.]

2. *Legacies.*—A.D. 321. Constantine decreed that any one might bequeath to the church any property he pleased (*Cod. Just.* i. 2, 1). Full liberty was taken of this privilege, and it was soon abused. Many bequeathed all their property to the church, leaving in poverty those dependent upon them. Augustine refused to receive legacies if they were needed by poor relatives (Posidonius, *Vita Aug.* 24). He was obliged to defend himself against the charge of discouraging legacies. Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, restored his property to a man who, having given all to the church, afterwards had a son; so when an angry father disinherited his son, Augustine would not accept the legacy for the church (cf. *Sermo de diversis*, 49). Ambrose (*in Lucam.* 18) forbids to pinch relatives in order to leave money to the church. Jerome (*Epit. Mar.*) applauds Marcella for surrendering her own wishes to her mother's, and bequeathing her property to relatives rather than the church. On the other hand he advises the widow Furia, in spite of the opposition of her father, to leave her money to the church. Gregory the Great restored an estate rather than impoverish the children.

A.D. 455. The law of Valentinian (*Cod. Just.*

xvi. 2, 20), which forbade clerics to receive legacies from virgins and other religious persons even as trusts, did not probably prevent legacies to the church, for Jerome (*ad Nepotian.*) and Ambrose (*ep.* 50) do not complain of the law, but of the greediness of those will-hunters who made the law necessary. Theodosius (xvi. 2, 27, A.D. 390) forbade deaconesses to make bequests to the church; they might however give what they pleased in their lifetime (*ibid.* 28). Full liberty was restored to them by Marcian (*Cod. Just.* i. 2, 13).

Augustine advised those who had sons to add Christ as one more heir and give the church an equal share with the rest (*De Div. Serm.* 49); dead children were to be counted in and their portion go to the church (*ibid.* 44). Justinian ordered that, on accepting a legacy, the bishop should enrol the amount and the date before the civil magistrate (*Cod.* i. 3, 28). Also (*Nov.* 131, 9, A.D. 541), if a legacy be left to God or Christ, it is to go to the church of the place where the testator lived; when a saint or angel is named, but not the place, then if there are many chapels so named, the legacy is to go to the poorest (unless there be one which the testator was known to favour, C. J. i. 2, 26); if there are no chapels in the city, to one in the province, and failing that, to the church of the testator. If money were left to build a house for charitable uses, the work must be completed within a year (*C. J.* i. 3, 46). The canons of Carthage (Con. iv. c. xviii. xix., A.D. 398) forbid the bishop to enforce a bequest by law, but Justinian commands the bishop to see that a bequest is duly carried out (*Nov.* cxxxi. 11.). Annual legacies might not in any way be changed, but were to remain annual (*C. J.* i. 3, 46, A.D. 530; confirmed *ibid.* l. 57, A.D. 534).

The minute requirements of the Roman law were sometimes relaxed in favour of the church —*e.g.* bequests to the poor (*C. J.* i. 3, 24), or for the redemption of captives (*ibid.* 28), were valid, although the persons benefited were uncertain, and the claim to such money was not barred for a hundred years (*C. J.* i. 2, 23). The French kings confirmed the canons which ordered that wills in favour of the church should be valid, although in some points informal (C. Lugdun. ii. 2; Paris, iii. 1). [MORTMAIN.]

The Lex Falcidia, which forbade a man to leave more than three-fourths of his property in legacies, was repealed in the case of the church (*Nov.* cxxxi. 12). A.D. 772 a Bavarian council (c. ii.) arranged for the alteration of a will leaving property to the church.

3. *Grants.*—Grants from the imperial funds formed another source of revenue. Constantine gave a large sum to be distributed by Caecilian, bishop of Carthage, among the clergy of Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania (Euseb. *Hist.* x. 6), to defray expenses—a precedent which was frequently followed by later emperors. He also granted an annual allowance of corn to the widows, virgins, and clergy in each province (Theod. iv. 4). This was revoked by Julian, but one-third was restored by Jovian and confirmed by Marcian (*Cod. Justin.* i. 2, 12). At the council of Chalcedon, Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, was accused of appropriating it (act. 3). Gregory the Great (viii. ep. 20) writes to the proconsul of Italy not to withhold this grant from the church of Naples. In iv. 42 he blames Leontius for appropriating the corn at Ariminum. The civilis annona, or grant of bread to the poor, is oftener mentioned along with the immovable property of the church, and could not be alienated (*Cod. Just.* i. 2, 14; *Nov.* vii. praef. and cxx. 1). There is a decree of Marcian, A.D. 454, which is thought to refer to this corn (*C. J.* i. 2, 12): "Et quia nostrae humanitatis est egenis prospicere et dare operam ut pauperibus alimenta non desint, salaria etiam quae sacrosanctis ecclesiis in diversis speciebus de publico hactenus ministrata sunt, jubemus nunc quoque inconcussa et a nullo prorsus imminuta praestari."

Anastasius granted seventy pounds of gold to the church of Constantinople for the proper conduct of funerals (*C. J.* i. 2, 18; cf. *Nov.* lix.).

When the barbarians divided the lands of the empire, the church estates remained sacred; generally they were increased. Clovis and his first successors awarded large tracts. St. Remigius received a great number of lands to be distributed among the destitute churches. The royal exchequer was greatly impoverished (Greg. Turon. vi. 46). Ludwig made grants to the church of Orleans (Con. Aurel. i. c. 5, A.D. 511). Dagobert I. gave the royal revenue from Tours to the church of St. Martin (*Eligii Vita*, 1, 32). So rapidly and alarmingly was the church of France becoming rich, that king Chilperic annulled all testaments in which the church was made heir, but this was repealed by Gunthram soon after. Charles Martel seized a quantity of church land to reward his soldiers, A.D. 740, but part was restored by Pippin (*Gesta Francorum*, Planck). Frequently the gifts made by kings were confirmed in synods, as those of Gunthram at Valence, and of Dagobert (Planck, ii. 203), and of Pippin at Ratisbon, A.D. 742.

4. *Slaves.* — A.D. 590 the first council of Seville (c. 1) was requested by the deacons to annul some manumissions of the late bishop Gaudentius. They found that the existing canons forbade the alienation of church property, and rendered all such transactions void. It was decreed that if Gaudentius had left property to the church the slaves might remain free, otherwise he ought not to injure the church. Still, to judge more according to the precepts of humanity than by strict law, such freed men were to remain in ius ecclesiae, ut idonei: their property they might leave to their sons, but to no others. See SLAVERY.

5. Occasional sources of revenue were the estates of clerics and religious persons who died intestate and without relatives (*Cod. Just.* i. 3, 20). Theodosius extended to the church this privilege which all other collegia possessed. Clerics without relatives were expected to leave their property to the church (Salvian. *ad Salonic.*), and were allowed no heirs but their nephews by C. Agath. c. 24, A.D. 506. Also all the property of a bishop, except what he possessed before his appointment or inherited from relatives (*Nov.* cxxxi. 13; cf. C. Rhem. c. 10, 20): the estates of freed men of the church who died childless (Greg. M. v. 12): the marriage fees of slaves on church land (*ibid.* i. 42): property stolen from a church tenant, if recovered (this was forbidden by Gregory, *l. c.*): fines for ecclesiastical offences: the estates of clerks who became seculars again (*C. J.* i. 3, 55). The goods of heretics were

sometimes bestowed on the church, as were those of Nestorius when he was sent into exile by Theodosius. So also were the houses where Montanists assembled (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 5, 57), and Donatists (*ibid.* 54). Honorius gave several heathen temples (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 10, 20). Constantius gave a temple of the sun at Alexandria (Sozomen, v. 7), and some basilicas, as the Sessorian and the Lateran. The statue of Serapis and other idols at Alexandria were melted down for the use of the church, the emperor giving orders that the gods should help to maintain the poor (Socrates, vii. 7).

Fees for baptism were at one time paid. Greg. Naz. (*de Bapt. Fr.* 655) writes against it. The Con. Eliberis, c. xlviii. forbids this practice, so does Gelasius (*Ep.* ix. c. 5); and for confirmation also. Con. Braccara, ii. c. 7, forbids the exaction of a pledge at baptism from those who were too poor to make an offering; and c. v. forbids the bishop to extort a fee from the founder at the consecration of a church. Jerome (*Quaest. Hebraic.* Gen. xxiii.) censures the practice of exacting money for a burial-place.

6. *Benefices.*—Ducange defines a benefice to be "praedium fiscale quod a rege vel principe vel ab alio quolibet, ad vitam viro nobili utendum conceditur. Ita autem appellatum est, quod is ex mero dantis beneficio ac liberalitate illud possideat." The word had a wider sense in ecclesiastical usage, "beneficia ecclesiastica dicebantur universim res ecclesiae in beneficium datae, sive a principibus sive ab ipsis ecclesiis et earum praelatis in beneficium datae essent." It has apparently the sense of oblations in the first canon of the council of Auxerre, A.D. 578. In the laws of the Visigoths (ix. 5, 5), it is equivalent to *merces*, and is used in this widest signification by Thomassin in his work, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae Disciplina circa Beneficia et Beneficarios*, which treats of every kind of payment to the clergy.

Originally a benefice was not separate from ordination. By the fact of ordination a clergyman was attached to a church and could claim maintenance. All the funds throughout the diocese were handed over to the bishop, who gave the clergy their portions. Gradually the custom grew up of making special reservations to particular places; the right to maintenance was no longer personal but local; the principle prevailed, "ut qui titulum haberet ius quoque fructus percipiendi ex bonis titulo annexis consequeretur." Ultimately the canonists defined a benefice as "ius perpetuum percipiendorum fructuum quorumcumque ex bonis ecclesiasticis seu Deo dicatis" (Van Espen. vol. i. part 2, tit. xviii.). For other sources from which the clergy were maintained, see also TITHES, OBLATIONS, FIRST-FRUITS.

Thomassin considers the history of the word to be as follows (ii. lib. iii. c. xiii.). Benefices were originally lands granted by the emperor: when laymen seized church lands, these were held also of the prince or the church by military tenure, and called benefices: the name remained after they had been restored to the church. The other explanation is that they were granted to the soldiers of Christ on condition of serving faithfully in the army of the church.

Binius, followed by Baronius (anno 502), fixes the origin of benefices at the beginning of the 6th century. That benefices were only just coming into use in the church at this time is supported by the fact that some clergy, after enjoying the usufruct for thirty years or forty (Just. *Nov.* cxxxi. 6), claimed the lands as their own by prescription. The first council of Orleans (c. xxiii.), A.D. 511, decreed that if the kindness of the bishop had allowed clerics or monks to till or hold lands or vineyards, even though many years could be proved to have passed, the church was to suffer no harm, and the secular law of prescription (thirty years) was not to be put forward to the prejudice of the church. It was also found necessary to forbid all clerics to go to the prince to seek for benefices without letters commendatory from the bishop (can. vii.). In A.D. 517 it was decreed (Conc. Epaonense, c. xiv.) that if a beneficed priest be elected bishop of another church, he is to return all gifts previously made to him by his church. Canon xviii. enacts that the secular law of prescription is not to apply to the church.

Although a benefice was altogether the free gift of the bishop, yet his right to revoke his gift was questioned. In A.D. 538 the third council of Orleans (c. xvii.) forbade a bishop to revoke the benefices (munificentias) granted by a deceased predecessor, except for improper conduct, but he could force an exchange; his own gifts he might revoke if the recipients proved contumacious.

Benefices were granted by word of mouth or by writing (C. Aurel. iv. c. xviii. A.D. 541), as the bishop thought fit; in neither case could the benefice be alienated. If a benefice were granted to a cleric of another church, at his death the benefice returned (*ibid.* c. xxxvi.). Improvements went to the church at the death of the beneficiary (*ibid.* c. xxxiv.). If a bishop, by will, left a farm to a cleric, who entered upon it during the vacancy, the new bishop might confirm or annul the legacy (*ibid.* c. xxxv.). A.D. 554 the fifth council of Arles (c. v.) forbids clerics to deteriorate the property of which they have the use; the younger are to be punished; the older to be regarded as murderers of the poor. A.D 567 the second council of Lyons (c. v.) forbids bishops to withdraw the gifts of their predecessors; if the beneficiaries need punishment, it should be on the persons rather than their property. Such canons were rendered necessary by the frequent quarrels of the bishop and his clergy, (Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* iv. 7; v. 49; vi. 36). The will of Hadoind, a Gallican bishop (apud Baronium, A.D. 652), mentions a villa "quam Lupus quondam per beneficium nostrum, tenere visus fuit, similiter villa quam ex munificentia nostra concessimus." Lupus is to enjoy the usufruct, and on his death they are to be restored to the church.

In the Church of Italy the epistle of Symmachus to Caesarius of Arles probably describes the custom of that time, to give a benefice only to deserving clergy, or monks or strangers, when there is some strong necessity (*Epist.* v.). This was confirmed by a council held at Rome (cap. iv. A.D. 502). Gregory the Great granted a benefice to a presbyter at the request of his bishop; but ordered the annual value of the benefice to be deducted from the presbyter's share at the

ordinary division (Thomassin, pars 3, lib. 2, cap. v.).

In Spain, the second council of Toledo (can. iv. A.D. 531) enacts: "si quis clericorum agellos vel vineolas seu alia aedificia in terris ecclesiae sibi fecisse probatur, sustentandae vitae suae causa, usque ad obitus sui diem possideat. Post decessum, ius suum ecclesiae restituat, nec testamentario aut successorio iure, cuiquam haeredum aut prohaeredum relinquat nisi forsitan episcopus pro servitiis aut praestatione ecclesiae largiri voluerit." A.D. 589 the third council of Toledo, c. iii., enacts that bishops are not to alienate the property of the church. However, if they give to the churches of their diocese anything which does not seriously hamper the utility of the church, "firmum maneat"; and to strangers, clerics, and the needy, "salvo iure ecclesiae praestare permittantur." "Firmum maneat" implies that the land would never return to the mother church; it is the contrary to the phrase "salvo iure ecclesiae." So canon iv. allows a grant to a monastery. Sometimes a benefice was granted by way of reward and incentive to further effort: if the bishop's hopes were disappointed he might recall his gift (Con. Emerit. c. xiii. A.D. 666).

The laws of the Visigoths (iv. 5, 6) forbid the usual law of prescription to apply to benefices, and order the bishops to supply rectors of churches with a list of the property of the benefice: the widow and children of a deceased beneficiary were not to be turned out of the benefice (i. 1, 4).

A.D. 779. Charles the Great ordered "decima et nona cum ipso censu sit soluta" by those who held church estates, and Selden explains nona to mean (*Tithes*, chap. vi.) that, in addition to the tithe which all land was supposed to pay, a ninth part was to be paid as rent to the church. A.D. 794 the council of Frankfort, c. xxv., orders "decimas et nonas sive census, donent qui debitores sunt ex beneficiis et rebus ecclesiarum." Can. xxvi. orders churches to be restored by those "qui beneficia exinde habent."

In the East there is no trace of the custom of granting benefices. The decree of Leo and Anthemius (A.D. 470, Cod. Just. 1, 2, 14), which Thomassin quotes, has reference, not to granting a benefice, but to making a lease in the usual way; for the usufruct is granted only in exchange for usufruct of equal value (sec. 5). So also *Nov.* vii. 4.

B. Administration of Church Property.

The administration of church property was the duty and privilege of the bishop, as is declared by the council of Antioch, can. xxiv., A.D. 341; cf. Cl. Rome, vi. c. 7; Gelasius, ep. x.; Gregory the Great, ii. 13. All subordinate officials were bound to give an account to the bishop and to act according to his judgment, whether they were oeconomi (Chalcedon, c. xxvi.), or managed the guest-houses (Greg. Mag. iii. 24), or poorhouses (Chalcedon, c. viii.), or parishes (*ibid.* c. xvii.), or charitable trusts in general (Justin. *Nov.* cxxiii. 23). Yet the power of the bishop was far from absolute. He was controlled by (1) the rights of the clergy, (2) by the laws of the empire, and (3) by the decrees of his metropolitan and of the provincial synod or of general councils. [Bishop.]

1. The rights of the clergy cannot be defined with exactness, but they possessed the following privileges. A.D. 341. The council of Antioch c. xxiv., decrees that the bishop is to administer, but the presbyters and clergy are to be made acquainted with, the property of the church, that it may not be confused with the private property of the bishop. (Cp. to the same purpose Apostolic Canon xxxix. or xl.) Canon xxv. reserves to the bishop the right of dispensing to the poor, but if the presbyters and deacons disapprove they may summon the bishop before the provincial synod. So the Cl. of Braccara, iii. c. 16, A.D. 572. The Cl. of Carthage, iv. c. 32, A.D. 398, declared a sale or gift to be void if made by the bishop without the consent and subscription of the clergy. The edict of Leo, A.D. 470 (Cod. Just. 1, 2, 14), recognizes the clergy of Constantinople as having a voice in the alienation of church property. So also Justinian, A.D. 536 (*Nov.* xlvi. 1, 2), relaxing the strict prohibition of *Nov.* vii. 1, allows to the clergy of a church the right of judging whether it were expedient to alienate property; and by *Nov.* vii. 3 the consent of five priests and two deacons is required to make valid the kind of lease called emphyteusis. [Alienation.] Thus the rights of the clergy were limited to control, the active administration being the privilege of the bishop. In some cases presbyters seized this privilege, but it was held to be an act of insubordination (Greg. Turon. ii. 23). The council of Gangra, c. vii. viii., A.D. 324–371 (the date is doubtful), anathematizes any who give or receive gifts for the church, save the bishop and his appointed officer. This has reference most probably to heretics who persuaded people to trust the dispensing of alms to them rather than to the orthodox bishop (Binii Annot.).

2. The imperial laws limiting the power of the bishop as to alienation and leases will be found in the article Alienation, and above under the heading *leases*.

3. A council had at all times the right to overrule a bishop. Charges of maladministration are frequent in the history of the church. Athanasius was charged before the council of Tyre; Dioscorus also, bishop of Alexandria, before the council of Chalcedon, where Iba of Edessa was also tried. See Council.

Patrons were not allowed to interfere with the endowments which they had made to churches (Cl. Toledo iii. c. 19). [Patron.]

The increase of wealth, and in some cases the negligence or dishonesty of the bishop, required that he should have the aid of an official. The Arabic canons of the council of Nicaea (c. lviii. iv.) decree that the citizens of each city are to choose some monk or ecclesiastic to manage the hospitals. Canon lxxxvi. orders an oeconomus, or steward, to be appointed in each church, and with him others, to manage the estates, farms, fruits, and vessels. (Cf. chap. lxiii. of the other Arabic version in Labbe, *Conc.* ii.) Gregory of Nazianzum, when made bishop of Constantinople, found no account of the property of his see, and during his occupancy he kept no accounts (*Carmen de Vita Sua*). Chrysostom was accused of managing his revenues without giving any account to the clergy (Photius, *Bibl.* Cod. 59). Soon after his time the church of Constantinople possessed more than one steward, as we find from the

letter of the council of Ephesus addressed "presbyteris et oeconomis," though perhaps these were assistants to the steward, of whom there is mention in the Life of Chrysostom by Palladius (c. 20). [OECONOMUS.]

In the Western church the assistant of the bishop was generally a deacon, or archdeacon, or subdeacon, sometimes a presbyter, occasionally a layman. Cyprian brings charges of fraud and embezzlement against the deacon Felicissimus and another (Epp. 49, 55), but similar charges against Novatus, who was a presbyter. Augustine committed the property of his see to certain of the clergy, from whom he required a strict account every year (Possid. *Vita*, 24). When on a journey he had to make a payment from the church funds, he wrote to the presbyters (ep. 219), and at his death left the charge of all the property to the presbyter Fidelis, who had previously had care of the fabric of the church. Ambrose left the finances of his see of Milan to be administered by his brother Satyrus, who was a layman. Prudentius (περὶ στεφ.) celebrates the archdeacon, St. Laurence, who had charge of the buildings and dispensed the alms. St. Martin orders his deacon to clothe a poor man (ap. Sulpitium). At Ticino, Epiphanius, before he was made bishop, managed the property as deacon (Eunodius, *Vita Epiph.*). Pope Agapetus transferred to an archdeacon the government of the church of Rogium in Gaul (Conc. Gall. i. 239, A.D. 535). The council of Paris V. c. 8, joins the archdeacon with the bishop in a decree against the unlawful assumption of monastic lands. In the letters of Gregory the Great we find that it fell chiefly to the archdeacon to have charge of the property, and he would have to make good any loss (i. 10, 19; ii. 14, 15; vii. 130). He was assisted by a deacon or subdeacon (i. 70), and in some cases was released from his onerous duties after five years (vii. 130). The Cl. of Braccara [Braga]. II. c. 7, A.D. 563, orders the archdeacon to manage the fund for repairs and account to the bishop. Deacons managed the Sicilian estates of the church of Ravenna (Greg. M. ix. 4), and as such duties formed their main employment, diaconia came to express the duties of a steward. The Cl. of Seville II. c. 9, A.D. 619, forbids the appointment of a layman to the office of oeconomus as contrary to canon xxvi. of Cl. Chalcedon, and regards every bishop guilty of contempt and punishable who shall administer without an oeconomus. The fourth council of Toledo, canon xlviii. A.D. 633, confirms this. Gregory (*Epp.* vii. 6) had already forbidden the appointment of a layman. An oeconomus is ordered by Gregory to manage the funds of the see of Dalmatia, which were under the care of the subdeacon during a vacancy (*Epp.* ii. 22). This officer was also sent by him to look after the guest-houses of Sardinia (ii. 59).

If a bishop neglected his duties, the metropolitan had the right of compelling him (Justin. *Nov.* cxxxi. c. 11). In later times the popes assumed a general supervision, and often appointed a deputy. Simplicius transfers to Onagrius, a presbyter of the church of Ausona, the administration of the fund for the poor and for repairs (epp. 3). Gregory (*ep.* ix. 28) orders the bishop of Ravenna to appoint a deputy, and sends the presbyter Candidus to see after the estates of the Roman see in Gaul (v. 5; x. 55).

The letters of Gregory the Great shew how large an amount of work fell upon an active administrator. The church of Rome possessed estates in Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, in Apulia Campania Liguria, in Dalmatia, Illyricum, Gaul, Africa, and even in the East. There are letters addressed to the administrators of papal estates in all these territories, and in many cities. Gregory prescribes the most minute regulations for these lands, shields the peasant from the exactions of the farmer or papal officer, fixes the amount of small vexatious payments, destroys false weights and measures, and, lest abuses should be revived, provides legal forms of security (see espy. i. 42). He lowered the charge for marriage of slaves, secured succession to the relatives of the deceased, and repressed the unscrupulous zeal of the clergy. Besides deacons and subdeacons, he appointed eminent bishops as his vicars (Milman, *Latin Christianity*).

C. THE DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS.

1. This was the duty of the bishop. Originally all revenues, from whatever source throughout the diocese, were paid into his hands. Afterwards reservations were made to persons and places. The *Apostolic Canons and Constitutions* may be taken to represent the customs of the third and fourth centuries. Canon xxxvii. (or xxxix.) recognizes the bishop as the distributor of all goods of the church, and warns him not to appropriate them to himself or his parents, unless they are poor. Canon xl. (or xli.) commits all to the care of the bishop, who is to dispense to the poor through the presbyters and deacons. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (ii. 28) order that at the agape a portion is to be set apart for the bishop as first-fruits, even though he may not be present. A deacon is to have twice as much as a deaconess; a priest who has laboured assiduously is to have a double portion, a reader or singer, or door-keeper, has one share. The priests are to have the first-fruits of new bread, of wine from the cask, of oil, honey, apples, grapes, and other fruit; first-fruits of money or clothing were for the orphan and widow. Every tithe was to be given to the orphan and widow, the poor and the proselyte (vii. 30). It is ordained (viii. 30) that all first-fruits are to support the bishop, priests, and deacons; the tithes are to maintain the other clerics, virgins, widows, and poor. In Book viii. c. 31, it is ordered that what remains over after the eucharist is to be divided by the deacons among the clergy: to the bishop four parts, to a priest three, to a deacon two, to a subdeacon, reader, singer, or deaconess, one part. In Book ii. c. 25, tithes and first-fruits are to be taken by the bishop and distributed to orphans and widows, the afflicted and distressed.

Cyprian (*Epist.* vii. ed. Goldhorn) leaves the care of the widows and poor to the presbyter, but if any needy foreigners arrive they are to be supplied from his special share. In his time division was regulated by dignity. Cyprian writes (*Epist.* xxxix.) that for certain confessors who were only readers he has designed the honour of the priesthood, that they are to have an equal share with the presbyters

(sportulis iisdem) of the food distributed, and an equal share in the monthly divisions. Probably these monthly divisions were of the money which we read in Tertullian (*Apol.* 39) was paid into the chest monthly, or when any pleased; cf. Cypr. ep. xxxiv. When Natalius was made a bishop of the sect of Theodotus, he was promised 150 denarii per month (Euseb. *Hist.* v. 28). The Cl. of Antioch, A.D. 341, c. xxv. orders the bishop to dispense to the poor, but he may take what is required of necessity for himself and the brethren. St. Augustine and his clergy made no division, but had all things in common (*Sermo* 50), but he was afterwards obliged to give this up (*Sermo* 46). According to Baeda, this was the custom in Britain until the arrival of Augustine (*Hist. Gent. Angl.* iv. 27). Ambrose says the bishop should decently adorn the temple of God, bestow what humanity suggests upon strangers, be neither too niggardly with his clergy nor too indulgent (*Off.* ii. 21).

In all this we see no trace of the fourfold division which afterwards became the recognized custom of the West. In the Eastern church this custom does not seem to have obtained at any time. In the Western church there are no traces of it for the first four centuries and a half: "non enim propriae sunt sed communes ecclesiae facultates" (Julianus Pomerius *de Vita Contempl.* ii. 9). In early times it was openly proclaimed that the property of the church was the patrimony of the poor. The clergy for the most part claimed a maintenance as amongst the poor; those who had property generally gave it to the church; or if they retained it, they lived upon it and had no stipend (*ibid.* c. ii. 12).

2. But the neglect or the avarice of the bishop required some settled plan of distribution. A.D. 475. Simplicius (*Epist.* iii.) writes to Florentius and Severus to take charge of the church of Osane, as its bishop was guilty of fraud. Of the revenues of the church and the oblation of the faithful, one-fourth is to be given to the suspended bishop, two parts are to be for the fabric of the church and the poor and strangers, the last part to the clergy. A.D. 494. Gelasius (*Epist.* ix. 27), writing to the bishops of Lucania, decrees the fourfold division to the bishop, the clergy, the poor, the fabric. The epistles of Gregory the Great shew that the fourfold division was then thoroughly recognized as law. He bids Felix of Messana give to his clergy the customary payments (lib. i. ep. 64): orders the bishop of Panormus to allow his clergy their fourth part (ii. 51); blames the bishop of Syracuse because, although the revenues of his church had increased, he allotted to repairs only a fourth part of the unincreased revenue, and adds: "quartae secundum distributionem canonicam dispensentur" (iii. 11); he takes away from the bishop of Agrigentum the fourth which he ought to receive, and gives it to the visitor to whom the church was entrusted (iv. 12). When Augustine had made converts in England, he asked how he should divide the funds. Gregory replies (xii. 31) that it is the custom of the apostolic see to order bishops to make four portions, one for the bishop and his household for hospitality and maintenance, for the clergy, for the poor, for repairing churches; but as Augustine and his company were monks, they had better live in common. The fourth part, which was assigned to the clergy, was not divided equally, but according to the order and the merits of each, of which the bishop was judge. Simplicius (l. c.) says, "clericis pro singulorum meritis dividatur." Gregory (ii. 5) orders a sick man to receive his usual pay, "secundum loci eius ordinem," and Gaudentius of Nola is to distribute the fourth part to the clergy of Capua, "iuxta antiquam consuetudinem secundum personarum qualitatem" (iv. 26). So also the bishop of Panormus is to give to the clergy of his church a full fourth part, "secundum meritum vel officium, sive laborem suum ut ipse unicuique daudum prospexeris" (xi. 51). The church of Catana supplies more minute details of division (vii. 8). The clergy complained to Gregory of their bishop's method. Cyprian, a deacon who was despatched by Gregory, decided that of the clergy's fourth a third part should go to the presbyters and deacons, the remaining two thirds to the inferior clergy. The former appealed to the pope, asserting that it had always been the custom to give two-thirds to the priests and deacons, and only one-third to the inferior clergy. Gregory left the division to the judgment of the bishop, to divide according to merit: "Ut tibi visum fuerit discrete dividere; ita sane ut unicuique sicut meritum laboris exegerit, libera tibi sit juxta quod provideris largiendi licentia." In an epistle of Gregory (ix. 29) to Paschasius, bishop of Naples, we have an instance of the proportion it was thought fit to preserve in distributing to the several orders a sum of which the church had been defrauded: to the clerics of the church, a hundred solidi; to one hundred and twenty-six needy persons on the church books (praeiacentibus quos centum viginti sex esse cognovimus) half a solidus each; to the priests and deacons and foreign clerics fifty solidi; to poor men ashamed to beg, one hundred and fifty solidi; to public beggars, thirty-six solidi. In the absence of the bishop of Ariminum Gregory appointed a visitor and ordered him to set apart the two fourths for the clergy and the poor; the remainder was to be divided into three parts: for the fabric, the titular bishop, the visitor (iv. 42). Gregory used to make distribution four times a year, as is stated by Johannes Diaconus.

Such was the custom of the church of Rome. It was extended to Bavaria and ultimately to the German church by a capitulary of Gregory II. There also the fourth for the clergy is to be distributed "pro suorum officiorum sedulitate."

In the Gallican church, the council of Agde, c. 36, A.D. 506, orders that all clerics who faithfully serve the church are to receive the stipends due to their labours: "secundum servitii sui meritum vel ordinationem canonum." Canon ii. enacts that the negligent or contumacious should be reduced to "foreign communion," that is, the condition of clerics of another church who were without commendatory letters from their bishop. In A.D. 511 the first council of Orleans, c. v., enacted that the produce of the estates which the king had given to the church should be used for repairs of churches, maintenance of clergy and poor, or the redemption of captives. Canon xiv. renews the ancient statutes, and orders that of the oblations offered upon the altar the bishop is to claim half, the

clergy are to receive the other half to be divided according to their degrees; the farms are to remain under the bishop's power. Canon xv. orders that lands, vineyards, slaves, and cattle given to the parishes are to be in the bishop's power. Of the offerings upon the altar only one third is to be paid to the bishop. But as some of the parishes were very poor the council of Carpentras, A.D. 527, ordered the gifts to the parishes to go to the clergy and to repairs of the church, if the bishop's see was adequately rich; if not, the parishes are to keep only so much as is absolutely needed for the clergy and repairs; the surplus to go to the bishop. A.D. 538. The third council of Orleans, c. v., decreed that oblations made in city churches were to be in the power of the bishop, who might set apart what he thought fit for repairs. The parishes and country churches are to keep their own customs. Canon xi. withholds the stipends of the contumacious; so does the council of Narbonne, c. x. A.D. 589, and also from priests or deacons who could not read (c. xi.). Gregory of Tours (*Spicil.* tom. v. p. 107) allows some who were suspended to receive their share (sportulam).

In Spain the division was into three parts, the duty of repairing the churches being thrown upon the bishop. A.D. 516. The council of Tarraco, c. viii., complains of the state of the churches, and orders the bishop to go round annually and see that they are repaired, according to old custom; for by an ancient tradition the bishop receives a third of all. A.D. 563. The council of Braccara, c. vii., orders three equal portions to be made: for the bishop, the clergy, and for repairs and lights, of which last fund the arch-presbyter or archdeacon who administers it is to account to the bishop. By canon xxi. the oblations of the faithful and gifts in memory of the dead are to be divided once or twice a year among all the clergy equally. As the bishops unjustly seized the revenues of the smaller churches in their dioceses, the fourth council of Toledo, c. xxxiii. A.D. 633, ordered them to take no more than a third, and to go round annually and repair the churches (c. xxxvi.). A.D. 655. The ninth council of Toledo, c. vi., allows the bishop to bestow his third of the oblations on any church he pleases. A.D. 666. The council of Emerita, c. xiv. divides the money offered in divine service into three parts: one for the bishop, one for the priests and deacons, who are to apportion their share according to order and dignity, and one share to the subdeacons and clerics. Canon xvi. forbids the bishop to take a third of the oblations from a parish, and throws the duty of repairing their church on the priests. A.D. 693. The sixteenth council of Toledo, canon v., decrees that as the ancient canons allowed the bishop a third, he may exact it if he thinks he ought, but must then take the duty of repairing the churches; if he waive his claim, the worshippers must keep their church in repair under the supervision of the bishop; but when all the churches are in good repair the bishop is to have his third. Many of these canons regard the property of a diocese as no longer a fund controlled by one head, but as more or less separated and attached to particular places. At what time this practice began cannot be exactly fixed. Theodorus Lector (i. p. 553) says that about A.D. 460 Marcion, oeconomus of Constantinople, was the first to order the clergy of each church to receive the offerings of their church. Under Justinian founders of churches gave endowments (*Nov.* lvii. 2; cxxiii. 18), which would naturally be reserved to their churches, though the Novels do not state this; on the other hand, the law prohibiting the clergy or any manager of a charitable house to alienate, speaks only of *ecclesia* or *sacra domus*.

3. *Churches.*—It was found desirable to regulate church building by law. The council of Chalcedon, c. iv., forbids the erection of a domus oratoria [ORATORIUM] without consent of the bishop. Justinian decreed (*Nov.* lxvii. 2, A.D. 538), that any one who desired to build a church must get leave from the bishop, and must also give first an endowment for lights, repairs, and the support of the clergy; if he cannot afford so much, he may restore an old church. The bishop is to consecrate the ground and fix a cross there, and when the building is once begun the civil judge is to enforce its completion by the donor or his heirs (*Nov.* cxxxi. 7, A.D. 541). If funds are bequeathed for building a church, the bishop and civil judge are to see it completed within three years (Cod. Just. 1, 3, 46, A.D. 530), which was afterwards extended to five years (*Nov.* cxxi. 10). Consecration is forbidden before endowment by c. v. of the third council of Braccara, A.D. 572. See CHURCHES, MAINTENANCE OF, p. 388.

4. *The Poor.*—In the earliest account of church property (Acts ii. 45) we read "that distribution was made to every man according as he had need." The first council of the church ordered that the poor should be remembered (Gal. ii. 10). During the first eight centuries of the church, almsgiving was carried to a pernicious excess. The earliest notices of church service (Justin M. *Apol.* 2; Tertull. *Apol.* 39) tell us that the collections were made for the orphans, widows, the sick and shipwrecked, all who suffered for the faith in mines, in prison, or in exile. Also as in apostolic times the wealthier churches made grants to the poorer; the church of Rome was especially noted for its liberality (Dionysius, Bp. Cor. *Epist.*).

First in the ranks of the poor were found the clergy. Some clergy, it is true, were notoriously wealthy; but a natural reaction against such unbecoming luxury, aided by the influence of the monks, led many to abandon all their property to relatives, or bestow it upon the church. Augustine was especially anxious to promote community of goods among the clergy. He refused to accept for the church a legacy from a presbyter who had been apparently supported from the common fund (*Sermo* 49). He declared he would ordain none but those who would profess poverty, and would deprive all who broke this rule. But he was unable to carry this out, and made poverty optional (*Sermo* 46). Many of the most eminent fathers of the church gave up all their property upon being ordained, as Cyprian and Ambrose, Gregory of Nazianzum and Basil (Thomassin, iii. 3, 3). There are many references in the fathers and a few in the councils to the duty of the church to support the poor. [POOR, CARE OF.]

5. *Pensions.*—The council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, assigned pensions to four persons: to

Domnus, ex-bishop of Antioch, was granted maintenance (Act x.); two rival claimants to the bishopric of Ephesus were to have an annual allowance of 200 gold solidi (Act xii.); another disappointed candidate for the office of bishop was to be kept as the funds of the church might permit (Act xiv.). Agapetus (*Ep.* 2) orders the bishops of Africa to support the heretical clergy who returned to the faith, although forbidding them all clerical functions. The letters of Gregory furnish many instances of pensions in the church of Rome. [PENSIONS.]

(Labbe, *Concilia;* Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae disciplina circa Beneficia et Beneficiarios; Corpus Juris Civilis; Codex Theodosianus;* Sarpi on Benefices.) [J. S.]

PROPHECY, LITURGICAL (1). A lesson from any part of the Old Testament read in divine service.

(1) *Incidental Notices.*—The Old Testament was read, it is believed, universally at the celebration of the eucharist in the first liturgic period. Thus Justin Martyr, A.D. 140, describing that service: "The commentaries of the apostles and the writings of the prophets are read as time permits" (*Apol.* i. 67). In the *Constitutions*, Greek and Coptic, the apostles are made to speak of "the reading of the law and prophets, and of their epistles, and of the gospels (viii. 5; sim. more fully, ii. 57). According to St. Chrysostom, 398, Christians "heard the prophets and the apostles" in that service (*Hom.* iii. *de David et Saul*, 2). St. Augustine, 396, refers to first lessons from the Old Testament read in it, as from Isaiah (*Serm.* 45, § 1, "Prima lectio Isaiae"), Micah (48, § 2, "Lectio prima prophetica"), and Proverbs (82, § 8, "Primitus audivimus"). In his church, however, the Old Testament was not always read first, or perhaps was sometimes, already, not read at all; for elsewhere he says, "Primam lectionem audivimus Apostoli" (*Serm.* 176; see also *S.* 165). In France, 554, Childebert, in a decree for the suppression of idolatrous practices, speaks of the priest giving out from the altar the teachings of "the gospel, the prophets, and the apostles" (Baluz. *Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 7). Germanus of Paris, his contemporary, in his description of the Gallican, or more correctly the Frankish liturgy, says, "The prophetic lesson keeps its own place, reproving evil things and declaring the future, that we may know Him to be the same God who has thundered in the prophecy, taught in the apostle, and shone forth in the brightness of the gospel" (*Epist.* i.; Migne, Patrol. Lat. 72, col. 90). Gregory of Tours, 573, speaks of the "three books" read at masses, "viz. of the prophecy, the apostle, and the gospels" (*Hist. Franc.* iv. 16). Elsewhere he mentions an occasion on which "the prophetic lesson having been read, the reader was already standing before the altar to read the lesson of the blessed Paul" (*De Mirac. S. Mart.* i. 5). Pseudo-Dionysius in the East, probably about 520, tells us that "then (*i.e.* after the Psalms) follows the reading of the sacred volumes by the ministers in course" (*De Eccl. Hier.* iii. 2). These volumes are, according to Maximus, his commentator, 645, the Old and New Testament (*Schol.* in loc.). An Armenian canon of the 6th century: "Let them duly celebrate the liturgy, singing psalms, prophecies, epistles, and gospels, in their order" (*Script. Vet. Novi Collect.* Mai, x. 278).

*The Ecclesiastical Books.*—The liturgy of St. James: "Then (after the prayer of the TRISAGION) are read in great detail (διεξοδικώτατα) the sacred oracles of the Old Testament and of the prophets, and the incarnation of the Son of Man, His sufferings, &c., are set forth" (*Lit. of St. James*, ed. Trollope, 41). It is evident that when this rubric was composed the prophecies were not short extracts appointed for the day, but were left to the discretion of the officiant. We should naturally infer also that the New Testament was not yet in the hands of the church at Jerusalem; for while the Old Testament is "read," the subjects of the New are "set forth."

The Old Testament lesson has long disappeared from the Greek liturgies of St. Mark, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom; nor are there now any traces of it in the Eastern liturgies derived from them in use among the Abyssinians, Copts, and Syrians, whether Melchites or Jacobites. The Nestorians retain it under the name of Karyâna, or "reading." Sometimes they have two lessons from the Old Testament; but generally the second before the epistle is taken from the Acts of the Apostles (Badger's *Nestorians*, ii. 19, 217; Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient.* ii. 589, 599, "ad Lectiones"). The prophecy is preserved in the Armenian rite, where it is still preceded by a psalm (Le Brun, *Dissert.* x. 14; Neale, *Introd. Hist. East. Ch.* i. 402). A psalm, we may mention, is also left in the Syrian *Ordo Communis*, but it is there now followed by the epistle (Renaudot, ii. 7).

In the West, the Gothico-Spanish Missal provides lessons from the Old Testament for every celebration (*Missale Mozar.* Leslie, 1, 7, 10, &c.). They are called *lectiones.* Thus: "Lectio Libri Esaye prophete" (12); "Lectio Libri Ecclesiastici Salamonis" (29). The old Gallican lectionary found at Luxeuil, which is assigned to the 7th century, gives one or more prophecies under similar headings for most, not for all, days (*Liturg. Gall.* (106–173)). We also observe some left in the Besançon sacramentary of the same date (*Mus. Ital.* i. 278, 283, 289, &c.), though that rite is in several respects conformed to the practice of Rome. In the Ambrosian, a "Lectio Prophetica" is read in every mass, except the first two on Christmas day (Le Brun, *Dissert.* iii. art. 2). It was revised by Charles Borromeo, after a period of neglect; but had lasted in some of the churches of Lombardy till the 14th century, the greater number being then "content with a single lesson [before the gospel] after the custom of Rome" (Radulph. Tungr. *de Canonum Observ.* prop. 23). This single lesson was, we further learn, taken at that period sometimes from the one, sometimes from the other, Testament (*ibid.*). The old Roman lectionary, the *Liber Comitis*, testifies to that "custom of Rome;" for there also the one lesson before the gospel is taken indifferently from either book (inter *Opp.* Hieronym. x. 523, ed. Vallars.; *Cap. Reg. Franc.* ii. 1309; *Rituale SS. PP.* Pamel. ii. 1, &c.). We take this as an indication that, during the first liturgic period, the church of Rome agreed with all other churches in reading from the Old Testament at every celebration. A remnant of that

rite is still found in the substitution of lessons from that book for the epistles on the week-days of Lent, and in the use of such lessons, even with epistles, on the ember days. Another witness to the primitive rule at Rome is the third ambo for the prophecy still to be seen in the church of San Clemente in that city. It stands with that for the epistle on the right of the altar; while that for the gospel, which is higher and more ornate, is on the left (Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. iv. iv. 3).

*Later Testimony.*—From Rupert of Deutz, 1111 (*de Off. Div.* iii. 15), we learn that "two lessons," *i. e.* a prophecy and an epistle, were read at mass "tam die quam nocte" at Christmas. Durandus, whose experience lay in France, A.D. 1286, says that some churches read "prophecies" before the epistles on Christmas eve and Christmas day (*Rationale*, vi. 12, n. 3; 13, n. 20). Such lessons are found in many of the mediaeval missals of France (Mart. *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iv. xii. 21).

*Posture of the Hearers.* — According to the *Apostolical Constitutions* (ii. 57) the people sat while the Old Testament, the Acts, and Epistles were read, rising for the gospel. In the West, the earliest custom was to stand during all; for we find Caesarius, A.D. 502, giving permission to the women to sit when the "lessons," *i. e.* the prophecy and epistle, were longer than usual (*Serm.* 95, § 1). But from the language of Amalarius, who wrote about 827, we gather that the practice had become obsolete long before his time: "Quamdiu haec duo celebrantur, id est, lectio et prophetia, solemus sedere, more antiquorum" (*de Eccl. Off.* iii. 11).

The Old Testament lessons in the daily service of the Mozarabes are also called "prophetiae" (*Breviarium Gothicum*, Lorenzana, 7, 9, 12, 17, 19, &c.).

For notices of this subject see Sala's note (4) on Bona *Rer. Liturg.* ii. 6, § 2; Mabillon *de Liturgia Gallic.* i. 5, § 4; Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. iv. 4, § 1; Neale, *Hist. of the Eastern Church*, Gen. Introd. p. 369; *Notitia Eucharistica*, 238–243, ed. 2.

(2) The hymn of Zacharias, "Benedictus Dominus," &c. (St. Luke i. 68–79), was always sung, except in Lent, before the eucharistic lessons in the old Gallican liturgy suppressed by Pepin and Charlemagne in the 8th century; and as so used was conventionally known as "the prophecy." Its connexion with the lessons is thus explained by Germanus of Paris, 555: "Canticum autem Zachariae pontificis in honorem sancti Johannis Baptistae cantatur, pro eo quod primordium salutis in baptismi sacramenta (*sic*) consistit . . . et Johannes medius est, prophetarum novissimus et evangelistarum primus" (*Epist.* i. or *Expos. Miss.* de prophetia).

The prophecy was on some days, in most of the Gallican liturgies, followed by an "Oratio" or "Collectio post Prophetiam." In the Frankish Missal this seems to have been said in every ordinary mass (*Lit. Gall.* 322–325). In the Besançon sacramentary collects "post prophetiam" are provided for Advent (*Mus. Ital.* i. 285, 287), St. John the Baptist's day (340), and most Sundays (365, 370, 373). The Gothico-Gallican gives two only, one for Christmas day, and the other for the first Easte rmass (*Lit. Gall.* 190, 251). There is but one left in the Reichenau fragment (Forbes and Neale, *Gallican Liturgies*, 8). A second, the title of which, "post Profetia" (*sic*) remains, has been supplanted by an *Apologia Sacerdotis* (28). There are none in the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* of the collections.

The Frankish Missal has substituted Roman collects which have no reference to "the prophecy" for its original prayers "post prophetiam." All the other examples extant shew that these were properly founded on the canticle itself. Some of them preserve much of its language: *e.g.* "Blessed holy God of Israel, visit Thy people, bless Thy people, and deliver it from all its sins; and grant, O Lord of Hosts, that we may be delivered out of the hands of our enemies, and may attain to serve Thee alone with righteousness and holiness all our days; and direct our feet in the way of peace, that we may be able to fulfil Thy will in all things" (*Sacr. Gall.* (Vesont) in *Mus. Ital.* i. 370).

[W. E. S.]

**PROPHETEUM** (προφητεῖον). Churches or memorials erected in honour of a prophet, or in his name, were in ancient times called *Prophetea.* In the council of Constantinople under Mennas (*Act.* iii. A.D. 538, Labbe's *Concil.* v. 5, 67) mention was made of the *Propheteum* of Isaiah, and Theodore the Reader (lib. ii. p. 568) speaks of the remains of the prophet Samuel being deposited in a separate shrine of his own (ἐν τῷ προφητείῳ αὐτοῦ). Compare APOSTOLIUM. (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v.)

[E. C. H.]

**PROSA.** In singing the Alleluia [ALLELUIA] a custom grew up of prolonging the last syllable upon a series of notes. This was called the *jubilatio*, and sometimes *sequentia*. A further development followed, of setting words to these, not in strict metre, but in rhythmical prose, hence called *Proses:* then metrical hymns (*Sequences*) were introduced. Notker, abbot of St. Gall in the 9th century, is commonly said to have been the first writer of them. The Syrian liturgies have a hymn called *Sedra*, which is strictly a prose. [C. E. H.]

**PROSDOCIUS** (PROSDUCUS), martyr at Antioch with Veronica and Romanus; commemorated Ap. 20. (Wright, *Syr. Mart.*) [C. H.]

**PROSMANARIUS.** The word προσμανάριος seems to designate the verger or watchman whose office it was to trim and extinguish the church-lamps, and to remain permanently in the building to guard it from pollution or robbery. Thus the recluses (ἔγκλειστοι) and prosmanarii are mentioned by Theodorus Hermopolites as the persons who were bound not to leave the church. It seems to be equivalent to the Latin MANSIONARIUS (Suicer, *Thesaurus*, s. v.). Compare PARAMONARIUS. [C.]

**PROSPHONESIS**, the act or office of calling on the congregation to pray, and suggesting the several subjects of their prayer.

The council of Laodicea, about 365, directs that in the liturgy, after the dismissal of the catechumens and penitents, "the three prayers of the faithful be said as follows: one, viz. the first, in silence; but the second and third by the method of prosphonesis" (διὰ προσφωνήσεως,

can. 19). By reference to the liturgy in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (viii. 6), we learn the meaning of this to be, that those prayers are to be "bidden," or dictated to the people, who respond.

Κηρύττειν is used in the same sense as προσφωνεῖν. Thus the *Constitutions:* "After this [the departure of the competentes], let the deacon proclaim (κηρυττέτω), Pray ye that are under penance;" and petitions for them are then dictated to the faithful, as before, for the other non-communicating classes (viii. 8). So on a certain occasion, St. Athanasius "ordered the deacon" κηρύξαι εὐχήν (Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* i. 13). By a canon of council of Ancyra, 315, deacons who had sacrificed to idols during the persecutions of that period were no longer to "make the proclamations" (κηρύσσειν, can. 2). Such biddings of prayer are called by St. Basil, 373, κηρύγματα ἐκκλησιαστικά. See Epistle 155 (ed. Ben.), where he mentions some of the subjects suggested; as the welfare of brethren in foreign lands, of those in military service, &c.

Examples of prosphonesis from liturgies that were in actual use will be interesting. In St. James, after the sermon, "the deacon says, Let us all say, Lord, have mercy. O Lord Almighty, the God of our fathers, we beseech Thee, hear us. For the peace from above, and the salvation of our souls, let us beseech the Lord. For the peace of the whole world, let us beseech the Lord," &c. (*Lit. Hieros.* Trollope, 42). Again, after the offertory and creed, "the deacon makes the universal synapte," or collection of petitions for all sorts and conditions of men. "*The deacon:* Let us beseech the Lord in peace. *The people:* Lord, have mercy. *The deacon:* . . . For them that bear fruit and perform good works in the holy churches of God, for them that remember the poor, the widows and orphans, strangers and them in need, and for those who have desired us to remember them in the prayers, let us beseech the Lord. For them that are in age and infirmity, for the sick and afflicted, . . . let us beseech, &c. For travellers by sea or land, for Christians in foreign lands, . . . let us beseech," &c. (55). Compare St. Chrysostom, in which, after a similar beginning, the deacon bids the people pray thus: "For this holy house, and for those who enter it with faith, devotion, and the fear of God, let us beseech the Lord. *Choir:* Lord, have mercy. *The deacon:* For our archbishop N., for the honourable presbytery, for the ministry (deacons) in Christ, for all the clergy and the people, let us beseech the Lord. *The choir:* Lord, have mercy. *The deacon:* For our most religious God-protected emperors," &c. (*Euchol.* Goar, 64; similarly, 70, 71, 74, 80). A similar *ectene* is bidden by the deacon in the Armenian liturgy (Neale's *Introd. Hist. East. Church*, 420), in several clauses, to each of which the choir responds; as it does to those of another bidden by the whole body of priests and deacons chanting (398). Instances in the Latin church are the two litanies used in the Milanese liturgy alternately on the second and three following Sundays in Lent: "*The ingressa ended, the preces bidden by the deacon, the choir responding.* Imploring the gifts of divine peace and pardon, from our whole heart and our whole mind, we pray Thee. *R.:* Lord, have mercy. For Thy holy catholic church, here and throughout the world, we pray Thee. *R.:* Lord," &c. (Pamel. *Rituale SS. PP.* i. 328). In the second form, the deacon bids thus: "Let us all say. *R.:* Kyrie eleyson. *The deacon:* Almighty God of our fathers. *R.:* Kyrie, &c. *The deacon:* Look down, O God, from heaven, and from Thy holy seat. *R.:* Kyrie, &c. *The deacon:* For Thy holy catholic church," &c. (331).

It will be observed that, in the foregoing examples, the prosphonesis is, except in one case, assigned to the deacon alone. It was at first his office in every church, and the fact is recognized by many early writers. *E.g.* St. Chrysostom: "Ye all in common hear the voice of the deacon commanding and saying, Let us pray for the bishop," &c. (*de Prophet. Obscur.* ii. 5). In another homily (ii. in 2 Cor. § 5), this father, commenting clause by clause on the prayer for the catechumens, mentions it as bidden by the deacon. (See Socrates, *u. s.*) It was owing to this that the eirenica of the Greek liturgy were also called *diaconica*. Latin witnesses are St. Augustine in Africa: "communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur" (*Ep.* 55 *ad Januar.* 18, § 34); Caesarius (502) and Germanus (555) in France: "Oratio clamante diacono indicitur" (Caes. *Serm.* 85, § 1), "Preces vero psallere levitas pro populo ab origine libris Moysacis ducit exordium" (Germ. *Epist.* i. "De Prece," Migne, lxxii. 92); and Isidore in Spain, 610: "Ad ipsum quoque [*sc.* diaconum] pertinet officium precum" (*Epist. ad Leudefr.* 8).

The prosphonesis of the deacon is lost in most of those Oriental liturgies in which the petitions of the diaconica are now gathered or expanded severally into long prayers and assigned to the priest; as in the Coptic St. Basil (Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient.* i. 5, 7; but see a trace in the previous "*Deacon:* Pray ye for the Holy Gospel," p. 7), in St. Mark (*ibid.* 138, 150–153); in the Ethiopic (505–507); in the Syrian anaphorae of Clement of Rome (*ibid.* ii. 192), of Severus of Antioch (325), St. James of Edessa (375), St. Basil (555), &c.; and in the Nestorian of Theodore (*ibid.* 619) and Nestorius (630). It is preserved in the Syrian *Ordo Communis*, the first part common to all the liturgies (5), and in the anaphora of St. James (34–38), which is used by Melchites and Jacobites alike.

[W. E. S.]

**PROSTRATION.** [GENUFLEXION.]

**PROSTRATORES.** [PENITENCE, p. 1593.]

**PROTASIUS**, martyr at Milan with his brother Gervasius; commemorated June 19 (Bed., Wand., Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; *Kal. Antiquiss.* Pat. Lat. cxxxviii. 1190; in the sacramentary of Gelasius their vigil observed on June 18 and their natale on June 19; on both which days their names occur in the collect "secreta," and post-communion; on July 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*); Oct. 14 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 271); Oct. 30, Antioch (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PROTERIUS**, confessor at Antioch; commemorated May 21 (Wright, *Syr. Mart.*).

[C. H.]

**PROTHESIS** (Πρόθεσις; *Credentia*; Copt. *Takaddemet*). The term was clearly adopted into Christian ritual from the Mosaic, where it is part of the Alexandrine equivalent for shewbread (ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως and πρόθεσις ἄρτων).

In the Greek ritual, the term is applied both to the recess upon the left of the holy table and to the lesser altar which the recess contains. Bingham observes that in many churches "there was a place where the offerings of the people were received, out of which the bread and wine was taken that was consecrated at the altar . . . . This is called πρόθεσις" (*Antiq.* viii. vi. 22). Similarly, with a slight enlargement, Renaudot describes it as "that part to the right of the bema in which the priest, about to celebrate Mass, arranges and prepares what is necessary, and from which he proceeds to the altar with a certain solemn ritual" (*Liturgiae Orient.*). Du Cange. (*Gloss. Graec.* s. v.) confines his account to this sense of the word, and does not even hint that any other is possible. Suicer, however, says that Prothesis was *altare minus*, to the left of the principal altar, and that it had its name from the fact that the bread which was to be consecrated by the priest was first placed upon it (*Thesaurus*, p. 842). In this sense the term prothesis corresponds to the modern Credence. It is remarked by Renaudot that the term "altare minus" is improperly applied to the table of the prothesis "because the sacrifice is not offered upon it" (*Lit. Orient.* i. 188, ed. Paris, 1716).

Most of the writers upon the subject appear to be agreed that the prothesis stood to the left of the holy table as you face it. So it is placed by Leo Allatius, by Goar, and by Beveridge (in the plan given by Bingham, though Beveridge's own words, subsequently quoted, seem to place it otherwise). The points on which they differ are two: (1) whether the Prothesis was a part of the bema or distinct from it; and (2) whether there was a direct approach to the prothesis from the bema or not. Beveridge (Annot. in Can. Conc. Nic. Primi in can. xi. 16) considers that the prothesis was a distinct place from the bema, and that there was an immediate communication from one to the other, basing his conclusion upon these words from the liturgy of St. Chrysostom: "Καὶ εὐλογῶν τὸν λαὸν, εἰσέρχεται" (sc. into the bema) μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, εἰ οὐκ ἔστι διάκονος, εἰσέρχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὴν Πρόθεσιν, καὶ μεταλαμβάνει τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ποτηρίῳ προσεχῶς καὶ εὐλαβῶς καὶ ἀποπλύνει τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον τρὶς, καὶ ὁρᾷ μὴ μείνῃ τὸ λεγόμενον μαργαρίτης. He afterwards quotes a passage of Marcus Hieromonachus to shew that the censing minister sometimes had to make his entrance into the sanctuary through the prothesis and not through the holy doors. That the prothesis was, in some sense, a distinct apartment from the sanctuary, and that sundry liturgical actions had to be performed in it and not in the sanctuary seems clear; but it may fairly be doubted whether ancient churches were always built in the same way. In a modern church, a vestry is sometimes a distinct construction and sometimes an apartment merely curtained off from the church. And it seems quite conceivable that when Leo Allatius places the prothesis in the bema, while Goar separates it from it, both may be correct. In a handsome church the prothesis may very well have been the apse of an aisle, whilst in a church of humbler pretensions the liturgical requirement of the prothesis may have been met by separating off a part of the bema itself. This appears actually to be the case at the present day according to the description given by Dr. Neale: "The chapel is usually divided by a wall from the bema, a passage being pierced through it; sometimes it is separated by a screen, and in poor country churches has occasionally no division at all" (*Holy Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 190).

The view of Mr. Freshfield is that the construction of the prothesis in an apse is a question of date; that Byzantine churches had not at first an apse for the prothesis, but that it was introduced to meet the requirements of the ritual when developed beyond its pristine simplicity. He says that "where an ancient Greek church is found with three apses it is subsequent in date to the emperor Justin II. (*i.e.* the middle of the 6th century), or has had a new east end applied: where it has only one apse it is prior to that date" (*Archaeologia*, vol. 44, xxiv.).

It should be noticed that in Beveridge's plan of an ancient church as given by Bingham, the prothesis is placed on the left of the spectator looking towards the altar, whereas Beveridge's words seem to insist upon the contrary. He seems, indeed, to take some pains upon the point, as if he were writing against the conclusions of previous authors. He says, "Et διακονικὸν quidem ad dexteram Pontificis in throno sedentis et Occidentem respicientis collocatur, πρόθεσις ad sinistram," and much more to the same purport (Annot. in Can. Conc. Nic. Primi, in Can. xi. 15). In point of fact, amongst the several writers there seems to be some confusion in the use of the terms "right" and "left."

In the Eastern ritual the procession from the prothesis to the altar with the sacred elements is called the Great ENTRANCE (p. 612) μεγάλη εἴσοδος, while that with the Book of the Gospels is called the Little Entrance (μικρὰ εἴσοδος). The complete rite is described by Goar (*Euchol.* p. 131). The office of the prothesis is the preparation of the oblation for the eucharistic service. It opens with the rite of washing the hands on the part of the priest and deacon, saying the Psalm, "I will wash my hands in innocency, O Lord, and so will I go to thine altar." Dr. Neale infers the extreme antiquity of this rite from the words of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, "Ye have seen the deacon giving water to the priest to wash his hands, and to the presbyters who surround the altar of God" (*Catech. Mystag.* 5). The whole office is given in English by Dr. Neale (*Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 341). [H. T. A.]

**PROTOAPOSTOLARIUS**, the first epistoler. The liturgical epistle is called the apostle, because taken from the writings of the apostles, in the Greek and Oriental churches (*Liturg. S. Chrys.* in Goar, *Euchol.* 68; *S. Marc*, in Renaud. *Collectio Lit. Orient.* i. 137; the *Coptic* rite, *ibid.* 6; the *Ethiopic*, 508; the *Syrian* [Melchite and Jacobite], ii. 19, but "epistle" also 8, 19; the Nestorian, 585), as formerly among the Latins (Childeberti *Constit.* A.D. 554, *Capit Reg. Fr.* Baluze, i. 7; Germanus Paris. 555, *Expos. Missae* in Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. iv. 12; *Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 633, can. 12; and some copies of the Gregorian sacramentary, Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii. 1, Ménard. *Opp.* S. Greg. iii. 1, ed. Ben.;

Rocca, *Opp.* Greg. V. 63, ed. 1615). Hence the epistoler was called by the later Greeks apostolarius. Describing the ceremonies of Easter Eve at Constantinople, Codinus tells us that "the protoapostolarius reads the prophecy and the apostle" (*de Offic.* vi. p. 46, ed. Niebuhr). [W. E. S.]

PROTOLICUS, martyr with Bassus and Antonius at Alexandria; commemorated Feb. 14 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

PROTONOTARIUS. By this hybrid word the Greeks denoted the ecclesiastical officer at Constantinople, who had his counterpart at Rome in the *primicerius notariorum*. "The office [of the protonotary] is evident from the name; for he is the first of the notaries or scribes" (Codinus, *de Offic. Palat. C. P.* v. 41, ed. Bekk.). In a very ancient *Notitia Officialium*, or "catalogue raisonné" of church officials at C. P., printed by Goar, we read: "The protonotary stands in the church for the service of the bishop, and it is his business to write, if there be any occasion for it. He also examines (or makes a visitation of) the lawyers, and writes wills and manumissions, and precepts and the like." (MS. Allat. in *Euchologion*, 276). Another document of the same kind tells us that his station was in the bema, that at the time of the elevation he gave the basin to the bishop, that he might wash his hands, and that he also held the DICERIUM (*ibid.* 269). He read the gospel on Palm Sunday (277; similarly 270). The protonotarius took precedence after the EXOCATACOELI (Joan. Citrii Resp. 8, *Jus Graeco-Rom.* v. in the notes of Gretser and Goar to Codinus, 132). In the 12th century, under Georgius Xiphelinus, the protecdicus [ECDICUS] was charged with the duties of the protonotary, their offices being amalgamated under the former name (Joan. Citr. *u. s.* in Goar, *Euchol.* 283). In what century the title of protonotary was first used by the Greeks, I cannot say. The imperial officer, so called, is termed by Socrates, A.D. 439, πρωτοστάτης τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπογραφέων (*Hist. Eccl.* vii. 23). Agatho, who had been employed as a notary at the sixth oecumenical council, writing in 712, calls himself "protonotary of the patriarchic secretum" (*Epilogus*, Hard. *Conc.* iii. 1833). This is, I think, the earliest example. The term was adopted by the Romans not much later. Ammianus, 389, calls the civil officer merely "primus inter notarios omnes" (*Res Gestae*, xxv. 8). Gregory of Rome, in 592, still uses the phrase "primicerius notariorum" (*Epist.* ii. 22) when speaking of the ecclesiastic. Similarly, in the *Liber Pontificalis* (Julius, No. 36): "Hic constitutum fecit, ut . . . . omnium monumentorum in ecclesia per primicerium notariorum confectio celebraretur." Hadrian of Rome, 772, uses the word, but applies it only to a chancellor of the empire (*Epist. ad Car. M.* Hard. *Conc.* iii. 2017; inter *Epp.* Hadr. 85). After our period, however, it became the common title of the papal officers. Thus *e.g.* John de Trembley was "protonotary of the apostolic see and of the sacred council of Constance" (Hard. viii. 492). A bull of Leo X. speaks of the "protonotariatus officium" and "protonotariatus habitus" (Hard. ix. 1776). [W. E. S.]

PROTOPAPAS (πρωτοπαπᾶς, πρωτοιερεύς, πρωτοπρεσβύτερος). I. The chief of the presbyters in an episcopal church was so called. Hence he may be compared to the dean of a western cathedral. At Constantinople, "when the bishop celebrates the liturgy, the protopapas stands above all the rulers of the church, and in the divine liturgy gives the holy communion to the bishop. The bishop likewise gives it to the πρωτοιερεύς. He is also the chief in the higher ranks of the church; thus occupying the place of the bishop in the church" (*Official. Catal.* ex. Allat. antiquissimo MS. printed by Goar, *Euchol.* p. 277; compare the similar *Catal.* p. 271). He is "the first of the bema," says Codinus, "and has the second place after the bishop" (*De Offic. Palat.* i. p. 6, ed. Bekk.). A brief form of appointment is given by Goar from an ancient Euchologion (287). Some special duties of the protopapas of Constantinople are mentioned by Codinus, which probably did not differ from those discharged by the same officer in other great churches (xiv. 79).

II. The chief of the clergy in attendance on the emperor was also called the protopapas. Thus Codinus: "The emperor has a protopapas among his clergy, the church has the same" (*De Off.* xvii. 94). Under Constantine VIII. "the protopapas of the palace was commanded to precede the army with the precious wood of the cross" (Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.* ii. 285, ed. Nieb.). One Stylianus is mentioned as the protopapas of the great palace under Nicephorus II. (*ibid.* 252).

III. Parish priests who had others under them were also called protopapas. The eighth canon of Antioch, A.D. 341, forbids "presbyters in the country districts to give canonical epistles," but permits the chorepiscopi to do so. Balsamon, commenting on this, says, "some maintain that the presbyters in the country districts, *i.e.* the protopapades, can give letters of peace" (*Pandect.* Bever. i. 437). Again, he says that "because the canons forbade bishops in small cities and villages, therefore they ordained for them presbyters; that is, protopapades and chorepiscopi" (*Comm.* in Cem. x. p. 439). They probably had some power over their brethren, as well as precedence, from the first, but its extent does not appear. In the modern Greek church the protopapas "in vicis episcopo absente, reliquis sacerdotibus semper praeeminet, et in eos jus exercet" (Goar, 287). [W. E. S.]

PROTOPRESBYTER. The protopapas was anciently so called. In the acts of the synod at the Oak, A.D. 403, we read of "Arsacius (of Constantinople), the protopresbyter, who succeeded Chrysostom" (Hard. *Concil.* i. 1041). A protopresbyter of Alexandria is spoken of at about the same time (Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 9). In the *Monumenta Syn. Nic.* ii. A.D. 787, one of the Roman legates is called πρῶτος πρεσβύτερος of the church at Rome (Hard. iv. 28). See PROTOPAPAS, ARCHPRESBYTER, DECANUS. [W. E. S.]

PROTUS (1), pedagogus, martyr with his pupils Cantianus and Cantianilla; commemorated May 31 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*, at Aquileia; *Mart. Rom.*); June 15, with Cantianus and Clemens (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr with Jacinctus, both eunuchs, under Gallienus; commemorated Sept. 11, on

the old Via Salaria (Usuard. *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*, with Hyacinthus, both eunuchs of St. Eugenia; *Hieron. Mart.*, with Jacinctus, at the cemetery of Basillae on the old Via Salaria; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*, *Kal. Antiquiss.* Patr. Lat. cxxxviii. 1191, with Hyacinthus; *Mart. Rom.*, with the same). The natale of Protus and Hyacinthus on Sept. 11 is observed in the sacramentary of Gregory, their names mentioned in the collect, the "super oblata," and the "ad complendum" (Greg. Mag. *Sacr.*). [C. H.]

**PROVINCE.** [ORDERS, HOLY, p. 1478.]

**PROVINCIAL SYNOD.** [COUNCIL, p. 473.]

**PROVOST.** [PRAEPOSITUS.]

**PRUDENS** (*Vet. Rom. Mart.* May 19), disciple of St. Paul. [PUDENS.] [C. H.]

**PSACHNION.** This word, whose meaning is quite uncertain, occurs in the account of the sufferings of pope Martin I. (ob. A.D. 655). After very cruel treatment had been inflicted on him at Constantinople, the *sacellarius* (see Ducange, *s. v.*) ordered one of the guards standing by, a barber, to remove at once the pope's *psachnion* (*Patrol.* lxxxvii. 115). This done, he was delivered to the prefect of the city with a view to his being put to death, which he but narrowly escaped.

Ducange (*Glossarium*, s. v.) considers that the text is corrupt, and that *saccion* should be read, the *saccus* being an article of dress worn by patriarchs, &c. This does not seem very probable, because the *pallium* would be above all the other vestments, and the removal of that is subsequently mentioned. In the text as given by Baronius (*Annales*, A.D. 651, cc. 10, 11), the reading *psachnion* is found, which, however, leaves the matter quite as doubtful. Baronius gives the rather far-fetched theory that the meaning is that of a satchel or purse (*pera*). Macer (*Hierolexicon*, s. v.) considers the word to refer to the tonsure, laying stress on the fact that it is a barber who is bidden to act on this occasion. This would be tantamount to a degrading from the clerical office, so that the secular power could be then called upon to act. [R. S.]

**PSALLENDA,** the proper antiphon on a saint's day in the Ambrosian offices of lauds and vespers. *Ex.* On St. Andrew's day at vespers. "*Psall.* Inveni David servum meum: Oleo sancto meo unxi eum. Gloria Patri, &c. Inveni," &c. [W. E. S.]

**PSALLENDUM,** the anthem between the prophecy and epistle in the liturgy of Gothic Spain: "Postea, iterato *Dominus sit semper vobiscum*, canitur aut profertur psallendum, quod idem paene est atque responsum, non dispar graduali officii Latini" (*Ordo Div. Off. Goth.* from Roblesius, *Vita Ximenii*, 27, in *Conc. Hisp.* Aguirre, iii. 264). Leslie (in *Psallendo*, *Miss. Mozar.*) denies its close resemblance to the gradual. In the *Missal* this anthem is always headed by the word "psallendo," which is, I conceive, not the oblique case, but the lower Latin form. Compare sono for sonum in the *Breviar. Goth.* Lorenzana, 1, 6, 8, &c. [W. E. S.]

**PSALLENTIA,** a method of singing the psalms, hymns, &c. "Graecorum psallentiam ad nos dirigere tua fraternitas dignetur." This occurs in a letter to Jerome, which has been ascribed to Damasus of Rome, the ground of the request being the rudeness of the Roman psalmody at that time: "Nec psallentium mos tenetur, nec hymni decus in ore nostro cognoscitur." The authenticity of the epistle and of Jerome's reply is denied by Hardouin, &c. (Mansi, *Concil.* iii. 428). [W. E. S.]

**PSALLENTIUM** (or PSALLENTIUS), a service of psalms and hymns; a word in very common use in France in the 6th century and later; but less frequent elsewhere. "Cum psallentio sacerdotum crucem Domini vel pignora sanctorum commendavit" (Baudonivia in *Vita Radegundis*, 19): "Dum sub muro cum psallentio sanctum ejus corpus portaretur" (*Ib.* 28). "Prostrati solo Dominum diebus singulis cum psallentii modulamine deprecantur" (Greg. Turon. *de Vit. PP.* i. 1; see *Hist. Franc.* i. 43: "Psallentium audierunt in caelo; ii. 21, in a procession; 37, of an antiphon, &c.). In 653 Clovis II. made a grant to the church of St. Denys, "ut sicut tempore domini genetoris nostri ibidem psallencius per turmas fuit institutus; vel sicut ad monasthirium St. Mauricii Agaunis die noctoque tenetur, ita in loco ipso celebretur" (*De Re Diplom.* Mabill. 466). "That on the Lord's Day every priest go round his church, together with the people *cum psallentio*" (*Capit. Reg. Fr.* v. 372). [W. E. S.]

**PSALMELLUS,** an anthem from the Psalms sung after the prophecy in the Ambrosian liturgy (*Rituale SS. PP.* Pamel. i. 295), and therefore corresponding to the PSALLENDUM of the Mozarabic. Its analogy to the GRADUAL is observed by Ralph of Tongres, who speaking of the responsories of the mass, says, "In the Roman office they are called graduals, and in the Ambrosian, psalmeli" (*sic.*; *De Can. Observ.* 12). The following rule for its use is given in the *Missal* of 1609; "Post lectionem [prophetiae], responso per ministrum *Deo gratias*, dicitur psalmellus, quando sequitur epistola; alioquin post lectionem dicitur alleluia cum suo versu, vel cantus" (Lebrun, *Dissert.* iii. art. 2). [W. E. S.]

**PSALMISTA.** The *Statuta Antiqua* of the African Church (c. 10) declare that a "psalmista, *i.e.* cantor," may undertake the office of a church singer at the mere bidding of the presbyter, without consulting the bishop. The presbyter is to say to him, "tu vide ut quod ore cantas corde credas, et quod corde credis operibus comprobes." Compare ORDINATION, p. 1509. [C.]

**PSALMODY.** The object of this article is to give some account of the rise, method, and peculiarities of Psalmody in early Christianity and to trace the progress of ideas that were associated with it.

It has been already stated in this work [see OFFICE, THE DIVINE] that psalmody formed so prominent a constituent of ancient choir services as actually to have given its name to some of the earliest service books that are known to us. Indeed, the psalmody of any given service may be considered as the thread upon which the pearls of lesson, versicle and collect are strung.

*Germs of Choir Services.*—We can trace the rise of the elaborate services that have been

used in the Christian church in the little that has come down to us about the practice of the ancients in psalmody.

The earliest writers as well as the uniform tradition of Christendom imply that the musical performance of psalms has always formed a part of Christian worship. The first passage in Christian literature which makes any reference to the subject is the well-known passage from the epistle of St. Ignatius to the Ephesians. He uses expressions there which can only be explained on the hypothesis that the early Christians sang. He does not indeed say that what they sang was the Psalms of David. But if we bear in mind the practice of the age immediately subsequent and that of the Jewish church before, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Psalms of David formed at least a part of what the early Christians sang.

Justin Martyr, again, in his Apology addressed to the emperor Antoninus Pius, speaks of the Christians singing "hymns." But the learned Benedictine editor observes there that "it is plain enough that the name of *hymns* was given both to the Psalms of David and to lyrics composed by Christians themselves, which used to be sung in church." Tertullian (*Apol.* 39), mentions the singing of compositions taken from the Holy Scriptures, amongst which it can hardly be doubted (though he does not distinctly say so) that the Psalms of David were included. Origen too (*contra Celsum*, viii. 37) makes use of expressions which may fairly be interpreted in the same direction; yet he does not explicitly affirm that the psalms were sung in public worship. Indeed the earliest mention known to the present writer of the use of ψαλμοί in Christian worship is contained in a passage quoted by Eusebius against Artemon, the heretic, ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 28). There is indeed one passage which may contest the priority with this quotation of Eusebius. It is a passage attributed to Hippolytus in the oration on the end of the world: τὸ στόμα ὑμῶν πρὸς δοξολογίαν καὶ αἶνον καὶ ψαλμοὺς καὶ ᾠδὰς πνευματικὰς ηὐτρέπισα λαλεῖν. But though the passage is ancient, yet it is of doubtful authenticity, and therefore cannot be advanced with confidence in the argument. After this period the mention of psalmody properly so-called is so frequent as to enable us to dispense with specific citation.

Athanasius (*de Virginitate*) tells a lady, "Say as many psalms as you can, and to every psalm let there be joined prayers and bending of the knees with tears, . . . and after three psalms are finished, say *Alleluia*."

This practice seems to be the prototype of that which was long afterwards the Mozarabic and Gallican rule, according to which it was directed that after each antiphon which followed the psalm there should be said collects, which were for the most part compiled from the language of the psalm itself. These prayers are probably the *Collectiones* spoken of in the council of Agde in the year 506 (can. 30), which were to be said by bishops and presbyters. If neither bishop nor presbyter but only a deacon were present, then these prayers were not said. There is a difference of opinion as to where the practice originated of interspersing psalms with collects. Tomasi attributes it to the Spanish and Gallican churches. Gerbert thinks it was brought by Cassian from the East into Gaul. In the council of Laodicea (4th century) there is a canon which forbids psalms to be said without a lection between them (*Conc. Laod.* can. 17).

The use of any human composition is expressly forbidden by the first council of Braga: "Ut ultra psalmos vel canonicarum Scripturarum novi et veteris Testamenti nihil poetice compositum in ecclesia psallatur, sicut et sancti praecipiunt canones" (*Conc. Brac.* l. c. 12). The stiffness of this prohibition was afterwards modified (*Conc. Tolet.* iv.). It seems however that it was not meant to exclude what we should call hymns, but only the so-called psalms of Solomon and other compositions which might seem to claim rank as canonical scripture. (See Balsamon on *Conc. Laod.* can. 59.) By a canon (67) amongst the capitula of Martin of Braga it was forbidden to use psalms in church that were not in Scripture (compositos et vulgares) The same thing is repeated in the 9th century, shewing that former prohibitions had been ineffectual (*Conc. Aquisgr.* can. 86). In connexion with this branch of the subject it will be remembered that there was often a disposition to propagate false teaching through the medium of psalms composed by such teachers themselves; as in the case of Paul of Samosata, mentioned by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* vii. 30); Valentinus, mentioned by Tertullian (*de Carne Christi*, 17); Apollinarists in Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25); and the most famous example of all—the Donatists, attacked by St. Augustine (*Ep.* 55, al. 34). The use of such psalms, however, does not seem to have been confined to the schismatic party; for St. Augustine himself composed a long psalm against the Donatist party. He says *Retract.* lib. i. 20) that he meant it to be sung by the multitude, in order that the unlearned might become acquainted with the errors of the Donatists. The psalm is peculiar in its structure. It is an alphabetic psalm (Abecedarius) with an intercalated antiphon. It consists of strophes of twelve lines each. The strophes begin with the letters of the alphabet down as far as V, the antiphon being said at the beginning of the psalm, and after each strophe. The antiphon in question is the line:

"Omnes qui gaudetis de pace, modo verum judicate."

This antiphon the writer himself calls *Hypopsalma*. The whole is followed by an epilogue, which is an address from the Catholic church exhorting the people to a loyal adherence to her. Such psalms of human composition were sometimes called *Psalmi plebeii* or *vulgares*; and in Greek ἰδιωτικοί.

The commanding position which psalmody occupied in the early monastic life cannot be better depicted than in the striking phrase of St. Jerome's about the convent at Bethlehem, "extra psalmos silentium est." St. Ambrose even proposes the example of birds, as a consideration which should lead people to begin and end the day with psalmody: "Quis enim sensum hominis gerens non erubescat sine psalmorum celebritate diem vel inchoare vel claudere; cum etiam minutissimae aves solemni devotione et

dulci carmine ortus dierum et noctium persequantur?" (*S. Ambr. in Ps.* 118.)

In later times we meet with a curious term, which appears to have arisen from this universal obligation to psalmody—*Psalmi superpositi.* In the Benedictine Rule it denotes certain psalms enjoined for meditation upon itinerant monks, who were too illiterate to read the psalter at large. (See Du Cange, *Gloss.* s. v. "Superpositi.")

It is sometimes inferred from a passage in St. Augustine, that psalmody was not introduced into the church of Milan until the Arian persecutions in the time of St. Ambrose, "tum hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium, ne populus maeroris taedio contabesceret, institutum est." (St. Aug. *Conf.* lib. ix. cap. 7). His meaning, however, probably is not that the use of psalms was hitherto unknown in the Milanese church, but that until this emergency the congregation had not performed them "secundum morem orientalium," *i.e.* had not sung them antiphonally, and with the people joining in. (See Mabillon *de Cursu Gallicano Disquisitio.*) Indeed, it will be sufficient to quote the phrase of Augustine himself to shew that the practice of singing the psalms was not confined to any particular church, but was universal, "toto orbe cantantur" (St. Aug. *Conf.* ix. 4).

Amongst special uses the psalmody of the ancient Gallican church occupies a prominent position. Cardinal Tomasi observes that in more modern times it is represented, subject to certain alterations of detail, by the Mozarabic (or ancient Spanish) rite (*Opp. Omnia*, tom. iii. praef., Romae, 1748). The rise and progress of psalmody in the Gallican church are described at length by Mabillon (*de Cursu Gallicano Disquisitio*). It will be seen later in this article that one of the specialities of Gallican psalmody was the use of *Gloria Patri* at the end of every psalm, as is done at present in the English church. As to the Roman mode of psalmody in early days Mabillon (*u. s.*) says that it is not easy to define it; but he gives his opinion that it differed in some respects from that laid down in the Benedictine rule. The phrase which Mabillon uses is *modus psallendi.* By this he probably does not mean the features of execution, that is, whether it was done by a single voice or by many, whether it was responsory or otherwise, but he probably means the choice and assignment of psalm and canticle in the several offices.

Of the condition of psalmody in this country before the arrival of Augustine (A.D. 596) very little is known. Of the British chant we know nothing but from a passage in Gildas, who praises its sweetness (Dei laudes canora Christi tyronum voce suaviter modulantes). Some writers have supposed that the Gallican psalmody was used here by Augustine; but Johnson (*Canons*, preface, xiii.) refuses to allow this. There are indications, indeed, that considerable pains were bestowed upon the subject in the ancient English church. Bede (*Hist.* iv. 18) gives an account of the work that was done here in the improvement of psalmody by John, the precentor (archicantor) of St. Peter's at Rome, who came here by command of pope Agatho. So great was the influence of his work that by the council of Cloveshoo (A.D. 747) the Roman psalmody was made of obligation in those parts of the British Islands which were under the jurisdiction of archbishop Cuthbert (can. 13, 15). With respect to the language in which the ancient English church performed their psalmody, authorities seem scarcely to be agreed. Johnson, indeed, admits that for the first 250 years after the arrival of Augustine it was done in Latin for the public service (*Canons*, preface, xiii.). An ancient MS. in the Cotton library is quoted by Collier (*Eccl. Hist.* book i. p. 48, vol. i. fol. ed.) to the effect that Germanus and Lupus brought the Gallican *Cursus* (ordinem cursus Gallorum) to this country in the 5th century. If that be so, the question is settled; for there can be no reasonable doubt either (1) that the term *Cursus* includes psalmody; or (2) that the psalmody of the Gallican rite was in Latin. On the relation between the Gallican *Cursus* and ancient English psalmody the reader may consult with advantage bishop Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicae*, chap. iv. From that work, which takes in the period before the arrival of Augustine, it may be gathered how little is really known of the practices of Christianity in these islands during the first six centuries.

Upon the ancient distribution of the psalms for the service of the church Gavanti (*Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, tom. ii. s. ii. cap. i. 3) writes to this effect: Walafrid Strabo reports that, to avoid confusion arising from variety of uses, pope Damasus, at the instance of Theodosius, ordered St. Jerome to arrange the psalms for the several services of day and night; that the distribution was made, was approved by Damasus, and received by the whole church. It is not unreasonable to assume that in the 9th century (Strabo's period) there were extant documents from which it could be inferred that St. Jerome really did make some such distribution as that which is alleged.

Attempts were made to introduce uniformity of use into the psalmody. Thus in the council of Vannes (A.D. 465), "Rectum quoque duximus, ut vel intra provinciam nostram sacrorum ordo et psallendi una sit consuetudo" (Can. 15). The same thing occurs again in the second council of Bracara, which guards against the introduction of private uses from the monasteries. (*Conc. Brac.* ii. cap. 1.)

The regular psalms that would have occurred in the office of the day were at times set aside in favour of proper psalms. A capitulum of the synod of Aix in the year 817, runs thus: "Ut praetermissis partitionibus psalterii, psalmi speciales pro eleemosynariis et defunctis cantentur" (cap. 50).

It ought to be noticed that in the performance of psalmody the headings or titles of the psalms seem always to have been recited. It is well known that in his popular sermons on the Psalms, St. Augustine often makes a great deal out of the strange words which the English reader commonly passes quite unnoticed. Indeed, he speaks of the title as the herald of the psalm (praeco Psalmi). In this respect Christianity probably followed what had always been (and still is) the usage of the synagogue, where the title is always recited as an integral part of the psalm, when the psalm is used for devotional

purposes, either by a single individual or by the assembled multitude.

*Mode.*—The methods of performing psalmody in the ancient church are reducible to these:—

1. The psalm was executed by a single voice, whilst all the rest of the congregation listened.

2. Sometimes it was done by the whole congregation singing together.

3. The congregation was divided into two parts or choirs, which sang alternate verses.

4. One voice sang the first part of a verse (as we say, incepted it), and the rest of the congregation all together succented it, that is, sang the close of it.

To these methods some writers add yet another; *e.g.* Martene (*de Eccl. Rit.* IV. iii. 7) describes a method which he calls *Responsorius.* This very common term, however, has another meaning, which we shall consider subsequently. In this method, according to Martene, the cantor or lector recited each verse of the psalm, and then the whole chorus repeated it after he had done. He quotes indeed several passages to establish this; but it may be doubted whether they cannot one and all be otherwise explained.

(*α*) The method in which a single voice sang and the rest listened was afterwards called *Tractus.* It is described by Cassian: "Praedictum vero duodenarium psalmorum numerum ita dividunt, ut si duo fuerint fratres, senos psallant; si tres, quaternos; si quatuor, ternos. Quo numero nunquam minus in congregatione decantant; ac proinde quantalibet multitudo convenerit, nunquam amplius psallunt in synaxi, quam quatuor fratres" (*De Coenobiorum Instit.* lib. ii. cap. 11, ad fin. The reason why a psalm was executed sometimes by a single voice and sometimes by the assembly at large is given by St. Augustine: "Ideo in Psalmis aliquando plures cantant, ut ostendatur quia de pluribus fit unus; aliquando unus cantat, ut ostendatur quid fiat de pluribus." (*In Jo. Tract.* xii.)

(*β*) Cardinal Thomasius says that when the whole choir sings a psalm together, not alternately, the ancients called this method the "direct" (directus, directaneus). Mention of this is made in the Rule of St. Benedict. It was practised in the Milanese rite, in which at matins one psalm after the chapter was sung in this manner. In the monastic rite the psalms before and after meals were to be said in this manner, without antiphon on ferial days, but with antiphon or alleluia on feasts.

(*γ*) The antiphonal method seems to be Eastern in its origin. [ANTIPHON, p. 94.]

It is often in the present day debated whether the psalms ought to be sung antiphonally by half verses or by whole verses. It is therefore relevant to observe that in the council of Aix (8th century) a direction is given that they should be sung according to the division of the verses (ut psalmi digne secundum divisiones versuum modulentur); that is, the clergy were not to hurry one verse into the next as if there were no division (*Conc. Aquisgr.* cap. 70). There is, so far as the present writer knows, no trace in early Christian antiquity of the psalms having been sung by half verses by equal choirs.

(*δ*) In this part of the subject the word *Responsorium* demands some notice. There is an ambiguity about it. First, certain psalms were so called from the liturgical position assigned to them. In very early times it appears that the epistle and gospel were divided by a psalm. [GRADUAL.] Psalms appointed for this function were called *Responsoria.* Bingham quotes this use of the term in the fourth council of Toledo, which complains of the omission of *Gloria Patri* at the end of such psalms—"Sunt quidam qui in fine responsoriorum *Gloria* non dicunt." But, secondly, any psalm might be called a responsory psalm, not from the liturgical use of it, but simply from the mode of its performance. St. Isidore of Seville, for instance, applies *Responsorium* to a psalm that was begun by one voice and taken up by the chorus, "Vocata hoc nomine quod, uno canente, chorus consonando respondeat (*De Off.* i. 8).

The people seem at times to have done their part most lustily. "The church is well compared to the sea," says St. Ambrose, for "Responsoriis psalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum consonans undarum fragor resultat" (*Hexem.* iii. 5).

The mode of performing psalmody in the East is described by St. Basil the Great. The people, he says, having divided themselves into two parties, perform (ἀντιψάλλουσιν) antiphonally to one another. . . Then, again, having entrusted to one person the duty of incepting the tune, the rest succent (ὑπηχοῦσι) (S. Bas. Mag. *Ep.* 207, *Ad clericos Neocaesarienses*). [ANTIPHON, p. 94.] This seems to have been the ordinary method of performing psalmody in St. Chrysostom's part of the church (whether Constantinople or Antioch), for he complains that as soon as they had succented (ὑπηχήσαντες) two or three psalms, they hurried off from church and thought it was enough for their salvation (*Hom.* xi. *in Matt.*).

It may be gathered that in very early times there were leaders of the psalmody who became afterwards called κανονάρχαι, and in Latin, praecentores. [PRECENTOR.] One of the most famous examples of this mode of performance is the escape of St. Athanasius when the church was surrounded by Arian soldiers, and he says, "Sitting on my throne, I ordered the deacon to read a psalm and the people to respond (ὑπακούειν al. ὑπηχεῖν), for His mercy endureth for ever" (Ath. *Apol. de Fugâ*, p. 717, tom. i. ed. Colon. 1686).

In the rule of St. Benedict and elsewhere in connexion with psalmody there is a phrase of very frequent occurrence, *psalmum imponere.* It means to lead the choir in performing the psalm; as we should say, to set the psalm. By the *Capitula* of Martin of Bracara (cent. 6) no one was to lead the psalmody (psallere) in the desk unless he had been ordained lector by the bishop (*Cap. Mart. Brac.* can. 45).

The ritual of the psalmody as it was practised amongst the monks of Egypt is thus described by Cassian, a writer of the 4th century: "Unus in medium psalmos Domino cantaturus exsurgit. Cumque sedentibus cunctis (ut est moris nunc usque in Aegypti partibus) et in psallentis verba omni cordis intentione defixis, undecim psalmos orationum interjectione distinctos contiguis versibus parili pronuntiatione cantasset, duodecimum sub *Alleluia* responsione consummans, ab universorum oculis repente subtractus, quaestioni pariter et caeremoniis finem imposuit" (*De*

*Coenobiorum Instit.* lib. ii. cap. 5). From this passage it will be gathered that while the singer of the psalm stood, the others sat down.

From some of the expressions already used it will be gathered that the recital of the psalms was commonly—it would obviously be too much to say always—musical. In this respect they shared the privilege that belonged to other passages of Scripture. So far as we know, it appears that in the Jewish church the Scriptures were never read in the colloquial inflexions of ordinary speech, but were recited with fixed solemn musical intonation. Every word in the Hebrew Bible is accompanied by a mark or accent, which indicates not only the logical position of the word in the sentence, but also the particular musical inflection with which the word is to be recited. That distinction applies to the words of the Book of Psalms as to every other book of Scripture. In such a matter, what every Israelite was familiar with, the Christian Church would be likely to continue. Basil the Great (and after him other writers) explains two of the names that occur in the titles of the psalms as having reference to the mode of their execution. A *psalm*, he says, is a composition which is instrumentally accompanied (*ὅταν εὐρυθμως κατὰ τοὺς ἁρμονικοὺς λόγους πρὸς τὸ ὄργανον κρούηται*): a *song* on the contrary is a melodious utterance without the accompaniment of an instrument (*φωνὴ ἐμμελὴς ἀποδιδομένη ἐναρμονίως χωρὶς τῆς συνηχήσεως τοῦ ὀργάνου. Hom in Ps.* 29). We may gather from a phrase of St. Basil's that the music with which the psalms were performed was at times as elaborate as the condition of musical art permitted. He says that "harmonious tunes of psalms were devised by us" in order that those who were young in years or character might be attracted and instructed thereby. (S. Bas. Mag. *Sermo* ii. *de Doctrina*).

Protests against irreverent methods of psalmody occur from time to time. "Psalmi in ecclesiâ non cursim et excelsis atque inordinatis seu intemperatis vocibus, sed plane ac dilucide et cum compunctione cordis recitentur" (*Conc. Aquisgr.* c. 137). At one time it seems that the psalmody was even accompanied by gesticulations of the hands (*ὀρχήσεις τῶν χειρῶν*). (See Balsamon on *Conc. Trull.* can. 75.) The conditions of good psalmody are well described in a regulation of Louis the Pious: "Psalmi namque in ecclesiâ non cursim et excelsis atque inordinatis intemperatisque vocibus, sed plane ac dilucide et cum compunctione cordis recitentur, ut et recitantium mens illorum dulcedine pascatur et audientium aures illorum pronunciatione demulceantur, quoniam quamvis cantilenae sonus in aliis officiis excelsâ solet edi voce, in recitandis tamen psalmis hujuscemodi vitanda est vox" (Ludovici Pii *Reform. Eccl. de Reg. Cleric.* cap. xxiv. ap. Melchior Goldastus, ed. Frankf. 1673, tom. iii. p. 217).

### *Gloria Patri in Psalmody.*

(1) For the various forms in which the Doxology has appeared, see DOXOLOGY.

(2) The use of it appears to have differed in the East and West. It is implied by Cassian (*Instit.* ii. 5) that the use of *Gloria Patri* as a response at the end of every psalm is a Western practice, whilst in the East, or at least amongst the monks of Egypt, it was only after the antiphon which followed the last psalm that it was said. St. Benedict enjoins that at the end of a psalm *Gloria Patri* be said "in the Western manner." Some of the longer psalms he divides into two *Glorias*. This practice of dividing psalms (as we still do the 119th psalm in the English psalter) is referred to in the third council of Narbonne (A.D. 589). "Ut in psallendis ordinibus per quemque psalmum *Gloria* dicatur omnipotenti Deo, per majores vero psalmos, prout fuerint prolixius, pausationes fiant et per quamque pausationem *Gloria Trinitatis* Domino decantetur."

The reader will specially observe that the use of *Gloria Patri* was one of the points which distinguished the Gallican from the Roman rite. The Gallicans said it at the end of every psalm, thus furnishing an early precedent for the rule of the English Prayer Book that "at the end of every psalm . . . shall be repeated this hymn;" but the Romans did not. The authorities may be seen in Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* book 1, cent. 5.

*Versions Used.*—It is not within the scope of this work in any way to discuss the character, origin, or authorship of the several versions of the psalms; but one or two points about the use of them may be advanced here.

A long discussion of them is given by Lorinus (*Praef. in Pss.* cap. xiii.), from whom these facts may be gathered.

At the request of St. Jerome, pope Damasus caused one of his versions of the psalms to be sung in the churches of France—a version which from that use of it has been since known as the Gallican psalter. It should be stated, however, that there is some reason for thinking that it did not generally prevail in the French Church till after this date.

The churches of Rome, including the church of St. Peter's, until long after the period embraced in this work used the old version of the psalms which St. Augustine calls *Itala*, St. Gregory the Great *Vetus*, and St. Jerome *Vulgata*. The psalter used in the church of Milan, and known as the Ambrosian psalter, does not differ materially from this.

On a point about which it is easy to make mistakes it may be well to set before the reader the very words of some accepted authority. Zaccaria, then, says this:—"Duplicis porro Latinae versionis, psalterium habemus, *Veteris*, quam *Italam* vocant, a S. Hieronymo, sive Damasi jussu, sive amicorum precibus Romae, sed ut ipse ait cursim emendatae, et *Hieronymianae* quam scilicet Paullae atque Eustochii votis satisfacturus S. Doctor postea suscepit. Illam *Romanam* vocant, quod Romae praesertim in usu fuerit; hanc *Gallicanam* quod hujus versionis psalterium in Gallias finitimasque Germaniae ecclesias inductum fuerit, atque hinc ad alias etiam Italiae ecclesias propagatum. Primae tamen seu *Romanae* versionis psalterium ad S. Pii V. tempora in omnibus urbis ac suburbicariis intra xl. ab urbe lapidem constitutis ecclesiis retentum est; ab eo autem Pontifice Vulgatae editionis, quae ad Hieronymianam seu Gallicanam interpretationem maxime accedit, psalterium praescriptum, Romae in solâ Vaticanâ S. Petri ecclesiâ, in reliquâ Italiâ apud Mediolanenses, atque in Venetâ S. Marci Basilicâ, in Hispaniis apud Mozarabes veteris Romani

psalterii usu servato" (Zacc. *Bibliotheca Ritualis*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. 3).

Mabillon, observing that the Gallican Christians had their own version of the psalms for their psalmody—a version which differs from the Roman psalter—quotes Walafrid Strabo upon the point:—"Psalmos autem cum secundum LXX interpretes Romani adhuc habeant, Galli et Germanorum aliqui secundum emendationem quam Hieronymus pater de LXX editione composuit, psalterium cantant, quam Gregorius Turonensis episcopus a partibus Romanis mutuatam in Galliarum dicitur ecclesias transtulisse" (Wal. Strab. *de Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, cap. 23). This latter point as to the Gallican version having been introduced into France by Gregory of Tours seems open to some doubt.

This feature of Gallican psalmody—that they had their own version for it—is of some interest to us in England, as the version in question has influenced our psalmody at the present day. It will be observed that the Prayer Book version contains a verse at the end of Ps. 136, "O give thanks unto the Lord of lords; for His mercy endureth for ever," which is not in the Bible version, and which is not found in the Hebrew original. The Gallican Psalter, which now indeed has taken its place in the Vulgate, is the only ancient psalter which contains it.

*Posture.*—All that we can gather on this branch of the subject is what may be inferred from a few incidental expressions of early writers. From the phrases of Cassian in the passage already quoted, "Unus in medium psalmos Domino cantaturus exsurgit cumque sedentibus cunctis," &c., we have a trace of the executant standing, while the listeners sat. The use of the terms στάσις and κάθισμα, too, as applied to the lesser and greater divisions of the Greek psalter, contain, no doubt, some reference to the posture maintained during and at the close of the psalm, though learned writers are not agreed as to the precise reason for their adoption. Durandus speaks of its being customary to stand for psalmody, assigning a mystical reason for it, "ad ostendendum quod stantes in bonis operibus vincimus" (*Rationale*, lib. iv. rubr. 2). That this posture was an ancient one may be inferred from the bitter words of St. Jerome, addressed to the recreant deacon Sabinianus; "Tu stabas in choro psallentium" (*Ep.* xlviii. *in Sabin.*). So, again, after the meal had been taken in a recumbent posture, the guests in St. Chrysostom's time were to stand up for the psalmody, which closed the repast (S. Chrys. *Hom. in Ps.* 41). That the clergy sometimes sat in their stalls during psalmody appears from the account of the bishop of Rouen given by Gregory of Tours, "Cumque inter psallendum formulae decumberet" (*Hist. Franc.* viii. 31). It was the custom amongst some of the ancient monks to stand during psalmody with outstretched hands pointing to heaven (see Martene, *de Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, I. ii. 56). The greatest care seems to have been necessary to guard against sleep during the services, which were so long in some monasteries. All monks, of course, could not have a book in those days, and so they were even to plait straw in order to keep awake, and one of the brethren walked about the choir with a lantern and thrust it into the face of any one who might be overcome with sleep (Martene, *ib.*).

One other posture remains to be noticed here—that of leaning upon the staff (reclinatorium), which was a common support in church before the days of seats. The monks of Fulda even complained to Charlemagne about the tyranny of their abbat, that even in the case of the infirm he would allow them the use of neither staff nor stall. The rule of Chrodogang, bishop of Metz (9th century), in prescribing the *disciplina psallendi*, directs that the clergy should not keep their staves in their hands during psalmody, save on account of bodily infirmity (*Reg. Chrod.* cap. vii.). Lorinus, while contending for the antiquity of the sitting posture during psalmody (*sc.* amongst the Egyptian monks, as recorded by Cassian), remarks that in the opinion of some writers the psalms which are called "penitential" were recited kneeling, and the rest of the psalms standing (*Praefatio in Pss.* cap. xiv.).

*Psalmody without Book.*—One remarkable effect of the prevalence of psalmody and the scarcity of books was that the psalter was frequently learnt by heart. In the 6th century this is reported by Cyril of Scythopolis to have been done by St. Theodosius. St. Jerome desired that it should be done even by very young people. Sketching the perfect monk, he requires that by such a character it should be learnt word for word (*ad Rusticum.*) The damsel Pacatula was to commit the psalms to memory at seven years old (*ad Gaudentium*). No one of the sisters in the Jerusalem convent might be ignorant of the psalter (*ad Eustochium*). Even the Huns, he says, are learning the psalter (*ad Lactam.*). Cyril of Scythopolis, in the Life of St. Sabas, says that monks were not admitted till they had learnt the psalter and the rule of psalmody. Hence it was ruled by the second council of Nicaea (can. 2), that no one should be advanced to be a bishop unless he knew the psalter by heart, and that he was to be examined by the metropolitan. Gregory the Great says that he would not ordain John the Presbyter because he did not know the psalms (S. Greg. M. lib. 4, *Ep.* 45). The same pope would not allow Rusticus the deacon to be made bishop of Ancona for a similar reason. He was a vigilant man, indeed, he said, but according to report, he did not know the psalms.

A curious story of an ineffectual attempt to learn the psalter by heart is told of the archimandrite Theodore, a portion of whose life is given in the Acts of the second council of Nicaea. He had been miraculously cured of an epidemic sickness which had threatened to prove mortal; and on his recovery, apparently by way of thank-offering, he resolved to learn the psalter. He learned the first seventeen psalms; but the eighteenth baffled him, presumably by its length. He was in despair about his task. But prostrating himself on the pavement of an oratory, he prayed for success. At length on rising, he gazed upon the image of the Saviour; he felt in his mouth a taste sweeter than honey; his prayer was granted, and from that moment his task proceeded smoothly till he had learned the entire psalter.

So great was the zeal of holy men for psalmody that wonderful achievements are recorded as to the number of psalms which they recited. St.

Gregory Thaumaturgus passed entire nights in church with prayers and psalmody. St. Isidore had no fixed number of psalms which he said in the service of God, for the night and the day used to be spent upon it. St. Germanus, who was bishop of Paris in the latter half of the 6th century, would say fifty psalms or more before he rose from his bed and called his companions (*Vita*, ad fin.). Of St. Maur, the disciple of St. Benedict, it is related that he would repeat commonly fifty psalms, often a hundred, and sometimes even the entire psalter before the night office. St. Gregory of Tours (*de Glor. Confess.* 47) has even a wonderful story of two dead priests miraculously taking part in the psalmody of the choir with the rest of the clergy.

Palaemon, the abbat, would say the whole psalter and the canticles by night without any sound. By the rule of St. Benedict (*Reg.* c. 18) the whole psalter was to be gone through in the week—a light rule, he urges, seeing that the holy fathers did as much in a single day. In England, also, a similar devotion to the psalter appears to have prevailed. King Egbert even made a vow that besides the psalmody in the canonical offices he would daily chant the whole psalter (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 27).

Laymen seem at one time to have equalled, if not surpassed, the clergy in their zeal for psalmody. A constitution of the emperor Justinian draws from this fact a consideration as to why the clergy should not neglect to say the daily service: "Si enim multi laicorum, ut suae animae consulant, ad ecclesias confluentes studiosi circa psalmodiam ostenduntur, quomodo non fuerit indecens, clericos ad id ordinatos non implere suum munus" (*Cod.* lib. i. 41).

As a specimen of a very ancient allotment of psalms we subjoin the day and night canons of psalms of Eusebius, which shew what psalms were to be said at the several hours:—

| Κανόνες | Ημερινοὶ ψαλμῶν. |
|---|---|
| Ὀρθρινοὶ γ′ | 72, 140, 141. |
| ὡρ. α′ | ψ. 8. |
| β′ | 29. |
| γ′ | 1. |
| δ′ | 41. |
| ε′ | 50. |
| ϛ′ | 70. |
| ζ′ | 69. |
| η′ | 84. |
| θ′ | 111. |
| ι′ | 140. |
| ια′ | 108. |
| ιβ′ | 120. |

| Κανόνες | Νυκτερινοὶ τῶν ψαλμῶν. |
|---|---|
| Λυχνικοὶ γ′ | 129, 140, 12. |
| ὡρ. α′ | ψ. 74. |
| β′ | 29. |
| γ′ | 54. |
| δ′ | 6. |
| ε′ | 4. |
| ϛ′ | 40. |
| ζ′ | 51. |
| η′ | 80. |
| θ′ | 87. |
| | 95. |
| ια′ | 21. |
| ιβ′ | 86. |

[H. T. A.]

(2) *Arrangement of Psalms in the Offices.*—This portion of the article confines itself to reciting the contents of the principal arrangements of the Psalter, after it had been definitely distributed for the "Divine Office," the "Opus Dei." It may, however, be permitted to point out the coincidence (surely more than accidental) by which certain psalms have become attached to and associated with certain hours, *e.g.* (the Western church), 94 [95],[a] as an introductory psalm to the psalmody of the day; and both in East and West, 62 [63], 66 [67], to the early morning; 50 [51], to the early morning and to *terce*; 56 [57], to *sext*; 85 [86], to *none*; 90 [91], to *sext* or *compline*; 4 and 133 [134], to *nocturns* or *compline*; 19 [20] and 20 [21], to Sunday morning.

We will take the Eastern church first, to follow the order of the article, OFFICE, THE DIVINE.

The Psalter, according to the Greek church, is divided into twenty sections called *cathismata* [καθίσματα],[b] each of which is subdivided into three *staseis* [στάσεις],[b] and at the end of each *stasis*, *Gloria* is said—

| Stasis | | contains Pss. |
|---|---|---|
| | I. | 1–8. |
| | II. | 9–16 [17]. |
| | III. | 17 [18]–23 [24]. |
| | IV. | 24 [25]–31 [32]. |
| | V. | 32 [33]–36 [37]. |
| | VI. | 37 [38]–45 [46]. |
| | VII. | 46 [47]–54 [55]. |
| | VIII. | 55 [56]–63 [64]. |
| | IX. | 64 [65]–69 [70]. |
| | X. | 70 [71]–76 [77]. |
| | XI. | 77 [78]–84 [85]. |
| | XII. | 85 [86]–90 [91]. |
| | XIII. | 91 [92]–100 [101]. |
| | XIV. | 101 [102]–104 [105]. |
| | XV. | 105 [106]–108 [109]. |
| | XVI. | 109 [110]–117 [118]. |
| | XVII. | 118 [119]. |
| | XVIII. | 119 [120]–131 [132]. |
| | XIX. | 132 [133]–142 [143]. |
| | XX. | 143 [144]–150. |

These cathismata are said in the following order:—

From the octave of Easter (ἀντίπασχα) till the Sunday after the octave of the exaltation of the cross [September 14], the Psalter is said once a week, thus:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| On Saturday, at *vespers*, cathisma | 1, | | | |
| On Sunday, at *matins*, | 2, | 3 | | |
| On Monday, at *matins*, | 4, | 5 | At *vespers*, | 6 |
| On Tuesday, at *matins*, | 7, | 8 | At *vespers*, | 9 |
| On Wednesday, at *matins*, | 10, | 11 | At *vespers*, | 12 |
| On Thursday, at *matins*, | 13, | 14 | At *vespers*, | 15 |
| On Friday, at *matins*, | 19, | 20 | At *vespers*, | 18 |
| On Saturday, at *matins*, | 16, | 17 | At *vespers*, | 1 |
| as before. | | | | |

Thence onwards to the vigil of Christmas,[c] the same arrangement is followed, except that at vespers on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, cathisma 18 (containing the gradual psalms) is always said, and the cathisma assigned to vespers and those days is added to those for

[a] In this article the Psalms are numbered as in the Vulgate. The numbers of the English version are added in [ ].

[b] Cardinal Bona says the sections are called by these names because at each pause in the psalmody (στάσις), the monks rose two and two by turns to recite, and that while they stood, the rest sat.

[c] Cardinal Bona says up to *Tyrophagus*, "usque ad Dominicam in Quinquagesimâ."

matins, so that three cathismata are then said. During the same period cathisma 17 is added to those of Sunday. Thence to the Sunday of *Tyrophagus*, which corresponds to Quinquagesima Sunday, the arrangement according to the table given above. From Sunday of *Tyrophagus* up to Wednesday before Easter, the Psalter is said twice in the week, thus:—

On Saturday, at *vespers*, cathisma 1.

On Sunday, at *matins*, cath. 2, 3, 17.

On Monday, at *matins*, cath. 4, 5, 6; at *terce*, 7; at *sext*, 8; at *vespers*, 18.

On Tuesday, at *matins*, cath. 9, 10, 11; at *prime*, 12; at *terce*, 13; at *sext*, 14; at *none*, 15; at *vespers*, 18.

On Wednesday, at *matins*, cath. 16, 19, 20; at *prime*, 1; at *terce*, 2; at *sext*, 3; at *none*, 4; at *vespers*, 18.

On Thursday, at *matins*, cath. 5, 6, 7; at *prime*, 8; at *terce*, 10; at *sext*, 11, at *none*, 12; at *vespers*, 18.

On Friday, at *matins*, cath. 13, 14, 15; at *terce*, 19; at *sext*, 20; at *vespers*, 18.

On Saturday, at *matins*, cath. 9, as usual. From Thursday before Easter to the Octave of Easter (exclusive) the Psalter is not said.

The fixed psalms said at the hours in addition to the cathismata are as follows:—[d]

At *nocturns* (*μεσονύκτιον*), on Sunday, Ps. 50 [51]; on week days, except Saturday, 50 [51], 118 [119], (*i.e.* cathisma 17, and known as *ὁ ἄμωμος*), 120 [121], 133 [134]; on Saturday, 64 [65] to 69 [70] (*i.e.* cath. 9), 120 [121], 133 [134].

At *lauds*, Pss. 19 [20], 20 [21]–3, 37 [38], 62 [63], 87 [88], 102 [103], 142 [143] (these six known as the Hexapsalmus), 50 [51], 148, 148, 149 (*οἱ αἶνοι*).

At *prime*, 5, 89 [90], 100 [101]. At *the mesorion of the first hour*, 45 [46], 91 [92], 92 [93].

At *terce*, 16 [17], 24 [25], 50 [51]. At *the mesorion of the third hour*, 29 [30], 31 [32], 60 [61].

At *sext*, 53 [54], 54 [55], 90 [91]. At *the mesorion of the sixth hour*, 55 [56], 56 [57], 69 [70].

At *none*, 83 [84], 84 [85], 85 [86]. At *the mesorion of the ninth hour*, 83 [84], 84 [85], 85 [86]. At *the typics* (*τὰ τυπικά*), 102 [103], 145 [146]; 33 [34].

At *vespers*, 103 [104] (the *proaemiac psalm*, *ψ. προοιμιακός*), 140 [141], 141 [142] (these two psalms are known as the *Κύριε ἐκέκραξα*), 129 [130], 116 [117], 122 [123].

At *great compline*, 4, 6, 12 [13], 24 [25], 30 [31], 90 [91]; 50 [51], 101 [102], 109 [110], 142 [143].

At *little compline*, 50 [51], 69 [70], 142 [143].

The Armenian church divides the Psalter into eight sections, called *canons*, as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| I. contains Pss. | 1–17 [18]. |
| II. | 18 [19]–35 [36]. |
| III. | 36 [37]–54 [55]. |
| IV. | 55 [56]–71 [72]. |
| V. | 72 [73]–98 [99]. |
| VI. | 99 [100]–105 [106]. |
| VII. | 106 [107]–118 [119]. |
| VIII. | 119 [120]–150. |

[d] These have been mentioned in the article, THE DIVINE OFFICE, but for completeness they are here inserted.

These *canons* are divided among the daily services, so that the Psalter is gone through once a week, and in monasteries every day in the following order:—During nocturns, sections or canons, 1, 2; after nocturns and before lauds, 3, 4, 5; at terce, 6; at sext, 7; and at none, 8.

The following psalms are also appointed for the hours:—

At *nocturns* (called *midnight*), Pss. 3, 87 [88], 102 [103], 142 [143].

At *lauds* (called *daybreak*), 89 [90] (v. 14: "O satisfy us with Thy mercy," to end), 50 [51], 148 [149], 150, 112 [113]–5, 114 [116, vv. 1–9], 129 [130], 53 [54], 85 [86] (last two verses).

At *prime* (called *sunrise*), 71 [72] (v. 19 to end), 91 [92], 62 [63], 64 [65], 21 [22], 142 [143] (v. 8 to end), 44 [45], 69 [70], 85 [86] (last two verses).

At *terce*, 50 [51], 21 [22], 142 [143] (v. 8 to end).

At *sext*, 40 [41] (first four verses), 90 [91].

At *none*, 50 [51], 114 [116, vv. 1-9], 115 [116, v. 9 to end], 116 [117].

At *vespers*, certain verses from the Psalms: Pss. 85 [86], 139 [140], 140 [141], 141 [142], 120 [121], 90 [91], 122 [123], 53 [54].

*Compline* (called *peace* or *rest*) is double. The former is said in church immediately after vespers; the latter is said by each individual in private at the end of twilight.

At *the former compline* are said Pss. 87 [88] (vv. 1, 2, 4, 6), 12 [13], 15 [16], 16 [17], 41 [42], 69 [70], 85 [86] (last two verses), 26 [27].

At *the latter*, 42 [43] (3 to end); the following four sections from Ps. 118 [119]: "Et veniat super me"; "Memor esto servi tui"; "Iniquos odio habui"; "Appropinquet deprecatio"; 35 [36] (9 to end), 90 [91], 122 [123], 53 [54], 150, 137 [138] (last two verses), 141 [142] (6 to end), 85 [86] (last two verses), 4.

In the *Western church* the three most important distributions of the Psalter are, (1) *the Gregorian*, (2) *the Benedictine*, (3) *the Ambrosian*, called respectively after the names of their reputed authors, and all, with change of detail only, in use at the present time. Of these, the Gregorian is the Psalter of the secular breviary of the Roman obedience, the Benedictine that of the monastic, and the Ambrosian that of the diocese of Milan. Hence the two former, from their wide-spread adoption, are practically of most importance.

Taking them in order:—

(1) *The Gregorian or Roman Psalter.*

The following is the distribution "juxta antiquiorem psallendi modum Ecclesiae Romanae, ex antiquis monumentis excerpta," as given by Thomasius, and with the exception of two points, which will be noticed in their place, is still that of the present Roman breviary.

On Sunday, at *matins*, *Ad vigilias in primo galli cantu*, 94 [95] (said daily); in *nocturn* 1, Pss. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9 [9 and 10], 10 [11], 12 [13], 14 [15]; in *nocturn* 2, 15 [16], 16 [17], 17 [18]; in *nocturn* 3, 18 [19], 19 [20], 20 [21].

At *lauds* ("Ad matutinos diluculo"), 92 [93], 99 [100], 62 [63], and 66 [67], said as one psalm under one *Gloria*, *Benedicite*[e] ("Benedictiones sive canticum trium puerorum"), 148, 149, 150, said

[e] Though not strictly psalms, these canticles form an integral part of the office, and require notice.

under one *Gloria*, and called *Laudes*, *Benedictus* ("Canticum evangelicum Zachariae").

At *prime*, 21 [22], 22 [23], 23 [24], 24 [25], 25 [26], 53 [54], 117 [118], 118 [119]. (1) "Beati immaculati"; (2) "In quo corriget" (said under one *Gloria*); (3) "Retribue"; (4) "Adhaesit," under one gloria," Athanasian Creed ("Fides Catholica S. Athanasii Episcopi").

[In the later revisions of the Roman breviary, Pss. 21 [22]—25 [26] are not said on Sunday at prime, but are thus said on the several week days:—On *Monday*, Ps. 23 [24]; on *Tuesday*, 24 [25]; on *Wednesday*, 25 [26]; on *Thursday*, 22 [23]; on *Friday*, 21 [22]. This is the first change above alluded to. In the Sarum and other English breviaries the old arrangement by which these psalms were all said on Sunday was adhered to.]

On Sundays from Septuagesima to Palm Sunday inclusive, the following changes are made:—

At *lauds*, instead of the two Psalms, 92 [93], and 99 [100], 50 [51] and 117 [118] are said.

At *prime*, instead of 117 [118], 92 [93] is said.

At *terce*, 118 [119] ((5) "Legem pone," and (6) "Et veniat"; (7) "Memor esto," and (8) "Portio mea"; (9) "Bonitatem," and (10) "Manus tuae," under three *glorias*).

At *sext*, 118 [119] ((11) "Defecit," and (12) "In aeternum"; (13) "Quomodo," and (14) "Lucerna"; (15) "Iniquos," and (16) "Feci," under three *glorias*).

At *none*, 118 [119] ((17) "Mirabilia," and (18) "Justus es"; (19) "Clamavi," and (20) "Vide"; (21) "Principes," and (22) "Appropinquet," under three *glorias*).

These psalms are said daily at terce, sext, and none, *whatever be the office*.

At *vespers*, 109 [110], 110 [111], 111 [112], 112 [113], 113 [114 and 115]. *Magnificat*.

At *compline*, 4, 30 [31], vv. 1–6, 90 [91], 133 [134], *Nunc dimittis*. These psalms are said daily at compline, *whatever be the office*.

On Monday, at *matins* (in the nocturn), 26 [27], 27 [28], 28 [29], 29 [30], 30 [31], 31 [32], 32 [33], 33 [34], 34 [35], 35 [36], 36 [37], 37 [38].

At *lauds*, 50 [51], 5, 62 [63] and 66 [67] (said under one *gloria*), *Song of Isaiah* ("Confitebor," Is. xii.), 148, 149, 150 (said under one *gloria*), *Benedictus*.

At *prime*, 53 [54], 118 [119] (the first four sections, said under two *glorias* as on Sunday).

[These psalms are said on every week day, whether a festival or not, except where specially directed.]

At *vespers*, 114 [116, vv. 1–9]. 115 [116, ver. 10 to end], 116 [117], 119 [120], 120 [121], *Magnificat*.

[On ordinary week days throughout the year, except in Eastertide, at all the hours except nocturns, Ps. 50 [51] is said with intercessory prayers (*in precibus*).]

N.B.—In the later revisions of the breviary this is no longer the case. *Preces* (curtailed) are only said in Advent, Lent, and on a few other days of fasting, in which Ps. 129 [130] is said at lauds, and 50 [51] at vespers. At the little hours no psalm is said at *preces*. Here also the English, which were not subject to this revision, retained the old arrangement. This is the second of the two points changed, which were mentioned at the outset as alone of any importance.

On Tuesday, at *matins*, in the nocturn, 38 [39], 39 [40], 40 [41], 41 [42], 43 [44], 44 [45], 45 [46], 46 [47], 47 [48], 48 [49], 49 [50], 51 [52].

At *lauds*, 50 [51], 42 [43], 62 [63], and 66 [67] (said as one, as before), *Song of Hezekiah* ("Ego dixi," Is. xxxviii. 10), 148, 149, 150 (as before), *Benedictus*.

At *vespers*, 121 [122], 122 [123], 123 [124], 124 [125], 125 [126], *Magnificat*.

On Wednesday, at *matins*, 52 [53], 54 [55], 55 [56], 56 [57], 57 [58], 58 [59], 59 [60], 60 [61], 61 [62], 63 [64], 65 [66], 67 [68].

At *lauds*, 50 [51], 64 [65], 62 [63], and 66 [67], *The Song of Hannah* ("Exsultavit," 1 Sam. ii.), 148, 149, 150, *Benedictus*.

At *vespers*, 126 [127], 127 [128], 128 [129], 129 [130], 130 [131], *Magnificat*.

On Thursday, at *matins*, 68 [69], 69 [70], 70 [71], 71 [72], 72 [73], 73 [74], 74 [75], 75 [76], 76 [77], 77 [78], 78 [79], 79 [80].

At *lauds*, 50 [51], 89 [90], 62 [63], and 66 [67], *The Song of Moses* ("Cantemus," Ex. xv.), 148, 149, 150. *Benedictus*.

At *vespers*, 131 [132], 132 [133], 134 [135], 135 [136], 136 [137], *Magnificat*.

On Friday, at *matins*, 80 [81], 81 [82], 82 [83], 83 [84], 84 [85], 85 [86], 86 [87], 87 [88], 88 [89], 93 [94], 95 [96], 96 [97].

At *lauds*, 50 [51], 142 [143], 62 [63], and 66 [67], *The Song of Habakkuk* ("Domine audivi," Hab. iii.), 148, 149, 150, *Benedictus*.

At *vespers*, 137 [138], 138 [139], 139 [140], 140 [141], 141 [142], *Magnificat*.

On Saturday, at *matins*, 97 [98], 98 [99], 99 [100], 100 [101], 101 [102], 102 [103], 103 [104], 104 [105], 105 [106], 106 [107], 107 [108], 108 [109].

At *lauds*, 50 [51], 91 [92], 62 [63], and 66 [67], *The Song of Moses* ("Attende coelum," Deut. xxxii.), 148, 149, 150, *Benedictus*

At *vespers*, 143 [144], 144 [145], 145 [146], 146 [147, vv. 1–11], 147 [147, ver. 12 to end], *Magnificat*.

The outline of the scheme is thus seen to be very simple. The psalms from 1 to 108 [109] are said in order at matins, and the remainder, from 109 [110] to the end, at vespers, throughout the week, omitting those psalms which are said at other hours, and are thus distributed:—

On Sunday, at *matins*, in the first nocturn, twelve psalms; in the second and third, three psalms in each.

On week days, twelve psalms said in one nocturn.

At *vespers*, five psalms are said daily.

For the other hours, at *lauds*, five psalms [*i.e.* what reckons as five] are said daily.

At *prime*, three daily, with additional psalms on Sunday.

At *terce*, *sext*, and *none*, three daily.

At *compline*, four daily.

In addition, *Benedictus* is said daily at lauds, as are *Magnificat* at vespers and *Nunc dimittis* at compline.

Into the festal arrangements of the Psalter it is not necessary to enter. The chief variations are the following:—

In *festivals of nine lessons*, nine psalms taken from the matin psalms are said at *matins* in

three nocturns of three psalms each, instead of the psalms in course.

At *lauds and vespers*, the Sunday psalms are for the most part said, instead of the psalms in course. At vespers on festivals, Ps. 116 [117] is often substituted for the last Sunday psalm, 113 [114 and 115]. Earlier usage assigned special psalms for lauds and vespers much more rarely than was afterwards the case.

(2) *The Benedictine or Monastic Psalter.*

The germ of the monastic rite is supposed to have been derived from the solitaries of Egypt. St. Benedict framed a rite for monks, which was approved by Gregory the Great, and henceforth adopted for the use of monastic congregations. It is used, with slight modifications of detail, by the Cistercians, Carthusians, and other monastic orders. The so-called mendicant orders use the secular breviary.

The main *idea*, so to speak, of the distribution of the Psalter is the same as that of the Gregorian office, that the Psalter should be said once a week, but the order in which it is said differs in many important points. Dealing here with the psalms only, the following is the general outline of this office:—

At *matins* on Sundays there are three nocturns; in each of the first two, six psalms are said; and in the third, three canticles. Week days have twelve psalms, said in two nocturns.

At *lauds*, five (*i.e.* what count as five) psalms are said.

At *each of the lesser hours*, three, at *vespers* four, and at *compline* three psalms are said.

The following is the distribution:—

On Sunday, at *matins*, Pss. 3, 94 [95] (these two psalms are said daily); in *nocturn* 1:—20 [21], 21 [22], 22 [23], 23 [24], 24 [25], 25 [26]; in *nocturn* 2:—26 [27], 27 [28], 28 [29], 29 [30], 30 [31], 31 [32]; in *nocturn* 3, three canticles.

At *lauds*, 66 [67], 50 [51] (these two psalms are said daily), 117 [118], 62 [63] (these two counting as one), *Benedicite*, 148, 149, 150 (as one), *Benedictus*.

In Eastertide, and on certain other festivals when they fall on Sundays, instead of Pss. 50 [51] and 117 [118], these two, 92 [93] and 99 [100], are said.

At *prime*, 118 [119] ("Beati"—"In quo corriget"—"Retribue"—"Adhaesit"—said as four).

At *terce*, 118 [119] "Legem pone"—"Et veniat"—"Memor esto."

At *sext*, 118 [119] "Portio mea"—"Bonitatem"—Manus tuae."

At *none*, 118 [119] "Defecit"—"In aeternum"—"Quomodo"—said as three.

At *vespers*, 109 [110], 110 [111], 111 [112], 112 [113], *Magnificat*.

At *compline*, 4, 90 [91], 133 [134]. These psalms are said daily throughout the year. On the three days before Easter 30 [31] vv. 1–6, and *Nunc dimittis* are added.

On Monday, at *matins*, in *nocturn* 1:—32 [33], 33 [34], 34 [35], 36 [37] (said in two parts, vv. 1–26, and ver. 27 to end), 37 [38].

In *nocturn* 2:—38 [39], 39 [40], 40 [41], 41 [42], 43 [44], 44 [45].

At *lauds*, 66 [67], 50 [51], 5, 35 [36], *Song of Isaiah* (Is. xii.), 148, 149, 150, *Benedictus*.

At *prime*, 1, 2, 6.

At *terce*, 118 [119] "Lucerna"—"Iniquos"—"Feci."

At *sext*, 118 [119] "Mirabilia"—"Justus es" "Clamavi."

At *none*, 118 [119] "Vide"—"Principes"—"Appropinquet."

At *vespers*, 113 [114 and 115], 114 [116, vv. 1–8] 115 [116, ver. 9 to end], and 116 [117] (as one), 128 [129], *Magnificat*.

On *Tuesday*, at *matins*, in *nocturn* 1:—45 [46], 46 [47], 47 [48], 48 [49], 49 [50], 51 [52].

In *nocturn* 2:—52 [53], 53 [54], 54 [55], 55 [56], 57 [58], 58 [59].

At *lauds*, 66 [67], 50 [51], 42 [43], 56 [57], *Song of Hezekiah* (Is. xxxviii.), 148, 149, 150, *Benedictus*.

At *prime*, 7, 8, 9 (to "non peribit in finem"), [9, vv. 1–18].

At *terce*, 119 [120], 120 [121], 121 [122].

At *sext*, 122 [123], 123 [124], 124 [125].

At *none*, 125 [126], 126 [127], 127 [128].

These psalms are said at terce, sext, and none, on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday.

At *vespers*, 129 [130], 130 [131], 131 [132], 132 [133], *Magnificat*.

On Wednesday, at *matins*, in *nocturn* 1:—59 [60], 60 [61], 61 [62], 65 [66], 67 (pt.) [68, vv. 1–18], 67 (pt.) [68, ver. 19 to end].

In *nocturn* 2:—68 (pt.) [69, vv. 1–16], 68 (pt.) [69, ver. 17 to end], 69 [70], 70 [71], 71 [72], 72 [73].

At *lauds*, 66 [67], 50 [51], 63 [64], 64 [65], *Song of Hannah* (1 Sam. ii.), 148, 149, 150, *Benedictus*.

At *prime*, 9 (pt.) [9, ver. 19 to end, and 10], 10 [11], 11 [12].

At *vespers*, 134 [135], 135 [136], 136 [137], 137 [138], *Magnificat*.

On Thursday, at *matins*, in *nocturn* 1:—73 [74], 74 [75], 76 [77], 77 [78] (in two), 78 [79].

In *nocturn* 2:—79 [80], 80 [81], 81 [82], 82 [83], 83 [84], 84 [85].

At *lauds*, 66 [67], 50 [51], 87 [88], 89 [90], *Song of Moses* (Ex. xv.), 148, 149, 150, *Benedictus*.

At *prime*, 12 [13], 13 [14], 14 [15].

At *vespers*, 138 [139] (in two), 139 [140], 140 [141], *Magnificat*.

On Friday, at *matins*, in *nocturn* 1:—85 [86], 86 [87], 88 [89] (in two), 92 [93], 93 [94].

In *nocturn* 2:—95 [96], 96 [97], 97 [98], 98 [99], 99 [100], 100 [101].

At *lauds*, 66 [67], 50 [51], 75 [76], 91 [92], *Song of Habakkuk* (Hab. iii.) (in three divisions), 148, 149, 150, *Benedictus*.

At *prime*, 15 [16], 16 [17], 17 [18] (1–24).

At *vespers*, 141 [142], 143 [144] (in two), 144 [145] (1–9), *Magnificat*.

On Saturday, in *nocturn* 1:—101 [102], 102 [103], 103 [104] (in two), 104 [105] (in two).

In *nocturn* 2:—105 [106] (in two), 106 [107] (in two), 107 [108], 108 [109].

At *lauds*, 66 [67], 50 [51], 142 [143], *Song of Moses* (Deut. xxxii.) (in two divisions), 148, 149, 150, *Benedictus*.

At *prime*, 17 [18] (25, "Cum sancto," to end), 18 [19], 19 [20].

At *vespers*, 144 [145] (10, "Confiteantur," to end), 145 [146], 146 [147, vv. 1–11], 147 [147, ver. 12 to end], *Magnificat*.

The general plan then is this:—

Pss. 1–19 [20] are said at *prime* on week days, beginning on Monday, three each day.

Pss. 20 [21]—108 [109], are said at *nocturns* throughout the week, beginning on Sunday, twelve each day, said in two *nocturns* of six psalms each.

Pss. 108 [109] to end are said at *vespers* throughout the week, four each day.

Psalms which are said in other parts of the office are omitted when they occur in course.

Ps. 118 [119] is said at *prime* on Sunday, and at *terce*, *sext*, and *none* on Sunday and Monday.

Certain of the gradual psalms are said at *terce*, *sext*, and *none* daily on each of the other week days.

Pss. 3 and 94 [95] are said daily before *nocturns*.

Pss. 66 [67], 50 [51], 148, 149, 150, are said daily at *lauds*.

*Benedictus* is said daily at *lauds*, and *Magnificat* daily at *vespers*.

In comparing these two great psalters of the Western church, the Benedictine arrangement appears somewhat inferior in simplicity to the Gregorian. The reason for beginning the psalms on Monday at *prime* is not obvious, and the division of the longer psalms into parts, so as to equalize in some degree the length of the psalmody on different days, while the number of psalms is the same, is not without awkwardness when the divisions of a psalm fall into different days (see *prime* and *vespers* for Friday and Saturday). The distribution of the psalms for the little hour is also less natural. On the other hand, there is a greater variety in the psalms at *lauds*, though one misses the daily use of Ps. 62 [63], and the psalms at *nocturns* are more nearly of the same length than in the Gregorian Psalter.

(3) We come now to the *Ambrosian* Psalter, equally venerable and interesting with the two preceding and more curious, and still a living rite, though of much less practical importance, owing to the small area over which it is used. In its main features, it is doubtless the work of St. Ambrose, and shows Eastern influences.

The chief peculiarity in this rite is the arrangement of the matin psalms (1–108 [109]), which are divided into ten *decuriae*, and are gone through in the course of a fortnight. Each *decuria* is divided into three *nocturns*, and is said under three antiphons, one to each nocturn; and *gloria* is said only at the end of each nocturn. The decuriae are as follows:—

| Decuria | Pss. |
|---|---|
| I. | Pss. 1–16 [17]. |
| II. | 17 [18]–30 [31]. |
| III. | 31 [32]–40 [41]. |
| IV. | 41 [42]–50 [51]. |
| V. | 51 [52]–60 [61]. |
| VI. | 61 [62]–70 [71]. |
| VII. | 71 [72]–80 [81]. |
| VIII. | 81 [82]–90 [91]. |
| IX. | 91 [92]–100 [101]. |
| X. | 101 [102]–108 [109]. |

The name *decuria* is plainly derived from the fact that they all, with the exception of the first, second, and tenth, contain ten psalms. Psalms which are said in other parts of the office are also said in course.

The psalms at *matins* are thus arranged:—

There is no invitatory psalm, but in its place the *first part of the Song of the three Children* (called *Benedictus*, as distinguished from the second part, known as *Benedicite*). This is said daily.

On Sunday no psalms are said; but three *canticles*, one in each nocturn.

*Matins*, on Sunday, in *nocturn* 1, *Song of Isaiah* ("De nocte vigilat," Is. xxvi.); in *nocturn* 2, *Song of Hannah* (1 Sam. ii.); in *nocturn* 3, in *winter*, *Song of Habakkuk* (Hab. iii.); in *summer*, *Song of Jonah* (Jon. ii.).

On *Monday in the first week* . Decuria I. (Feria 2ᵃ in *Hebdomada* 1ᵐᵃ.)
*Tuesday* . . . . II.
*Wednesday* . . . . III.
*Thursday* . . . . IV.
*Friday* . . . . . V.
*Saturday*, in *nocturn* 1, *Song of Moses* (Ex. xv.); in *nocturns* 2 and 3, Ps. 118 [119], 1–88, said consecutively, but divided into parts, one in each nocturn.

On *Monday in the second week* . Decuria VI.
*Tuesday* . . . . VII.
*Wednesday* . . . . VIII.
*Thursday* . . . . IX.
*Friday* . . . . . X.
*Saturday*, in *nocturn* 1, *Song of Moses* (as in first week); in *nocturns* 2 and 3, Ps. 118 [119], 89 ("In aeternum") to end, said as in the first week.

The first decuria is said on Monday after Septuagesima Sunday. The regular course is interrupted by holy week (called *authentic* week) and Easter week. Dec. i. is said on Monday after Low Sunday (Fer. 2ᵃ post albas). The course is again interrupted by Whitsunday and Corpus Christi, with their octaves, and on the Friday after the octave of Corpus Christi, Dec. x. is said; and so on.

*Lauds*. On Sundays, *Benedictus* (Song of Zachariah), *Song of Moses* ("Cantemus," Ex. xv.), *Benedicite*, Pss. 148, 149, 150, 116 [117], *a direct psalm* ("Psalmus directus"), so called because said straight through and not antiphonally, and sometimes a *psalm of four verses*, so called because four verses only, almost always the first four, are said.

On *week days* (except Saturdays), *Benedictus*, Pss. 50 [51], 148, 149, 150, 116 [117], a *direct psalm*, and a *psalm of four verses*.

On Saturdays, *Benedictus*, Pss. 117 [118], 148, 149, 150, 116 [117], a *direct psalm*, and a *psalm of four verses*.

The *direct psalms are these*. They are the same for both weeks.

Sunday, 92 [93] (said also on festivals). Monday, 53 [54]. Tuesday, 66 [67]. Wednesday, 69 [70]. Thursday, 112 [113]. Friday, 142 [143]. Saturday, 89 [90].

The psalms of four verses are:—

Monday, in *the first week*, 5, vv. 1–4; in *the second week*, 83 [84], vv. 1–4. Tuesday (in both weeks), 87 [88], vv. 1–4. Wednesday, 66 [67], vv. 1–4. Thursday, 62 [63], vv. 1–4. Friday, 107 [108], vv. 1–4. Saturday, 88 [89], vv. 1–4.

On ordinary Sundays there is no psalm of four verses. The psalms at the other hours are

nearly the same as the Gregorian for the same hours, and were doubtless taken from that psalter.

*Prime*, 53 [54], 118 [119] (first four sections, said as two), *Athanasian Creed* (said daily, and headed *Symbolum*).

These psalms are said daily on Sundays and week days. In the *week day office* ("in officio feriali") 50 [51] is said also "in precibus."

*Terce*, 118 [119] (next six sections, said as three, as in the Gregorian Psalter). Also in the week day office, 50 [51], "in precibus."

*Sext*, 118 [119] (next six sections, said as three). In the week day office, 56 [57], "in precibus."

*None*, 118 [119] (next, and last, six sections, said as three). In the week day office, 85 [86], "in precibus."

*Vespers*. The daily psalms, including *Magnificat*, are the same as the Gregorian, with the addition of a *psalm of four verses* on week days, and in special seasons on Sundays. These are—on Monday, 8, vv. 1–4. Tuesday, 14 [15], vv. 1–4. Wednesday, 30 [31], vv. 1–4. Thursday, 36 [37], vv. 1–4. Friday, 74 [75], vv. 1–4. Saturday, 91 [92], vv. 1–4.

*Compline*. The daily psalms are 4, 30 [31], vv. 1–6, 90 [91], 132 [133], 133 [134], 116 [117], *Nunc dimittis*, and in the week day office 12 [13], "in precibus."

There is no distinction between the weeks in any of the hours but matins and lauds.

The festal arrangement of psalms differs in the following points. The psalms at *matins* are unchanged except on a few special days and seasons, when a complicated series of psalms and extracts of psalms, of varying number, and not arranged according to their order in the Psalter, is said.

On *vespers*, at festivals, instead of the psalms in course, two psalms, the latter followed by 133 [134] and 116 [117], the three said under one *gloria*, are said at different parts of the office.

The direct psalms, and psalms of four verses, vary. The psalms throughout are said according to the old Italian version ("Veterem septuaginta versionem"), as in the breviary of the canons of the Vatican Basilica at Rome.

It will not have escaped notice, as bearing upon the connexion of the church of Milan with the East, that the *decuria* of the Ambrosian rite have a close family likeness to the *cathismata* of the Eastern church, and that the psalms said "in precibus" at the third, sixth, and ninth hours are among those said at the corresponding hours in the Eastern Psalter. The difference between the office for Saturday and that for other days of the week is strong evidence of such connexion.

The *Mozarabic* rite has the strange peculiarity, that the psalms are never said in course. In the first three weeks of Lent, and on a few other days psalms are said at *terce*, *sext*, and *none* instead of the fixed psalms, three at each hour; and a psalm is said at *vespers*, but the order in which they are taken is very irregular, and while many psalms are frequently repeated, nothing like the whole psalter is said. This peculiarity is so unlike what is found in any other known rite that some have conjectured that the distribution of the psalms as said in regular course has dropped out of the breviary as we possess it; and that in its present shape it only contains the fixed psalms at the daily hours and those for special days. This, however, as far as we are aware, is pure conjecture.

The following are the psalms assigned to the several *hours*. The psalms are said after the old version, and not after the Vulgate.

At *matins*, Pss. 3, 50 [51], 56 [57], or one of them.

At *lauds*, a *canticle* (varying), *Benedictus* (i.e. an abridgment of both parts of the *Song of the Three Children*) not said "in feriis", 148, 149, 150.

At *aurora* (said before prime on week days, throughout the year, "in diebus feriis per totum annum"), 69 [70], 118 [119] ("Beati immaculati"—"In quo corriget"—"Retribue").

At *prime*, 66 [67], 144 [145] (in two), 112 [113], 119 [118] ("Adhaesit pavimento"—"Legem pone"—"Et veniat"), and on Sunday and festivals, *Te Deum*.

At *terce*, 94 [95], 118 [119] ("Memor esto"—"Portio mea"—"Bonitatem").

At *sext*, 52 [53], 118 [119] ("Feci judicium"—"Mirabilia"—"Justus es Domine").

At *none*, 145 [146], 121 [122], 122 [123], 123 [124].

At *vespers* (no psalms on ordinary Sundays and week days).

At *compline*, 4 (two last verses), 133 [134], 90 [91].

The later Western arrangements of the Psalter, such as those of Cardinal Quignon, or of the reformed French breviaries, besides being of less interest, are not within our limits of time.

[H. J. H.]

**PSALTER.** When we call to mind the use which has been made of the Psalms in both Jewish and Christian churches, we must expect to find distinct volumes containing them. Thus there are in the Bodleian Library alone eleven Hebrew MSS. containing the Psalms without any other book, and in the main without note or commentary. It would seem evident that these MSS. were prepared for devotional use.

2. And so we find, even in the west of Europe, a few early MSS. containing the Psalms in Greek. The most famous and the most beautiful of these is the Greek Psalter, in the Stadt-Bibliothek at Zürich, which Tischendorf reproduced in his *Anecdota Sacra*. In this, as in all other Greek Psalters, according to Zaccaria (*Bibliotheca Ritualis*, p. 80, ed 1776), the Psalms are followed by the ten canticles of the Greek church, as they are also in the Alexandrine MS. Tischendorf mentions six such psalters. Of these the Veronese contains the Magnificat but not the song of Zachariah or of Simeon. The Zürich MS. contains the ὕμνος ἑωθινὸς of the Alexandrine MS. and the three canticles from St. Luke. The others contain (apparently) the three canticles. Sometimes, as in the Veronese Psalter, Isaiah xxvi. 9–20 is displaced for the hymn in Isaiah v. 1–9. (See CANTICLES.)

3. The Greek Psalms were used in some of the monastic churches of Italy, and possibly of France, even as late as the 8th century, after these churches had become otherwise thoroughly Latinized. For this purpose copies of the Greek Psalms were made in which were reproduced the Greek words in Latin letters; thus—"Meta su e arche en imera tes dynameos su en te lamprotete ton agion." The oldest MS. of

this character extant is the famous Veronese Psalter to which we have already referred. It is supposed to be of the 6th century. Its contents are printed by Bianchini in his *Vindiciae*, with a facsimile of two pages. The Septuagint in Latin letters, is on the left page, the old "Itala" on the right. It contains the apocryphal Psalm *Pusillus eram* in Greek and Latin, but this (in Bianchini's opinion) was added by a writer of the 7th century.

Another famous psalter forms part of the Codex Seguerianus, the Paris manuscript of Cyprian (St. Germain des Près, 186, now Paris, 10,592). The Psalter was considered by the Benedictines to be of the 7th century.[a] It contains the Greek, and a Latin version "very different from ours" (*Nouveau Traité*, tom. iii. p. 55, note), in two columns. There is the latter portion of another psalter, Greek and Latin, at St. Gall. (No. 17); this is of the 10th century. It contains the Canticles, and also the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, and also a Litany in Greek and Latin.

4. The Library of St. Germain des Près contained a beautiful MS., which, according to tradition, belonged to St. Germanus himself; the vellum is coloured purple. The letters are silver, except that the names of God are in gold; it is now in the National Library in France, No. 11,947. A facsimile is given by Silvestre, vol. ii. plate 113. It is considered possibly to be of the 6th century (see *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, series vi. vol. iii. p. 343). It is represented as having the famous words—"Dominus regnavit a ligno" (Psalm xcv.), whence it would appear that it contains either the *old* translation, or what is called the *Roman* version of Jerome. This Roman version was the result of Jerome's first attempt to correct the translation current in his day, which he did, according to his own account, after the Septuagint "licet cursim" (Migne, xxix. 121). This was done at the request of pope Damasus; and it was in use at Rome for some centuries, and is still used at the Vatican Basilica. Indeed, the Canticles of the modern Breviary follow this version. It seems to have been brought into England with St. Augustine, and so was used at Canterbury. Copies are found in the British Museum, Vespasian A. 1 (to be described just now); Regius II. B. 5; and also in the Cambridge Psalter, Ff. i. 23.

5. The Psalter, Vespasian A. 1, has peculiar interest. By comparing it, page by page, with the account of a volume described by Thomas of Elmham, as having been placed "super tabulam magni altaris,"[b] at the church of the great monastery of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, there can be no doubt that it is the one that is so described; the contents correspond exactly in the two, although unfortunately the modern paging, which differs from the original reckoning of the folia, produces some confusion. It begins with the tract "Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata," which is followed by the letter of Damasus to Jerome, and Jerome's reply. Then it contains an account of the various books into which the Psalms are divided: this and other similar matters fill up the first ten leaves. According to the account of Thomas, the eleventh leaf began with the text of the Psalter, having on it a picture of "Samuel the Priest." This leaf has been torn out, and so the first Psalm is missing, the next leaf beginning with Psalm ii. *v.* 4, "Qui habitat." The picture of Christ, which is now placed at the beginning of the volume, was clearly inserted at the binding, when the old silver figure of our Lord was removed. There are a few curious drawings in the volume, and at the end of Psalm cl. there comes, apparently on an inserted leaf, the apocryphal Psalm "Pusillus eram." The canticles for the various days of the week follow, and the hymn "Benedicite." After that we have the song of Zachariah, the "Magnificat," and three old hymns: "Splendor paternae" for the matins, "Creator omnium" for vespers, and the "Rex eterne" for Sundays. Here the original volume ended, but appended to it, at a confessedly later date, we find the "Te Deum," the "Fides Catholica," and a few prayers. This volume has of course attracted great attention. Some account of it will be found in Professor Westwood's *Palaeographia Sacra*, No. 40, and in the same writer's *Miniatures*, p. 10, plate 3. The early part of this MS. is supposed to be of the 8th century, and so falls within our date. (It is sometimes spoken of as St. Augustine's Psalter.) The others which we have mentioned are assigned to the 10th and 11th respectively.

6. In the public library at Rouen there is a psalter which belonged originally to the abbey of St. Evroult in Normandy, and from that passed to the church of St. Ouen. An account of this is given in Silvestre, vol. iv., and in Prof. Westwood's *Miniatures*, p. 81. The Benedictines (*Nouveau Traité*, ii. 226) considered it to be of the 7th or 8th century; Prof. Westwood of the 10th. It contains the two more recent translations of Jerome in parallel columns, the one which he corrected from the Septuagint version of Origen's *Hexapla*, and which, from its obtaining use north of the Alps, is called the Gallican Psalter and has subsequently been adopted in the Vulgate; the other, which he took direct from the Hebrew, and is therefore called the Hebraic. A marginal note, considered to be of the 11th century, has been found in the volume: "Hoc psalterium anglicum est, ut ipsa littera manifestat" (*Nouveau Traité*, p. 383).

Of the Gallican Psalter we have numerous copies, because this version was adopted in the writing-schools of Charlemagne, after orders were given that every priest should possess his own psalter. There are several volumes containing this version, of remarkable beauty and interest. One is in the library at Vienna (No. 1861), and is supposed to have been prepared by the order of Charlemagne for presentation to the pope Hadrian I. Of this there is a long account in Kolzar's Catalogue, vol. i. pp. 347–415, and a facsimile in Silvestre, ii. 126; see, too, Denis, i. xxviii. Of another beautiful copy notice has been given by the Palaeographical Society (see Plates lxix. lxx. xciii.); this seems to have be-

[a] Later writers say of the 8th century.

[b] The position of the volumes mentioned by Elmham may be seen in the MS. in the library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge; a copy of the drawing is given in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, under St. Augustine's monastery, Canterbury. The work of Thomas of Elmham has been published in the series of the Master of the Rolls, but unfortunately the drawing was omitted.

longed to the emperor Lothair, A.D. 825. A third is in the great library at Paris (1152), and retains still the beautiful ivory plaques which formed its original binding. This belonged to Charles the Bald (see Silvestre, ii. 129, 131). Another of almost equal beauty is in the Douce collection at Oxford (No. 59), and a fifth is in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (No. 272, O. 5. It belonged to a certain count Achadeus). The same Gallican version is found in the celebrated psalter Claudius C. vii., which belonged to the Cotton collection, but is now in the library at Utrecht. The Vienna copy has much prefatory matter, corresponding in some degree to that in Vespasian A. 1, including, however, the creeds of St. Gregory of Rome, St. Gregory of Neocaesarea, of "Jerome" and St. Ambrose, together with the genuine Nicene creed. They all, or almost all, contain the full series of Canticles, the "Te Deum," the "Quicunque vult," the "Lord's Prayer," and the Apocryphal psalm.* The MSS. assigned to Lothair and Charles the Bald, and that in the C. C. C. library, contain litanies by which, indeed, their original ownership is established. There is another MS. in the library at Paris, No. 13,159, which contains the same Gallican version, together with prayers belonging to each psalm, and copies of two litanies, of which one is called "Litania calula," and the other "Litania Gallica." If this MS. is contemporary with the litanies it contains, we must assign it to some date between A.D. 795 and 800. It is probably later. It contains the Athanasian creed.

8. At a period somewhat below our date, great attention was paid to St. Jerome's three versions, and several psalters are in existence in which we have two or three in parallel columns. There is one, indeed, in the Vatican library (Regin. xi.) which was given to it by queen Christina, and is assigned by some authorities to the 7th, the 6th, or even the 5th century. This contains the Gallican and Hebrew in parallel columns. In the library of Trin. Coll. Cambridge is a volume of remarkable size and beauty, in which are found the three versions, with notes in the intermediate spaces and margins. A volume corresponding to it in most respects (being almost a facsimile) is in the library at Paris, No. 8846; of this Siltre gives a notice in vol. iii. no. 188. The former of these has reproductions of the drawings of the Utrecht Psalter, and the latter has some of the drawings.

Further information as to later psalters will be found in Prof. Westwood's works, above cited. An account of an important Bamberg psalter is given by Dr. Schönfelder in the Serapeum of Nov. 1865. This has, in four columns, the Gallican, Roman, and Hebraic versions, and the Greek in Latin letters. See, too, Cardinal Thomasius' Psalter, published separately at Rome, 1697, and in his collected works. The *Psalterium Quincuplex* of J. Le Fevre, published first by Henry Stephens, 1509, contains in the text the three versions of Jerome, and in a kind of appendix the *Vetus* and what he calls "*Psalterium Conciliatum*," an attempt to produce a version from the Gallican agreeing "more with the truth and the Hebrew." Mr. Birch of the British Museum promises a work on this subject. Some notes on more recent volumes will be found in the writer's volume on the creeds, Murray, 1872, chaps. xxiii. and xxiv. Copies of Jerome's Roman and Gallican translations, with the "obeli" and asterisks, will be found in Migne, vol. xxix. pp. 119–420; of the Hebraic in vol. xxviii. pp. 1183–1306. The last is also given from the Codex Amiatinus, in the notes of the edition of the Vulgate by Tischendorf, Leipsic, 1873. An interesting account of the *Psalterium Aureum* of St. Gall (no. 26) has been recently published by the Historical Society of St. Gall, but it is mainly occupied with its palaeographical and artistic characteristics.

[C. A. S.]

* Charlemagne's Psalter does not contain this.

**PTOLEMAIS** (IN CYRENAICA) or TOLOMETTA, DIOCESAN SYNOD OF, A.D. 411, under Synesius, at which Andronicus, prefect of the Libyan Pentapolis, was excommunicated for his cruelty. The letter of Synesius, announcing this to the other bishops, is extant (Mansi, iv. 1–8). [E. S. Ff.]

**PTOLOMAEUS (1)**, martyr with Lucius and Tertius, buried at Alexandria; commemorated Oct. 19 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. 8, 399. PTOLEMAEUS). Aug. 23 (Wand.).

(2) Martyr with Ammon and others at Alexandria; commemorated Dec. 20 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**PUBLIA**, deaconess, confessor under the emperor Julian; commemorated Oct. 9 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**PUBLIUS (1)**, bishop of Athens; commemorated Jan. 21 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. 2, 338).

(2) Commemorated Jan. 25 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. 2, 622).

(3) Commemorated with Julianus in Africa, Feb. 19 (Usuard., Wand., *Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) One of the martyrs of Saragossa; commemorated Ap. 16 (Usuard. *Mart.*).

(5) Soldier, martyr under Licinius; commemorated Ap. 26 (Basil. *Menol.*); Ap. 25 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. 3, 361). [C. H.]

**PUDENS**, disciple of St. Paul; commemorated Ap. 14 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Ap. 15 (Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 257, with Aristarchus and Trophimus; Basil. *Menol.*); May 19 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*, PRUDENS; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*, a Roman senator). His figure, holding a roll, ornaments a church gate in Ciampini (*Vet. Mon.* i. 28, 2). [C. H.]

**PUGILLARIS**. One of the names of the FISTULA or tube through which the wine in Holy Communion was imbibed. Thus the *Ordo Romanus* i. (p. 5), describing the papal Mass on Easter Day, mentions "scyphos et pugillares" among the vessels to be carried to the church in which the Mass is to be said. [C.]

**PULCHERIA**, empress, commemorated with Irene, Aug. 7 (Basil. *Menol.*); Sept. 10 (*Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. 3, 503). [C. H.]

**PULPITUM**. [AMBO.]

**PUNISHMENTS.** [CORPORAL PUNISHMENT; DISCIPLINE; FINE; PENITENCE.]

**PURIFICATION OF THE ALTAR VESSELS.** I know of no reference to the subject in any document within our period. It is noticed, however, in the general instructions given to parish priests in the West at the visitation of the bishop in the 9th or 10th centuries, and we may presume that the practice which they prescribe had been in some degree observed previously. In the *Sermo Synodalis*, ascribed to Leo IV. 847, but perhaps later, we read, "Wash and wipe the holy vessels with your own hands . . . . Let a place be prepared in the sacrarium (secretarium, *Rather.*; *Admon. Synod.* below) or near the altar, where the water may be poured out when the sacred vessels are washed, and there let a clean vessel with water be hung, and there let the priest wash his hands after the communion" (Hard. *Concilia*, vi. 785). The same directions appear also in a very early recension of this document printed by Baluze (*Admonitio Synodalis*, ad calc. Reginon. *de Discipl. Eccl.* 502), and in the *Synodica* of Ratherius, A.D. 928 (Hard. *u.s.* 790). They have also been preserved in the later pontificals of Rome (Regin. *u.s.* 505, 508). Yet the order that the celebrant should himself cleanse the vessels could hardly have been general, for in the 11th century we find John of Avranches, about 1060, assigning this office to the deacon (*Epist. ad Maurilium*, in App. ad *Opp.* Greg. M. ii. 256, ed. Ben.). [W. E. S.]

**PURIFICATION, FESTIVAL OF THE.** [MARY, FESTIVALS OF, § 1, p. 1140.]

**PURPURA.** The band or stripe of purple used as an ornament in the dresses of the ancients. [CLAVUS.] Caesarius of Arles, in his rules for nuns, forbids them to use "vestimenta lucida vel nigra vel cum purpura," &c. (*Reg. ad Virg. Recap.* 7; *Patrol.* lxvii. 1118). A canon of the second council of Nicaea (787 A.D.), in ordaining that clerics should dress plainly, adds that anciently they did not wear variegated dresses of silk, nor *προσετίθεσαν ἑτερόχροα ἐπιβλήματα ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις τῶν ἱματίων* (can. 16; Labbe, vii. 609). Another illustration of the practice is furnished us by Gregory of Tours, who dwells on an incident where a *mafors holoserica* is turned into an altar-cloth, a strip torn off being used for the above-mentioned decoration (*Hist. Franc.* x. 16; *Patrol.* lxxi. 548). [R. S.]

**PUSICIUS**, martyr in Persia; commemorated Ap. 21 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Usuard. *Mart.* PUSITIUS). [C. H.]

**PUZA, COUNCIL OF.** [PEPUZA.]

**PYLORI.** [DOORKEEPER; OSTIARIUS.]

**PYNITUS** inter episcopos nobilissimus; commemorated at Crete Oct. 10 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**PYTHON.** The word is connected with the Hebrew פֶּתֶן, *pethen*, a venomous serpent, which is rendered in the Septuagint by Ἀσπίς, Deut. xxxii. 33; Job xx. 14; Ps. lviii. 4; Isaiah xi. 8; by Δράκων, in Job xx. 16; and by Βασιλίσκος in Ps. xci. 13, b. v. Throughout the East evil spirits received names from this reptile, an usage originating, we cannot doubt, in traditions of the event recorded in Gen. iii. In Scripture itself we have "the great dragon . . . that old serpent called the devil" (Rev. xii. 9; xx. 2). One result was that the attributes of the demon and the serpent were interchanged. Hence the python slain by Apollo at Delos was thought to have inspired the oracle before the god took his place: "Pythone serpente interfecto totius vaticinationis auctore et principe" (Orosius, *adv. Pagan. Hist.* vi. 15); "Ante Apollinem responsa dare solitus" (Hyginus, *Fabul.* 140). Hence, also, it was that both in Jewish and Christian antiquity the name of python was given to prophesying spirits. Hesychius says, *Πύθων· Δαιμόνιον μαντικόν.* In Acts xvi. 16, we read of "a certain damsel, who had a spirit of python" (in Eustathius, *de Engastrim.* 11, *τὴν πυθόμαντιν*). In the Vulgate of Lev. xx. 27, we have, "Vir aut mulier in quibus pythonicus vel divinationis fuerit spiritus." Compare Deut. xviii. 11; 1 Sam. xviii. 7, 8 (Eustath. *u. s.* 20, *πυθόμαντις*); 2 Kings xxiii. 24; 1 Chron. x. 13, "pythonissam"; Isaiah viii. 19; xix. 3.

The lower animals were supposed to be subject to this possession. In the time of Justinian there was a dog at Constantinople that would scratch up and return to their several owners rings of iron and gold that had been buried together; and indicate correctly the characters of men and women in a crowd,—"on which account they said that the dog had a spirit of python" (Cedrenus, *Hist. Compend.* i. 657, ed. Nieb.).

Among modern writers consult especially J. B. Deane, *The Worship of the Serpent traced throughout the World*, Lond. 1830; Leo Allatius, *de Engastrimutho Syntagma*, appended to Eustathius, *u. s.*; J. H. Heidegger, *Dissertatio de Pseudo-Samuele*, Tigur. 1675. [W. E. S.]

**PYX** (Greek, πυξίς, πυξίον; Latin, *pyxis*, *pyxida*, a box). In ecclesiastical usage the box in which the host is reserved after consecration. The word is used in this sense in a decree of pope Leo IV., A.D. 847–855 (Labbe and Mansi, *Concil.* ed. Venet. t. xiv. p. 891), "Super altare nihil ponetur nisi capsae cum reliquiis sanctorum aut pyxis cum Corpore Domini ad viaticum pro infirmis." In the first Ordo Romanus (Migne, vol. lxxviii.), in the part which contains the detail of the order of the procession before the celebration of the Eucharist by the pope, the passage occurs, "duo acolythi tenentes capsas cum sanctis apertas." This is generally interpreted to mean vessels in which the Eucharist was placed; but a comparison with the decree of pope Leo IV. seems to make it doubtful whether such is the true meaning. [RESERVATION.]

It is the opinion of many writers that the earliest receptacles for the reserved portion of the Eucharist were vessels in the form of a dove [DOVE, EUCHARISTIC], but such was probably not invariably the case; and the round boxes formed from a section of an elephant's tooth, dating from various periods, from the 4th to the 7th century, nearly all of which bear sculptured on them subjects which may be held to have some reference to the eucharistic sacrifice, have been (*v.* observations by Padre Garrucci, *Archeologia*, vol. xliv

p. 322) confidently supposed to have served for this purpose. Such may very possibly have been the case in some instances; but it must be observed that the subjects carved upon many of them would be well suited to appear on a receptacle for a BRANDEUM or cloth, which, as we learn from St. Gregory's (the pope) letter (*Ep.* lib. iv. ep. 30) to the empress Constantina, was, down to his period, the customary substitute for a relic, and was habitually enclosed in a pyxis. His words are as follows: "Cognoscat autem tranquilissima Domna quia Romanis consuetudo non est quando Sanctorum reliquias dant ut quidquam tangere praesumant de corpore sed tantummodo in pyxide brandeum mittitur atque ad sacratissima corpora Sanctorum ponitur. Quod levatum in ecclesia quae est dedicanda debita cum veneratione reconditur."

One which we can scarcely doubt to have been made for the purpose of containing a brandeum (or possibly a vessel of oil) is that which has been engraved and commented on in the *Archeologia* (vol. xliv. p. 321). On it are two subjects, one the martyrdom of St. Menas, the other the saint in a glorified condition [RELIQUARY]. Several examples of such boxes bear secular subjects, as one in the museum at Zürich, on which are Venus and Adonis; on another is Bacchus; on one, in the treasury of the cathedral of Sens, a lion hunt; and a like subject is on one in the British Museum. Of those which bear Christian subjects, the earliest and finest is that in the museum at Berlin, on one side of which is Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac, on the other our Lord teaching in the Temple. This is probably as early as the 4th century.

In this instance it is difficult to see the appropriateness of the latter subject to a vessel employed in connexion with the Eucharist, though in the former it is obvious. By Mr. Westwood (*Fictile Ivories*, p. 272) the second subject is said to be Christ seated among His apostles; but one of the figures would seem to be that of a woman pressing in through a crowd, and the next figure an elderly baldheaded man raising a hand with a gesture of surprise, figures which would seem to point to our Lord's teaching in the Temple. Several examples present the history of Jonah; the raising of Lazarus is found upon at least five; the three Hebrew youths in the furnace on one, various miracles of our Lord on others. All these may be thought to refer in some way or other to the Eucharist, but most would be applicable to pyxides containing *brandea* or oils from the holy places in Palestine.

These boxes appear to vary in date from the 4th to the 7th century, and in size from about 3½ inches to 5 inches in diameter and height; several have had locks; among them that of St. Menas. A lock is perhaps an indication of the use of a pyx as a reliquary rather than as a receptacle for the host, for while many would have stolen a relic few would have dared to steal a host.

It is difficult to find examples of pyxes (in the restricted sense) earlier than A.D. 800 which, either by inscriptions or ornamentation, indicate clearly their destination. We find, however, great numbers of pyxes made in the 12th (some possibly in the 11th) and 13th centuries, chiefly at Limoges, of copper enamelled and gilt. These are usually circular, with a conical cover, and about 3 inches in diameter. [A. N.]

# Q

**QUADRAGESIMA.** [LENT.]

**QUADRAPOLA.** This word, whose meaning is quite uncertain, often occurs in Anastasius Bibliothecarius. He tells us (*e. g.*) that Adrian I. made for the church of St. Peter "cortinas .... de palliis stauracinis seu quadrapolis" (p. 320). It has been suggested that by the name is to be understood pieces of cloth, in whose four corners gold or silken threads are interwoven. This, however, seems nothing more than a guess. Reference may be made to Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v. [R. S.]

**QUADRATUS (1)**, martyr under Valerian at Corinth, commemorated Mar. 10 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 255).

(2) Disciple of the apostles, bishop of Athens, May 26 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.; *Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. v. 357).

(3) Martyr in Africa, May 26 (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**QUARTA**, martyr, June 2 (*Mart. Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom. Mart.*, Notker.), one of the martyrs of Lyons. [C. H.]

**QUARTILLA**, commemorated at Surrentum Mar. 19, with Quintus, Quintilla, and others (*Mart.* Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*; Bas. *Men.*). [C. H.]

**QUARTUS (1)**, martyr at Rome with Quintus and others; commemorated May 10 in the cemetery of Praetextatus (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*; Bas. *Men.*).

(2) Martyr under Decius with Felicissimus and others; commemorated Aug. 6 in the cemetery of Praetextatus (*Mart.* Usuard.).

(3) Disciple of the apostles; commemorated Nov. 3 (*Mart.* Adon., *Vet. Rom.*; Bas. *Men.*).

(4) "Apostle," one of the Seventy; commemorated Nov. 10 with Olympas and others (Bas. *Men.*; *Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**QUERCUS** (or the OAK), SYNOD OF, A.D. 403. [CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF (1), p. 333.]

**QUINIDIUS**, bishop of Vaison; commemorated Feb. 15 (Usuard. *Mart.*, *Vet. Rom. Mart.*, Boll. *Acta SS.*, Feb. ii. 827). [C. H.]

**QUINISEXTUM CONCILIUM.** [CONSTANTINOPLE (34), p. 444.]

**QUINQUAGESIMA.** [PENTECOST.]

**QUINTIANUS (1)**, martyr with Parthenius and others in Armenia; commemorated Ap. 1 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Notker.).

(2) Presbyter and Confessor, June 14 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 960). [C. H.]

**QUINTILIANUS (1)**, martyr with Paulus, Matutinus, and others; commemorated Ap. 4 (*Mart.* Notker.; *Mart. Hieron.*).

(2) Martyr, Ap. 16. [SARAGOSSA, MARTYRS OF.] [C. H.]

**QUINTILLA**, martyr, commemorated Mar.

19 at Surrentum (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Adon. *Mart.*); QUINTILLUS (*Mart. Hieron.*, *Mart.* Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS. Mart.* iii. 27). [C. H.]

QUINTINUS (1), martyr; inventio commemorated Jun. 24 (Flor. *Mart.*).

(2) Martyr in Gaul under Maximian; commemorated Oct. 31 (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard.). [C. H.]

QUINTUS (1), martyr in Africa with Aquilinus and Geminus; commemorated Jan. 4 (*Mart. Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.).

(2) Martyr; commemorated at Surrentum Mar. 19 (*Mart.*, Usuard, Adon., *Hieron.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Notker.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 27.).

(3) Martyr, May 10 (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*).

(4) Martyr, Sept. 5; commemorated at Capua with Arcontius and Donatus (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, Boll. Sep. ii. 526). [C. H.]

QUIRIACUS (1) (JUDAS), bishop of Jerusalem; commemorated May 1 (*Mart.* Bed., *Hieron.*) May 1 and 4 (Notker.).

(2) Martyr, June 21 (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*).

(3) Martyr, Aug. 12 (*Mart.* Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 702).

(4) Martyr, Aug. 23, at Rome, with Hippolytus and Archilaus (*Mart.*, Adon., Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.*, Aug. iv. 565). [C. H.]

QUIRILLUS, martyr, Mar. 11. [SEBASTE, FORTY MARTYRS OF.]

QUIRINUS (1), tribune and martyr, father of Balbina; commemorated at Rome Mar. 30 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.*; *Mart.* iii. 811).

(2) Martyr at Rome; commemorated at Rome Ap. 30 with Clemens, Lucianus, and others (*Mart.*, Adon., *Hieron.*, Wand.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 750).

(3) Bishop and martyr; commemorated at Siscia Jun. 4 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 381).

(4) Martyr with Nicasius and Pientia in the Vexin; Oct. 11 (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

QUIRIO, martyr, Mar. 11. [SEBASTE, FORTY MARTYRS OF.]

# R

RACANA, a word whose spelling is as varied as its meaning is disputed. Thus Gregory the Great, in the two passages we have cited below, spells it on one occasion *racana*, on another *rachana*. The former spelling is that found in Ennodius, the latter that in Anastasius Bibliothecarius. In the *Regula Magistri*, and the remaining passages referred to below, it is spelt *rachina*.

It seems to us most likely that the *racana* was some kind of rug or blanket, not, apparently, of the thicker or coarser kind. The following order from the *Regula Magistri* tells pretty strongly for both points, "in lectis habeant . . . . et lanas, *in aestate* vero pro lanis rachinis propter aestus utantur" (c. 81, *Patrol.* lxxxviii. 1031: cited in the *Concordia Regularum*, *Patrol.* ciii. 1255, where see Ménard's note). On one occasion we find Gregory the Great sending a present of thirty *racanae* with *laenae* and *lecti*; on another he receives a present of two (Greg. Mag. *Epist.* xi. 1, 78; *Patrol.* lxxvii. 1119, 1210, where the notes may be referred to).

It was made of hair cloth (*r. cilicina*), sometimes at any rate (*Vita S. Radegundis*, c. 4; *Patrol.* lxxii. 660). It was a thing worth stealing (Audoenus, *Vita S. Eligii.* ii. 38; *Patrol.* lxxxvii. 570). This last was a *r. caprina* . . . . *valde optima*, and perhaps therefore better than the ordinary run, for in Anastasius we read of four *rachanellae* being sold *numismate uno*. In a later passage the association *cum storeis et rachanis* is important for the view which we have adopted as to the meaning of the word. It ought to be added, as seemingly conflicting with the *Regula Magistri*, that the words following the above-cited clause are *per totam hiemem* (*Vita Johannis Eleemos.* 9, 52; *Patrol.* lxxiii. 356, 363). The word is also used by Ennodius (*Epist.* ix. 17; *Patrol.* lxiii. 156), who asks that a *laena* and *racana*, which are to be presented to him, shall be "coloris rubei aut fusci." On a survey of the foregoing passages it will be seen that something of the nature of blanket makes very good sense throughout. The same can hardly be said of some other views. Thus Sirmond (Ennodius, *not. in loc.*) thinks it must be some kind of boot, by assuming that *racanae* are the same as *ragae* [RAGAE], and that these latter are boots, because the Theodosian Code prohibits them in company with *Tsangae*, which certainly are boots! Ducange's theory is equally unsatisfactory, which explains it of a patched and worn dress, such as monks would wear, thus deriving it from ῥάκος. It is hard on this theory to understand such an allusion as that we have cited, where a *rachana* is called *valde optima*, and is thought quite worth stealing, or to explain several passages distinctly connecting it with bed furniture. Other views which explain the word as a kind of breeches, or as something worn round the neck, need not be discussed, in the absence of anything like evidence in support of them.

Besides the notes we have already mentioned, reference may be made to Rosweyd, *Onomasticon in Vitas Patrum*, s. v. (*Patrol.* lxxiv. 489), and Ducange's *Glossarium*, s. v. [R. S.]

RADEGUNDIS. ST., queen, Aug. 13, commemorated at Poitiers (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Flor., Wandalb.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 46). [C. H.]

RAGAE. The Theodosian Code (lib. xiv., tit. 10, l. 3), in a law put forth by Honorius in A.D. 399, forbids the wearing within the city of *ragae* and *tsangae*. [TSANGAE.] The meaning of the former word is very doubtful. The preceding law, issued two years earlier, had prohibited the wearing of *brachae* and *tsangae*; and thus one theory has been to read *brachae* in both passages. This view, not very probable in itself, is rendered still less so by the existence of a diminutive *ragella* (Ducange, *Glossarium*, s. v.). Others connect it with ῥάκη, ῥάκια, and illustrate it by such words as ῥακοδυτεῖν, ῥακενδυτεῖν. This

would give us the meaning of a monkish cloak, so-called from its apparently ordinary condition. This view also seems somewhat unsatisfactory, seeing that the object of the two laws appears to be to put down the wearing of foreign dresses in Rome, under a penalty of total confiscation of property and perpetual exile. The theory that a monkish dress is intended does not seem to harmonize with the direct object of the law, and the penalty in this case would be out of all proportion. Others, again, would read *ruchae*, deriving it from ῥοῦχον, a garment (Ducange, *Glossarium Graecum*, s. v.). It seems to us, however, that the prohibition appears aimed at something too special to be satisfied by a quite general word. (See Gothofredus, *not. in loc.*; Ducange, *Glossarium*, s. v.) [R. S.]

**RAGNULFUS**, martyr, May 27, commemorated in Artois (*Mart.* Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vi. 717). [C. H.]

**RAILS.** [CANCELLI.]

**RAM.** The Ram is not unfrequently used as a symbol on Christian monuments, and there seems to be ground for thinking that it was employed to symbolize other ideas than those signified by the Lamb. St. Ambrose (*Ep.* lxiii.) says that it is used as a symbol of the Word, even by those who deny the coming of Christ, and finds in the fleece of the ram a symbol of the "clothing-upon" of Christians (2 Cor. v. 2); in his defence of the flock against the wolf, a symbol of Christ's victory over Satan; in his leading the flock, a symbol of the Divine guidance; in his substitution for Isaac, a symbol of the one sacrifice; in his dumbness before his shearers (Is. liii. 7), a symbol of the meekness of Christ. And another father of the Church (Prosper *de Promiss. Dei*, pars 1, c. xvii.) sees in the "thicket" a type of the crown of thorns. Where found on fonts and other monuments having any reference to baptism, it was probably used as a symbol of force, and as an encouragement to "fight manfully" (Perret, *Catacombes de Rome*, v. iii. pl. 8); and under the same idea of encouraging themselves with the device of a valiant animal in times of persecution, Christians seem to have worn rings with a ram engraved upon the stone. It may be added that *two* rams face to face, with a cross between them, are not an uncommon symbol, and may be seen on the capitals of columns in the churches of St. Ambrose and St. Celsus at Milan (Allegranza, *Sacr. Mon. di Milano*, tav. vii. etc.).

(Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v. Bélier.) [E. C. H.]

**RAPHAEL**, archangel, Dec. 9 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C. H.]

**RATISBON, COUNCILS OF.** (1) A.D. 768, says Mansi (xii. 699), but this being the year in which Pepin died, it could not well have been held for another year or more, to have been held under his son Charles, who seems to refer to it in a later capitulary as having legislated on the subject of country bishops. We learn from another source that it disallowed their performing any episcopal functions, unless they had been ordained by three bishops.

(2) A.D. 792, attended by king Charles; at which Felix bishop of Urgel in Spain, was first condemned, for propagating the heresy called Adoptionism (Mansi, xiii. 855).

(3) A.D. 798, when a bull of Leo III., confirming the translation of the episcopal chair of that city to the church of St. Stephen, if genuine, was received (Mansi, *ibid.* 993 and Hartzeim, i. 335). [E. S. Ff.]

**RAVENNA, SYNOD OF.** A.D. 419; summoned by the emperor Honorius for settling the contention between Boniface and Eulalius for the see of Rome, vacated by the death of pope Zosimus; which it failed to do (Mansi, iv. 399–402). [E. S. Ff.]

**READER.** [ANAGNOSTES, p. 79; ORDINATION, pp. 1506, 1509.]

**REBAPTIZATION.** [BAPTISM, ITERATION OF, p. 172.]

**REBRACHIATORIUM.** We once meet with this word in Cassian's description of the monastic dress (*De Coenob. Inst.* i. 6; *Patrol.* xlix. 71), where, from the number of synonyms used to describe the article (ἀναβολαί, *succinctoria*, *redimicula*), it may fairly be said with Gazaeus (*in loc.*) to be "obscuratus potius quam illustratus." It would seem to mean some sort of cords or bands (*resticulae duplices*) passing over the neck and down the two sides, being then so fastened as to hold the garments together, while leaving the arms free. See Isidore (*Etym.* xix. 33, 5, where Cassian is cited), Gazaeus (*not. in loc.*), and Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v. [R. S.]

**RECEPTORIUM.** [SALUTATORIUM.]

**RECLINATORIUM.** [STAFF.]

**RECLUSE.** [HERMIT, p. 771.]

**RECONCILIATION OF PENITENTS.** This was the last stage in the discipline of PENITENCE. By it the penitent was fully restored to all the sacred privileges which he had forfeited. This restoration was expressed by different terms. Tertullian uses the phrases, "veniam, abolitionem delictorum, indulgentiam, remissionem, concessionem, &c., sacramentum benedictionis, pacis redditionem, communicationem." With Cyprian the ordinary expressions are, "pacem dare, accipere, ad pacem admitti, communicationis jus accipere, dare, veniam, peccatorum remissionem, indulgentiam." The council of Elvira has "communionem dare, accipere, praestare, Dominicae communioni sociari, reconciliari." Many canons express reconciliation simply by the word "communio," and Greek councils speak of those unreconciled as ἀκοινώνητοι. In the council of Nice (c. 13) absolution is called a viaticum, τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον ἐφόδιον. The same word was adopted by 1 Conc. Arausic. c. 3; 1 Conc. Vasens. c. 2; Conc. Gerund. c. 9; 3 Conc. Aurelian. c. 25, &c. A general term in ecclesiastical documents of a later age was "absolutio" (λύσις). The act expressed by these several phrases was the solemn absolving of public penitents, and restoring them to full communion. The act of reconciliation was outward and visible, but a spiritual remission of sins was held to accompany it. Although in the theological doctrine of

absolution regard must be paid both to the *forum internum*—the conscience of the sinner, and the *forum externum*—the discipline of the church, there is no trace of any such formal distinction having been drawn through the period embraced by this work. It was considered that when a penitent was reconciled, his sin was pardoned. His whole course of penance had been a petition for the divine forgiveness, and when the term of the sentence expired, the offence was judged to be fully expiated; the offender was then restored to communion, and that restoration presupposed the forgiveness of God. The office of the priest in the *forum internum* was ministerial, and the form through which he exercised his ministry was an intercessory prayer. A judicial absolution of sin was reserved for the Almighty. "Christ alone," says Clemens Alexand. (*Poedagog.* i. 18, vol. i. p. 138), "is able to forgive our sins, He alone being able to discern the sincerity or insincerity of our obedience." The early doctrine on absolution is well expressed by Pacian (*Ep.* i. 15): "Not indiscriminately to all is this very pardon through penance granted, nor until there shall have been either some indication of the divine will, or perchance some visitation, may men be loosed; that with careful pondering and much balancing, after many groans and much shedding of tears, after the prayers of the whole church, pardon is in such wise not refused to true penitence, so that no one thereby prejudgeth the future judgment of Christ." The language of Ambrose (*de Spirit. Sanct.* iii. 18) is equally clear: "By the Holy Spirit sins are pardoned; men do but apply their ministry towards the remission of sins; they do not exercise any power of authority. Nor do they remit sins in their own names, but in that of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. They ask, God gives." Compare at a later date the statement of Gregory (*in Evangel.* Hom. 26, vol. i. p. 1555): "Then only is the absolution of the bishop valid, when it follows the decision of the judge within." In the *forum externum*, the court of the church, the bishop's office was more directly judicial. By his own authority, through imposition of hands, he restored the penitent to the peace and communion of the church, and this restoration so far partook of a sacramental character that an African synod under Cyprian (*Ep.* lxiv. 1) ruled that peace, however irregularly given by a priest of God, was not to be taken away.

The complete ritual of reconciliation in the early ages is nowhere preserved, but there can be little doubt that it comprised one or more of these ceremonies: public prayer was offered in behalf of the returning penitent; hands were solemnly laid upon his head; the Eucharist was administered to him as a token of his return to communion, and a declaration was made that he was again in the society and peace of the church. In the most primitive times, perhaps, even these rites were wanting. It seems probable that then the delinquent, who had been subjected to a certain penance, during which the hands of the bishop were frequently laid upon him, was *ipso facto* reconciled at the conclusion of his sentence, and with the last imposition of hands. Morinus (*de Poenit.* vi. 21) raises the question whether, at a later date, when the station of the *consistentes* was in use, the penitent was absolved as he entered upon the station, or at the close of it He argues that the "viaticum" of Conc. Nicaen. c. 13, is not participation in the sacrament, but a sacerdotal absolution, and that therefore absolution is distinct from communion, and from this he infers that absolution was given as the penitent was advanced to the stage of consistentia, and full communion only as he left it. But the whole tenor of the canons which mention a viaticum is opposed to this view, and a statement of 1 Conc. Arausic. c. 3, seems to put the matter beyond doubt, for after declaring that a dying penitent might communicate without imposition of hands, it adds that the fathers fitly named a communion of this sort a viaticum.

1. *Petitions for Absolution.*—In the simple mode of discipline administered in the earliest times, it rested entirely with the discretion of the bishop to determine what length and severity of penance entitled the penitent to absolution. It seems to have been the custom for members of a congregation to petition the bishop to take back again any one of their number who had been ejected, as soon as they were persuaded of his repentance, and for the penitent at the same time to join with the clergy and bishop in earnest prayer that he might be worthy of restoration. The entire congregation thus participated in their erring brother's return. In the *Apost. Const.* (ii. 16) this duty of intercession is committed to the deacons. But more usually the penitent himself, by the depth and earnestness of his self-abasement, was his own best intercessor. An instance of a successful petition to be absolved is that of the confessor Natalis (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 27); an unsuccessful one, though supported by the supplication of the people, is related by Synesius (*Ep.* 67) of a certain Lamponianus. In no case does it appear that reconciliation was granted as a matter of course; the penitent must ask for it, and beseech the congregation to unite with him in his request. Tertullian (*de Poenit.* c. 9) says that he "ought to enjoin all the brethren to bear the message of his prayer for mercy;" and in the following section (c. 10), "When thou throwest thyself before the knees of the brethren, thou entreatest Christ." Similar language was held by Pacian (*Ep.* i. 15, *Paraen. ad Poenit.* c. 24). In the letters of Cyprian and the Roman clergy, there are frequent references to the part borne, in the reconciliation of the lapsed, by the prayers and intercessions of those who had stood firm, "stantis plebis" (Cyp. *Epp.* xix., xxx. 9, xxxvi. 6, xliii. 5). Ambrose likewise speaks (*de Poenit.* i. 16, ii. 9, 10) of the pardon of an offender being sought by the tears and lamentations of the whole congregation. This supplication of the people ceased after the 4th century to be part of the ritual of reconciliation in the East; but in the West the pontificals and rituals of a date as late as the 13th century exhibit the practice of the whole body of the clergy and all the people on the Thursday of holy week offering public prayers for the penitents about to be absolved, and the bishop pronouncing the prayer of absolution in the name of the whole church; and as Morinus (viii. 13), writing at the close of the 17th century, adds, "idem adhuc ritus in hunc usque diem perdurat, sed verbo tenus tantum."

2. *Absolution withheld till the Completion of Penance.*—The original idea of absolution was

that of a correlative to public discipline; restoration to communion implied its having been before withheld, and those only could properly be said to be loosed who had previously been bound. Accordingly it was for many centuries an inflexible rule of the church that absolution should not be granted till the offender had shewn some proof of contrition by the performance of certain outward acts of penance. The evidence of this practice is spread over the whole penitential literature. See especially Tertullian, *de Poenit.* passim; also the canons of Elvira, so many of which attach the words "acta legitimâ poenitentiâ" as a condition of restoration; also the indignation expressed throughout Cyprian's epistles against those of his presbyters who transgressed the settled laws of the church by reconciling the lapsed without penance, an abuse equally corrected and condemned in the 6th century by 3 Conc. Tolet. c. 11; and for pontifical decisions see Syric. *Ep.* i. 3; Innocent. *Ep.* i. 7; Leo, *Ep.* xci. The principle, of course, holds good only in respect to penitents strictly so called; in the case of simple separation from communion (ἀφορισμὸς, segregatio, separatio), where no penalty was attached, none could be exacted. The rule was sometimes relaxed in time of persecution, as in Africa, after conspicuous zeal and resolution succeeding a lapse (Cyp. *Epp.* xxiv., xxv.); or in deference to the request of the martyrs [LIBELLATICI]; or in favour of the sick; or in case of the clergy who were suspended or deposed, but not subjected to penance. There are also traces in the Eastern ritual, of a comparatively early date, of absolution being granted immediately after confession, and prior to penance. Morinus (vi. 24) assigns the origin of this custom to the abrogation of the office of the penitentiary. The earliest documentary evidence is to be found in the penitential of John the Faster, the date of which is yet to be determined. In that treatise the penitential course begins with a minute confession of sin, immediately upon which follow several prayers of absolution (λύσεις), but even after these the penitent is still held to be ἀκοινώνητος, his final and complete restoration being delayed, and communion withheld, till after the completion of his penance, which in some cases did not take place for long years after he had been absolved (Morin. *de Poenit.* appendix, p. 628). On the contemporary Greek practice of absolution, see the evidence collected by Morinus (*ibid.* p. 660). If, in consequence of the duration of the sentence, abstinence from communion was much prolonged, the penitent was allowed at intervals to receive an ἀντίδωρον [EULOGIAE, p. 629]. It was probably the influence of his Greek training which led Theodore to introduce among his canons (*Poenitential*, I. xii. 4) a permission for communion to be given "pro misericordiâ," at the end of a year or six months, although the penance was still unfinished. The history of the steps by which in the Western church the primitive custom gave place to the mediaeval practice of first absolving and reconciling, and then inflicting penance, belongs to a date which lies outside this work.

3. *Form of Absolution.*—Till long after the Carolingian era, absolution was given in the supplicatory, not in the indicative, form. No penitent was reconciled without imposition of hands, and imposition was never unaccompanied with prayer. "Nihil est aliud," says August. (*de Bapt.* iii. 16), "manus impositio nisi oratio super hominem." And this in itself is strong evidence that the form was precatory. The union of prayer with laying on of hands had strong scriptural authority (S. Matt. xix. 13; Acts vi. 6; xiii. 3; xxviii. 8), and was supported by the practice of the church for many centuries. The precatory form was used both in public and private reconciliation and in absolving equally the sound, or the sick, or the dying. And for 1200 years no other form, as an appointed ordinance of the church, usurped its place. Morinus sums up (viii. 11) his investigation into the practice of the Latin church with the broad statement, "Demonstratum videtur continuâ antiquae ecclesiae traditione peccatorum remissionem publice privatimque *deprecative* concessam esse." An indicative absolution first appears about the year 1300. Its use occurs in an ancient MS. of that date, in Gothic characters, of the abbey of St. Remigius. The MS. contains various episcopal benedictions, after which, in addition to a form of reconciliation, similar to that contained in the *Ordo Romanus*, there is given, "Item absolutio," in these terms, "Auctoritate, et vice B. Petri principis apostolorum, cui traditae sunt claves regni caelorum, cui dedit Deus potestatem animas ligandi atque solvendi, dicens ei familiarius prae coeteris. Quodcunque ligaveris, &c. Vice inquam ejusdem B. Petri, cui licet merito longe sumus dissimiles, quoniam potestate a Deo concessâ existimamus consimiles, ego divinitus vos absolvo a vinculis peccatorum vestrorum." Morinus considers the term "absolution" in this MS. to be of the nature of a blessing, partly confirmatory, partly dimissory, after the final reconciliation, rather than signifying a remission of sins; and that this was the ordinary signification of the word at that period. A copy of the Gregorian sacramentary of about the same date, contained in the library of the cathedral of Tours, has a form which combines the two modes. After a long discourse on the scriptural authority for declaring the remission of sins, the ritual continues, "Cujus nos virtute freti, et clementiâ confisi, humillime imprecantes pietatem suam, absolvimus te a vinculo tuorum omnium delictorum, et quidquid pro eis mereris, oramus ut avertat propitius, et merearis cernentem omnia cernere, suâ frui visione et uti consolatione, ad gloriam resurgere, et interim sine laesione manere aggregatus sanctorum omnium consortio, tribuente Deo Patre." Then follows another form, but entirely precatory. It does not appear that these forms superseded the solemn supplicatory reconciliation, they were rather supplementary benedictions. Speaking generally, the history of the change from one form to another is this, the supplicatory was the almost universal use of the church up to the 13th century; in the course of that century the indicative gradually crept in, and before its close had altogether taken the place of the earlier and more scriptural precatory absolution (Morinus *de Poenit.* viii. 8–12; Bingham, *Antiq.* XIX. ii. 5). The following is a very old form of supplicatory reconciliation from a Latin missal, cited by Bingham from cardinal Bona (*Rer. Liturg.* appendix, p. 763): "Qui mulieri peccatrici omnia peccata dimisit lacrymanti, et latroni ad unam confessionem claustra aperuit paradisi, ipse vos

redemptionis suae participes ab omni vinculo peccatorum absolvat," &c. For other forms in the Latin church, see *Sacramentar. Gregor.* ed. Ménard, p. 226.

In the Greek church the supplicatory form has never been abandoned. Both in the earliest and more recent Euchologies, the absolution is distinctly a prayer to God for pardon, *εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐπιτιμίων λυομένων*. The following compendious form was represented to Morinus (viii. 12) as in general use through the Greek church in the middle ages, having come down from an earlier date: *Αὐτὸς Δέσποτα ἄνες, ἄφες, συγχώρησον τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ Δ., ὅτι σὸν τὸ κράτος*, &c.

4. *Rites.*—The most conspicuous act in the ceremonial of reconciliation was the imposition of hands. There is no occasion to cite authorities for a practice which was as essential to the rite of reconciliation as to that of confirmation or ordination. Indeed in many passages the expression "imposition of hands" is identical with absolution; see, for instance, *Apost. Const.* ii. 18; Pacian, *Ep.* iii.; *Statut. Eccl. Antiq.* cc. 76, 78; August. *de Bapt.* iii. 16; v. 20; Leo, *Ep.* xcii. 17. With the exception of this act, no other part of the early ceremonial is known. It is probable that for many centuries the whole form of reconciliation consisted in the bishop laying his hands on the head of the penitent and saying certain prayers, and perhaps making a public announcement of his return to the peace of the church. Afterwards, no doubt a more elaborate ritual was introduced, but there are no materials from which to ascertain even approximately the date of its introduction. The Gelasian sacramentary is adduced by Morinus as the earliest authority on the subject. After the prayers of the Mass, on "Feria 5 in Coen. Dom." it publishes an "ordo agentibus poenit. public.," to this effect: "On the morning of Holy Thursday the penitent is to come forth from the place where he has done penance, and to present himself in the body of the church prostrate on the ground." The deacon (in the *Ordo Rom.* the archdeacon) is then to accost the bishop in an address which begins thus: "Adest, O venerabilis Pontifex, tempus acceptum, dies propitiationis divinae et salutis humanae," &c., at the end of which the bishop, with the whole congregation, is to say certain verses of Psalm li. The archdeacon is then to ask the bishop to pray that the penitent may be brought near to God by the divine grace of reconciliation. After which the penitents, having been solemnly warned against a relapse by an attendant priest, are to be formally absolved by the bishop. Similar directions, under the heading "de Reconciliatione Poen. Capital. Criminis," are given in the Rule of Chrodogang, of Metz (c. 28). This ritual is also found, with some additional prayers, in the most ancient MSS. of the *Ordo Romanus;* in the Gregorian sacramentary, "in Feriâ 5 de Coen. Dom.; and with some further additions, which indicate a later compilation, in the spurious *de Divinis Officiis*, cap. *de Coen. Dom.*, which bears the name of Alcuin, and there can be little doubt that it represents in general outline the use of the Latin church on both sides of the Alps from a very early age (Morin. *de Poenit.* viii. 11; ix. 30). In the English church, public reconciliation was never appointed, as there was no public penance (Theodor. *Poenitential*, I. xiii. 4). In the Gallican church there are traces of a more elaborate ceremonial. Morinus prints (Appendix, pp. 598–608) an office book from the cathedral of Toulouse, apparently of the date of the 9th century, containing very full and interesting directions for the reconciliation of penitents. Palm Sunday it calls the Sunday of indulgence, and appoints that at 8 o'clock in the morning of the following Thursday the archdeacon is to approach the bishop, seated on his throne, surrounded by his clergy, and to bow and kiss his knees, and announce to him that a crowd of penitents is standing outside waiting to be reconciled by his ministration. Upon hearing which, the bishop will arise and walk in procession with his clergy to the door of the church, and, seating himself there, will investigate the case of each, and set apart those who are to be reconciled. He will then re-enter the church and ascend the steps of the altar, with his face turned towards the penitents at the door, while four singing men, placed at the door, chant an antiphon, "If Thou, Lord, wilt be extreme," &c., and four others from behind the altar respond, "As a shepherd gathereth his flock that is lost, so have I gathered thee." The deacon is then to bid the penitents enter the church, where they prostrate themselves, while an office with special lections is sung on their behalf; after which a special Mass, with appropriate prayers and readings, is offered for them; and immediately after the gospel, the priest is to preach to them, and when he has finished, the deacon is to read a long exhortation, the priest explaining particular points in it. When the missa poenitentium is over, then are to follow the missa pro baptizandis and the missa chrismalis, and then comes the final office of reconciliation. The bishop ascends the pulpit, the penitents prostrating themselves round it, and the deacon addresses him with the same formula contained in the earlier rituals: "Adest, O venerabilis Pontifex, tempus acceptum," &c., at the conclusion of which he leaves the pulpit and kneels before the altar, while a long penitential litany is sung; he then again mounts the pulpit, the priests standing in front of it, and on the deacon saying "Orate poenitentes," they prostrate themselves; and while the bishop pronounces the prayer of absolution, seven forms of which are given, two or four or more of the attendant priests lay their hands on the penitents' heads. The deacon then accosts them, "surgite de terrâ reconciliati Deo," and they are admitted to communion, receiving before the rest of the congregation, and, after one more admonition, finally cease to be penitents.

Private reconciliation would differ from the public form only in the absence of ceremonial, the two essential points of prayer and laying on of hands being maintained. For a specimen of this administration of the private rite, see what is published from a Rouen MS. of the 10th century by Morinus (ix. 31).

5. *Minister.*—The universal practice of the church committed the power of absolution to the hands of the bishop absolutely. The decrees of Nice (cc. 12, 13) and Ancyra (cc. 2, 5), leaving to him the determination of the length and severity of penance, assume the prevalence of this power. At a later date it was the subject of special enactments. Thus the second

council of Carthage (c. 3) altogether forbade a presbyter to administer public reconciliation, a decision repeated by Conc. Agath. c. 44, and 2 Conc. Hispal. c. 7. See also Conc. Eliber. c. 32; 3 Conc. Carthag. c. 32; 1 Conc. Arausic. c. 1; Conc. Epaon. c. 16; Leo, *Ep.* 88. Similarly the penitential of Theodore (I. xiii. 2) confines the office to the bishop. And in the Western church, so long as public discipline was in force, he was the sole minister of reconciliation. In the East the office was delegated to the penitentiary, one of whose functions Sozomen expressly states (*H. E.* vii. 16) was that of absolving penitents. But although the bishop was alone formally invested with the power, in practice it was sometimes delegated to the presbyters. There is a long array of canons authorizing the ministry of a presbyter in case of emergency, only, however, with the sanction and as the representative of the bishop, as in the absence of the bishop (2 Conc. Carthag. c. 4, 3 Conc. Carthag. c. 32), or when the penitent was in danger of death (*Ep. Dionys. Alex.* ap. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 44; Conc. Eliber. c. 32; Cyp. *Epp.* xviii., xix.; 1 Conc. Arausic. c. 1; Conc. Epon. c. 16). And not only a priest, but if the danger was urgent a deacon might take his place; if the priest had ordered him (Conc. Eliber. c. 32), or if a priest could not be found, and death was imminent (Cyp. *Ep.* xviii.). The same usage is apparent from c. 2 of the first council of Toledo, A.D. 398, which prohibits the ordination of penitents, and decrees that if one has been ordained deacon, he shall be placed among the sub-deacons, and denied the privilege of laying on hands. Imposition of hands was used only in ordination, confirmation, and reconciliation; deacons took no part in the two former rites, it must therefore have been customary for them sometimes to administer the last. The same custom reappears in the 9th century, in a ritual of Noyon, printed by Martene (*de Rit.* i. 6), and at a later date in the introduction to the *ps. Roman Penitential* (Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, p. 360). No such privilege appears to have been given to deacons in the Greek church. On the force of lay absolution, and on the opinions of the Roman canonists on its validity, see Bingham, *Antiq.* XIX. iii. 4; Morinus, *de Poenit.* viii. 24). In Africa, under the administration of Cyprian, the clergy joined with the bishop in laying on hands. Reference is made to this on two occasions (*Epp.* xvi. 2, xvii.). The custom appears to have been an isolated one, and as the second council of Carthage, A.D. 390, forbade presbyters to undertake the rite of public reconciliation, it had probably fallen into disuse by that date. In the Toulouse Pontifical, to which reference has been already made, the attendant priests laid their hands on the penitents, while the bishop read the prayers of absolution.

6. *Time.*—Reconciliation being consummated by a public admission to communion, it must always have taken place in public service during the celebration of the sacred mysteries. "Reconciliare quemquam in publicâ missâ" was the language of councils both in the 4th and 7th centuries (2 Conc. Carthag. c. 3; 2 Conc. Hispal. c. 7). All extant ritual books similarly connect public reconciliation with the service of the Mass. But there is some variety of custom with regard to the particular period in which the rite was administered. Some place it at the beginning of the office, and this appears to be the intention of the *Ordo Romanus*; but the more usual interval was immediately after the reading of the Gospel. In the Gelasian sacramentary the penitential office is succeeded by the direction, "Postea offert plebs," that is to say, it immediately preceded the offertory. In the Toulouse Pontifical (Morin. App., pp. 598–608) the ritual of reconciliation is intermingled with three masses, but the final absolution takes place after the gospel of the last and the most solemn of them. In the Greek euchologies the prayers of absolution for one under excommunication are to be said just before the priest places the elements on the altar.

With regard to the time of year, reconciliation appears from an early age to have been restricted to the paschal season, although there is no evidence by which to ascertain when the restriction began. In the time of Innocent I., A.D. 402–417, both the season and the day had become fixed. "De Penitentibus . . . . quintâ feriâ ante Pascha eis remittendum Romanae ecclesiae consuetudo demonstrat" (*Ep.* i. 7). The Thursday in Holy Week, from a period at least as early as the beginning of the 5th century, was therefore the day in general use in the Western church. So the Penitential of Theodore (I. xiii. 2), and the subsequent penitentials, to which an "ordo" is attached. A passage in Ambrose (*Ep.* 33 *ad Marcell.*) points to Good Friday as the usual day for relaxing penance in the north of Italy, a supposition which is perhaps supported by the prayers appointed for "Feria sexta in Parasceue," in the *Ordo Ambrosianus*, all of which relate more directly to pardon and remission of sins than those of the Thursday previous. Morinus relying on a passage in 4 Conc. Toiet. c. 7, would extend the same custom to the Spanish church, but the words of the canon clearly refer, not to penitence, but to repentance generally. There was no reason why one day in the Holy Week should not be held as suitable as another, and it is highly probable that in different parts of the church different days were selected; but after the 7th century all trace of variety o time ceases. No surviving ritual or pontifical alludes to any other day than the Coena Domini, and all Roman canonical writers cite the assertion of Innocent as conclusive with respect to the western custom. In the east public reconciliation was granted apparently on any day at the close of the Holy Week, or even on Easter Day. This appears incidentally from a letter addressed by certain monks under excommunication to the council of Chalcedon; they complain that the times of Christ's passion and the holy eve, and day of Resurrection, on which festival penance was wont to be remitted by the Fathers, had passed by and they had not yet been absolved (Bingham, *Antiq.* XIX. ii. 10). Gregory of Nyssa, at the opening of his canonical epistle, similarly speaks of Easter as a time suitable for the sinner's restoration. In the case of the sick or dying, reconciliation was given of course at any season; and so with respect to private penance, absolution could not have been confined to a particular season although, to a great extent, the private ministration kept to the time of the public and more solemn rite.

7. *Place.*—When the system of the stations [PENITENCE, p. 1591] was rigidly enforced, the

penitent was moved station by station towards the sanctuary, till he arrived among the consistentes, and stood with them near the altar when the sacred mysteries were being celebrated. So when his own time of reconciliation came, the bishop's hands were laid upon him, kneeling in front of the altar: "divino altario reconciliatus" (1 Conc. Tolet. c. 2). The third council of Carthage has a canon (c. 32), which, after stating the conditions on which a priest may reconcile, adds, that where the crime has been scandalous the reconciliation shall take place, "ante apsidem;" on the principle, no doubt, that when the offence had been open and notorious, the absolution should be open and public also. In the elaborate Gothic ritual cited above from the *Codex Tolosanus* of Morinus, the penitents are gathered round the pulpit to receive imposition of hands, and their reconciliation is afterwards completed by reception with the faithful, of course at the altar. In the Ordo Romanus, *Feria* 5, *in Coen. Dom.*, in the Gelasian sacramentary, and in the later pseudo-Alcuin, *De Divinis Officiis*, the penitents are directed to present themselves for reconciliation, "in gremio ecclesiae." And in a MS. of Evreux appended to the Pontifical of Egbert (Marteue, *de Rit.* i. 6) directions are given that the bishop is not to mount his throne on the day of reconciliation, but is to remain either near or in front of the altar.

8. *Absolution of the Sick.*—There are two leading decisions on the treatment of the sick in the early centuries, which at first sight are at variance. The first council of Arles (A.D. 314) (c. 22) had decreed that apostates and others who sought communion on a sick bed were to be refused it until they recovered, and had had an opportunity of performing penance. And this is in accordance with what Innocent (*Ep.* iii. *ad Exsuper.*) states to have been the early custom, that at first penance was granted to such delinquents, but not communion; and that afterwards, on the conversion of the empire, a more lenient rule prevailed, and communion was refused under no circumstances to a dying man. On the other hand, the council of Nice (c. 13) orders the παλαιὸς καὶ κανονικὸς νόμος to be maintained of giving an ἐφόδιον to a dying man. The explanation of the apparent discrepancy is that the canon of Arles applied to delinquents generally, while the Nicene canon, as is evident from the decisions immediately before and after it, had reference to those who were already penitents. The primitive church order therefore was that notorious offenders, whose repentance began only on their death-bed, were to be granted penitence, but not communion, while those who were already penitents were always to be allowed plenary reconciliation when in danger of death. Afterwards, from the beginning of the 4th century, the former restriction was removed, and all sick men who desired it were to be allowed the benefit of absolution. "They," said Leo (*Ep.* xci.), "who in time of urgent danger seek the safeguard of penance and subsequent reconciliation must not be refused, because we cannot restrict the time to God's compassion nor put any limit upon it. Therefore we ought not to be hard in dispensing the gifts of God, nor ought we to ignore the tears and the contrition of the penitent, because we believe that that very emotion of repentance springs from the inspiration of God." He therefore rules in the same epistle that the grace of communion is to be given if the sick penitent has lost his voice, and can only make a sign. At the same time there was not the same assurance felt of the final pardon of the sinner. "I can give him penitence and absolution," said Ambrose (*in Exhort. ad Poenit.*), "I cannot give him certainty." The fourth council of Carthage (c. 76) had decreed that if the patient had become senseless before his request for absolution could be complied with, he should still be absolved, and the sacred elements be put into his mouth, to which the eleventh council of Toledo, A.D. 675 (c. 11), added that the communion would be complete though the sick man could drink the cup only, and was too weak to swallow the bread (see 12 Conc. Tolet. c. 2, 13 Conc. Tolet. c. 9). And further, if any penitent was snatched away by sudden death, in the fields or on a journey, without communion, the first council of Vaison, A.D. 442 (c. 2), decided that his memorial and funeral rites should be the same as if he had died in the peace of the church. The 4 Conc. Carthag. c. 79, and 11 Conc. Tolet. c. 12, came to the same decision. In the Roman church, however, a severer practice prevailed. "We cannot," says Leo (*Ep.* xcii. 6), "communicate with those when dead with whom we did not communicate when living." This strictness was maintained by the subsequent popes Gelasius and Vigilius, but afterwards abandoned in the fifth Roman council, A.D. 553, and the whole western practice was then uniform. From the ecclesiastical rule that a penitent did not die out of communion with the church, who, from the accident of his death, was unable to obtain the eucharist, arose the custom of absolving the dead. Gregory the Great ordered a prayer of absolution to be read over the body of a certain monk who had died suddenly under excommunication, with miraculous results, according to John the deacon (*Vita Greg.* i. 45). For similar instances of absolution of the dead see Gregor. *Dialog.* ii. 23, iv. 55. At first the absolution went no further than the offering of prayers and masses for the souls of the dead, but in the time of Innocent III. it was decreed that the whole ceremonial of absolution, with penitential psalms, &c., was to be observed. Early Greek euchologies contain many special prayers for absolving the dead (Morin. *de Poenit.* x. 9).

There is no record of any early rites peculiar to the reconciliation of the sick. The ceremony would probably be confined, with more or less formality, to prayer and imposition of hands, and administration of the eucharist. The third council of Toledo (c. 12), followed by 12 Conc. Tolet. c. 2, 13 Conc. Tolet. c. 9, ordains that the sick penitent, no less than the sound, should be shaved, and if a woman, be veiled, and be sprinkled with ashes, and clothed in sackcloth. And this practice, with some variety, long continued, for some ancient MSS., quoted by Ménard in his notes to the Gregorian sacramentary, refer to sackcloth being laid about the head of the dying, and a cross made of ashes and water being placed in some instances on his breast, and in others on his forehead. It was the custom of the Benedictines to wrap a brother in extremity altogether in haircloth. For further particulars see VIATICUM, and for clinical penance generally, PENITENCE, p. 1605.

9. For reconciliation of heretics, which was consummated sometimes by imposition of hands, sometimes by unction, sometimes by a profession of faith on the part of the returning heretic, see HERESY. [G. M.]

**RECONCILIATION, OF A CHURCH POLLUTED.** (*Reconciliatio; Apertio.* A church under a ban was said to be *clausa.*) Certain passages of the Old Testament and Apocrypha doubtless served to quicken and guide the instinct of the church, when occasion unhappily arose, to the propriety and the need of doing something to free her sacred buildings from the pollution contracted. 2 Chron. xxix. (for instance) relates at great length how king Hezekiah "*opened* the doors of the house of the Lord," after they had been "shut" by the wicked Ahaz, and with what rites and sacrifices he "made reconciliation" (v. 24) upon the altar. The chief instance of reconciliation of the (second) temple took place after the pollution of it by Antiochus Epiphanes, all the details of which are given in full in 1 Macc. i. 4. And that which gives this ritual its abiding interest and influence is not only that the anniversary was soon after observed as the Feast of Dedication, but that it was kept by the Saviour Himself (St. John x. 22), even by Him who twice drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple, using the significant words, "make not My Father's house a house of merchandize."

The early part of the 4th century, which was an active time for church building, was also marked by the rise and spread of the Arian heresy, which, as it was aggressive in the employment of litanies, in a like spirit gained for the heretics the (temporary) possession of the sacred buildings. The pious horror entertained by the Catholics of any contact with heretics doubtless led them to institute and use some kind of rite suitable to the occasion when they recovered their own churches, though no early instance or form has come down to us. Nicephorus refers to the edict of Jovian by which the churches of God were again "opened." In the sacramentary of Gelasius, No. xciii., there is an office for dedicating a building hitherto used as a synagogue, "quod perditum fuerat ante latibulum, et quia infidelium turba in isto loco conveniebat adversa" (p. 617; ed. Murat.). "I would scarcely venture to affirm (says Gussanvillaeus, the annotator on St. Gregory the Great) that the churches of the Catholics, after occupation by Arians and other heretics and restoration to the Catholics, were always dedicated by a fresh rite. But whatever took place in former times, Gregory certainly, a most experienced Ritualist, consecrated anew churches polluted by heretics."

And accordingly we find instances recorded in Gregory's writings. In a letter to Peter, a subdeacon of Campania (*Epist.* lib. iii. 19), he expresses his great anxiety to dedicate to the reverent worship of the Catholic religion places once given up to execrable error; *e.g.* a church in the third region in Rome, which the Arian superstition had for a long time retained, he now desired to consecrate in honour of St. Severinus, and in order to accomplish his purpose he asked for some relics of St. Severinus, &c. Again, in *Dialog.* iii. 30, he says, "The church of the Arians, in that region of the city called Suburra, as having been shut up (cf. 2 Chron. above) for two years, was to be dedicated afresh in the Catholic faith." And this was done. "We entered the church, with a great multitude of people, singing praises to Almighty God, and whilst the solemnities of the Mass were going on, and the crowd stood without the sacrarium, some of them felt a pig pressing in here and there, and it made its way to the gates — a proof (says Gregory) that from the same place was going out the unclean inhabitant of the place." He records sundry other "wonders" of the same kind.

The story receives illustration from Victor of Utica in his account of the persecution of the Vandals (lib. ii. 2, no. 6). "A presbyter saw the basilica of Faustus filled with crowds of people, and after a little while emptied and filled with a multitude of swine, a parable of its being given up to the Arians."

A very old MS. of the sacramentary of Gregory contains an office entitled "Reconciliatio Ecclesiae violatae" (p. 490; ed. Muratori).

Agapetus, bishop of Rome, is said to have purged by his catholic prayers the veils of the altar and of the see polluted by the sacrilegious fables of the (Eutychian) Anthimus, patriarch of Constantinople (Goar, p. 618). Gratian (*de Consecrat. Dist. I.* c. 20 et seqq.) records the direction of pope John I., in the same century, to the bishops of Italy, saying it was what he had done himself at Constantinople for the sake of the Catholic religion and king Theodoric, the pious orthodox emperor Justin extirpating the Arians. Whatever churches we found in their parts, we consecrated, &c. (See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, bk. iii. cl. 3.)

Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, who died A.D. 806, had like work to do. Amongst the forms collected by Goar (*Euchol. Graec.*) is found "a prayer of Tarasius on the opening or reconciliation of a church profaned by the heretics" (p. 618). Other forms are given; *e.g.* "a prayer on the release, *i.e.* the reconciliation of a temple polluted by a heretic or by heathen, to be said before the vestibule of the church." "A prayer to be said by the bishop over the holy table where the heretics have celebrated." "A prayer to be said, before the customary one at the beginning of the Mass, on the reconciliation of a church in which it has happened that a man has met with a violent death."

Martene (tom. ii. lib. ii. cap. xv.) supplies several offices with special prayers from the pontifical of Egbert, from the book of Jumièges, &c.

Hospinian (*de Orig. Templorum*, lib. iv. p. 379, ed. Tiguri), according to his custom of disparagement, ridicules all ritual of this kind. And he refers with more approval to the case of a deacon of Nestorius, who had polluted a church at Constantinople, when Nestorius "did not use holy water or the like, but simply removed the deacon from his place and office." To inflict punishment on the offender is, he says, the right course. Of old, however, a different view was taken of such calamities. Socrates (*Eccl. Hist.* vii. 33) relates: "The slaves of a rich barbarian master, to escape his cruelty, fled to the church, and with drawn swords leaped on the altar. Of

course the divine office could not go on. They threatened every one that came near, killed one, wounded another, and then killed themselves. One of those who were there said that the profanation of the temple foreboded no good. Nor was that saying false, for it portended the rupture of the people, and the deposition of him who caused it (*i.e.* Nestorius)." [H. B.]

**RECTOR.** (1) The word *rector* is used by Gregory the Great in the *Regula Pastoralis* as equivalent to *pastor;* and a priest is said to rule (regere) his people (*Conc. Elib.* c. 77). See PARISH, 3, iv. p. 1560.

(2) The leader of each side of an antiphonal choir is called *rector chori*, as in an ancient Sarum missal quoted by Martene, *De Rit. Ant.* i. 240.

(3) The pope is sometimes styled *rector sanctae sedis* (Macri *Hierolex.*). [C.]

**REDEMPTION** (*Redemptio*).—Commutation of ecclesiastical penance. The origin of the system is doubtless to be traced in the dispensing power vested in the hands of the bishop. This power existed from the very first. Indeed the later custom of assigning fixed sentences to particular sins was a development of a far earlier practice, which left the determination of the length of penance entirely in the hands of the bishop. But even after a code of penitential laws was established all authorities agreed in leaving to the bishop the power of relaxing or remitting a sentence. The bishop, declared the council of Ancyra (c. 5), shall be the judge of the sincerity of a penitent's contrition, and may either increase or diminish his period of exclusion. If the delinquent manifested his earnestness by fear and tears and patience, and good works, then, said the council of Nice (c. 12), the bishop may relieve him from passing step by step through his allotted stations. For further illustrations of the exercise of INDULGENCE see Basil, *Ep. ad Amphil.* cc. 2, 7, 54, 84; Greg. Nyss. *Ep. ad Letoi.*, passim; 4 Conc. Carthag. c. 75; Conc. Andegav. c. 12; Innocent, *Ep.* i. 7; Leo, *Ep.* cxxix. 5. The object of this power of dispensation was not to exempt men from penance, but to excite them to perform it. It was natural and equitable that one who shewed earnestness in his repentance should not be debarred from the privileges of the church for so long a time as one who paid only a formal and perfunctory obedience to the letter of the law which had condemned him. And probably for the first five centuries the only means of redeeming penance were zeal and sincerity in the performance of it. After the 6th century there begin to be traces of a more corrupt dealing with the censures of the church. As the life of the penitential system died out penance came to consist more and more in outward acts alone; it lost its original notion of a censure and means of improvement, and came to be regarded solely as a punishment; sin was to be expiated by submission to certain penalties, regardless of the state of mind of the offender. To redeem penance was therefore to substitute one outward form for another. The delinquent was allowed to purchase a remission of lengthy acts of self-denial by undertaking others which were shorter and more laborious, or by voluntarily depriving himself of something valuable to him. The principle being once conceded, redemptions of penance would become general, and would be tolerated more leniently from the circumstance that they brought material profit to the church and her rulers. Moreover, in those parts of the church where the system prevailed, penance consisted almost exclusively of long fasts and abstinences, and it must frequently have happened that owing to sickness, or other circumstances, it would be impracticable to observe them, or from an accumulation of crimes their duration might be so extended that life would not be long enough for their completion. Some dispensing power would then be necessary to assign more expeditious modes of carrying out the sentence. The practice also among the Teutonic tribes of compounding for personal injuries by money payments would readily lead to a similar composition for infringements of the law of the church. Thus the system of the commutation of penance, which is altogether alien from the meaning and object of a spiritual censure, but which has the sanction of honoured names in early English church history, grew up. The power of granting or refusing such redemptions at first no doubt rested entirely with the bishop or priest; afterwards the penitent was allowed to choose for himself, and systematic scales of penitential values were drawn up. It has been customary to assume that the system originated in our own land with archbishop Theodore. Morinus (*de Poenit.* x. 17), however, had the sagacity to reject as spurious the chapter in his so-called penitential on which the assumption is based. Since the discovery of the true penitential it is clear that redemptions were permitted a century before Theodore's time. Wasserschleben (*Die Bussord.* pp. 136–140) has published fragmentary collections of Irish canons, all of very early date, and some containing decisions of synods over which St. Patrick presided. [PENITENTIAL BOOKS, p. 1609.] Among these "Canones Hibernenses" is one series which treats entirely "De arreis" (arrhis, pledges). It contains nine different redemptions of the penance of a year. In the preface to the penitential of Theodore is an acknowledgment by the unknown editor of the use in its compilation of a "libellus scotorum," *i.e.* an Irish book, and it is highly probable that from these early Irish canons Theodore drew his reference to the practice of commutations. He did not himself originate the system; he found it existing, and gave it his sanction. "Item xii. triduana pro anno pensanda Teodorus laudavit. De aegris vero pretium viri vel ancillae pro anno" (*Penitent.* I. vii. 5). See *ibid.* I. iii. 3; I. iv. 1. Such a system as that by which a sinner was allowed to purchase himself free from the spiritual penalties attached to his sin was likely to be popular; and in the interval between the publication of the penitential of Theodore and that of Bede it grew with amazing rapidity. The latter treatise concluded with a chapter on commutations under twelve headings, out of which apparently the penitent was at liberty to select the easiest and most expeditious mode of performing his penance. He might choose almsgiving, or stripes, or psalm-singing, with genuflexions, and it is further provided (Baed. *Poenitent.* x. 8) that if he cannot learn psalms he may pick out some holy man to undertake for a consideration the penalty instead

of him. The same system was tolerated by archbishop Egbert. Under the plea of a "consilium misericordiae" his *Penitential* (xiii. 11, xiv.–xvi.) lays before the delinquent an almost unlimited choice of redemptions. Nor was the corruption confined to these islands. The Frankish penitentials of Cummean (Wassersch. p. 463) is equally lenient in the remission of penance, and gives a long catalogue of the methods by which it can be redeemed. At a later date Regino of Prüm issued a table of commutations of penance, printed by Morinus (x. 16) from an unpublished MS. See also *Capitula Herard.* c. 26, Conc. Tribur. A.D. 895, c. 56; and illustrations cited by Ducange, *s. v.* "Poenitentia." At the close of the 9th century the abuse prevailed equally in Italy, Gaul, and Germany (Morin, x. 17), and the councils of the period do not appear to have made any serious efforts to check it. In England the synod of Cloveshoe (A.D. 747), under archbishop Cuthbert, published some strong but ineffectual protests. Alms, it declared (c. 26), were to be given, not for the purpose of diminishing canonical penance, but to appease the Divine wrath; similarly (c. 27), psalms were not to be sung, in order that abstinence and fasting might be omitted; still less might the rich employ their wealth to relieve them from the penalties of their sins. A century and a half later the council of Tribur. (cc. 56–58) attempted to regulate indiscriminate redemption by decreeing that the first year of penance, except for some urgent cause, should be rigidly performed; of the second and third, portions only might be commuted; on the treatment of the remaining years there was no restriction.

The methods of redemption were various. Twenty-four "biduana," periods of two days' fasting, were equivalent to a year's penance (Baed. *Pen.* x. 2). Instead of one week of penance, 300 psalms said kneeling, or, if said without bending the knee, 324 (Cummean "de Modis Poenitentiae.") Fifty psalms with genuflexions, or seventy without, might compound for one day's abstinence on bread and water (Egbert, *Poen.* xii. 11). Fifty psalms in winter had the same value as the whole psalter at another season (*ibid.* xv.). The penitent wishing to say fewer psalms must prostrate himself oftener and say the Miserere (*ibid.* xvi.), or he may obtain remission by getting a priest to say masses for him. The "Canones Hibernenses" attach other conditions to the saying of psalms; they should be said (c. 3) at the tomb of a saint, or (c. 4) while standing for three days in a church without food, or drink, or sleep. Another method of composition was scourging. Bede (*Pen.* x. 6) suffers the fourth year of a penalty to be redeemed by 300 lashes on the bare body. Egbert (*Pen.* xv.) assesses a day's penance at twelve strokes. In the *Capitula Herardi* (apud Morin. x. 16) the rod was to be applied during vigils. In Bede (x. 1–5) the psalm-singing was to be accompanied by so many "palmatae," which Ducange (*s. v.*) conjectures to mean not strokes of a rod, but prostrations, and with the palms of the hand extended on the ground. More general and more corrupt than any of the above redemptions was that of a money payment. Theodore (*Pen.* I. iii. 3) allowed a thief to escape part of his penance on making restitution, or (*ibid.* I. iv. 4) a murderer in a blood-feud by composition with the relatives of his victim. He also (*ibid.* I. vii. 5) gave the sanction of his authority to the manumission of slaves in lieu of penance. But he nowhere countenanced the bare and direct purchase of remission. In Bede's compilation the door was thrown open a little wider. In place of the fifth year of a long sentence large almsgiving would suffice, or if a penitent is ignorant of his psalms, he must give a denarius daily to the poor, in addition to fasting (*Pen.* x. 6). With Egbert redemption by money is openly recognized. He who cannot perform his penance for the first year must distribute in alms twenty-six solidi, for the second twenty, &c. (*Pen.* xiii. 11); if he is a powerful man he must release so many slaves and captives. The *Capitula* of Regino draw up a regular scale. For seven weeks' penance a rich man must pay twenty solidi, or, if he cannot afford so much, ten, and a poor man three. The money was to be used either for the release of captives, or to be placed on the altar, or for the servants of God, or in alms to the poor. By Conc. Tribur. c. 56, the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday fasts might be redeemed by a denarius, or by the support of three poor people. At a later period the laws of Edgar (A.D. 967) (Howel, *Dec. Eccl. Britt.* p. 53) mention the building and endowing of churches, making bridges, and repairing the highways, as modes of commuting ecclesiastical censures. To these may be added, of a still later date, pilgrimages and war against the infidel. [G. M.]

**REFECTORY.** [MONASTERY, p. 1240.]

**REGALE.** By the right of *regale* we are to understand the claim on the part of the sovereign of a country to enjoy the incomes of vacant bishoprics, and to present *pleno jure* to all ecclesiastical places or benefices, except the ordinary parochial cures. And the right of the king to the episcopal income—according to the French lawyers—was not extinguished by the mere appointment of a new bishop, but continued until the newly-appointed bishop had taken the oath of allegiance in due form (Döllinger in *Kirchen-Lexicon*, s. v.). The full development of this claim belongs to mediaeval and modern times; but so much as belongs to our period may be seen under VACANCY; BISHOP, p. 216 f; PRINCES, ALLEGIANCE TO. [C.]

**REGENSE CONCILIUM.** [RIEZ.]

**REGIAE,** another form of "rugae." Mabillon (*Mus. Ital.* ii. p. cxxxvii.) draws a distinction between the two which is probably without foundation. [E. V.]

**REGINA, ST.,** virgin and martyr, Sept. 7; commemorated at Autun (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Wandalb.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sep. iii. 24). [C. H.]

**REGIO.** In the pagan history of Rome the word means a quarter, district, or ward of the city. In the time of Augustus, the city itself was divided into fourteen such wards.

The term was adopted by Christianity, and was made to serve the purposes of the church. The *Ordo Romanus* (ap. Ducange) observes that there were seven Regiones in the ecclesiastical division of Rome. But in the time of Gregory the Great there were fourteen Regiones (Morinus *de Sacr.*

*Ord.* iii. 8). Each had its regionary deacons, subdeacons, and acolytes. The regions took their turn by a regulated cycle in the pontifical ministration of Easter week, each region being responsible for a day, and each region had its assigned precedence both in church and in procession.

In the collection of rubrics, taken from the Salzburg Pontifical, and headed *de Gradibus Ecclesiae Romanae* (Martene, I. viii. xi. Ordo 9), we find that at ordination there was a gathering of the *regions*—"fit enim conventus populi et congregatio regionum primum ad S. Adrianum."

The regions had officers, who were called *patroni regionum* (Martene, *ibid.*) The term existed as early as the time of Clement I.; for Publius Tarquinius, stirred with envy at the increase of the Christians, tried the influence of money with these officers to check its progress. "Vocavit ad se patronos regionum et data eis pecunia monuit ut seditionem excitarent nomini Christiano." (*Hist. Clem. I.*) The *patroni* however, in this case, may perhaps have been civil officers. [H. T. A.]

**REGIONARIUS.** The term is sometimes used absolutely and by itself as the name of an office (Greg. Mag. vii. i. Ep. 5), and sometimes as an epithet with other official titles, notarius, diaconus, subdiaconus, defensores. An example of this may be taken from the second council at Rome (A.D. 745), where the word occurs in this connexion: "Accipiens Theophanius notarius regionarius et sacellarius relegit. . . ." (Actio 1; Labbe, vi. 1557.)

Bona observes that the term is applied to the ostiarii and other ministers who served the pontiff when he was officiating in the several regions. (*Rer. Liturg.* I. xxv. 18.) He however gives no example of the term *Regionarius* being applied to bishops. [See BISHOP.] Nor has the present writer been able to find such an application in Martene, Thomassin, Morinus, Hofmann, Du Cange, or other authority on the subject.

The term *Regionarius* was looked upon as a title of honour. Gregory the Great decreed that as some of the notarii and subdeacons were appointed regionarii, so seven of the most eminent of the defensores should be decorated with the same distinction (honore regionario decorentur, lib. vii. Ep. 17). One of the seven defensores regionarii was assigned to every two of the fourteen regiones of the city.

The following passage is of interest, as shewing the application of the term to the order of subdeacons: "Subdiaconi sunt omnes numero viginti et unus, septem *regionarii* qui epistolas et lectiones cantant in stationibus: septem Palatini qui idem munus praestant in ecclesiâ Lateranensi: septem alii qui dicuntur schola cantorum, qui cantant tantummodo quando summus pontifex celebrare consuevit" (Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. iii. 8).

The regionary deacons of St. Maria and St. Sylvester were put in charge of the hospitals of pope Stephen III., A.D. 752–757 (Anast. *Vit. Pont.* p. 165).

A classification of the inferior ministers (acolytes, exorcists, lectors, ostiarii) is made by cardinal Bona into (1) regionarii, who were distributed throughout the regions, and in them severally ministered to the pontiff; (2) stationarii, who performed the same office for him when celebrating in the stations; (3) basilicarii, who served by turns in the Lateran Church; (4) oblationarii, whose duty it was to receive the oblations and bring them to the archdeacon. (*Rer. Lit.* I. xxv. 18).

When the pope distributed the eucharist, he communicated the regionarii last of all, except his immediate ministers (acolyte, &c.). The order was first those who were in orders; then the aristocracy (magnates); then the ladies (matronae); then the regionarii; and lastly, his acolyte and servers (Martene *de Eccl. Rit.* i. iv. x. 4). From this passage it seems as if *regionarii* was applied to persons not in any orders at all; as if it meant, in fact, people of the *regiones*, or, as we should say, the parishioners. [H. T. A.]

**REGULARES.** Horizontal rods of wood or metal for the suspension of veils or curtains. They are usually mentioned in connexion with the "rugae," which appear to have been the lattice-work screens and doors separating the presbytery, the confessio, or the sacrarium from the other parts of the church. The "regulares" were often of precious metal, and were decorated with a row of images on the upper part. Stephen IV. (Anastas. § 284) made silver "regularis" above the "rugae," by which access was given to the altar, "ubi imagines in frontispicio constitutae sunt," at St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and St. Andrew's. Hadrian I. (*ibid.* § 330) set up a "regularis" cased with silver at St. Peter's, and placed upon it portrait-busts ("vultus") of our Lord between the archangels Michael and Gabriel. He also erected above the upper "ruga" in the middle of the presbytery another silver-cased "regularis," supporting similar portrait-busts of the blessed Virgin between St. Andrew and St. John Baptist, all six "vultus" being made of plates of silver-gilt (Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* tom. ii. pp. viii. cxxx.). [E. V.]

**REGULARS.** [MONASTERY.]

**REGULUS**, bishop and confessor, Mar. 30; depositio commemorated at Senlis (*Mart. Usuard.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 816). [C. H.]

**REILIG, RELEC, RELIC, RELIG**, Irish name for a cemetery. It is probably derived from the Latin reliquiae (*e.g.* Relic Odhrain, the monastic burying-place in Iona), yet is also applied to the pagan cemeteries like the Relig na Righ at Cruachan (Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 203, 204, 283, 417, 452; Petrie, *Round Towers*, 103–7, 155–6). Todd (*St. Patrick*, 476) takes the word as equivalent to Recles, which he defines "a sepulchral church," and Reeves (*St. Adamnan*, 276, cf. 283) "an abbey-church," as distinguished from the secular cathedral. [J. G.]

**RELICS.** I. *Heathen Precedent.*—The law of uncleanness (Num. xix. 11–22) preserved the Jews from any undue veneration of the relics of the dead; and their freedom from this superstition was inherited by the church, founded as it was by men of that nation, and at first largely composed of them. But the semi-converts of the 4th century and downwards brought with them a strong tendency to the worship of human relics and to a belief in their tutelary power.

This had been general among their heathen forefathers, whether Greek or Roman. If we refer to a few examples, the reader will be able to judge for himself in what degree the later practice of Christians sprang from, or was moulded by, heathen precedent. We may instance the reverence paid by Athens to the supposed relics of Oedipus (Valerius Maximus, *Exempl. Mem.* v. 3, ext. 3), and of Theseus (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 36; compare *Cimon*, 8), by Thebes to those of Linus (Pausanias, *Boeotic.* 29), and by Alexandria to those of Alexander the Great (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 64; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 18). The bones of Zoroaster were the safeguard of Persia (*Chron. Paschale*, 67, ed. Dind.), while those of the first Perdiccas secured the kingdom to his descendants, so long as they should be buried by them (Justin, *Hist. Philipp.* vii. 2). An oracle declared that if the bones of Phalantus reduced to dust were scattered over the forum of Tarentum, the city would never be lost by the Partheniae (Justin, iii. 4). See the *Aglaophamus* of Lobeck, ii. 280.

The pomp that attended the translation of the relics of a martyr may in like manner be illustrated by the honours shewn to the remains of Demetrius (Plut. *Demetr.* 53), and Phocion (Id. *Phoc.* 37).

The heathen practice of delivering orations at the graves of heroes is mentioned by Cyril of Alexandria as a justification of the Christian rites over the remains of the martyrs (*Contra Julian.* x. 336, ed. Spanh.).

II. *The earliest Treatment of Relics in the Church.*—The first Christians regarded the bodies of their brethren as worthy of very reverent care, because they had been instruments by which God had wrought ("quibus tanquam organis et vasis ad omnia bona opera usus est Spiritus" (Aug. *De Cura pro Mort.* 5), and were destined to share in the future bliss and glory of the redeemed soul. It was for this reason far more congenial to Christian feeling to cover the remains of a friend with earth (OBSEQUIES, § xv.), and leave them to the natural process of decay, than to dissipate them by fire, or give them to the birds and beasts. The feeling was of course greatly intensified, when one had proved his faith in the resurrection by a death of suffering. Great efforts were therefore often made to obtain the body of a martyr for honourable burial. At first, as we shall see, this was the only motive; but as time advanced, a superstitious value began to be set on the relics of martyrs and other eminent Christians. There is, however, no trace of the error to be found before the conversion of the emperors, under whom multitudes of proselytes entered the church, who had only partially renounced heathenism.

The best illustration of the purer sentiment is found in the earliest records of the martyrs, and especially in those contemporary *Acts* and *Passions* which were prepared by the notaries of the great churches for reading in the services on their anniversaries. A careful examination of such documents, as collected by Ruinart (*Acta Martyrum*, ed. Veron. 1731), clearly proves the complete freedom of the first Christians from the undue veneration of relics of whatever kind. For our purpose these *Acta* naturally divide themselves into three classes. (1) There are *fifty-six* documents that make no mention of the burial of the martyr or of any subsequent disposal of his relics. (2) There are *thirty-two* that mention or allude to the burial only; and (3) there are *seventeen* which speak of the relics as preserved for veneration or as a means of healing, or both. The first two classes range in subject from A.D. 61 or 62 (*Martyrium S. Jacobi primi Hieros. Episc.* Ruin. 5) to 365 (*Passio S. Bademi* in Persia, R. 532), and in authorship from Hegesippus A.D. 170 (R. 5, 6) to SS. Chrysostom and Augustine and Theodoret (R. 446, 496, 524). In the *Acta of SS. Fructuosi, &c.* (of the 2nd class), who died at Tarragona, A.D. 259, the friends are forbidden to keep any relics. The martyrs had been burnt, and at night the Christians went to the amphitheatre, "with wine wherewith to quench the half-burnt bodies, which done they appropriated, as each could, the ashes of the said martyrs which had been collected." But Fructuosus "appeared to the brethren and warned them that they should restore, without delay, what each had taken of the ashes, and see that they were buried together" (R. 193).

The earliest martyrdom in the third class is that of St. Symphorian at Autun (cir. 180), but the mention of Euphronius the bishop of Autun shews that the document cannot be earlier than about 470 (see Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 15). The next is that of St. Lawrence, A.D. 258; but the chronicler, or rather rhapsodist in this case, is the poet Prudentius (*Hymn de Mart. S. L.* See line 133 et seq.), who lived a century and a half later (R. 169). St. Eulalia, A.D. 304, is celebrated by the same writer (*Hymn de Mart. S. Eul.* See line 43; R. 399). Of St. Ferreolus, who died at Vienne 304, the *later* compiler of his *Passion*, says, "Sepulcrum sancti corporis ejus veneramur . . . cujus beneficia per civitates sicut expetuntur votis, ita beneficiis frequentibus approbantur" (R. 408). The graves of St. Vitalis and St. Agricola (d. 304) were opened in the presence of St. Ambrose, 393, who fully believed in the wonder-working power of relics. He calls those gathered by him "crucis tropaea, cujus gratiam in operibus agnoscitis" (*Exhort. Virgin.* 2; R. 410). The fervid panegyrics of Prudentius (*Hymn. de SS. xviii. Mm. Caesaraug.*) are again our authority for the honour paid to the relics of the martyrs of Saragossa, 304, and St. Cassian of Imola, date uncertain (R. 411, 469). Of St. Domnina etc. of about the same date, St. Chrysostom some eighty years after, says, "Let us fall down before their remains; let us embrace their coffins; for the coffins of the martyrs can acquire great virtue" (*De Bernice*, &c., 7; R. 419). The *martyrdom of Cyricus and Julitta* (at Tarsus, 305) was written by Theodotus of Iconium more than 250 years later. Of another Julitta, who suffered at Caesarea in Cappadocia some time in the 4th century, St. Basil, about 370, says that the earth where she was buried sent forth a spring of water—"both a safeguard to those in health, and source of pleasure to those who enjoy it soberly, and a comfort to the sick" (*Hom. in Mart.* Jul. 2; R. 424). The same father says that the ashes of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in Armenia, A.D. 320, being thrown into a river, carried a blessing to all the neighbouring coasts, "Like towers closely set, they afford protection against the incursions of our enemies" (*Hom. de SS. xl. Mm.* 8; R. 464; similarly Greg.

Nyss. *Hom.* i. *in xl. Mm.* ii. 935). St. Chrysostom again in his *Laud. S. Drosidis* (at Antioch, date unc.) asserts that the bones of the martyrs both drive away disease and put death to flight. They have "done the latter," he says, "in the time of our forefathers; the former in ours" (§ 4). "Where the bones of the martyrs are buried, the devils fly as from fire and intolerable punishment" (2). *Passio S. Genesii* (at Arles, date unc.): "The faithful servants of God at that time took care that the guardian power of this one martyr should be a defence to either bank of the river crowned with a double city (the Rhône flowing through it); for leaving the traces of his consecrated blood in the place itself of his blessed passion, they transferred his honoured remains to the other side of the river, that the holy Genesius might be present in both places, there by his blood, here by his body" (R. 474; written by Paulinus, A.D. 393, ad. calc. *Epp. Opp.* 316). *Martyrium S. Juliani* (a Cilician, date unc.): "Take one afflicted by a devil and mad, and lead him to the holy tomb, in which are the remains of the martyr, and you will see him quite starting and fleeing away . . . . Now, after so long a time, when the body has become dust and ashes, they do not dare to look towards the tomb" (Chrys. *Laudat. S. M. Juliani*, § 2; R. 476). *Encomium in S. M. Phocam* (at Sinope, date unc.): "The relics divided among many places keep whole for the thrice blessed martyr the love of his name . . . . The Romans worship Phocas no less than Peter and Paul. Whence, as they relate, they have with great pains procured the head of the martyr . . . . to honour him, and for their own advantage" (Asterius Amas. A.D. 401, in Combefis. *Auct. Gr.* i. 493). *Epistola Ecclesiae Gotthicae de Martyrio S. Sabae* (in Gotthia, 372): the remains were left unburied by the murderers, "sed a piis fratribus servatae sunt, easque clarissimus dux Scythiae Julius Soranus, Deum colens, missis viris fide dignis, e loco barbaro in Romaniam transtulit, et gratificari volens patriae suae pretiosum munus, fructum fidei gloriosum, misit in Cappadociam ad vestram religionem, ex voluntate presbyterorum" (R. 529). *S. Vigilii Tridentini Epistola ad S. Joan. Chrys. de Martyrio SS. Sisinnii*, &c. (at Anagnia or Anaunia near Trent, 397) tells us that a nobleman "sanctorum recentium et vapore fumantium reliquias postulavit," which he took or sent to Constantinople (R. 535).

The necessary inference from the foregoing analysis is that the worship of relics, and the belief in them as remedies and a protection against evil, originated in the 4th century. They first appear in writings, none of which are earlier than the year 370; but they prevailed rapidly when they had once taken root. This was perhaps largely owing to the encouragement which they received, as we have seen, from some truly great men, as Ambrose and Augustine among the Latins, and Basil and Chrysostom in the East, who were evidently deceived by certain physical phenomena, the nature of which is ill understood even at the present day.

III. *Multifarious Relics of Patriarchs, Prophets, Christ, the Apostles, and other Saints.*—The bones of the saints of the Old Testament, long held unclean, became in the 4th century objects of great veneration. *E.g.* Paula and Eustochium, writing to Marcella in 386, suggest that when she visits the Holy Land they will "pray together in the mausoleum of David, . . . hasten to the tabernacles or memoriae of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, . . . go to Samaria, and together adore the ashes of John the Baptist, Elisha also, and Obadiah" (*Epist.* Hieron. xlvi. 12). St. Jerome, in 406, tells us that Arcadius translated "the bones of the blessed Samuel from Judaea into Thrace" (*C. Vigilant.* 5). Among the numberless relics collected with the aid of Charlemagne from all parts by Angilbert of Centule, A.D. 814, were the blood, hairs (also at Corbie, *Acta Bened.* iv. i. 376), and garments of John the Baptist, bones of his father Zacharias, memorials of Symeon, &c. (*Scriptum S. Angilb.* 14, 15; Bolland. Feb. iii. 103; or *Acta Bened.* IV. i. 114). Hair from the beard of Noah was shewn at Corbie in the same century (*ibid.* 377).

Alleged relics of our Lord were very numerous, and, it is to be feared, all, without exception, spurious. For the history of the cross see Vol. I. pp. 503–506. To the discovery of the cross by Helena, St. Ambrose in 395 adds that of the title written by Pilate, and of the nails, one or more of which she caused to be wrought into a bit for her son's horse (*de Obit. Theodos.* 46, 47), a tradition known to St. Jerome (*Comm. in Zach.* xiv. 20), Cyril Alex. (*Comm. in loc. eund.*), Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 18), Sozomen (*H. E.* ii. 1), Rufinus (*H. E.* i. 7), Gregory of Tours *Mirac.* i. 6), and Cassiodorius (*Hist. Trip.* ii. 18). By the time of Gregory of Tours, 573, the holy spear (rediscovered in 1098, Guibert. Abb. *Hist. Hieros.* v. 19, vi. 7), the reed, the sponge, the crown of thorns, the seamless coat, and the pillar of scourging had all been supplied to the ignorant credulity of the age (*Mirac.* i. 6–8). The thorns were still green, or if they withered were daily restored to freshness "by divine power." Twists of bread made with water from the tomb were sent over the world, and healed many. The same virtue was ascribed to plaited thongs that had been wrapped round the pillar (*ibid.* 7, 8). The holy coat was kept in a chest in a very secret crypt in a basilica at Galathea, a place mentioned by Gregory only, "quae arca a devotis atque fidelibus cum summa diligentia adoratur" (8). Twenty-one "holy coats" were afterwards shewn, as at Trèves, Argenteuil, Rome, Bremen, &c. (See Gildemeister und von Sybel, *Der heilige Rock zu Trier, und die zwanzig andern heiligen ungenähten Röcke*, Düsseld. 1845). Angilbert (*u.s.*) believed that he had acquired parts of the cross, bonds, nails, and sponge, of our Lord's garments and sandals, of the table and bread of the Last Supper. He also possessed water taken from the place of His baptism. At Corbie, in a reliquary called the Prima St. Petri, said to have been given to the monastery by Charlemagne, were His blood and hairs, part of the umbilical cord, of the manger, cross, napkin, table, tomb, clothing, &c. (*Acta Bened.* iv. i. 375).

The chair of St. James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, was in all probability the only true relic of the apostolic age that was preserved to the 4th century. It is mentioned by Eusebius as treasured at Jerusalem in his time, "a clear proof of the veneration in which holy men were and are held" (*H. E.* vii. 19).

In the collection of Angilbert (*u.s.*) were man-

alleged relics of the blessed Virgin—drops of her milk, some hairs, shreds of her cloak and garment (these all with parts of her veil, &c. also at Corbie, *Acta Bened.* iv. i. 375), and a part of the manger (praesepe Mariae), which was in the same age said to be at Rome (*Notitia Eccles. Urb. Rom.* Alcuini, *Opp.* App. iii. 598). Abundance of her hair (reliquiae tantae capillorum) was said to have been brought from Jerusalem to Spain, and to be preserved at Astorga and Oviedo (Osmundi *Epist. ad Idam*, Mabill. *Vet. Anal.* 433, ed. 2). At Corbie were hairs and some of the ointment of Mary Magdalene (*Acta Bened.* iv. i. 376).

Part of the remains of St. Peter and St. Paul are now "in the Vatican church, another portion in the basilica of St. Paul; but their sacred heads are in the Lateran basilica" (Ruinart ad Greg. Tur. *Mirac.* i. 28). The bodies of SS. Andrew, Luke, and Timothy were at Constantinople (Hieron. *C. Vigil.* 5). Relics of St. Andrew were also preserved at Neuvy, near Tours (G. T. *Mir.* i. 31). The chains of St. Paul were early said to be at Rome (Chrysost. *Hom.* viii. *in Ep. ad Eph.* 2; Greg. M. *Ep.* iii. 30, xi. 49). Part of a table belonging to him was in the collection of Angilbert (*u.s.*). Hairs of St. Paul were sent by pope John, 557, to a bishop of Vienne (Hard. *Conc.* iii. 342). The chains of St. Peter appeared at Rome much later than those of St. Paul, not in fact till very special claims were made for Rome on his account. If I mistake not, Gregory I. is the first to mention them. He sent to Childebert, in 595, "keys of Peter" (Greg. Tur. *Mir.* i. 29; see § vi. sub fin.) and some filings from his chains (*Epist.* v. 6; comp. ii. 33; iii. 3). So in 741 Charles received from Gregory III. the "keys of the venerable sepulchre, with the chains of St. Peter" (Fredegar. *Chron.* ad an.). The importance of this possession to Rome in that age may be easily understood:

> "His solidata fides, his est tibi, Roma, catenis."
> Alcuin, *Carm.* 169.

A nail from the cross of St. Peter was sent by Gregory of Rome to Secundinus, a recluse (Hard. *Conc.* iii. 503). At Centule (and Corbie, *Acta Bened. u.s.*) were hairs from the beard of St. Peter, parts of his casula, his sandals and table (*Script.* Angilb. *u.s.*); at Corbie parts of his ribs, of his cross, and dust from his tomb (*Acta Bened. u.s.*). The relics of the other apostles were in similar request, and were generally of the same character.

The relics of St. Stephen the proto-martyr deserve especial mention. In 415 the site of his body and of those of Nicodemus and Gamaliel was, according to one legend, revealed to a priest named Lucian. They were at a place called Caphargamala (*i.e.* Villa Gamalielis), near Jerusalem (Lucian *de Rev. Corp. Steph.* 2–3, in *Opp.* Aug. App. vi. ed. Ben.), to which city that of St. Stephen was removed, except some small joints and the earth into which the flesh was resolved (*ibid.* 8). Nevertheless another story, translated from the Greek by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in the 9th century, affirms that it was at Jerusalem in the time of the emperor Constantine (died 337) and Cyril of Jerusalem (who, however, were not contemporaries), and was by their joint action removed to Byzantium (*de Transl. S. Steph. ibid.*). A third document tells us of relics of Stephen brought from Jerusalem to Minorca soon after their discovery, and there working miracles, by which many Jews were converted (*Ep.* Severi *de Conv. Jud. ibid.*); while two books *de Miraculis S. Stephani*, said to be written at the instance of Evodius, bishop of Uzalis, in Africa, the friend of Augustine, record many alleged miracles wrought in that city by relics of St. Stephen sent thither "from the parts of the East" (i. 1). Several miracles, alleged to have been wrought at Uzalis and some neighbouring places by the same relics, were believed by St. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8, §§ 10–21). In the 6th century some blood of St. Stephen is found in the altar of a church at Bordeaux (Greg. Tur. *Mir.* i. 34). But far more singular relics were some drops of sea-water, preserved by the bishop of that city, which had fallen from his robes when he was seen in a vision after succouring a ship in distress, and some threads of a cloth with which the water had been wiped from the deck (*ibid.*). Angilbert (*u.s.*) possessed one of the proto-martyr's ribs, and one of the stones with which he was slain.

Among the numberless miscellaneous relics valued within our period, we may mention bars of the gridiron of St. Lawrence (Angilb. *u.s.*), the under-pall of St. Radegund, which, dipped in water, gave it the power to heal fevers (*Vita*, Baud. 32), the straw on which St. Germanus had lain (*Vita*, Venant. 46), a thread from the shirt of St. Lubin (*Vita*, Venant. 20), a shoe that fell from the foot of Epipodius when he was led to martyrdom (Greg. Tur *de Glor. Conf.* 54), cords from a bed (*ibid.* 85), &c. Dust from almost any shrine was believed to have healing power. By this means St. Hilary cured leprosy (*Vita*, ii. 4); St. Rigobert, the ague (Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* ii. 14); St. Thaumastus, a French bishop, toothache and fever (Greg. Tur. *u.s.* 53; see also *Mir.* ii. 45); the woman who had treasured the shoe of St. Epipodius, ague (*ib.* 54); &c. Earth from Jerusalem was in equal request, and that early in the 5th century. See St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xxii.–xxviii. 6; *Ep.* 52, *ad Severin.* § 2. So the soil which had drunk the blood of the martyrs under Sapor II., A.D. 375, was "dug up and carried away, and preserved by the Christians as useful to heal the sick" (S. J. Assem. *Acta SS. Mm. Or. et Occ.* i. 162); and in the West the same thing is told of the earth on which Stratonica and Seleucus had last trodden (*ibid.* ii. 119), and of sand from the spot on which others had suffered (*Aridii Vita*, 6). Laurel leaves found in a tomb (Greg. Tur. *Glor. Conf.* 84), and flowers from a miraculous tree before the tomb of St. Eulalia (*Glor. Mart.* i. 91) were preserved for the same purpose.

The "holy grail" first appeared when Caesarea was taken by the Crusaders in 1101 (William of Tyre, *Hist. Rer. Transm.* x. 16), if it be correctly identified with the vessel (of green glass?) found there, but not at first deemed a sacred relic.

Long lists of relics in ancient churches at Rome and elsewhere are printed by Mai, in *Script. Vet. Nova Collectio*, v. i. 37–52. Perhaps the longest extant, enumerating nearly 400 articles, occurs in the *Relatio de Orig. Monast. Windberg.* given by Basnage, *Thesaur. Monum.* III. ii. 214.

IV. *Spurious Relics.*—St. Augustine, denouncing certain wandering impostors in the habit of monks, says: "Some of them have for sale the members of martyrs, if they were martyrs" (*de Op. Monach.* xxviii. 36; comp. Isidore *de Div. Off.* ii. 15). Fraud was, therefore, already practised by the beginning of the 5th century. Gregory I. near the end of the 6th, writing to the Augusta Constantina, declares that some Greek monks had been detected exhuming bones near the church of St. Paul in Rome, who, being closely questioned, "confessed that they had intended to carry those bones to Greece as the relics of saints" (*Epist.* iii. 30). About 587 an impostor appeared at Tours and Paris, professing to come from Spain with relics of St. Vincent and St. Felix. Having told the story, the historian adds: "Multi enim sunt qui has seductiones exercentes populum rusticum in errorem ponere non desistunt" (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ix. 6); and this notwithstanding the stories of divine chastisement which were circulated. For example, one who exhibited for gain a pretended bone of St. Godehard, was seized with delirium and died (*Transl. S. God.* 46, *Acta Bened.* VI. ii. 390).

Such frauds were less frequently exposed in the ages that followed, many bishops unhappily thinking that it would be inexpedient to undeceive the people; *e.g.* a man, who had under various names sold false relics in France, went into Switzerland, and there having, "*more solito*, collected by night from some vile place the bones of an unknown person, and placed them in a box on a bier, declared that he had been revealed to him by angelic information, and pretended that he was a martyr named Justus." The ignorant were deceived, miracles were said to follow, and at length the body was brought to be placed in a newly-erected church at Sus in the Engadine. Our informant was present at the consecration, and by questioning the man easily detected the imposture. Nevertheless the service proceeded, and the false relics had their part in it (see after, § xiii.). As in later times with the impostures of La Salette, Lourdes, &c. the educated and thoughtful were shocked and scandalized, but the multitude "remained in its error injusti nomen pro Justo venerans" (Glaber Rodolph. *Hist.* iv. 3).

We must not, however, attribute all false relics to the action of deliberate fraud. The ignorant were always disposed to regard any human remains accidentally discovered as those of a martyr, especially if found in or near a church. An altar had been reared in a certain place in the diocese of Tours on the strength of a popular tradition that a martyr had been buried there. St. Martin, A.D. 375, doubting the fact, "standing on the tomb itself, prayed to God that he would shew who, and of what merit, the person there buried was. Then, turning to the left, he saw standing near him an ill-conditioned, fierce-looking shade. He orders it to declare its name and character. It tells its name, and, touching its crime, confesses that it was a robber," &c. (Sulpic. Sever. *Vita B. Mart.* 8). Augustine of Canterbury found some persons, probably in France, "worshipping" a body which they supposed to be that of St. Sixtus. He wrote to Rome, asking Gregory for some genuine relics of the martyr, who, granting his request, gave him this direction: "The relics which you have asked for are to be buried by themselves, that the place in which the aforesaid body lies may be altogether closed up, and the people not suffered to desert the certain and worship the uncertain" (Greg. M. *Epist.* xii. 31).

V. *The Trial of Relics.*—Doubtful relics were often put to a deliberate test. We first hear of this in Spain, the council of Saragossa in 592 making a decree that the relics in use where the Arian heresy had prevailed should be "brought by the priests in whose churches they were found, and, being presented to the bishops, should be tried by fire" (can. 2). Actual instances of such ordeal at that period are not, so far as I am aware, on extant record; but we meet with several later on. *E.g.* Egbert of Trier finding what was supposed to be the body of St. Celsus, "lest any suspicion of the sanctity of the holy relics should arise, during Mass, after the offertory had been sung, threw a joint of the finger of St. Celsus, wrapped in a cloth, into a thurible full of burning coals, which remained unhurt and untouched by the fire through the whole time of the canon" (*Annal. Bened.* iii. 658, ad an. 979, n. 91). Similarly when a monk brought from Jerusalem to Monte Cassino a piece of linen (more probably cloth of asbestos), alleged to be part of the cloth with which our Lord wiped the feet of the disciples at the Last Supper, it was also put into a censer containing fire. "Mox quidem in ignis colorem conversa post paululum vero amotis carbonibus ad pristinam speciem mirabiliter est reversa" (Leo Marsic. *Chron. Cass* ii. 33; *Acta Bened.* s. vi. i. 101). The relics of St. Rotrudis stood the same test (*Chron. Andriensis Monast.* in *Spicil.* Dacher. ii. 78, ed. 2), which was applied also to the bones of king Wistan (*Vita Wist.* 5, in Boll. June 1; i. 87); and other instances might be given.

Ruinart has printed, from a MS. preserved in Rheims, a form of prayer to be used at the trial of relics (App. ad *Opp.* Greg. Tur. 1366), which Mabillon has reprinted in App. 2 to the *Epist. de Cultu SS. Ignotorum*, written by him under the name of Eusebius Romanus. It is also given from two Rheims MSS. by Martene, *Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iii. 8. We observe, however, that the relics referred to in the prayer are only portions of the saint's dress, "pannus iste, vel filum istud," a circumstance that suggests suspicion. It would require no great adroitness to appear to reproduce a burnt shred of cloth.

VI. *Translation of Relics.*—For some centuries there was an unwillingness to meddle with the bodies of the saints when once buried, arising at first from a proper feeling, but later on from a superstitious fear. A disciple of Simeon Stylites, desiring a relic of his master, thought he saw the body stir, and desisted in alarm (Antonius in *Vita S. Sim.* 16). This wholesome shrinking was first forgotten in the East (see the next paragraph of this section), but it remained so long a tradition of the western church that Gregory of Rome could say in 593, "De Graecorum consuetudine, qui ossa levare sanctorum se asserunt, vehementer miramur, et vix credimus" (*Epist.* iii. 30). He declared, though not quite truly, as we shall see: "In Romanis vel totius Occidentis partibus omnino intolerabile est atque sacrilegum, si sanctorum corpora tangere

quisquam fortasse voluerit" (*ibid.*). Many stories are related of the danger thus incurred. Even down to the latter part of the 6th century (hodieque) there was "so great a fear" of meddling with the tomb of St. Cassian that "no one at all had dared to touch anything belonging to him. If any one did so, he was either seized by a demon or destroyed by a sudden death" (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Mart.* 43). When the tomb of Agricola or Vitalis was opened by one who "desired to take therefrom some of the sacred ashes," the offender was caught by the stone falling on him, and with difficulty released (*ib.* 44). A soldier who rescued some relics of St. Andrew from a fire was seized with cramp at the door of the church, whereupon he put the casket round the neck of an unpolluted child, one of his prisoners, and so "arrived safely in his own country" (Id. *Mir.* i. 30). When the Manichaeans destroyed a fig-tree which had a healing power from growing on the spot where St. Narses had suffered (A.D. 341), they were punished by a plague (Assem. *Acta SS. MM.* iv. 101). When Constantina begged of Gregory I. some relics of St. Paul, he assured her that "the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul blazed in their churches with miraculous terrors, so great that it was not possible to draw nigh thither even for prayer without great fear." He affirms that when his predecessor wished to change the silver covering over the body of St. Peter, "signum ei non parvi terroris apparuit;" and that when he himself wished to make some improvement about the tomb of St. Paul, the person who ordered the removal of some other bones found near it, "apparentibus quibusdam tristibus signis, subita morte defunctus est;" and again, that when the tomb of St. Lawrence was accidentally opened, all present died within ten days (*Epist.* iii. 30). Clovis was struck with madness because he attempted to carry off a bone of St. Denys (*Gesta Dagoberti*, i. 2; in Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Script.* i. 589, comp. *Gesta Reg. Fr.* 44, *ibid.* 717). See also *Vita S. Gudwali*, vii. 72, in Bolland. June 6; i. 747; *de Ceratio Ep.* 5, *ib.* 709; *Illustr. Claud.* iv. 44, *ib.* June 6, i. 678; &c.

Constantine was the first who ventured to move the bodies of saints, contrary to the spirit of the ante-Nicene church:

> "Constantino primum sub Caesare factum est."
> Paulin. *Poem.* xix. 321.

To gain for his new city a prestige similar to that conferred on old Rome by the remains of St. Peter and St. Paul, he transferred thither "the holy relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy" (Hieron. *c. Vigil.* 5; Procop. *de Aedificiis*, i. 4; Theodorus Lector, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 61). A later law of Theodosius expressly forbade such translations to the subject: "Humatum corpus nemo ad alterum locum transferat, nemo martyrem distrahat" (*Codex*, ix. 17, § 7). Gregory I. (as we have seen) denied that it was ever lawful to disturb them. In France, however, the rule had long been relaxed. The council of Epaone, in 517, contented itself with forbidding "the relics of saints to be placed in oratories attached to vills, unless it so happened that the clergy of some parish were near to serve (qui famulentur) the sacred ashes with frequent psalm-singing" (can. 25). Under Charlemagne the old Gallican liberty was restrained, through Roman influence as we cannot doubt, by the council of Metz, A.D. 813, which decreed that no one should presume to transport the bodies of the saints from place to place without the sanction of the prince or of the bishops, and the licence of the holy synod (can. 51). Hence, generally only keys, BRANDEA, &c. were taken from the tomb of a martyr, even when a relic was required for the consecration of a church. If bodies were removed at all, it was only that they might be buried again in a more fitting place. This is shewn at length by Mabillon in *Praef. Act. Bened.* saec. ii. n. 42. The instances of Stephen, Gervasius, &c. (see also Greg. Tur. *Mir.* i. 51, 56, 63; *de Glor. Conf.* 72, 80) must therefore be regarded as exceptions. See other exceptions in the translations of SS. Marculfus, Quintinus, Audoenus, Leodegarius, Etheldrida, and Cuthbert (*Acta Bened.* from A.D. 558 to 667). At length, however, the tide had turned so completely that credulity was not overtaxed by the story of men struck with blindness because they attempted to hinder even a clandestine translation (*De SS. Gratiniano et Felice*, Boll. June 1, i. 24).

VII. *Acquisition of Relics.*—One great temptation to the production of false relics was the eagerness with which everything under the name of a relic was purchased. The sale of them was forbidden by Theodosius ("Humatum corpus . . . nemo mercetur, *Codex*, ix. 17, § 7); but apparently with little effect in the more distant provinces. A story told of an abbat of Bourges in the 6th century implies that it was common in France at that period (Greg. Tur. *Mirac.* i. 90). Q. Radegund procured a multitude of relics from all parts of the world "tam muneribus quam precibus" (Baudonivia, *Vita S. Rad.* 14). It was even considered a good deed to steal relics, because a proof of devotion: *e. g.* a German bishop, named Othwin, carried off by night from Pavia the relics of St. Epiphanius and St. Speciosa. He had scruples at first, "presumptionis ducebat," but a German presbyter "divinitus" overruled his objections (*Vita Epiph.* 3; Pertz, *Mon. Alem.* vi. 229). A French priest stole some relics of St. Helen from a church at Rome. They performed many miracles on the road to France, and were received with great honour (Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* ii. 8). The tomb of St. Benedict had been neglected, and its very site forgotten, but when the passion for relics became strong, a "learned presbyter" went from France to Italy to search for the body. Having with some difficulty found it, he carried it off surreptitiously, together with that of Scholastica, his sister, who had been buried in the same tomb. Miracles occurred at once. The fine linen in which the remains were wrapped became red with blood, and every natural obstacle to the priest's return yielded at once to supernatural power, until they were safely deposited at Fleury (*de Transl. Corp. S. Bened. in Gall* in Mabill. *Anal. Vet.* 211, ed. 2). There are some instances, however, in which the theft is disallowed; but these belong to an earlier period, or the circumstances were different. *E. g.* Gregory of Tours in the 6th century has a story of relics stolen, with a view to their being sold; but the result marked the disapprobation of Heaven (*De Glor. Mart.* 90). A bishop of Verdun, present at the opening of the shrine

of St. Matthias at Trèves, attempted to steal a relic; but the lid fell suddenly, and he lost the end of his cope, which had been caught by it (*Invent. Corp. S. Matthi.* i. 4; Boll. Feb. iii. 449). In the old Calendar first published by Bucherius at the entry, "*VI. idus Jul.* Depos. Silani," we find the following curious note, "Hunc Silanum Martyrem Novati (Novatiani) furati sunt."

After the 6th century it was common to send to Rome for relics for the consecration of a new church, if none could be found at hand, and the request was generally answered by the gift of a brandeum, palliolum, or velamen, that had been held over the relics of St. Peter and St. Paul. Forms of letter to accompany such gifts are provided in the *Liber Diurnus* of the Roman Pontiffs: "Benedictiones de sanctuariis Apostolicis, id est palliola de eorum confessionibus, tradidimus collocanda (in ecclesia)" (v. 12; see tit. 15). Again: "Scias sanctuaria noviter missa. Sanctuaria vero suscepta sua cum reverentia collocabis" (17). A supplement to the *Liber Diurnus* gives a form in which the pope, intending himself to consecrate a church, demands of a bishop relics of the saint to whom it was to be dedicated: "Levatas reliquias contradere non omittas; ut ad nos . . . quantocius valeant reportari" (*Mus. Ital.* i. 35).

VIII. *Receptacles of Relics.*—These were called CAPSA (originally the coffin for the whole body) (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* viii. 5), which later was "capsa major" (Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* iii. 5); *capsula* (G. T. *u. s.* x. 31, § 19; *Vita S. Aridii*, 29, &c.); *capsella* (Suggest. Legat. inter *Epp.* Hormisdae ad calc. *Ep.* 65; *De Mirac. S. Steph.* i. 8 in Ap. vi. ad *Opp.* S. Aug. ed. Ben.); *capsis* (*Translatio S. Mennatis*, in Martene et Durand. *Ampliss. Collect.* vi. 983; *Mirac. S. Gibriani*, i. 5, Bolland. Maii, vii. 633, &c.); *arca* (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* x. 15, *Mir.* i. 8; Conc. Bracar. A.D. 675, can. 6, "arca Dei cum reliquiis"), θήκη, *theca* (Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* ix. 2; where = σόρος; Theodoret *in Ps.* lxvii. 12; *Testam. Perpetui, Turon.* Greg. T. *Opp.* 1318); *scrinium* (whence *shrine, screen*), *scriniolum*, *Actus Pontif. Cenoman.* 24, in Mabill. *Analecta Vet.* 300, ed. 2; *Chron. Cassin.* iii.; 57, &c. but I doubt if within our period; *chrismarium* (*Vita Aridii*, 6, 35, 36; Greg. Tur. *de Mir. S. Mart.* iv. 32); *sanctuarium*, at first the reliquary, but afterwards less properly the relic (Greg. M. *Ep.* v. 45; Conc. Meld. 845, can. 39; *Mus. Ital.* ii. 152, &c.); *turris* (*Chron. Cassin.* iii. 30), probably because this was a common name of the eucharistic pyx; *pixidula* (*ibid.*), &c. Relics were often inclosed in crosses (Greg. Tur. *Mir.* i. 11; *Testam. Perpet. u. s.* &c.). [RELIQUARY.]

IX. *Relics carried about the Person.*—The Council of Braga, 675, condemns the vainglory of some bishops, who in their progress to church on the festivals of martyrs were wont to "put their relics on their necks, . . . . as if they were the ark holding the relics, the Levites (deacons) in albes carrying them on litters." For the future, either the Levites were to carry "the ark of God with the relics," or the bishop might carry it himself walking in the procession (can. 6). The objection here, however, was that this practice ministered to the pride of the bishop. For it had long been the custom to carry relics about the person, and the practice continued; *e. g.* the leader of a party of Indian monks (perhaps about A.D. 380) wore a "scrip of hair-cloth, filled with the relics of certain holy fathers" (Joan. Damasc. *Vita Barlaam*, c. 22). Germanus of Auxerre, A.D. 420, when a blind child was brought to him, "took in his hands the little case (capsulam) with the relics of saints hanging by his side, and, tearing it off his neck, applied it to the eyes of the girl in the sight of all" (Constant. *Vita S. Germ.* i. 24). Aridius, about 580, wore relics about his own neck (*Vita*, 29), and hung dust from the tomb of St. Martin in a little case on that of Gregory of Tours (G. T. *Hist. Fr.* viii. 15; see also *de Glor. Mart.* i. 84). St. Willehad of Bremen "had a case with holy relics about his neck" (Anschar. in *Vita Will.* in *Acta Bened.* s. iii. P. 2, p. 406). St. Gall wore one with relics of the blessed Virgin (Walafr. Strabo in *Vita S. Gall.* 11). This was, however, probably always so far uncommon that the wearer of relics was supposed thereby to profess peculiar sanctity. Thus, in a particular case, "Capsulari honore, quo reliquias inclusas collo gestabat, cognoverunt Dei esse famulum et cultorem" (*Vita S. Amatoris*, c. iv. § 25; Boll. May 1, i. 57). [RELIQUARY.]

X. *Oaths taken over Relics.*—This was common at one time both in the East and West. Cyril of Scythopolita relates the story of one who, having denied a trust, was required to take an oath over the relics of Euthymius. His perjury was punished by a scourging in a vision and death (*Vita S. Euth.* 155). In the West we read of oaths over the tombs or relics of SS. Denys (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 33), Martin (*ib.* v. 49), Genesius (*de Glor. Mart.* 74), Maximin (*de Glor. Conf.* 93), Julian (*de Mir.* ii. 19, 39), &c. See Car. M. *Capit.* i. an. 7, 89 n. 62. A law of Childeric, 744 (*Capit. Reg. Fr.* i. 154), renewed by Charlemagne (*Capit.* iv. an. 803, c. 10; *Capit. R. F.* vi. 214), decreed that "every oath be sworn in a church or over relics."

But the laws of the Franks took cognisance of such oaths more than a century before Childeric. Dagobert in 630 prescribes the ceremonial. When the oath is taken, the accused and his compurgators shall "put their hands on the capsa, and he only whose case is being examined shall say the words, putting his hand on the hands of all the rest, that so may God help him and those relics under the hands which he holds, that he may not incur guilt in the matter for which he is questioned" (*Lex Alam.* vi. 7, *Cap. Reg. Fr.* i. 60). Hence, in the laws the accused is said to touch the relics "manu quintâ," "sextâ," &c. according to the number of his compurgators (Baluze, *Notae in Marculfum in Capit. Reg. Franc.* ii. 924); *e. g.* among the *Formulae* collected by Marculfus is an order that one accused of receiving a fugitive slave shall repair on a given day to the royal palace and clear himself, "sua manu septima . . . . super capella (= capsella) Domni Martini" (i. 38). Formularies used on these occasions were: "By this holy place and all the divine relics (patrocinia) of the saints who rest here" (*Vet. Form. Andegav.* 49, in Mabill. *Anal. Vet.* 396, ed. 2); "By this holy place and the relics of the blessed martyrs" (Greg. T. *Hist. Franc.* iv. 47).

Egbert of York, A.D. 732, imposed a penance of seven years on those who took a false oath "in a church, or on the gospel, or on the relics

of the saints" (*de Remed. Pecc.* 9; see Rabanus Maurus, *Ep. ad Heriban.* 18); or bound them, as in another code (*Poenitentiale*, i. 34), "to fast four winters." By a law of Charlemagne a false oath over relics was to be punished by the loss of a hand, or heavy fine (*Capit.* 3, an. 813, n. 30). Gregory III., A.D. 731, declares that the penance for perjury "in altare ubi reliquiae habentur" was, according to ancient law, to last seven years. The penalty was the same when one led a person to commit such perjury in ignorance (*Judicia*, vii.; Hard. *Conc.* iii. 1872). Stories of divine vengeance were also current, as of sudden blindness or palsy inflicted on the perjurer (*Vita Meinwerci*, ix. 63; in Boll. June 5, i. 533).

XI. *Relics under the Altar.*—It became the custom at a very early period to build altars over the body of martyrs, or close to the place of their passion. [MEMORIA, MARTYRIUM.] The Council of Carthage, 401, ordered that all altars raised "per agros aut vias, tanquam memoriae martyrum" should be destroyed, unless relics of martyrs were really buried there (can. 7). It was natural, therefore, that when the remains of a saint were removed to a church they should be put under the altar. Thus, of the earliest translation on record we read: "Andrew, Timothy, and Luke the evangelist rest [at C. P.] under one altar" (*Hodoepor. Willibaldi*, Basnage, *Thes. Mon. Eccl.* 114). St. Jerome, addressing Vigilantius, says that the bishop of Rome "offers sacrifice to the Lord over the remains of the dead men Peter and Paul . . . . and considers their tombs the altars of Christ (*C. Vig.* 9). St. Ambrose, 386: "Ille super altare, qui pro omnibus passus est; isti sub altare, qui illius redempti sunt passione" (*Epist.* 22, *ad Sor.* 13). Of the relics of some other martyrs the same father says in 393: "Quae nunc sub altaribus reconduntur" (*Exhort. Virgin.* ii. 10); comp. Paulinus, *Poëm.* xxvii. 411). The body of St. Vincent was removed not long after his martyrdom from the "little basilica" in which it was first buried and laid "sub sacro altari" in a more important church (*Passio S. V.* 12, Ruinart, 329; comp. Prud. *de Cor.* v. 131). Similarly we read of an altar at Merida, "quo sancta membra (Eulaliae) teguntur" (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Mart.* i. 91; comp. Prud. *u.s.* iii. 211). Symeon of Thessalonica explains at length "why the relics of the martyrs are put under the altar" (*De Sacro Templo*, 116).

XII. *Relics in the Altar.*—Sometimes the body or other relic of a saint is said to be placed in the altar, *i.e.* under the slab or mensa, but not in the ground below the base (see Vol. I. pp. 64, 65). Thus, of certain alleged relics of St. Andrew we read: "Collocatis in altari Novivicensis ecclesiae" (Greg. Tur. *Mir.* i. 31). So "in aliis basilicarum altaribus" (*Vitae PP.* viii. 8). See also *de Mir. S. Jul.* 40; *Mir.* i. 52; *Vita S. Wilfridi* (Eadmer), viii. 66.

XIII. *Relics in the Consecration of a Church or Altar.*—Relics were sometimes buried at the dedication of a church so early as the latter part of the 4th century. When St. Ambrose dedicated the Church of the Apostles near the Porta Romana at Milan, he translated thither the body of St. Nazarius, certain "relics of the holy apostles having been previously deposited there with the greatest devotion on the part of all" (*Vita Ambr.* Paul. auct. 33). When, some time after, he had dedicated the Ambrosian basilica without relics, the people begged him to do as he had done before. Having found relics, he complied with their wish (*Ep.* 22 *ad Marcell.* 13). In this and a third instance (*Exhort. Virg.* ii. 10) the relics are said to have been placed under the altar. Paulinus, A.D. 393, frequently recognizes the rite. His church at Nola, "reliquiis Apostolorum intra apsidem trichoram sub altaria sacratis, non solo beati Felicis honore venerabilis est" (*Ep.* 32, *ad Sev.* 12). Of the little church being built at Fundi he says: "Hanc quoque basiliculam de benedictis apostolorum et martyrum reliquiis sacri cineres in nomine Christi . . . . consecrabunt" (§ 17). He recommends Severus to obtain relics for the dedication of his church, and sends him verses referring to the rite:

> "Divinum veneranda tegunt altaria foedus,
> Compositis sacra cum cruce martyribus."
> (*Ibid.* § 7.)

Gaudentius of Brescia, A.D. 387, having, when on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, received at Caesarea some relics of the Forty Martyrs from the nieces of St. Basil, their original possessor, employed them many years after with other relics in the dedication of his church. In his sermon on the occasion, which is extant, he says: "Venerabiles Martyrum Quadraginta reliquias populis credentibus hodie proponimus percolendas" (*Vet. Brix. Episc. Opusc.* p. 341, Brix. 1738). "Habemus ergo et hos xl. et praedictos x. sanctos, ex diversis terrarum partibus congregatos, unde hanc ipsam basilicam eorum meritis dedicatam *Concilium Sanctorum* nuncupari oportere decernimus" (345). See an instance in Gregory of Tours, *Mir.* ii. 50.

In the 6th century relics were in France already thought so necessary to the consecration of a church, that in old churches not so dedicated the omission was often supplied, as in the church at Neuvy, "ubi nulla adhuc sanctorum pignora habebantur" (Greg. Tur. *Mir.* i. 31), and of another at Précigni till then "absque sanctorum pignoribus" (*Vitae PP.* viii. 11). The same practice prevailed in the East; *e.g.* when, in the 6th century, a church was dedicated over the tomb of Euthymius, the archbishop "deposited under the altar certain portions of the relics of martyrs" (*Euthymii Vita*, 122, in Cotel. *Monum. Gr.* ii. 305). The council of Nicaea, 787, ordered relics to be put in every church that had been consecrated without them, and deposed bishops who should in future so consecrate them (can. 7). The *Liber Diurnus* of the bishops of Rome in the 8th century provides a form of licence for the removal of relics from a church in ruins to a new one (v. 18). Among the Greeks Symeon of Thessalonica writes a whole chapter to explain "why the relics are carried from an old church to a new" (*De S. Templo*, 117).

Any relic, however trifling, might be used at consecrations. The most common were BRANDEA or the like. In one case a vessel is mentioned in which water had been turned into balsam (Greg. Tur. *de Mir. S. Jul.* 40). Shreds of a pall or dress were common (*ibid.* 34). The ceremony is described at length by Remigius of Auxerre (*De Dedic. Eccl.* 9), and several orders are extant; as in the *Pontifical* of Egbert (ed Surtees

Society, 46), the Jumièges *Pontifical*, also English (Martene, ii. 254), and that of Dunstan (257). See also the *Ordo Romanus* in Blanchini's collection of documents (*Vitae Pontif. Rom.* auct. Anastas. Bibl. Proleg. iii. xlviii.), and later books in Martene, *u. s.* pp. 267, 270, 274, 290.

At a later period relics were also used at the reconciliation of a church. See the *Orders*, Martene, *u. s.* iii. 286; iv. *ib.*; v. 287. Heathen temples, again, were purified for Christian worship by means of relics. Thus at Antioch one was dedicated by the bones of St. Ignatius (Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* l. 16). Gregory I. ordered them to be converted into churches by aspersion with holy water, the erection of an altar, and the deposition of relics (*Ep. ad Mellitum* in Bede, *Hist.* i. 30).

The part of the altar, &c., in which they were placed was called the SEPULCRUM, CONFESSIO, or loculus (Greg. Tur. *Mirac.* i. 34). It had an opening for the introduction of brandea, &c., opposite to which was a similar opening in the box inclosing the relics. See Sozom. in *Hist. Eccl.* ix. 2, and the notes of Vales. *in loc.*; or Mabillon, *Praef. in S.* ii. *Ord. Ben.* obs. 44. These holes are called by the author of the *Miracles of St. Stephen* "fenestellae" (*De Mir. S. St.* i. 12).

Sometimes the entrance of a church was hallowed by the burial in it of relics. A crime committed in the court of the church was aggravated, because "the doorway of it had been consecrated with the relics of saints" (*Capit.* Lud. Pii, 819, c. 1; *Capit. Reg. Franc.* iv. 13; *Leg. Longob.* i. ix. 36; *Canones* Isaaci Ling. ii. 2). As there is no earlier evidence of this practice, we cannot accept the suggestion of Baronius (Notae ad *Martyrol. Rom.* Nov. 18), and Martene (*u. s.* ii. 13, § 12), that the reverence shewn to the threshold of a church, especially as indicated by the much earlier use of the conventional phrases, limina sanctorum, apostolorum, is to be ascribed to the fact that relics were buried under them.

Relics were also placed in other parts of churches, or their adjuncts, as in the capitals of piers, in the corner-stones of bell-towers (Leo Mars. *Chron. Cassin.* iii. 30); but especially in baptisteries (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* x. 31, § 19; *Vitae PP.* vii. 2). A form of petition for the dedication of a baptistery, "ita ut reliquias in eodem loco sanctorum martyrum Ill. et Ill. desiderem introduci," may be seen with two forms of reply in the *Liber Diurnus*, v. 19–21.

Forms of public notice announcing the intended deposition of relics on such occasions ("Denuntiatio cum Reliquiae Scorum Martyrum ponendae sunt)" are extant. See the *Ordo Romanus* in the Prolegomena to the *Vitae Pont. Rom.* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, ed. Blanch. iii. xlvii.; *Ordo R.* Bernoldi, Hittorp. *De Cath. Eccl. Off.* 119, ed. 1610; Ordd. i. ii. in Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* ii. 13 (*Missal. Gellon.* and *Pontif.* Egberti).

XIV. *Relics on the Altar.*—From the 6th century downwards relics before their deposition were commonly set on the altar, as the place of highest honour. Thus, a bishop hearing that some were brought to his church, says, "Let the blessed relics rest on the altar, until in the morning we go forth to meet them" (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ix. 6). Some shreds from the cloak of St. Julian ready to be placed in a church, as yet without relics, were set for the night on the altar (*Mirac.* ii. 34). It appears also that when pilgrims bearing relics halted at a church, they were so placed till their departure (*De Glor. Conf.* 39). Compare Baudonivia, *Vita S. Radegundis*, 14. Relics were not, however, allowed to remain for any time on the altar until the 9th century. It was believed that the miracles of St. Walpurgis ceased, "because her relics were on the altar of the Lord, where only the majesty of the divine mystery ought to be celebrated" (Odo, *Collat.* ii. 28). St. Berchar appeared to a monk and seriously rebuked him, for having placed his remains on the altar which was "Christi mensa Corporis" (*Mirac. S. Berch.* v. § 36 in Boll. Oct. 16, vii. 1028). The remains of St. Servatius of Tongres, when exhumed in the time of Charlemagne, were "placed before the altar, because it was not yet held lawful for anything except the sacrifice to be set upon the altar, that being the table of the Lord of hosts" (*De Servat.* iv. 30; Boll. May 13, ii. 218). The relics of St. Celsus were placed on the altar at Trier, 979 (*Annal. Bened.* iii. 658); and other examples occur in that age. The practice in fact had been fully established by the end of the preceding century, as appears from a canon of that date: "Nothing is to be set on the altar, except capsae with the relics of the saints, and the four Gospels" (Conc. Rem. c. 5, in Regino, *de Discipl. Eccl.* i. 60. Comp. the *Admonitiones Synodales*, *ibid.* 503, 505, 508).

XV. *Watching before Relics.*—This began early, and was common to East and West. Thus St. Ambrose says of the remains of Gervasius and Protasius, "The evening coming on we removed them to the basilica of Fausta. There watch was kept the whole night." The next day they were placed in the new church (*Ep.* 22, 13). When Gregory of Tours, 573, dedicated his own oratory, he watched the night before in the church in which the relics designed for it lay (*De Glor. Conf.* 20), and he incidentally mentions the practice (vigilata nocte) elsewhere (*ib.* 59). A similar vigil was kept before the relics of Tarachus, and when others were placed in the church of the laura of Euthymius (Cyrill. Scyth. *Vita Euthym.* 122). The rite is recognized in the early pontificals: "Deinde vadunt ad eum locum in quo reliquiae per totam noctem praeteritam cum vigiliis fuerint" (*Pont.* Egberti, 44; in Martene, ii. 249; see other orders, *ibid.* 254, 257, 259, &c.). Vigils before relics were, however, enjoined at other times on priests who had charge of them, "Reliquias sanctorum cum summo studio vigiliarum noctis et diurnis officiis conservet" (*Capit. Episcoporum*, an. 801, c. 3, in *Cap. Reg. Franc.* i. 359).

XVI. *Relics brought to Councils.*—We have many examples of this, beginning near the close of our period. The object was to insure the assistance of the saint thus honoured. In 758 Tassilo, duke of Bayeux, swore fealty to Pepin at the council of Compiègne, over the bodies of several saints (Adonis *Chron.* ad an. Migne, cxxiii. 124). The body of St. Remigius was exposed on an altar in a council of Rheims held in the time of Leo IV. (Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iii i. 10). At Charroux, 989, a council was held before the relics of St. Junian (Letaldus, *Hist.* 2, *Acta Bened.* iv. p. ii. 434). At a council in Aquitaine

in the next century, "multa delata sunt corpora sanctorum atque innumerabiles sanctorum apophoretae reliquiarum" (Glaber Rodolphus, *Hist.* iv. 5, in Du Chesne, *Script. Franc. Hist.* iv. 45). See other examples in Martene.

XVII. *Burial near Relics.*—At first there was a strong feeling and even a law against burial near the body of a martyr [OBSEQUIES, § xvi.], but in the course of time this gave way to the desire to be placed in death under the protection of the saints by such proximity to their remains. Gregory of Nyssa buried his father and mother near some small relics of the Forty Martyrs, that in the resurrection they might be "raised in the company of those allies full of confidence" (*Orat.* 3 in *xl. Mart.* App. 214). Maximus of Turin, 442: "It was provided by our ancestors that we should mingle our bodies with the bones of the saints, that the gloom of darkness may fly from us, while Christ gives them light. Resting, therefore [in the cemeteries], with the holy martyrs we escape the darkness of hell, by their merits indeed, yet partners in their sanctity" (*Serm.* 61). Paulinus (*Poëma.* xxxv. 607), says that a youth was buried near martyrs:

"Ut de vicino sanctorum sanguine ducat,
Quo nostras illo purget in igne animas."

St. Augustine thinks the only advantage of it to be, "ut dum recolunt ubi sint reposita eorum quos diligunt corpora, iisdem sanctis illos tanquam patronis susceptos apud Dominum adjuvandos orando commendent" (*De Cur. pro Mort.* 4). James the Syrian, in the 5th century, "collected from all parts many prophets, many apostles, as many martyrs as possible (*i.e.* their relics), and stored them in one coffin (designed for himself), desiring to dwell with the saints and to rise and to enjoy the vision of God in their company" (Theodoret, *Relig. Hist.* 21). When the grave of St. Udalric was opened, there was found in it "a very large locked chest, full and crammed" with relics (*Inventio Corp. S. Udal.* § 3, *Acta Bened.* v. 470). See also the legendary *Scriptura de Transl. S. Stephani*, 1, *Opp.* Aug. App. vi.

XVIII. *Miracles ascribed to Relics.*—Some have already come before us; but it may be well to give examples of different kinds, to shew that there was no evil supposed too powerful for relief by their means. Compare WONDERS.

(1) *The Blind receive their Sight,* &c.—When the remains of Gervasius and Protasius were found at Milan, A.D. 386, a blind man having "touched the clothing of the martyrs, immediately received sight" (Paulin. in *Vita S. Ambros.* 14; comp. Ambr. *Epist.* 22 *ad Soror.* 17; Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8, § 2). Some years after this, when the relics of Sisinnius and Alexander were brought to Milan, a stranger professing to be blind touched the chest in which they were, and declared himself healed (Paul. *u. s.* 52). A blind woman touched her eyes with flowers that had been in contact with the relics of St. Stephen, and "forthwith saw" (Aug. *u. s.* 10). A blind man was directed by Germanus, A.D. 555, to lie between the altar and some relics of Gervasius, and was healed (Fortunatus, *Vita Germ.* 56). Of the shrine of St. Denys, Fortunatus says generally that there, "recipit caecitas visum, debilitas gressum, et obstrictae aurium januae recipiunt auditum" (*Passio Dion.* 3).

(2) *The Dead raised.*—St. Chrysostom has told us that the bones of the martyrs "put death to flight" (*Laud. Dros.* 4). Several instances are alleged by St. Augustine. A presbyter at Calauna, in Africa, laid out as dead, revived when a tunic, which had been taken to a memoria containing relics of St. Stephen, was placed on his body (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8, § 12). A waggon-wheel went over a child and killed him, his mother took him at once to the same memoria, "and he not only came to life again, but even appeared unhurt" (*ibid.* 15). Two women also were restored to life on being covered with dresses that had derived virtue from the same memoria (16, 17). A dead boy "anointed with the oil of the said martyr," and an infant laid on the memoria also returned to life (18, 19).

(3) *Devils tormented.*—This was universally asserted. *E. g.* Paula at the tombs of Elisha, Obadiah and John the Baptist "cernebat variis daemones rugire cruciatibus, et ante sepulcra sanctorum ululare homines more luporum, vocibus latrare canum, fremere leonum, sibilare serpentum, mugire taurorum" (Hieron. *Epist.* 108, *ad Eust.* 13). When a demoniac was brought to the memoria of Gervasius at Hippo, the demon "with a great wail entreated to be spared, and confessed when, where, and how he had entered the youth;" whom thereupon he left (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8, § 7). "Persons vexed by the attacks of an unclean spirit, when led to the tomb of St. Denys, "to be tried by the Divine power, were compelled by the command of the saints themselves to declare by name where each of the martyrs had been laid" (Fortun. *Passio S. Dion.* &c. 3). A demoniac foretold the approach of a ship containing some dust from the tomb of St. Julian. As it came to land, he rushed towards it, and after a brief struggle, was set free (Greg. Tur. *de Mirac.* ii. 33). When Gregory of Tours took some relics of the same saint to the church of St. Martin in that city, an energumen, with violent emotion, exclaimed, "Why, Martin, hast thou joined thyself to Julian. Why dost thou call him hither? Thy presence was punishment enough for us. Thou hast called one like thyself to increase our torments" (Id. *ibid.* 34; see also *Vitae P. P.* viii. 11. Compare Ambr. *Exhort. Virg.* 2; Jerome *c. Vigil.* 5; Hilary, *c. Constantinum*, 8; Alcuin *de Pontif. Ebor. Opp.* ii. 246, &c.).

(4) *General Succour and Protection.*—Constantine ordered the relics of St. Andrew and other saints to be taken to Constantinople,

"Ut sua apostolicis muniret moenia laetus
Corporibus." (Paulinus, *Poem.* xix. 335.)

Later writers affirm that he inserted a piece of the true cross in a statue of himself erected in the same city, in the assurance that it would by that means be "kept in safety" (Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* i. 17; Cassiod. *H. E.* ii. 18). "The church," says Asterius, speaking of relics, "is walled about with the martyrs as a city with brave soldiers. They who are oppressed by the contingencies of human life hasten to the resting-places of the thrice blessed as to an asylum (*Hom. in SS. Mart.* in *Auctar.* Combef. i. 185). It was believed that owing to the burial of three martyrs in a fort named Malcan, the Sabaeans could never from that time plunder it or even make their way up to it (Assemani, *Acta SS.*

*Mart. Or. et Occ.* i. 79). The neighbours of Simeon Stylites lamented the removal of his body to Antioch, because they would thereby lose the protection of his relics (Anton. in *Vita S. Sim.* 19). The same feeling prevailed in the West. Thus, Wilfrid leaving Rome on two several occasions, supplied himself with relics; and so "cum benedictione sanctorum" (Eddius. Steph. *Vita Wilfr.* 53), "cum reliquiarum sanctorum quas illic invenit auxilio" (4), reached home in safety. Similarly, the father of Gregory of Tours believed himself to have escaped in many dangers by sea and land through the relics of some unknown saints which he carried with him (G. T. *de Glor. Mart.* i. 84). Hincmar inclosed in a large shrine "the pledges of many saints as a protection to the whole city of Rheims" (Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* iii. 5). The inhabitants of Cusan in Catalonia sought to kill St. Romuald, "ut haberent pro patrocinio terrae vel cadaver exanime" (Petrus Dam. in *Vita S. Rom.* 13).

XIX. *Evils arising from Relic-Worship.*—The crowds which they attracted to a church or monastery were a serious interruption to the duties of the place, and a source of great disquiet and misgiving to the more spiritual and earnest minded. The evil was felt so strongly at the Abbey of Moyen-Moutier in the Vosges 707, that the abbat Hidulfus appealed to the departed monk by whose body the miracles were wrought: "Brother Spinulus, on account of the perils incurred by souls, stop the crowds of those who flock hither. Then the miracles ceasing, the concourse also ceased" (*Vita Hid.* i. in Boll. July 11, iii. 228; at greater length in *Vita*, iii. c. xv. 234). The monks of Rheims equally deprecated the miracles of St. Gibrian, nor was St. Bernard himself allowed more liberty at Clairvaux (*Acta Bened.* Praef. i. saec. iii. cx. 36). At Sarlata the monks removed the body of St. Pardulf to a neighbouring church, that they might regain their former peace (*ibid.*). Stephen of Lüttich adjured St. Wolbodo to "abstain from miracles, through which such trouble came on the brethren by night and day through the sick" (*Acta Ben.* S. vi. i. 165). At St. Tronc, when the relics of the patron began to work miracles, the abbat Guntram endeavoured to conceal them, remarking that "signs were given to the unbelieving, not to the believing" (Rudolph. in *Chron. Trudon.* i. *Spicil.* Dach. ii. 662). They continued under his successor to the grief and annoyance of the elder and more religious monks; for, says the historian, "the further the glorious fame of St. Trudo was carried by the report of pilgrims, the more also did the worldliness of our monks, as displayed in levity of manners and the abuse of a state without discipline, become a subject of reprehension" (*Spicil. u. s.* 664). "Because many," remarks Ambrosius Autpertus, "seem to have their share of miracles, but in nowise have their names written in heaven, we do not in this age by any means demand miracles in the church, but a perfect life" (*Vita SS. Paldonis*, &c. 14).

*Literature.*—The following are among writers on this subject. J. Calvin, *Traicté des Reliques*, Genève, 1601, &c.; J. Launoy *de Cura Ecclesiae pro Sanctis et Sanctorum Reliquiis*, Par. 1660; Rud. Hospinian *de Templis*, ii. 7, Genev. 1672; J. Mabillon, *Lettre d'un Bénédictin touchant le Discernement des anciennes Reliques*, Par. 1700; Idem, *Praefatio in Saec.* ii. *Ord. S. Ben.* iv. 42, obs. 7; J. H. Jungius, *Disquis. Ant. de Reliquiis et Profanis et Sacris*, Hanov. 1783; J. A. S. C. de Plancy, *Dictionnaire critique des Reliques*, &c. Par. 1821. [W. E. S.]

**RELIGIOUS.** The word may designate (1) ordinary Christians; (2) ecclesiastics; (3) monks. In modern usage the term is applied to those who have given themselves to the monastic life, whether they be in holy orders or not. That, however, was not the early use of the word. It appears from the second canon of the tenth council of Toledo (cent. 7) that the word included all ecclesiastics, "from a bishop down to a clerk of the lowest order, or a monk." Akin to this is the fact, that in a canon of a subsequent council of Toledo (A.D. 693) the term *secular* is applied to such as are not priests "Sacerdotes" (*Conc. Tol.* xvi. can. 6). But that the term *religious*, which is the negation of *secular*, was not anciently restricted to ecclesiastics, may be inferred from the first council of Orleans (cent. 6), where we have the term "profession of religion" applied to other than those in orders.

The earliest writer in which the use of *religiosus* is clearly fixed in its technical sense of "professed," is Salvian, a French writer of the 5th century. In the passages of earlier writers which we have examined, it is susceptible of the meaning conveyed by the modern English phrase *a religious person.* In Salvian, however, the technical meaning appears to be undeniable. "Some of your sons under pretext of religion dissent from religion, and leave the world (*seculum*) more in garb than in mind" (*ad Cathol. Eccl.* lib. 3). And again, "Multi enim Religiosi, imò sub specie religionis, vitiis secularibus mancipati. . . ." (id. *de Gubern. Dei*, lib. 5). The fourth council of Toledo speaks of Religiosi, who are counted neither amongst clerks nor monks. They are "per diversa loca vagi" and are to be restrained by the bishops (can. 53).

It is affirmed by Severinus Binius, in a note upon canon 17 of the council of Gangra, that "the Greeks used to call the life of those whom we call *Religiosi* by the name of *ἄσκησις*." That points to a field of Greek phraseology upon the subject much earlier than the corresponding Latin phrases can be traced. Thus we have *γυμνασία μοναδικὴ* in Isidore of Pelusium; *ἄσκησις τῆς εὐσεβείας* in St. Basil; *ἄσκησις μοναχικὴ* apud Theophanem an. 3 Constantii; and other similar expressions. It should, however, be noticed on the authority of Du Fresne (*Gloss. Gr.* s. v.) who quotes several Greek authorities in support of his position, that the *ἀσκηταὶ* were "not so much monks, especially in the first ages of Christianity, as any Christians devoting themselves to a stricter life and to holy functions of piety."

It is extremely difficult to say when from meaning devout Christian life, the word *religio* faded into the sense of monastic profession. Thus the word seems to be hovering between the two senses in the fifth council of Paris: "Quae sibi vestes in habitu *religionis* in domibus propriis tam a parentibus quam per seipas mutaverint" (can. 13). In such a passage as the following, which is drawn from St. Gregory the Great, the word seems to have no tinge of the monastic

meaning. Speaking of the attraction that was exercised upon Roman society by St. Benedict, he says, "Coepere tunc ad eum Romanae urbis nobiles et religiosi concurrere, suosque ei filios omnipotenti Deo nutriendos dare." The children may have been brought up as monks, but the parents could hardly have been so.

In the ninth council of Toledo (cent. 7) *religio* plainly means the monastic profession: "Parentibus sane filios suos *religioni* contradere, non amplius quam usque ad decimum aetatis eorum annum licentia poterit esse" (can. 6). By that date the sense seems quite established, as we have again "*religionis* tonsuram" and "*religioni* debitam vestem," where it cannot mean "holy orders," because the clause is applied to both sexes ("in utroque sexu").

Yet long after the technical sense of *religiosus* had made good its footing, the earlier meaning existed along with it, so that in some passages it is difficult to say which of the two meanings is intended. Thus, the sixty-first of the *Capitula* of Martin of Bracara reads, "Non liceat sacerdotibus vel clericis, sed nec religiosis laicis convivia facere de confertis." Here a good sense would be got either from "devout laymen," or from "professed laymen."

There is a trace of a certain restriction of dress so early as the time of Augustine. He speaks of young men who have wives alleging it to be difficult for them to assume *habitum religionis*. He replies to their objection, that he is not pleading so much for a change of dress, as for a change of character. *Vestimenta religiosa* would be of little use without good works and change of heart (S. Aug. *Sermo*. lxvii. "Rogo vos, fratres charissimi"). In this and similar passages, however, a restriction of dress may be meant which distinguished Christians from Pagans, rather than one which marked out one particular circle of Christians from the general mass of their fellow-believers. [H. T. A.]

**RELIQUARY** (Gr θήκη, ἱεροθήκη; Lat. *reliquiarium*, *capsa*, *lipsanotheca*, *locellus*, *cinerarium*; if of such size as to be attached to a chain worn round the neck, *encolpium*, or ἐγκόλπιον, as to be borne ἐν κόλπῳ, in the bosom; *phylacterium*, and many other words; if to be carried processionally *feretrum*; Fr. *reliquaire*, *châsse*) a repository for relics. Compare RELICS.

Reliquaries may be divided into two principal classes—those which were not intended to be carried on the person, and those which were.

The first class contains by far the greater number of forms and sizes, both of which varied in accordance with the size and form of the object to be included.

Relics may be divided into three classes:—1st, Entire bodies of martyrs or other venerated persons, or portions of such; 2nd, clothes or other objects which had been used, or had in other ways come into contact with such persons; and 3rdly, oil from lamps which burnt before their tombs, cloths (brandea), which had been placed upon them, and dust which had been swept from the floors of sanctuaries held to be pre-eminently holy.

We accordingly find, either now in existence or in record, reliquaries of the most diverse forms and sizes: boxes, round, rectangular, octagonal, &c.; chests with gable-ended covers (models, in fact, of tombs), models of churches, cases in the forms of heads, arms, or legs, images, tubes of metal, and where a liquid, as oil or blood, was that to be preserved, bottles or flasks of various forms and substances. The materials of which reliquaries were made are not less varied. We find them of gold, silver, bronze, crystal, ivory, wood, bone, agate, sardonyx.

It will, however, be sufficient here to describe a few of the more remarkable examples which come within our period.

The desire to preserve tangible memorials of those who have been dear to us is one so universally felt, that we may well believe that relics were preserved, and, in consequence, reliquaries made, in the earliest ages of Christianity. Perhaps the earliest testimony to the fact that relics were collected is to be found in the Acts of Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragona, martyred A.D. 259 (Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 219), which are generally classed among those known as genuine and authentic. In these we are told (p. 221 f.), that after his martyrdom the bishop appeared to his brethren, and admonished those who had taken any of the ashes which remained after the burning of his body to restore them, so that all that remained of him and his fellow-martyrs, Eulogius and Augurius, might be buried in one common grave. The earlier cases relied on by Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq. chrétiennes*) and other Roman Catholic writers to prove the high antiquity of a cultus of relics, as those of St. Polycarp and St. Ignatius, are rather those where a pious and affectionate desire was felt by the surviving disciples to give honourable burial to the remains of those whom they had venerated while living than those in which a desire was felt to obtain a fragment of a holy body, to be made the object of veneration. [RELICS.] Ignorant zeal and affectionate feeling, however, concurred in desiring some visible object which should be a memorial of, or at least be in some way connected with, the departed saint; and as in the earlier ages the rulers both of church and of state strenuously opposed the exhumation and dismembering of departed saints, substitutes were found in the cloths (*brandea*) which were placed on the tombs of such personages, or in portions of oil taken from the lamps which burnt before them. The well-known letter from St. Gregory the Great to the empress Constantina (*Epist*. lib. iv. ep. 30), in which, replying to her requisition for the head or some other part ("aliud quid de corpore") of St. Paul, he expresses his horror of such an act as exhuming and mutilating such sacred remains, and suggests the sending instead *brandea* in a "pyxis" ("tantummodo in pyxide brandeum"), marks a point of time when the more modern system of dividing the remains of saints was coming into practice, but not as yet fully established. This practice would seem to have been introduced earlier in the East than in the West, for Gregory the Great complains (*Epist*. lib. iv. ep. 30) that certain Greek monks were caught in the act of digging up bones near the church of St. Paul, which they confessed they purposed to convey to Greece as relics of saints.

These details as to the character of what were deemed relics in the earlier ages are need-

ful, as furnishing the reason why we find on ivory boxes, probably originally reliquaries, subjects from the history of our Lord; such are the circular boxes, measuring from about four to five inches in diameter; on fourteen out of fifteen examples of which such subjects as the miracles of Christ, the history of Jonah, the three Hebrew youths in the furnace, all of which, either directly or indirectly, have some reference to our Lord, and consequently to the eucharist, are carved (see Padre Garrucci's *Osservazione Ant.* vol. xliv. p. 322). These have been usually held to have been used as artophoria or pyxes [PYX] to hold the reserved portion of the eucharist; but the recent discovery of one on which the martyrdom of St. Menas is carved, leaves it open to doubt whether such was their original destination, and whether they may not really have been intended as repositories, either for vessels of oil or for brandea [BRANDEUM]. If such were the case, doubtless those on which acts of our Lord are carved contained such memorials from some of the sacred places of Jerusalem or Bethlehem, as that carved with the martyrdom of St. Menas no doubt contained some similar objects from the shrine near Alexandria, where he was buried.

The earliest in date of these circular boxes is, judging from its excellence of style, that in the



Berlin Reliquary. (From Westwood's 'Fictile Ivories.')

museum at Berlin. This is cut from a portion of a very large tusk, measuring about five inches and a half in diameter at the base and five at the top, the height being also about five inches. The subjects carved on it are the intended sacrifice of Isaac, and Christ teaching in the Temple. Our Lord is represented as youthful and beardless, and neither He nor any others have nimbi surrounding their heads. The style is extremely good, not inferior to that of the best sarcophagi with Christian subjects, and the box may be with reason referred to a date as early as the 4th century. The exceptional example of these circular boxes is that figured and described in the *Archaeologia* (vol. xliv. p. 322), upon which are two subjects—one, the martyrdom of St. Menas, an Egyptian who suffered under Maximinus Galerius or Maximianus; the other, the saint in a glorified condition after death, standing before a gateway, which, no doubt, represents the very celebrated sanctuary where he was buried, about nine miles from Alexandria. This box no doubt once contained some relic of the saint from whose shrine, as will be mentioned hereafter, earthen bottles containing oil were sent in large quantities. The box may be confidently ascribed to the earlier part of the 6th century. The circular part, which is all that remains, measures four inches and a half in width and three and a quarter in height.

No finer example of a reliquary dating from before A.D. 800 has been preserved than the casket of carved ivory in the public library at Brescia. It has been taken to pieces, but evidently once formed a box about nine inches in height and breadth, and thirteen in length, the pieces having been united by a mounting, or at least by hinges, and bands of gold or silver. It is covered with carvings representing about thirty-five subjects; the larger and more important, both as regards size and number, being taken from the Gospels, and representing some of the more important miracles and scenes in the history of our Lord. Thus, on the front, the central group represents our Lord teaching in the temple, while on the right, He is shewn as the Shepherd guarding the fold from the wolf, and on the left, with Mary Magdalene in the garden. On one side the principal subject is Christ raising the daughter of Jairus: on the other, restoring sight to the blind man, and raising Lazarus; on the back are the transfiguration, and the story of Ananias and Sapphira; on the lid are Christ in the garden of olives, Christ taken in the garden, and the denial of St. Peter; while above are two subjects—Christ brought before Herod (two persons are, however, shewn, each seated in a curule chair), and Christ brought before Pilate, who is in the act of washing his hands. The lesser subjects, two ranges of which surround the box, are taken partly from the Old Testament, partly from the New: the history of Jonah, scenes from that of Moses, of Susannah, of Jacob, and others, occur. Besides these are two scenes of agapes, or possibly heavenly banquets, and some symbols, as a tower, a lamp, an olive tree, a balance, &c. Above all these is a band of busts in pateras, fifteen in number; the majority are bearded, but some are youthful. In the central point of the front is a youthful head, with hair cut short over the forehead, but falling in long ringlets to the shoulders, which is intended to represent our Lord, the same type of head and hair being preserved through the whole series of subjects in which He appears. None of the figures have a nimbus: the style and execution are throughout good, quite equal to those of the best examples of sarcophagi with Christian subjects; and there can be little doubt but that this most important monument of Christian art ought to be assigned to a period not later than the 4th century. Casts are in the South Kensington Museum, and it has been described at some length in the *Catalogue of Fictile Ivories* in that collection, p. 34.

Very good examples of reliquaries of the next succeeding centuries are supplied by those discovered in 1871 near or under the high altar of the church of Grado, and figured and described by De Rossi (*Boll. di Arch. Crist.* 1872, p. 155). Both are boxes of silver, the one circular, the other elliptical. The circular box is four inches in diameter and three in height; it is divided

into six compartments by a central tube and five partitions, all formed of thin silver; on the cover is a figure of the Virgin Mary, seated on a throne, and holding the infant Christ. The Virgin holds a cruciform sceptre (*scettro crucigero*) in her right hand, and a nimbus surrounds her head. An inscription, in two lines, is engraved on the box, and consists of the names of saints as follows:—

SANC. MARIA. SANC. VITVS. SANC. CASSANVS. SANC. PANCRATIVS. SANC. YPOLITVS. SANC. APOLLINARUS. SANC. MARTINVS.

Within were found eleven small plates of gold, bearing names of saints; a small cylindrical box of gold, which enclosed a very small glass phial; a small golden box, of cubical form, with a Greek cross enamelled on its lid; and a disc of stucco impressed with a cross.




Grado Reliquary. (From De Rossi's 'Bull. Crist. Arch.')

The elliptic box measures five inches and three quarters in length by three and a quarter in width and height. On the cover is, in relief, a gemmed cross, standing on a monticule, with a sheep on either side. The side of the box is encircled by two bands of inscriptions, which run as follows; the upper:—

SANCTVSCANTIVSSANTIANVSSANCTACANTIANILLA SANTVSQVIRINVSSANTVSLATINV

The lower:—

SLAVRENTIVSVSIOANNISVSNICEFORVSSANTISRED-DIDID BOTVM

The first S of the latter inscription should be added to the former, and the lower one read: "Laurentius VS (*i.e.* vir spectabilis), Joannis VS, Niceforus VS, Santis reddidid botum (*i.e.* rediderunt votum)."

Between these inscriptions is a band of eight circles (*clypei* or *pateræ*) enclosing busts, and at each end a palm tree. One of the busts, the central on one side, appears to represent our Lord; the hair is long, and the face beardless. Those to the right and left probably represent St. Peter and St. Paul. On the opposite side, in the centre, the bust is that of a young woman richly dressed; the others all represent men, beardless, and with rather short hair. This casket contained another smaller box, of silver, without ornament.

Both caskets were found full of water; and nothing remained of the relics which they doubtless once contained, but some black matter like mud.

Herr Kandler, Conservator of the Monuments at Trieste, is stated to have expressed an opinion that the circular box might date from about A.D. 452, and the elliptical from about A.D. 568; but these ascriptions of date are perhaps open to doubt.

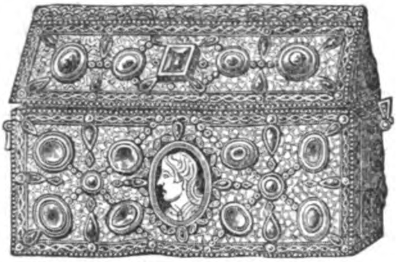
To the 7th century may be assigned the very remarkable coffer of ivory which formed part of the Meyrick collection. It is eighteen inches in length, eight in breadth, and five and a quarter in height. It is entirely covered with ornament, consisting of bands of foliage enclosing half-length figures of (on the lid in the middle) our Lord; on His right, the Virgin Mary, St. Daria, and St. Julia; on His left, St. John the Baptist, St. Alexander, and St. Crisantus; on the front, SS. Philip, Thomas, John, Peter, Paul, Andrew, Bartholomew, and James; on the back, SS. Stephen the proto-martyr, Mark, Thaddeus, Matthew, James (the Less?), Simon, Matthias, and Luke; on one end, SS. Nereus, Gregory (the pope), and Achilleus; on the other, SS. Justus Martyr, and Pancratius. The names are, in all cases, given in inscriptions.

The figures are executed in a very poor and feeble style; the bands of foliage are rather elegant. It greatly resembles, both as regards style and execution, the diptych sent by Gregory the Great to queen Theodelinda, which bears effigies of himself and king David, and was the cover of a responsorium graduale.

It is noteworthy that, while we find in the *Liber Pontif.* almost innumerable gifts of chalices, patens, and other vessels and articles made by various popes for use in, or decoration of, churches, very few notices occur of reliquaries, and these only commence in the 7th century. The explanation probably is, that at the time when the cultus of relics became more fully established, every Roman church possessed entire bodies of saints, transported thither, in most cases, from their original places of deposit in the catacombs, and the popes naturally took comparatively little account of such lesser relics as were then procurable. The Greeks, as has been shewn above, seem to have been the first to dismember bodies; and it is therefore not surprising that one of the first mentions which we find in the *Liber Pontificalis* of a portion of a holy body enclosed in a reliquary, is that where we are told that pope Gregory III. (731–752) found in the Lateran the head of St. George in a "capsa," with a label on which was a Greek inscription, testifying to its identity.

Many reliquaries were made at this period, both in the East and in the West, and mention of them frequently occurs in chronicles and other documents, but examples are rare. The art of the period was extremely bad; and when a precious metal was the material, they have probably been broken up. Some may, however, still exist without having been noticed by any one possessed of antiquarian knowledge; for it is not always easy to obtain a sight of all the contents of a church treasury. One fine example, which may very possibly date from the 8th century, though some are disposed to give it an earlier date, is preserved in the treasury of the abbey of St. Maurice, in the Valais; it is about seven inches and a quarter long, two and a half deep, and five and a quarter high; the lower part is rectangular; the upper, or lid, sloped in front and at the back, and gabled at the ends. On the front is a large antique cameo and several precious stones, pearls, sardonyxes, and other stones with antique intaglios, are placed at regular intervals;

lines of pearls run from one stone to another, and the whole of the compartments thus formed are filled with small pieces of garnet and of green and blue glass, each piece being surrounded by a little partition (cloison) of gold, precisely



Châsse St. Maurice.
(From Aubert's 'Trésor de l'Abbaye de St. Maurice.')

in the manner in which similar ornament is applied in the brooches frequently found in the Saxon graves in Kent, on the sword of Childeric, and other objects, dating from the 5th to the 8th century. The date at which this sort of work ceased to be made has not been ascertained, but it seems quite possible that it was still in use as late as the 8th century, and the form of this reliquary is rather in favour of a somewhat late than a very early date. The ends are ornamented in a similar manner. The back is covered with a plate of gold, divided into rhomboidal compartments by corded lines; in these compartments are letters engraved on the gold, in most cases one letter in a compartment: the inscription, which reads diagonally, beginning at the right hand corner, runs as follows: "Teudericus Presbiter in honore sci Mauricii fieri jussit. Amen. Nordvalaus et Rihlindis ordenarunt fabricare Undiho et Ello ficerunt."



Reliquary at Monza.
(From Labarte's 'Histoire des Arts Industriels.')

M. Aubert, who has figured and described this object in his *Trésor de l'Abbaye de St. Maurice d'Agaune*, p. 141, and pl. xi. xii. observes, on this inscription, that the names clearly point to the Merovingian period; and he supposes that it may have been fabricated by a Frank or Burgundian artist, about A.D. 600.

Two remarkable examples should now be mentioned, though their real date has not been very clearly ascertained. One is preserved at Monza, the other in the treasury of the Burg at Vienna, the former being said to contain hair and a tooth of St. John the Baptist; the latter, some earth mixed with the blood of St. Stephen.

The first of these is a box about ten inches high, and eight wide, but of little depth; it is rectangular below, but the upper part is diminished in curved lines, so that only a narrow ridge is left on the top. It is covered with gold, on which are set precious stones, so disposed as to radiate from a centre. The back is covered with a plate of gold, on which are delineated, by the use of a very small punch, our Saviour on the cross, with the Virgin on one side, St. John on the other, and two figures, one piercing his side, and the other offering the sponge of vinegar. Above the arms of the cross are medallions, enclosing busts which represent the sun and moon. The drawing is tolerably correct and good, though the execution, by reason of the process employed, is rather rough.

The reliquary at Vienna is of almost exactly the same form as that just described, but smaller, being only about eight inches high. The front is covered with precious stones; some of the larger ones are disposed in a sort of cruciform arrangement, the others rather irregularly; all are very simply set. The back has lost its primitive covering, but the sides are covered with thin gold plate, divided by circles of pearls into compartments, in which are figures in relief; among these can be distinguished a man fishing with a hook, one mounted on horseback, and an avenging angel armed with a bow and dart, with a legend, "Malis Vidicta." The style of these figures, according to Dr. Bock (*Kleinodien des Heil. Römischen Reiches*, &c., p. 53, app.), shews a reminiscence of the classical period.

These two reliquaries correspond so nearly in character that they can hardly be far distant in point of date; that of Vienna is probably rather the older of the two. Dr. Bock is disposed to think that this last perhaps dates from a period earlier than the Carolingian; but the style and character of the representation of the Crucifixion on the back of the Monza reliquary seem to approach very closely to those of ivory carvings, and other works of art, which have been clearly proved to date from periods subsequent to 800.

Two similar reliquaries are said to exist, one in the church of St. Willibrord, at Emmerich, the other in that of St. Servatius, at Maestricht.

A very remarkable reliquary of kindred form has been preserved at Sion, in the Valois, the date of which can be accurately fixed, as it bears the name of the donor, Altheus, bishop of Sion about A.D. 780. It is six inches high, six and a half wide, and two inches and two-eighths deep at the base; at three inches from the base it begins to diminish on all four sides, and no doubt was finished at the top by a crest, now lost. It is covered with thin silver; on the front, in the upper part, are the stalk, leaves, and large flower of a plant in relief; in the centre of the flower a medallion, with a half-length figure of a female saint in cloisonné enamel; below are

two compartments, in each of which are two half-length figures of saints, also in cloisonné enamel; on the back, on the upper part, are two figures in relief, St. Mary and St. John; below are two plant-like ornaments, perhaps lilies; on the sides are lily-like ornaments on the upper part, and half-length figures of saints below. On the under side is the inscription, "Hanc capsam dicata in honore sce Mariae Altheus Eps. fieri rogavit." The style both of the enamels and the reliefs is extremely bad—in fact, barbarous. This reliquary has been engraved by Blavignac, *Hist. de l'Architecture sacrée*, Pl. XI. and Atlas Pl. XXIII.*

The last four examples which have been mentioned have a certain similarity in form, viz. that they have a rectangular lower portion, and a sloping upper portion. This form afterwards became that adopted in all the larger reliquaries, and, indeed, in many of the smaller. It has been variously supposed to have been borrowed from a tomb, a house, or a chapel. The truth would seem to be, that tombs were often made in the form of churches or chapels [see BASILICA], and tombs again served as models for reliquaries, the tomb-like form being a very natural one when the intention was to enshrine bones, or other portions of the bodies of deceased saints. The change to this form from the earlier box or pyx-like form, appears to have in some degree coincided with the increase of the practice of dividing the mortal remains of the departed. A further development of the idea of forming reliquaries in imitation of buildings is to be found in that given by Charles the Bald to the abbey of St. Denis, and which was said to have belonged to his grandfather. It is said to have represented the façade of a building of three stories with arcades in each, embellished with precious stones and fine pearls, and crowned by a magnificent antique cameo, and was estimated to contain nineteen marks of gold, and seven marks weight of stones. It was known by the name of the "Écrin de Charlemagne." An engraving of it has been given by Félibien, in his *Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Denis*.

Reliquaries in the form of heads, arms, legs, or other parts of the human frame, made during the middle ages, are frequently to be found in the treasuries of churches, but no example of a date as early as 800 would appear to have been noticed. Perhaps the earliest now existing is that in the treasury of St. Maurice in the Valais containing the head of St. Candidus. This is probably of the 11th century, though Dr. Lübke attributes it to the 9th, and calls it erroneously the head of St. Maurice. It is engraved by Blavignac, *Hist. de l'Architecture sacrée*, &c., and by Aubert, *Trésor de St. Maurice*.

A few words must be said on the vessels used to contain liquids which were held in veneration, for these are virtually reliquaries, though perhaps it may be held that the word can scarcely be with propriety applied to them. One class of these consists of the small bottles which have been frequently found imbedded in cement against the tiles or slabs with which the "loculi" of the catacombs near Rome were closed. There has been some difference of opinion as to whether the contents of these bottles was really blood, or whether it was not wine which had been, if not actually consecrated, blessed at the time of the celebration of the eucharist, or at least presented at an agape. Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq. chrét.*, art. Sang des Martyrs) states that in several instances particularized by him analysis has shewn that the contents had actually been blood, and that fragments of sponge and of linen have been found within them. The bottles are usually of glass, sometimes of terra cotta, and are generally globular, with short necks.

Another class is that of the flasks used to contain oil, which contained some admixture of that which burnt in the lamps lit before celebrated shrines. Among the most notable examples remaining are those preserved at Monza, which some suppose to have been sent to Queen Theodelinda by pope Gregory the Great. These AMPULLA] are made of lead or pewter, and bear various subjects in low relief: on one is our Lord in glory, enclosed by an oval aureole, which is supported by angels; while below He is shewn standing in the attitude of prayer, with the apostles grouped, six on either side. On another, a cross between two candlesticks (?) is surrounded by heads of the apostles enclosed in circles. On another, an edifice surmounted by a cross occupies the centre, while around are heads of Christ and the apostles. Another has almost the same subjects as that first mentioned, surrounded by the inscription:—

ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΜΕΤ ΗΜΩΝ ΘΕΩϹ.

On others is the inscription—

ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΞΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗϹ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΡΙϹΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΩΝ.

These may very probably be of the time of Queen Theodelinda, but they are not those mentioned in the contemporary list on papyrus still preserved at Monza, which refers exclusively to oils from shrines in Rome. These last are, it would seem, those in glass vessels (v. Frisi. *Mon. della Chiesa Monzese*, p. 66), some of which still preserve labels corresponding with the list. The leaden *ampullae* probably contained oil from various holy places in Palestine. [OIL, HOLY, p. 1453.]

Other examples worth notice are the earthen flasks which contained oil from the shrine of St Menas. [POTTERY, p. 1679.] Many of these have been found—nineteen are in the British Museum; and they have occurred in almost every country which borders on the Mediterranean. They are usually about four inches high, and from two and three-quarters to four inches wide. They usually bear effigies of St. Menas, with his attribute of two camels, and inscriptions, containing either the name of the saint only, or coupling with it the word "eulogia," i.e., blessings. The style of the figures is bad and rude, and they may perhaps be attributed to the 6th and early part of the 7th centuries.

The last-mentioned objects were evidently made for the purposes to which they have been applied; those which remain to be mentioned, on the contrary, are vessels originally intended for other uses. It will suffice to mention two very remarkable examples, which have been preserved in the treasury of the abbey of St. Maurice, in the Valais, from a period probably as early as that embraced in this work. One of these is known as the Vase of St. Martin, the tradition being

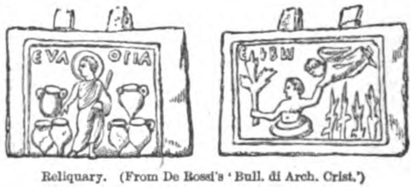
that St. Martin of Tours, visiting Agaunum, filled this vessel with earth from the place of the massacre of the Theban legion, mixed with the blood of the sufferers, which miraculously issued from the ground. It is an antique vase of sardonyx, measuring about four and a half inches in diameter, and about six in height, on which is sculptured in excellent style a subject believed to represent Achilles betraying his sex at the sight of weapons (*v.* Aubert, *Trésor de l'Abbaye de St. Maurice*, p. 181, pl. xvi.). This vase has a foot and neck of gold set with precious stones, and plates of garnet in fillets of gold, precisely in the same manner as the reliquary belonging to the same treasury which has been mentioned above.

The other vessel is a ewer of massive gold, nearly a foot in height, adorned with uncut sapphires and large plates of cloisonné enamel, the colours of which are extraordinarily rich and fine. According to tradition, this was sent by Haroun el Rashid to Charles the Great, and by him presented to the abbey. Whatever the value of the tradition may be, the vase may well date from a period sufficiently early to allow of its truth; it is more probably of Byzantine, than of oriental origin. It has, like the last-mentioned vase, been engraved and described by Aubert. This ewer is said to contain blood of the Theban martyrs. Both vessels have their mouths enveloped in some kind of string, and masses of wax, on which are impressions of episcopal seals, the legends of which are undecipherable.

As great an antiquity may no doubt be claimed for the second class of reliquaries, viz., that of those which were intended to be worn on the person, as for the first. Prudentius alludes to the practice of wearing RELICS, which of course implies cases to contain them, in the hymn celebrating Fructuosus and his fellow martyrs, Eulogius and Augurius (Peristeph. vi. v. 131):

> "Tum de corporibus sacrae favillae
> Et perfusa mero leguntur ossa
> Quae raptim sibi quisque vindicabat
> Fratrum tantus amor domum referre
> Sanctorum cinerum dicata dona
> Aut gestare sinu fidele pignus."

Many instances of the practice of wearing a "capsella," or "capsula," with relics, are to be found in succeeding centuries (*v.* De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1872, p. 17), and several examples have been found which may be confidently referred to the earlier centuries of Christianity. Two of these are given by De Rossi (*Bull.* 1872, Tav. 11,



Reliquary. (From De Rossi's 'Bull. di Arch. Crist.')

fig. 1, 3). The one bearing the labarum (see woodcut, p. 611) is of gold, and was found in 1571 in a tomb of the Vatican cemetery. It is not now known to exist, but the design has been preserved by a drawing by Alfarano, and it has been published by Bosio. On the reverse was a figure of a dove. De Rossi is of opinion that it contained either a relic or some portion of the Gospel (*v. Bull.* 1872, p. 12, 1869, p. 63, as regards the practice; Bingham, *Orig. Eccles.* c. xi. chap. v. sect. 8, and b. xvi. chap. v. sect. 6), "parvula Evangelia," as they were termed: Martigny confidently asserts that this is of the 4th century. It may indeed be so, but all that can be said with certainty as to its date is, that it is not older.

The other example (see woodcut) is no doubt more recent. De Rossi gives it to the 5th century. It was purchased in Rome in 1872, and is made of thin plates of bronze, the space between them being not more than sufficient to contain a piece of parchment or of cloth. The subject on one side is clearly our Lord changing the water into wine, that on the other would seem to represent the martyrdom of St. Vitalis, who was placed in a pit or hole, at a place called ad Palmam, near Ravenna, and then crushed under a heap of stones (v. *Bull.* 1872, p. 10). The object contained in this encolpium was probably a fragment of cloth, perhaps dipped in the blood of the martyr; or perhaps a morsel of a brandeum which had been placed on his tomb.

Another and frequent form for a pendant reliquary was a cross. The oldest of these (if we can believe the tradition concerning it to be well-founded) now existing, is probably that preserved in the treasury of St. Peter's at Rome, under the name of "Encolpium Constantini Magni" (*v.* Bock, *Kleinodien des Heil. Römischen Reiches*, pl. xx. fig. 28, p. 115). Of this, only the cross which occupies the centre can have any pretensions to belong to the period of Constantine, the tablet in which it is enclosed being obviously Byzantine work of the 11th or some later century.

The cross itself has arms of equal length, and measures about one and a half inches in height and width. It contains a cross reputed to be of the real cross of our Lord, the receptacle containing which is surrounded by a border of blue and white enamel. Two very remarkable examples of such pectoral crosses exist in the treasury of the church of Monza. The earlier is that which has always been regarded as that which St. Gregory the Great sent to Queen Theodelinda, in A.D. 603, with a letter (*Epp.* lib. xiv. ep. 12), in which this passage occurs, "Excellentissimo autem filio nostro Adulouvaldo Regi transmittere phylacteria curavimus, id est crucem cum ligno sanctae crucis Domini et lectionem sancti evangelii theca persica inclusam." An engraving of this will be found under CRUCIFIX, p. 512; and it is only necessary here to say, that it is formed of gold, the figures and inscriptions being in niello, and covered by a piece of rock crystal; it measures three inches in height, by two and a half in breadth. In the interior is said to be a piece or pieces of the true cross. The best representation of this object which has been given, is that in Bock's *Kleinodien*, &c., app. p. 25. As the inscriptions on this cross are in Greek, it has generally been assumed that it was of Byzantine origin. But this is hardly probable: Byzantine work of that period would have had a better and rather more classical character. On the other hand, it corresponds very closely in many points with the drawing of the Crucifixion in the famous manuscript Syriac Gospels, in the Medicean library

at Florence, dated A.D. 586 [v. woodcut under CRUCIFIX], and it most probably came from Syria, or some adjoining country. Pope Gregory sent to Recared, king of the Visigoths, a cross, very probably of like fashion. It is mentioned in one of his Epistles (*Ep.* cxxii. lib. ix.) in these terms: "Crucem . . . in qua lignum Dominicae crucis inest et capilli beati Johannis Baptistae."

The other cross at Monza containing relics is that called the "Crux Regni," which belonged to Berengarius, king of Italy (ob. 924). It is perhaps beyond the period of this work, but a few words may be admitted, as it serves as an example of crosses of like character which come within it, and indeed may really be earlier in date than its possessor. It is of gold, thickly covered with precious stones, sapphires and others, chiefly cut *en cabochon*, and measures nearly nine and a half inches in height and breadth; the height is a little greater than the breadth. In the centre is a repository for a relic. Dr. Bock, who has given an engraving of it (pl. xxxiii.) is of opinion that although it has been used as a pectoral cross at coronations, it was originally attached to a votive crown, as were those of Agilulfus and of Reccesvinthus.

At Aix la Chapelle is preserved, within a crucifix of the 12th century, a small cross measuring two inches and three-eighths in height by one and a-half in width. On the upper limb of this is fastened a piece of wood, which, according to a respectable tradition, is a portion of the pectoral cross found on the body of Charles the Great, when his tomb was opened A.D. 1000. It is engraved in Dr. Bock's *Der Reliquienschatz des Liebfrauen-Münsters zu Aachen*, p. 36.

The cross engraved under ENCOLPION in this work, and by Martigny, is asserted by the latter to have been that of a bishop, and to be the oldest monument of the kind known to exist. De Rossi has given in his *Bulletino* (May, 1863) a long and careful dissertation on the question of its age, and arrives at the conclusion that it probably belongs to the 5th or 6th century. His reasonings appear well founded, but on one consideration he does not dwell, viz. that it was found in a tomb within the church of S. Lorenzo-fuor-le-Mura, near the repository of the martyr. Pelagius II. (A.D. 572–590) is stated in the *Liber Pontif.* to have built that portion of the church from its foundations. This is, perhaps, too strongly expressed, but no doubt he executed considerable works there; and as the first pope who was buried in a church was Leo I. in 462, and he only in the vestibule of the sacristy of St. Peter's, we can hardly suppose that any one would have been placed in such proximity to a martyr so venerated as St. Laurence until long after the time of Leo I. It may, therefore, seem probable, that although the cross may be of earlier date, the interment did not take place much before A.D. 600. There is no indication that the wearer had been a bishop, as Martigny asserts. On the sides monograms are engraved, and De Rossi makes several suggestions as to the name they contain, but declines to give a positive opinion. [A. N.]

**REMEDIUS**, bishop, Feb. 3; depositio commemorated at Gap (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

**REMIGIUS**, bishop, Jan. 13; depositio commemorated at Reims (*Mart.* Usuard.); transl. Oct. 1 (*Mart.* Usuard., Flor.; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. i. 59). [C. H.]

**RENUNCIATION.** [BAPTISM, p. 159.]

**REPAIRS.** [CHURCHES, MAINTENANCE OF, p. 388.]

**REPASTS.** [MEALS.]

**REQUIEM.** The Roman service for the dead has acquired this name from its proper anthem beginning with the words, "Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine" (see 2 Esdr. *Vulg.* 4 E. ii. 34). The versicle was not put to quite the same use within our period, but it appears as one of several little chapters ("capitula," Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii. 213; "versuum capitella," *Opp.* Greg. M. v. 23, ed. 1615) said after the prayers and psalms, "in Agenda Mortuorum, quando Anima egreditur de Corpore" (Mur. *u. s.*). In this use it is probably ante-Gregorian. In the Gelasian sacramentary only one capitulum is indicated, thus: "Dic Cap̄. In memoria aeterna" (Mur. *u. s.* i. 749); but as the offices were then committed to memory, several well-known versicles may be understood under this brief reference. In the later Gregorian antiphonary, "Requiem," &c., already appears as the introit of the Mass for the departed (*Antiph.* Greg. in Pamel. *Liturgica*, ii. 175). [W. E. S.]

**REREDOS** (Fr. *retable;* Span. *retablo*). It is shewn by Viollet-le-Duc that the altars of the primitive church had no reredos (*Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture*, vol. ii. p. 34). So long in fact as the bishop's seat was at the back of the altar, it was unlikely that he and the people should have been separated by such a screen. The rise of the reredos dates only from the period when the episcopal seats, and with them the choirs, were established in front of the altars. Towards the end of the 11th century, says the same writer, they had not in the West yet begun to push the altar back against a wall, but they erected upon it a reredos, which was most frequently a movable erection, and was made in metal or in wood. In France none is known earlier than the beginning of the 12th century. France, indeed, was slower to introduce these "parasite ornaments" than other parts of Europe. And Thiers (*Dissert. sur les principaux Autels des Eglises*) eulogizes the devotion of antiquity, which was content to do without "ces nouvelles inventions." It appears from the pages of Viollet-le-Duc (*Dict. rais.* art. Autel) that in France the cathedrals were the last to admit the reredos, and the longest preserved the ancient traditions of the altar.

In Spanish it appears that the term *retablo* was applied to the altar itself. The council of Elvira (A.D. 305) by its thirty-sixth canon enacted that pictures ought not to be in a church. Ferdinand de Mendoza writes a treatise on the canons of this council to Clement VIII. In the third book of it (upon the canon in question) he has the following: "Hinc fit probabile antiquitatem et originem eorum altarium (quae Hispani *Retablos* vocant) Hispaniae deberi, cum tabulis potius quam parietibus episcopi nostri sacras imagines religionis ergo pingi voluisse hoc ipso decreto videantur" (ap. Labbe, i. 1239c, ed. Par. 1671). [H. T. A.]

**RESERVATION OF THE EUCHARIST.** Our earliest extra-scriptural account of the celebration of the Lord's Supper says: "The deacons communicate each of those present, and carry away to the absent of the blest bread and wine and water" (Justin Martyr, A.D. 140, *Apol.* i. 65). This liberty was necessary during the persecutions of that age. From other writers we infer that those to whom the Eucharist was taken at home were not bound to consume it immediately, or all at once, but might reserve a part, or all, for future occasions. In the course of time this liberty was extended, and we find persons present at the celebration themselves taking away and reserving of the sacred elements. Tertullian, at Carthage, 192, advises some who feared to break their fast by communicating, to "take the Lord's body and reserve it," until the fast was over (*De Orat.* 19). The same writer speaks of a Christian woman as partaking of the sacrament at home, "secretly before all food" (*ad Ux.* ii. 5). This seems to imply a frequent, perhaps daily, reception of the reserved Eucharist. St. Cyprian, bishop of the same city, A.D. 251, tells the story of a woman who, "attempting to open with unworthy hands her casket in which the holy of the Lord was stored, was deterred by a fire rising out of it" (*De Lapsis*, 132, ed. Brem.). The murderers of Tharsicius, a deacon of Rome, 257, found him "carrying about him the sacraments of the Lord's body" (Damasus, *Carm.* 35; Surius, Aug. 2, *Acta Stephani*, p. 13). So some Christians in danger at sea have with them "the divine sacrament of the faithful" (Ambr. *de Excess. Fratr.* i. 43). The sister of Gregory of Nazianzum, praying for restoration to health, mingled with her tears "whatever her hand had treasured of the antitypes of the precious body and blood" (Greg. Naz. *Or.* viii. 18). St. Jerome, A.D. 398, speaks of a poor bishop as "carrying the Lord's body in a wicker basket, His blood in a vessel of glass" (*Epist.* 125 *ad Rust.* § 20); and of some who, deeming themselves for a special reason unfit to go to church, inconsistently communicated in private on the same day, obviously of reserved elements (*Ep.* 48 *ad Pammach.* § 15). St. Basil tells us that "at Alexandria and in Egypt the laity for the most part had every one the communion in their own houses" (*Ep.* 93 *ad Caes. Patric.*). It was thus that provision was made for the communions of monks, nuns, and hermits: "All those who dwell alone in the desert, where there is no priest, keep the communion at home, and receive it at their own hands" (*ibid.*). We might gather as much from an instance in Palladius, 401 (*Hist. Laus.* 61). In 527, a law of Justinian orders the appointment of an approved presbyter or deacon to "carry the holy communion" to monks and nuns (*Novell.* cxxiii. 36).

*Abuse.*—Reservation in private houses naturally led to abuse, especially when persecution had ceased. St. Augustine, in 430, mentions a case in which "a poultice was made of the Eucharist" (*Cont. Julian.* iii. 162). Some heretics pretended to communicate publicly, but took all away with them from one wrong motive or another (*Conc. Caesaraug.* A.D. 380, can. 3; *Conc. Tolet.* 400, can. 14). Later, the Eucharist was abused to witchcraft (Caesar. Heisterb. *Dial. Mirac.* ix. 6, 9; *Conc. Later.* iv. can. 20, &c.).

*Prohibition.*—Abuse led to suppression. The earliest prohibition, if it be assigned to the right age, is that of an Armenian canon of the 4th century, which generally forbids presbyters to "take the Eucharist from the church to the houses of laymen, and there impart to them the sacred bread" (*Canones* Isaaci, in Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* x. 280). The council of Saragossa, 380: "If any one is proved not to have taken the grace of the Eucharist in church after receiving it, let him be anathema for ever" (can. 3). By the council of Toledo (above) it was decreed that for this offence a person should be "expelled as one guilty of sacrilege."

The only certain instance of reservation by a lay person with which I meet after the 5th century, occurs in the *Pratum Spirituale* (79) of John Moschus, 630. He mentions, however, that the sacrament had been laid up in the house "according to the custom of the country" (Seleucia); from which we should infer that it was at least almost extinct elsewhere. But bishops, priests, and monks continued to reserve. Thus we read of a bishop, Birinus, of Dorchester, who carried the Eucharist wrapped in his pall (*Vita*, Surius, Dec. 3), and of priests who, as was "then the custom of many, carried it as a safeguard by the way" (*Vita Laurentii*, 7, Sur. Nov. 14), and of a monk who was able to send it to another at a distance (Joan. Mosch. *Pr. Spir.* 29). Greek monks (Arcudius *de Concord. Eccl. Oc. et Or.* iii. 59), and the bishops of Rome (Lorinus, *Comm. in Ps.* lvii. 2), have retained to modern times the custom of carrying it on a journey.

*Various Uses.*—The reserved sacrament was used in communions of the PRESANCTIFIED (p. 1696), as a token of inter-communion [EULOGIA, Vol. I. p. 628], as FERMENTUM for other celebrations (I. 668), for the communion of newly ordained priests (669), for deposition in tombs [OBSEQUIES, § xix., p. 1434], for the consecration of churches and altars, and for the communion of the sick. The two last-named uses we propose to consider here.

*Deposition in Altars.*—It was probably in the 7th century that the church of Rome introduced the practice of depositing, at the dedication of a church, portions of the consecrated bread under or in a cavity made in the mensa of the altar. Owing to the lateness of the extant MSS. only one Roman pontifical now known, viz. the *Codex Ratoldi*, prescribes this rite: "Ponat tres portiones corporis Domini intus et tres incensi" (*Sacram. Gregor.* Ménard, n. 580; *Opp.* Greg. M. iii. 436, ed. Ben.). In the Roman books this practice was part of the order of consecration; but when the English borrowed it, they treated it as a separate rite, to be observed after the consecration. Thus the council of Cealchythe, 816, having directed that "all be performed in order as in the service book," adds, "*Afterwards*, let the Eucharist which has been consecrated by the bishop at the same service be inclosed with other relics in a casket, and kept in the same basilica" (can. 2). On this principle we find the order for the inclosure of the sacrament an addition or appendix to the forms of dedication in the early English pontificals. See that of Egbert of York, 732–766 (p. 46, ed. Surtees Soc.), that formerly preserved at Jumièges, now No. 362 in the public library at Rouen (Mart. u. s. ii. 254), which is assigned to the latter part of the reign of Charlemagne, and the pontifical of St. Dun-

stan, 961 (*ib.* 257). The two latter pontificals expressly ascribe this rite to Rome in the heading, "Here begins the Order of the Deposition of the Relics in the holy Roman Church." The council of Cealchythe (*u. s.*) and St. Dunstan (*u. s.*) imply an opinion that the Eucharist was more important than the relics generally inclosed with it. The former says: "If he is not able to inclose other relics, yet may this profit more than all, because it is the body of Our Lord Jesus Christ."

Not one of the French orders which prescribe this rite is earlier than the end of the 9th century, to which period belong the pontificals of Rheims, Noyons, and Sens (*Mart.* ii. 260, 261, 272). It is found in many later down to the 15th century (*ib.* 243). It was practised also in Germany, as we learn from a Salzburg pontifical of the 11th century (Mart. *u. s.* 243). For its later history and suppression, see *Notitia Eucharistica*, 917–918, ed. 2.

*For the Sick.*—Among the absent to whom, as Justin Martyr tells us, the Eucharist was sent in the 2nd century would be some absent from sickness, but we cannot say when it began to be reserved by the celebrant expressly for their sake. As the primitive church had no office of private celebration for the sick, this was probably done at a very early period. Eusebius, near the beginning of the 4th century, tells us of a dying man who sent for a priest to communicate him, and the Eucharist, which must have been reserved, was taken to him by another (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 44). The Armenian canon of the same century permits one exception to the prohibition already quoted, viz. "on account of sickness." When St. Ambrose was dying, 420, a priest, warned of his state, carried the Eucharist to him (Paulinus, in *Vit. S. Ambr.* 47). Philippicus, A.D. 597, anticipating a violent death, "sought to receive the body of the Lord." It was in the night, and the danger sudden, so that reservation is necessarily implied (Anast. Biblioth. *Hist. Eccl.* 83). After this period testimonies to the practice are very frequent. It is expressly ordered by a council of Tours, cited by Regino, that "the sacred oblation be laid up for the viaticum of persons departing this life" (*De Discipl. Eccl.* i. 70).

*Reservation in both Kinds.*—We read that in a tumult at Constantinople, A.D. 403, soldiers entered the place "where the holy things were stored up, and the most holy blood of Christ was spilt on the garments of the said soldiers" (Chrysost. *Epist. ad Innoc.* 3). Travellers by sea had "the body and blood of the Redeemer with them" (Greg. M. A.D. 590, *Dial.* iii. 36). St. Mary of Egypt, when dying, A.D. 629, received "in a small cup a portion of the undefiled body and precious blood" (*Vita*, iv. 34, in Bolland. Apr. 2). The same thing is related of SS. Odilia (Mabill. praef. i. in *Saec. Bened.* iii.), Chad (*Vita*, ii. 9, Boll. Mar. 2), and Cuthbert (Bede, *Vita S. Cuth.* x. 6) in the same century. Bede, 701, orders the sick to be "refreshed with the body and blood" (Regino *de Disc. Eccl.* i. 119). The words of delivery in every order for the communion of the sick during the 8th and two following centuries recognize the reception, and therefore the reservation, of both kinds: "The body and blood of the Lord be unto thee," &c., and the like (*Capit.* 2, Theodulfi, Baluze, *Miscell.* ii. 104, ed. 2; *Book of Deer*, 90; *Liber de Arbuthnott*, pr. xix., xxii.; Martene, *u. s.* i. vii. 6, n. 3; *Not. Euch.* 1022). Even in the 11th century we find in a Salzburg pontifical the express order: "Let the priests communicate him with the body and blood," &c. (Mart. *u. s.* ord. 15). Yet it would seem that in the 9th century some already neglected to reserve the wine, for the canon of Tours already cited orders the oblation reserved for the sick to be "steeped in the blood of Christ [SPOON, EUCHARISTIC], that the presbyter may be able truthfully to say to the sick, 'The body and blood,'" &c.

The reserved Eucharist is sometimes spoken of simply as "bread" (Tert. *ad Ux.* ii. 5), or "the body," &c. (Jerome, *Ep.* 48, *ad Pammach.* § 15), but we cannot infer from this that the body only was ever reserved at the time, for we find this language used of public as well as private communions, and all acknowledge that the former were invariably in both kinds. With Tertullian (*de Orat.* 14) and Jerome (*u. s.*) "reception of the body" is the public reception in church, the equivalent of which, in the Armenian canon before cited, is "drawing near to the bread."

In the Greek church the practice of intinction has kept up the reservation of the blood to this day. The consecrated bread being "broken into little particles [called *Margaritae*, or pearls], and sufficiently tinged and moistened in the consecrated wine, they take them out of the chalice, and dry them in a small dish set under a pan of coals, and then put them into a pyx or box to be reserved" (Smith, *Greek Church*, 162; Leo Allat. *de Recent. Gr. Templ.* 145). This is done on Maundy Thursday, and the particles so treated serve for the aliturgic days of Lent, and for the sick.

*The Renewal of the reserved Eucharist.*—Few notices of this occur within our period. The earliest is in a canon of Isaac III., an Armenian catholicus of the 7th century, by which the Eucharist is to be reserved "only from Lord's day to Lord's day, or from sacrifice to sacrifice" (can. 9, Mai, *Script. V. N. Coll.* x. 301). In the West the canon of Tours, preserved by Regino, 906, says: "Let it always be changed from one third day to another" (*u. s.*). Later rules vary from a week to a month (*Not. Euch.* 915).

*The Vessel containing the reserved Sacrament.*—When this was taken home, during the age of persecution, it was placed in a casket, which St. Cyprian (*de Lapsis*, 132) calls ARCA. *Turris* was the common name for the vessel in which the FERMENTUM was kept in churches from the 6th century downwards, at least in France, because "the Lord's sepulchre was cut in the rock into the likeness of a tower" (German. Paris. A.D. 555, *Expos. Miss. Brev.*). See the alleged will of Remigius, 533, in App. ad *Liturg. Gall.* 466; Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Mart.* i. 85. Venantius Fortunatus has a poem on such a turris (iii. 13). A *Benedictio Calicis et Patenae et Turris* occurs in the Besançon sacramentary (*Mus. Ital.* i. 389). In the 8th century we find this vessel called *capsa* at Rome (*Ord. Rom.* i. 8, 10). See CAPSA. *Pyxis*, afterwards universal, seems to have come into use in the 9th century. "Every presbyter shall have a pyx or vessel worthy of so great a sacrament, in which the Lord's body is to be carefully kept" (Conc. Turon. in Regino, *De Discipl. Eccl.* i. 70; see also the Articles of Visitation, p. 6, ed. Baluze; *Admon. Synod.* Leon.

iv.; Labb. *Conc.* viii. 34). *Columba* was another name. Perpetuus of Tours (471) in his will speaks of a peristerium (the canopy over the columba), and a silver dove for a repository" (App. *Opp.* Greg. Tur. 1319). See DOVE. Yet another was *Chrismale* (*Missale Francorum* in *Lit. Gall.* 316). See CHRISMAL. A later name, which we find in England, Ireland, and France, was *cuppa* (*Hist. Episc. Autiss.* 57, in Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. v. 3 n. 8; *Instructio Decanorum*, Synodi Meldensis, in Mart. et Dur. *Thesaur. Anecd.* iv. 930, &c. See Ducange in v.). *Ciborium*, originally the name of the vaulted canopy over the altar (see Vol. I. p. 66), was also used in this sense (*Chron. Centul.* ii. 10, iii. 3, in Dach. *Spicil.* iv. 467, 480, 487). The Greeks keep the consecrated bread reserved for the sick in a box which they call the **ἀρτοφόριον**, or bread-holder. "This box, whether of silver or wood, is put up into a silken case, the better to defend what is inclosed from cobwebs, or anything that may defile it, and is hung up usually behind the altar against the wall, with a lamp or two, for the most part, burning before it" (Smith, *Greek Church*, 162). [W. E. S.]

**RESIDENCE** (RESIDENTIA PAROCHORUM). There are many proofs, both in the decrees of councils and in imperial edicts, that the evil of non-residence on the part of the parochial clergy had made itself felt from the earliest times as an evil which required to be strictly guarded against. At the council of Sardica, A.D. 347 (c. 16), complaint was made that the presbyters and deacons of the region round Thessalonica were habitually attracted by the seductions of the capital city, and induced to take up their abode there for an unreasonable length of time. The council therefore extended to the parochial clergy the decree that had been made about bishops (c. 12), that they should not be absent from their parishes more than three Sundays. The council held in Constantinople, A.D. 692 (*Conc. Quinisex.* c. 80), prohibited any of the clergy or laity from being absent from their parish church for more than three Sundays, except under plea of necessity. In case of disobedience, the clergy were to be deprived of their preferment, and the laity excommunicated. Justinian (*Novell.* cxxiii. 9) includes all the clergy in the law which forbade bishops to be absent from their see for more than a year except on imperial business. Gregory the Great (lib. iv., Indict. 12, *Ep.* 13) commends a sentence of deposition which had been passed upon a presbyter who had been absent from his parish, but adds, that the presbyter asserts that he had duly obtained leave of absence from the bishop, and been unavoidably detained by illness. He therefore directs that a fresh examination should be made into the circumstances of the case. A capitulary of Charles the Great (V. c. 329) complains that bishops, priests, and deacons, from motives of gain or pleasure, were in the habit of travelling to distant parts of the country, leaving their parishes destitute of the means of grace, and neglecting the duties of hospitality, and strictly forbids the practice except in cases of inevitable necessity. The fourth council of Paris, A.D. 829 (c. 29), recites in strong terms the evils caused to country parishes by their clergy being sent from them to transact legal business for their bishops. At a council held at Rome, A.D. 853, Leo IV. complained that a certain Anastasius, a cardinal priest ("presbyter cardinis nostri") had been absent from his church for five years, although repeatedly cited to reside. The sentence of the council was that Anastasius should be deposed.

*During Pestilence.*—It appears to have been reckoned as shameful for the clergy to desert their posts in time of pestilence, as in time of persecution, such seasons being always regarded as especial calls to more earnest work, and favourable opportunities for making impression on the people. A few examples will suffice.

Cyprian, in his treatise *De Mortalitate*, written on the occasion of a terrible pestilence, recounts the reasons by which the faithful were to be persuaded to remain in the afflicted cities, adding, that this afforded them a splendid opportunity of returning good for evil, by succouring their persecutors in the hour of their necessity. Gregory Nyssen, in his *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus* (p. 958 B. Migne, *Patrol.*) speaks of his conduct during a pestilence in the city of Neocaesarea, of the confidence which the sick reposed in his power to drive away the disease by his prayers, and the influence which he gained over the profligate and unbelievers. Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 22) gives some fragments of the epistles of Dionysius of Alexandria, in which he speaks of the noble conduct of the Christians of that city during a plague, narrating how they helped in every way, not only their fellow-citizens, but even the heathen, tending the sick, burying the dead, and in many instances, especially in the case of presbyters and deacons, themselves catching the pestilence and dying. This he contrasts with the conduct of the heathen, who avoided all communication with the sick, and cast out their dead into the roads. Gregory the Great (*Epist.* viii. 41) urges Dominicus, bishop of Carthage, to remain at his post during a pestilence, and not only do all he could to assuage the sufferings it caused, but to make it a time for earnest exhortation while the hearts of men, made tender by fear, were open to receive his exhortations to repentance. That Gregory inculcated such conduct, not only by precept but by example, appears in his *Life* by John the Deacon. It is there stated (i. 39–43) that he took possession of his see while a fierce pestilence was raging, and encountered the evil with processions and public meetings for prayer; that during one of these meetings eighty people died, but that Gregory never ceased from prayer and supplication till the plague was stayed. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* viii. 2) relates that Salvius, bishop of Alby, in Narbonne, remained at his post when the city was devastated by pestilence, urging the people to repentance and prayer; and again (*id.* ix. 22) that Theodorus of Marseilles, on a like occasion, remained in the church of St. Victor with the few who were untouched by the pestilence, in earnest prayer for its cessation. The sixteenth council of Toledo, A.D. 693, in the recital of their proceedings, affixed to their decrees (Bruns. *Canon* i. p. 379) notes that the bishops of Narbonne were prevented from attending by the pestilence then raging in their country. [P. O.]

**RESPONSORIA** (or *psalmi responsorii*, or *psalmi*), a technical name for the psalms or portions of psalms which were said or sung between the lections in the various offices of the church. Speaking of the divine office as arranged according to the Hours in the Breviary, Radulfus said: "Sunt etiam in officio divino brevia responsoria, quae in officio Romano ad parvas horas, ut ad primam, tertiam, sextam, nonam, et completorium dicuntur, et de psalmis sumuntur excepta prima," &c. (*De Can. Observ. Liber*, Prop. xii.). Minute regulations as to their order and form in the Hours in the 8th century are laid down by Amalarius (*de Ord. Antiphon.* lib. cc. 71–80). But the term is more frequently used to denote those psalms which are interposed between the lections in the *Ordo Missae*, and which are represented by the Gradual, Tract, &c. in the modern missal. The title "responsorium" is employed instead of gradual throughout the antiphonary of Gregory, as printed in Pamelius (*Liturg.* ii. 62–176; Gerbert. *Liturg. Aleman.* i. 308; Hugo a S. Victore, *Erudit. Theol.* i. 18). It was originally a long passage from Scripture, consisting of a whole psalm or canticle, for which an extract of a few verses was substituted at a very early date. The use of a whole psalm survives in the Armenian and Coptic liturgies (Hammond, C. E. *Anc. Lit.* pp. 145, 199), and was exemplified in the old Gallican rite by the position of the hymn of Zecharias before the first, and of the song of the three children before the third lection.

1. The title "responsorium" is said to be due to the antiphonal form which these psalms assumed in the mode of singing, and to the form of versicle and response, "vocata hoc nomine quod uno canente chorus consonando respondeat" (Isid. Hisp. *de Ecc. Offic.* i. 8), "quod alio desinente id alter respondeat" (Rabanus Maur. *de Institut. Cleric.* i. 33), "quod quoniam alternatim cantatur, unde et nominatur responsorium" (Hugo a S. Victore, *Erudit. Theol.* i. 18). According to other rituals the term is derived from the responsory answering to the preceding lesson, "quod a capite repetatur" (Alcuin *de Div. Offi.* ed. Hittorp. p. 69). "Dicuntur enim a respondendo; tristia namque tristibus et laeta laetis debemus succinere lectionibus" (Rupert *de Div. Offic.* i. 15). It was mystically interpreted to represent the active life, as the alleluia which followed it represented the contemplative life (Amalar. *de Ecc. Offic.* i. 35). Other mystical meanings are worked out at great length (*ibid.* iii. 11–14). The difference between antiphons and responsories lay in the mode of singing. "Inter responsoria et antiphonas hoc differt quod in responsoriis unus dicat versum, in antiphonis autem alternent versibus chori" (Raban. Maur. *de Instit. Cleric.* i. 33).

2. The date of the introduction of "responsoria" into the liturgy cannot be fixed with accuracy. They were popularly, but without sufficient evidence, said to have been invented by the Italians, as antiphons were invented by the Greeks (Raban. Maur. *de Instit. Cler.* lib. 1), a supposition which is perhaps based on the late Latinity of the term by which they are technically known. Allusions to them in the following authors and documents, Eastern and Western, prove their use at various early dates, and justify the placing of their introduction by Amalarius "longo ante tempore," or by Martene, "ab ipso evangelii exordio" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 17, interpretante Rufino; Ambros. *ad Marcellinam;* Augustin. *in Praefat. ad Psalmos* 46, 99; Chrysost. Hom. 36, in 1 Cor. ad finem.; Sozomen, *Hist. Ecc.* v. 19; St. Benedicti Regula, c. ix.).

3. The normal portion of the "psalmus responsorius" was between the lections in the breviary offices, and between the Epistle and Gospel in the Liturgy. This was the case in the Roman liturgy *passim*, in the African (Augustin. *Serm. x. de Verb. Apost.* tom. v. p. 839; *Hom. xxxiii. de Verb. Dom.*), in the Gallican (Germani. Paris. *Expos. Brevis.* § 7); but in the Mozarabic liturgy, where, as in the Gallican, three lections occurred in each missa, the full responsory intervened between the first (*lectio prophetica*) and the second (*apostolus*).

4. The psalmus was originally sung by a single cantor, afterwards by several cantors, the response being taken up by the whole choir (*Ordo Rom.* i. § 10; ii. § 7; Raban. Maur. *de Instit. Cler.* ii. 51); but there was some variety of custom on this point. According to the ordinary rule a lector was chosen for this office. "Praecentor psalmi responsorii usitatius ex ordine erat lectorum" (Thomasius, *in Praef. ad Rom. Antiphon.*). In the Anglo-Saxon church it was sung by a priest (Theodore, *Penitent.* ii. 11) or a layman (*ibid.* i. 10). In the Gallican church by a deacon (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* viii. 3) or by children, "nisi tantummodo responsorium quod a parvulis canetur" (German. Paris. *Expos. Brev.* § 7).

5. It was sung on the step from which the epistle had been read (*Ordo Rom.* ii. 7), whence its more modern and familiar title of Gradual. It was said or sung originally by heart, but at a later period the responsories were collected together in a book called the *Responsoriale.* The arrangement of its parts differed slightly in Rome and Gaul (Amalar. *Prologus de Ordine Antiphon*). It was sometimes prefaced by an announcement of the passage of Scripture from which it was taken (Cassiodorus, cap. ii. *Praefat. in Psalm.*), and was usually followed by the *Gloria Patri*, according to the direction of the rule of St. Benedict (for Nocturns) and of the fourth council of Toledo (can. 15), which also alludes to its permitted omission in the case of the penitential psalms (can. 16). The cantor was vested in an alb, as we may gather from the twenty-third canon of the council of Laodicea, which forbids his wearing a stole, and from the eleventh canon of the second council of Bracara, which forbids his wearing ordinary dress. For further information the reader is referred to GRADUAL, TRACT, &c. [F. E. W.]

**RESTITUTUS (1),** May 29; natale commemorated at Rome on the Via Aurelia (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Hieron.*, Notker., *Vet. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vii. 10).

(2) Aug. 23; commemorated at Antioch (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

**RESURRECTION AND LAST JUDGMENT.** It is difficult to say with certainty how far representations of this tremendous subject really belong to early Christian art, that is to say to that period of it which ends with the

death of Charles the Great. Though many of the great mosaics after the 6th century represent the Lord in glory, attended by saints, they do not, as at periods nearer the middle ages, set forth His sentence on the wicked or the righteous. That of the Duomo of Torcello is probably the earliest remaining instance on a mural scale. The various sketches of the condemnation of the wicked, and the very numerous hells of the Utrecht Psalter, are no doubt prior to them. The Psalter of Athelstan (late 9th century) has its concourse of saints and glorification of our Lord, which quite anticipates the crowded mediaeval-Gothic Paradises.

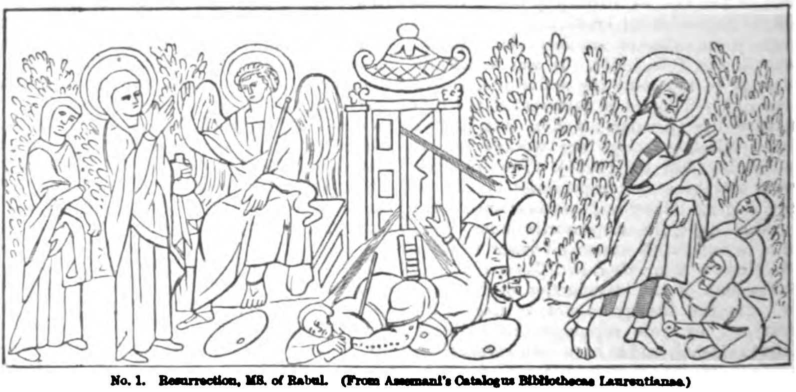
Lord Lindsay refers the great judgment mosaic of Torcello to the 12th century, when a reaction or renascence of Byzantine art took place under the Comneni. Its Inferno has much ghastly imagination in the representation of the sea, Amphitrite in person, giving up her dead, the worms writhing from fleshless skulls, &c. This, with the varieties of torture represented in the smaller compartments, would be almost decisive as to its late date; but Prof. Ruskin and the Marchese Selvatico appear to think it probable that this mosaic, or parts of it, may have been among the decorations of the original island-church of Torcello, built in A.D. 641. (See Appendix to *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii.) If the mosaics are really 7th century, they are, as far as the present writer knows, unique as to subject and treatment for that time; and their ghastly imagery would seem to indicate a later date. They certainly anticipate the imaginations of Giotto and Orgagna, as the latter influenced the works of Michel Angelo in the Sistine, by his frescoes in the Campo Santo of Pisa. There is a peculiarity noticed by Prof. Ruskin in the Torcellese artist's conception of the everlasting fire, not as a conflagration or fiery prison-house, or personified monster, as in later days, but as a red stream issuing from beneath the throne of God. It is suggested under TORMENT, PLACE OF, that the representation of an actual mouth of hell, so common in the middle ages, may be derived from the roaring mouth or passage from the infernal regions described in the vision in Plato's *Republic*, bk. x.; but its not being found in this mosaic may render the connexion less plausible.

The present writer remembers no representation of the Last Judgment at Mount Sinai; and the one or two at the convent of Mar Saba seem of late date. There are many at Mount Athos, but Mr. H. F. Tozer considers them entirely out of our period. In Messrs. Texier and Pullan's *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 41, mention is made of several last judgments, none at all early. The subject is said in this work to be entirely Byzantine, and derived from Egypt, to be in fact a repetition of the psychostasis of antiquity. The sculptures in tympana of church porches in the West during the 13th and 14th centuries are very frequently of Byzantine derivation.

A heathen painting of judgment, or presentation of the soul after death to the lower powers, has been found in the catacomb of St. Praetextatus. (See Perret, i. 73.) "Diespiter" and "Mercurius Nuntius" are named in it, as also Alcestis. See also the "Inductio Vibies" in the Gnostic catacomb (Parker, Appendix to *Catacombs*, p. 174; Perret, vol. i. No. 73), which certainly represents the presentation of the dead Viria to some assembled divinities. [R. J. T.]

**RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD.** See CRUCIFIX. This subject forms part of several of the early crucifixions. There seems to have been a feeling on the part of scribes or their patrons that the true impression of the event of the Lord's death could only be given in one view with His victory over death. The annexed woodcut (No. 1) is a striking representation of the Resurrection from the Rabula MS. in the Laurentine Library at Florence. As subjects drawn from the passion of our Lord are very rare in early Christian art, it is not very surprising that His resurrection does not occur often. The following examples, given by Rohault de Fleury, *L'Évangile*, vol. ii. ppl. 92, 93, 94, will amount to a tolerable list.

In sculpture, a well-known Lateran sarcophagus of the 4th century gives the monogram, inscribed in the circle of a victor's wreath of bay or olive, and elevated on a large cross, which forms its upright P. Two soldiers resting on their shields are placed beneath its arms. Martigny mentions a lamp figured by Giorgi, *de Monogrammate Christi*, p. 10, of nearly the same device, with the addition of a tablet with the motto of the Labarum, ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ; also a marble tomb at Nîmes, and a sarcophagus



No. 1. Resurrection, MS. of Rabul. (From Assemani's Catalogus Bibliothecae Laurentianae.)

at Soissons (Le Blant, *Inscr. de la Gaule*, p. 304). Rohault de Fleury speaks of a fragment of a similar sarcophagus in the Vatican, which bears the upright monogram, ornamented, and without the cross. See also Aringhi, i. 311,—a drawing from a Vatican sarcophagus which belonged to a private palace in his day.



No. 2. Symbolic Resurrection, Sarcophagus in the Lateran.

The 6th century ivory of the Vatican, Rohault de Fleury, ii. pl. 92, represents the soldiers resting on their shields as supporters, with two of the Maries above them. The sepulchre is a square building, surmounted by a Lombard cupola and supported by two pillars. On one of its doors (the other is omitted in the carving—as broken), there seems to be a bas-relief of the Raising of Lazarus, treated as in the catacombs. In pl. 94 he gives two 8th century ivories, now at Munich; one of the three Maries, the other of St. Mary Magdalene alone, greeted in both cases by the angel of the resurrection. They are attached to an 11th century evangeliary, but he thinks they may probably be of the time of Charles the Great.

In mosaic, the church of S. Apollinare nella Città at Ravenna, is the only example we know of (R. de Fleury, pl. 93, 6th century). In this example the sepulchre is a regular Greek circular temple, a peristyle, with architrave and flat dome roof. The broken door leans across the entrance. An angel sits on the left, with nimbus and wings, white robe and wand. He addresses two women, the first of them clad in a violet tunic and brown robe.

Besides these, Martigny mentions two tombs containing this subject; one belonging to the crypt of St. Maximin (*Monum. de Ste. Madeleine*), another is from the sarcophagus of St. Celsus at Milan, (Bugati, *Mem. di S. Celso*, p. 242, tav. 1). He gives a woodcut of it. One is pointing to the napkin or grave-clothes, in the condition observed by St. Peter and St. John (John xx. 5, 6); the other sees the angel. On the right of the sepulchre—which is circular, has a round arched doorway, and obtusely gabled roof—the Lord appears to St. Thomas and another saint.

Finally, there is a resurrection on one of the reliquaries sent by St. Gregory the Great to Theodelinda of Lombardy (Mozzoni, *Tav. di Stor. Eccl.* vii. 97). St. Mary Magdalene prostrates herself before the Lord; two trees and a fountain represent the garden; and on one of St. Gregory's phials or oil vessels, sent at the same time, and now at Monza, there is an angel with two Maries. See CRUCIFIX, p. 516, vol. i.; and a medallion published by Münter, *Symbolism*, part i. tab. 1, No. 4; with the word ANACTACIC. The chief Christian symbolisms of the Resurrection are the universally-occurring figures of Jonah, and the less frequent one of Samson with the gates of Gaza (Buonarroti, *Vetri*, tav. 1, fig. 1). The Raising of Lazarus will be found *s. v.*; but the peacock and the ark of Noah can hardly be considered (as by De Fleury) as symbolisms specially directed to this subject. [R. J. T.]

**REVENUES.** [PROPERTY.]

**REVERIANUS**, June 1, bishop; commemorated at Autun (*Mart.* Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 40). [C. H.]

**REVERSION** (*Regressus*). Instances of securing the right of reversion to a bishopric are not unfrequent in the history of the early church, sometimes by desire of the people, at other times apparently by the will of the ruling bishop, but always under peculiar circumstances.

Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 11) speaks of Alexander being appointed coadjutor to the aged Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, evidently with the right of succession, and *H. E.* vii. 32 says that Theotecnus, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, ordained a certain Anatolius to the episcopate with the intention of making him his assistant and successor.

Socrates (*H. E.* v. 5) says that in order to heal a schism that existed in the church of Antioch (A.D. 379) in consequence of there being two bishops, Meletius and Paulinus, exercising their functions at the same time in the see, the people assembled those of the clergy who were considered worthy to be entrusted with the bishopric, and bound them by an oath that whenever either of the two bishops should die, the survivor should be permitted to retain undisputed possession of the see (compare Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 3, with note by Vales.); and *H. E.* vii. 46 relates how Paul, the Novatian bishop of Constantinople, when on his death-bed, was not only permitted, but requested by his presbyters to select his own successor.

Sozomen (*H. E.* ii. 20) says that Maximus, who had been ordained bishop of Diospolis by Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, was appointed by the people coadjutor and successor to Macarius himself, and in due time succeeded to the see.

But these instances run contrary to the general intention of the church as expressed in the decrees of councils. Thus the Apostolic Canons (c. 75) forbid a bishop to ordain any of his relations, giving as a reason that the principle of hereditary succession ought not to be introduced into the church, οὐ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ὑπὸ κληρονόμους ὀφείλει τιθέναι. The council of Antioch, A.D. 341 (c. 23), expressly forbids any bishop to constitute (καθιστᾶν) any one as his successor, and provides that such appointment, if made, shall be void. The fourth council of Toledo, A.D. 633 (c. 19), numbers among the clergy disqualified for bishoprics those who have been appointed by their predecessors in the see: and the fifth council of Paris (c. 2) forbids any

bishop during his lifetime to appoint a successor unless under certain conditions. See COADJUTOR BISHOP, p. 398. [P. O.]

**REVOCATUS**, March 7, commemorated at Tuburbum (*Mart.* Usuard.); apparently the one mentioned in *Mart. Hieron.* Feb. 5. [C. H.]

**RHEIMS**, *alleged Council of* (*Remense Concilium*). A.D. 625. First mentioned in the history of the church of Rheims by Flodoard, one of its canons, in the 10th century. According to him, it was summoned by Sonnatius, bishop of Rheims, attended by forty or more bishops, and passed twenty-five canons, in which allusion is made more than once to the synod of Paris, A.D. 615. Nor is their general tone dissimilar. But, according to Burchard and others, it passed twenty-two more, which he omits, all confessedly the work of the 8th and 9th centuries. And these (coupled with the twenty-one statutes of Sonnatius, as they are called, which are no less apocryphal), must discredit everything else reported of his episcopate, for which no earlier authentic proof can be had (Mansi, x. 593–604). [E. S. Ff.]

**RHENO.** We learn from Isidore (*Etym.* xix. 23. 4) that *rheno* is the name of a garment covering the shoulders and chest, and reaching down to the waist, specially intended for protection against the rain. According to Sallust (Isidore, *l. c.*) it was worn by the Germans. The derivation is uncertain. We can hardly agree with Isidore, that it is to be found in Rhenus, the river Rhine, because of the use of the garment in the adjacent country. Another theory connects it with the name of the *reindeer*, from whose skin it may have been made. It is perhaps more likely that it is to be connected with ῥὴν, so that it would merely mean a sheepskin. See Ducange's *Glossarium*, s. v. [R. S.]

**RICHARIUS**, Ap. 26, presbyter and confessor; commemorated at Centula (St. Riquier) (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 441); Oct. 9 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C. H.]

**RIEZ** (in Provence), **COUNCIL OF** (*Regense*, or *Reginense Concilium*), A.D. 439. Caused by the uncanonical act of two bishops in consecrating to the see of Embrun without any reference to their metropolitan or their colleagues. It was attended by twelve bishops, of whom Hilary, bishop of Arles, in whose jurisdiction Embrun then lay, subscribed first. Its eight canons are partly directed against the offenders, and partly to prevent any similar offences in future (Mansi, v. 1189–1200). [E. S. Ff.]

**RIGAE.** [RUGAE.]

**RIMAS** or **RIMNAS**, Jan. 20, martyr with Innas and Pinnas, disciples of St. Andrew the apostle (Bas. *Menol.* ii. 124; *Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

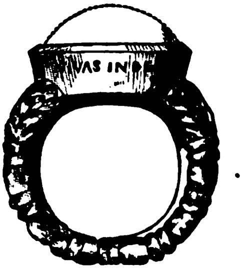
**RIMINI, COUNCIL OF**, A.D. 359 (ARIMINENSE CONCILIUM). Two councils, of which the first, that at Rimini, was entirely composed of Western prelates, and an Eastern assembling at Seleucia, the capital of Isauria, were convoked about the same time. There were more than four hundred present, of whom but eighty were Arians. The Nicene faith was accordingly received, all later formulas rejected, and four or five Arian bishops condemned. Ten deputies were sent with these decisions to Constantius. But meanwhile the Acacians proceeding to Constantinople gained over the emperor, and sent the last creed of Sirmium to Rimini to be received there. At first the council steadily refused compliance, whereupon Ursacius and Valens, two of the condemned bishops, hurried off to Nicaea, overtook and duped the deputies that had been sent from Rimini, and then returning thither themselves with count Taurus, who had orders to do whatever they told him, revolutionized the council, forced it at a subsequent meeting to subscribe to this creed, and adopt Arianism. "Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est," says St. Jerome, who summarizes its proceedings (*Adv. Lucif.* c. 17–19. Compare the documents in Mansi, iii. 293–316, and the discussion on them in Hefele, ii. 251–361, Eng. Tr.). [E. S. Ff.]

**RINGS.** The finger-ring used as a signet goes as far back as very early Egyptian times. It has continued to be used for the same purpose in all ages down to the present day, but in process of time has come to be employed for other purposes also. Rings may indicate official rank or the espoused or married state, or may be used as ornaments, or pressed into the service of devotion. Wealthy Christians in the times of the apostles wore gold rings (James ii. 2). The Ante-nicene and Post-nicene fathers alike find it necessary to declare against the prodigality of Christians in wearing rings and gems. (See Tertull. *de Hab. Muliebr.* c. 5; *Apol.* c. 6 Clem. Alex. *Paed.* lib. iii. c. 11; Cyprian *de Hab Virg.* c. 14; Basil, *Homil. ad Divit.* c. 4; Hieron. *Epist. ad Laet.* c. 5). One of the earliest notices of a finger-ring in Church history occurs in the Acts of the Martyrs Perpetua and Felicitas (circa 202 A.D.), where we read that the martyr Saturus drew a ring from off the finger (*anulum de digito petiit*) of Pudens, a soldier, who witnessed his sufferings, and returned it to him covered with his own blood (c. 6).

*Christian Rings of Metal set with Gems.*

A large number of Christian rings were made to be worn on the finger, more rarely on the thumb, and of these many bore engraved stones, which have come down to us in greater numbers than the rings themselves. The devices on such stones are described under GEMS. The few examples which have survived having but very rarely any peculiarly Christian features, need not be dwelt upon at length; three very fine ones have been just alluded to under GEMS (pp. 713 b, and 722 b, note); one now in the British Museum, of massive gold of hexagonal form, is supposed to be of the early part of the third century, diameter about 1·5 inches (figured in Perret, *Catacombes*, vol. iv. pl. xvi. n. 4): the second (p. 722, a), perhaps a little later, is in the possession of Monseigneur de Bonald, Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons, also of massive gold, circular, increasing in thickness towards the bezel, where it is foliated; the rest is irregularly but elegantly corded at intervals, so that it bears some resemblance to a succession of pearls (diameter 1·4 inches): the bezel, from which the gem has fallen out, of an oblong quadran-

gular form (longer side 0·9), has on its two larger sides VIVAS IN DEO | AS BOLI, followed by a palm branch (GEMS, p. 722, figured in Le Blant, *Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule*, pl. 2, n. 6; Martigny, *Dict.* s. v. Anneau, ed. 2). The third,




(Le Blant.)

which is likewise of gold, bearing figures of doves embossed on the shoulders, is set with a garnet on which a female sitting between two crosses is engraved; it is of later Roman work. (GEMS, p. 716, b.)

The following gold rings remain to be mentioned, with the types of their gems or pastes, when present. A gold ring with slender flat uniform hoop of circular form with circular bezel, raised and scalloped at the margin, which is surrounded by a beaded line, holds a pale blue niccolo (a truncated cone) on which is represented a dolphin (regarded as a fish and so taken as a symbol of Christ, see De Rossi, *Bull.* 1870, pp. 49–73): the stone is inscribed VIVAS NOCTOHAMVS (the nominative for the vocative); diameter of ring 1 inch; of chaton 0·8; of surface of gem 0·3. This curious ring, supposed to be of the third century, is described and beautifully figured (nat. size) by Prof. A. Salinas, *Real Museo di Palermo*, p. 59, tav. A, n. 7, and by M. de Rossi, *Bull. u. s.* tav. iv. n. 13 (enlarged). Probably found in Sicily.

A beautiful gold finger-ring, with the hoop flat and widening towards the bezel, was found in 1857 among the ruins of the Roman houses in Tusculum, and came into the possession of the Princess Aldobrandini. It is set with a lapis lazuli bearing an anchor and a palm-tree; the symbols of hope and of final victory. These symbols occur separately on several gems (see GEMS, pp. 714 and 716); but have, hitherto, been found in conjunction only on this one gem. Not very fine work, but neither again at all rude: De Rossi is persuaded from various considerations that it is earlier than the fourth century (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1872, p. 119, tav. vii. n. 3).

A massive plain gold ring in the British Museum has an onyx intaglio bearing the chrisma, the P being crossed with the third stroke (⳨). Fortnum, *Arch. Journ.* xxvi. (1860), p. 142.

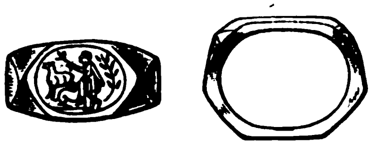
Another very massive plain gold ring of ordinary subcircular form, bears a paste in imitation of niccolo, upon which is engraved the chrisma, the P being crossed with the X and also with a horizontal line through the intersection (☧): diameter of ring 0·9 by 0·8 inch: that of the suborbicular chaton 0·7 inch: height of socket of bezel 0·2 inch; said to have been found in England (British Museum).

In the Castellani collection (now in the British Museum), No. 5 of Mr. Fortnum's catalogue, is a very fine example of a gold ring bearing the chrisma; it is an octagonal hoop swelling to the shoulders and surmounted by the monogram of the ordinary form composed of cloisons of gold, from which the stones or pastes or enamels which they once held have now fallen out.

The three preceding rings are probably of the 4th or 5th century.

For the ring of Bishop Arnulphus, see below under *Episcopal Ring*.

Other settings of early Christian gems are in bronze; one enclosing the Good Shepherd on a jasper (GEMS, p. 712) in the possession of Mr. Fortnum, and figured by him, of octagonal form, is by his kind permission here reproduced. Nor



(Fortnum, No. 6.)

is this the only bronze example. See *Catalogue of the Uzielli Coll.* p. 66, n. 277, Lond. 1861. (Christie and Manson.) To these, others doubtless might be added.

Rings were also occasionally set in ancient times, as now, with gems on which no subject is engraved. Some of these were, in the middle ages, the badges of bishops (see under *Episcopal Ring* below), but whether we have any of them now remaining belonging to earlier times appears to be uncertain. In all likelihood Christians in every age may have worn such, but independently of any religious significance.

There is an office for the consecration of cardinals which mentions the delivery of the ring, Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. c. 8, § xi. Ord. xiv. It is probable that their rings also bore a stone without any device. In 1875, when Pope Pius IX. installed several cardinals, he presented each of them with a gold ring set with a sapphire (Jones, *Finger-ring Lore*, p. 216). This stone appears to have been generally used for the purpose, as in the case of bishops (Jones, *u. s.*).

The Ordo Romanus (p. 143, Hitt.; see Curtius, *Synt.* p. 411) and various mediaeval offices (Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* vol. ii. p. 319) mention the delivery of rings to nuns at their consecration. What these were we know not, but it may be surmised that they bore plain stones.

*Forms of Christian Rings made wholly of Metal, and bearing Devices.*

The various forms of these rings (as Mr. Fortnum observes) do not appear to differ from the general fashion of the rings of their day,[a] in the world Christian and Pagan, and, so far as the figures in his and in the present paper are concerned, may be classified nearly in his

[a] In the *Dactyliotheca* of Gorlaeus, may be seen figures of upwards of 200 rings, one or two of which (184, 211) are certainly, and a few others (210, 205–209 from the catacombs) probably Christian.

own words as follows (*Arch. Journ.* vol. xxvi. pp. 138, 139). The numbers attached refer to the rings in his own collection, and described by himself.

A large part of the others which are not figured, would probably fall under the same heads.

A. The circular hoop of convex metal swelling to the shoulders and flattened into an oval or angular *chaton*. Such are Nos. 8, 24 and 25, in Mr. Fortnum's collection figured below.

B. Rings formed of two, three, or more hoops springing from one, widening to the bezel,[b] and generally having beaded wire or chainwork between each hoop. This form, as the last, occurs also at an earlier period. Nos. 1, 27, 28 (Fortnum) are examples of this form.

C. Octagonal. A flat hoop of metal formed into an octagon; sometimes oval and swelling to the bezel, which has a raised table of metal; a form, as Mr. Fortnum thinks, peculiar to the 3rd and 4th centuries. No. 6 (figured above) is of the same form, but bears a gem.

D. A peculiar form, greatly varying, and, again, in the opinion of the same gentleman, only occurring during the Lower Empire; sometimes of the largest size, and of great weight of metal. The bezel is more or less raised, and the shoulders diverge in straight lines at a greater or less angle from the bezel to the side, from whence the hoop is completed by a semicircle or semi-hexagon. These rings are sometimes of extreme width. No. 11 and 12 (Fortnum) are of this class.

E. A simple hoop, generally of convex metal, more or less swelling to the shoulders, and having a circular (but little raised) bezel with flat table, on which the device is engraved; Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 33 (Fortnum) are of this abundant form. Nos. 26 and 30 (Fortnum) are varieties with a square bezel.

F. The simple hoop has a high, trumpet-shaped bezel, formed as an inverted cone of greater or less height, and sometimes octagonal laterally. Such are Nos. 20 and 22 (Fortnum). Cardinal de Bonald's ring (figured above) with raised quadrangular bezel and No. 29 (Fortnum) are variations from this type.

This form, he says, and also D, are peculiar to the period of decadence, and occasionally occur of grotesque proportions and development, the tower-like head rising sometimes to more than half an inch in height.

To the above classes of Mr. Fortnum the following must be added for the French rings of the Merovingian period, figured below after Le Blant.

G. A simple hoop, slightly swelling towards the shoulders, where it is sometimes corded; bearing a large oval or subcircular tabular chaton (not raised): the extremities of the hoop next the chaton each bear bosses varying in number, resembling pearls; and the chaton sometimes bears a border in imitation of smaller pearls. See under *Cross* below for two examples.

[b] *Bezel* is used here and in the following pages as synonymous with *chaton*, so as to include the whole ornamental surrounding, if any, together with the metal face or table. If the latter word were kept for the metallic face only, and *bezel* for its surroundings, it would be a gain. *Scudo* (Lat. *scutum*) is unambiguous.

The preceding remarks on the forms of Christian rings refer only to such as bear devices. Rings to which keys are attached, or which have the bezel in the form of a shoe (both figured below from Mr. Fortnum) are likewise not included in the above classes.

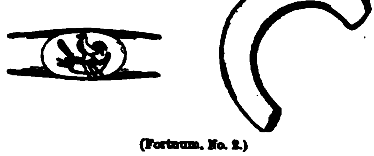
*Christian Rings of various Materials, not bearing Devices, nor set with Gems.*

Plain rings in abundance, with or without a bezel, both in various metals and in ivory, have been found in the Roman catacombs and in Frankish, German, and Saxon graves, and above all in the tomb of Maria, wife of the emperor Honorius, where 150 rings of different kinds were found in 1544, now dispersed and lost to knowledge (TOMBS); and likewise in many other localities, where Christians have been buried, and sometimes even upon the finger of the skeleton. Some ivory rings, too small or too large to be worn on the fingers, have been found attached to the outside of sepulchral niches in the catacombs, even four or five on the same tomb, probably for the purposes of identification. One with plain cylindrical hoop, another ribbon-shaped in the oblique markings outside are figured by Perret (*u. s.* pl. viii. Nos. 5 and 8). Rings of ostrich bone (de struthionum ossibus ansulae in digitis) were sometimes worn as superstitious charms, and are condemned by St. Augustine accordingly (*De Doctr. Christ.* lib. ii. c. 20). On these various rings see Martigny, *Anneaux des prem. Chrét.* pp. 13–15, and his references: also Fortnum in *Arch. Journ.* vol. xxviii. pp. 267, 268, 284.

*Materials of Christian Rings.*

On the subject of material Mr. Fortnum observes that, "as a rule, early Christian rings of gold are rare. This might be expected, as the use of rich and numerous ornaments was not in accordance with the teaching of the early church." Notwithstanding this, however, a fair number of gold rings do occur. "The rule also of wearing one ring only, as a signet, instead of one on nearly every joint, as was mostly the fashion among the Pagans, would account for the comparative rarity of rings with early Christian symbols." (*Arch. Journ.* vol. xxvi. p. 139.)

Authentic early Christian rings in silver are perhaps even still more rare. A few are mentioned below. The most common material is, without doubt, bronze. A few of iron still survive, but, as might be expected, in a more or less damaged condition: two from Mr. Fortnum's collection are figured (Nos. 22 and 25). The writer has seen but one in lead, and that a miserable production in all respects, whose Christianity also is not entirely above suspicion (Waterton collection: see under *Cross* below).



(Fortnum, No. 2.)

It is but very rarely that the entire ring is made of a gem. A green jasper with uniform

flattened hoop and oval flat bezel, bearing a boat, a bird (cock ?), and palm-branch, as well as a cornelian of similar form bearing a dove and branch, have been already mentioned under GEMS, p. 715. Mr. Fortnum's figure (No. 2) of the former is now subjoined.

A few rings in bone or ivory, in addition to those mentioned above, are described below.

*Authorities for the following Enumeration of Christian Rings.*

The general enumeration of Christian rings which follows has been derived partly from the writers on the Catacombs, Aringhi, Boldetti, and Perret, also from the more critical works of MM. Martigny, Hübner, Le Blant, Salinas, De Rossi, and above all from the notices by Mr. Fortnum of those which are contained in various public collections, and in his own;[c] viz. in the Vatican Museum of Christian Antiquities, in the Museum at Naples, in the Castellani collection now in the British Museum, and in the Waterton collection which is now for the most part contained in the South Kensington Museum (*Arch. Journ.* xxviii. 1871, pp. 278–283). His own collection is described partly in vol. xxvi. (1869), pp. 137–147, and partly in vol. xxviii. pp. 268–277, and the later additions to it, pp. 284–291. The references to the numbers are as he gives them, and the descriptions of the gems in these collections are nearly in his own words.[d] Several other rings mentioned by him, whether in his own or in other collections, are also omitted, as possessing either no Christian characteristics or very doubtful ones. The same remark must be made of some of those figured by Perret and others.

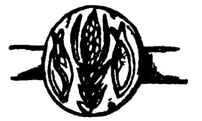
*Principal Types of Christian Rings.*

Clement of Alexandria enumerates the fish, the anchor, the ship, the dove, the lyre, and the fisherman as fitting objects to be employed on Christian seals. All these occur on gems and pastes (see GEMS, GLASS), and all except the lyre and the fisherman are also found upon rings of metal or of bone. These shall now be mentioned first; some remarks on the significance of the symbols may be seen under GEMS, and in Mr. Fortnum's two papers mentioned above. The arrangement of the other types is substantially that which has been followed in GEMS.

1. ORDINARY FINGER-RINGS.

(1.) *Fish.*—This type, so frequently found in gems, is found also on various metal rings. One of the earlier and more important examples has been recently described and figured by De Rossi. It is a plain uniform hoop of gold, the breadth rather more than ⅛ inch, diameter about 1 inch, in which a rude slender fish is depicted in white enamel placed between the second and third letters of ƆYΘX (for IXΘVC retrograde). Found near Rome; in the collection of Count Stroganoff. Referred to the third rather than the fourth century by M. de Rossi, who thinks that the sublinear form of the fish itself stands for the missing I (De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1873, pp. 76, 77, tav. iv. n. 6).

In the Naples Museum is contained a gold ring of simple form engraved with a fish. (No. 2 in Fortnum's enumeration.) A fine gold ring which seems to be more correctly referred by M. de Rossi to the 4th century (*Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1870, p. 63), than to the Merovingian period to which it has been assigned by M. Le Blant (*Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule*, tom. ii. p. 427, n. 608, with figure), was found in 1851 beside the Roman road at Montbazin, near Montpellier, now preserved in the Museum of the Archæological Society of that place, has a small fish, with a very forked tail, engraved upon the square elevated chaton; the hoop is slightly angular, swelling towards the shoulders with two cords, each terminating in a snake's head. The fabric appears to be Roman, and not Merovingian. In the Castellani collection (No. 9) is a bronze ring of coarse work, the bezel engraved with one large fish between three smaller ones. Mr. Fortnum has a bronze ring of coarse work, the circular hoop of which is surmounted by a flat circular bezel, on which is engraved (very incorrectly) an ear of corn between two fishes, which he regards as an "emblem of the bread of life, and of those who live in faith upon it" (No. 17).


(Fortnum, No. 17.)

(2.) *Anchor.*— The following are considered to be Christian by Mr. Fortnum: a gold ring, its flat band swelling towards the bezel, on which is a raised oval engraved with a simply formed anchor, Castellani collection, No. 1; now in the British Museum. (The genuineness of this ring seems somewhat doubtful: the work is rude.) A ring of duplex form, also of gold, engraved with an anchor and a palm (Naples Museum, No. 1). Bronze ring with circular bezel, on which an anchor and a ship are engraved (Vatican Museum, No. 2). Boldetti (*Cimit.* p. 502, No. 26) figures a ring with two bezels, on one of which is an anchor, on another a ship. (Reproduced in Martigny, *Dict.* s. v. *Anneaux.*) The following bronze rings have two anchors in conjunction: two are in Mr. Fortnum's collection. One (No. 13) is "formed as a circle of half-round metal, swelling on the shoulders, and having a circular raised chaton, on which is engraved a double fluked anchor, crossed by one of a single fluke and surrounded by a pearled border. From the catacombs at Rome." Another with the same types, less well preserved, obtained in London from a dealer, is in the possession of the writer. Mr. Fortnum notes that this emblem was in use previous to A.D. 312. Another (No. 21) has the face of the bezel


(Fortnum, No. 13.)

[c] Those only are here given which bear some probable outward sign of their Christianity. Thus the ring found in Rome reading XPωMATI may have belonged to a Christian whose name was Chromatius, this being known to be a Christian family name there, but as there is nothing Christian about the ring itself, it is omitted. See Fortnum, *Arch. Journ.* vol. xxvi. p. 141.

[d] Those in the British Museum, in the Waterton collection in the South Kensington Museum, and in Mr. Fortnum's collection, have been in most cases examined by the writer, and he has occasionally added remarks upon them. He desires to express his thanks to Mr. Franks, Mr. R. Soden Smith, and to Mr. Fortnum for facilities kindly given to inspect them.

similarly engraved, but the socket is inversely truncato-conical (nearly as No. 20), the cone being encircled by three projecting mouldings. Probably of the 4th century. Obtained in London; place of finding unknown.

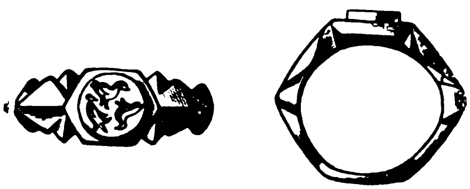
(3.) *Ship.*—Mr. Fortnum has a bronze ring with plain wire hoop (No. 14), on the circular chaton of which is rudely engraved a ship without sails; X and P (for XPICTOC) are engraved on either side of the mast. Obtained in Rome. The following in the Castellani Collection are also of bronze. One with corded hoop and circular bezel, engraved with a ship propelled with oars, the mast and yard of which form a cross (No. 6). Another of similar form, and of similar device; but the mast supports the reversed chrisma enclosed in a circle. (No. 7.) In the Waterton collection was formerly "a massive bronze signet ring, with ship in full sail, having the sacred monogram on the sail, while round it are the names STEPÆNVS HELENAE." Fortnum in *Arch. Journ.* vol. xxviii. (1871), pp. 274, 282.)



(Fortnum, No. 10.)

[See also *Anchor* and *Cross.*]

(4.) *Dove.*—This type occurs by itself, and also in various combinations. A massive bronze ring found in Rome, with scalloped bezel, bears on its face simply a dove (Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 502, n. 27). "A heavy bronze signet ring with massive hoop and projecting bezel, upon which is the figure of a dove; the hoop is modelled as a wreath, having the bezel as a central ornament," is in the Waterton collection, No. 3. (No. 605 in S. Kens. Mus. Inv.) In the Vatican Museum (No. 15) is a "bronze ring with large oblong square bezel," engraved with the chrisma and the dove standing on an olive-branch; beneath, a star or perhaps double cross. See *Cross.* A nearly similar ring is engraved and described by Aringhi, *Roma Subt.* t. ii. p. 708, reproduced



(Fortnum, No. 11.)

by De Corte, *Synt.* p. 121. In Mr. Fortnum's collection (No. 11) is a bronze ring of coarse work and hexagonal form externally, circular internally; the shoulders are "splayed from the chaton to the centre of either side." On the raised circular chaton "two doves and a fish" (rather three doves) are engraved. A gold ring found at Talavera de la Reina in Spain has a hexagonal bezel, bearing two birds, probably doves, on its face. "Intra hexagonum ab utraque parte avis est; in circuitu anticae inscriptio EMANVEL, posticae RECCAREΔO (*sic*)," the word *Reccaredo* being followed by a cross of four dots, evidently of the Visigothic period, possibly belonging to king Recaredo (585–601 A.D.). A ring (metal not named) found at Cordova in 1768, now in the public library of Madrid, bears a bird (dove?) on the chaton around which is inscribed A (Aurelii) VINCENTI (Hübner, *Inscr. Hisp. Christ.* Nos. 206, 207).

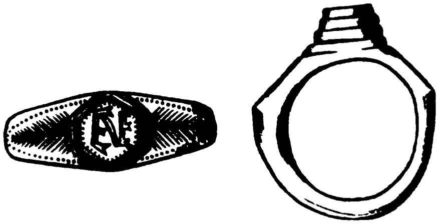
The above-named ring in the Vatican Museum is the most important, but not the only bronze example therein contained which is engraved with a dove. See under No. 18 of that collection. (Fortnum.)

See also below under *Human Figures.*

(5.) *Palm.*—The palm-branch occurs without doubt on Christian rings, but when alone it is not easy to be sure that the work is Christian. There are several gold rings in the Naples Museum, one of duplex form (No. 4), with a palm on each bezel, also a heavy plain gold ring, in the Castellani collection, round, with flattened bezel, coarsely engraved with the palm (No. 4), which is counted by Mr. Fortnum to be Christian, though with expression of doubt. A gold ring, half an inch in diameter, with thin flat hoop, and the bezel no wider, in which a palm-branch of poor Roman work in the Waterton collection (No. 467 Inv. S. Kensington Mus.) may probably be Christian. (See GEMS, Vol. I. p. 716.) There are other rings in Mr. Fortnum's collection (Nos. 8, 9 (both gold) and 12 (bronze), all from Rome), about which he now feels less confidence as respects their Christianity than formerly (*Arch. Journ.* vol. xxviii. p. 276). The former, found in a child's tomb, seems of the 3rd or 4th century; it is small, of a common form, viz., a simple hoop flattened out on the bezel. In the writer's opinion it is pro-

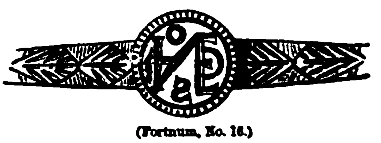


(Fortnum, No. 8.)



(Fortnum, No. 12.)

bably Christian; the palm, the symbol of victory, is less likely to be given to a pagan than to a Christian child by its parents. So very possibly is also No. 12, with bezel raised on four stages, and palm-branches on the shoulders, which seems rather later, perhaps about the beginning of the 5th century, when paganism was dying out and monograms were coming into fashion on rings and seals. (This monogram may be EVE and



(Fortnum, No. 16.)

stand for Evenus or some other proper name, doubtless that of the owner.) But a less doubtful example is a bronze ring, also in Mr. Fortnum's collection (No. 16), on the bezel of which is engraved a palm-branch and a monogram, having also palms in panels on the hoop. See

*Acclamations* below. Other bronze rings in the Vatican Museum, of less importance (Nos. 18–25), are engraved with the palm. It should be added that a silver ring with a palm-branch, which may be Christian, exists in the British Museum (Fortnum, *u. s.* vol. xxviii. p. 276). This material is but rarely employed for Christian rings. There is however another ring of the same metal in Mr. Fortnum's collection (No. 28) of duplex form with united pointed bezels, on one of which is engraved the name of the possessor FAVSTVS, and on the other a palm-branch. Weight, 4 dwt. 4 gr. Discovered in 1865 at Porto, near the Tiber's mouth, in the ruins of a house believed to be that of Pammachius, the friend of St. Jerome, among many other objects the greater part of which were adorned with Christian symbols. The excavations were made by Prince Torlonia, who presented most of the objects found there to the Christian museum of the Vatican.




(Fortnum, No. 28.)

But it is only when the palm is combined with Christian adjuncts upon rings that we can securely affirm them to be Christian.

There is a bronze hoop-ring in the Vatican collection (No. 14) engraved with a branch of palm, a cross potent (⊢┼⊣), and the word VIVAS. It occurs also in connexion with the chrisma, or more rarely with the anchor. See *Chrisma* and *Anchor*.

(6.) *Cross.*—This subject occurs under several different forms, and is either alone or in connexion with others. It was engraved as early as the fourth century on the iron ring of St. Macrina, which contained a piece of the true (?) cross; see below at the end of § 18.

### (A.) *Not accompanied by Inscriptions or Monograms.*

A bronze ring gilt with high inversely conical-truncate bezel (cf. No. 20 and 21 of Fortnum) is in the Vatican Museum (No. 17) engraved with a Maltese cross. (See also below, under *Lamb.*) A cross potent (*i.e.* having each limb formed as a T) in connexion with a palm, has been mentioned under *Palm.* (See also under *Saints.*)

The Greek cross is found on many rings under (B): also by itself on a very rude ring of lead in the Waterton collection (No. 1 being No. 607, 71 Inv. S. Kens. Mus.), supposed to be of the Roman period.

A Greek cross, crossed by another in form of St. Andrew's cross or the letter X, so as to resemble a star of eight points, is found upon the circular bezel of a coarse bronze ring in the Castellani collection (No. 11). (See also under *Dove.*) A similar figure occurs on a foot-shaped ring mentioned below.

The Latin cross, having the lowest limb longest, occurs on a ring supposed to be a marriage ring, mentioned below.

### (B.) *Accompanied by Names or Monograms.*

Of this class of rings we have the following Gaulish examples. A gold ring of the Merovingian type; on the bezel is a Greek cross at the head of the owner's name, BERTEILDIS retrograde (so that it would read naturally in a wax impression) and in the centre a monogram similar to one on a coin of Childeric II. (670–691) struck at Marseilles, and perhaps reading MAR for Marsilia (the low Latin form for *Massilia*). Probably found at Laon. (Le Blant, *u. s.* n. 678 A. pl. 91, n. 547.) A similar gold ring with similar cross prefixed to ABBONESO (retrograde); in the centre of the bezel is a rude head to the left. The diameter of the subcircular bezel of this and the foregoing is about half an inch. Found in Deuxième Aquitaine. (Le Blant, *u. s.* n. 575 A. pl. 79, n. 476.) A similar gold ring, with corded hoop, and somewhat larger pearled bezel, has a similar cross prefixed to RACNETHRAMNUS (retrograde): in the centre a rude Merovingian head as before, but accompanied by six pellets. Found at Blois in the sands of the Loire; now in the Bibliothèque Impériale (Nationale). (Le Blant, *u. s.* n. 164, pl. 22, n. 137.) A silver ring also of the Merovingian type, is supposed by M. Le Blant to be of the 7th century, having St. Andrew's cross (X) prefixed to WABVETVSVS, the last letter occupying the centre of the circular chaton. Found in the ancient cemetery of Haulchin (Hainaut), in Deuxième Belgique. Preserved in the Museum at Brussels. (Le Blant, *u. s.* n. 321, D. pl. 35, n. 216.) A bronze ring of this type, found in a sarcophagus at Allonnes (in Troisième Lyonnaise), has a cross approaching in form to the Maltese prefixed to LAVNOBERSA (not retrograde); within the centre of the circular minutely beaded chaton is a monogram enclosed in a circle; it is like the head of a trident, with two pellets above the cross-bar and two others below, possibly reading ET or TE. (Le Blant, *u. s.* n. 669 A. pl. 90, n. 535.) But the most interesting, because the most perplexing ring of this class, is a fine gold ring of Merovingian type with corded hoop, found buried at a slight depth near Airvault, in Deuxième Aquitaine, now in the possession of M. Benjamin Fillon. On the chaton is a small Greek cross, and above it an almost inextricable monogram which has been read RADEGONDIS, but which may equally well be read into several other names as Andregondis, Gondegardis, &c. The Abbé Auber regards it as the ring of the famous Rhadegonde, Queen of France, and afterwards foundress of the monastery of the Holy Cross at Poitiers, about the middle of the 6th century. But this is at any rate very uncertain, not to say improbable. Her body, resting at Poitiers, is said to have been taken up by the Huguenots in 1562, and her ring to have fallen into the possession of a soldier, on whose finger it was found seven years afterwards upon the field of battle. Unless this be the ring, it seems to be unknown where it is



(Le Blant.)

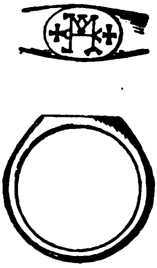


(Le Blant.)

now. (Le Blant, *u. s.* n. 575 B, who has many observations worthy to be read, pl. 75, n. 452; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Aug. 13.) A silver ring found at Hohberg, near Soleure in Switzerland, with broad angular hoop, has on the rectangular chatons (forming one of its sides), a monogram which apparently reads VERANI accompanied by a Latin cross. (Id. n. 362 A. pl. 42, n. 247.) Other rings, also found in Switzerland, bear monograms on the chaton, and may probably be Christian, but they bear no Christian symbols. (Id. Nos. 364, 365, pl. 42, 249, 250.)

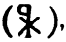
Examples occur also in Italy and elsewhere. In the Castellani collection (No. 2) is a heavy duplex ring of gold, found at Orvieto; on the oval bezel of one of the united hoops is incised the name BLITHIA, and on the other a cross potent above $\frac{\text{L—B}}{\text{A}}$, which is apparently an abbreviation of a proper name, probably of the same name, as Mr. Fortnum is inclined to suppose. In the Vatican Museum (No. 7-10) are three bronze hoop-rings, each engraved with a cross potent and with an inscription which Mr. Fortnum could not decipher; probably they were owners' names, and possibly expressed in monograms. In the British Museum is a silver ring on whose oval chaton (half an inch by about a quarter of an inch) is a cross pommé (*i.e.* having a globule at the extremity of each of the limbs, which are united in a Latin cross), followed by EVCE, below which is a B and an I above, probably for EVCEBIOY. The shoulders of the hoop are slightly foliated, as Roman rings often are.

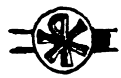
Mr. Fortnum purchased in Constantinople a gold ring of excellent Byzantine work (No. 24), probably of the 5th or 6th century. It is a circular convex hoop widening to the shoulders, and flattened to form an oval bezel, on which is engraved a monogram between two Greek crosses. The Waterton collection (S. Kens. Mus. Inv. No. 621) has a somewhat later example of Byzantine work. A gold ring the hoop of which is nielloed on the outside with a Latin cross, and the proper name of its possessor, BARINOTA (*i.e.* probably *Vari notarii*); the bezel is formed of a gold solidus of Constantine Pogonatus (668–688), and the ring also may very well be of the 7th century.



(Fortnum, No. 24.)

In the Royal Museum of Palermo (Salinas, *Real. Mus. di Pal.* p. 57, tav. A. n. 12) is a plain oval massive gold ring with small flat bezel, on which is engraved a Latin cross and below it, in four lines, ΕΥΦΥΜΗΟΥ ΥΠΤ, apparently for Εὐφημίου ὑπάτου. It is doubtless, as Salinas observes, of a base epoch, but may well be within our limits. The Hypati (*viri consulares*) and Notarii (*secretaries*) were high officers of the Byzantine court.

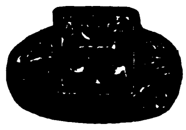
(7.) *Chrisma or Monogram of Christ or Initial Letters of Christ.*—The common form of this (), and also the form having the P reversed (), sometimes occurs by itself, as on bronze rings found in Rome. See Vatican collection (Nos. 15–25); Fortnum collection (Nos. 18, 19).[*] See also Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 502, tav. 3, Nos. 29 and 31. It occurs likewise in other metals. For the Castellani ring with cloisons of gold, see above. A ring of massive silver, or rather mixed metal, in the collection of Lady Londesborough (No. 183 of Mr. Crofton Croker's catalogue) bears on its ovato-acuminate bezel the ordinary form of the chrisma. (Fortnum, *u. s.* p. 283; figured in Jones's *Finger-ring Lore*, p. 47.)



(Fortnum, No. 19.)

The separate letters P and X occur on a bronze ring in the Vatican collection (No. 5). The chrisma is also frequently found along with the Alpha and Omega. In Mr. Fortnum's collection (No. 10) the chrisma occurs between those letters on a bronze ring, which is a "circular hoop of convex metal, swelling to the *scudo*, which is of lozenge shape," upon which the letters are engraved; "the shoulders are ornamented with lozenge-shaped panelling." From Rome, of the 4th or 5th century. (*Arch. Journ.* vol. xxvi. p. 143; vol. xxviii. p. 273.) Also on another bronze ring from Rome, in the Vatican collection (No. 16), as well as on a bone or ivory ring, having an oval bezel, in the same collection (No. 26).

The same combination is found on a bronze ring, whose figure is given, brought to Mr. Fortnum from Rome (No. 30); the loop of the P is reversed, and a sheep is standing on either side of the base of the monogram, the limbs of which are slightly wedge-shaped. The hoop, swelling to the shoulders, ornamented with palm-branches, is incised, traces of niello apparently remaining in the incisions, as well as in the incised types of the square chaton; these indicate that the ring was not intended for sealing.



(Fortnum, No. 30.)

The palm branch is placed on either side of the chrisma on more than one massive bronze ring found in the Catacombs of Rome (Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 502, Nos. 30 and 33). The chrisma is also found, though very rarely, with a date expressed by the name of the reigning emperor. There is an ivory ring, recently found at Lyons, of large size, on the circular bezel of which a chrisma with long stem and open loop is surrounded by VICTORE AVG. (he was associated as emperor in Gaul with Maximus, his father, A.D. 383–388). In the possession of Canon Martigny, who figures it (*Dict. des Ant. chrét.* ed. 2, s. v. *Anneaux*).

The chrisma whose stem ends in a star is found on a bronze ring in the Vatican Museum (No. 11), placed between two stars, a word of six letters (illegible) being underneath. The chrisma is also found in combination with *Alpha*

[*] Lord Braybrooke's collection contained "a slight bronze ring" (No. 49 of his Catalogue), which appears to have some form of the chrisma ("apparently a Christian monogram"); it is said to have been found in the Thames. Mr. Fortnum reasonably considers that it is probably early Christian (in *Arch. Journ.* vol. xxviii. p. 283).

*and Omega*, and with a *Ship*, with *Human Figures*, and with *Acclamations* (see under those headings). Mr. Fortnum remarks that this symbol alone or in combination is found more frequently on Christian rings than any other, but it cannot be considered as one of the earlier symbols.

The initials also of Jesus Christ (I X), or the first two letters of Christ (X P), occur alone or in combination with some other symbol. Mr. Fortnum has a gold triplex ring, found in Rome, and probably of the 3rd or 4th century (No. 1). The three hoops spring from one, and widen towards the bezel, between which a beaded wire nearly fills the open space, and is formed upon the bezel into X crossed by the I. The same form occurs on GEMS (p. 722), and appears to be of very early date, according to some before A.D. 312. (Fortnum, *u. s.* vol. xxviii. p. 269.)



(Fortnum, No. 1.)

The P X or X ꟼ, being the two first letters of XPICTOC likewise occur; P X alone on a bronze ring in the Vatican Museum (No. 5), and X ꟼ in conjunction with a ship. See *Ship*.

Mr. Fortnum figures a (so-called) legionary ring (No. 23, repeated in Jones's *Finger-ring Lore*, p. 47) on which we have the letters XIIXX preceded and followed by an M apparently; also the letters IXP, at some distance from these, which he interprets as "Christian," *i.e.* as the initials of Jesus Christ. It is rather to be suspected, however, that it is a numerical indication of some sort; whether P has any connexion with the *principes* or *pilani* or *praetoria cohors*, or be something altogether different, is not very easy to say. Perhaps an inspection of other legionary rings might help in the interpretation.

(8.) *Alpha and Omega.* This most ancient conjunction of Christian symbols occurs on a bronze ring, the hoop widening towards the bezel of which the margin is fluted; Catacombs of Rome (Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 502, tav. 3, n. 32; repeated by Martigny, *Dict.* s. v. *Anneaux*). The letters are more frequently accompanied by the Chrisma (see *Chrisma*).

(9.) *Abraxas.* This famous word, also written *Abrasax*, is said to have been the invention of Basilides, a Christian gnostic, but is very rarely found on any monuments where the Christianity is certain. We have, however, the following: "A large ivory ring, found at Arles," says Mr. King, "bears the monogram of Christ, between *α* and *ω*, as it appears on the coins of the Gallic princes of the 4th century, Magnentius and Decentius, but accompanied by the title ABPACAZ, a sufficient proof of the identity of the two personages in the estimation of its owner." (*Antique Gems*, p. 358.) He informs the writer that it was formerly in the Mertens-Schaffhausen collection.

(10.) *The Lamb.*—This occurs as the symbol of the Saviour and of the Church; it is sometimes in a manifestly Christian connexion; sometimes more doubtfully so. A silver ring with octagonal bezel, diameter 1 inch, engraved with the *Agnus Dei.* The lamb looks back at a cross, of which the upper part only is visible; seemingly of late work, but probably not too late for this work (Waterton's collection, No. 602, Inv. Kens. Mus., where it is called Roman early Christian, not mentioned by Fortnum). See also above under *Alpha and Omega* (Fortnum, No. 30), where the lambs or sheep at the foot of the chrisma signify the Church. There is a bronze signet ring in the Waterton collection (No. 4 being No. 604 Inv. Kens. Mus.), having the hoop formed as a wreath of palms, with oval bezel for the central ornament, bearing a lamb incised thereon. Above and in front of the lamb are two rude branches; Roman work but poor, considered both in the inventory and by Mr. Fortnum to be Christian.

(11.) *Lion, as the Evangelistic Symbol of St. Mark.*—On a small iron ring, with circular hoop, swelling to the chaton in Mr. Fortnum's collection (No. 25) is engraved a lion to the left in a crouching position. This ring, which he considers to be probably of the 6th century, was found in a Coptic village near the temple of Medinet Aboo, Thebes, whence the Christians were expelled by the Arabs in the 7th century. He plausibly regards the lion as referring to St. Mark's church at Alexandria. (See GEMS, p. 717, b).



(Fortnum, No. 25.)

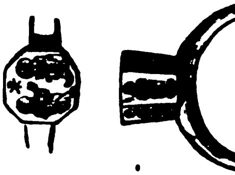
(12.) *Saints and Human Figures (busts or full length) with Christian Emblems.* — Under this section those rings which have heads only are not included. Most of the following seem to be representations of saints. In the Waterton collection (No. 6, Inv. No. 606) is a massive bronze ring, 1·2 inches in diameter, of rude work, perhaps Byzantine: the hoop is surmounted by a flat circular bezel, on which is engraved an orante with subcircular nimbus, a palm branch on either side; on the opposite side of the hoop is a smaller "tabular sigillum" engraved with a Greek cross.[f] In the same collection (Inv. No. 619) is a bronze ring, whose hoop does not swell towards the curved circular bezel: upon this is engraved in very poor style a rude bust of a saint, with an oval nimbus round the head. The labels announce it to be Byzantine work of about the 6th century. Diameter 0·9 inch. Another and rather smaller ring in the same collection (Inv. 608) of gold, with slender hoop not swelling at the shoulders, has the circular bezel engraved with the bust of a saint, with oval nimbus. On either side the head are the letters M A (for Maria ?). The style resembles the last; but the ring is probably at least as late as the 6th century; perhaps even too late for the present work. Mr. Fortnum has a bronze ring (No. 26), "a simple hoop, holding a square tabular chaton," on which is engraved a draped male figure with subcircular nimbus standing before a cross potent, which springs from what seems to be a cup with bosses, such as occur of glass in the catacombs. "Possibly Byzantine



(Fortnum, No. 26.)

[f] Mr. Fortnum mentions in the same place that the British Museum has a remarkable gold ring of analogous form, on one face of which are three interlaced triangles, and on the other intertwined circular lines leaving the form of a cross in the centre. These lines and others on

work of the 6th or 7th century; obtained in Athens." In the same collection is an iron ring (No. 22), of which metal very few rings have



(Fortnum. No. 22.)

survived in tolerable condition; on the flat raised octagonal bezel are engraved two figures, very probably intended, as Mr. Fortnum suggests, for SS. Peter and Paul (PETER AND PAUL, and MEDALS), the chrisma between their heads, while on the eight sides of the inversely truncato-conical socket or stem of bezel are engraved eight figures imperfectly preserved, probably saints. Perhaps of the 4th or 5th century (Mr. Fortnum assigns no date). Obtained in London, but probably of Italian work. The same collection in fine contains a bronze ring (No. 15), with rounded hoop slightly swelling to the shoulders, bearing a plain circular bezel, on which is engraved a female draped quite to the feet, having the chrisma (with loop reversed) on each side of the head, and a bird, probably a dove, on either side of her feet. Possibly an emblem of the church feeding her Jew and Gentile children. Found in the catacombs, probably that of St. Calixtus, and presented by Padre Garrucci to Mr. Fortnum: they assign it to the 4th century.



(Fortnum. No. 15.)

There are a few others of this class which seem rather too late for the present work. One in the Waterton collection (Inv. No. 629), gold with full-faced bust on the circular bezel, with a Greek cross and legend AVFRET, seemingly Anglo-Saxon work: it bears some resemblance to the unique aureus of Bishop Wulfred in the British Museum.

(13.) *Imperial Personages in connexion with Christianity.*—As in the analogous case of gems, these occur but rarely on rings. There is, however, a most important example in the Museum at Palermo, which has been well, though not fully, described and illustrated by Salinas and Ugdulena; and reproduced by a beautiful figure in gold and colours. It is, as the former observes, a veritable prodigy for the minuteness of the work in niello with which it is ornamented. The date and principal subject appear to be satisfactorily made out: viz., the espousals and coronation of the emperor Heraclius and his wife Eudocia (A.D. 610). It was found at Syracuse, along with coins of Constans II., the grandson of Eudocia, who transported the seat of empire thither, and died there in 668. The gold hoop is slender and octagonal, and bears upon seven of its flat sides as many scriptural subjects. Salinas interprets only the first and last. They appear to be as follows:—(1.) *The Annunciation.* The Virgin in dark dress holds a basket (calathus) and . . . . ?; the angel on the right in white (silver). (2.) *The Salutation.* Mary, as before, and Elizabeth, in a paler dress, kiss each other; they stand between two Greek crosses supported by a white (silver) pedestal. (3.) *The Infant Saviour at Bethlehem.* A cave? (darkish): the Infant stretched out above: the Virgin on the left; heads of two oxen (?) in the distance. (4.) *Adoration of the Magi.* Virgin, with circular nimbus, seated, bearing the Infant on her lap, on the left: the three Magi in truncated caps (like modern cylindrical hats, not Phrygian caps as on MEDALS), advance towards her. (5.) *The Baptism.* The Baptist, with nimbus, places his hands over the head of Jesus, with nimbus (?), who stands in the Jordan up to the middle; on the opposite bank two figures, apparently angels (mostly in silver). (6.) *Uncertain, perhaps Jesus brought before Pilate.* A figure with helmet and cuirass (?), is on the left; a figure with nimbus in the centre; another figure, not fully draped, on the left. (7.) *The Visit to the Sepulchre.* A subcylindrical structure with dome, on the summit of which is a cross; two female figures on the left, one in dark, one in pale dress: opposite on the other side of the tomb an angel in white (silver). The length occupied by these seven subjects is about three and a half inches; the breadth rather more than a quarter of an inch. The bezel is elevated about a quarter of an inch above the hoop; the socket is keeled, bearing on the upper part the following barbarously spelt legend, to which a Greek cross is prefixed: ΟϹ ϢΠΛΟΝ ЄΥΔΟΚΙΑϹ ЄϹΤЄΦΑΝΟϹΑϹ ΗΜΑϹ, nearly as Ps. v. 12 (LXX) where we have ὡς ὅπλῳ εὐδοκίας ἐστεφάνωσας ἡμᾶς. There is every likelihood that the Empress Eudocia is here enigmatically described; who, together with her husband Heraclius, are represented in white (silver) on the subcircular chaton, whose diameter is nearly half an inch; a dark figure with subcircular nimbus standing between them, which is doubtless intended for the Saviour, who occupies a similar position on coins of Romanus IV. and his wife Eudocia[§] (1067–1070), described and figured by Sabatier, *Mon. Byz.* vol. ii. p. 169, pl. l. n. 11. The espousal and coronation of Heraclius took place on the same day, so that this ring may be considered to commemorate both events (Salinas, *u. s.* pp. 57–59, tav. A. No. 1).

(14.) *Acclamations sometimes accompanied by Names and Portraits of the Owners.*—Several rings of bronze are engraved with the inscription VIVAS or IN DEO VIVAS, either at length (with slight variations) or in monogram, the chrisma being

the hoop are in niello. It is to be feared that this curious ring falls below our period; the simple triangle, however, occurs on various early monuments as an emblem of the Trinity. See TRIANGLE; TRINITY. Prebendary Walcott, however, observes that three interlacing triangles do occur in the 9th century (*Sacred Arch.* p. 254).

§ The writer must confess to having had a misgiving that this is the Eudocia of the ring; the nimbus of the Saviour, however, is different in the two cases; on the ring it seems to be simply subcircular; on the coin it is cruciform. The circumstances of the finding point strongly to Eudocia, wife of Heraclius.

sometimes added. One, in Mr. Fortnum's collection, finely preserved, found in one of the catacombs in the Via Appia at Rome, bears the chrisma and COSME VIVAS on the circular face of an inversely conical bezel (No. 20). Another in the Vatican has a square bezel inscribed

| VIVAS |
|---|
| IN DEO |

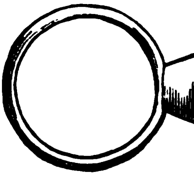
(No. 6). A similar one in the Waterton collection (No. 31). Another with ribbon hoop, with sessile square bezel and retrograde legend, mentioned by De Rossi as belonging to Sig. Castellani, has

| VIVAI |
|---|
| IN DEO |

(*Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1874, pp. 76–79, tav. ii., where the two following will also be found). The same inscription, but with DIO, on a similar ring, found at Chiusi: VIVAI is considered by De Rossi to stand for *vivat*. A label found near Modena has the face[b] inscribed with the same words in different order

| IN DEO |
|---|
| VIVAS |





(Fortnum, No. 20.)

A more interesting ring of octangular form in the Museum of the University of Perugia, reads round the right sides as follows:

☧ | SP | ES | IN | DE | OV | IV | AS. *Spes, in Deo vivas*, where Spes appears to be a proper name, as it certainly is in some other inscriptions. Mr. Fortnum has other bronze octagonal flat-banded rings (Nos. 3, 4) reading DONATE BIBAS (*i.e. vivas*) IN DEO, and V. I. V. I. N. D. E. O, both from Rome; probably of the 4th century. Mr. Fortnum has also a bronze ring with flat circular bezel and circular hoop, which is decorated with palm branches in lozenge-shaped panels; the monogram, deeply cut on the bezel, is rendered by the Chev. de Rossi, *Deus-Dona vivas in Deo;* Deus-dona, like Deusdedit, &c., being a proper name (that of the owner) and still surviving in the French Dieudonné, as Mr. Fortnum observes. Good work of the 4th century, found in Rome. The device on this ring (No. 16) figured above, and on another in the same collection (No. 20) described above, is reversed, as the rings are intended for signets.

There are also a few of gold bearing the same acclamation, the most important of these being found in 1860 near Masignano, in the archdeaconry of Fermo in central Italy in a tomb made of large slabs of stone, containing some bones of the deceased and fragments of gold. This splendid ring is of gold of duplex form, the united bezels being acutely ovate. On one is engraved the name FILINANDA (the two last letters each in a line by itself), and on the other are two lines VIVAS IN DEO followed by a star. Six beads meet the juncture of the bezels on each side; the hoop (rounded externally, plane internally) diminishes in width from the bezel. Weight, five and a-half pennyweights. Probably of the latter part of the 3rd or of the beginning of the 4th century. Formerly in the possession of Don Antonio Donati, late librarian of the college of the Sapienza at Rome, now in the collection of Mr. Fortnum (No. 27). See also *Palm*, where the inscription is simply VIVAS. A gold ring found at Caetobriga (Troye ?) in Lusitania, in the cabinet of the king of Portugal, of octagonal form, has on seven of the sides AL | OI | OS | AE | VI | VA | SIN, the eighth side being a monogram probably intended for *κυρίῳ* (hardly for *Christo*) Hübner, *Insc. Hisp. Christ.* n. 204. A gold ring found at Silchester about 1780 has the hoop formed into ten squares, in one of which is a rude head inscribed VENVS, and in the other SENECIANE VIVAS, followed by IINDE for *In Deo;* a pagan ring Christianized, see GEMS, p. 714, b. (*Archaeologia*, vol. viii. (1787), p. 449; Hübner, *Inscr. Brit.* p. 234, n. 1305.)[1] Other acclamations are more rarely met with. On the circular-oval bezel of a bronze ring in the Vatican (No. 12) are inscribed two words separated by a transverse line, which Mr. Soden Smith suggests may be read Κυριε Σωτερ. The Abbé Cochet has published a bronze ring, reading IN DI | NVMI | NE A, seemingly for *In Dei nomine. Amen* (Le Blant, *Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule*, tom. ii. p. 73). On an angular (semi-hexagonal) silver ring, with broad ribbon-hoop, we have on one side the name of the owner Leubacius in two lines

| LEVBA |
|---|
| C I V S |

and on part of the semicircular ribbon opposite a monogram with an I on each side of it, which has been supposed to read *In nomine Dei* (Le Blant, *u. s.* p. 561, n. 672 A, pl. 90, n. 538). A brass ring, found in Egypt, now preserved in the museum at Leyden, bears an inscription in two lines, ЄΙCΘ ☧ ЄΟC (εἷς θεός). The chrisma certifies the Christianity of the ring, which is doubtless of tolerably early date (Böckh, *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 9059).

(15.) *With Legends containing Profession of Faith by the Owners.*—A Roman gold thumb ring supposed by Hübner to be of the Christian period, found in 1823 near Castor in Norfolk, bears the legend CONSTANI (*sic*) FIDES, apparently for *Constanti fides* (*Archaeol.* vol. xxiii. (1831) p. 366, and vol. xxi. p. 547, with figure; Hübner, *Inscr. Brit.* n. 1301, who observes, "Similia etiam alibi reperta sunt"). The legend seems clearly intended to shew that its possessor was a Christian. This fact which is more fully expressed on the gold Saxon ring, now to be



(Fortnum, No. 27.)

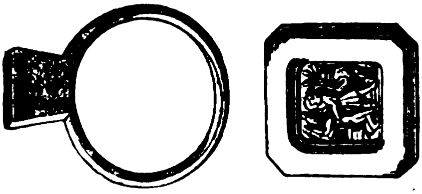
b It is called 'sigillo in bronzo,' and though about 3 inches long, seems to have been intended for the bezel of a ring.

[1] Two gold rings have been found in England, which Hübner and others regard as Christian or as "aevi Christiani;" one in Suffolk, reading ΟΛΥΜΠΕΙ ΖΗϹΑΙϹ (figured in Jones's *Finger-ring Lore*, p. 256), another found at Corbridge of beautiful pierced work, the letters being cut *à jour*, reading AEMILIA ZESES (described and figured in *Arch. Journ.* vii. p. 192; but see Mr. Fortnum's remarks on its age in vol. xxvi. p. 148). For these and other rings found in England which may probably be Christian, but which do not give clear signs of their Christianity, see Hübner, *Inscr. Brit.* p. 234.

described, whose workmanship, to judge from the figure, bears considerable resemblance to the coins of Offa, and may therefore probably be of or about the 8th century. The ring is of considerable thickness, the hoop being composed of beautiful chain or rather plait-work which encloses an oval-headed bezel nearly 1 inch by three-quarters, in the centre of which is a small bust with jewelled head-band or diadem, the collar being similarly ornamented; around it in letters evidently of early date, NOMEN EHLLA FID IN XPO (*Fides in Christo*). Found in a meadow at Bosington, Hants. Now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. (*Journ. Archaeol. Assoc.* vol. i. (1846) p. 341 (with fig.); Jones's *Finger-ring Lore*, p. 63 (same fig.).

To the above distinctly Christian subjects is to be added one taken from the Old Testament, which, however, was regarded as a typical representation of the great sacrifice of the death of Jesus Christ and of his resurrection following thereon.

(16.) *Sacrifice of Abraham.*—This subject, though found on various other works of Christian antiquity, is so rare upon metal rings that only a single example seems hitherto to have



(Fortnum, No. 29.)

occurred. In Mr. Fortnum's collection (No. 29) is a bronze ring with highly projecting bezel of square form; the hoop is a simple circle of angular projection externally. On the square face the subject is deeply engraved. In the centre is Abraham, holding a knife with point upwards in his right hand, and the head of Isaac, who kneels before the altar of piled wood, with his left. He seems suddenly to have caught sight of the ram, which stands below a tree. Between Abraham's head and the knife appears an uncertain object, which Mr. Fortnum with great probability explains to be the angel, but which Padre Garrucci suggests may be rays of light, symbol of the Divine voice restraining Abraham, and which the Chev. de Rossi thinks may be the volume of the prophetic Scriptures tied with a ribbon proclaiming to all generations that Abraham should be blessed in his posterity; but these explanations seem less probable.

Apart from these had better be described two other forms of rings: one in the shape of a foot the other of the common circular form, but in combination with a key.

(17.) *Foot-shaped Rings.*—The bezel sometimes assumes the form of the sole of the foot, or rather of the shoe; and the rings of this form appear to have been in most cases, if not all, used as signet-rings to indicate the possession of the things so sealed. Bronze rings of this form have been found in the Roman catacombs, either bearing the name of the owner, *e.g.* a massive ring, labelled IVSTVS accompanied by a star or double cross (Curt. *Synt. de Ant.* p. 398, from Aringhi, *R. S.* ii. 698), or having the chrisma with horizontal stroke at the top, and two pellets above and below, as one in the Kircherian Museum (Perret, *u. s.* pl. xi. n. 6), or as a larger one in the same Museum which reads SPES IN DEO (retrograde). (Perret, *u.s.* pl. xi. n. 5.)[j] See also De Rossi (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1874, p. 77, tav. ii. n. 5) for a fine similar example from Capena; and one in Mommsen, *Inscr. Reg. Neap.* n. 6310, § 290, now at Naples (apparently not retrograde). There is a foot-shaped ring in the Vatican Museum (No. 25); also another in the same Museum (No. 13), engraved with SAVIV, *i.e. vivas* (reversed), evidently intended for stamping. Mr. Fortnum has one "the bezel of which surmounts the swelling shoulders of a hoop of half-round wire, and is shaped as the sole of a shoe upon which is coarsely incised IN DEO with a continuous border-line of punctuations" (No. 31). He thinks that "this ring could hardly have been used for stamping or sealing, as the lettering reads rightly on the ring and would of course be inverted in the impression."



(Fortnum, No. 31.)

Mr. Fortnum observes that this is a form of ring previously and contemporaneously used by pagans, and that similar rings bearing names and words that cannot be assumed as Christian[k] are preserved in the Castellani, the Waterton, British Museum, and other collections.

The form of the foot is in allusion to the ancient adage of the jurists, "Quicquid pes tuus calcaverit tuum erit," on which Paul de Castro (lib. i. *De acq. vel. amitt. poss.*) writes: "Nota quod pedes sunt instrumentum aptum ad acquirendam possessionem naturalem:" see Pellicia, *de Eccl. Polit.* tom. iii. p. 227, quoted by Martigny, *Anneaux des prem. Chrét.* p. 38, also *Dict.* s. v. *Anneaux*. It is, however, just possible that such rings of this form as were not intended for sealing or stamping may have been symbolical of walking with God (IN DEO), and having attained the end of the pilgrimage in safety, as among the pagans votive images of feet expressed a safe return from a journey. See Martigny, *Dict.* s. v. *Plantes de Pied.*

(18.) *Rings with Key attached.*—This class of rings is by no means exclusively Christian; several without any emblems, and one having rudder between two ears of corn on the onyx chaton (see pp. 34, 35), are figured by Licetus (*de Anulis Ant.*) in the plate at the beginning

[j] In the Vatican Museum there is a stamp, formed as the sole of a shoe, of larger size than the rings of that form, which has the same legend, with letters reversed and incised. Fortnum in *Arch. Journ.* xxviii. (1871) p. 280. It may have been made for a ring.

[k] The large bronze ring engraved FORTVNIVS accompanied by an ivy leaf, figured by Boldetti (*Cimit.* p. 503 n. 38), and by Perret and Martigny after him, is in all likelihood Christian, having been found in the catacombs, but, like several others of the same class, has been omitted here.

of his work. (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.) They have been called by him and others *anuli ad claves* (*u. s. c.* xxix.), but whether this expression occurs in any ancient authors the writer cannot say. Some of these found in Holland as Lipsius observes, are of iron, and must, therefore, have been worn by slaves or common soldiers. (Excurs. B. ad Tac. *Ann.* ii.) Others, however, have been found in the catacombs, some of which Boldetti figures. (*Cimit.* p. 506, Nos. 36, 37.) Most of these have no Christian symbols; but Mr. Fortnum possesses a bronze finger-ring with key attached, of which a figure is given. "It is a simple hoop, the bezel of which is slightly raised and flattened, and from the side of which projects a small neck, attaching a circular table flattened towards the ring. This is pierced with a cross which is surrounded with a circular depression or bordering." The key opened the lock by lifting a latch. The cross he regards as a Christian emblem: but this can hardly be looked upon as certain. Obtained in Rome, and regarded by its possessor "as perhaps of the 4th century." (No. 32.) In the Vatican Museum is a similar ring, believed to have been found in the Catacombs. (No. 1.) Speaking of this kind of ring, Possidius (*Vit. Aug.* c. 24, in fine *operum ejus*), says that St. Augustine never wore them himself. "Domus ecclesiae curam omnemque substantiam ad vices clericis delegabat et credebat. Nunquam clavem, nunquam anulum in manu habens, sed ab eisdem domus praepositis cuncta et accepta et erogata notabantur." His signet ring (with profile portrait) mentioned below, he most probably did wear. Gregory the Great (see the references in Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 507) gave golden key-rings of this kind, which had touched the body of St. Peter, or in which a filing of his chain was inlaid, to princes as a species of relic, accompanied by his benediction. A beautiful gold key-ring, found near Bologna, may very possibly have been one of these. (Fortnum in *Arch. Journ.* vol. xxxiii. pp. 110–112 with fig.). Rings had indeed been already used as reliquaries.



(Fortnum, No. 32.)

Before this time Macrina, the sister of St. Gregory of Nyssa, had obtained a piece of the true cross, lately discovered by Helena, and had it inclosed beneath the bezel of an iron ring, on which a cross was also engraved: she wore it next her heart. (Greg. Nyss. *in Vita Macr.* in Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* vol. xlvi. p. 990.)

Another fine gold key-ring, with wards formed of nine Greek crosses, reading ACCIPE DVLCIS on the chaton, and MVLTIS ANNIS on the hoop, may have been meant for a new year's gift. (*Arch. Journ.* vol. xxix. p. 305.)

### 2. Royal Rings.

It is certain that official rings were in use from an early period among the Christian sovereigns of France. There were signet rings entrusted to the keeping of a high official, who in Merovingian times was called *Referendarius*, sometimes an ecclesiastic. Thus Sigebert the Second, king of Austasia (638–670), appointed St. Bonitus, bishop of Clermont, his referendarius, "anulo ex manu regis accepto" (*Vita S.* Boniti, 15 Jan.). Audoenus or Dado was the referendarius of Dagobert the Great, father of the above-named Sigebert, so called, as Aimo tells (*Eccl. Hist.* iv. 14), "quod ad eum omnes publicae deferrentur conscriptiones, ipseque eas annulo regis sive sigillo ab eo sibi commisso muniret seu formaret.' Audoenus was at this time probably a layman, but he became archbishop of Rouen in 640. [See Seals.][1]

### 3. Episcopal Rings in General; also Rings of Investiture and the Ring of the Fisherman.

That bishops, in common with other Christians, possessed rings in very early times, is easy to prove; but when the ring was first employed as a badge of their office it is more difficult to say. The earliest example now known of the possession of a ring by a bishop is probably that of Caius, bishop of Rome, 283–296. When his tomb was opened in the year 1622 there were found therein three coins of Diocletian, in whose reign he suffered martyrdom, and also his ring ("sanctissimi pontificis anulus adinventus est"), see Aringhi, *Rom. Subt.* lib. iv. c. 48, vol. ii. p. 426; Boldetti, *Cimit.* pp. 102, 103. It does not appear what has become of it. Eusebius, bishop of Rome, A.D. 310, is said to have borne the monogram of Christ on one side of the seal of his ring and that of his own name on the other. (Du Saussay, *Panopl. Episc.* p. 215.) In the Kensington Museum a ring (No. 7442 amongst the Waterton collection) is thus described:—"Ring, silver gilt. An episcopal ring, fluted shank, from which rises a long stem and collet, set with an antique paste. Third or fourth century. Found in Lombardy. Diameter $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch by $\frac{7}{8}$. Given by Sir James Hudson, K.C.B." It does not appear why the ring is even regarded as Christian, much less as episcopal. Possibly the circumstances of the discovery might throw light on this matter. The pale ground of paste is inlaid with eight red and blue triangular tessellae, also apparently of paste: they are not

[1] It does not appear that kings received rings at their coronation till after the time of Charlemagne. Nothing is said of the ring in the earliest coronation service known, that of Egbert, archbishop of York (732–767). See Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. ii. c. 10, Ordo i. But in Ordo iv. *Ad benedicendum regem Francorum*, a form is given for the delivery of the ring. This is described as *Ex MS. codice Ratoldi abbatis Corbeiensis*,' who may perhaps be the same as a writer of that name mentioned by Fabricius, supposed to be of the 10th century (*Bibl. Med. et Inf. Latin.*). It runs thus: "Accipe anulum signaculum videlicet sanctae fidei, soliditatem regni, augmentum potentiae per quae *scias* triumphali potentia hostes repellere, haereses destruere, subditos coadunare, et catholicae fidei perseverabilitate connecti. Per &c." The earliest French king who received episcopal coronation at all was Pepin, according to Martene; but we do not find that either he or Charlemagne received a ring thereat. The earliest (real or pretended) example of an English king receiving a ring at his consecration known to the writer is given in a *Vita et Passio S. Edmundi Regis*, printed in the Appendix to Batteley's *Antiq. S. Edmundi Burgi*, p. 119 sqq. where it is recorded of Offa, king of the East Angles (rather of the East Saxons), that he designated in 855 Edmund as his successor, "jussitque ut anulum suum sibi deferrent, quem acceperit ab episcopo in regni Estanglorum promotione." But the whole story seems to be apocryphal. See Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Nov. 20.

quite united, but resemble a star of eight rays.

St. Augustine had a signet-ring (anulus), "qui exprimit faciem hominis attendentis in latus," meaning apparently a head seen in profile. [GEMS, p. 719.] A letter of Clovis is addressed to the Gallican bishops, circa A.D. 511, in which he promises to recognise their letters as authentic, provided they were signed with their ring ("vestro anulo signatas"). (Greg. Turon. *Op.* Append. p. 1327, ed. Bened.; col. 1158, ed. Migne, Patrol. t. lxxi). The seals probably bore their names or monograms.

About the same time Avitus bishop of Vienne writes to his brother, Apollinaris bishop of Valentia, how he would wish his signet-ring to be made. The ring was to be of iron, not massive, formed of two dolphins, with their heads on the side opposite to the bezel, and their forked tails meeting each other around a double seal turning on two pivots; on one face, which was to be electrum (pale gold), his own name was to be engraved in monogram ("latitabunda"); on the other side, a bright green stone ("vernans lapillus"), his name was to be written in full ("publica"). Such at least appears to be the meaning of his directions, which are given as he says "paullo hilarius," but which might have been better described as "paullo obscurius."[m] Such monograms had become fashionable about this time, both in metal and in stone, on seals or on coins; and the passage of Symmachus, relating to the intricacy of his own monogram on his seal is sufficiently well known (lib. ii., epist. 12). Arnulphus, bishop of Metz, in A.D. 614, took for his seal a milk-white cornelian, bearing a fish with its head above the basket in which it is contained, on either side of which is a smaller fish, which was set in his (gold?) ring, a plain hoop widening towards the bezel, first figured in Martigny, *Dict.* s.v. *Anneau episcopal* (2nd ed.). It is now preserved in the cathedral at Metz. [GEMS, p. 714.] Ebresgilaus, bishop of Meaux in 660, wore in his ring an intaglio representing St. Paul the hermit (*ibid.* p. 719, b). Agilbert, bishop of Paris (666–680), was buried with a very large ring (thumb-ring?) set with an opaque figure, on which was represented St. Jerome beating his breast before a crucifix (*ibid.* p. 718).[n] The ring of Leodegar, bishop of Autun about A.D. 685, is mentioned by Du Saussay as existing in 1636 in the Royal Monastery of St. Victor in Paris. Unfortunately the *Martyrologium Gallicanum* which mentions it under his day (Oct. 2), as being in the monastery aforesaid, says nothing of its material or style, but only of its miraculous qualities: "cujus in aquam immersione miracula fere perennia eduntur; nam oculorum infirmitate laborantes consecratae aquae ipsius perfusione recuperant passim sanitatem."[o]

In our own country also rings have been found in the tomb of Birinus, bishop of Dorchester, who died 640 ("inventus quoque [in sepulchro] est anulus," Vit. S. Birini, incerto auctore in Surius *de Vitis Sanctorum*, Dec. 3, vol. vi. p. 220, Venet. 1681), and in that of St. John of Beverley who died in 721, when he was translated into a new shrine, circa A.D. 1037 (Dugdale, *Hist. of Coll. Ch. of Beverley*, p. 55 in Appendix to *Hist. of St. Paul's Cathedral*; R. C. Neville, *Lecture on Antiq. of Finger-rings*, p. 15, Saffr. Walden, 1856; Waterton in *Arch. Journ.* vol. xx. (1863), p. 225.[p]

[m] The text of this most difficult passage is:—"Signatorium igitur, quod pietas vestra non tam promittere quam offerre dignata est, in hunc modum fieri volo. Anulo ferreo et admodum tenui, velut concurrentibus in se delphinulis concludendo, sigilli duplicis forma geminis cardinulis inseratur. Quae ut libuerit vicissim, seu latitabunda, seu publica, obtutibus intuentium alterna vernantis lapilli vel electri pallentis fronte mutetur. Nec tamen talis electri, quale nuper, ut egomet hausi, in sancto ac sincerissimo impollutae manus nitore sordebat cui corruptam potius quam confectam, auri nondum fornace decocti crediderim inesse mixturam; vel illam certe, quam nuperrime rex Getarum (he is explained to be Alaricus, à Clodoveo prostratus), secuturae praesagam ruinae, monetis publicis adulterium firmantem mandaverat. Sed sit ejusmodi color, quem aequaliter ac modeste, ruborem ab auro, ab argento candorem, pretiositatem ab utroque, a caeteris rapientem fulgorem, artificiosa siquidem medioxima viroris commendat amoenitas. Si quaeras quid insculpendum sigillo; signum monogrammatis mei per gyrum scripti nominis legatur indicio. Medium porro annuli, ab ea parte qua volae clausae vicinabitur, delphinorum quorum superius capita descripsimus, caudae tenebunt. Quibus lapisculus ob hoc ipsum quaesitus, oblongus scilicet et acutis capitibus formatus, indetur. Ecce habes quoddam tantummodo speculum dogmatis exsequendi. Nec tamen amplitudinem elegantiae tuae sic ad memoratum exemplar coacto (leg. coarcto?), quasi liberum non sit addere quod videtur." Aviti Viennensis Epist. lxxviii. Apollinari episcopo (Migne, Patrol. Lat. t. lix. pp. 280, 281). M. Le Blant (*Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule*, tom. ii. p. 50) has ventured upon a translation or paraphrase, adding references to Sirmond and Canciani, and mentioning a Merovingian ring on which the name Aster is engraved in monogram and also in full.

[n] Du Saussay (*Panopl. Episc.* p. 1830) describes the setting thus:—"Encausto anulus in superiori parte circuli decoratur, eminetque e medio ejus vasculum falcatis quasi unguiculis evectum, quibus ipsa gemma stringitur; adeoque exquisito artificio fabrifactum opus est, ut vix elegantiori forma confectum aliud proferri possit."

[o] De Corte, *Syntagm. de Anulis*, pp. 168–78 has various notices of miraculous rings. Many will agree with him when he writes: "Et quis singulas salutarium annulorum virtutes caelitus adeptas in numerum coget ni lectori suo taedium parere gestiat? Abstineo igitur si unicum insuper . . . recensuero."

[p] There is a very early Saxon ring which may perhaps be the ring of Alhstan, bishop of Sherborne A.D. 824–867. If so it is just too late for this work, but the attribution is uncertain, the name being a common one. It reads ALHSTAN having a cross prefixed, on four round sides of a ring alternating with four lozenge-shaped sides on which fabulous animals are depicted. It is of gold and nielloed. It is now in the S. Kensington Museum, formerly in the Waterton collection. Figured in *Arch. Journ.* vol. xx. p. 26, the same figure being used for Jones's *Finger-ring Lore*, p. 62. It had been previously described and figured by the Rev. Dr. Pegge in *Archaeologia*, vol. iv. p. 47. Perhaps it should be added that when the tomb of bishop Cuthbert (died 686) was opened in 1537, a "massive gold ring, set with a sapphire *en cabochon*, was found on one of his fingers." But although the authentication of its discovery is undoubted, it is considered to be certain that it could never have been worn by St. Cuthbert, being apparently not older than the 14th century. Mr. Waterton thinks that it had probably belonged to one of the bishops of Durham, and had been placed where it was found on some occasion when the shrine was opened. He observes that it has been figured in the *Archaeol. Aeliana*, vol. ii. (N. S.), p. 66, and is now preserved in St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, near Durham,

It cannot be concluded from these literary notices that episcopal rings were of an ecclesiastical character properly so called, or different in any way from those which might have been used by persons who were not ecclesiastics. Nor does there appear to be any clear proof that such rings existed at all until the latter half of the 6th century.[q] From about that time forwards bishops at their consecration received a staff (baculus) and also a ring, symbolical of their office as bridegrooms of the church (anulus), and also as a mark of honour; but whether these were in all cases capable of being used as signet rings or not, it is difficult if not impossible to decide, from the imperfect nature of the evidence. In later times they certainly could not be so used. The earliest ecclesiastical writer who makes mention of such a ring seems to be St. Isidore of Seville,[r] who was bishop of that see from A.D. 595–633. In his second book of *Ecclesiastical Offices*, supposed to have been written about A.D. 610, he says: "Datur (episcopo dum consecratur) et anulus propter signum pontificalis honoris vel signaculum secretorum" (c. 5). The last words might appear to imply that this was a signet-ring.[s] David, bishop of Benevento in the time of Charlemagne, concludes a mandate as follows: "anulo sanctae nostrae ecclesiae firmavimus roborandum" (quoted from Ughelli in Mab. *de re Dipl.* ii. xv.), from which it would appear probable that the bishop's official ring went with the see. And upon the whole it seems most natural to conclude with Mr. Waterton that most if not all the episcopal rings earlier than the 11th century were also used as signets (*Arch. Journ.* vol. xx. p. 225). They would not only be employed for sealing a letter or an official document, of which instances have been given: but they were also used to seal up a box containing relics, when an altar was consecrated and the box placed thereon. (See Baronius s. a. 627 for the seal on the box containing, as it was supposed, the wood of the true cross, which was found unbroken, when Syroes, son of Chosroes, king of Persia, restored this relic to the Christians.) In some churches of Gaul and Spain the not uncommon but far from universal prohibition to baptise in Lent was enforced in the 7th century by the application of the bishop's seal (anulus, signaculum) to the gates of the baptistery, from the beginning of Lent till Easter, when baptisms were often celebrated in great numbers (*Concil. Tolet.* xvii. (694), De reg. fid. c. ii.; Sarnelli, *Di varie Sorte di Anelli, Lett. Eccles.* t. iii. p. 84, referred to in Martigny, *Dict.* s. v. *Anneaux*; Bingham, *Ant.* xi. 6, § 7, xxi. i. § 12).[t]

There are also other allusions to the official episcopal ring in the early part of the 7th century, which seem to carry it somewhat further back than themselves, probably into the preceding century. A letter of pope Boniface IV. read in the council of Rome (A.D. 610) says that "monachus nequaquam anulo pontificali subarrharentur," *i.e.* be elevated (as Augustine and Martin had been) to the episcopal rank, if the monastic life was an utter disqualification for the office (Coleti, *Concil.* t. vi. p. 1356). In the twenty-eighth canon of the fourth council of Toledo, held under the presidency of Isidore of Seville, A.D. 633) we read that "if a bishop, presbyter, or deacon be unjustly deposed, and in a subsequent synod be found innocent, he cannot be what he had previously been, unless he receive again the rank which he had lost from the hand of a bishop before the altar. If he have been a bishop, he must receive the stole (*orarium*), ring, and staff . . . and so the other minor

*Arch. Journ.* xx. 237, where much more information may be seen; see also A. Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, March 20. The stone bears no device, in conformity with the injunction of pope Innocent III. in 1194: "Anulus (episcopi) ex auro puro solide confectus palam habeat cum gemma in qua nihil sculpti esse debet" (Merati, ed. Gavanti, p. 1341). Duranti makes a similar remark (*de Rit. Eccl.* ii. 9, § 37). Accordingly many episcopal rings of the 13th century "were of very rude fashion . . . .; the stone set just as it was found, merely having the surface polished, and the shape of the bezel was adapted to the gem." Waterton, *u. s.* p. 227.

[q] Mr. O. Morgan (*Archaeologia*, vol. xxxvi. p. 393) argues from the silence of the Apostolical Constitutions which give minute directions for the consecration of bishops, that the ring was unknown (as a symbol of the episcopal office) at the time when they were written. This time, variously estimated, is most probably about the 4th century.—APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

[r] The Abbé (now Canon) Martigny, both in his *Anneaux chez les premiers Chrétiens* (pp. 44–46), and in both the editions of his *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* (s. v. *Anneau épiscopal*) has laboured to prove that St. Optatus, an African father of the latter part of the 4th century, distinctly mentions the episcopal ring, as belonging to the bishop's office. He so interprets the words of his first book, c. 10 (p. 37, ed. Albasp.) where he says that heretics have not the keys, which St. Peter alone received, nor the ring whereby it is written that the fountain is sealed (nec anulum quo legitur fons esse signatus). This passage has much perplexed the commentators, as may be seen in the various notes in the editions of Albaspinaeus p. 118, and of Migne (*Patrol.* t. xi. p. 902). But there is little doubt that Meric Casaubon has rightly judged that there is an allusion here to *Cant.* iv. 12, "A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed." If so the ring is no more a material ring than the keys; the passage is rather to be understood mystically of the gifts of the church (*de dotibus ecclesiae*) of which the episcopate is the custodian. Others, as Sarnelli (quoted by Martigny), understand Optatus to allude to the custom of sealing up the baptismal fonts with the bishop's seal in Lent (see below). "Mais de telles difficultés s'évanouissent devant cet autre texte du même docteur et du même livre: Le pontife porte l'anneau, afin qu'il connaisse qu'il est l'époux de son église, et que pour elle, à l'exemple du Christ, il sacrifie sa vie, s'il le faut" (*Dict. u. s.*) In his special work on Christian rings he quotes the original at length, understanding the last words to refer to the discipline of the secret: "Pontifex ergo anulum portat ut se sponsum ecclesiae agnoscat, et pro illa animam, si necesse fuerit, ponat; mysteria Scripturae à perfidis sigillet, secreta ecclesiae resignet." But no such passage occurs anywhere in Optatus, nor any passage at all like it. It is found verbatim in Honorius Augustodunensis, a writer of the 12th century, in his *Gemma animae*, lib. i. c. 216 (Migne, *Patrol.* t. clxxii. p. 609; Marriott, *Vest. Christ.* pp. 139–140).

[s] This inference however is made less certain by the allegorical expressions which follow. "Nam multa sunt quae carnalium minusque intelligentium sensibus occultantes sacerdotes quasi sub signaculo absconduut, ne indignis quibusque sacramenta [illegible] aperiantur."

[t] The practice is earlier than the date of the council: "ecclesiasticae consuetudinis ordo deposcit, ut ostia baptisterii in eodem die pontificali manu anulo assignata claudantur." Mr. Waterton (*u. s.*) appears to be in error in thinking that all this was in conformity with a decree of Pope Sergius I.: the council was held merely during his Pontificate (687–701).

orders are to receive, with a view to their restoration, what at the time of ordination they originally received. (Bruns, *Canon. Apost. et Concil. Vet.* vol. i. p. 231. Marriott's rendering is here followed, *Vest. Christ.* p. 75.) From these passages it is plain that before they were written bishops received a ring at their ordination. We have several ancient ordination services in which the delivery of the ring to the bishop is mentioned; and of these one, if not more, is probably somewhat earlier than the 7th century. The sacramentary of Gregory the Great, circa A.D. 590, as it stands in Muratori's edition, gives the following formula: *Ad anulum digito imponendum.* Accipe anulum fidei, scilicet signaculum, quatenus sponsam Dei, videlicet sanctam ecclesiam, intemerata fide ornatus illibate custodias. (*Sacramentarium Gregorianum de Officio Episcopi, in* Muratori, *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* t. ii. p. 442, Venet. 1748.) But in the edition of Angelo Rocca (quoted by Du Saussaye, *Panopl. Episcop.* p. 181) we read: "memor sponsionis et desponsationis ecclesiasticae, ut dilectionis Domini Dei tui, in die qua assecutus es hunc honorem cave ne obliviscaris illius. Accipe ergo anulum discretionis et honoris, fidei signum, ut quae signanda sint signes, et quae aperienda sunt prodas, quae liganda sunt liges, quae solvenda sunt solvas: utque credentibus per fidem baptismatis, lapsis autem sed poenitentibus per mysterium reconciliationis januas regni caelestis aperias; cunctis vero de thesauro Dominico, nova et vetera proferas, ut ad aeternam salutem omnibus consulas gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen." This last appears to be a later form or adaptation of the sacramentary which gave rise to the Ordo Romanus,[u] where a portion of the same words occurs (Martigny, *Anneaux chez les prem. Chrét.* p. 41). From these flowed a variety of formulae, one of the earliest being found in the pontifical of Ecgbert, Archbishop of York (732–766), where we read, "*Cum anulus datur haec oratio dicitur:* Accipe anulum pontificalis honoris, ut sis fidei integritate munitus. *Pontif. Egberti Eboracensis Episcopi in* Mart. *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. c. viii. art. xi. Ordo ii. We have also repetitions or variations thereof in several early mediaeval services for ordination, which in all cases appear, and in some instances are declared, to be derived from the Ordo Romanus. (See Martene *de Ant. Rit. Eccl.* lib. i. c. viii. art. xi.; Ordo iii., Ordo v., Ordo viii., Ordo ix., &c., Bassan. 1788.) Of the age of these rituals it is not easy to speak; but inasmuch as the manuscript of more than one of them is as early as the 10th or 11th century, it is not improbable that some of them may be as early as the time of Charlemagne. (See Waterton in *Arch. Journ.* xx. 1863, pp. 229, 230.) In the Missa Pontificalis (Ordo xviii.) of Illyricus, which he thought to have been in use in the West about the time of Gregory the Great, occurs this prayer: "Ad anulum; circumda Domine digitos meos virtute et decora sacrificatione." (Gerbert, *Vet. Liturg. Aluman.* tom. i. pp. 76, 255, 256, s. l. 1776. See also Martene, *u. s.* lib. i. c. iv. Art. xii. Ordo iv.) It is impossible to conjecture from these liturgical forms the material of the ring, and whether the ring had a gem or not, and if it had, whether the stone bore any device or not. These matters may for some time have been left indefinite; afterwards, as is well known, they were all definitely fixed. The Ordo Romanus and general usage in the Roman church afterwards places the ring on the fourth finger of the bishop's right hand. "Anulos ipsos non in sinistra poni oportet," says pope Gregory IV. (elected to the papal throne in 827), "nullius venae cordialis habita ratione, quae gentilitatem capere videretur; sed omnino in dextra tanquam digniore, qua sacrae benedictiones impenduntur; maxime quia ipsi pontifices, dum sacrificant, non nimium exercitas manus habent; et sic ipsorum tam summorum quam ceterorum pontificum consecrationibus dexterae signanter anulus imponitur" (*De Cultu Pontificum*, quoted in Martigny, *Anneaux*, &c. p. 40).

The earlier stages (if any) through which the episcopal ring, with its concomitant staff, passed before it was placed on the hands of the bishop-elect by the consecrating prelate, appear to be unknown before the time of Charlemagne. Perhaps it was not received at all before consecration.

A few words must now be said upon the history of episcopal investiture by the ring, the source of such deadly feuds between the popes and emperors in the 11th and 12th centuries.

*The Ring of Investiture.*—In the reign of Charlemagne commenced, according to the common story, the investiture by the ring and staff, an act of the civil power which entitled the bishop-elect to the possession of the temporalities of his see.[v] This privilege (among others with which we are not now concerned) was granted to him by pope Hadrian I. in gratitude for the services which Charles has rendered to the Holy See by expelling the Lombards from Italy. This fact is distinctly asserted not only by two of the best historians of the 12th century, Sigebert (*Chron.* s. a. mcxi.; see also Grat. *Dist.* lxxiii. c. 22, quoted in INVESTITURE), and by William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Reg. Angl.* lib. ii. § 202, p. 348, ed. Hardy), who puts the declaration to that effect, with express mention of the anulus et baculus, into the mouth of pope Gregory VI., but also by a bull of pope Leo VIII.

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[u] Probably a compilation of the 8th century. See ORDO. A critical edition of these early liturgical compositions, which differ much in different MSS., would be a great boon. See Palmer, *Orig. Liturg.* § vi. (Liturgy of Rome).

[v] Such is the conclusion of Kirchmann (*de Anulis*, c. 20, p. 211, Slesv. 1657), who has carefully investigated the subject. "Verum age, dicamus etiam," are his words, "de usu anulorum in episcoporum investituris; cujus moris ante Caroli M. tempora nullum reperio apud scriptores vestigium." De Corte accepts his conclusion, and indeed his very words. (Curtius, *Syntagma de Anulis*, pp. 372, 373, Antv. 1706.) So does also Mr. O. Morgan in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxvi. p. 395. Kirchmann quotes several writers later than those mentioned in the text, who agree in the view that investitures originated in the time of Charlemagne. Mosheim, *Ch. Hist.* cent. xi. part ii. c. 2, § 15 (note), says, "What king or emperor first introduced this custom of appointing prelates by delivery of staff and ring is very uncertain.' Adam of Bremen ascribes it to Louis le Débonnaire, the son of Charlemagne (814–840); Humbert to Otho the Great (936–973), to which latter view Mosheim is much inclined. Both writers are of the 11th century.

(963-965), written only about a century and a half after the death of Charlemagne, when Otho the Great, his patron, was on the throne. "Ad exemplum B. Hadriani apostolicae sedis antistitis, qui domino Carolo victoriosissimo regi Francorum et Longobardorum patriciatus dignitatem ac ordinationem apostolicae sedis et investituram episcoporum concessit, ego quoque Leo episcopus servus servorum Dei . . . concedimus atque largimur Othoni primo regi Teutonicorum," &c. (Grat. *Decr.* P. i. c. *In Synodo Distinct.* lxiii., whence Kirchmann *de Anulis*, pp. 212, 213; but the text is a little different in Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Leg.* tom. ii. B. p. 166 q. v.) It is only fair to say that attempts have been made recently to throw doubts on the genuineness of this bull. Dr. Pertz thinks that the document "seems to betray a later origin," but that the emperors at the time "really had the power here described" (Robertson, *Hist. Christ. Church*, book v. ch. v.). But the bull of a pope, reckoned by the ultra-Roman party as an anti-pope, offers no very tempting subject for a forger in the interest of the see of Rome.

Notwithstanding these and other respectable authorities, some distinguished writers have lately called in question the whole story as having been fabricated in the interest of Rome, and as being unknown in the age of Charlemagne.[w] The reader must of course form his own conclusion on this obscure matter, which could not properly have been passed over in the present article.

It must be added, in concluding this division of the subject, that the episcopal ring is unknown to the Greek and Oriental churches.

*The Fisherman's Ring.*—The ring of the fisherman, now made of gold, and having a representation of St. Peter in a boat fishing, with the name of the reigning pope around it, which (says Mr. Waterton) "may be called the papal ring of investiture, being placed on the newly elected pope's finger by the Cardinal Camerlengo immediately after a successful counting of votes has been arrived at by the conclave," belongs, as it would seem, to rather a late mediaeval period. It has been stated, indeed, by Rebuffus, quoted by Longi *de Anulis*, p. 93) and by Bongratia, quoted by Heineccius (*de Sigillis*, p. 28), that St. Peter himself made use of this ring; but who believes this, asks Heineccius, but Bongratia and the like of him? Mabillon (*de Re Dipl.* lib. ii. c. 14, § 11) did not know of any evidence that this ring was employed before the 13th century. Mr. Waterton, in his valuable memoir "On the Ring of the Fisherman" (*Archaeologia*, vol. xi. p. 138, 1856), believes that the first mention of it occurs in a letter of Pope Clement IV. to his nephew Peter Grossi, in 1265, in which he says "Saluta matrem et fratres; non scribimus tibi neque familiaribus nostris sub bulla, sed sub Piscatoris sigillo, quo Romani pontifices in suis secretis utuntur" (Masson, *in Vita*).[x] Hence," he says, "it may be inferred that the popes had already, and *for some time past*, used this device as a seal, but only for their private letters. Martin V. elected in 1417, issued three briefs, all *sub anulo Piscatoris*, in the year 1426. For further information on this matter down to our own times, see Waterton (*u. s.* pp. 138-142); and O. Morgan (*u. s.* p. 398).

[w] See Robertson, *Hist. Chr. Church*, book iv. c. vi. (in fine), and INVESTITURE in this Dictionary. The alleged silence of the Caroline Capitularies, it has been said, "seems conclusive" against it. The silence, however, of Alcuin, Amalarius, and Rabanus Maurus has been similarly urged, according to Martigny, as throwing doubt on the existence of the episcopal ring in the 9th century, which has been clearly shown to have been in use for some time earlier. (See Martigny, *Dict.* s. v. *Anneau épiscopal.*)

[x] This is the earliest passage quoted by Mabillon for its use (*u. s.*); and from him it is doubtless derived by Mr. Waterton. See also Heineccius, *u. s.* p. 148.

### 4. ESPOUSAL AND MARRIAGE RINGS.

The early Christians employed the ring in espousals, but seemingly not, as now, in the solemnity of marriage itself. "This was an innocent ceremony," says Bingham, who refers to Selden, *Uxor Hebr.* lib. ii. c. 14 and c. 25, "used by the Romans before the times of Christianity, and in some measure admitted by the Jews, whence it was adopted among the Christian rites of espousal without any opposition or contradiction" (*Antiq. of Christian Church*, book xxii. c. 3, § 5). Tertullian speaks of its use among the heathen as harmless, at which Christians could take no offence, and might therefore be present at the ceremonial of espousals as well as at some others. But it would rather seem from his language that it had not yet been adopted by the Christians of Carthage: "eas (solemnitates) mundas esse opinor per semetipsas: quia neque vestitus virilis, neque anulus (sponsalium sc.; see the words preceding), aut conjunctio maritalis de alicujus idoli honore descendit" (*De Idolol.* c. 16). He commends the ancient Romans for teaching women modesty and sobriety, to whom no other wearing of gold was permitted save on the finger, on which the "anulus pronubus" had been placed (*Apol.* c. 6). The espousal ring, however, was not always of gold, nor did it always bear a device. "Etiam nunc sponsae anulus ferreus mittitur, isque sine gemma" (Plin. *N. H.* xxxiii. 1). Yet pagan rings sometimes bore joined hands as a device (Pignor. *Epist.* 19); such were also common in Italy in the 16th century, and called *una fede*, but became obsolete shortly afterwards. "Id genus anulorum vulgo nuncupatum est fides," says Licetus *de Anulis*, p. 48: but he mentions no such Christian rings before the time of pope Nicolas I. It is evident, however, from the words of Clement of Alexandria that Christian women, while they were bound to keep the wearing of gold within reasonable limits, were permitted, or rather enjoined, to wear one gold ring, as a seal upon their husband's goods, seeing that upon them the care and safe keeping of the house devolved. This also proves that the wife's ring bore a device. The use of a ring as a signet for safety is the only one of which this father approves; all other rings, he says, are to be eschewed (*Paed.* lib. iii. c. xi. p. 243 and p. 246, Sylb.). Whether this ring had been given her as "anulus pronubus" does not clearly appear. But it would seem probable that the ring of espousals was employed in Christian rites in the time of St. Agnes, who suffered martyrdom soon after the beginning of the persecution of Diocletian,

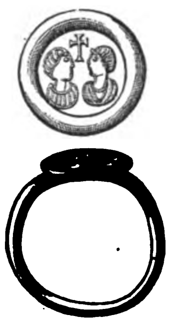
A.D. 303. When solicited in marriage by a noble youth, she replied that she was already pre-occupied by another lover (*i.e.* Jesus Christ), "qui . . . anulo fidei suae subarrhavit me, longe te nobilior et genere et dignitate" (Pseudo-Ambros. *Epist.* 1). The same thing is rendered more evident still from the expressions of St. Peter Chrysologus (made bishop of Ravenna in 433), who, alluding to the father's putting a ring on the finger of the returning prodigal, not only calls it "anulum honoris . . . insigne Spiritus pignus, signaculum fidei" (these and like expressions occur also in other writers, see De Corte, *Synt.* p. 79), but "arrham coelestium nuptiarum" (*Serm.* v.) Asterius, bishop of Amasia in Pontus, who flourished about the year 400, makes direct allusions to the pre-nuptial ceremonies among Christians, and although he does not directly mention the ring, there is little doubt that it was employed, in accordance with Roman usage, when the dowry was agreed upon. "Wilt thou make void (he asks) the agreements (ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ) which thou settedst down with a view to marriage . . . . I mean the dowry which was there covenanted (τῆς προῖκὸς τῆς συγγραφείσης ἐνταῦθα)?" (Aster. *Homil.* in Matth. xix. 3, ed. Combef. p. 81 D, Paris, 1648). We have an actual example of the giving of the espousal ring recorded by Gregory of Tours, in a work written between 590 and 595, referring to somewhat earlier times than his own. Speaking of St. Leobardus (who afterwards retired to a monastery) he says: "Denique dato sponsae anulo, porrigit osculum, praebet calceamentum, celebrat sponsalium diem fastum" (*Vit. Patr.* c. 20). Yet it is not easy to name any author earlier than Isidore of Seville, who succeeded to the archbishopric of that place in 595, from whom we can obtain a distinct attestation that the ring was regularly used in Christian espousals. "The ring (says he) is given by the espouser to the espoused (à sponso sponsae) either for a sign of mutual fidelity or still more to join their hearts by this pledge; and therefore the ring is placed on the fourth finger because a certain vein, it is said (see Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* x. 10), flows thence to the heart" (Isid. Hisp. *de Eccles. Off.* ii. 20). During the whole period with which we are concerned the ring seems to have been used in espousals only, and never in the actual marriage ceremony itself. For pope Nicolas I., writing so late as 860 in reply to the Bulgarians, says: "We will try to shew you the usage, which the holy Roman church received anciently, and which the church holds up to this time in unions of this kind. . . . After the espousals, which are the promised covenants of future marriage, made by mutual consent . . . and after the espouser has engaged to himself by a pledge (arrhis) his espoused by decorating her finger with a ring of fidelity . . . both are led shortly afterwards or at some convenient time to the performance of the marriage covenant. And first they are placed in the church, bringing offerings which they ought to offer to God by the hands of his priest, and then they receive the benediction and the heavenly veil" (Nicol. I. *Respons. ad Consult. Bulg.* c. 3; in Coleti, *Concil.* t. ix. pp. 1535, 6).[y]

*Examples of Espousal or Marriage Rings.*—The following rings bear every appearance of having served matrimonial purposes. In Spon's *Recherches curieuses d'Antiquité*, Lyon, 1683, the *Dixième Dissertation* is a letter from de Peiresc to Holstenius in 1619. De Peiresc bought at Arles a gold ring, weighing about an ounce, recently disinterred, on which was engraved a face of rather rude execution with the inscription around: "+ TECLA SEGELLA, le tout dans une plaque d'or environnée de quelques enrichissements de feuillages et godrons; dans le vuide desquels est écrit + TECLA VIVAT DEO CVM MARITO SEO (sic); à l'opposite du cercle de cette bague, on y voit un petit ovale avec les lettres dedans RA'TE" (p. 169).

Peiresc observes that the cross and the diction shew the ring to be Christian: SEO for SVO he notes as a not uncommon form in the 4th and 5th centuries; and more common still in later ones. He regards it as an *anulus pronubus.* He does not explain SEGELLA: and proposes very doubtfully *arra genialis* as the explanation of RA'TE. The former may possibly be for *Teclae* (*i.e.* Theclae?) *sigillum.* Other rings have been found in France which appear to be Christian and to have been used in espousals; *e.g.* a gold ring, duplex, hoop-wire of light fabric swelling towards the united oval bezels, which have a line of beads from them on either side: one of them bears the name BAVBVLFVS, the last three letters written in a line above; the other has HARICVBA, the last letter written above. It is regarded as a Christian marriage ring by M. Le Blant who figures it (*Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule*, n. 337, pl. 36, n. 221), and by Canon Martigny (*Anneau chez les prem. Chrét.* p. 12). There is, however,

[y] Riddle (*Christ. Ant.* p. 714 note) says that Calvoer (*Rituale Eccl.*) traces the origin of the marriage ring to the 10th century. He supposes it to have been introduced in imitation of the ring worn by bishops. Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* (lib. i. c. ix. art. 5) gives several *ordines* for marriage. The ring is not mentioned in the earliest (Ordo i.) the *Missale Gelasianum*, printed from a MS. of the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century: it occurs, however, in a *Missale Redonense* (Ordo ii.), printed from a MS. about 200 years later, where we have *Benedictio super anulum* in these words: Creator et conservator humani generis, dator aeternae salutis, omnipotens Deus, tu permitte Spiritum Sanctum Paraclitum super hunc anulum. Per, &c. Also in another form (idem Ordo) thus: Benedic, Domine, anulum istum, ut in ejus figura pudicitiam custodiant. Per, &c. We likewise find the ring, which is sometimes said to be a silver and sometimes a gold ring, in almost all the marriage services taken from still later MSS. (Ordo iii. iv. vi. vii. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. &c.). There are two rings mentioned in the *Euchologia* of the Greeks; the priest gives a gold ring to the bridegroom and a silver ring to the bride with various ceremonies and a long prayer afterwards (Ordo xvi.) See also Pellicia, *In Eccl. Pol.* vi. 1, 3. It is needless to do more than allude to the assertion or tradition that Joseph gave the Virgin Mary first an espousal ring and afterwards a marriage ring (Martene, *l. c.*). J. B. Lauri published in 1622 a work entitled *De Anulo pronubo Deiparae Virginis*, and from this work is derived the account given in Dr. John Patrick's *Reflections upon the Devotions of the Roman Church*, pp. 45 60, Lond. 1686 (ed. 2 without his name); see also G. Longi *de anulis*, p. 7, Lugd. Bat. 1672. This ring, o a well-known type of later Roman times, is preserved at Perugia. There is, however, another which passes under the same name in the church of St. Anne at Rome (Du Saussay, *Panopl. episc.* p. 192). See Martigny, *Dict.* s. v. *Anneaux*, and Fortnum in *Academy*, vol. x. p. 605 (1876).

nc external sign of its Christianity, but it is very similar in structure to Fortnum, No. 27, which is certainly Christian. Probably rather of the 4th century than of the Merovingian age, to which M. Le Blant refers it: said to have been found at Vitry-le-François, now in the Cabinet des Médailles. Another gold ring, also considered to be Christian, is figured and described by Le Blant (*u. s.* n. 669 B, pl. 90, Nos. 534, 536). It was found near Mulsane, and is of late work; two sides of its raised oblong chaton are inscribed with the names DROMACI | VS BETTA in niello, while on the face are engraved a man and a woman standing; the flattened wire-like hoop is corded at intervals. Probably too late to be Pagan.* But Mr. Fortnum possesses a gold ring (No. 33), undoubtedly Christian, which he regards as matrimonial, of Byzantine character, like the coins of the 5th century The hoop, flat inside, angular externally, bears a circular button-like bezel, on the face of which a male and female bust are opposed, above them there is a Latin cross, the limbs being slightly wedge-shaped. Weight 3⅝ dwts. Obtained from Athens. Another similar, but finer example, octagonal, with decorated panels, is given in *Arch. Journ.* (vol. xxi. p. 311). See *Arch. Journ.* (vol. vii. p. 191), for a Roman ring found in Durham with similar types, but without any Christian emblem. There are in fine certain gems, set in rings, bearing an anchor from whose arms hang two fishes (GEMS, p. 714, b; see also Gorl. *Dactyl.* ii. n. 564, ed. Gronov.); and Canon Martigny, who has received and figured an example bought from Alexandria (*Dict.* s. v. *Anneaux*, 2nd ed.) regards these "anneaux et pierres annulaires" as "bagues nuptiales." They appear to be of the 4th and 5th centuries. His speculation, if uncertain, is at least ingenious.



(Fortnum, No. 33.)

(The following are the principal works on rings in general, in all which Christian rings are mentioned incidentally. Kornmann *de Anulo triplici*, Franc. 1610 (often reprinted); Licetus *de Anulis antiquis*, Utin. 1645; Kirchmann *de Anulis*, Slesv. 1657; G. Longus *de Anulis*, Lugd. Bat. 1672; Gorlaeus, *Dactyliotheca*, cum expl. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1695; Curtius (De Corte), *Syntagma de Anulis*, Antv. 1706. For Christian rings in particular we have Martigny, *Des Anneaux chez les premiers Chrétiens, et de l'Anneau épiscopal en particulier*, Mâcon, 1858; see also his *Dict. des Ant. chrét.* (ed. 2). Various papers in the *Archaeologia* and in the *Archaeological Journal* by Messrs. Waterton, Octavius Morgan and Fortnum, referred to above.)

The last named gentleman has most liberally placed at the disposal of the writer the engravings used in illustration of his valuable papers on *Early Christian Finger-rings*, published in the *Archaeological Journal* for 1869 and 1871. Some of them are also reproduced in Jones's *Finger-ring Lore*, pp. 47–49, 268-273 (Lond. 1877). [C. B.]

* But Mr. Fortnum, who has a photograph, thinks that the figures have masks, and that they represent actors in a play.

**RIPSIMIA**, Sept. 30, virgin martyr in Armenia, under Tiridates (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

**RITUALE.** This word is commonly applied to the collection of ritual directions for the various offices drawn up, in accordance with the directions of the council of Trent, by pope Paul V. in 1614. It has sometimes been supposed that the "Libellus officialis" of iv. Tolet. c. 26, was a ritual book, but this does not seem probable. [OFFICIALIS LIBER; ORDO.] [C.]

**RIVERS, THE FOUR.** [FOUR RIVERS.]

**ROBBER-SYNOD.** [EPHESUS (6), p. 615.]

**ROGATIANUS (1)**, May 24, martyr; commemorated at Nantes (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Wandalb.).

(2) Oct. 26, presbyter and martyr; commemorated in Africa (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**ROGATION DAYS.** The procession on the three days before Ascension Day was instituted by Mamertus, bishop of Vienne in Dauphiné, A.D. 452, when that city was greatly injured by earthquakes, and the royal palace destroyed by lightning. It became an annual observance, and other bishops, moved by the visible blessing which attended it, followed the example of Vienne (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 34; Avit. *Hom. de Rogat.*; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lix. 201; Sidonius, *Epist.* v. 14). Whether his procession was really earlier than the Roman rite of April 25 [PROCESSIONS], it is impossible to decide. Mamertus, at all events, instituted "orandi modum, edendi seriem, erogandi hilarem dispensationem" (Greg. Tur.), which suited the temper of his countrymen, and became a widely spread and enduring observance. In 511 it was enforced by the council of Orleans: "Ab omnibus ecclesiis placuit celebrari" (can. 27). In England the council of Cloveshoo, 747, orders the observance of these rogation days, "secundem morem priorum nostrorum" (can. 16). The council of Mayence in 813 made the following decree, which can hardly refer to any other rogations than those before Holy Thursday: "It hath seemed good to us that the greater litany be observed by all Christians on three days, as we find in our reading to have been done, and as our holy fathers instituted, not on horseback, nor in costly garments, but with bare feet, and in sackcloth and ashes, unless sickness shall hinder" (can. 33; comp. Sidonius, *Ep.* v. 7, "Incedunt . . . castorinati ad laetanias"). Herard, 858: "De diebus rogationum, ut reverenter ac studiose absque turpibus jocis et verbis celebrentur" (*Capit.* 94). These rogations were not received at Rome until the time of Leo III. (A.D. 795), who ordered that on the Monday "the pontiff, with all the clergy and all the people, should go forth from the church of the Mother of God, and proceed to the manger at the Church of the Saviour, which is called the Constantinian, with hymns and spiritual songs;" on Tuesday from

St. Sabina to St. Paul, and Wednesday from the Church of Jerusalem to St. Lawrence without the walls (*Liber Pontif.* n. 98).

Gregory of Tours, as above cited, does not tell us that the "orandi modus" instituted by Mamertus included a procession, but we learn that it did from an incidental notice of the rogation days by the same author in *Hist. Franc.* ix. 6: "In these days the public rogations were celebrated, which are wont to be performed before the holy day of the Lord's Ascension. But it came to pass that while Raguemodus, the bishop (of Paris) was in procession with his people, and perambulating the holy places," &c. So Fortunatus in his *Life of Germanus*, who died in 576, some thirty years before his biographer, telling the story of a blind woman, "not able to go with the people at the time of the Litanies," says that "hearing the choir of the psalm-singers she implores the help of the lord Germanus with tears." After a vision she recovers her sight; and when the day dawns she "goes forth to mass with the people in the procession" (c. 33).

The Luxeuil lectionary gives proper lessons for these days at matins, terce, sext, and none (*Lit. Gall.* 149). One prophecy and three gospels are also appointed, "in letanias legenda," in the sacramentary of Besançon (*Mus. Ital.* i. 334). "Collectiones in rogationibus per diversa loca sanctorum," *i.e.* to be said at the several churches or shrines at which the procession stopped, occur in the Gothico-Gallican Missal (*Lit. Gall.* 266), and the Missale Gallicanum Vetus (376). The former also gives proper missae for each day (263–266); the latter part of a missa, headed "Incipit missa in Rogationibus" (377), which breaks off in the middle of the contestation. The heading implies that there was only one. There is only one in the Besançon rite (*Mus. Ital.* i. 335). Several early sermons preached on these occasions are extant, viz. two by Caesarius of Arles, A.D. 502 (*De Letania*, I. ii. in Append. ad *Opp.* Augustin. *SS.* 173, 174, ed. Ben.), one by an unknown bishop (*ibid. Serm.* 135), two entire by Avitus of Vienne, A.D. 490 (*Opp.* Av. 291, 296, Migne, lix.), and several fragments by the same author (303, 306, 310, 319, 322, &c.). [W. E. S.]

ROGATUS, Aug. 17, monk and martyr; commemorated in Africa (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker.). [C. H.]

ROMANUS (1), Feb. 28, abbat; commemorated in Mount Jura (*Mart.* Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 737).

(2) Aug. 9, soldier and martyr; commemorated at Rome (*Mart.* Usuard., Bed., *Vet. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 408).

(3) Nov. 18, monk and martyr; commemorated at Antioch (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, *Syriac*, Flor.; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Basil. *Menol.* i. 196); a church called after him was erected by Helena at Constantinople (Codinus *de Aedif. C.P.* p. 98, ed. Bonn, 1843; Du Cange, *Cpolis. Christ.* 92).

(4) Nov. 24, presbyter and confessor; commemorated at Blaye (*Mart.* Usuard., Wandalb.). [C. H.]

ROME, COUNCILS OF. Some preliminary remarks on these councils are necessary, from the prominent, yet constantly changing, position occupied by the see of Rome, from early times downwards, in the affairs of the church. First, whether from design or accident, their records have been about the worst preserved of any, the only voucher for the earliest being the *Lib. Synodicus* or *Synodicon*, by a Greek writer with Latin sympathies, in the 9th century, which, even if it can be trusted, is full of mistakes; and but incidental references in St. Cyprian, Eusebius, Rufinus, St. Jerome, or St. Augustine for the next early. Was it that their proceedings were so trivial, or of so little interest to the world in general, as to be not worth recording? or was it that they witnessed to a state of things which a later age may have wished forgotten? Secondly —whether from design or accident—there have been more synods alleged to have been held at Rome confessedly or probably spurious, than in all the rest of the world put together, their characteristic being that they have been forged in the papal interest directly, which is also the characteristic of a good many more fabled to have been held elsewhere. It may suffice to instance the three Roman synods under pope Silvester, as they are called (Mansi, ii. 551–4, 615–34, and 1081–4) of the first kind; the alleged canons and synodical letter of the genuine (*ibid.* 469–77), with the canons of the spurious (called 1 and 2 in the Pseudo-Isid. collection, where they may all be read and compared; Migne's Patrol. cxxx. 375–382) councils of Arles, all three betraying their late origin, of the second. How so patent a forgery can have deceived the learned so long is a marvel. The acts of the pretended council of Sinuessa (Mansi, i. 1249–60), damaging as they may seem to pope Marcellinus personally, were conceived in the interests of his see. Centuries upon centuries have to elapse before we come upon a really genuine Roman synod, with tolerably full details from Roman archives. One thing they all testify to beyond doubt, whether true or false, viz. that according to the tradition of those days the bishop of Rome could decide nothing of importance *without a synod*, any more than his brother bishops. Let us now inquire into their composition. This we shall find varied with the actual extent of jurisdiction of their presiding bishop. It was at one time commensurate with that of the city praefect, and was limited to the suburban churches; at another, it extended over the ten provinces of central and south Italy governed by the city vicar, but went no further, which was its position about the time of the Nicene council and for some time later [see that Art.]. Every now and then, indeed, it had a wider appearance; but this is at once seen to have been exceptional. All the earliest Roman synods are stated, in the *Lib. Synodicus* before-named, to have been synods of from 10 to 15 bishops, to which the "Concilium quindecim finitimorum episcoporum," in a rescript of Gratian and Valentinian to the then city vicar, may point (Mansi, iii. 629; comp. the letter of the Roman council immediately preceding, p. 624). Then, for a considerable period, their numbers increased, but seldom exceeded 70, which is about the number of sees stated in the old Vatican MS. printed by Baronius (A.D. 1057, n. 19–23; comp. De Marca, *Concord. Sac. et Imp.* i. 3, 12) to be dependent on Rome as their metropole; and also the number usually fixed

upon for mythic synods. Every now and then higher numbers are reported, as has been said; and bishops outside those limits are found to have been present, but present exceptionally. There were three bishops, for instance, from France, named by Constantine, present at the synod which pope Miltiades or Melchiades, *and Merocles* (*not* Mark, see *S. Opt. de Schism. Don.* i. 23), bishop of Milan, held at his instance (Mansi, ii. 433–40). There was a large gathering under pope Damasus, A.D. 372, when Auxentius, bishop of Milan, was deposed. Its synodical letter, accordingly, runs in the names of Damasus *and Valerian*; the latter being bishop of Aquileia (*ibid.* iii. 455). The Sardican fathers had before this requested pope Julius to transmit their decisions to "the bishops of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia" (*ibid.* 40). And he himself tells the Orientals that he speaks in the name of the Italian, and all the bishops of the "regions" (as the Latin has it) in which his see lay, as well as his own (*ibid.* ii. 1219). In both passages it is, of course, possible that the bishops of the seven provinces of north Italy may be included; but if so, this was exceptional, as the bishops of Aquileia, Milan, and Ravenna were still independent centres in those provinces, and proud of their independence. Nevertheless, in process of time not only they, but France, Spain, Great Britain, and Germany threw themselves one after another into the arms of the encroaching power, or else had to submit, till metropolitan boundaries, by widening their circle, became patriarchal, and synods, from being Roman or Italian, European (De Marca, *ibid.* c. vi. 4, and c. vii. 3–8, but with some corrections). We may now pass to the synods themselves.

Passing over three synods of the 2nd century reported in a work of no credit (Hefele, i. 83, Eng. tr.), we may start with the first given in Mansi from the *Libellus Synodicus*:—

1. A.D. 140, described as of twelve bishops under pope Telesphorus, when Theodotus the tanner was condemned. This is, however, a misstatement, for he was really condemned by pope Victor, A.D. 194–8, as Mansi points out (i. 662).

2. A.D. 165, of ten bishops under pope Anicetus and St. Polycarp, against those who kept Easter with the Jews (*ibid.* 686).

3. A.D. 197, under pope Victor; on the question of keeping Easter also (*ibid* 725). There is a passing reference to this, indeed, in Euseb. *E. H.* v. 23; and perhaps 24 too.

4. Another, of fourteen bishops, under the same; condemning Theodotus, Ebion, and Artemon (*ibid.* 728).

5. Another under the same, condemning the errors of Sabellius and Noetus (*ibid.*), but which had not then arisen. Hence Mansi transfers it to the pontificate of Sixtus II., A.D. 258 (*ibid.* 1002).

6. A.D. 237, under pope Fabian, condemning Origen. For this, Rufinus and St. Jerome, besides Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 36), are quoted; but their expressions are vague (*ibid.* 787).

7. A.D. 250, during a vacancy; being inferred from St. Cyprian, *Ep.* 31 (*ibid.* 805).

8. A.D. 251, under pope Cornelius, respecting the lapsed; inferred from St. Cyprian, Ep. lii. (*ibid.* 866), and at which Novatian was condemned. Some make two councils of this, but Mansi seems right (*ibid.* note) in considering it one and the same. True, the *Lib. Synodicus* says that it was attended by eighteen bishops (*ibid.* 871); on the other hand, Eusebius (*E. H.* vi. 43) expressly states there were sixty bishops present, and presbyters and deacons in still greater abundance. He states further, that at the end of the letter of Cornelius to Fabius of Antioch, now unfortunately lost, from which he was then quoting, the number of bishops attending it, with their names and sees, was set down. This agrees perfectly with what St. Cyprian says of it, and accounts for St. Jerome calling it an Italian council. But then St. Jerome speaks of a Roman synod as well (Mansi, *ibid.* 867–8). Probably, therefore, the Roman synod composed of eighteen bishops, was joined by forty-two more from other parts of Italy before it separated. Cave begins his list (*Hist. Lit.* i. 157) with this synod, and it is certainly the most numerous and the best authenticated, as yet, of any synod of Rome.

9. A.D. 257, under pope Stephen; when the Africans, who had decided on re-baptizing heretics, were excommunicated (*ibid.* 931).

10. A.D. 260, under pope Dionysius; inferred from what St. Athanasius (*de Sent. Dionys.* § 13) says about his namesake of Alexandria being accused to him of Sabellianism (*ibid.* 1015).

11. A.D. 313, by order of the emperor Constantine, whose letter to Miltiades (or Melchiades), bishop of Rome, *and* Merocles, as we shall see presently, giving his reasons for it, is extant in Greek and Latin. Its Latin heading, according to one version, is "Constant. Aug. Melchiadi episcopo Romano hierarchae;" in another, for "hierarchae," we read "et Marco sanctissimo," taken evidently from the *Lib. Synodicus*. In Euseb. (*E. H.* x. 5), it is Μιλτιάδῃ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μάρκῳ, where the true reading is unquestionably Μεροκλεῖ, for the reason supplied by Optatus. He tells them—using the plural number—that Caecilian is to set sail for Rome, with ten bishops from among his foes, and ten from among his friends. Further, that three bishops of France—Reticius, Maternus, and Marinus—have orders to be there likewise, to assist them in hearing their case, as the law directs. The Donatists, we learn from St. Optatus, had petitioned that their case might be tried by bishops selected from France. St. Optatus continues, "So there were judges given them in the persons of Maternus of Cologne, Reticius of Autun, and Marinus of Arles. These three bishops came from France, with fifteen more from Italy. They met in the house of Fausta, at the Lateran, in the fourth consulship of Constantine, and the third of Licinius, on Friday, Oct. 2; when there were present—Miltiades bishop of Rome, Reticius and Maternus and Marinus from France, and *Merocles from Milan*, Florian from Cesena, Zoticus from Kintzen, Stennius from Rimini, Felix from Florence, Gaudentius from Pisa, Constantius from Faenza, Proterius from Capua, Theophilus from Benevento, Sabinus from Terracina, Secundus from Praeneste, Felix from Cisterna, Maximus from Ostia, Evandrus from Urbino, Donatian from Cales. Before these nineteen bishops, when they had taken their seats, was the cause of Donatus and Caecilian laid. These sentences were given against Donatus by each: 'That he had confessed to having re-baptized, to

having imposed hands on lapsed bishops, which is not the wont of the church.' Witnesses produced by Donatus having confessed that they had nothing to say against Caecilian, he was pronounced innocent by the sentences of all the above-named, not excepting even Miltiades, whose sentence, delivered in these words, closed the trial. 'Whereas it has appeared that Caecilian is not accused, on their own shewing, by those who came with Donatus, nor has been convicted on any count by Donatus himself, I am of opinion he fully deserves to be retained in the communion of his church, and in his own proper grade.' Yet, notwithstanding his own condemnation by so many voices, and the acquittal of his rival by a tribunal so grave," continues the bishop of Milevis, "Donatus appealed from these bishops" (*De Schism. D.* i. 23). Finally, that this led to the summoning of the council of Arles by Constantine two years later, we learn from himself (Euseb. *ibid. Ep. ad Chrest.*; comp. St. Aug. *Ep.* 43 and 88, ed. Ben.).

These details deserve to be recorded at length for their decisive character, and the unimpeachable testimony on which they rest. We learn from them (1) that it was Merocles, bishop of Milan, to whom Constantine wrote jointly with Miltiades; (2) that this synod was due to their joint action, under orders from him, which accounts for bishops from north as well as central Italy being there; (3) that if bishops from Africa and France were present, it was because they had been sent thither by him; (4) that each of the bishops present delivered his sentence; and if proceedings are said to have been closed on the bishop of Rome delivering his last of all, like St. James at Jerusalem—the council being held in his see—it is also true that Donatus appealed, and was allowed to appeal, from his sentence. Vales. (*de Schism. Don.* c. 7) confirms this, instead of disproving it by his quotations; but the authorities are best seen in Galland. (*Bibl. Vet. Pat.* v. 461–675); and in none of them is there the least countenance for the statement in Mansi (ii. 434), that Constantine appointed judges, "eâ lege, ut citra scitum, consensum, et auctoritatem Romani Pontificis constituti judices nihil definiant;" or for Hefele's (*i.* 179) that "the decision of this synod was proclaimed by its president the bishop of Rome, and communicated to the emperor."

The three spurious synods under pope Silvester are omitted here; but the acts attributed to them may be studied, as curiosities, in Mansi (ii. 551–4, 600–618, and 1081–4). The earliest references to them being in the reign of Charlemagne, they could not have been forged much, if at all, earlier.

12. A.D. 342, commonly called the third under Julius. But the first and second, given by Mansi (ii. 1269 and 1351), are fictitious. At this, St. Athanasius, having been heard in his defence by fifty or more bishops with pope Julius at their head, was, with Marcellus and other exiled bishops, admitted to communion. The letter of Julius, written at the request of the council to announce this to the Easterns, is extant in Greek and Latin (Mansi, *ibid.* 1359; comp. St. Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* §§ 20–36, and Sozom. iii. 8; and Vales. *Observ. in Soc. et Soz.* i. 4, 5).

13. A.D. 349, when Ursacius and Valens embraced the communion of St. Athanasius, and were themselves admitted to communion by Julius, having satisfied the council of Milan two years before, of their faith and sincerity (Mansi, iii. 163–70).

14. A.D. 352, under Liberius, on becoming pope; when he declared for or against St. Athanasius. The common account that he declared for him is mainly based on his letter to the emperor Constantius, extant in the 5th fragment of St. Hilary, and admitted on all hands to have been written A.D. 354. But if the letter ascribed to him in the preceding fragment is genuine and rightly placed, he renounced his communion some time before. Then, in that case, the reference contained in it to a letter written by those he was then addressing to his predecessor, Julius, and not to himself, would point manifestly to its having been written soon after his accession; and this, again, would explain its apparent inconsistency with the other. For if there was a difference of two years between them in those exciting days, there was abundance of time for all the further correspondence mentioned in his letter to the emperor to have taken place, and also for Liberius to have changed his mind again and again in the interval. Lastly, from the character of the comments appended to this letter of the 4th fragment, we can hardly doubt its having been placed there by St. Hilary; and if so, *cadit quaestio*, Liberius must have signalised his accession, as well as his restoration, by condemning St. Athanasius. Mansi (iii. 208 and 229) shrinks from committing himself on either side.

15. A.D. 358, on the restoration of Liberius, if at all, the account given of it by Baluze being inconsistent with all we know of Felix and his retirement from other sources. (1) St. Athanasius, it is well known, likens his ordination to the deeds of Antichrist (*Hist. ad Monach.* 775). (2) It is admitted on all hands that, at the time of his appointment, Acacius of Caesarea was his friend; and that, whether orthodox or not, himself, he held communion with those who were not (Soc. ii. 37; Soz. iv. 11; Theodor. ii. 17). (3) It is nowhere stated that he was ejected by Constantius. He remained there by all accounts, on the contrary, till the return of Liberius, when, Socrates says, he was turned out of the church, in spite of the emperor, by the people (*ib.*): Theodoret and Philostorgius, that he removed elsewhere (*ib.* and iv. 3); Sozomen, that he shortly died (iv. 15). In short, the story reported by Baluze (Mansi, iii. 290) finds its best pendant in the story reported by Mansi farther on (*ibid.* 339–44).

16. A.D. 364, occasioned by the arrival of deputies from various Macedonian synods, professing the Nicene faith; when the synodical letter of Liberius and the Western bishops, extolling the Nicene faith and their adherence to it, preserved by Socrates (iv. 12), was penned in reply. There is no mention, however, in either document of St. Athanasius (Mansi, iii. 377–80). The letter addressed by Liberius to the bishops of Italy, with theirs to the Illyrians, wrongly supposed by Pagi to have emanated from a Roman synod under Damasus (*ad Baron.* A.D. 369, n. 5), would seem from expressions in this synodical to have been sent earlier (St. Hilar. *Fragm.* xii. ed. Ben., with the note).

17. A.D. 366, called the first under Damasus, who was elected this year; and in it with 2[illegible]

bishops is said to have condemned Valens and Ursacius, and if the biographer of Eusebius, the presbyter who withstood Liberius, is to be believed, Liberius also (Mansi, iii. 447).

18. A.D. 367 (*al.* 369), called the second under Damasus; who was, according to his biographer, acquitted in it by 44 bishops of a charge of adultery brought against him by two deacons, Concordius and Callistus, his accusers being condemned.

19. A.D. 372 (*al.* 369), or the third under Damasus; in which Auxentius, bishop of Milan, was deposed. As Mansi points out, the synods of Antioch and Rome, with their dates, are much confused about this time (iii. 463-8). This, he thinks with Pagi, took place A.D. 372. It was attended by 90 bishops from Italy and France, as Theodoret (ii. 22), or by bishops of many nations, as Sozomen says (vi. 23). But according to the letter of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, to be mentioned presently, two synods really met on this occasion, one in Rome and the other in France. Thus, the probability would be that the bishops present from France were deputies from their own synod. Again, its synodical letter, addressed to the bishops of Illyria, runs in the name, not of Damasus alone, but of Vale rian as well; the latter being bishop of Aquileia. Further, the person sent with this same letter to the Easterns was a deacon, not of the church of Rome, but of Milan, and the title given to it in the copy which is thus addressed, "Exemplum synodi habitae Romae episcoporum xciii. *ex rescripto imperiali*" (ap. Luc. Holsten. *Coll. Rom.* p. 165), suggests its having been convened by the emperor, like that of A.D. 313. It was in every way, therefore, more of an Italian than of a Roman council; yet not more so than the gravity of the case would explain, the accused being no less a personage than the bishop of Milan. The subject also to which its synodical letter is devoted is the consubstantiality of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as affirmed by the Nicene fathers. Attention had been forcibly directed to this subject, in the well-known letter of the Alexandrian synod under St. Athanasius, ten years before; but it was revived now, as Sozomen says, with special reference to the Holy Ghost (vi. 22). The letter of this council, addressed, in the first instance, to the bishops of Illyria, was conveyed to them by Elpidius, and elicited an energetic appeal on their part to the Eastern bishops, to which the rescript already noticed, running in the name of the three emperors, lent additional force (both misplaced in Mansi, iii. 385–92). But the same letter was also carried into the East direct from Rome by the Milanese deacon Sabinus, as has been said. And there, Mansi thinks, a synod at Antioch under Meletius replied to it at once; but Antioch was tight in the grasp of Valens at that moment, and for the next six years, as has been shewn elsewhere (CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF, 4), and Meletius in exile, so that no synod under Meletius was then possible. Yet for all that, the mission of Sabinus was even then, probably, not lost upon Antioch; but, on the contrary, seems to have just helped to decide the movement, which resulted in the additions, afterwards accepted at Constantinople, to the Nicene creed (*ibid.*).

20. A.D. 374, or the fourth under Damasus; at which, says Mansi (iii. 467), Lucius, the rival of Peter, bishop of Alexandria (Soc. iv. 21–2), was condemned.

21. A.D. 378–9 (*al.* 373–5), or the fifth under Damasus; attended also by Peter of Alexandria, when Apollinarianism was condemned (Mansi, iii. 477). The circular of Damasus announcing this is given by Theodoret (v. 10; comp. Sozom. vi. 25). There was another, and vastly more dogmatic as well as important, letter addressed by him to Paulinus of Antioch (Pagi thinks at a council distinct from this—Mansi, *ibid.* 501–4) about the same time; perhaps owing to the continued banishment of Meletius, in which we are told particularly by Sozomen (vi. 7 and vii. 3) Paulinus was not involved; though Theodoret, in inserting it, says Paulinus was himself then at Thessalonica (v. 11). But whether he was or was not there, this letter found its way to Antioch at last, where it was accepted in full council by Meletius and 146 bishops, A.D. 379–80, on his return from exile; and is, in all probability, "the Western tome" classed with the rulings of that council in the fifth Constantinopolitan canon (misplaced by Mansi, iii. 461–2, but restored afterwards, 511–12). Meletius and his colleagues, in their answer to it, evidently refer to the mission of Sabinus at the commencement of his exile, A.D. 372 (*ibid.*). Lastly, the curious letter purporting to have been addressed by a Roman council to the emperors Gratian and Valentinian, without any mention of Valens, on the subject of the continued intrigues of Ursinus and his party, may have emanated also from this council (*ibid.* 624, with the imperial rescript, 627).

22. A.D. 381, the sixth under Damasus, and subsequently to the Aquileian council of that year, as Mansi says (*ibid.* 633); when the invitation to the Eastern bishops, mentioned by them in their synodical of the year following, was despatched [CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF, (4) p. 436].

23. A.D. 383, or the seventh and last under Damasus; at which the synodical letter of the Easterns just mentioned was received, and the faith of the council of Constantinople confirmed, and at which deputies from the East assisted (Mansi, *ibid.* 639–42).

24. A.D. 386, under pope Siricius (comp. Synod of Telepte); when nine canons were passed, says Pagi (*ibid.* 678), there being a synodical letter extant, as from that pope, to the bishops of Africa, containing nine canons, and dated "Rome *in a council of* 80 *bishops*, Jan. 6 (sub die octavâ, Idus Januarii, post), after the consulship of Arcadius and Bauton" (*ibid.* 669–71). But this, and several other expressions contained in it, and in more than one of its canons, go far to establish its fictitious character; so that its ninth canon (on clerical continence), instead of having dictated the second canon of the council of Carthage, A.D. 390 (*ib.* 692), as Mansi thinks (*ib.* 687), may rather have been borrowed from it or made to suit it. [See arts. COUNCIL OF SARDICA and COUNCIL OF TELEPTE.]

25. A.D. 390, when Siricius with his clergy condemned Jovinian and his followers, as he says himself (Mansi, *ibid.* 563–4; comp. 687).

26. A.D. 400, when pope Anastasius addressed the letter to the African bishops, mentioned in canon 65 of their code (*ibid.* 1019; comp. 770).

27. A.D. 417, under pope Zosimus, on his accession, in the church of St. Clement, as he tells us himself in his letter to the African bishops, recommending to their favourable consideration the profession which Celestius the Pelagian had then submitted to his (Mansi, iv. 350 and 371).

28. A.D. 418, if at all; at which, according to Mansi, pope Zosimus issued his encyclic, called "Tractatoria" by Mercator, condemning Celestius and Pelagius (*ibid.* p. 375).

29. A.D. 430, under pope Celestine; on receipt of letters from Nestorius respecting some Pelagian bishops who had come to Constantinople, complaining that they had been deprived of their sees. But his own orthodoxy being impeached in communications arriving about the same time from St. Cyril, his opinions were scrutinised and condemned; and he himself was threatened with excommunication by the pope, unless he retracted his errors within ten days of receiving this sentence, which was to be communicated simultaneously to St. Cyril (Mansi, *ibid.* pp. 545–52 and 1021–36).

30. A.D. 431, under the same; on receipt of the summons of the emperors Theodosius Junior and Valentinian III. to the council of Ephesus convened by them, when bishops Arcadius and Projectus and a presbyter named Philip were sent thither to represent the pope. In the paper of instructions they received from him, they are told to look to St. Cyril for guidance, and to follow his lead. But of his representing the pope conjointly with them there is not a word (Mansi, *ibid.* pp. 555–6). In the communications that passed between themselves on the subject the pope certainly delegated his own full powers to St. Cyril (*ibid.* p. 1301); but this was exceptional, no such delegation ever occurring before or since, and it is explained, probably, by the accused having been bishop of new Rome (comp. EPHESUS, COUNCIL OF).

31. A.D. 433, under pope Sixtus III., "le 31 juillet, pour l'anniversaire de son ordination," say the authors of *L'Art de vérif. les Dates*: "Il y reçut la nouvelle de la paix entre St. Cyrille et les Orientaux." Thus much, indeed, we learn from his own letters to John of Antioch and St. Cyril (ap. Baron. A.D. 433, n. 13 and 18). But how comes it that nothing further is added of a synod of this same year? whose acts, said to have been collected by Sixtus himself, fill seventeen columns in Mansi (v. 1161–78), but whose true character Pagi describes as follows:—"Acta synodi Romanae de causâ Sixti III. Pontificis Romani stupro accusati . . . . falsâ consulum notâ consignantur, et anachronismis scatent . . . ejusdem farinae sunt acta de synodali accusatione et expurgatione Polychronis episcopi Hierosolymitani, quae sub pontificatu Sixti III. Romae dicuntur habita. . . . Refertur quidem accusatio et purgatio Sixti III. in libro Anastasii, sed cum in eo aliae fabulae recitentur, utraque historia suspectae fidei haberi debet" (ad Baron. *ibid.* n. 31).

32. A.D. 444, under pope Leo I., who gives more than one account of it himself, against the Manichees. (Mansi, vi. 459.)

33. A.D. 445, under the same, at which Celidonius, bishop of Besançon, was restored, and St. Hilary, metropolitan of Arles, who had deposed him, deprived of all jurisdiction over the province of Vienne for the future. A special edict was obtained subsequently by the pope from Valentinian III., confirming this sentence. (Mansi, *ib.* p. 463; comp. v. 1243–54.)

34. A.D. 447, under the same, at which it was ordained, with reference to some complaints which had reached him from Sicily, that no bishop should alienate the goods of his church in future without the full consent of his clergy. (Mansi, *ib.* p. 493; comp. v. 1313–16.)

35. A.D. 449, under the same, at which the acts of the robber-council of Ephesus, as it was called (Latrocinium), were rejected. (Mansi, *ib.* p. 509.)

36. A.D. 450, when the same pope besought Valentinian III., then present in Rome, to write to Theodosius Junior, and get a general council convened, at which the late proceedings of the robber-council might be reversed. (Mansi, *ib.* p. 511.) This, in all probability, was the council to which the *Liber Synodicus* refers, though Mansi thinks otherwise (*ib.*).

37. A.D. 451, at which, probably, the synodical letter of the Chalcedon was received, informing the pope of all that had been done there (the date assigned to it is Nov. 1; see Mansi, vi 145). That he confirmed or accepted it *all* is a pure fiction of the *Liber Synodicus* (Mansi, vi. 869–72), flatly contradicted by his persistent opposition to the 28th canon; and it is even doubtful whether the second form of the creed (that of Constantinople), authorised there, was ever regarded by him with the same favour as the first (that of Nicaea). Mansi considers two canons were passed here to which the pope refers, as having been discussed at a late synod, in one of his many letters; but it is by no means clear when that letter was written, or to whom (*ib.* comp. vi. 385–92). The authors of *L'Art de vérif. les Dates* make the year of the synod to which he refers A.D. 458.

38. A.D. 465, under pope Hilary, to consider a dutiful address from the metropolitan and bishops of Tarragona, relative to two bishops of that province; one whom they wanted to ordain, and the other to depose. No doubt the thing most intended to be gathered from their proceedings was the glorification of their metropolitan and of the pope. But neither the submissive tone of their letters, nor the shouts of applause that interrupted them, as they were read out; nor yet the shouts of applause with which the five canons proposed by the pope for regulating their case were received; nor, again, the character of the five canons which he grounded on them in his reply,—make *for* anything half so much, as *against* the genuineness of this synod, which was evidently concocted to serve a purpose; nor can its standing first of the papal decrees, added to the collection of Dionysius Exiguus by a later hand, be considered much of a presumption in its favour. (Migne, *Patrol.* lxvii. 315–20, where all the documents are given in succession, which they are not in Mansi, vii. 959–68; and then 924–29.)

39. A.D. 478, under pope Simplicius, when Timothy (the Weasel) of Alexandria, Peter (the Fuller) of Antioch, and others were condemned. Inferred by Pagi from the words of Felix III. his successor. (Mansi, vii. 1017–22.)

40. A.D. 483, under Felix III., at which a letter of remonstrance was sent to the emperor

Zeno for taking heretics under his protection and ill-treating the orthodox; and a citation to Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, for similar conduct to appear at Rome. (*Ib.* pp. 1105–10.)

41. A.D. 484, under the same, at which bishops Vitalis and Misenus, who had been sent to Constantinople with the despatches of the previous synod, and inveigled by Acacius on their arrival there, were excommunicated and deposed, and Acacius himself condemned. A synodical letter, giving an account of what had been done, was addressed, in the name of the synod, to the orthodox presbyters and archimandrites of Constantinople; but it must have been written by the pope himself. Forty-three bishops are stated at the end to have subscribed to it; but, if so, where were the rest of the sixty-seven or seventy-seven bishops who are stated to have met on this occasion? (*Ib.* pp. 1137–42.) Probably, the letter, as it stands now, is both mutilated and interpolated, and should be assigned with Pagi to the next synod.

42. A.D. 485, under the same: Peter the Fuller having been restored at Antioch, and Calendio driven out by the emperor Zeno at the instigation of Acacius, who was thereupon condemned a second time, and with him Peter the Fuller also, and Peter Mongus, who had been forced upon Alexandria. (*Ib.* pp. 1165–70.)

43. A.D. 487, or, as Mansi thinks, 488; under the same, to consider the case of the Africans who had lapsed under persecution. Six resolutions were passed, and are contained in the encyclic of Felix III. (*Ib.* pp. 1171–74. and 1056–59) of that date.

44. A.D. 494 (*al.* 496), under pope Gelasius, and attended by seventy bishops, whence the well-known decree, *de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, as it is called in some MSS., attributing it to him (*e.g.* the catalogue made, A.D. 831, for the abbey of St. Requier, in Dach. *Spicil.* ii. 31; ed. Baluze), is said to have issued; being in others attributed to pope Damasus, a predecessor, or Hormisdas, a successor of Gelasius. But by Pearson (*Vind. Ign.* c. 4), and Cave (*Hist. Lit.* s. v. Gelasius), it has been pronounced spurious, and doubtful by Beveridge (*Cod. can. Eccl. prim.* c. 9). Yet the strongest arguments against its genuineness have not been so fully developed as they might have been. (1) Its upholders are not agreed in what year or under what pope it was held, as Pagi confesses (ad Baron. A.D. 494, n. 19). (2) It is not included among the decrees of Gelasius by Dionysius Exiguus, who only just missed seeing him, and expresses great personal veneration for him in his preface (ap. Migne, *Patrol.* lxvii. 231). (3) Neither is it included in the later appendix to his collection, which ends with Gregory II., or A.D. 731, and supplements the decrees of three popes, anterior to Gelasius, that are not found in Dionysius. (4) Neither is it placed in *any* MSS. *among* the decrees of Gelasius, but always either last of all, or in a distant corner by itself. (5) Neither is it quoted or mentioned by any writer before Charlemagne, who disputes the sanction given in it to the acts of pope Silvester with the pope of his own day, Adrian I. (*Lib. Carol.* ii. 13; ap. Migne, *Patrol.* xcviii. 1078; comp. art. SECOND NICENE CREED). (6) MSS. are divided on some points of importance, as to what it contains, *e.g.* whether its list of apocryphal works included the Apostolical Canons, or not. As far back as the 9th century, there were men who denied this, Dionysius having included them in his collection, and popes cited them approvingly before and since. Nevertheless, they *are* found in some MSS. on that list still. (Beveridge, as above.) Another point is, whether among its general councils, that of Constantinople was included or not. In most MSS. it is left out, but it is included in some. To this conflict of MSS Mansi considered at first he need make no reference; but in his Supplement he admits his readers to full view (viii. 151–72). (7) The omissions and commissions of its acknowledged contents alone should have condemned it long since. It classes writings under three heads i. Biblical; ii. Patristic; iii. Apocryphal Under the first head, as Cave says: "Autor decreti se S. Hieronymum in omnibus sequi profitetur. . . . Jam verò Hieronymo in definiendo S. Scripturae librorum canone e diametro repugnat." The second head opens with a declaration (taken in substance from the third decretal of Anacletus, and the preface to the Nicene Council, in the Pseudo-Isidorian collection) on the prerogatives of the sees of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and the precedence belonging to each, making no mention of Constantinople among sees, nor, according to most MSS., of the council of Constantinople among general councils, on which it descants next. After them, a list of the fathers follows, whose works are to be received: and from this, to say nothing of other subsequent omissions, the apostolical fathers, one and all, are left out, though midway in it we read: "Item actus beati Silvestri, apostolicae sedis praesulis; licet ejus qui conscripsit nomen ignoretur;" and this is preceded and followed by other documents of the same stamp. Finally, the third head of apocryphal and rejected works includes the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, the works of Tertullian, Lactantius, Africanus, St. Clement of Alexandria, Victorinus, and others—names which speak for themselves. To give pope Gelasius his due, we may fairly say that if only the letters assigned to him in the Dionysian collection are genuine, this decree could not have been, by any possibility, dictated or penned by him. All the evidence of his connexion with it is comprised in the twofold circumstance, that most MSS. containing it have his name prefixed to it; and all the last name figuring in it, that of Acacius of Constantinople. But Acacius died three years before Gelasius became pope, and was only condemned by him as having been condemned, and never absolved, by his predecessors. Perhaps those turgid expressions of pope Hormisdas on which Pagi relies, may have suggested its composition, to somebody who could find no work of that kind extant, but thought there should be. (Mansi. viii. 145–76, part of which has been anticipated.)

45. A.D. 495, under the same, when Misenus, one of the two bishops who had been sent to Constantinople by Felix III., and been excommunicated for misconduct there, is said to have been absolved (Mansi, viii. 177–86). This, again, has no place given to it among the genuine decrees or letters of Gelasius, even in Mansi; neither is it found in the Pseudo-Isidorian collection. As far as form is con-

cerned, it is an exact counterpart of the reputed synod under pope Hilary, A.D. 465, described above.

46–51. A.D. 499–505, under pope Symmachus. There are no less than six synods attributed in Mansi to this pope; but their dates, number, and acts are both hopelessly confused and variously assigned. Not one of them is given by Dionysius Exiguus, who might have witnessed them all; only the first three are given in the appendix to his collection; for the remainder our sole voucher is the Pseudo-Isidore. Theodore, the reader, a Greek and contemporary, mentions but one, viz. the second; the author of the Lives of the Popes but two, viz. the second and the fourth. To understand them properly, we must recall the facts. Laurence, one deacon, was consecrated pope on the same day by his party, that Symmachus, another deacon, was by his; and Theodoric the Arian as well as Gothic king, resident at Ravenna, was invoked by each more than once to decide between them, so that of turbulent gatherings on both sides there was probably no lack; and Symmachus gaining the day, embellished accounts would be written of his subsequently, to enhance their importance and to swell their number. There is a strong family likeness between them all and the last under Gelasius, in point of form. In Mansi they stand as follows:—

(1) A.D. 499, when five canons respecting papal elections are said to have been decreed, amid repeated plaudits (viii. 229–38).

(2) A.D. 501, at which Theodore, says Theodoric, Anastasius says Symmachus, constituted his rival Laurence bishop of Nuceria (*ib.* 245–9).

(3) A.D. 502, at which a late edict of king Odoacer, approved by pope Simplicius, ordaining that no episcopal elections should be held in future without concurrence of the civil magistrate, and that all alienations of church property by the bishop of the diocese should be void, was annulled (*ib.* 261–72).

(4) A.D. 503, called, from a door in the church of St. Peter of that name, *palmaris;* and occasioned by a reaction in favour of Laurence; when 115 bishops declared Symmachus innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, and condemned Peter, bishop of Altino, whom Theodoric had appointed arbitrator in the renewed schism, together with Laurence himself. Ennodius, bishop of Ticino, drew up a lengthened apology for the acts of this synod, which is still extant (*ib.* 271–94; and for the rest, 247–62).

(5) A.D. 504, confirming the acts of the previous synod, and commending the apology for it by Ennodius in high terms (*ib.* 295–303).

(6) A.D. 505, at which all who had possessed themselves of any goods belonging to the church, were to be anathematised unless they restored them (*ib.* 309–16).

52. A.D. 518, under pope Hormisdas; for ending the schism between the churches of Rome and Constantinople, which began with Felix III. and Acacius, and had lasted thirty-five years (Mansi, *ib.* p. 579). The negotiations and terms at last agreed upon may be read among the letters of pope Hormisdas (*ib.* pp. 434–52).

53–55. All said to have been held A.D. 531, under pope Boniface II., yet there is a suspicious character about them all. (1) No decrees of this pope are given in the appendix to Dionysius Exiguus; and but one by the Pseudo-Isidore, which proves its own spuriousness (Mansi, *ib.* pp. 731–35). (2) The sole authority for the first and second of these synods is Anastasius, or whoever wrote the Life of this pope; and the reason given for them is, that at the first he constituted a deacon named Vigilius his successor; at the second he annulled his own act, as contrary to the canons (comp. the alleged letter of pope Silverius on the subject; Mansi, ix. 6. and another alleged synod under Boniface III. below). (3) For the third, which was only brought to light in modern times, there is no authority whatever, apart from the MS. containing it, any more than there is for a synod of Constantinople, which is there said to have led to it. The heading given it in Mansi, which was made for it by the discoverer of the MS. as he owns himself—Lucas Holstenius, prefect of the Vatican—and explains fully the interest attached by him to its discovery, runs as follows:—"Concilium Romanum III., quo lecti sunt libelli a Stephano Larissae metropolitano transmissi, atque prolatae e scrinio sedis apostolicae complures epistolae, quibus constat, quamvis in toto mundo sedes apostolica ecclesiarum sibi jure vindicet principatum, specialem tamen in ecclesias Illyrici gubernationem sibi vindicasse" (*ib.* pp. 739–84). Not one of the papal epistles given in it occurs in Dionysius Exiguus; and the first in his collection to bear them out is one addressed to Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica, by Leo I. (Migne, *Patrol.* lxvii. 291–6), whose letters come *last* here.

56. A.D. 534, under pope John II., where the proposition—"Unus e Trinitate passus est in carne" — was approved, notwithstanding its previous rejection by pope Hormisdas, and the opposition made to it by the monks called *acoemeti* by the Greeks. (Mansi, *ib.* p. 815.)

57. A.D. 589, under pope Pelagius II., unless the genuineness of his letter, in which he speaks of it, is to be given up. But the only reason for questioning it is the interesting information it contains, about the *prefaces* then used in his church. Particulars of them having been asked of him by the German and French bishops, he says, after consultation with his synod, in reply: "Invenimus has novem praefationes in sacro catalogo tantummodo recipiendas, quas longa retro veritas in Romanâ ecclesiâ hactenus servavit:" viz. one for the first Sunday after Easter—no doubt, that of Easter repeated; one for the Ascension; one for Pentecost; one for Christmas; one for the Transfiguration; one for festivals of the Apostles; one for holy Trinity; one for holy Cross; and one for Lent. The grounds on which Pagi and Bona would discredit this statement are far from conclusive. (Mansi, ix. 1021.)

58–61. Four synods appear to have met under pope Gregory I.; at least Mansi gives four.

(1) A.D. 590, at the request of the emperor Maurice, to end the schism that had ensued on the condemnation of the three chapters at the fifth council. (Mansi, x. 453.)

(2) A.D. 595, to hear a complaint made by John, presbyter of Chalcedon, against John, bishop of Constantinople, who had condemned

him for heresy; he was pronounced innocent. (*Ib.* pp. 475–8.)

(3) A.D. 601, when a decree was passed interdicting episcopal interference with monasteries. It is signed by twenty-one bishops, fourteen presbyters, and four deacons. (*Ib.* pp. 485–90.)

(4) A.D. 601, when Andrew, a Greek monk, was condemned; and Probus, abbat of a monastery built and dedicated to St. Andrew by the reigning pope, received permission to make a will. (*Ib.* p. 489.)

62. A.D. 606, said to have been attended by seventy-two bishops, thirty-four presbyters, all the deacons and minor orders, under pope Boniface III., when a decree was made that no steps for the appointment of a successor in the see of Rome should ever in future be taken, till the previous pope had been buried three days. There is only the same authority for this synod that there was for two similar synods under Boniface II., which see (Mansi, x. 501).

63. A.D. 610, under pope Boniface IV., at which Mellitus, bishop of London, was accidentally present, and from which he returned with its decrees, as well as letters to king Ethelbert and archbishop Laurence, as we learn from Bede. But the genuineness of all now extant, purporting to be such, has been questioned on solid grounds by the learned editors of Spelman and Wilkins (*Councils and Documents*, iii. 62–9; comp. Mansi, x. 503–8).

64. A.D. 640, under pope Severinus, when the Ecthesis of the emperor Heraclius was condemned, as appears from a profession in the *Liber Diurnus* of the popes, where this pope is mentioned by name. (Mansi, *ib.* 679.)

65. A.D. 641, under pope John IV., at which the Monothelite heresy was condemned. (*Ib.* pp. 697–700.)

66. A.D. 648, under pope Theodore, when Pyrrhus, patriarch of Constantinople, was condemned as a relapsed Monothelite. (Mansi, x. 783–4.)

67. A.D. 667, under pope Vitalian, when John, bishop of Lappa in Crete, who had been deposed by Paul, his metropolitan, was restored. (*Ib.* xi. 101; comp. p. 16.)

68–70. A.D. 679–80, under pope Agatho. Three such are distinguished by Mr. Haddan and Professor Stubbs (*Councils and Documents*, iii. 131–41), the first of which consisted of seventeen bishops and thirty-five presbyters, and discussed questions relating to the English church, but without reference to Wilfrid; at the second, which consisted of fifty bishops and presbyters, the restoration of Wilfrid to his see was decreed, subject to its division among bishops of his own choice; at the third, which consisted of 125 bishops, and was held, in preparation for the sixth general council, against the Monothelites, Wilfrid took part as bishop of York, and signed on behalf of the British, Scottish, and Irish churches. The account of these councils in Mansi needs revising (xi. 179–88).

71. A.D. 685, under pope John V., but Anastasius alone records it; when the consecration of a bishop in Sardinia was annulled, as having taken place without leave from the pope. (Mansi, xi. 1092.)

72. A.D. 704, under pope John VI., at which Wilfrid was accused and acquitted a second time. The pieces relating to it are best seen in the new edition of Spelman and Wilkins (*Councils and Documents*, iii. 256–64; comp. Mansi, xii. 165–8).

73. A.D. 706, under pope John VII.—at least so says Anastasius—on receipt of a communication from the emperor Justinian II., requesting a decision on the quini-sext or Trullan canons, which this pope was too timid to give, and, according to his biographer, died soon after declining. Mansi makes no distinction between this synod and the previous one; but in that year Justinian had not been restored, nor John VII. become pope. (*Ib.*)

74. A.D. 710, if at all, for Mansi doubts it; the only document on record attributed to it being a speech of Benedict, archbishop of Milan, complaining of an uncanonical invasion of his metropolitan rights by pope Constantine. (Mansi, xii. 219–24.)

75–77. Three synods, according to Mansi, met under pope Gregory II.

(1) A.D. 721, when seventeen canons against illicit marriages and consulting of wizards were passed under anathema, and subscribed by twenty-three bishops, including the pope, fourteen presbyters, and four deacons. (*Ib.* pp. 261–8.)

(2) A.D. 724, when Corbinianus, bishop of Freisingen, who had petitioned the pope to be allowed to resign his see, was ordered to return to it. (*Ib.* pp. 267–8.)

3. A.D. 726, where the destruction of images ordered by the emperor Leo III., surnamed the Isaurian, was resisted and condemned (*ib.* pp. 268–70). The two letters of Gregory to this monarch best explain his own attitude (*ib.* pp. 959–82).

78, 79. Two synods under pope Gregory III. are given in Mansi, and this time not from Anastasius alone, his account being confirmed by two marble tablets in the Vatican crypts inscribed with their acts, though in a defaced state. The first of these sat in judgment, A.D. 731, on a presbyter named Gregory, who had been sent to Constantinople with an expostulatory letter from the pope to the emperor, which he had failed to deliver. At the request of the synod he was pardoned, and sent back with it. At the second, attended by ninety-three bishops, and a large concourse, lay and clerical, a constitution was published, setting forth what had been the immemorial custom of the church hitherto respecting images, and excommunicating all who contravened it. A fresh remonstrance was despatched to the emperor, but with no better success. (Mansi, xii. 297–300.)

80, 81. Two synods under pope Zachariah are likewise given by Mansi. The first is dated the third year of the usurper Artabasdus, and the thirty-second of Luitprand the Lombard king (A.D. 743), both indicating the dawn of a new style. It passed fifteen creditable canons on discipline, but the subscriptions to it are not trustworthy (*ib.* 381–90; but a mistake runs here through the pagination). At the second, A.D. 745, two priests named Adalbert and Clement, having been condemned for heresy by St. Boniface in France, were deposed and anathematised. The proceedings against them are spread over three sessions, and the subscriptions to it include seven bishops, besides

the pope, and seventeen presbyters. (*Ib.* pp. 373-82; it should be, 393-402.)

82. A.D. 753, under pope Stephen II., but it is marked doubtful by Mansi, and deals only with grants to monasteries (Mansi, xii. 567-70). Another, which he sees less reason to doubt, relating to a quarrel between Sergius, archbishop of Ravenna, and, according to Mansi, this pope, is placed by him four years later (*ib.* p. 655).

83. A.D. 761, under pope Paul I., granting privileges and exemptions to certain monasteries and churches built by him, as appears by his letter. (*Ib.* p. 660; comp. p. 646.)

84. A.D. 769, said to have been held at the Lateran, under pope Stephen III., when judgment was given against the late occupant of his see, Constantine, and the old traditions of the church respecting images upheld. Mansi makes much of what he considers the recovered acts of this council. The authors of *L'Art de vérif. les Dates* observe pithily: "La date en est singulière." It runs as follows: "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti; regnante unâ et eadem sancta Trinitate . . . mense Aprili, die 12$^{mo}$, indictione 7$^{ma}$;" and the acts which follow are commensurate (*ib.* pp. 703-22). Another, also said to have been held at the Lateran under pope Adrian I., A.D. 774 (which Mansi feels he has no option but to pronounce spurious, yet, "ne quid desit ad plenam de re conciliari notitiam," prints at full length), has this heading —epitomised from Sigebert—"in quâ Carolo Magno jus datum fertur a pontifice, ut pontificem ipsum Romanum et episcopos eligeret et investituram concederet." This and the "Sicilian monarchy" of a later pope may deserve comparison (*ib.* pp. 883-8). Another, A.D. 792, under the same, is reported by Mansi, when Felix, bishop of Urgel, the Adoptionist, abjured his heresy; but it is nowhere said that he did this in a synod, as Frobenius points out (*Diss. de Haer. Elip. et Fel.* § 22; ap. Migne, *Patrol.* c. 1, 312; comp. Mansi, xiii. 857).

85. A.D. 794, under the same, confirming the condemnation of Elipandus and Felix at the council of Frankfort. (Mansi, *ib.* p. 859; Froben. *ib.* § 39.)

86. A.D. 799, under pope Leo III., when a tract of Felix against Alcuin was condemned. (Mansi, *ib.* pp. 1029-32; Froben. *ib.* § 43.)

A new era was opened in church and state, as well for the West as for Rome, by the next synod, A.D. 800, when Charlemagne was solemnly crowned emperor on Christmas Day, in the church of St. Peter, by the reigning pope; but our limits forbid any further details of this synod. (Mansi, *ib.* pp. 1041-8.) [E. S. Ff.]

**ROMULUS (1)**, Feb. 17; commemorated at Concordia (*Mart.* Usuard.); at Aquileia (*Mart. Hieron.*).

(2) Mar. 24; commemorated in Mauretania (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Hieron.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**RONANUS**, June 1, 6th century; commemorated in Armorica (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 83). [C. H.]

**ROOD.** There seems no satisfactory evidence that what is commonly understood by a rood, that is, a cross fixed aloft upon a beam or gallery in the middle of a church, is to be found within the period embraced in this work. It is, indeed, affirmed by Pugin (*Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornaments*) that these crosses between the nave and choir of large churches, or the nave and chancel of small ones, are of great antiquity. The same is affirmed by the abbé Migne. But it will be found upon comparison that he has simply translated Pugin's remarks, and therefore cannot be accepted as independent authority.

The current statements on the subject may be conveniently taken from Migne (*Encycl. Theolog.*). It is affirmed by him that Georgius Codinus, one of the Byzantine historians of the 15th century, describes an ancient cross over a screen in the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. He says that it was of gold, enriched with precious stones, and furnished with chandeliers. Migne quotes this writer in proof of the assertion that such crosses are "d'une haute antiquité," and assigns him, probably by a typographical error, to the 5th century, whereas he was really of the 15th century. But what is more serious, he gives no reference, and the present writer has been unable to verify the quotation. Yet it may be said with confidence that in his work Περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας, Codinus certainly describes no such cross. The only cross which he there describes is the cross of the ciborium—a cross, it may be added, which corresponds with the one described above, both in its being of gold and in its adornment with jewels.

But all these quotations, whether in English or French works, are ultimately traceable to the great work of Goar (*In Ord. Sacri Ministerii Notae*, p. 19), who says, "Illum [sc. ambonem] qui in magnâ fuit ecclesiâ describit MS. Regium Codini verbis vulgaribus, τὸν δὲ ἄμβωνα μὲ [*sic*] τὴν σωλέαν ἐποίησεν μὲ σαρδονύχων et infra, ἐποίησε τὴν τροῦλλαν εἰς τ. ἄμβωνα μετὰ μαργαριταριων [*sic*, without accent] καὶ λυχνιταρίων. ὁ δὲ σταυρὸς τοῦ ἄμβωνος ἴστα λίτρας ρ΄, εἶχε δὲ κατὰ στυχνὰ λυχνιτάρια, καὶ μαργαριτάρια ἀπίδοτα· ἀντὶ δὲ στηθέων ὁ ἄμβων εἶχεν ἄνωθεν ὁλόχρυσα πετάσια." If this passage is correct, and if the information of Codinus, a comparatively late author, is to be relied upon, this citation obviously concludes the whole question.

But one or two observations must be advanced upon it. Goar quotes from a MS. copy of Codinus, without saying from which of his works the quotation is taken; but the passage is not to be found in the printed edition of Codinus, *de S. Sophia*, which is where it would naturally be expected (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonnae, 1849). There is, indeed (p. 142), a description of the ambo, which in some degree resembles the citation of Goar, but there is no account of a cross upon it (the cross described in that page is the cross of the ciborium), nor is there any notice of a variant in the reading amongst the critical notes of Meursius and Lambecius.

It may of course be some other work of Codinus, which Goar quotes; but the present writer has attempted in vain to find anything like it in any of the works of Codinus in the printed collection above referred to.

It may be added that there is no mention of the cross in the metrical description of the ambo of St. Sophia, which is given by Paul the Silentiary, though Ducange, in his commentary upon it, says that Codinus adds a mention of the cross

The classical work on the subject of rood-lofts is somewhat rare. (Thiers, *Dissertations ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1688.) The only passage which this writer quotes is that from Goar, to which accordingly it seems that all the statements of the subsequent writers are to be traced.

The earliest notice of a crucifix set up in the middle of a church is sometimes said to be the account of the silver figure which pope Leo III. (A.D. 795) set up in the middle of St. Peter's at Rome. The account is thus given by Anastasius: "Ipse autem a Deo protectus venerabilis et almificus pontifex fecit in basilicâ beati Petri Apostoli nutritoris sui, in medio basilicae crucifixum ex argento purissimo, pensan. libras septuaginta et duas." (*Vitae Pontif.* Leo III. § 384, p. 1222, ed. Migne.) There is, however, nothing in the account given by Anastasius which leads to the conclusion that this crucifix was a rood in the sense that it was raised aloft upon a beam or gallery.

These two examples—the alleged description of Codinus and the remark of Anastasius—are the only two facts that are adduced to support the "great antiquity" of the rood. But it thus appears that neither of them is altogether free from taint; and the present writer has not succeeded in finding any evidence which would prove indisputably that ancient churches within our period had either cross or crucifix raised aloft upon a beam or gallery.

Migne states that every screen between nave and choir was anciently surmounted by a rich cross, but without image of our Saviour; that such screens existed both in Greek and Latin churches; that down to a comparatively modern epoch churches were never constructed without them, either in France, Germany, or Flanders; and that every church in England had a rood-screen down to the reign of Edward (VI.), when these crosses were destroyed by Act of Parliament. In all this, however, he is but adopting, and, in some respects, misunderstanding and spoiling, the previous remarks of Pugin.

Pugin (and after him Migne) observes that the cross over the screen was often suspended from the upper arcade of the church by three chains, which were often of very rich construction. But neither in this branch of the subject is there anything which brings it within the period traversed in this work.

There is abundant evidence that a gallery corresponding to the rood-loft or jubé existed in the early church. (See Prudentius, "Hymn of St. Hippolytus;" Gregory of Tours, who describes the jubé of the church of St. Cyprian; and pope Martin I., who had the canons of the Lateran council read from the rood-loft of that church.) Viollet-le-Duc, however, takes it for certain that the ambons of both Greek and Latin church up to the 14th century were not at all like what we understand by a rood-loft or jubé (*Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture*, s. v. "Jubé"). But whatever may have been the precise form of the structures in question, there seems to be no satisfactory evidence that in the early centuries they were surmounted by a rood. Indeed, the earliest example which Viollet-le-Duc is able to adduce of a cross or crucifix placed above a *trabes* is one in the museum of Cluny, which dates from the 12th century.

[H. T. A.]

**ROSARY** (*capellina*, *paternoster*, *preculae*, *psalterium*), a device for numbering prayers. The early Eastern, and probably prae-Christian, custom might suggest a great antiquity. "The Kurân enjoins prayers five times a day, and good Muslims are very particular in going through certain prescribed forms morning, noon, and evening. It cannot, therefore, be matter of wonder that the use of rosaries (called *tasbîh*, 'praise,' and furnished with tassels called *shamsa*) is common among Indian Mohammedans. In all probability they were common among Hindus and Buddhists long before the Christian era" (Prof. Monier Williams in the *Athenaeum*, Feb. 9, 1878). A rosary is called in Sanscrit *Japa-mâlâ*, "muttering chaplet," and sometimes *smarani*, "remembrance" (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, the rosary of the church of Rome is comparatively modern. Pius V., in a bull (1596), ascribes to St. Dominic the invention of "the rosary or psalter of the blessed Virgin," and this has been understood of the string of beads so called; but he seems rather to be speaking, under that name, of the method of devotion invented by St. Dominic (150 Ave Marias and 15 Paternosters). The beads are, however, described by Polydore Vergil 1499; but we should infer from his silence that they were not yet called a "rosary." "Est modus orandi postremo inventus per calculos ('globulos precatorios,' *Transl. S. Norberti*, xvii. 149, in Bolland. June, i. 911) ut ita dicam, ligneos, quos vulgus modo preculas, modo paternostros appellat." These he describes as pierced and threaded, ten smaller calculi for the Ave Marias being throughout followed by one larger for the paternoster, to the number of fifty-five altogether (*De Invent. Rer.* v. 9). The invention of this instrument he assigns to Peter the Hermit, who flourished in 1090. The number of beads may be due to Peter, but earlier in the same century we meet with a similar contrivance. Godiva, who, with her husband Leofric, founded the monastery of Coventry in 1040, possessed "circulum gemmarum quem filo insuerat, ut singularum contactu singulas orationes incipiens numerum non praetermitteret" (Gulielm. Malmesb. *Script. post Bedam*, 165, ed. 1596). The council of Cealchythe, A.D. 816, directs that on the death of a bishop "septem beltidum paternoster pro eo cantetur" (can. 10). This has been understood of a rosary for counting prayers; but Car. Macri (*Hierolexicon*, in v.) suggests that "beltides = vueltas" (*Span.* rounds, *or* returns), and the Bollandists accept his explanation (*De S. Dominico*, Aug. i. 432, 433). Another error ascribes the invention of rosaries to Bede, who died in 735; but apparently this is only a conjecture built upon his name (Boll. *u. s.*). Within our period, indeed, I meet with but one instance of a contrivance at all similar. Paul of Pherma, an Egyptian ascetic of the 4th century, "having prescribed him by rule 300 prayers, collected as many pebbles, which he kept in his bosom, and threw out one by one at every prayer" (*Hist. Laus.* Pallad. 23; Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 29; Cassiod. *Hist. Tripart.* viii. 1).

The origin and history of the "rosary" in both senses of the word are discussed at length in *Acta Sanctorum*, Bolland. *de S. Domin. Conf.* 19–21, Aug. 4, i. 422–437. See also Mabill. *Praef. in V. Saec. Bened.* 125–128; and Conr. Schultingius, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, II. i. 64,

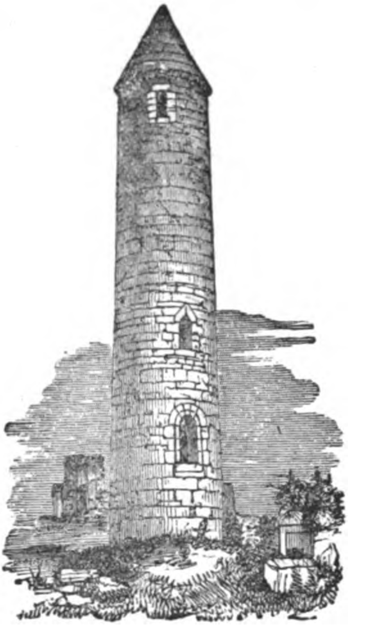
Colon. Agripp. 1599. The latter (I. ii. 205) gives a list of earlier writers on the subject. [W. E. S.]

ROSULA, Sept. 14; commemorated in Africa (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker.). [C. H.]

ROTA. [CORONA, p. 461.]

ROUEN, COUNCIL OF (ROTOMAGENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 682, *al.* 688–9, *al.* 692, at which St. Ausbert presided, fifteen bishops were present, and a grant of privilege to the abbey of Fontanelle—that of choosing its abbat from its own body—was confirmed (Mansi, xi. 1043–6; comp. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 610). [E. S. Ff.]

ROUND TOWERS. The round towers of Ireland have a character and literature of their



Round Tower, Devenish.

own, and the many questions regarding them are still unsettled, though the ascription of the towers to Christian times and purposes now appears to be the more generally accepted. There are upwards of a hundred known to antiquaries, and of these about twenty are perfect. Two in Scotland, of which one (Brechin) is perfect and the other (Abernethy) a ruin, together with that attached to the gable of the old church at Egilshay in Orkney, are the only examples outside the ancient Scotia. All are built upon the same general plan, with little variety of detail: the complete tower at Devenish, in Lough Erne, may be accepted as the type. (See woodcut.)

(i.) The tower is a hollow circular column, from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet high, usually capped by a short pointed roof of stone. From the base, which is frequently of cyclopean masonry, and measures from forty to sixty feet in circumference, the tower is externally of ashlar or spawled rubble work, and tapers upwards towards the summit. Occasionally, as at Ardmore, it is belted with stringcourses, which are, however, entirely ornamental, and not connected with the internal floors. The wall is pierced for a single door, which is never constructed on the level of the ground, but from eight to fifteen feet above, and for windows, which are unfixed in position and number; the jambs of both the door and the windows always incline inwards towards the top. At a very short distance from the conical roof there are usually four, but sometimes more or fewer,



Window at Glendalough.

windows, and all the windows in the tower have round, pointed, or square heads, but never a built arch.

Internally the tower is divided into stories, in number according to the height. The lowest is usually filled up with mould or masonry to or near the door-sill; the rest, usually on joisted floors and about twelve feet high, occupy the whole interior to the top. The rooms or stories could have been but dimly lighted, there being but one small window to each.

(ii.) For what purpose could towers of this kind have been built, and that in such numbers? This has been answered by many suggestions; *e.g.* that they were the temples of a primeval religion among the Cuthites (Keane, O'Brien), the pyreia of Phoenician, Persian, or other Eastern nations (Vallancey), bell-towers (Lynch), sepulchral monuments (Windele), Danish forts (Walsh, Molyneux, Ledwich), eremitic pillars (Harris), anchoret or penitential cells (Smyth), bell-towers, secondarily monastic strongholds (Petrie). There can be no doubt but that in the Irish Annals (as in the present day) the common name of the tower is Cloictheach, literally bell-house, and in some of them up to the present time the bells are hung. Yet the whole structure denotes a place of temporary refuge and defence in cases of sudden attack. In this view there is a propriety in both the general outline and the several details: the tall, compact, round pillar, with strong, often enlarged, base of solid building, or of great thickness in the wall, and with the door small and several yards above the foundation; the smooth external facing of stone, and the storied accommodation within; the small windows for ventilation and, at the top, also for observation, and the strongly-defended doorway. Into such a house of defence, which is always found among or near ecclesiastical buildings, or their known site, the monks could easily retreat for safety to themselves and the valuable goods of the church till the enemy had left, or other succour had come to the inmates' relief. The whole building is such as bespeaks a stern but passive resistance, and when the cloictheach was

burned it was only the inner flooring that was destroyed. Its use as a bell-tower appears to be secondary, though some in later times may have been specially built for a Campanile, as they may also have been for other purposes.

(iii.) As to the age to which they belong, we may lay aside the ante-Christian views of Cuthite civilisation, of Eastern fire-worship and phallic symbolism, of Druidical rites, and celestial observations: so far as we can see, they were wholly unfitted for these purposes. They belong to the Christian period, and their erection is more or less traceable from the 6th (Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 215, 216 n.) to the 13th century, especially from the 10th to the 12th. There appears to be no reason for our tracing either the work or the design to the Danes, who have given no proof of having possessed either elsewhere in northern Europe, although their ravages in Ireland may account for such means being so long retained for defence and safety. The clue seems all but lost to the origin of such erections. It may be that they are the remains of a British architecture which was banished from Britain by the entrance of the Saxons, and Petrie (*Round Towers*, 367) notices their resemblance to "the most ancient military towers subsequent to Roman times found in the British isles." Waring (*Stone Monuments*, &c.) would trace them to types still met with in Sardinia and Southern Europe. As originally built, or as subsequently renewed, they uniformly preserve the same general features, and are singularly unlike the oldest round tower on the Continent—that at St. Apollinare ad Classem, Ravenna, belonging to the 6th century. They are sufficiently accounted for as at first an Irish development which suited the monastic position in the midst of turbulent tribes and piratical invaders, and were persevered in, after their special need was past, as sacred and time-honoured forms of ecclesiastical architecture, possibly also of monastic precedence. The examples in Scotland are no doubt owing to the close connexion between the Christianity of new and ancient Scotia, yet, strange to say, the towers there are not in the country of the Scots proper, but in that of the Picts. Compare TOWERS.

(iv.) For the literature of the Round Towers see Petrie, *The Round Towers of Ireland*; Earl of Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, ed. by M. Stokes; Keane, *Towers and Temples of Ancient Ireland*; O'Brien, *Round Towers of Ireland*; *Archaeologia*, i. ii. ix.; Fergusson, *Handbook of Architecture*; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.*; Moore, *Hist. Ir.*; Killen, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.*; Vallancey, *Coll. de Reb. Hib.*; Lynch, *Camb. Evers.*; Molyneux, *Nat. Hist. Ir.*; Walsh, *Prosp. State of Ireland*; Ledwich, *Antiq.*; *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vii.; *Camb. Qu. Mag.* iv. [J. G.]

**RUBRIC.** Literally, a direction or remark written in red letters. The word is borrowed from the phraseology of old Roman law-books, in which the titles, remarks, and sometimes leading decisions were written in red ink.

"Perlege rubras
Majorum leges."—Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 191.

"Dicant cur condita sit lex
Bis sex in tabulis, et cur rubrica minetur."
Prud. *contra Sym.* ii. 460.

In the same way the regulations for the manner of performing the sacred offices of the church were called rubrics, and were commonly written in red characters to make them easily distinguishable from the text of the office itself. Anciently these rubrics were collected together, and only written in books compiled for that purpose, and known under various titles—Directory, Ceremonial (*q. v.*), Ritual, Ordo (*q. v.*). The oldest MSS. missals and early service-books are either entirely or almost destitute of rubrics. The Sacramentary of Leo (483) contains no rubrics. The first book of the Gelasian Sacramentary (494) contains sixty-seven, some of them very short; the second book has none; the third book has nine. The Gregorian Sacramentary, omitting those portions which are confessedly of a much later date, has twenty-six. Of the ancient offices printed in the second volume of Mabillon's *Museum Italicum*, a Gothic Missal of the 9th century has seven rubrics; a Frankish Missal of the 6th century has eight, the Canon having no rubrics at all; an uncial Gallican Missal, of uncertain antiquity, has six; a Gallican Sacramentary of the 7th century has eleven. The Stowe Missal (Irish, 9th cent.) has two rubrics in the vernacular.

Burcard, Master of the Ceremonies under Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI., at the close of the 15th century, was the first person who published together the order and the ceremonial directions of the Mass, in a Pontifical printed at Rome, 1485, and in a Sacerdotale published a few years later under Leo X. The obvious convenience of such a course outweighed the scruples which were felt in certain quarters about publishing before the laity, directions which it was only necessary for the clergy to know. Such books therefore multiplied rapidly; but it is beyond the scope of this work to trace their various editions, together with the changes and modifications which the Rubrics have from time to time passed through. [F. E. W.]

**RUFINA (1)**, July 10; commemorated at Rome (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*, *Mart. Hieron.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iii. 28).

(2) July 19, martyr at Seville (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**RUFINUS (1)**, Feb. 28, martyr (*Mart.* Usuard.).

(2) June 14, martyr; commemorated at Soissons (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Hieron.*, Wandalb.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 795).

(3) June 21, martyr; commemorated at Syracuse (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.; *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Wandalb., Notker.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 73).

(4) Sept. 4, youth and martyr; commemorated at Ancyra (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart. Hieron.*; *Mart.* Notker.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sep. ii. 204). [C. H.]

**RUFUS (1)**, April 19, martyr; commemorated at Melitene in Armenia (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Hieron.*, *Syr.*, *Vet. Rom.*, Wandalb., Notker.).

(2) Aug. 1, martyr; commemorated at Philadelphia in Arabia (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Hieron.*, Notker.).

(3) Aug. 27, patrician and martyr; comme-

morated at Capua (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, Wandalb.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 16); commemorated in the Gelasian Sacramentary on this day, named in the collect, secreta, and post-communion.

(4) Nov. 21, martyr; mentioned by St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 13 (*Mart.* Usuard.).

(5) Nov. 28, martyr; commemorated at Rome (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*).

(6) Dec. 18, martyr; commemorated at Philippi (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*); Dec. 17 (*Mart.* Wandalb.). [C. H.]

**RUGAE**, a word of frequent occurrence in the *Ordo Romanus*, as well as in the Lives of the Popes under the name of Anastasius, as to the meaning of which there has been some considerable difference of opinion. Caesar Bullinger, looking at the supposed etymology of the word and not at the passages in which it is found, defined "rugae" to be streaks in marble or metal, or pipes or furrows ("canaliculos et sulcos") like wrinkles, or wrinkled and streaked plates of precious metals. Ducange, with an equal neglect of the actual use of the word, strangely connects it with the French *rue*, and explains it as the sacred path before the presbytery, "via in aede sacra ante presbyterium," by which the pope enters when about to celebrate Mass (*Descr. Aed. Sophian.* no. 73; *Gloss.* sub voc.). Mabillon, by a comparison of the places where the word occurs (*Mus. Ital.* tom. ii.; *Comment. in Ord. Rom.* pp. xxi. cxxxv.), has clearly demonstrated that by "rugae" are meant the metal "cancelli" or screens of the more sacred parts of a church, with their doors and gratings, and sometimes the lattice-work doors alone. In the larger and more sumptuous churches they were often made of silver or even of gold. The presbytery at St. Peter's was fenced in with silver "rugae," and the "confessio" with "rugae" of gold (Anastas. Steph. IV. § 284; Leo III. § 363). Sergius II. set up six pairs of aurichalchum (*ibid.* § 492). There were greater and lesser "rugae." Leo III. erected twelve "rugae majores" before the "secretarium" at St. Peter's (*ibid.* § 382). The larger were of very considerable weight. Those of silver placed by Paschal I. before the vestibule of the altar weighed 78 lbs. (*ibid.* § 447); those erected by the same pope at St. Maria in Domnica 60 lbs.; and by Leo III. at St. Andrew's 80 lbs. (*ibid.* § 368). The smaller ones were called "rugulae." The "rugulae," the "confessio" at St. Mary Major's set up by Paschal I., were of pure gold (*ibid.* § 447); those of Leo IV. at the entrance of the presbytery and "confessio" at St. Peter's, with the "cancelli," of silver: "rugulas de argento fusiles cum cancellis" (*ibid.* § 546). According to Mabillon, "rugulae" also signified the grated or latticed window-openings of the "confessio,"—"fenestellae," or "cataractae,"—by which the sacred tomb might be seen, and handkerchiefs or napkins [BRANDEA] pushed through to touch it [TRANSENNA].

The entrance of the "rugae" was kept by acolytes ("acolythi qui rugam conservant," *Ord. Roman.*). At ordinations the person to be ordained deacon stood "ante rugas altaris" (*ibid.* viii. 3), and when ordained priest was taken outside the "rugae," "foras ruga saltaris" (*ibid.* 4). (Mabillon, *u. s.* p. cxxxvii. p. 85.) On Ash-Wednesday the pope's chamberlain left the chancel and passed through the "rugae" to distribute the ashes, and on Candlemas Day the pope went to them to distribute the tapers. On Palm Sunday the branches and leaves were thrown to the people through the apertures, "per foramina rugarum" (Mabillon, *u. s.* p. cxxxvii.; Ciampini, c. xiv. *de Azymo*). [E. V.

**RURAL DEAN.** [DECANUS II. p. 537.]

**RUSTICUS** (1), Aug. 9, martyr; commemorated in the East (*Mart.* Flor.; *Hieron.*, Notker.).

(2) Aug. 17, subdeacon and martyr; commemorated in Africa (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Vet. Rom.* Notker.).

(3) Oct. 9, presbyter and martyr; commemorated at Paris (*Mart.* Usuard., Bed.; *Hieron.*)

(4) Oct. 26, bishop and confessor; commemorated at Narbonne (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

# S

**SABALLUM, SABHALL, SAUL, SAVAL** (ZABULLUM), Irish name for a church of peculiar orientation, usually north and south. It originated in the tradition (as presented in an ancient *Life of St. Patrick* quoted by Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, Works vi. 406, and in the Lives of the same prelate published by Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* pp. 23, 72, 124), that the barn of Dichu, his first disciple in Down, was the model of his first church, built in the field with which Dichu presented him, or perhaps was the church itself. It gave its name to the parish of Saul, co. Down, and, standing north and south, was adopted as the epynomus of all churches which deviated to a marked extent from the usual Eastern orientation. (Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 40, 220 sq.; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 344, 409 sq.; Petrie, *Round Towers*, 148 sq.; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 212 sq.) [J. G.]

**SABAS** (1), Apr. 15, Gothic martyr under Athanaric in the reign of Valentinian (Basil. *Menol.*); Apr. 18 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

(2) Apr. 25, martyr, officer of Gothic race at Rome in the reign of Aurelian (Basil. *Menol.*); Apr. 24 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 261).

(3) Aug. 27, presbyter, martyr with Alexander (*Syr. Mart.*).

(4) Dec. 5, Cappadocian monk, ὁ ἡγιασμένος, "our father," in the reign of Theodos. II. founder of monasteries (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**SABBATH.** It will be the object of this article to give a brief sketch of the views taken in the earlier ages of Christianity of the Sabbath of the Jewish law, and of the degree and character of observance which has been attached to it in different ages and different branches of the Christian church—in fact, to take up the subject

very much where it is left by the article SABBATH in the *Dictionary of the Bible*.

In relation to modern ideas, ascribing a sabbatical character to the Lord's Day, it is only necessary to refer here very briefly to what has been more fully shewn elsewhere, that the notion of a formal substitution by apostolic authority of the Lord's Day for the Jewish Sabbath, and the transference to it, perhaps in a spiritualized form, of the sabbatical obligation established by the promulgation of the Fourth Commandment, has no basis whatever, either in Holy Scripture or in Christian antiquity.

The Sabbath is invariably regarded as representative of the rigid Law, which has passed away; the Lord's Day of the freedom of the Gospel, which remains for ever. The ideas symbolized by the two days are constantly distinguished, not unfrequently contrasted. It is true that the Lord's Day, becoming the great weekly festival of Christianity, assumed something like the place of the Sabbath in the Jewish system, and demanded for its higher purposes of worship, joy, and thanksgiving, some measure of that rest from work so emphatically characteristic of the Sabbath. But the idea afterwards embodied in the title of the "Christian Sabbath," and carried out in ordinances of Judaic rigour, was, so far as we can see, entirely unknown in the early centuries of Christianity.

For the proofs of this assertion see LORD'S DAY. In the present article the reference is throughout to the true Sabbath (or Saturday) as distinguished from the Lord's Day; and to the extent of its survival in the observance of the Christian church.

(I.) It is of course clear from the New Testament that—as from the nature of the case we might have expected—the obligation to observe the Sabbath according to the Jewish law was never in any sense binding on Christians as Christians. St. Paul's words are absolutely decisive (Col. ii. 16, 17), "Let no man judge you in meat or in drink; or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days: *which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.*" These words, written to the Colossians, in reference to the strange half-Gnostic (and perhaps Essenic) development which was the last form of Judaism, are, indeed, simply a clearer and more definite enforcement of the rebuke of the observation of "days and months and times and years," addressed to the earlier Pharisaic Judaism of Galatia (Gal. iv. 10).

How they were understood in the early church (in opposition to such Judaism as that of Cerinthus, who is expressly declared to have enforced the observation of the Sabbath) is shewn by the celebrated antithesis, μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες ("no longer keeping the Sabbath, but living in the spirit of the Lord's Day"), in Ignatius (*ad Magn.* ix.). If there was no transference of the sabbatical obligation to the Lord's Day—which, perhaps, might have been not unnatural, provided that Our Lord's teaching as to its nature was taken as a guide—much less could the Jewish Sabbath, as such, be considered as having any claim on the universal observance of Christians. St. Augustine's remarks on this matter may be taken as a fair type of the general teaching of the early church. He expressly distinguishes the Fourth Commandment from the rest,[a] as being observed figuratively or in idea, not literally or in formal rule. For the Christian he recognises two kinds of sabbatical rest: first, a rest from the "old works" in this life; next, an eternal rest in heaven—the σαββατισμός which, according to the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. iv. 9), "remaineth for the people of God."[a] See Augustine, *de Genesi ad Litteram*, book iv. (vol. iii. 208), and *Epist. ad Januarium* (vol. ii. 203). The Sabbath, whatever may be decided on the controversy as to the existence of a patriarchal Sabbath, had become part and parcel of the Jewish law. Like circumcision and distinctions of meats, it had served its purpose as typical and preparatory. Now it had passed away.

(II.) But while the Jewish Sabbath could form no part of Christianity as such, yet, like other parts of the Mosaic law, it would endure in the actual practice of the Jewish Christians; in accordance with the apostolic principle, "Is any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised" (1 Cor. vii. 18), and the apostolic practice of St. Paul in his own case (Acts xix. 18, xxi. 24) and in the case of Timothy (Acts xvi. 3). We can hardly doubt that in the earliest days of the church the Christians, just as they were "daily in the Temple," so also kept the Sabbath with their Jewish brethren; while at the same time "they broke the bread at home," and, in this most solemn way as in others, kept the Lord's Day among their fellow-Christians. So long as Jewish Christianity lasted as a distinct phase, co-existing rather than coincident with the Christianity of the Gentiles, it would indeed view the Sabbath obligation under the light of Our Lord's teaching, in the spirit as distinguished from the letter, and with the limitations and mitigations which He assigned to it. But still it would preserve substantially the old sabbatical observance; while, at the same time, the new and greater sacredness of the peculiarly Christian ordinance of the Lord's Day would, in the first instance, coexist with it, and afterwards in all probability throw it into the shade. Now after no long period of existence Jewish Christianity, as such, gradually died out, especially after the fall of Jerusalem, destroying with the Temple the system of Judaic observance; when even the church of the holy city itself became in great degree a Gentile church, and a growing antagonism established itself between Judaism and Christianity. Henceforward, so far as sabbatical observance retained its strict Judaic form, and imposed itself as of universal obligation, it would be looked upon with suspicion. The Ebionites are spoken of by Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 27) as being half Jewish in the observance of the Sabbath, while they were half Christian in the observance of the Lord's Day. The council of Laodicea A.D. 363) anathematizes as Judaizers "those who abstain from labour on the Sabbath," bidding them "honour rather the Lord's Day, and, if possible, abstain from labour

[a] It is hardly necessary to refer to the extraordinary interpretation, noticed in the article SABBATH in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, which, against the whole context (as, indeed, against the whole tone of New Testament teaching), actually transforms this passage into an authority for quasi-sabbatical observance, as a law of the Christian church.

on it as Christians" (οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς Ἰουδαΐζειν καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν . . . . τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν προτιμῶντας εἴ γε δύναιντο σχολάζειν ὡς Χριστιανοί). The enactment is important, not only in its attachment of the obligation of rest to the Lord's Day, but as shewing a formal antagonism to strict observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest, on the ground of its essentially Judaistic significance. Whatever the Sabbath was in the church, it was to be something wholly unlike this. Much in the same spirit the Pseudo-Ignatius (*ad Magn.* 9) distinguishes between the Jewish and Christian idea of sabbatical observance. "Let us not keep the Sabbath day after the Jewish manner, rejoicing in idleness, . . . . but spiritually, rejoicing in the meditation of the law, not in the rest of the body, admiring the workmanship of God;" and moreover infers that the keeping of the Sabbath was a preparation for the greater sacredness of "the Lord's Day, the day of the Resurrection, the royal festival, the highest of all days" (μετὰ δὲ τὸ σαββατίσαι ἑορταζέτω πᾶς φιλόχριστος τὴν κυριακήν, τὴν ἀναστάσιμον, τὴν βασιλίδα, τὴν ὑπάτην τῶν πασῶν ἡμερῶν). But while the formal sabbatical obligation was thus repudiated, as purely Judaistic, we find that in the Eastern church a distinct observance of the Sabbath remained, and remained so far in accordance with the old Jewish idea that (with one notable exception) it was always a festal observance.

This is brought out most strikingly in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, in which the Sabbath and the Lord's Day are treated almost as co-ordinate. Thus (in ii. 59, 1) Christians are exhorted "on the Sabbath Day, and the day of the Lord's Resurrection, the Lord's Day, to gather together with special earnestness, sending up praise to God, Who made all things by Jesus Christ, and Who sent Him to us, and delivered Him to suffer, and raised Him from the dead." The different consecrations of the two days are still more clearly marked in vii. 23, 2: "Keep the Sabbath and the Lord's Day as feasts; for the one is the memorial of the Creation, the other of the Resurrection" (τὸ μὲν δημιουργίας ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα, ἡ δὲ ἀναστάσεως). In vii. 36, 1, 2, there is an elaborate and beautiful prayer, bringing out the sacredness of the Sabbath: "O Almighty Lord, who didst create the world through Christ, and didst ordain the Sabbath as a memorial of creation, because in it Thou didst rest from Thy work . . . . Thou, O Lord, didst bring our fathers out of Egypt . . . . and didst give them the Law or Decalogue, spoken with Thy voice and written with Thy hand. . . . Thou didst command them to keep the Sabbath, not giving in this an excuse for idleness, but an occasion for godliness" (οὐ πρόφασιν ἀργίας διδούς, ἀλλ' ἀφορμὴν εὐσεβείας). . . . "For the Sabbath is the rest from creation, the completion of the world, the seeking out of Law, the praise of thanksgiving to God for all that He gave to men." The same passage goes on to speak also of the peculiar and yet higher consecration of the Lord's Day. In viii. 33, 1, we have a command (in the names of St. Peter and St. Paul): "Let the servants work five days; on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day let them be free from labour in the church, with a view to the teaching of godliness." Whatever opinion we may form as to the genuineness and authority of these Constitutions (on which see APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS), it is at least clear that they represent to a very considerable extent the traditions of the Eastern church in the 3rd and 4th centuries. Thus the very Council of Laodicea, so sternly condemnatory of Judaizing sabbatarianism, yet in its forty-ninth and fifty-first canons marks out "the Sabbath and the Lord's Day" as days to be observed festally even during the fast of Lent. Everywhere the festal observance is very strikingly marked, and we note that the consecration of the Sabbath by the rest of the Creator is brought home to Christians by a constant reference to the creation as having been wrought "through Jesus Christ." From a canon (No. 16) of the Council of Laodicea, and from a passage in Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* (vi. 8), it appears that on the Sabbath as well as the Lord's Day there were solemn assemblies for worship; and Gregory of Nyssa, upbraiding those who neglected the Sabbath assembly, asks, "With what face wilt thou dare to behold the Lord's Day, if thou hast despised the Sabbath?" "for" (he adds) "they are sister days." Accordingly in the Apostolical Canons (Canon 66) it is laid down, that "if any cleric be found fasting on the Lord's Day or the Sabbath, except the one (Easter Eve) alone, let him be deposed; if any laic, let him be excommunicated." The prohibition of this canon is illustrated by the extravagant declaration of the Pseudo-Ignatius, that "if any one fasts on the Lord's Day or the Sabbath, he is a murderer of Christ" (Χριστοκτόνος ἐστί). We may notice that this canon is appealed to in the "Trullan" (or "Quinisextine") Council, held at Constantinople in A.D. 685, in opposition to a custom at Rome of fasting on the Sabbaths in Lent, and it is decreed that over the Roman church also it should "most firmly prevail" (ἀπαρασαλεύτως κρατεῖν). From a well-known passage in Epiphanius (*adv. Haer.* Book I. Tom. III. vol. i. p. 304), we may conjecture that a special emphasis was given to the festal observance of the Sabbath by opposition to the heresy of Marcion, who is said to have bidden his followers fast on the Sabbath to signify their "repudiation of the God of the Jews" (ἱνὰ μὴ τὸ καθῆκον τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐργαζώμεθα). But, however this may be, it is clear that a reverence was paid in the Eastern church to the Sabbath festival, only second, though of course markedly second, to the higher sacredness of the Lord's Day.

Nor was this festal observance confined to the Eastern church. The practice of fasting on the Sabbath in the Roman church is noticed by Tertullian, and condemned on the ground that only on the Great Sabbath should men fast (*De Jejuniis*, c. xiv.); but he seems to indicate that the practice was not invariable, and that it arose from a continuation of the Friday's fast ("cur jejuniis parasceven dicamus? quanquam vos etiam Sabbatum, si quando continuatis—nunquam nisi in pascha jejunandum, secundum rationem alibi redditam"). The Montanists (he says) excepted both the Sabbath and the Lord's Day from their solemn fast weeks (c. xv.), in this respect distinctly following the ancient Eastern usage. In another place, speaking of our Lord's defence of His disciples for plucking and eating the ears of corn on the Sabbath, he declares that "He remembered the privilege—

of exemption from fasting—assigned to the Sabbath from the beginning;" alludes to the double gift of manna on the Friday to preserve the Sabbath from the necessity of fasting; and finally declares, with characteristic vehemence, that "it would have destroyed the Sabbath, and even the Creator Himself, if He had commanded His disciples to fast, against the declaration of Scripture and the will of the Creator" (*Adv. Marc.* Book iv. c. 12). It is true that he is throughout speaking of Jewish observance; but such language would hardly have been used without qualification, had he not held strong opinions as to the continuance of this festal character of the Sabbath. This conflict of usage continued long in the Western church: for from the well-known Epistle of St. Augustine to Casulanus, we find that the sabbatical fast was observed in his time only in the church of Rome, and a few other Western churches, the majority of Western churches in this point still agreeing with the East. Even at Milan, in the days of St. Ambrose, the Eastern usage prevailed; and when St. Augustine, at the request of his mother Monica, put the question of the method of observance of the day as a case of conscience to St. Ambrose, he treated it simply as a matter of the ordinance of this or that church, and added, that while he never fasted on the Sabbath day in Milan, he did fast if he was at Rome. So entirely was this principle carried out, that, even in Africa in St. Augustine's time, some churches fasted on the Sabbath while others feasted. (See *Epist. to Casulanus*, vol. ii. pp. 101-121, Ben. ed. Paris 1836: and for a similar statement of the variety of practice and of the intrinsic indifference of the question at issue, compare *Epist. to St. Jerome*, sect. 14, vol. ii. p. 291.)

(III.) The origin of the fasting observance was probably to be traced (as Tertullian hints) to a continuation of the fast of the Friday. Victorinus (A.D. 270-303) confirms Tertullian's statement on this point with a significant addition. Speaking of the Saturday, he says (*De Fabricâ Mundi*), "Hoc die solemus superponere: idcirco ut die dominico cum gratiarum actione ad panem exeamus . . . . ne quid cum Judaeis Sabbatum observare videamur" (see Probst, sect. 54, p. 261). As this festal observance of the Sabbath was natural in the Christian church, wherever Jewish influence had at any time induced a survival of the old Jewish feast, so, on the other hand, where no such associations had power, and where the Saturday was regarded either from a purely Christian point of view, or in antagonism to Jewish practice, the contrary observance of it as a fast might very naturally arise. The Lord's Day was the great Christian festival; the Saturday would be treated, in continuity with the Friday, as a vigil of preparation, and to such vigils fasting was appropriate. But there was a far more powerful reason for this fasting usage in the special hallowing of what was called the "Great Sabbath"—*i.e.* the Easter Eve. Even in the Eastern church, where the Sabbath was observed festally, this was regarded as a strict fast, in some sense the most solemn fast of the year. Thus in the *Apostolical Constitutions* we are told, that whereas other Sabbaths were festal, so marking the rest from Creation, this is to be a fast, because on it "the Creator was still beneath the earth" (v. 15, 1); and that as a fast it is to be regarded as of stricter obligation than Good Friday itself. "The Friday and the Sabbath keep as an absolute fast, so far as strength allows; . . . but if anyone is unable to keep the two days continuously, let him at any rate keep the Sabbath. For in a certain place the Lord, speaking of Himself, says, 'When the bridegroom shall have been taken from them, then shall they fast in those days'" (v. 18, 2). The nature of the observation of this sacred fast day is emphatically described: "From evening till cock-crow gather together in the church and watch, praying with all supplication to God in your night-long vigil, reading the law, the prophets, and the psalms, till the crowing of the cocks; and then, having baptized your catechumens, and read the gospel in fear and trembling, and spoken to the people the things concerning salvation, cease from your mourning and pray God that Israel may be converted, and find a place for repentance and remission of their ungodliness." In the Eastern church, indeed, this usage was confined to Easter Eve; but in the church of Rome, and some other churches of the East and West, just as all Fridays in the year took the colour of their observance from Good Friday, so all the Sabbaths of the year might reasonably be kept as fasts, in imitation of the fast of the Great Sabbath of Easter Eve.

To this natural inference would be added also the effect of antagonism to Jewish observance as such. We find that both in the East and the West, the Jewish Sabbath was, or was thought to be, kept as a day of violent excess; from which was derived the common phrase of the *luxus Sabbatarius*, and (as some think) even the use of the word "Sabbat" for the unholy revelry of witches and evil spirits. Bingham (Book xx. c. ii. 4) quotes passages to this effect from St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, and others. St. Chrysostom (Hom. i. *de Lazaro*) declares that the Jews used their release from secular work not "for spiritual things, sobriety and modesty, and the hearing the word of God," but in serving their bellies and drunkenness, gorging, and revelry (*γαστριζόμενοι, μεθύοντες, διαρρηγνύμενοι, τρυφῶντες*). St. Augustine (*Ps.* xci. sect. 2, vol. iv. p. 1403) similarly accuses the Jews of "keeping the Sabbath with a mere bodily rest, lazy, dissolute, luxurious." "Our rest" (he adds) "is for evil works, theirs for good works. It is better to plough than to dance. . . . Many rest in body, and are turbulent in soul. . . . That which is hymned in the Psalm is the condition of the Christian in the Sabbath of the heart, in the rest, the tranquillity, the serenity of conscience." Such Sabbaths were (as Theodoret and Cyril of Alexandria insist in commenting upon Amos vi. 3) the *σάββατα ψευδῆ* of the prophets, against which every Christian man should protest. What would be more natural than that such a protest should be made by the sobriety and mournfulness of a fast?

We gather from the Epistle of St. Augustine to Casulanus, quoted above, that in his days the Roman church, with characteristic imperiousness and intolerance, urged the Sabbath fast in marked antagonism to all Jewish observance, as a matter of absolute obligation; insisting that they who neglect it "are still in the flesh,

and cannot please God; . . . lovers of their belly, preferring Judaism to the church, and becoming children of the bondwoman." "If" (says the champion of their cause) "the Jew by keeping the Sabbath denies the Lord's Day, how shall a Christian keep the Sabbath? Either let us be Christians and keep the Lord's Day, or let us be Jews and keep the Sabbath." St. Augustine, indignantly rejecting this imperious intolerance, and laying down the principle of simple accordance on this matter to the custom of each church, has a curious passage on "the Great Sabbath" and its effect on the general observance of the Sabbaths of the year. "On that day" (he says) "the flesh of Christ rested in the grave, as God rested on that day from all the works of His creation. Hence arose that variety . . . that some, as especially the peoples of the East, on account of His rest prefer to relax the fast; others, like the Roman church and some other churches of the West, on account of the humiliation of the death of the Lord," and (as he adds below) "the grief of the disciples," "prefer to fast" (sect. 31). But looking at the question in the abstract, without recognising any survival of the old Jewish feast, it would certainly seem that the Roman practice might be better supported in argument; and when to its reasonableness was added the effect of a strong anti-Judaic feeling, and the influence of the Roman church, which was soon to become far greater and more imperious than in St. Augustine's time, it is not surprising that it should have prevailed over the more ancient practice.

At a later period we find Gregory the Great laying it down with authority, that to "cause the Sabbath to be kept from work" is a mark of Judaizing and a "sign of Antichrist;" and we note that in his whole treatment of a tendency to sabbatize the Lord's Day (see LORD'S DAY, p. 1051), he seems to ignore altogether any special celebration of the Saturday as a Sabbath, whether as fast or festival. This silence is probably significant of a change passing over Western usage altogether: for, so far as we can judge, the special observance of the Sabbath there gradually died out. The fasting observance having prevailed against the festal, was itself naturally overshadowed by the Friday fast. At present, while all Fridays in the year (except Christmas Day) are fasts, there is no trace of the Saturday fast, except in the vigils of Easter Day and Whitsun Day, and the Saturdays of the Ember weeks.

In the Eastern church the festal observance remained far longer, and, indeed, is distinctly traceable at the present day. The canonists Zonaras, Balsamon, and Aristenus, representing the tradition of the 12th century, all speak of the Apostolic Canon as still observed and binding. We have a consultation of Nicolaus of Constantinople, about the same time, as to the question of standing in prayer on the Sabbath, as well as the Lord's Day; and his answer is that "to bend the knee on the Sabbath is not forbidden by the canon; but that men generally (οἱ πολλοί), because they do not follow the practice of fasting on the Sabbath, refrain also from bending the knee." Of this significant Eastern usage we have again a slight trace in the West in the Montanist body. Tertullian (*de Oratione*, c. 18) speaks of a variety of usage introduced by a very few who on the Sabbath abstain from kneeling ("per panculos quosdam, qui Sabbato abstinent genubus"). The practice, however, he disapproves; he would have it given up, or so retained as to avoid offence; for the abstinence from kneeling (he thinks) properly belongs only to the Lord's Day. It never seems to have taken any hold in the West; but in the East it is still preserved in the present practice of the Greek, though not of the Russian church. It is also held that Saturday is so entirely a day of joy that it is unfit for fasting (excepting always the Great Sabbath), and accordingly, if a vigil chance to fall upon it, it is transposed to the Friday. Even on Easter Eve, though it is a strict fast, yet the black of Lent is changed to the white of Easter in all church vestments and furniture. It is curious also that in later times a new and specially festal consecration was given to the Sabbath in the Eastern church, by considering the Great Sabbath of Easter Eve as the day of our Lord's triumph in Hades, giving rest to the spirits in prison, and accordingly looking on all Sabbaths in the year as especially days of commemoration of those who rest in the Lord. Still here also the greater festal sacredness of the Lord's Day has rightly overshadowed it; and in present thought and usage there is nothing like the quasi co-ordination of the days, which we have seen in the *Apostolical Constitutions*.[b]

Thus the Sabbath, placed between the two great days of distinctively Christian observance, may be considered as parting with its observance as fast and festival to the one and the other.

In the later ages of the Western church, as we have seen (see LORD'S DAY), a distinctly sabbatical observance gathered round the Lord's Day itself,—partly by natural attraction to the great day of worship and rest, partly by enactments civil and ecclesiastical, ultimately by a formal transference to it of the obligation of the Fourth Commandment. But it is notable that when the Lord's Day was thus considered to be "the Christian Sabbath," it began to be observed with a certain austerity and rigour, differing entirely from the festal character of the Sabbath of the Jews. We are almost tempted to trace in this change a survival of the ancient Western usage, which observed the true Sabbath as a fast.

For the chief authorities on this subject see LORD'S DAY. [A. B.]

*Special Ritual of the Sabbath.* (1) *Lessons.*— During the first ritual period proper eucharistic lessons were provided for Sundays, and a few feasts and fasts only, as in the body of the old Gallican Lectionary. At the end of this, however, are two sets of prophecies, epistles, and gospels for choice on the week days; or there may have been three or four, for the MS. breaks off here (*Liturg. Gall.* Mabill. 172). The next step, in the Roman books at least, was to appoint proper lessons for the Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays in Lent and the Ember weeks. See the *Capitula Lectionum Evangelii*, not later than the beginning of the 5th century, in the

[b] For information on this subject I have to thank the Rev. Archimandrite Myriantheus, the chief priest of the Greek church in London.

*Thesaurus Anecdotorum* of Martene and Durand (v. 66). There was, however, it would seem, an ebb as well as flow, for the later *Comes Hieronymi* in its earlier form (Pamelius, *Liturgica*, ii. 1–61) gives (out of Lent) Saturday lessons only for the Ember weeks (13, 34, 49, 58), and that before Pentecost (31), though it provides for Wednesdays and Thursdays throughout the year, and for every day in Lent. Later on lessons were assigned to the Saturdays after the Epiphany and a few others (*Kalendarium Romanum*, ed. J. Fronto, Paris, 1652, and in *Epist. et Diss.* 139–144, Veron. 1733). The Saturday lessons have been ascribed to Innocent I., apparently on no better ground than is the Sabbath fast at Rome (Anastas. Biblioth. in *Vitae Pont.* Labbe, *Conc.* ii. 1243), viz. that Pseudo-Innocent, as we must call him, in the *Epistle to Decentius* (§ 4) insists on the observance of the latter rite, with which the lessons were associated.

(2) *Ordinations.*—Leo I. in 459 desired that all ordinations should take place "post diem Sabbati ejusque noctis quae in prima Sabbati lucescit," that all might be fasting (see (1) above), "quod ejusdem observantiae erit, si mane ipso dominico die, continuato Sabbati jejunio, celebretur" (*Epist.* 81 *ad Diosc. Alex.* 1). Gelasius, 494, fixed them "quarti mensis jejunio, septimi, et decimi, sed et etiam quadragesimalis initii, ac mediana quadragesimae die, Sabbati jejunio circa vesperam" (*Ep.* 9 *ad Luc. et Brut. Episc.* 11; comp. Gregor. II. *Ep.* 4 *ad Thuring.*; Conc. Rom. A.D. 743, can. 11). It was owing to the prolongation of the ceremony, so that the actual ordination took place on Sunday morning, according to Leo's hint, that no proper office was provided for the Sunday after an Ember week. [ORDINATION, p. 1517.]

For certain special Sabbaths, see SABBATUM.

[W. E. S.]

**SABBATIUS (1)**, July 4. [SEBASTIA.]

(2) Sept. 19, martyr at Antioch with Trophimus and Dorymedon in the reign of Probus (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**SABBATUM.** (1) *Sabbatum in Albis*, the Saturday in Easter week, on which day the neophytes laid aside their white dress (*Sacramentarium Gregorianum* in Pamel. *Liturgica*, ii. 278; *Miss. Ambros.* ibid. i. 363; Pseudo-Alcuin, *de Div. Off.* 18; &c.).

(2) *Sabbatum Duodecim Lectionum*, *in XII. Lectiones*, *in XII. Lectionibus.*—The Saturdays of the ember weeks were so called from the twelve lessons read in the office or mass of those days ("haud enim duo haec dividebantur;" Fronto, note in *Kalend. Rom.* in *Ep. et Diss.* 175, Veron. 1733). That twelve were actually read can hardly be doubted, and it was in all probability for the sake of the candidates for orders, as twelve were read "secundum Romanos" for the sake of the catechumens on Easter eve (Honorius Augustod. *Gemma Animae*, iii. 108; iv. 117; *Comes Hieronymi* in Baluz. *Capit. Reg. Franc.* ii. 1324 (the copy in Pamel. *Liturg.* ii. 23, and the *Sacram. Gelas.* Murat. *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* i. 43, give only eleven); *Sacr. Greg.* Mur. ii. 147, &c.), but it was soon reduced to six (*Sacr. Gel.* i. nn. 19, 6; *Greg. u. s.* 33, 94, 122, 136), or to five (*Comes Hier.* Baluz. cc. 111, 179, 222; comp. the number of the prayers in *Gelas.* i. nn. 83, 85). The retention of the old name after this change perplexed the early ritualists, some of whom said that each of the six lessons which they found in their books had been read twice, once in Greek and once in Latin (Amalarius, *de Eccl. Off.* ii. 1; Pseudo-Alc. *de Div. Off.* 26; *Gemma, u. s.* iii. 154, &c.), others that the psalms said with them were counted as lessons (Raban. Maur. *de Instit. Cleri*, ii. 24). An *Ordo Romanus* for the use of Salzburg, belonging to the 11th century, orders twelve lessons to be said on these days in a church [COLLECT, i. p. 403], in which the people were to assemble before they went to Mass. This appears to Martene (*de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. viii. 5, § 9) to account for the name; but it is impossible that so many early ritualists should have missed this explanation if the materials for it had existed in their day, and we must rather regard the Salzburg rite as local, probably not older than the 11th century. At first there were only three ember seasons (*Capitulare Lect. Evang.* in Martene, *Thesaur. Anecd.* v. 78, 79, 81, 82; *Sacram. Gelas.* i. 82; *Conc. Clovesh.* A.D. 747, can. 18), but when the *Jejunium Primi Mensis* was added, the new ember Saturday received the name common to the rest (*Sacram. Gelas.* i. 19; *Greg.* Murat. ii. 33), though probably twelve lessons had ceased to be read on any of them. There is no trace of such a rite in the Gallican Sacramentaries, nor in the Mozarabic Missal.

(3) *Sabbatum Sanctum.*—The common name for Easter eve in the Latin church (*Sacram. Greg.* in Murat. *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* ii. 65; in *Cod. Elig. Opp.* Greg. iii. 70, ed. Ben., &c.). See EASTER EVE, p. 595.

(4) *Sabbatum Requiei Dominici Corporis.*—A Gallican name for Easter eve (*Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, in Murat. *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* ii. 730).

(5) *Sabbatum in Traditione Symboli.*—The day before Palm Sunday. It was so called at Milan because the solemn delivery of the creed to the catechumens took place on it (*Ambr. Miss.* in Pamelii *Liturgica*, i. 326). Some ritualists have supposed that this was not the original custom of Milan, because St. Ambrose (*Epist.* 20, *ad Marcellinam*, § 4), speaks of a "traditio symboli" on Palm Sunday. His words, however, do not afford sufficient ground for the inference. He says, "Sequenti die, erat autem Dominica, post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam basilicae." He would not have said "to *some* competentes," if he referred to the great mass of those who received the creed at this season. They were probably some who from one cause or another had not been present on the previous day. [W. E. S.]

**SABEL**, June 17, with Manuel and Ismael, Persian martyrs at Constantinople under Julian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**SABINA (1)**, Jan. 24, virgin martyr, sister of St. Sabinianus, commemorated at Troyes (*Mart.* Bed., Flor.); Jan. 29 (Boll. *Acta SS.*

Jan. ii. 944, from an ancient MS. of Treves); Aug. 29 (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Mart. Roman.*).

(2) Jan. 30, also called Savina, widow of Lodi in the 4th century, commemorated at Milan (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 1029, from the office of the church at Milan).

(3) Aug. 29, virgin martyr at Rome under Hadrian (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*, Notker., Wand.); mentioned in the Super Oblata and the Ad Complendum for this day in the Gregorian Sacramentary The *Liber Antiphonarius* of Gregory has an office for her natale. There was a church named from her on the Aventine in the time of Symmachus (Mansi, viii. 236 B) and Eugenius II. (Anast. *Lib. Pontif.* num. ci.).

(4) Oct. 27, martyr at Avila in Spain under Dacianus, with Vincentius and Christeta (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Wand.). [C. H.]

**SABINIANUS** (1), Jan. 29, martyr with his sister Sabina at Troyes in the reign of Aurelian (*Mart.* Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 937 from ancient *MSS.*).

(2) Dec. 31, bishop, martyr with Potentianus, commemorated at Sens (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

**SABINUS** (1), Mar. 16, martyr in Egypt with Papas in the Diocletian persecution (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) July 11, confessor, commemorated in Poitou (*Mart.* Usuard.).

(3) July 20, martyr, commemorated with Maximus and others at Damascus (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Notker.).

(4) Aug. 23, martyr with Silvanus and Pantherius, Thracians, in the Diocletian persecution (Basil. *Menol.*).

(5) Sept. 29, martyr, commemorated at Perinthus (*Syr. Mart.*).

(6) Dec. 30, bishop, martyr under Maximian, commemorated at Spoleto (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**SACCUS** (σάκκος). (1) The *Saccus*, which may be considered as the Eastern representative of the Western DALMATIC, is a tight-fitting vestment worn by metropolitans (except those of the Armenian church), and in the Russian church *at the present day* by all bishops, instead of the *phenolion*. See Goar's *Euchologion*, p. 113. (2) [SACKCLOTH.] [R. S.]

**SACELLARIUS.** The word *sacellum* designates a casket or shrine for receiving relics; hence the *sacellarius* is the person who has the custody of such a casket or shrine. It more commonly however designates the keeper of a money-chest, or treasurer (Ducange's *Glossary*, s.v.) [C.]

**SACERDOS.** [BISHOP, p. 210; PRIEST, p. 1699.]

**SACERDOTALIS LIBER.** A name sometimes given to a book containing the offices to be said by priests, as *Pontificalis Liber* is given to that containing the offices to be recited by bishops (Macri, *Hierolexicon*, s. v.). [C.]

**SACKCLOTH** (*saccus, cilicium*). 1. We find the rough HAIRCLOTH [p. 756]—generally of camel's hair—which was used in the East for sacks and tents, worn as a sign of mourning, humiliation, and penitence by Syrians (1 Kings xx. 32) and Ninevites (Jonah iii. 5), as well as by Israelites. Among the latter, sackcloth was an almost invariable accompaniment of mourning (2 Sam. iii. 31; 1 Kings xxi. 27; 2 Kings xix. 1, &c.). It was of a dark colour, as we see in Apocal. vi. 12: "The sun became black as sackcloth of hair (ὡς σάκκος τρίχινος)," and was probably associated with mourning from its sad appearance, as well as its roughness and inconvenience, for it does not appear to have been by any means invariably, or even commonly, worn next the skin.

2. Tertullian (*de Poenit.* c. 9), treating of penitence, does not speak of wearing sackcloth, but of lying on sackcloth (sacco) and ashes; and similarly Cyprian (*de Lapsis*, c. 35, p. 262, Hartel) speaks of the lapsed proving their penitence by grovelling on sackcloth (cilicium), dust, and ashes. "Sackcloth and ashes" became the signs of a penitent. Ambrose (*ad Virg. Lapsam*, c. 8) would have the penitent's whole body emaciated with fasting, sprinkled with ashes, and covered with sackcloth; and Pachomius (*Reg.* art. 121) desires one who has been convicted of theft to appear in sackcloth and ashes at every assembly for prayer.

3. In the course of time, probably from the 3rd century, it became usual with ascetics of remarkable rigour to wear a hair-shirt next the skin for the purpose of producing discomfort. Such men as Anthony the hermit, Hilarion, and other patriarchs of monasticism are said to have worn the hair-shirt constantly (Athanasius, *Vita S. Ant.* c. 59; Hieron. *Vita S. Hilarii*, c. 38).

4. The eighty original monks of St. Martin are said (Sulpicius Severus, *Vita S. Mart.* c. 7) to have worn, for the most part, clothes of camel's hair. It does not appear, however, that the rough vestment of the monks was worn next the skin. Ascetics in the East very commonly wore cloth of camel's hair—after the example of some of the prophets, and perhaps of John the Baptist—as their ordinary clothing. Compare MAFORS, MELOTES.

5. When Martin of Tours was on his deathbed he would not permit his disciples to put anything between his body and the sackcloth on which he lay; on sackcloth and ashes he held that a Christian should die (Sulp. Sever. *Epist.* 3, *de obitu S. Martini*). So Anthony and Hilarion died wrapped in their haircloth, and Paula, according to Jerome, died on the slip of sackcloth (ciliciola) on the hard ground, which had served for her bed during life (Hieron. *Epist.* 108, *ad Eustoch.* p. 706, ed. Vallarsi). In the Middle Ages the practice became common. Peter the Venerable (*de Mirac.* i. 4) speaks of dying on sackcloth and ashes as a custom of Christians, and especially of monks (O. Zöckler, *Geschichte der Askese*, p. 82 ff.). [C.]

**SACRAMENTARY.** The Western books of offices were first called *Libri Sacramentorum*; but after the 8th century *Sacramentarium* is more frequent; though at Milan, so late as 1024, we find the treasurer of the chapter per-

plexed when asked for an "Ambrosian sacramentary" (*Epist.* Martini *ad Paul. et Gebert.* in *Mus. Ital.* i. 96). Either name was appropriate, because the book contained, not the Eucharistic prayers only, but also the prayers, benedictions, and prefaces used at the performance of every sacramental rite, as baptism, confirmation, ordination, the blessing of nuns, widows, oil, salt, water, the dedication of churches, &c.

We do not know when or by whom such a volume was first compiled. For a period of uncertain duration and varying in different churches the public prayers and other formularies were committed to memory. [ORDO, § 1.] A trace of this practice is still found in the Gallican sacramentaries, which merely indicate the words of consecration by the first words, as "Qui pridie quam pat." or the like (*Liturg. Gall.* Mabill. 192, 195, 198, 202, &c.), or omit them altogether (*ibid.* 227, 230). In the West attempts were made to enforce the rule, even below our period. "Orationes quoque missarum et praefationes et canonem bene intelligant presbyteri; et si non, saltem distincte et *memoriter* proferre valeant." This occurs in one of those episcopal addresses which were read at visitations from the 9th century downwards (*Admon. Synod.* in App. ad Reginonis *Libr. de Disc. Eccl.* 504, ed. Baluz. Comp. *Inquisitio* 82, *ibid.* p. 15). Bishops even inquired if the parish priest "had by heart" the exorcisms and benedictions of salt and water (*Inquis.* 90, *u. s.* 17), if he could repeat the Psalms from memory (*Ib.* 84, p. 16), and the Athanasian Creed (*Ib.* 85; see also *Admon. Synod.* 504; *Nova*, 506; *Noviss.* 509; *Ahyto* Basil. Capit. 4; Hincmar, *Capit. an.* 852, cc. 3, 4; Walter of Orleans, *Capit.* 21).

It is evident that when this rule was in full force, a complete sacramentary would not be needed for public use in church. If the memory required assistance, a small book (libellus) containing the prayers for the season, or the occasion, would be more convenient, and such were used. See Gregor. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 22; *Vitae Patrum*, xvi. 2. Another thing worthy of note is that, even when all the offices were thus collected into one volume, it would at first consist of prayers only, because those who compiled it, or procured its compilation, for their own use, required no directions for familiar practices. Hence the older MSS. contain the fewer rubrics. The so-called Leonian or Veronese Sacramentary, assigned by Morinus to about 488, contains no directions whatever, only a few brief headings to the missae, the several members of which are (except in one single instance, Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 410), undistinguished by the proper titles, *Super Oblata*, *Praefatio*, &c. which occur passim in the Gelasian and Gregorian. The growth of a sacramentary in this respect deserves further illustration. *E.g.* the "Leonian" has a prayer to be said at the blessing of fruits on Ascension Day (*ibid.* 313); but there is no hint of its purpose except in the words of the prayer itself. In the Gelasian we find the rubric, "Inde vero modicum ante expletum canonem benedicis fruges novas" (Murat. *u. s.* 508; Thomasius, *Libri III. Sacram.* 100). Again, the Leonian (318) supposes baptisms on Whitsun Eve, but gives no directions about them; in the Gelasian the officiant is guided by several rubrics of some length (Murat. *u. s.* 592–596; Thomas. 102–108). Compare with the same view the earlier copies of the Gregorian Sacramentary, as that of Pamelius (*Liturgica*, ii. 296, 7), the Vatican or Othobonian (Murat. ii) with the Codex Eligianus from which Ménard (*Sacram. Liber a Greg. M. compos.* Paris, 1642), and the Benedictines after him (*Opp. S. Greg.* iii.) have printed; or the ancient Gallican books (Murat. *u. s.* ii.; Mabill. *Liturg. Gall.*; Thomasius, *u. s.* &c.), with the kindred Mozarabic, which was in common use three or four centuries later. Two obvious sources of these accretions may be indicated. In the 8th century every priest was required to draw up and present to the bishop for approbation his own code of ritual (*Capit.* Karlom. A.D. 742). Such notes when approved, would naturally be entered in his book of prayers, and become a rule to his successors also. About the same time was compiled the *Ordo Romanus* for the guidance of the bishops of Rome, and of the suburbicarian dioceses. This soon became, as we infer from the commentaries on it by the German Amalarius, an authority with other bishops and priests, and many of its ceremonial directions were copied into the sacramentaries with more or less literal exactness. To give an example. In a direction of the *Codex Elig.* respecting the baptisms of Easter Eve we have (Greg. *Opp.* iii. 73, ed. Ben.), "Sunt (*Ord. Rom.* I. 44, *Mus. Ital.* ii. 27; *Ordo Scrutinii*, *ib.* 83; *Or. Rom.* Bernoldi in Hittorp. *de Off. Cath. Eccl.* 75, ed. 1568; sint) parati qui eos suscepturi sunt cum linteis in manibus eorum et accipiunt (*Ordd. u.s.*: accipiant) ipsos a presbyteris (*Ordo R.* I.: a presbyteris, vel diaconibus; *Ordo Scr.*: a pontifice vel diaconibus; *Bern.*: a pontifice, presbyteris, vel diaconibus), qui eos baptizant." The *Ordo* frequently refers to the Sacramentary for the prayers to which its directions apply. *E. g.* "Dicit orationes solemnes sicut in Sacramentorum (Libro, supplied by Bernold, *u.s.* 49, 66) continetur" (*O. R.* in *Mus. Ital.* ii. 19, 32 *bis*; see also pp. 21, 25, 31). When this order is copied in the Eligian codex, the mention of the sacramentary itself is properly omitted (Greg. *Opp.* iii. 62); but in one passage (69) a similar reference is inadvertently retained — "ordine quo in Sacramentario." We find again that the episcopal addresses and inquiries already mentioned contain many directions which at a later period appear in the sacramentaries, as *e. g.* with reference to the mixed cup (*Inquis.* 64, Regin. 13), the disposal of the remainder of the elements (65), the eucharistic vestments (Leo IV. *de Cura Past.* Labbe, *Conc.* viii. 36; *Admon. Syn. u. s.* 503), &c.

*The Roman Sacramentaries.* — See LITURGY, p. 1032 ff. We may mention here that some critics, judging from internal evidence, think many of the prayers in the "Leonian" or Veronese Sacramentary not later than Sylvester and Julius I. (Morinus de Sacram. Poenit. ix. 30, R. 2; Gerbert. *Vet. Lit. Alem.* Praef. xv.–xviii.), or than Sixtus III. and Felix II. (Murat. *Diss.* iv.; i. 41); while others, also judging from style and matter, see much in all the Roman books that belongs to Leo I. (Thomas. Praef. in *Libr.* iii. *Sacram.* p. 3; Quesnel, not. in Leonis *Serm.* xcvi.; Murat. *Diss.* i. 20). No ancient author ascribes to Leo the compilation of a sacramentary, but there are traditions preserved by later writers,

which shew that he was believed to have enlarged at least the missal part of the Roman Liber Sacramentorum. Thus Anastasius Bibl. *Vitae Pontif.* in some copies (Labbe, *Conc.* iii. 1291; Bolland, Apr. 11, ii. 21); *Gemma Animae*, i. 90; Rupert. *de Div. Off.* ii. 21, &c. Assemani inclines to the opinion of Orsi, "qui purum putumque Gelasianum Sacramentarium in Veronensi codice contineri censuit" (*Cod. Liturg.* vi. P. 3, p. ix.); though he admits that "multae orationes Leonis sapiunt stylum et forte aetatem," and "in hoc sacramentario, velut in aerarium quoddam illatas, contineri preces liturgicas Romanae ecclesiae quae prioribus saeculis fuere praescriptae" (viii.).

Our earliest authority for assigning such a work to Gelasius is Gennadius of Marseilles. "Scripsit et tractatus diversarum Scripturarum et sacramentorum" (*De Vir. Illustr.* 94). Walafrid who is later: "Tam a se quam ab aliis compositas preces dicitur ordinasse" (*De Reb. Eccl.* 22). The sacramentary ascribed to him is, unlike any other, in three books; (1) Ordo Anni Circuli; (2) Natalitia Sanctorum; (3) Orationes et Preces cum Canone. It was this recension which Gregory I. undertook to simplify; "Gelasianum Codicem de Missarum solemnitatibus multa subtrahens, pauca convertens, nonnulla adjiciens, pro exponendis evangelicis lectionibus in *unius* libri volumine coarctavit" (Joan. Diac. *Vita Greg.* ii. 17. Comp. Wal. Strab. *u. s.*) All the extant copies, however different in other respects, consist of a single book.

The Gelasian and Gregorian books were for some centuries in use at the same time; and were even combined. In the library of Centule in 831, beside three Gregorian and nineteen Gelasian missals, there was "Missalis Gregorianus et Gelasianus modernis temporibus ab Albino (Alcuino) ordinatus" (*Chron. Centul.* 3, in Dacher. *Spicil.* ii. 311, ed. 2). Another collection ascribed to Alcuin (to which Micrologus [c. 60] probably refers) is printed by Pamelius (*Rituale SS. Patrum II.*) with a second by Grimoldus. On these, and on a third by Rodradus, see Gerbert. *Vet. Lit. Alem.* Disq. II. i. 21. Yet more remarkable than the twofold sacramentary ascribed to Alcuin is a volume "olim S. Gallense, nunc Turicense, saec. circ. X. ad triplicem ritum Gelasianum, Gregorianum, et Ambrosianum concinnatum," which has been printed by Gerbert (*Monum. Lit. Alem.* P. I.).

*The Milanese Sacramentary.*—The predominance of Rome did not suffice to commend her offices even to the rest of Italy itself. Paulinus of Nola, for example, "fecit et sacramentarium et hymnarium" (Gennad. *Vir. Ill.* 48); but that of Milan, from its real or supposed connexion with St. Ambrose, acquired an authority which has given an enduring vitality to the proper use of that church. In 1024 two canons of Ratisbon ask the treasurer of Milan for the "sacramentarium Ambrosii," "cum solis orationibus et praefationibus Ambrosianis" (Paul et Geb. *ad Mart. Epp.* i. iii. *Mus. Ital.* i. 95, 97). Two centuries earlier Walafrid Strabo says, "Ambrosius . . . tam missae quam caeterorum dispositionem officiorum suae ecclesiae et aliis Liguribus ordinavit" (*De Reb. Eccl.* 22). It is not improbable that St. Ambrose did re-arrange the materials left by his predecessors, among whom tradition placed St. Barnabas, not only as the founder of his church, but as the author of a "Missae Ordo" also (Vicecomes, *de Rit. Miss.* ii. 12). At the instance of a Roman council, by which the pope Hadrian also declared himself constrained, Charlemagne attempted to destroy all the Ambrosian rites which Gregory had respected, "Ambrosianum mysterium videns esse factum divino magisterio" (Landulphus Sen. *Mediolan. Hist.* ii. 4, 10, in Murat. *Script. Rer. Ital.* iv. 72); but the pope moved by the remonstrances of a French bishop, Eugenius, reassembled the council, which was induced by the latter to reconsider its decree, and the Milanese Sacramentary was restored (*ib.* 12). The Ambrosian rite in the threefold use published by Gerbert (see above) gives the benediction of ashes (p. 48), of olive branches on Palm Sunday (at Milan, "Dom. in Ramis Olivarum" (64), of the oils (75), the order of baptism (88), &c.; and the two last-named rites, with the benediction of the new fire, have a place in the "Missae Ambrosianae," almost a new missal, of Pamelius (*Liturg.* i. 340, 344, 348–351).

*The Gallican Sacramentaries.*—These were various, and it would seem that several authors contributed in one way or another to their formation. "Liber hymnorum et alius mysteriorum" (= sacramentorum) are ascribed by Jerome (*de Script. Eccl.* 100) to Hilary of Poitiers, A.D. 354. Salvian of Marseilles, 440, composed many "homilias sacramentorum," *i.e.* *prefaces* in the Gallican sense [PREFACE] (Gennad. *u. s.* 67). Musaeus also of Marseilles, 460, at the request of his bishop "composuit sacramentorum egregium et non parvum volumen per membra quidem pro opportunitate officiorum et temporum, pro lectionum textu, psalmorumque serie et cantatione discretum, sed supplicandi Deo et contestandi beneficiorum ejus soliditate sui consentaneum" (the Gallican preface or *contestation*, Gennad. 79). Again, Sidonius, bishop of Auvergne, 472, composed a book of masses (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 22). Chilperic I., A.D. 561, wrote masses, but was unable to impose them on the church (*ibid.* vi. in fine). The Gallican sacramentaries were suppressed by Pepin and Charlemagne [LITURGY, 51]. The Roman sacramentary which the latter obtained from Hadrian (*Epist.* Adr. *ad Car. M.* in *Opp.* Greg. M. iii. 618, ed. Ben.), as a standard for his empire is identified by Lambecius with a codex at Vienna entitled, "Liber Sacramentorum de circulo anni expositus a Sto. Gregorio Papa Romano," &c. (*Biblioth. Caesar.* ii. 5, p. 14). The Gallican "Missals" mentioned in LITURGY, § 54, were true sacramentaries; *e.g.* even in their present state they contain the order for baptism (*Miss. Goth.* in Murat. *u.s.* ii. 589; *Miss. Gall. Vet.* 708–720, 736–742), ordination (*Miss. Franc.* 661–671), benediction of persons (*Miss. Fr.* 673, 5; *Miss. Gall. V.* 701), of things (*M. Goth.* 582; *M. Fr.* 675, 7, &c.; *M. G. V.* 732). The *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* [LITURGY, § 54 (f)], besides the rites of baptism (Mur. 828–835, 847–852) and benediction 845, 953–961), gives the lessons for every Mass.

*The Mozarabic.*—See LITURGY, §§ 46–49. The Council of Toledo, 633, ordered that throughout Spain and Gallia Narbonensis (also under the Goths) the same mode of celebrating masses and other offices should be observed (can. 2). As Isidore of Seville was then living, and the His-

pano-Gothic missal is by its title ascribed to him ("a sancto Isidoro ordinatum"), we infer probably that the redaction was committed to him by the council (Baron. *Annal.* ad an. 633, n. 70). Among the materials before him were doubtless some supplied by his own brother Leander, of whom he says, "In ecclesiasticis officiis idem non parvo elaboravit studio. . . . In sacrificiis quoque, laudibus atque psalmis multa dulcisonè composuit" (*De Script. Eccles.* 28). A later contributor was Hildefonse of Toledo, the author "missarum, hymnorum atque sermonum." So Julian of Toledo, 680 (App. ad Ildef. *de Script. Eccl.* in *Biblioth. Eccl.* J. A. Fabricii, 66). Of Julian himself we also read, "Librum missarum de toto circulo anni in quatuor partes divisum, in quibus aliquas vetustatis incuria vitiatas ac semiplenas emendavit ac complevit, aliquas vero, ex toto composuit" (*ibid.*) The Mozarabic missal, which was in use till the 12th century, retains few traces of the special character of a Liber Sacramentorum. But such are the "blessing of the flowers or branches" on Palm Sunday (Leslie, 148), of the new fire, &c. (174), and a brief notice of baptism on Easter Eve (189).

*The African Rites.*—See LITURGY, §§ 38–42. Tradition has preserved the name of only one composer or compiler, Voconius, bishop of Castellanum in Mauritania, in A.D. 460, to whom is ascribed "Sacramentorum egregium volumen" (Gennad. *u. s.* 78). [W. E. S.]

**SACRAMENTS.** There was within our period no tendency to restrict the application of the word *sacramentum* to Christian rites, much less to any fixed number of rites. Only, when used of a religious observance at all, it meant that some sacred meaning lay under a visible sign: "Sacramentum est in aliqua celebratione, cum res gesta ita fit, ut aliquid significare intelligatur quod sancte accipiendum est" (Isid. Hisp. *Origines*, vi. 19).

Being a purely Latin word, *sacramentum* could have no ecclesiastical use in the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic ages, during which the language of the church was exclusively Greek (Milman, *Latin Christianity*, I. 1, vol. i. p. 27). After that period it came into common use from the current Latin versions of the New Testament, in which it was frequently employed as an equivalent to the Greek μυστήριον, *mystery*. Thus, in the version most common before the Vulgate, which we shall denote by S. (Sabatier, *Bibl. Sacr. Lat. Vers. Ant.* Rem. 1743), in Rom. xvi. 25, we have "revelatione sacramenti." Quoting 1 Cor. ii. 7, St. Hilary (*De Trin.* x. 1076) reads "in sacramento." For other examples see 1 Cor. xiii. 2 ("omnia sacramenta"), as cited by St. Augustine (*Tract.* vi. *in S. Joh. Ev.* § 21, vii. § 3; ix. § 8, &c.); Eph. i. 9, iii. 3, 4. 9 in S. and the Vulgate; Eph. vi. 19 in S.; Col. i. 26 in St. Hilary (*Comm. in Ps.* 138, 518); Col. i. 27 in V.; 1 Tim. iii. 9, 16 in S. and V.; Rev. i. 20 in S. V.; x. 7, xvii. 5 in S.; xvii. 7 in S.V.

Hence, whatever could in any sense be called a mystery, was with the Latin Christians a "sacramentum." Revealed truths, and even pious opinions, are "mysteriorum sacramenta" (Isid. Hisp. *de Scrip. Eccl.* 27), the nature of the Godhead is "sacramentum Trinitatis" (Idem, *C. Judaeos*, i. 4, § 6). We have also "sacramentum incarnationis" (Leo M. *Serm.* xxiv. 4; Euseb. Mediol. *Epist.* Hard. *Conc.* i. 1781; comp. *Missale Gallic. Vet.* in Mab. *Lit. Gallic.* 347; Ambr. *de Bened. Patriarch.* xi. 48, in some MSS.), "s. Dominicae passionis et resurrectionis" (Leo, *Serm.* lxi. 1; comp. liii. 4, liv. 3), "s. salutis nostrae" (*Ib.* lvii. 5), "s. Scripturarum" (lxii. 1; *De Vocat. Gent.* [auct. inc.] 21), "s. Paschale" (liii. 5); and so the feast of the Nativity is "sacramenti solemnitas" (Cassian, *Collat.* x. 2). The touching of the catechumen with spittle [EARS, p. 586] was a "sacrament" (Rabanus Maurus, *de Instit. Cleri*, i. 27). So was the salt given to catechumens: *e.g.* the Council of Carthage 397 (followed in *Capit. Reg. Franc.* vii. 263 and *Addit.* iv. 63, 76) ordered that at Eastertide no "sacrament" should be ministered to the catechumens "nisi solitum sal" (can. 5). Comp. Theodulf (*u. s.* 5): "Salem in Sacramento recipiunt." [SALT, § 3.] Again, the creed taught to catechumens is "sacramentum religionis" (*Expos. Symboli* in *Sacram. Gall.* (of Besançon), *Mus. Ital.* i. 312); comp. *Missale Gall. Vet.* in *Liturg. Gall.* Mabill. 339, 347), "in quo quidem pauca sunt verba sed omnia continentur sacramenta" (Raban. M. *de Instit. Cleri*, ii. 56). When one is baptized, "sub Trinitatis tingitur sacramento" (Isid. Hispal. *de Offic. Eccl.* ii. 25); while of the HONEY AND MILK given after baptism, John the Deacon says, "baptizatis . . . . hoc genus sacramenti offertur" (*Epist. ad Senar.* 12). Baptism itself is "sacramentum aquae" (Hildefonsus *de Cognit. Bapt.* ii. 28; Ambros. *Expos. Ev. Luc.* x. 48, &c.), and "s. regenerationis" (Willibald, *Vita S. Bonif.* vii. 19); confirmation was "sacramentum olei" (*ib.* 26; comp. Aug. *Serm.* 227; "oleum est Spiritus Sancti sacramentum), or "chrismatis" (Isid. *Orig.* vi. 19; Rabanus *de Universo*, v. 16; Conc. Arel. vi. can. 18), or "unctionis" (Origenis *Hom.* v. *in Levit. Vers. Lat. Vet.* § 2; Aug. *in Ep. S. Joan.* c. 2, *Tract.* iii. 12). St. Augustine thus speaks of all the rites of the catechumenate: "Omnia sacramenta quae acta sunt et aguntur in vobis per ministerium servorum Dei, exorcismis, orationibus, canticis spiritualibus, insufflationibus, cilicio, inclinatione cervicum, humilitate pedum," &c. (*De Symbolo*, Serm. ii. 1, § 1); while Hildefonse includes all these, the baptism itself, the confirmation and first communion under the same term: "Praemissis . . . sacramentis expletis" (*u. s.* i. 139; comp. Magnus Senonensis, *de Myst. Bapt.* in Martene, *de Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* I. i. 18; Caesarius Arel. *Serm. de Dedic. Eccl.* 4; *Miss. Gall. Vet.* in Mabill. *Lit. Gall.* 362). So Walter of Orleans speaks of the "sacramenta" of catechumens, of the sick, and of the dead (*Capitula* 20). The Eucharist was called "sacramentum altaris" (Aug. *Serm.* 59, § 6, *De Civ. Dei*, x. 6), or "sacramenta altaris" (Id. *Serm.* 226), "mensae Dominicae s." (Id. *Serm.* 127), "s. panis" Hildef. *u. s.* 27), "eucharistiae s." (Tertull. *de Cor. Mil.* 3), "s. Dominici corporis et sanguinis" (Gaudent. *Serm.* 2; comp. Aug. *Ep.* 98. § 9), "s. carnis et sanguinis" (Hilar. *de Trin.* viii. 17), &c. St. Augustine has "sacramentum exorcismi" (*Serm.* 227; comp. the Gelasian exorcism of oil, "Fiat haec unctio . . . sacramentis purificata;" Murat. *u. s.* i. 559), and terms the sign of the cross a sacrament also (*Enarr. in Ps.* cxli. 4, § 9; comp.

Leo M. *Serm.* liii. 3; Ambros. *Expos. Ps.* 118, xiii. 6).

Many other "sacraments" might be enumerated, if it were necessary; but ancient usage will be sufficiently illustrated, if we mention one other application of the word. By "sacramentum" was commonly understood an oath, especially a military oath (e.g. *Codex Theodos.* vi. 168). Hence there was naturally sometimes an allusion under this word to the obligation which a Christian takes on himself as a soldier of Christ. Thus Leo (*Serm.* xxi. 5): "Si coelestis militiae sacramenta servaveris, non dubites te in castris triumphalibus Regis aeterni pro victoria coronandum." Compare Tertullian, *Ad Martyres*, 3; *Adv. Gentes*, 2, prope init. [W. E. S.]

**SACRARIUM.** (1) A Christian church, or consecrated building generally; *e.g.* "confugit ad ritus Christiani sacrarium" (Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxvi.). Cf. Sidonius Apollinaris, lib. viii. ep. 4; Salvian, lib. iii.

(2) More properly the most sacred part of the church, the place of the altar and "confessio"; in the Greek church τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ ἱερατεῖον, from which the laity were excluded. The thirty-first canon of the first council of Braga ordains "ingredi sacrarium ad communicandum non liceat laicis nisi tantum clericis;" and the third canon of the council of Vaison speaks of the minister, "cujus officium est sacrarium disponere et sacramenta suscipere." Here the offerings of the people were received. The ninety-third canon of the fourth council of Carthage forbids the reception of the oblations of brothers at variance either in the sacrarium or treasury, "oblationes dissidentium fratrum neque in sacrario neque in gazophylacio recipiantur."

(3) The sacristy, or vestry. "Sacrarium dicitur quia ibi sacra reponuntur et servantur" (Walafrid Strabo, *de Reb. Eccl.* c. 6). This use of the word was inherited from pagan terminology. Ulpian (*Dig.* lib. i. tit. 8, leg. 9) defines "sacrarium" as "proprie locus in quo sacrae res ponuntur et servantur; quod etiam in aede privata esse potest." Servius (*ad Aen.* xii. 199) similarly says, "sacrarium proprie locus est in templo in quo sacra reponuntur, sicut donarium est in quo ponuntur oblata." We learn from Festus (*in Secespitam*) that the holy things were exhibited in the "sacraria" behind a metal lattice work, as afterwards through the "transennae" of the "confessio:" "sacraria in templis repagulo seu reticulo aeneo olim sepiebantur; in quo tubi relinquebantur per quos sacra manibus tangere licebat." We find it used repeatedly in this sense in the *Ordo Romanus*, *e.g.* "processionem coram episcopo acturis a custode ecclesiae in sacrario ornamenta praebenda sunt;" and in Anastasius: *e.g.* a portion of the true cross is recorded to have been found by pope Sergius "in sacrario beati Petri apostoli," § 162. [E. V.]

**SACRIFICATI.** The name applied to those Christians who in times of persecution took part in a heathen sacrifice. They were not strictly apostates, but to escape confiscation of goods, or torture or death, they performed a distinct act of idolatry. The act was generally made to consist in sharing either in the actual sacrifice or in the sacrificial feast, that is, they openly "eat things offered to idols," and so in the language of Cyprian (*Ep.* xx. 1) they defiled both their hands and life with sacrilegious contact. Cyprian regarded such connivance with idolatry as a far more grievous lapse than that of which the LIBELLATICI were guilty; at the same time he drew a broad distinction between the degrees of guilt among the sacrificati themselves. "We should not," he says (*Ep.* lv. 10), "put on a par one who forthwith and willingly sprung forward to the dreadful sacrifice, and one who, having struggled and long resisted, came by compulsion to this fatal work; one who betrayed both himself and all his, and one who of himself approaching to the danger, protected wife and children and his whole house by exposing himself to peril; one who compelled inmates or friends to the deed, and one who sheltered under his own roof very many brethren who withdrew to banishment." The testimony which he gives in other epistles of the conduct of multitudes of Christians in Africa in the Decian persecution goes far to justify the severity of the church towards those who sacrificed. Men did not wait (Cyp. *de Lapsis*, c. 6) to be summoned to the trial, they went spontaneously, they mutually encouraged one another to submit, they took their children with them, they even entreated, when the magistrate postponed the ordeal on the approach of night, that their downfall might not be delayed. "Why bring an offering, wretched man," he continues, "why present a victim for slaughter? You are yourself an offering for the altar, you are yourself come as a victim; you have slaughtered there your own salvation, your hope; your faith was burnt in those funeral flames."

The penalties of sacrificing varied with the circumstances of the guilt. If the lapser was compelled to make an offering, yet did it in a festive robe and with a glad countenance, then the council of Ancyra (c. 4) decrees that he was to do penance six years,; if in a mourning robe and with a sad heart, then the penance was reduced (c. 5) to four years; if he did not actually partake of the sacrificial victim, it was further reduced to three. Should the sacrifice be repeated a second or third time, the penalty (c. 8) was seven years' exclusion, and should a Christian compel or entice others to succumb, he was to be excommunicated for ten years (c. 9). The Council of Nice further decreed (c. 11) that if a Christian sacrificed when there was no danger and not from compulsion, he was to be under censure for twelve years; a sentence cited and made more severe by 1 *Conc. Valentin.* c 3, but modified by 2 *Conc. Arelat.* c. 10. The *Conc. Eliber.* (c. 1) decided that one who after baptism and of full age participated in the worship of an idol temple, was guilty of a crime for which reconciliation was to be given "nec (nisi ?) in fine." With the close of the persecutions the crime to a great extent passed away. [G. M.]

**SACRIFICE.** This term was applied by early Christian writers to any act or offering of devotion. St. Jerome calls private prayers at night "an evening sacrifice" (*Ep.* vii. *ad Laetam*). St. Hilary uses "sacrificium" of the performance of the corporal works of mercy (in Ps. cxl.). St. Augustine says that the whole congregation of saints form the Christian sacrifice (*de Civ. Dei*, x. 6) in words which are suggestive of the oblation

in the first Postcom. Collect in the Anglican Liturgy. The incense offered at the Benedictio Cerei on Easter Eve is called a "vespertinum sacrificium" (*Sacram. Gregor.*). The offering of bread and wine by Melchizedek is described in the Gelasian Sacramentary as "a holy sacrifice, a spotless victim." These words "sanctum sacrificium immaculatam hostiam" are said by Wal. Strabo to have been added to the canon by Leo I. (*de Reb. Eccles.* c. 22). They are difficult to explain, but all that ingenuity can advance in their favour is put together by Le Brun (*Explication*, &c., tom. i. p. 500; Hoppe, L. A., *Die Epiklesis*, p. 119).

But by far the most common use of the term "sacrificium," together with such wholly or partially equivalent terms as θυσία, προσφορά, ἀναφορά, hostia, oblatio, is to denote the Holy Eucharist. The sacrificial character of that rite has been based on the use by our Lord at its institution of the words ποιέω and ἀνάμνησις; but it does not fall within the scope of this article to enter into the merits of the controversy which has been raised in mediaeval and recent rather than in primitive times over the exact significance of those terms.

The reader is referred to Smith's *Dict. of the Bible* for the theory and history of Jewish sacrifices. They all foreshadowed the sacrifice of Christ on Calvary, since which time St. Augustine says that "in lieu of all these sacrifices and oblations Christ's body is offered and ministered to the partakers" (*de Civ. Dei*, xvii. 20), that "the mysteries of the Jews were succeeded by the sacrifice which He afterwards willed to be celebrated in the church in the stead of them all, because by all of them He was prefigured." (*De Bapt. cont. Don.* iii. 27; *adv. Leg.* i. 37; *c. Faust.* xx. 13, 21; *Enar. in Psalm.* xxxix. 12; Euseb. *Demonstr. Evang.* ii. 10; Apost. Const. vi. 23; Leo I. *Serm.* lvii. *de Pass.* § 7; Theodoret in Heb. xiii. 10; Cyril, *adv. Nest.* iv. 5.) The same and other writers frequently dwell on the offering of Melchizedek as prefiguring the eucharistic sacrifice (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xvi. 22, xvii. 17, xviii. 35; *c. Adv. Leg.* i. 38, 39; Cyprian, *Ep.* 63, § 4; Clement of Alex. *Strom.* iv. § 25; Euseb. *Dem. Ev.* v. 3; Jerome, *Ep. ad Marcellam*, &c.). Other writers, especially St. Chrysostom, dwell on the identity of the eucharistic sacrifice with that which Christ offered (Hom. 2, in 2 ad Tim. Hom. 50 in Matt. vii.; Hom. 17 in Heb. ix. 38, in eos qui Pascha jejunant iii. § 4, &c.).

We append a list of the various sacrificial titles applied to the Eucharist in early documents Eastern and Western.

The sacrifice, sacrificium (Ambros. in Ps. 38, Sacram. Leon and *frequent.*), θυσία (Lit. S. Jas. Hammond, edit. pp. 25, 39, &c.; Apost. Const. ii. 57). The holy sacrifice, sacrificium unde dispensatur victima sancta (Aug. *Conf.* ix. 13), ἡ ἱερὰ θυσία, Chrys. (*Hom. de Bapt. Chr.* tom. ii. p. 375). The new sacrifice, novum sacrificium (Bede, *in Hom. S. Pentecost.* bk. vii. p. 59, edit. 1563). The Lord's sacrifice, sacrificium Dominium (Cyprian, *Ep.* lxiii. 9). The awful sacrifice, ἡ φρικτὴ θυσία (Chrys. Hom. iii. § 4, *in Philipp.*; *De S. Pentecost.* Hom. i. p. 493, &c.). The pure sacrifice, sacrificium purum (Iren. iv. 17, 5; v. 25, 4). The inexhaustible sacrifice, ἡ ἀνάλωτος θυσία (Chrys. Ep. ad Hebr. Hom. xvii. 3). The daily sacrifice, sacrificium quotidianum (Sacr. Leon. Mens. Jul. xliv. iv. Conc. Tolet. can. 5, Greg. Mag. *Dial.* iv. 58, &c.), θυσία καθημερινή (Chrys. iii. *Hom. in Eph.* iii. 4). The daily sacrifice of the church (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, x. 20). The perpetual sacrifice, sacrificium perenne (Miss. Goth. edit. Mab. p. 297). The sacrifice of salvation, sacrificium salutis (Wal. Strabo, *Vit. S. Galli*, i. 19). The sacrifice of Christians, sacrificium Christianorum (Aug. *c. Faust.* xx. 18). The sacrifice of Christ, sacrificium Christi (Cyprian, *de Unit. Eccles.* c. 17). The sacrifice of Christ's Body, sacrificium corporis Christi (Fulgentius, *Epist.* xiv.; Resp. ad Quaest. 5, Ferrand. Aug. *Ep. ad Honorat.*). The sacrifice of bread and wine, sacrificium panis et vini (Fulgentius de Fide ad Petr. § 60). The sacrifice of praise, sacrificium laudis (Sacr. Gel. Miss. Goth. edit. Mab. p. 191; Aug. *c. Adv. Leg.* i. 39, &c.), θυσία αἰνέσεως (Lit. of S. Jas. Gk. in Orat. Veli). The sacrifice of thanksgiving, sacrificium gratiarum actionis (Ethiop. Lit.). The unbloody sacrifice, ἀναίμακτος θυσία (Euseb. *de Vit. Const.* iv. 45; Athenag. *Leg. pro Christo*, § 13, &c. *frequent.*). The most pure and unbloody sacrifice; καθαρωτάτη καὶ ἀναίμακτος θυσία (Greg. Naz. Orat. v. c. Jul. xxix.). The reasonable and unbloody and mystical sacrifice, θυσία λογικὴ καὶ ἀναίμακτος καὶ μυστική (Apost. Constitt. vi. 23). The tremendous and unbloody sacrifice, ἡ φοβερὰ καὶ ἀναιμακτὸς θυσία (Lit. S. Jas. in Orat. Veli). The spiritual sacrifice, sacrificium spirituale (Stowe Missal. Syr. Lit. of S. Jas.), ἡ πνευματικὴ θυσία (Apost. Constitt. viii. 46; Cyril. Jer. Orat. xxiii. Mystag. v. 8). The intellectual sacrifice, λογικὴ θυσία (Euseb. *Dem. Evang.* i. 10). So Christ is said to be intellectually sacrificed (νοητῶς), Cyril. Alex. in Zeph. iii. 8, 10. The true and full sacrifice, sacrificium verum et plenum (Cyprian, Ep. lxiii.). The holy and most awful sacrifice, ἁγία καὶ φρικωδεστάτη θυσία (Cyril. Jer. v. *Myst. Cat.* 9). The honouring and saving sacrifice, honorificentiae et sacrificii salutaris obsequium (Fulgentius, *ad Monim.* ii. 2–5). The most true and single sacrifice of the new law, verissimum et singulare sacrificium novae legis (Aug. *Lib. de Spiritu*, xi.). The oblation of the church, ecclesiae sacrificium (Fulgent. ad Monim. lib. ii. c. vi.); Ecclesiae oblatio (Iren. iv. 18, 1). The oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ, oblatio corporis et sanguinis Christi (Fulgent. *Respons. ad Quaest.* 5, *Ferrand. Epist.* xiv.). The reasonable offering, ἡ λογικὴ λατρεία (Anaph. of St. Basil), oblatio rationalis (Ethiop. Lit.). The tremendous and life-giving offering, προσφορὰ φρικτὴ καὶ σωτήριος (Chrys. *in eos qui Pasch. jejun.* iii. § 4).

It would be impossible to present the reader with a complete catena of the passages in early liturgies, councils, and writings in which the eucharistic sacrifice is mentioned. The following list of sacrificial phrases from the earliest western sacramentary will afford an idea of the extent to which the thought and language of the early church were saturated with the conception of sacrifice. The same phrases, with many variations and additions, abound in all early service books, Roman, Gallican, and Mozarabic. The writings of Eastern saints and the Eastern liturgies abound equally in the use of θυσία and προσφορά, with many cognate and compound phrases.

In the sacramentary of Leo—"Divinum sacrificium (*Mense Aprili*, xii.); sacrificium placationis et laudis (*ib.* xiii.); laudis tuae domine hostias immolamus (*Mens. April.* xiv. *Jul.* xli.); hostia placationis et laudis; spiritualis hostia quae miro ineffabilique mysterio et immolatur semper et eadem semper offertur (Muratori, *de Reb. Lit.* 198); sacrificium singulare quod majestati tuae et semper redditur et debetur (*Mens. Jul.*), Prec. Diurn. xxxv. xxxviii.; hostias tibi domine deferimus immolandas (*ib.*); hostias tibi, domine, suppliciter immolamus (*ib.*); sacrificium nostrum (*in Natal. Dom.* iii.; see the whole of this collect.); suscipe domine sacrificium cujus te voluisti dignanter immolatione placari (*ad Jejun. xmi. Mensis*); oblationis obsequium quod offerimus (*Mense Apr.* xvii.); sacrificium celebramus quod nobis debet esse perpetuum (*ib.* xxvi.); hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus placatus accipias (*in Pentecost.*); hostias altaribus tuis placationis imponimus (*in Natal. SS. Johan. et Pauli*, v.); oblatio nostrae servitutis (*in Natal. SS. Joh. et Pauli*, vii., iv. *Id. Aug.* v.); sacrificium (*in Natal. Pet. et Pauli*, xvi. *frequent.*); hostias nostrae devotionis (*Mense Jul.* iii.); sacrificium gloriosum (*Mense Jul.* iii.); oblatio sacranda (*Mense Jul.* xv.); sacrificium tibi domine celebrandum placatus intende (*Mense Jul.* xix.); tuae plebis oblatio (*Mense Jul.* xxiii.), *or* populi tuae, *or* familiae tuae (*ib.* xxxiii.); sacrificium quotidianum (*Mens. Jul.* xliv.); sacratae plebis oblatio (viii. *Id. Aug.* vii.); sacrificium laudis (iv. *Id. Aug.* v. canon Gelas. *frequent.*); sacrificium salutare (*Id. Aug.* iv.; *Natal. Epis.* xix.); sacrificium nostrae servitutis (xvi. *Kal. Oct.* iii.); hostias laudis (*Prid. Kal. Oct.* i.; *Mens. Sep.* xii. &c. *frequent.*); sacrificium nomini tuo dicatum (*Mensis Sep.* i.); sacrificii praesentis oblatio (*Super Defunctos*, ii.); sacrificium cujus te voluisti dignanter immolatione placari (*in Jejun. Mens. xmi.* ii.)."

The following are among the various titles applied to the Eucharist in the ancient Celtic church of Great Britain and Ireland:

Hostia; (*Syn. Hibernens.* ii. 21) oblatio; (*Reg. Columbani*, c. iv.) oiffrenn; (*Senchus Mor.* i. 126, ii. 344) facorfaic; (*Book of Deer*) sacrificium; (Gildas, *Praefat. de Poeniten.* §§ 6, 7, 8; *Hibernens.* xli. 4; *Reg. S. Colum.* cxii.) sacrificale mysterium; (Cuminius, *Vit. S. Colum.* p. 29)." To celebrate the Holy Eucharist was expressed by—"Offerre (Gildas, *Praef. de Poenit.* xxiv.; *Hibernens.* xviii. 6); sacra offerre (Gildas, *ib.* xxiii.); offerre sacrificium (*Liber Davidis*, can. xii.; Patricii, *Confessio*, xiv.); sacra oblationis mysteria ministrare (Adamnan, *Vit. S. Colum.* i. 40); sacram oblationem consecrare (*ib.* iii. 17); immolare hostiam (Secundini *Hymnus*, *Irish Hymnary*, p. 17)."

The word "sacrificium" was used equally for that which was offered to God, and for that which was given to and received by the communicant. St. Gall told his scholar Magnoaldus, "My master Columbanus is accustomed to offer unto the Lord the sacrifice of salvation in brazen vessels" (Wal. Strabo, *Vit. S. Galli*, i. 19). The twelfth canon of the synod of St. Patrick runs thus; "He who deserveth not to receive the sacrifice in his life, how can it benefit him after his death?" (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. 2, 335). St. Patrick said to the newly-baptized virgin daughters of Laoghaire, "Ye cannot see the face of Christ except ye taste of death, and except ye receive the sacrifice." And they answered, "Give us the sacrifice that we may behold the Son our Spouse," and they received the Eucharist of God, and they slept in death (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 12a). The two words communion and sacrifice are frequently used together in one phrase in the *Leabhar Breac*. "Thereafter Patrick sent forth his spirit, and he received communion and sacrifice from bishop Tassach's hand" (fol. 29 b; see also fols. 65 a, 66 a).

The use of the word "sacrificium" for Eucharist is frequent in the service books and ecclesiastical documents of the Anglo-Saxon church. This is natural in a church which accepted through its founder the Roman liturgy in the shape of the Gregorian Sacramentary, modified by the introduction of several Gallican and perhaps of a few Celtic features. Illustrations might be drawn from almost any page of the Anglo-Saxon missals or other service books (Surtees, Soc. vol. lxi. p. ix.), and from the regulations concerning the Eucharist laid down in the penitentials of Theodore, cap. xii. (7th century); of Bede, cap. viii. (8th century); of Egbert, cap. xii. (8th century), &c. (Linga. J J. *Anglo-Saxon Church*, edit. 1858, vol. i. p. 265).

[F. E. W.]

**SACRIFICIUM.** The anthem commonly called the offertory ("quod in honore sacrificiorum canitur;" see Isidore, *de Eccl. Off.* i. 14) was so called among the Goths of Spain, as by Isidore of Seville, A.D. 595 (*Epist. ad Leudefr.* § 5).

*Sacrificium* is the invariable heading of the offertories in the Mozarabic Missal. Ex. (the offertory for Easter): "*Sacrificium.* Ecce Agnus (John i. 29). *V.* Dicunt qui (Ps. cvi. 1–3). *P.* Qui tollit. *V.* Gloria et honor Patri. *P.* Qui tollit peccatum."

[W. E. S.]

**SACRILEGE.** Amongst the acts which are specifically classed as sacrilege, we may enumerate—

(*a*) The act of one who "acceptam a sacerdote Eucharistiam non sumpserit" (*Conc. Tolet.* i. cap. 14).

(*β*) The seizure of sacred or ecclesiastical property (*Conc. Vas.* ii. c. 4, A.D. 529, citing St. Jerome's letter to Nepotianus). In this category we find the seizure of the goods of a bishop at his death by the clergy (*Conc. Chalc.* can. 22), especially the plunder of the palace and the licence that prevailed through the whole of Rome and its suburbs on the death of the supreme pontiffs (Ravennat. sub Joan. iv. c. 11, ob. A.D. 685). Akin to this is the removal of anything from the episcopal residence during the vacancy of the see (*Conc. Ilerd.* can. 16, A.D. 524). [VACANCY.]

At a later period we find traces of the seizure of the goods of deceased presbyters or clerics.

(*γ*) A bishop's delivering over a monastery to spoliation (*Conc. Hispal.* ii. c. 10, A.D. 619).

(*δ*) The sale of any of the vessels of the church on the part of a presbyter or deacon (*Capitula Martini Brac.* c. 17, cent. 6).

St. Ambrose melted the sacramental plate at Milan to redeem some captives, and the Arians branded that as sacrilege. But St. Ambrose justified himself, arguing that it is better to

have preserved the vessels of living men than lifeless vessels. A similar thing was done by St. Augustine, by Acacius, bishop of Amida, by St. Cyril at Jerusalem, and by Deogratias of Carthage. Bingham shews that in the Code of Justinian a special provision was made for selling the church plate in these exceptional cases. A similar provision in the canon law was made by the council of Rheims (Can. 22).

(ε) Offences against the person and rights of the sovereign (*Cod. Theod.* lib. 6, tit. 5). See PRINCES, ALLEGIANCE TO.

(ζ) Plundering the graves of the dead. (Cod. Theod. ix. 17 says that this act was always esteemed "proximum sacrilegio.")

(η) Impeding a clergyman in the performance of his office by imposing upon him other duties (*Cod. Theod.* 16, 2).

(θ) Allied to this is the disturbance of divine service and affronting its ministers (*Cod. Theod.* 16, 2).

(ι) Bingham quotes the words of pope Gelasius in proof of the position that the abstaining from the cup in Holy Communion is sacrilege: ". . . quidam sumpta tantummodo corporis sacri portione a calice sacri cruoris abstinent . . . divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire."

(κ) The name of sacrilege is given even to a neglect of ignorant or careless teachers in preaching the word of God to the people: "qui divinae legis sanctitatem aut nesciendo confundunt aut negligendo violant et offendunt sacrilegium committunt" (*Cod. Theod.* ap. Bingham, xvi. 6, 27).

There are many acts which are classed as sacrilege by the canonists without being actually called by that name in conciliar decrees; for example:—

(1) Wrapping a corpse in the altar-pall (*palla altaris*). (Clem. *Ep.* ii.)

(2) A deacon using the same as a covering for his shoulders (*ibid.*).

(3) The act of one who "ad sepulcra martyrum adjungit corpora praecipitatorum insanorum."

(4) Not consuming the Eucharist in church (Caesar. c. 3).

(5) Giving the Eucharist to the dead.

(6) Offering anything but bread and the cup with mingled wine and water.

(7) A layman undertaking publicly to teach the word of God (Trull. c. 64).

(8) Destroying or mutilating books of Scripture, or delivering them to booksellers or perfumers (*unguentarii*) to be destroyed (Trull. c. 68).

(9) Profanation of churches by traffic (Trull. c. 76); or introducing cattle (Trull. c. 88); or impropriety (Trull. c. 97).

(10) Giving or receiving the Communion (*communionem*) in any vessel (Trull. c. 101).

(11) Drawing figures of the cross upon the ground, thus causing the emblem of our salvation to be trodden upon (Trull. c. 73).

(12) Offering improper bread for consecration in the Eucharist (*Conc. Tolet.* c. 6, A.D. 693).

(13) Misuse of the sacred chrism for medicinal or other purposes (*Conc. Arelat.* iv. cap. 18, A.D. 813).

(14) The act of the *traditores* in delivering up the Scriptures and sacred vessels to heathen authorities for destruction.

(15) A cleric of any rank consulting augurs, soothsayers, fortune-tellers, or magicians (*Conc. Tol.* iv. c. 28).

With regard to the punishment enacted against sacrilege, it appears from the 16th canon of the council of Lerida (Ilerd.) already quoted that conviction was followed by "prolixius anathema." The guilty were disqualified for accusation ("nullatenus ad accusationem sunt admittendi," Eutychian *Epist.* 2).

The mode of inflicting the punishment is described at length in the 24th canon of the second council of Tours (A.D. 567). The occasion was the seizure of church property. The offender was to be admonished by the presbyter of the church that had suffered. If he would not make restitution, he was to be addressed as a son in letters by all the brethren. But if he was finally recalcitrant after a third admonition, abbats and presbyters assembled to pronounce the solemn anathema. The clergy were shut in choir, Christ being their helper. The 109th Psalm (Vulg. 108) was said to the murderer of the poor, that "upon him might come the curse that came upon Judas." The effect of the denunciation is declared to be that he should die not only excommunicate, but anathematized, and should be smitten with the sword of heaven. [MALEDICTION.]

The fourth council of Toledo speaks of the sacrilege of grave-robbing as having been punishable by death under the public laws, and enacts, accordingly, that a cleric who is guilty of the crime be deposed from his orders, and do three years' penance (c. 45). In the excerpts of archbishop Egbert (quoting Jerome) sacrilegious persons are ranked with murderers. The infliction of punishment (presumably capital punishment) is there pronounced to be not "effusio sanguinis." Elsewhere they are catalogued with "heretics, suspected, excommunicated, felons, thieves, resorters to fortune-tellers and wizards" (Eutych. *Epist.* 2, ap. Antonii Augustini Juris Pontif. Epitome, Lib. 34, tit. ix. pars ii. cap. 8).

Legend, as usual, is not backward in depicting the horrors of sacrilege. See, for instance, Gregory of Tours *de Gloria Martyrum*, cap. 17; *de Miraculis S. Martini*, lib. 1. [H. T. A.]

**SACRISTA, SACRISTANUS.** The minister to whom the care of the sacred vessels, vestments, and furniture was committed. "Sacrorum custos; idem qui Thesaurarius" (Durand. *Rational.* lib. ii. c. 1, n. 14). [SCEUOPHYLAX.] [E. V.]

**SACRISTY.** [DIACONICUM; SCEUOPHYLACIUM; SECRETARIUM.]

**SADOC,** Feb. 20, bishop, martyr in Persia under Sapor (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**SADOTH,** Oct. 19, martyr in Persia under Sapor (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**SAGAR,** Oct. 6, bishop of Laodicea, reputed disciple of St. Paul (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SAGUM.** This word is properly applied to a cloak worn by the inferior ranks of the Roman soldiery. We gather from Isidore that it was of

Gallican origin and rectangular in form (*Etymol.* xix. 24. 13). With its military use we have no concern here, but it is necessary to remark that in the 8th century we find several prohibitions against the use of the *sagum* by clerics. Thus a council held in A.D. 742 under the presidency of Boniface, either at Ratisbon or Augsburg, orders that "priests and deacons shall not wear *saga* like laymen, but *casulae*" (can. 7; Labbe, vi. 1535). The rules of this council were confirmed by a capitulary put forth by Carloman at Liptinae in the following year (Baluzius, *Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 149). Again, in a letter of Boniface to Cuthbert (A.D. 745), we find a reference to his prohibition to the "servants of God" of the use of *saga* or weapons. In the Theodosian Code, *sagum* is the name applied to the cloak or outer covering used by those who looked after the horses used for public conveyance. These are not to be taken away or torn by those employing the horses (lib. viii. tit. 5, ll. 37, 48, 50; and see Gothofredus's note). For further references see Ducange's *Glossarium*, s. v. [R. S.]

SAINTES, COUNCIL OF (SANTONENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 562, when Heraclius, a presbyter, was nominated to that see in lieu of Emerius, appointed to it uncanonically by king Clotaire I. But the bishops were fined for this act by Chérebert, the son of Clotaire, and Emerius was maintained in his office. (Mansi, ix. 783–786.) [E. S. Ff.]

SAINTS (*Sancti*, ἅγιοι). (1) The people of God, as holy by election and profession, have been so called under both dispensations (Deut. xxx. 3; Ps. l. 5; cxlix. 1, 5, 9; &c., and N. T. Rom. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 2; Eph. i. 1, iv. 12; Col. i. 2; Jude 3; &c.). This scriptural use of the word was common for more than three centuries after Christ. With Constantine the visible church is ὁ ἁγίων σύλλογος, the assembly of the saints (Tit. *Orat. ad SS. Coetum*). In several passages in which St. Chrysostom speaks of the intercession of "the saints," the context shews that he means our living brethren (*Hom.* 44 *in Gen.* § 2; *Hom.* 5 *in Matth. Ev.* § 4; *Hom.* 5 *in Ep.* 2, *ad Eph.* § 1). "Grex sanctorum" is the church in the language of Victor Vitensis (*de Persec. Afric.* 5). Caesarius of Arles, referring to the precept (St. James v. 16), "Confess your faults one to another," says that "Scripture advises us to confess our sins, not only to God, but also to the saints and those who fear God" (*Serm.* lvi. § 7).

But several conventional restrictions of the meaning of this term were at the same time growing up. Thus it was sometimes limited to those who lived up to their holy profession, the true saints in the visible kingdom of saints; as when some persons, condemned by the council of Milevi, A.D. 416 (cans. 7, 8), attempted to explain away the use of the petition, "Forgive us our trespasses," by "the saints." Again it sometimes meant those who were especially devoted to holy offices or to a holy life, as the clergy and monks and nuns. Thus Cyril of Jerusalem calls a certain rite in baptism "the insufflations of the saints" (*Catech. Myst.* ii. 3). Salvian, complaining of the oppressions of his day; "Viduarum et pupillorum viscera devorantur, et cum his ferme sanctorum omnium" (*de Gubern. Dei*, 5). In the East again the writers of holy Scripture were especially so called. See examples in the *Festal Epistles* of St. Athanasius, pp. 14, 20, 25, 39 (*Engl. Tr.* Oxf.). St. Basil of Caesarea asks, "Which of the saints has left in writing the words of invocation at the consecration of the bread of Eucharist and the wine of blessing? For we are not content with those things which the apostle or the gospel has mentioned, but we say other things" (*de Spir. Sanct.* 27, § 66).

(2) *Saints in the Calendar*.—The use of the title "saint" to denote a "martyr designatus" (Tertull. *Ad Mart.* 1) or "vindicatus" (Optatus, *de Schism. Donat.* i. 16), or a confessor raised to the same rank, is not earlier than the 5th century. [Compare CALENDAR; MARTYROLOGY.] We find it, however, in a Roman table of gospels, "Capitula Lectionum Evangelii ann. circ. ad missam," which Martene thinks not later than the beginning of that period, almost every name being preceded by the title "sanctus" (Martene and Durand, *Thesaur.* v. 66). Another calendar of the 5th century is headed, "Hic continentur dies natalicio-rum martyrum et depositiones episcoporum, quos ecclesia Carthagenis anniversaria celebrant" (*sic*) (*Analecta Vet.* Mab. 163, ed. 2, Ruinart, *u. s.* 693). Here the title of saint is given to nearly all; but the custom does not seem to have been quite familiar to the compiler; for the first six in the list are without it; though four of them are described as martyrs. The rest, above 80 in number, with three apparently accidental exceptions, are all called saints. The Calendar of Polemeus Silvius, or rather P. Annaeus Silvius, was written for the year 448. Beside heathen festivals, birthdays of emperors, &c., prognostications of weather, and some of the greater Christian festivals, it notes "Natalis S. Vincentii Martyris, Depositio sancti Petri et Pauli, Natalis S. Laurentii Martiris, Natalis S. Hippoliti Mart., Natalis S. Stephani Mart." (Boll. *u. s.* 176; Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* v. i. 54). Certain *Fasti Consulares*, which end at the year 493, contain memoranda of nine martyrdoms, and of the translation of SS. Andrew and Luke to C. P.; but in only two instances (St. Laurence, St. Euphemia) is the title of saint employed (Boll. *u. s.* 186). A fragment of a Gothic calendar found in the library at Milan names six martyrs, but styles none of them *saints*. It was compiled before 553, but when does not appear. It is therefore uncertain whether the omission is a mark of great antiquity or a peculiarity of the Gothic church (Mai, *u. s.* 66). In the *Calendarium Romanum* of the 8th century, printed by J. Fronto (*Epist. et Dissert.* 133, Veron. 1733), the title is scrupulously prefixed to every name; as it is also to those found on a marble calendar of the ninth given by Mai (*u. s.* 58).

(3) *Commemoration in the Liturgy*.—The one privilege accorded at the earliest period to the recognised saints of any church, was annual mention in its liturgy. Thus St. Cyprian, speaking of two martyrs, says, "As ye remember, we always offer sacrifices for them, whenever we celebrate the passion and days of martyrs by a yearly commemoration" (*Epist.* 34, *ad Cler.* ed. Ben.). [NATALE.] He ordered the deaths of persons under persecution to be notified to him,

that they might be thus commemorated (*Epist.* 37). It was in fact a part of the bishop's duty to control the services of the church in this as well as other respects. Even at the later period, when martyrs became objects of worship, it was the bishop who exercised the right of admission or exclusion: "De . . . . sanctis noviter inventis, nisi episcopo probante, minime venerentur" (*Capit.* Car. Mag. A.D. 805, c. 17; comp. Conc. Francof. 794, can. 42; *Capit. Reg. Franc.* v. 257; vi. 283). Before long persons not martyrs, but sufferers for the truth and eminent for holiness (see the earlier limitations in Hermas *Pastor*, i. vis. 3, § 1; iii. Simil. § 28; relaxed in Cyprian *Epist.* 37 *ad Cler.*), received the same honour under the title of confessors. One such, viz. Sylvester, but only one, appears in the Roman calendar of the beginning of the 5th century, printed by Martene (*Thesaurus Anecd.* v. 66). At length such commemoration, whether annual or by request more frequent, became an object of ambition, and was purchased by gifts or bequests. *E.g.*, a matron named Theodilana in the 6th century (Mabill. *Anal. Vet.* 160, ed. 2) made a donation, and Remigius of Rheims (Labb. *Biblioth. MSS.* i. 806), and Bertram of Mans (Mab. *u. s.* 257) made bequests to churches on condition that their names should be "inscribed in the book of life (the diptychs) and recited on every festival."

The names of the Virgin, apostles, and other chief saints were recited from the diptychs with the rest, in some churches even down to the 8th century (Salig, *de Dipt. Vet.* iii. 34, Halae Magdeb. 1731); but a distinction was felt to be desirable even before that period, and in the West the more eminent names had for some time occupied a permanent place in the liturgy itself. Hence within our period there were prayers for the blessed Virgin and others by name, certainly in most of, presumptively in all the liturgies, except the Clementine, which was modelled on the earlier rite, and the Nestorian of Theodore and Nestorius which were derived from the primitive liturgies of Mopsuestia and Constantinople. At first these intercessions were said by the priest at the altar, and after the consecration (*Notitia Eucharistica*, 421, ed. 2); but after a while, obviously for the sake of greater distinction, they were generally removed to an earlier part of the service. A surviving witness to the earlier arrangement is found in the Armenian liturgy: "*The Priest:* We pray that the mother of God, the holy Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, the first confessor and archdeacon St. Stephen, and all saints, be commemorated in this holy liturgy. *Choir.* Remember them, O Lord, and have mercy upon them" (Neale's *Introd. to Hist. of East. Church*, 594). Other names follow. In the original text of St. James after the consecration God is simply besought to remember all the orthodox "from righteous Abel unto this day," but the later adds, "that we may find mercy and peace with all the saints, . . . . especially our most holy . . . . lady," &c. (Assemani *Codex Liturg.* iv. P. 2, 45). The Sicilian St. James, not only commemorates the Blessed Virgin, archangels, the baptists, the apostles, prophets and martyrs in general terms, and St. Stephen and James by name (*ibid.* 68) before the consecration, but also prays for "the memory, pardon, and repose" of all the archbishops of Jerusalem after James, naming some of them (76). After the consecration (p. 86) it commemorates a great number of the saints of Scripture, and many martyrs and others by name, "not that we are worthy to commemorate their blessedness, but that they, standing before Thy dread and awful throne, O Lord, may remember our piteous state."

In the West the Roman use commemorates by name (in the *Communicantes*) the Blessed Virgin, eleven of the twelve apostles, St. Paul (associated with St. Peter), Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian; to which the local churches added names at will (Martene, *de Ant. Rit. Eccl.* I. iv. 8, n. 16). This was before the consecration. After, it prays for part and lot with "the holy Apostles and martyrs John, Stephen, Matthias (omitted before), Barnabas, Ignatius," and ten others. In both formularies it avoids prayer for them. The Mozarabic now merely commemorates (before the consecration) the B. V. the apostles, &c.; but still "offers on behalf of the spirits of those at rest, of Hilary, Athanasius, Martin, Ambrose, Augustine, Fulgentius," &c.—In all sixty-five names are mentioned (Leslie, *Missale Mozar.* 4, 225).

When the system of Missae was formed in the West the several collects composed for a saint's day mentioned him by name. The reference to him was various; but in one of them at least a prayer was offered for his repose. Such prayers, however, were so contrary to the feeling of the early mediaeval church that only two examples have come down to us in the sacramentaries of Rome; viz. the *secretae* in the Missae for St. Leo and St. Gregory. Until altered, not long before the time of Innocent III., A.D. 1198 (*Decr. Const.* iii. 130, in *Opp.* ii. 764, Colon. 1575), they began thus, "Grant unto us, O Lord, that this oblation may profit the soul of Thy servant" (*Sacram. Gregor.* in Murat. *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii. 25, 102).

It was an early rule that no saint's day should be kept in Lent (Conc. Laodic. can. 51; Conc. Tolet. A.D. 656, cap. 1), and none are set down for that season in the earliest Roman table of gospels (Martene, *Thesaur.* v. 66), nor could there have been any in the old Gallican lectionary found at Luxeuil (*Lit. Gall.* 124).

*Litanies of the Saints.*—Originally the ectenes of the Greek and Oriental churches seem to have contained no reference to the departed (*Notitia Eucharistica*, 422). Now they have a commemoration of the Virgin and other saints introduced somewhat awkwardly (Goar, *Euchol. Graec.* 66, 74; Renaudot, *Lit. Orient.* i. 9, 139, 149, 506, 514; Raulin, *Liturg. Malab.* 298).

Nor were they commemorated, except very generally, in any of the corresponding Western forms, the Missal litanies, as said in the Missa Catechumenorum (in the Ambrosian rite immediately after the ingressa [INTROIT]) from a very early period. In the Missal litany preserved at Fulda (Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* i. 4, n. 3), the only allusion to the saints is in the clause "Sanctorum Apostolorum et Martyrum memores sumus, ut orantibus eis pro nobis veniam mereamur." There is no reference to them whatever in the two litanies retained in the Ambrosian Missal (Pamelius, *Liturgica*, i. 328,

331), or in the Mozarabic and Gallican PRECES, the last form of the eucharistic litany in Spain and France. But when litanies disappeared from the liturgy, they were still used in PROCESSIONS, and in the visitation of the sick. As so used, however, we find them enlarged by direct invocations to saints; as "Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis," &c.—Above 150 are thus addressed by name in an old litany of English use ascribed to the 8th century, printed by Mabillon (*Anal. Vet.* 168). Another of the same character, and also English of the 9th century, is given by Mr. Proctor (*Hist. of B. C. P.* 230) from a MS. (*H.* i. 23) in the Cambridge University Library. An Anglo-Saxon litany printed by Mai (*Script. Vet. Nova Coll.* v. i. 66) from a MS. of Bury St. Edmund's, now in the Vatican, contains thirty names, all purely national; except that of St. Helena. One of Gallican use, and of the age of Charlemagne (Mabill. *Anal.* 171), gives about 200 names, among which we find those of Oriel, Raguel, Tobiel, which Zachary, in a council held at Rome in 745 (act. 3), declared to be "the names not of angels, but of devils" (Labb. *Conc.* vi. 1561). Later litanies of this kind may be seen in Bona *u. s.* App. (*Codex Chisian.*), and Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. vii. 4, (ordo 6 (above 280 names), ordd. 11, 13, 15, 17, 25).—See litanies as used at the dedication of a church [PROCESSION, ii. B. 15] in the *Ordo Romanus*, Bernoldi (in Hittorp. *Eccl. Off.* 108, ed. 1); and Martene (*de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* ii. 13, ord. 4). They contain each about fifty names. For similar litanies sung at the coronation of an emperor, see Mart. *u. s.* ii. 9, ord. 5 (at Milan), and ii. 23, ord. 9 (at Rome) in ed. 2; at that of a king of France, ii. 10, ord. 7 (58 names). [W. E. S.]

**SAINTS' DAYS.** [FESTIVALS; MARTYR, p. 1127; NATALIS.]

**SALAMA** (FRUMENTIUS), July 10, Sept. 20, Dec. 14, apostle of Ethiopia (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C. H.]

**SALARIA** or **SALARIUM.** A saltcellar, generally of some precious metal, for holding the salt used in consecrating holy water, or in the sacrament of baptism, was a usual piece of church furniture towards the end of our period. Flodoardus (*Hist. S. Remig.* lib. ii. c. 5) mentions "cochlearia duodecim et salarium argenteum." Bernard. Mon. (*in Ord. Cluniac.* part i. c. 27) speaks of the "salaria" of the refectory, into which what remained over of the salt, when the holy water was consecrated, was put. At a later period, among the church furniture of York Minster (*Mon. Angl.* iii. 171), was a silver saltcellar, gilt inside, "pro sale in dominicis diebus benedicendo." [E. V.]

**SALCHU** (SOLOCHÔN), Sep. 17, an Egyptian martyr, commemorated at Chalcedon (*Syr. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**SALOME**, Oct. 22, disciple of Christ (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*); Oct. 21 (Notker.). [C. H.]

**SALOMON**, Feb. 8, martyr, commemorated at Cordova (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

**SALOMONIS**, Aug. 1, Maccabaean martyr with her seven sons under Seleucus at Jerusalem (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**SALON**, Sept. 28, bishop and confessor, commemorated at Genoa (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

**SALT, THE RITUAL USE OF** I. *Put into Holy Water.*—See HOLY WATER, § iv. Prayers for the exorcism and benediction of the salt before it was mixed with the water may be seen in the Sacramentary of Gelasius (Murat. *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* i. 739–741) in that of Gregory (Murat. *u. s.* ii. 225; *Opp. S. Greg.* iii. 233, ed. Ben.), in the Romanizing rite of Besançon found by Mabillon at Bobio (*Mus. Ital.* i. 386), &c. Holy water was often made expressly to be sprinkled in the house of the sick, and then, as at other times, was "aspersa sale." See *Ordines* vi. 16, in Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. vii. 4. The origin of the custom is not known, but it is possibly connected with a heathen practice, described by Balsamon as having been observed annually at Constantinople even in Christian times, of sprinkling every house with water from the sea (*Comment. in Conc. Trull.* can. 65).

II. *At the Dedication of a Church.*—On such occasions blessed water mixed with ashes was used, and salt was added here also. It was supposed to represent divine truth; while the water was a symbol of the people; the ashes, of the sacrifice of the Lamb of God. With this mixture the bishop signed the corners of the altar, and sprinkled various parts of the church. What remained was poured out at the foot of the altar (Remigius Autiss. *de Dedic. Eccl.* 4–6). There are no examples earlier than the 8th century. See Martene, *u. s.* ii. 13; viz. the Gellone *Missal Ord.* 1; Egbert's Pontifical, *Ord.* 2; or Surtees Society, vol. xxvii. p. 34; the Anglican Pontifical found at Jumiéges, 3; *Ordo Romanus* Bernoldi in Hittorp. *de Off. Cath. Eccles.* 112, Col. 1568; &c. The same rite appears in the Gregorian Sacramentary (Murat. *u. s.* ii. 474; *Opp.* S. Greg. iii. 147, ed. Ben.), but not in the earlier Gelasian (Murat. *u. s.* i. 609).

III. *Salt given to Catechumens.*—This was a purely Latin rite, though some have supposed Origen to refer to it when commenting on Ezekiel xvi. 4 (*Hom. in Ez.* vi.). As no other Greek or Oriental writer even appears to allude to it, and the ritual books of their churches do not prescribe it, we must suppose that Origen is speaking figuratively, like the prophet whom he paraphrases. See a similar passage in Ambrose, *Exp. s. in Luc. Ev.* x. 48; comp. Mark ix. 50, Luke xiv. 34, Col. iv. 6 It was, however, general, if not universal, among the Latins after the 3rd century. Thus we find the council of Carthage in 397, decreeing that "throughout the most solemn days of Easter no sacrament should be given to the catechumens, except the accustomed salt" (can. 5). St. Augustine also, in Roman Africa, says of himself: "Adhuc puer . . . . signabar jam signo crucis, et condiebar ejus sale" (*Confess.* i. 11, § 17). The Gelasian Sacramentary has a "Benedictio Salis dandi catechumenis," in which, after exorcising the salt, the bishop proceeds: "Proinde rogamus Te . . . . ut haec creatura salis in nomine Trinitatis efficiatur salutare sacramentum." This is followed by a "Benedictio post Salem datum" (Murat. *u. s.* i. 534; *Codices Sacrament.* Thomas. 49; Romae, 1689). All this is preserved in the Gregorian books. See Murat. *u. s.* ii. 60, and other examples in Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. i. 6, *Ord.* 3. The

rite is not found in the old Gallican books (Thomasius, *u. s.*; *Liturg. Gall.* Mabill.; *Sacram. Gall. Vet. in Mus. Ital.* i.; Murat. *u. s.* ii.), but is recognised by the Romanizing bishops of the empire, whom Charlemagne consulted on the subject of baptism, as Leidrad. Lugd. (*De Baptismo*, 1), Magnus Senon. (in Martene, *u. s.* art. 17), Theodulf of Orleans (*Epist. ad. Jo mn.* 5), &c. In Spain Hildefonse of Toledo (A.D. 657) had only heard of the rite as local: "Catechumenis in nonnullis locis, ut refertur, sales accipiunt. . . . . Usquequaquam non probatur" (*De Cognit. Bapt.* i. 26). It is, however, acknowledged by Isidore of Seville (*De Offic.* ii. 20): "Exorcisantur, deinde salem accipiunt." In the 9th century it was still known that this rite was not apostolic: "Alii addiderunt in baptismatis sacramento exorcismos, alii consecrationem fontis, alii *salis*, vel salivae infusionem" (Walafr. Strabo, *de Rebus Eccl.* 26).

The salt was given at every SCRUTINIUM (*Ordo Scrut.* 1, 8, in *Mus. Ital.* ii. 77, 81), and was regarded as a symbol of that divine wisdom with which the catechumen was gradually imbued during his preparation for baptism. So Smaragdus (*Epist. de Sabb. Pentec.*), Isidore (*De Offic.* ii. 20), Magnus Senon. (*u. s.*), Rabanus Maurus (*De Instit. Cleri*, i. 27), and many others. This signification was also recognised in the formula used at the ministration, "Accipe, *ill.*, sal sapientiae, propitiatus in vitam aeternam" (*Ordo Scrutinii*, 1; comp. *Sacram. Gelas.* Murat. i. 534; Greg. *ibid.* ii. 60).

IV. *Given to Penitents.*—In the 8th century we find in France canons, founded on that of Carthage respecting catechumens, which order salt to be given to penitents also: "Quae forma etiam a publicis poenitentibus omnino sequenda est" (Additio, 4, *ad Capit. Reg. Fr.* c. 63; comp. *Cap. R. Fr.* vii. 263).

V. *In the Eucharistic Bread.*—The Greeks from an early period attached importance to the presence of salt in the bread. It was the mind, they said, as the leaven was the soul of the oblate, and an azyme without them was dead (Pseudo-Damasc. *De Azymis*, § 1, *Opp.* Joann. Damasc. i. 649; comp. Mich. Cerularius ap. Humbert, *Adv. Graec. Calumn.* 2, and *Nomocanon Graec.* 426). The Armenians (Isaac Cathol. *Invect. Sec. adv. Armen.* xii. 8; *Renuntiatio Armen.* in notis Cotel. ad *Constit. Apost.* v. 12), the Nestorians (Martene, *u. s.* I. iii. 8; Le Brun, *Dissert.* xi, 9), and Syro-Jacobites (Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* ii. 183), are equally zealous for the custom). [ELEMENTS, p. 602.] [W. E. S.]

**SALUSTIA**, Sept. 14, martyr with her husband Cerealis, under Decius, at Rome (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Notker.). [C. H.]

**SALUSTIANUS**, June 8, martyr, commemorated in Sardinia (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Notker.); May 27 (Notker.). [C. H.]

**SALUTARIS**, July 13, archdeacon, martyr, commemorated in Africa (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker.). [C. H.]

**SALVIUS (1)**, Jan. 11, martyr, commemorated in Africa (*Mart.* Bed., Notker.).

**(2)** July 1, confessor, commemorated "in portu Valencianus" (*Mart.* Usuard., Wand.). [C. H.]

**SAMARITAN WOMAN.** This subject is not very frequently represented in Christian art. Martigny mentions four examples from the catacombs; two bas-reliefs and two frescoes. In all of them our Lord is represented standing, and not sitting, as might have been expected from John iv. 5. In the first of two sculptures, from Maffei's *Verona illustr.* part iii. p. 54 (see woodcut), the well is represented as a narrow pit, with a stone curb or margin like the mouth of a large jar, and supplied with a wheel, rope, and pulley; which appears to have been occasionally used at all times in the East (WELL, Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*), though the woman's words, οὔτε ἄντλημα ἔχεις, καὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐστὶ βαθύ, would seem to imply that there was no such convenience. But it is represented in the MS. of Rabula, where the woman is somewhat ecclesiastically vested. The figures of our Lord and the woman stand on each side of the opening, as if the words "Give me to drink" had just been uttered. She wears a tunic and pallium, which Tertullian (*de Pallio*, c. 1) says was a dress proper for men, and St. Jerome (*Ep.* vi. *ad Demetrium*) attributed to women of low rank. Her hair is displayed, or only bound with a riband, in one of these examples, which may indicate indifferent character (Tertull. *de Virginibus velandis*, vii.); but in the other (Bottari, pl. cxxxvii.) she wears a broader kind of fillet.



Woman of Samaria (from Martigny).

One of the frescoes of this subject is in the Callixtine cemetery (Bottari, tav. lxvi.). Here the woman is alone, and the well open and without windlass. She wears a short wide-sleeved tunic; but in M. Perret's *Catacombes*, vol. i. pl. 71, the idea and treatment of her figure are different. She is represented as tall and noble-looking, in a long flowing tunic; not as questioning our Lord, but presenting Him with a cup of water, as He raises His hand to her, apparently speaking to her of God's gift of living water.

No less than eight examples of this subject are figured by Rohault de Fleury up to the 9th century, and he gives others of the 11th (see *L'Évangile*, vol. i. pl. xlviii. xlix.). His fig. 5, pl. xlviii. (6th century), from the tomb of St. Jude at Verona, is identical with the first

described and figured by Martigny. His first and second figures are early work from St. Praetextatus and St. Callixtus;[a] he also gives a 5th-century ivory from the Musée de Cluny, and another carving from that of Arles. His next plate contains an outline from St. Apollinare nella Citta in Ravenna (6th century), the woman wearing a long robe with two stripes, and a disciple standing behind our Lord; and another from a 9th-century MS. of St. Gregory Nazianzen. Our Lord wears a violet robe, the woman a red gown fronted with yellow; the bucket and rope are in gold. The latter winds around a regular drum; and all the four last examples contain the pulley fixed in uprights.

[R. J. St. T.]

**SAMONAS**, Nov. 15, martyr with Gurias at Edessa (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); Nov. 14 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C. H.]

**SAMPSON (1)**, June 27, "our father," xenodochus at Constantinople in the reign of Justinian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

(2) July 28, bishop, confessor, commemorated at Dol (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

**SAMUEL (1)**, Aug. 20, Hebrew prophet (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*; Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); Aug. 21 (*Cal. Byzant.*); June 3 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(2) Feb. 16, martyr with Elias, Jeremias, Isaias, Daniel (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**SANCTA.** The FERMENTUM, or reserved Eucharist, is so called, which, having been consecrated by the bishop of Rome, was sent to the churches in the city. The word is used as a neuter plural in the most ancient recensions of the *Ordo Romanus* (*O. R.* i. 8, 17, 18; ii. 12); but in the gloss (mentioned p. 668) on the epistle of Pseudo-Innocent to Decentius we have, "de ipsa sancta" (Mabill. *Iter German.* 65, Hambr. 1717).

[W. E. S.]

**SANCTA SANCTIS.** Cyril of Jerusalem in his description of the liturgy, after commenting on the Lord's Prayer which follows Consecration, proceeds (*Catech. Mystag.* V. 19): Then the priest says, 'Holy things to holy men' (τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις). Holy are the gifts on the altar, after receiving the influx of the Holy Spirit; holy also are we, to whom the Holy Spirit has been vouchsafed; the two 'holies' correspond one to the other. Then we respond, 'One is holy, One is the Lord, Jesus Christ.'" The *Sancta Sanctis*, which Cyril here describes, is in nearly all Eastern liturgies the prelude to Communion. See (*e.g.*) the Greek St. James (Hammond's *Liturgies*, p. 49). [C.]

**SANCTIMONIALIS.** The word *sanctimonialis*, designating a woman of distinguished piety, is applied especially to such as were members of a religious society, or NUNS. It is not, however, limited to that use (Ducange, s. v.). Compare VIRGINS; WIDOWS. [C.]

**SANCTUARY** (SANCTUARIUM, SACRARIUM, SECRETARIUM). As the part of the church containing the altar, the word *sanctuarium* first occurs in c. 13 of the first council of Bracara (563); the corresponding word, *sacrarium*, in the same sense is found a little earlier in c. 3 of the council of Vaison (442). Many of the Rhenish churches had two sanctuaries, one at the east and the other at the west, and the plan of the abbey of St. Gall, attributed to the abbat Eginhard, who lived in the time of Charlemagne, presents the same arrangement. [CHURCH, p. 383.] (Viollet-le-Duc, *Dict. rais. de l'Architecture*, s.v. SANCTUAIRE). See PRESBYTERY; SACRARIUM. [H. T. A.]

**SANCTUARY, RIGHT OF** (*Jus asylorum*). The right to take refuge in a church. Similar rights existed both in Mosaic and in pagan times, and they in some cases extended not only to altars and churches but to persons and things such as statues and standards. (Suetonius, *Vita Tiberii*, c. 37; Tacitus, *Annal.* iii. 60). The privilege of affording refuge was conceded to the church from the first ages of the emperors becoming Christian. The codes both of Theodosius and of Justinian contain imperial constitutions for the control of this privilege. In later times the right has been abolished as having led to great abuses. The church was the seat of the bishop, and though the idea of sanctuary was not new, yet Christianity very early felt that the bishop was the natural refuge of those who were in trouble. [INTERCESSION, p. 864.] It was in fact part of the bishop's duty to intercede for those in trouble; and for this reason those who (whether justly or unjustly) had occasion to fear the civil law took refuge in the church. A decree that follows the fifty-sixth canon of the fourth synod of Carthage in 399 enacts that the bishops Epigonius and Vincent should be sent to the emperor to beg for the churches the right of asylum. This seems to shew that the right of sanctuary did not inherently reside in a church, but that it was a specific concession on the part of the civil power. Legal refuge was in point of fact nothing but the intercession of the clergy for men in distress, and, pending the issue of their efforts, the right to protect them from violence. It was in no way intended to obstruct justice, although in course of time it became so abused. A law of Justinian's distinctly affirms this position: "Templorum cautela non nocentibus, sed laesis datur a lege." Sanctuary was intended to be a shelter for the innocent, the weak, and the misunderstood, and not a refuge for systematic or determined criminals.

The right of sanctuary at first attached only to the altar and nave of the church; but in 431 it was decreed by Theodosius II. that the right should be extended also to the court, the gardens, and in fact to the entire precinct of the church.

There is a lengthy edict "concerning those who take refuge in the church" issued by the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, from which the following passage may be quoted as shewing the boundaries to which the right of sanctuary extended in early times. "Let the temples [ναοί] of the great God be open for those who are in fear, and let the common altar [βωμός] receive the suppliants who fly to it; and let no menace presume to remove the divine aid, which is offered to all alike from its abodes. . . . . .

[a] Apparently given in Mr. Parker's Photograph No. 1801, and if so, very dubious as to meaning.

In our times, then, we decree to grant for the safety of fugitives not only the divine sanctuaries [θυσιαστήρια] and the oratory of the people [εὐκτήριον τοῦ λαοῦ, al. ναοῦ, *i.e.* the nave] which is fenced with a girdle of quadrangular walls; but whatever spot there happens to be beyond these, as far as the extreme doors of the church, where those who intend to pray first enter—we determine that it be an altar of mercy to the fugitive . . . and that the precincts next to the public property about the first doors of the holy church, whether they be in houses or in gardens, or in courts or in baths, or even in porches, shelter fugitives who enter them, just as the inmost part of the church would." (Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 1235, ed. Paris, 1671.)

The privilege at first rested on imperial authority; but it contributed so much to the obvious advantage of the church that it was afterwards confirmed by the pope (Pegge on Asylum in *Archaeologia*, vol. viii. p. 13). Boniface V., who became pope in 609, enacted (Platina, *Vitae Pontificum*) that "criminals who fled to churches should not be taken thence by force." From one expression, "quovis crimine patrato," it appears that no crime was bad enough to exclude a fugitive from the protection of the church (*Archaeologia*, vol. viii. p. 10). This, however, was afterwards modified. Gaillard (*Hist. de Charlemagne*, tom. iii. p. 80, ap. Pegge), writes: "All churches before the time of Charlemagne were asyla and for all sorts of criminals; but he, by a capitular, A.D. 779, conformable to one of Carloman and Pepin passed about 744, decreed that churches should not be asyla for criminals who had committed such crimes as the law punished with death; and if he did not go so far as to make it lawful to force a criminal from his asylum, yet, what came to the same thing, he prohibited people from giving them any nourishment."

As to the privilege of sanctuary in Britain, the following particulars are collected by Pegge, *u. s.* p. 16 ff.). In Druidism certain sacred trees were held to be asyla (Evelyn, *Sylva*, p. 614). Suspicion attaches to the stories which have been repeated by some historians that the Christian king Lucius (A.D. 180) conferred the privilege of sanctuary upon the church of Winchester, and that Sebert, the first Christian king of Essex (A.D. 604) did the same for the church of Westminster. Ina, king of Wessex, about A.D. 690, enacts that, "if a person who has committed a capital offence shall fly to a church, he shall preserve his life and make satisfaction as right requires. If any one deserving of stripes shall fly to a church, the punishment shall be forgiven him."

The obligation on the part of the fugitive to make composition for his crime [REDEMPTION] was decreed by the council of Mentz in 813: "Reum confugientem ad ecclesiam nemo abstrahere audeat . . . . tamen legitime componat quod inique fecit."

The early centuries of Christianity furnish many interesting incidents in connexion with the right of sanctuary. A phrase of St. Ambrose's shews that the altar was the particular spot to which the right of asylum especially belonged. He uses the expression "nec altaria tenebo." It was one of the complaints against the violent Eutychian party that they had violated this right of sanctuary, and dragged their orthodox opponents from their refuge to massacre them. St. Chrysostom, in the troubles which he incurred by his championship of orthodoxy, availed himself of refuge at the altar.

In the time of Justinian a period of thirty days was allowed for sanctuary. In later times it became much less. The Code of Theodosius denies the right of sanctuary to public debtors, that is, those who defrauded the state. Private debtors were allowed the privilege. Converted Jews who pretended to be Christians in order to escape their debts or due punishment were excepted. Apostates and heretics were denied the privilege, and the same prohibition was imposed on runaway slaves and men who had been guilty of heinous crimes. King Childebert II., when inviting two men to quit their refuge in the church of Soissons, professes that "it is wicked to punish men that have been dragged from the church, *even though they be guilty*") S. Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* lib. ix. cap. 38). Miracle is alleged in vindication of an outrage upon the right of sanctuary. A runaway slave takes refuge in the church of St. Lupus. His master, with much profane language, would drag him out; when his tongue is rendered powerless, and he can only produce a sound like the lowing of cattle (S. Greg. Turon. *Lib. de Gloria Confessorum*, cap. 67). The shelter of the church made a king feel quite secure against the poniard of the assassin. Guntramn, who became one of the four kings of the Franks in 561, with his throne at Arles, thought his usual guard unnecessary in the church; and though the sanctuary of the church did not save him from attack, yet it saved his would-be assassin, for it was thought to be a violation of the right of asylum to put to death one who had been dragged from the church (S. Greg. Turon. *Hist. Francorum*, lib. ix. cap. 3).

The text-book on the subject is a small book by Rittershusius, Ἀσυλία, *hoc est, De jure Asylorum*, Argentorati, 1624. The treatise will be found in *Critici Sacri*, vol. viii. See the excellent tract by Rev. Sam. Pegge in *Archaeologia*, vol. viii., giving a history of asylum down to its abolition under James I. [H. T. A.]

**SANCTUS**, July 26, martyr, native of Ravenna in the reign of Marcus Antoninus (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**SANCTUS.** [PREFACE.]

**SANDAPILARII.** [OBSEQUIES, ix. p. 1431.]

**SANGARA, or ANGARA, NOVATIAN COUNCIL OF**, in Bithynia (SANGARENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 391, at which the then Novatian bishop, Marcian, called upon one of his presbyters, a converted Jew, named Sabbatius, to defend his views about keeping Easter. After hearing him, it was voted an open question, so that each might keep Easter as he would. This decision suggested to Socrates, the historian who reports it, his well-known chapter on things indifferent. (*E. H.* v. 21, 22; comp. Mansi, iii. 699; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 367.) [E. S. Ff.]

**SANTONENSE CONCILIUM.** [SAINTES.]

**SAPIENTIA** (SOPHIA), Aug. 1, martyr with

her children Fides, Spes, Caritas (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Cal. Armen.*); Sept. 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Sept. 16 (Basil. *Menol.*); commemorated June 23 at Nicomedia (Notker.); July 1 at Rome (Flor.). [C. H.]

**SARABAITAE** were such monks as lived under no settled monastic rule, but collected in little groups of two or three, generally in some populous place, where they found purchasers for their wares, which they sold at more than the market value in consequence of their supposed sanctity. They seem, according to Jerome (*Epist.* 22 *ad Eustoch.* c. 15), to have practised all the arts whereby a reputation for sanctity with the vulgar may be won, in dress, appearance, and gesture, while they disparaged those who led more regular lives. The Egyptians called them (says Jerome, *u. s.*) Remboth or Remoboth. Cassian also (*Collat.* 18, c. 7) draws an unfavourable picture of them. (Bingham, *Antiq.* VII. ii. 4.) [C.]

**SARABALLA, SARABARA.** This word, which represents some article of Persian dress, is merely the transliteration of the Chaldee סַרְבָּלִין, occurring Dan. iii. 21, 27 [94 Vulg.]. The exact meaning is doubtful, but it is most probably to be explained of some kind of hose or other covering of the leg. Thus the Vulgate, in the former of the two passages, renders the word by *braceae*, and Symmachus by ἀναξύριδες. A full discussion of the meaning of the Biblical word does not fall within our province—reference may be made to Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, *s. v.* The occurrences of the word in the fathers do not help us much, for either they are references to the above passages of Daniel, with the word merely reproduced, or we are distinctly told that the meaning of the word is uncertain. We find the word in Tertullian, with the spelling *sarabara* (*de Orat.* 15, *de Res. Carnis* 58 [of the Three Children]; *de Pallio* 4 [of Alexander the Great after his eastern conquests]). Jerome adopts the spelling *saraballa*, or *sarabala*, and speaks of that with an *r* as corrupt (*Comm. in Dan.*, *in loc.*; *Patrol.* xxv. 508: see also *Epist.* i. *ad Innoc.*, *ib.* xxii. 329). Jerome explains the word as meaning coverings for the legs, but we find a curious difference in the explanation of Isidore (*Etym.* xix. 23. 2), that they are "fluxa ac sinuosa vestimenta," and that in the opinion of some they are coverings of the head, "qualia videmus in capite magorum picta." (Cf. also Aug. *de Magistro*, c. 10; *Patrol.* xxxii. 1214. Reference may also be made to Ducange's *Glossary*, *s. v.*) [R. S.]

**SARAGOSSA, EIGHTEEN MARTYRS OF**, Apr. 16 (*Mart.* Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. ii. 406); Apr. 15 (*Mart.* Adon., the names being somewhat different: *Mart. Hieron.*, the names much different; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**SARAGOSSA, COUNCILS OF** (CAESARAUGUSTANA CONCILIA). Three are reported.

(1) A.D. 380, or a year earlier or later, according to some: for which Sulpitius Severus (*Hist.* ii. 47) vouches as having been held against the Priscillianists, and resulted in the condemnation of two bishops, Instantius and Salvianus, and two laymen, Elpidius and Priscillian himself. "Additum etiam, ut si quis damnatos in communionem recepisset, sciret in se eandem sententiam promendam." This is the only part of his statement which connects it with the eight canons that have been assigned it, as they are, virtually, the words of the fifth canon. The rest are by no means as "plainly directed against the Priscillianists" as Hefele requires his readers to believe. The preface to them makes only twelve bishops present at their passing. Sulpitius makes his synod attended also by the bishops of Aquitaine (Mansi, iii. 633–40; Hefele, ii. 292, Eng. tr.).

(2) A.D. 592, when three canons were passed, all suggested by the conversions from Arianism that were taking place, and passed in general by those who had subscribed by themselves or their representatives to the third council of Toledo, three years before. Artemius, metropolitan of Tarragona, who had been represented there by his presbyter Stephen, presided now; and most of the eleven bishops who subscribed now subscribed then. Two more who subscribed then sent their representatives (Mansi, x. 471–4).

(3) A.D. 691, by order of king Egica, as we learn from the preface. Five canons or chapters were passed, the fifth of which, referring to the fifth canon of the thirteenth council of Toledo, and confirming it, decrees further that the widows of kings shall take the veil and enter the cloister without delay. But who presided or who subscribed on this occasion, is not stated. It may be observed also that neither of these two last councils appear in the pseudo-Isidorian collection (Mansi, xii. 41–46). [E. S. Ff.]

**SARAH**, the wife of Abraham, Aug. 19 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C. H.]

**SARAPION.** [SERAPION.]

**SARBELUS**, Jan. 29, martyr under Trajan (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**SARCILIS.** A kind of woollen garment, mentioned together with *cappae* and *camisiles* in the *Rule* of Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, according to the text as given by Labbe (c. 29, vol. vii. 1458). Here it is ruled that clerics of higher standing have either *sarciles* or wool sufficient to make them a couple for the year's use, and clerics of lower standing are to have one each. It must be stated that the text given by D'Achéry (*Spicilegium*, i. 235 [here the chapter on Vestments is 41]; reprinted, *Patrol.* lxxxix. 1075) omits the mention of the *sarciles*. In a capitulary of Charlemagne of A.D. 813 (c. 19, vol. i. 510, ed. Baluzius), it is ordered that female servants of the Imperial household are to receive wool and flax to make "sarciles (*al.* sarcillos) et camisiles." [R. S.]

**SARCOPHAGUS.** [SCULPTURE.]

**SARDICA, COUNCIL OF.** (1) Socrates (*H. E.* ii. 20) and Sozomen (*H. E.* iii. 11.) state expressly that the council of Sardica (the modern Sophia, in Bulgarian, Triaditza) was held in the eleventh year after the death of Constantine, i.e. A.D. 347. But the fragments discovered by

Scipio Maffei place the second return of Athanasius to Alexandria in the year 346, and we know from Athanasius himself that this return was two years after the council of Sardica. Mansi therefore (iii. 87 ff) places the council in the year 344. The nineteenth of the *Festal Letters* of Athanasius, that for the Easter of 347, was certainly written in Alexandria. On the whole, it seems necessary to accept the year 344 or the end of 343, as the true date of the council. [See ATHANASIUS in DICT. CHR. BIOG. p. 190.]

(2) That the council of Sardica was summoned by the emperors Constans and Constantius is clear from its own encyclical (in Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arian.* c. 44); and that it was summoned at the desire of Paulus and Athanasius is stated both by Socrates and Sozomen (*u. s.*). Julius, bishop of Rome, was represented by two legates, Hosius of Cordova was president. At the very outset, however, as the Western bishops insisted on giving Athanasius a seat and a voice, the Easterns separated and held a rival council at Philippopolis, where they confirmed the deposition of Athanasius, and drew up a creed in accordance with the fourth symbol of ANTIOCH [p. 93]. It is evident that after this separation the council had no claim to be called oecumenical. The Trullan council (c. 2) adopted the canons of Sardica (as it did those of Carthage and others which have no pretensions to be oecumenical), as of authority in the Eastern as well as the Western church: but they have never been formally recognised as oecumenical. Nay, the Roman censors obelised the passage of Alexander Natalis (*H. E.* saec. iv., tom. iv. p. 460, ed. Venet. 1778) in which he had expressly stated the council to be oecumenical. This question has been the more hotly debated, as canons 3, 4, 7 [Greek 5] gave to deposed bishops the privilege of appealing to Julius, bishop of Rome. It seems doubtful, however, whether the council intended to do more than confer on Julius a personal privilege, as an expedient for a time of trouble and division [APPEAL, p. 197; POPE, p. 1658]. The canons of Sardica in Western MSS. are commonly appended to those of Nicaea (Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen des canonischen Rechts*, i. 50 ff.) [C.]

**SARDINIA, COUNCIL OF** (SARDINIENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 521, composed of African bishops then in exile there. Their synodical letter, in reply to John Maxentius and his Scythian monks, on the grace of God and human freewill, is said to have been written by St. Fulgentius (Mansi, viii. 591–600). [E. S. Ff.]

**SATAN.** (See DEVIL, DEMON, DRAGON, SERPENT.) The evil spirit is represented in his special character, as tempter and enemy of man, in the Book of Kells, in a temptation of our Lord. (Westwood, *Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*) He is there a black skeleton-goblin with a tail, almost according to modern fancy. In the Psalter of Utrecht (Ps. cix. 6) he is drawn, "standing at the right hand" of the wicked man, apparently in the sense of prevailing over him. Satan is seizing him by the hair from behind, and kicking him with supernatural violence and demoniacal relish in the small of the back. (See Mr. Birch's account of the Utrecht Psalter, p. 264.) Compare DEMON, p. 543, and DEVIL, p. 547. [R. St. J. T.]

**SATURDAY.** [SABBATH; SABBATUM; WEEK.]

**SATURNINUS (1)**, Jan. 31, martyr with Thyrsus and Victor; commemorated at Alexandria (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Notker., Wand.).

(2) Feb. 2, martyr with Perpetua, Felicitas, and others; commemorated at Tuburbum in Africa (Basil. *Menol.*); Mar. 14 (Basil. *Menol.*, here SATURNILUS); Mar. 7 (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*).

(3) Feb. 12, presbyter, martyr with Dativus and Felix, in Africa (*Mart.* Usuard.).

(4) Ap. 27, one of seven bandit chiefs, said to have been converted by Jason and Sosipater, disciples of St. Paul (Basil. *Menol.*).

(5) May 2, martyr with Neopolis; commemorated at Alexandria (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Notker.).

(6) July 7, martyr in the reign of Trajan (Basil. *Menol.*, SATURNILUS; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

(7) Aug. 22, martyr; commemorated with Martialis, Epictetus, and others, at Portus Romanus (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*).

(8) Oct. 6, martyr; commemorated at Capua with Marcellus, Castus, and Emilius (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Notker.).

(9) Nov. 29, martyr, under Maximian; commemorated at Rome on the Via Salaria with Sisinnius deacon (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Wand.). The *Mart. Hieron.* adds as his companions Chrysanthus, Daria, Maurus, who are named with Saturninus in the Gelasian Sacramentary in all the special prayers for his commemoration. In the Gregorian Sacramentary the name of Saturninus occurs without the others in the Secreta and Super Oblata.

(10) Nov. 29, martyr at Toulouse in the reign of Decius (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Flor., *Hieron.*).

(11) Dec. 23, martyr in Crete with Theodulus and others in the reign of Decius (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**SATYRIANUS** (SATIRIANUS), Oct. 16, martyr with Martianus in the Vandal persecution in Africa (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SATYRUS (1)**, Jan. 12, (SATURUS) Arabian martyr; commemorated in Achaia (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*); in Arabia (Notker.).

(2) Feb. 2, martyr with Saturninus, Perpetua, and others [SATURNINUS (2)].

(3) Mar. 29, martyr in Africa under Genseric (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SAUCHES.** A name applied (says Jerome's *Epist.* 22 *ad Eustoch.* c. 15) by the Egyptians to those monks who lived a common life [COENOBIUM; MONASTERY]. [C.]

**SAULA**, Oct. 20, virgin, martyr; commemorated at Cologne with Martha and others (*Mart. Usuard.*). [C. H.]

**SAURCI, COUNCIL OF** (SAURICIACUM CONCILIUM), A.D. 589, allowing Droctégisile, bishop of Soissons, to return to his diocese, from which he had been driven by the bishops of his province for drunkenness four years before (Mansi, ix. 1009). [E. S. Ff.]

**SAVINA, ST.** [SABINA (2).]

**SCAPULARE.** A garment to cover the shoulders (*scapulae*), specially in use among monks. The Rule of St. Benedict provided that his monks were to have a *scapulare propter opera* (c. 55, *Patrol.* lxvi. 771). This regulation is cited in the letter written to Charlemagne by Paul the deacon, acting on behalf of Theodemar, abbot of Monte Cassino (*Patrol.* xcv. 1588). The writer adds that the dress in question is worn by almost all rustics in that country. It appears therefore during the hours of work to have replaced the hood or cowl, as being shorter and more convenient.

We may compare, as more or less equivalent to it in Greek, **ἀνάλαβος, ἐπωμίον, ἐπωμάδιον, καταναντίον**. See especially Ménard's notes to the *Concordia Regularum* (c. 62, *Patrol.* ciii. 1231). [R. S.]

**SCEPTRE.** [CORONATION.]

**SCEUOPHYLACIUM.** Another name for the *Diaconicum*, or sacristy, as being the repository of the utensils for divine service, *τὰ ἱερὰ σκεύη*, and the vestments of the priests, from which they were brought by the deacons before the commencement of the rites, and to which they were carried back again by the same minister after their conclusion, or during the singing of the post-communion hymn (*Chron. Alexandr.* p. 892; Cotel. *in Const. Apost.* lib. viii. c. 12; Goar, *EuchＯlog.* p. 16; Pallad. *Vit. S. Chrysost.* 92). The ancient liturgies contain special prayers to be said by the ministers in this place. That of St. James gives, *εὐχὴ λεγομένη ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν*. In the sceuophylacia of the chief churches were deposited copies of the imperial edicts and laws (*Novell. Justin.* 8, *Edict.* 1, *in Praefat.*). (See Ducange, *Constantinop. Christian.* lib. iii. § 87.) [DIACONICUM.] [E. V.]

**SCEUOPHYLAX.** An ecclesiastical officer in the Eastern church corresponding to the *sacrista* in the Western, to whom was committed the charge of the vessels, utensils, and vestments belonging to divine service. Such an officer is spoken of as *κειμηλιάρχης, φύλαξ τῶν κειμηλίων* (Soz. *H. E.* v. 8), *φύλαξ τῶν ἱέρων κειημλίων* (Eustath. *Vit. S. Eutych.* § 8), or *κρατῶν τὰ σκεύη τῆς ἐκκλησίας*. The authorities given by Ducange (*sub voc.*) shew that though the care of the sacred furniture was more commonly entrusted to a deacon, it was not unusual for a presbyter to hold the office. The church of St. Sophia at Constantinople had a large number of sceuophylaces attached to it, some of whom were presbyters, some deacons, others readers, of whom the chief was called *ὁ μέγας σκευοφύλαξ*. These were reduced by Heraclius (610–641) to ten, four presbyters, and six deacons (Codin. *de Offic.* p. 112, ed. Bonn). The "great sceuophylax" was always a leading ecclesiastic. Codinus places him (*ibid.* c. 1) in the first rank of the officers of the church, having a seat in the holy synod with the patriarch himself. Macedonius was sceuophylax when he was elected to the see of Constantinople (Theod. Lect. *H. E.* ii.). When the patriarch celebrated, the great sceuophylax stood before the sceuophylacium, and supplied him with all that was needful for the service—vessels, books, candles, &c. It was also his duty to take care of the ecclesiastical utensils of churches deprived of their bishop by death, and to see that all the churches of the city had what was needful for divine service (Gretser, *Annotat. ad Codin.* p. 112; Suicer, *sub voc.*). [E. V.]

**SCHOLA CANTORUM.** At Rome, in early days, there was established a school for the education of youths in ecclesiastical chant and sacred learning, who should be able to sing the solemn offices at the several churches of the city on great occasions. It was governed by an officer of great dignity and consideration in the city, who was variously called *primicerius, prior scholae cantorum*, or simply *cantor*. The origin of this school has been sometimes thought to be due to Hilarus (*ob.* A.D. 467), the successor of Leo the Great in the see of Rome. Sometimes it is traced to pope Sylvester (Bona, *Rer. Lit.* I. xxv. 20). In the Life of St. Gregory the Great, however, written by John the Deacon, the creation of the school is expressly attributed to this great reformer of the church's song himself. In any case, St. Gregory endowed the school—which, if it existed before, depended on a common fund—and constructed a residence for it. His aim appears to have been to abrogate the practice which hitherto had, in some degree at least, prevailed, of the ministers and deacons themselves executing (often inefficiently, as it appears) the singers' part. (See *Conc. Rom.* A.D. 595; *Decret. Greg.* cap. i.) From Rome the institution spread to other churches, so that by the time of Charlemagne we find mention of a *schola cantorum* at Lyons (Leidrad. *Archiepisc. Lugd. in Ep. ad Car. Mag.*). In this school of Lyons several became so learned, says their archbishop, that they could even instruct others. It was Pipin, the father and predecessor of Charlemagne, who first took measures for the introduction of Roman chanters into France to instruct the Gallicans, who appear to have been far less skilled in the execution of their church music. In a letter of Paul I. to Pipin, the writer has handed to posterity even the name of the master of one singing-school thus established, as Simeon, who is described as *scholae cantorum Priori.* Amongst the several schools which thus came into being, that of Metz seems speedily to have acquired distinction. For in the time of Charlemagne, we find this boast of a Frank monk, that, "in proportion as the Roman chant surpassed that of Metz, so that of Metz surpassed that of the other schools of the French." Charlemagne himself ordered the establishment of such schools in suitable places throughout his empire, with the object of setting bishops and presbyters free from the necessity of attending to the music, and so enabling them to execute their offices

with the greater seemliness and dignity after the Roman model ("sicut psallit Romana ecclesia"). A school of a somewhat similar character appears to have existed in Africa two hundred years before Gregory the Great. In the Arian persecutions, twelve of the children of such a school were tortured to make them renounce the orthodox faith, and were much thought of at Carthage for the strenuous resistance which they made (Bona, *Rer. Lit.* I. xxv. 20).

The course of instruction is described in the phrase, "pueri in cantu, lectione, et moribus sacris instituebantur," and the life of the house by "in communi vivebant" (*Petr. Episc. Urb. in Schol. ad Vit. Leonis IV.*). To the instruction Charlemagne adds, "computum, grammaticam" (capit. i. 72).

Persons who afterwards rose to distinction were members of the school. Sergius I., on coming to Rome as a youth, was put into the Schola Cantorum—"quia studiosus erat et capax in officio cantilenae" (Anastasius, *Vit.*). The same writer records a similar history of Sergius II., Gregory II., Stephen III., and Paul I.

In the time of Stephen VI. we find that the house of the Schola Cantorum "used formerly to be called Orphanotrophium." This term may perhaps indicate that the house also served as a receptacle for the destitute children who fell to the care of the church. By the time of pope Sergius II. (A.D. 844) it appears that the house of the Schola Cantorum had fallen into a state of dilapidation from its excessive age ("prae nimia vetustate paene in ruinam posita atque contracta"). Pope Sergius restored it to a better condition than ever. (*Sergii Vita*, ap. Labbe, vii. 1796 D, ed. Par. 1671.)

The intention was that the Schola Cantorum should absorb all gifted boys—"in quacumque schola reperti fuerint bene psallentes pueri, tolluntur inde et mittuntur in Schola Cantorum" (rubric in Salzburg pontifical. ap. Martene I. viii. xi. ordo 9). Martene infers from a decree of Gregory the Great that the school included subdeacons and other inferior ministers (*De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* IV. v. 15). Gregory, however, does not explicitly say so (lib. iv. ep. 44).

An imperial constitution of Louis the Pious is indirectly a witness to the influence exercised by the Schola Cantorum. It is giving directions for the reverent execution of the Psalms in divine service; and in order to secure this end, senior brethren of unexceptionable life are to be appointed "to be in turns with the Schola Cantorum at the prescribed time" (Ludovici Pii *R. form. Eccl. de Regula Clericorum*, cap. xxiv. ap. Melchior Goldastus, ed. Frankf. 1673, tom. iii. p. 217).

The *Schola Cantorum* at Rome appears not to have furnished the choir on all great occasions; for example, not at the Stations (when the *regionarii* did it) nor at the Lateran Church, but only when the pope officiated—"alii (subdiaconi) qui dicuntur Schola Cantorum, qui cantant tantummodo quando summus Pontifex celebrare consuevit" (Martene, *de Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* I. iii. 8). At ordination in the city of Rome, the *schola* repeated the litany and sang the Introit (Salzburg pontifical, ap. Martene, I. viii. xi. ordo 9.)

The praecentors of the responsories were in the Roman church taken from the Schola Cantorum. Thomasius quotes from a MS. antiphonary of the Vatican Library a statement that "the usage was for the master of the school to point out to each individual, the day before, what responsory he was to sing in the night office." [H. T. A.]

**SCHOLASTICA**, Feb. 10, virgin, sister of St. Benedict; commemorated at Castrum Cassinum (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker., Wand.). [C. H.]

**SCHOLASTICUS.** (a) The title of a class of Roman lawyers or advocates in the 4th and 5th centuries, against whose exactions and extortions from their clients provisions are enacted in the Codex Theodos. (Lib. viii. tit. 10; tom. ii. p. 598, edit. 1665).

(b) There is a passage in the writings of Gregory the Great in which the composition of the Roman canon of the mass is attributed to a certain scholasticus (*Epist. ad Johan. Episc. Syracusanum*, lib. ix. ep. xii. indict. 2). It is disputed whether the word as here used is the proper name of an otherwise unknown individual, or whether it refers to a member of the body of professional men called "Scholastici" (Bona, *de Rebus Liturg.* lib. ii. cap. xi.).

(c) The instructor of the younger members of a monastery was called "Scholasticus," or "Caput scholae." The position and duties of this office are described by Thomassinus (*Vetus et Nova Eccles. Disciplina*, edit. 1706, vol. i. p. 865). [F. E. W.]

**SCHOOLMASTER** (*Magister Scholae, Scholasticus, Caput Scholae, Capischolus* (in France sometimes *Capiscolus*). Very few Christians during the first four centuries, appeared to have belonged to the profession of the "grammatici" or the "rhetores," as teachers of the traditional pagan learning. Of this, the comparative rarity of Christian monumental inscriptions which distinguish the name recorded as that of a "grammaticus" is significant evidence. Passionei [*Inscrizioni antiche* (Lucca, 1763), p. 115] gives one of these rare exceptions; and Martianus, a presbyter of the sect of the Novatians, is mentioned by Socrates (*H. E.* iv. 9) as teaching γραμματικοὺς λόγους to the two daughters of the emperor Valens. But, in general, the necessity under which those who adopted this profession found themselves of expounding the pagan mythology and observing the pagan festivals, seems to have deterred the Christian teacher from entering upon such a career [see SCHOOLS, II.].

The appointed teacher of a school, from the 5th century onwards, whether monastic or episcopal, was generally known as the "scholasticus," or, in France, as the "capischolus," or "capiscolus." In the cathedral schools he was always selected from the body of the canons, (among whom he was known as "Caput Scholae" or "Magister Scholae"), and was generally one of the senior members, and one whose character and life were especially approved (Keuffel, *Hist. Scholarum*, pp. 248–249). The "Magister Scholae" is mentioned among seven officials at the church of St. Martin of Tours, known as the "hebdomadarii," who, in turn, once a week,

were called upon to celebrate "majorem missam" (Martene, *de Ant. Ecc. Ritibus*, i. 120).

[J. B. M.]

**SCHOOLS.** Education among Christian communities during the first eight centuries successively assumes four very distinct phases. First, as limited to instruction in the special tenets of the Christian faith, and altogether dissociated from secular education; secondly, as combined with pagan culture, and aiming at a partial reconciliation of the traditions of that culture with its own; thirdly, as altogether abandoning any such attempt, and restricting itself to religious doctrine, and to the acquirements directly subservient to the purposes of the clerical or the monastic life; fourthly, as resuming in some measure the earlier and more liberal conception, and manifesting an activity productive of important after-results.

I Of the Christian bishop of the primitive Church it was required, not only that he should himself be "apt to teach," but also that he should provide for the spiritual instruction of his flock. For this purpose he was wont to select, after the custom of pagan philosophers, those among his disciples who by superior acquirements and the possession of the faculty of teaching seemed specially qualified for the work. The method of instruction was catechetical, and a good specimen of its character and range will be found in the Κατηχήσεις Φωτιζομένων, or lectures to catechumens, delivered in A.D. 348 by Cyril, afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, when still only a presbyter (Migne, *Patr.* Series Graeca, xxxiii. 356). The subjects of his discourses, such as the Second Coming of Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Incarnation, Divine Providence, &c., shew that they were designed for those who had passed beyond the elementary stage of doctrinal knowledge. Augustine, in like manner, at a somewhat later period, was accustomed to draw around him in his episcopal house the most promising of the younger clergy, and instruct them in the Scriptures, those who had been thus privileged being specially sought after to fill the different offices of the Church in Africa (Possidius, *Vita Aug.* c. xi.).

From this method of systematic instruction by the bishop, the school as a distinct institution was a natural development. Of their organisation and method of instruction an account will be found under CATECHUMENS; and a full description of the most celebrated of their number in ALEXANDRIA, CATECHETICAL SCHOOL OF. Origen, when driven from Alexandria, founded such a school at Caesarea in Palestine; it fell into decay, but was restored by his friend Pamphilus, who bestowed on it a valuable library (Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. 27 and 30). Other examples are perhaps to be recognised in a school established at Jerusalem by Clemens Alexandrinus, about the year 209, over which Cyril, above mentioned, subsequently presided; in that which Rhodon (the last teacher of the school at Alexandria[a]) founded in the reign of Theodosius the Great at Sida in Pamphylia (Guerike, *Schol. Alex.* i. 118); in that which it has been supposed Irenaeus founded at Lugdunum (Langemark, *Hist. Catech.* i. 108); and in that which Tertullian (*de Baptismo*, c. 18) appears to imply existed at Carthage in the 3rd century.

Of such institutions the one at Alexandria may be accepted as the type, and from that distinguished centre Christian education mainly derived its inspiration during the first three centuries. In Alexandria itself, however, the instruction soon advanced beyond the purely dogmatic character; the dangers with which the faith was menaced by Jewish and pagan opponents, and by the heresies of the Gnostics almost necessarily imposing on the Christian teacher the obligation of assuming a wider range both of culture and teaching.

With respect to the foregoing kind of instruction, it is important to observe generally that it forms a characteristic feature of early Christianity, *the education of youth being confided to the ministers of religion.* Among pagan communities, whether Greek or Roman, the functions of the priestly office were limited to the superintendence of religious ceremonial or the interpretation of signs and oracles; of any instruction of the people in the traditions of their faith we find no trace.

II. The views expressed by the earlier teachers of the Church with respect to the abstract value of pagan learning are somewhat vague and often conflicting in character. It is obvious, however, that the general conditions under which Christianity existed at this period were such as to render any attempt at founding separate schools of general instruction unadvisable if not impossible. Those parents, therefore, among the Christian community, who could afford the expense, sent their sons to the *gymnasium*, under the care of a paedagogus, to share with pagan youth the ordinary instruction of the time. This fact is one which must not be lost sight of in any endeavour to estimate the influences under which the teaching of the earlier Fathers was conceived.

In the first century, intercourse with Greece had already somewhat extended the narrow limits of Roman education both in Italy and in Gaul (Horace, *Sat.* I. vi. 71; *Epp.* II. ii. 41), and the elementary acquirements of reading, writing, and arithmetic, were followed by a certain amount of instruction in the Greek language and literature. Quintilian (I. i. 12), indeed, advises that such instruction should *precede* the study of the Latin tongue, inasmuch as a command of the latter could be acquired without any formal teaching whatever; and we learn from Tacitus (*de Claris Orat.* c. 29) that, probably with the same view, it was customary for the children of the wealthy to have a Greek nurse.

In the days of the empire schools were of two kinds—an elementary and a higher grade. At the elementary school (that of the "grammatista," "magister," or "litterator," styled by Tertullian (*de Pallio*, c. 5) "litterarum primus informator") the scholars were taught to read intelligently, and with correct accentuation the poets and orators (Quint. I. i. 24; I. viii. 1), and also acquired a certain knowledge of

[a] That the catechetical school of Alexandria had ceased to exist with the close of the fifth century appears, as Guerike points out, to be a necessary inference from Cassiodorus, *Praef. ad de Inst. Div. Litt.* Migne, *Patr.* lxx. 537.

grammar (*ib.* I. iv. 22). A higher degree of instruction was imparted at the schools of the "grammaticus"[b] and "rhetor." The former explained difficulties, expounded the plots of plays and poems, and gave outlines of histories ("quaestiones explicet, historias exponat, poemata enarret," *ib.* I. ii. 14), while the scholars translated passages from Greek into Latin and then back again into Greek. Under the guidance of the rhetor they composed themes and declamations (chiefly lifeless and mechanical imitations of standard authors), the whole training of these schools being almost exclusively conceived with reference to the requirements of the forensic orator (Tacitus, *de Claris Orat.* c. 35; Suetonius, *de Claris Rhet.* c. 1; Pliny, *Ep.* i. 13; v. 3; vii. 17; viii. 12 and 26). The authors studied were chiefly Homer and Vergil; the lyric poets, especially Horace, Menander, and Terence; the Sentences of Publius Syrus; the orators, Demosthenes, Cicero, and Caius Gracchus; the historians, Thucydides, Cato, and Sallust. Beyond this no scheme of study has come down to us, and it is probable that the teacher selected his authors at his own discretion.

Such was the character of the education that prevailed throughout the more civilised parts of the empire during the first three centuries. Liberally aided and endowed by the state in successive enactments of Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Vespasian, Valentinian I., Gratian, and Theodosius, it was far too generally diffused and too essential a condition of success in social and public life to admit of its rejection by the Christians of those days. The recognition of Christianity by the state does not appear to have produced any sudden change in these conditions. The schools of the empire, as they were termed, not only continued to exist, but maintained their traditions of education unmodified. At Athens, where the two schools (one for rhetoric, the other for philosophy) founded by Marcus Aurelius represented a kind of university, were gathered many of the most aspiring intellects of the time. Diodorus of Tarsus, Gregory Nazianzen,[c] St. Basil, and the emperor Julian attended the same school, and perhaps sat together on the same bench (Baronius, iii. 687; Basil, *Ep.* 146). The author of the Greek Life of Gregory tells us that he and Basil culled the flower of rhetoric while avoiding the falsity of the art (Migne, Series Graeca, xxxv. 256). He also states that their studies included grammar, philosophy, music, geometry, and astronomy.

The system of instruction pursued at Athens seems to have formed the model for the higher instruction throughout the empire. A similar though less famous school at Rome, founded by the emperor Hadrian, was known as the Athenaeum. Here, in the time of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, Hadrian the sophist taught with great success, and after him, Aspasius (Philost. *Vitae Sophist.* 589, 627). Milan, on account of a like culture, claimed the appellation of "Novae Athenae," and in the time of Theodoric the Great (A.D. 454–526) would appear to have still been distinguished by its forensic orators (Cassiod. *Variae*, viii. 19). Cremona and Bergamo enjoyed a like though inferior reputation. The whole of southern Gaul was equally famous, the schools at Marseilles, Autun, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Narbonne being especially celebrated. Those of Carthage were the resort of most students who aspired to distinction either as grammarians or rhetoricians. On the death of the eminent grammarian Euanthius of Constantinople, in 362, one Chrestus was sent for from Africa to fill the vacant chair (Eusebius, *Chron.* ad ann.).

The office of instructor in pagan schools would appear to have been proscribed by the fathers of the church on account of its intimate connexion with the religious belief and practice of paganism: "Quaerendum autem est," says Tertullian, "etiam de ludi magistris et de caeteris professoribus litterarum, imo non dubitandum affines illos esse multimodae idololatriae" (*de Idol.* c. 10; Migne, *Patrol.* i. 673–675). The pagan schoolmaster, he goes on to say, was constantly under the necessity of referring to the gods of the pagan mythology, of explaining their genealogies and prerogatives, and observing their festivals. At the feast of Flora, it was customary to adorn the schoolroom with garlands; the first payment of a new scholar was devoted to Minerva; the new year, the feasts of the Seven Hills and the summer solstice were all made occasions for the presentation of gifts from the scholar to the "ludi magister."

When, however, it came to a question of the lawfulness of attendance at these schools on the part of the learner, even Tertullian shrank from interdicting the advantages of ordinary education to Christian youth: "Quomodo repudiamus saecularia studia, sine quibus divina esse non possunt?" (*ib.*). He accordingly decides that the Christian scholar may frequent these schools under the plea of necessity, and he enjoins him to take the good and to reject the bad, "even as one who knowingly receives poison from another who knows it not, but refrains from drinking it." "Hence it was," observes Dr. Newman, "that in the early ages the church allowed her children to attend the heathen schools for the acquisition of secular accomplishments, where, as no one can doubt, evils existed, at least as great evils as can attend on mixed education now. The gravest fathers recommended for Christian youth the use of pagan masters; the most saintly bishops and most authoritative doctors had been sent in their adolescence by Christian parents to pagan lecture halls" (*Idea of a University*, p. 9).[d]

During the first three centuries, therefore, the Christian parent justified himself in sending his sons to pagan schools on the ground of simple necessity; and while Christian doctrine was

[b] It is important to remember that throughout our period the term "grammaticus" denoted something much more than a teacher of grammar in the modern sense, being really equivalent to a teacher of *belles-lettres*. See Gräfenhan, *Gesch. d. classischen Philologie im Alterthum*, iv. 52, 53; Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, p. 77.

[c] See his poem *de Vita Mea*, for a description of his college career at Athens.

[d] Of the different channels through which the Christian teacher of his day acquired instruction, Chrysostom is a good illustration, having been educated in religious knowledge by his mother, in rhetoric by Libanius, in philosophy by Andragathius, and finally instructed in Christian doctrine by Miletius, Diodorus, and Karterius (see Kihn, *Aelt. christl. Schulen*, p. 60).

taught by Christian teachers, secular knowledge was sought in the ordinary channels (Assemann, *Biblioth. Orient.* III. ii. 923). But in the meantime, the far more difficult question of the desirability of studying, at any period of life, the productions of pagan genius and learning, was debated with considerable ardour, and at the time that Christanity received the recognition of the state, remained still undecided. While a Cyprian insisted on the wide distinction between Christian doctrine and pagan philosophy (*ad Anton.* Migne, iii. 782), a Celsus reproached his Christian antagonists with their hostility alike to learning, wisdom, and thought (Origen, *adv. Cels.* bk. vi.). At Alexandria, on the other hand, the study of pagan authors was warmly defended. Clemens cites in its defence the words of Christ (John xv. 1-10), which imply that the vine must be trained and pruned, and the soil cultivated, and argues, that as the physician who studies other arts is thereby better qualified for the profession of his own, so the Christian who familiarises himself with other modes of thought will be all the better able to distinguish the alloy of error from the fine gold of truth (*Strom.* i. 9; Migne, Series Graeca, viii. 739). These views, says Dr. Newman, were advocated in the early church, "not with the notion that the cultivation which literature gives was any substantial improvement of our moral nature, *but as thereby opening the mind and rendering it susceptible of an appeal*; not as if the heathen literature itself had any direct connexion with the matter of Christianity, but because it contained in it the scattered fragments of those original traditions which might be made the means of introducing a student to the Christian system, being the ore in which the true metal was found" (*Arians*, p. 88).

It appears to be beyond doubt that, notwithstanding isolated protests, the education of the clergy throughout the fourth century, and even after that time, continued to be of this more liberal character. Besides the conspicuous instances already noted, we find Jerome, in a remarkable letter to the monk Rusticus, speaking of the education of the latter as having been commenced in Gaul and completed at Rome, "so that the dignity of the Roman discourse might attemper the copiousness and elegance of the Gallic" (Migne, xxii. 935). Of Jerome himself it is to be noted that he received instruction at Rome from Donatus the grammarian (*ib.* xxiii. 472). Lactantius († aft. 317), Arnobius († circ. 300), Ambrose († 397), Augustine († 430), Hilary of Poitiers († 367), educated at his native city, Hilary of Arles († 449), Sidonius Apollinaris († 489), Salvian († 495), are all examples of ancient writers and ecclesiastics who, while strenuous defenders of Christian doctrine, had received their intellectual training in schools which followed the traditions of pagan culture.

In the meantime the growing importance attached by the church to the whole question of education, is attested by the language of its most eminent teachers. "Parents," says Chrysostom, "will inquire carefully when they hire a herdsman, as to his fitness for the work, but will take little trouble when engaging a tutor for their children, *although there is no function of greater importance than this*" (*Hom. in Matt.* ed. BB. vii. 605). Elsewhere (*ib.* xi. 159), he says that a good education is the best legacy that a parent can bequeath to a son.

This increased interest in the subject was the natural result of the fact that the task of educating the young now began to be more and more confided to the clergy. We find that Julian, when at Macellum, was instructed in the Scriptures by τοῖς ὑφηγηταῖς τῶν ἁγίων Γραφῶν (Sozomen, v. 2); and, according to Socrates (*H. E.* iv. 9) the two daughters of the emperor Valens were instructed by Martianus, a presbyter of the sect of the Novatians, in *grammar*,—γραμματικοὺς λόγους.

The policy of Julian (A.D. 361-363) undoubtedly tended to precipitate the decisive struggle as well as to embitter all subsequent discussion of the question. He appears to have noted with displeasure the growing influence of the Christian teacher, and to have sought to convert the scruples of the church with respect to pagan literature into a pretext for excluding her ministers from all share in secular education. The Christian, he asserted, if really convinced that the deities whom the great writers of antiquity worshipped were unworthy of such adoration, could hardly be a fit expounder of the pagan literature. To expound Homer and at the same time denounce what Homer held to be most sacred and venerable, was malevolent and base. He accordingly advised the Christian teachers to restrict themselves to the work of the catechists,* or, as he expressed it, "to expounding Matthew and Luke in the churches of the Galileans" (*Ep.* 42; ed. Heyler, p. 81). According to Socrates (*H. E.* iii. 12; Migne, Series Graeca, lxvii. 412), he also enacted a law excluding Christians from the work of public instruction, and the motive he himself assigned for this enactment is especially deserving of note, namely, *that by being thus prevented from acquiring dialectical skill* they might be rendered incompetent to contend in argument with their pagan antagonists.

The short reign of Julian was succeeded by that of Valentinian I. (A.D. 364-367), who proclaimed general religious toleration, and that of Gratian (A.D. 367-383), who was the avowed defender of Christianity. The former, in the year 364, rescinded the prohibitory law of Julian (*Cod. Theod.* ed. Haenel, p. 1322); while the latter, aided by Ausonius, who was of Christian faith, and had taught both as a grammarian and a rhetorician at Bordeaux, reorganised the schools of the empire, and, as far as it lay in his power, sustained and invigorated the traditions of pagan education (*ib.* vi. tit. 13; Haenel, p. 545; see also pp. 1321, 1322).

A certain dislike and suspicion of the dialectic art is discernible from a very early period in the church. Irenaeus, alluding probably to the Basilidians, complains of those who oppose the faith with an Aristotelian word-chopping (*minutiloquium*), and excess of refinement in argument (*adv. Haer.* ii. xviii. 5). Tertullian styles Aristotle "miser" on account of his invention of the traditional logic (*de Praescrip.* c. 7). Athanasius, in his treatise on the Nicene

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* "Inter quae erat illud inclemens quod docere vetuit magistros, rhetoricos, et grammaticos Christianos, ni transissent ad numinum cultum" (Ammian. Marcellinus XXIV. iv. 20).

decrees, speaks of Theognostus as advancing certain opinions with respect to the divine nature, not as his deliberate conviction, but by way of exercise in argument—ὡς ἐν γυμνασίᾳ ἐξετάσας, and implies that Origen sometimes wrote with a like design, ὡς ζητῶν καὶ γυμνάζων (Migne, Series Graeca, xxv. 181 and 183). Eusebius speaks of those who "are ignorant of Christ and adulterate the faith, seeking for that figure of the syllogism which will best support their heresy" (*H. E.* v. 27). Jerome contrasts the "campum rhetorici eloquii," the "tendiculae dialectorum," and the "Aristotelis spineta" with the plain and simple language of Scripture (*adv. Helvid.* Migne, xxiii. 185). Socrates represents Aetius, the Arian, as relying in argument on the categories of Aristotle (*H. E.* ii. 25; Migne, Series Graeca, lxvii. 297; see also *H. E.* v. 10, and Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 12). "The two Gregories," says Dr. Newman (*Arians*, p. 30), "Basil, Ambrose, and Cyril, protest with one voice against the dialectics of their opponents: and the sum of their declarations is briefly expressed by a writer of the 4th century (Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxix. 69), who calls Aristotle 'the bishop of the Arians.'" Even so late as the seventh century we find Theodorus Rhaituensis declaring that his opponent Severus of Antioch estimated a theologian according to his knowledge of the categories, and "of the other refinements of pagan philosophy" (*de Incarn.* Migne, S. G. xci. 1504).

In the East, owing to the tendency of the Greek and the Oriental mind towards subtle disquisition, this dialectical culture appears to have held its ground much longer than among the Latin races. Socrates the historian, who practised as an advocate in Constantinople, recommends the cultivation of the art as a means of defeating the enemies of the faith with their own weapons, especially, he adds, as the Scriptures themselves do not teach logic (*H. E.* iii. 16). Eusebius, bishop of Doryleum in the year 441, had, according to Evagrius, taught rhetoric in the public schools, and availed himself of his knowledge of the art in the refutation of Eutyches.

Among the earliest authoritative utterances marking the transition from the pagan to the Christian theory of education is that of St. Basil, who, in his treatise πρὸς τοὺς Νέους (c. 2), distinctly adopts the monastic axiom that all our actions in this life are to be conceived as preparatory to the next. He nevertheless inculcates a certain degree of attention to the best writers of antiquity as sources from whence precepts of excellent morality may be gathered; citing as a precedent the example of Moses, who was learned in all the learning of the Egyptians (cc. 3 and 4; Acts vii. 22).

The language of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, on the other hand, which were designed for the instruction of catechumens, is authoritative against the reading of pagan authors.[f] They enjoin the Christian disciple to "refrain from *all the writings of the heathen*" (*Apost. Const.* i. 6; Cotelerius, *Pat. Apost.* i. 206). [PROHIBITED BOOKS.]

The influence of Ambrose (bishop of Milan, A.D. 374–397) on the literary spirit of his age was comparatively slight, but his writings sufficiently attest his familiarity with the best Latin writers of antiquity.

With Jerome the case is altogether different, and the effect of his views on the subsequent history of Christian culture probably exceeds that of any other father, Augustine not excepted. At Rome the pupil of Donatus the grammarian and of Victorinus the African rhetorician, a scholar at the imperial school at Treves, an attendant on the lectures of Apollinaris (the eminent bishop of Laodicea) at Antioch—his early training and associations must have strongly inclined him to regard with favour the literature of pagan antiquity. His original sentiments are, indeed, clearly attested by his own writings; and during his ascetic retirement in Syria he was often wont to relieve the tedium of his vigils by the perusal of Plautus and Cicero. But the divine warning, communicated as he believed, in a dream, recalled him to a sense of his error, and determined him to abandon such studies and to restrict himself to the sacred authors (*Ep. ad Eustoch.* Migne, xxii. 416).[g] So far, however, as we are able to gather his more mature sentiments on this question, Jerome would appear to have held that the study of pagan literature was *a necessary part of education*, but that its continued and ardent pursuit by those who had embraced the monastic or clerical life was inconsistent with their profession. He condemns, for example, with severity those ecclesiastics of his day, who, while neglecting the Prophets and the Gospels, indulged in comedies and amatory poetry, "*et id quod in pueris necessitatis est*, crimen in se facere voluptatis" (*ad Damasum*, *ib.* xxii. 76). It is obvious from this passage that Jerome held that in youth the reading of authors like Terence and Vergil was *a necessity*, a concession which may fairly be interpreted as implying that it was still the practice of Christians to send their sons to schools of the kind already described. Even after his adoption of the monastic life at Bethlehem (A.D. 386), we find him instituting, in connexion with the monastery, a school for boys, whom he himself instructed in grammar, in the classical authors (especially Vergil), and even in the Latin poets (Ebert, *Gesch. d. christlich-lat. Lit.* p. 182). As regards his own early education, he himself tells us (*ad Domnionem*, Migne, xxii. 237) that he had studied the Commentaries of Alexander of Aphrodisias on Aristotle and the Introduction of Porphyry; while in his *Apologia adversus Rufinum* (i. 16; *ib.* xxiii. 472) he assumes that his former friend had read, when a boy, the Commentaries of Asper on Vergil and Sallust, those of Vulcatius on the orations of Cicero, those of Victorinus on the dialogues of the same writer and on Terence, those of Donatus on Vergil, and those of other commentators on Plautus, Lucretius, Horace, Persius, and Lucan. As this obviously implies

[f] The incongruity between these precepts and those of St. Basil, *addressed to the same class in the Christian community*, may perhaps afford an argument of some weight in connexion with the alleged but disputed antiquity of these writings. [See APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.]

[g] A precisely similar experience is recorded of Caesarius of Arles by his biographers, and was followed by a like result (Migne, *Patr.* lxvii. 1004).

the study of the authors themselves, it is evident that at the close of the 4th century a great proportion of the classical writers were still read with considerable care.

In his letter (circ. A.D. 397) to Magnus (a Roman rhetorician who, at the instigation of Ruffinus, had ventured to ask Jerome why he so often introduced allusions to profane literature in his writings), we are presented with what may be termed the stock arguments whereby such culture on the part of the Christian clergy has been defended ever since his time. He alleges that even Moses and the prophets borrow somewhat from the "books of the Gentiles." He quotes the opening verses of the first chapter of Proverbs, Titus, i. 12, and the other Pauline quotations from Aratus and Menander as further examples. Then he brings forward the justification afforded by Cyprian, Origen, Eusebius, Apollinaris—"lege eos, et invenies nos comparatione eorum imperitissimos;" he refers to Josephus and Philo, and, finally, cites the precedents set by Quadratus, Justin Martyr, Dionysius, Tatian, Irenaeus, Clemens, Origen,[h] Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Amphilochius, &c.—"qui omnes in tantum philosophorum doctrinis atque sententiis suos resarciunt libros, ut nescias quid in illis primum admirari debeas, eruditionem saeculi, an scientiam Scripturarum." In the Latin Church he brings forward the examples of Tertullian Minucius Felix, Arnobius, Hilary, and Juvencus, and finally forestalls the possible objection that such learning was only resorted to in controversies with pagan antagonists, by observing that it is apparent in nearly *all the writings* of those whom he has named (*ad Magnum*, Migne, xxii. 426–430).

It is questionable, however, whether, with advancing age, Jerome's views did not assume a third and yet more austere phase. We find him, for example, recording with manifest exultation the neglect into which the philosophy of paganism, Plato and Aristotle, was already falling (Migne, xxvi. 487), while in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians (vi. 4) he unsparingly rebukes those bishops and presbyters who, instead of instructing their sons in the faith, make them study pagan authors, read comedies, and sing coarse songs, and this, too, at the cost of the Christian Church, the offerings of the devout poor thus finding their way into the hands of the grammarian or rhetorician to be lavished on profane and even immoral indulgences (Migne, xxvi. 666).

The views of Augustine much resembled those of Jerome, but his literary sympathies were less ardent. He altogether condemned the lighter literature of antiquity, and in his *Confessions* (i. 17) he refers with penitential contrition to the pleasure which, in his youthful days, he had taken in the study of the Latin poets. The slight evidence of a certain care for letters, such as his anxiety for the formation of a library (*Ep.* 231, Migne, xxxiii. 1026), and the solicitude which he is said by Possidius (*Vita*, c. 31) to have shewn for its preservation after his death do not certainly prove anything with respect to classical authors. On the other hand, it is undeniable that the sanction of Augustine was given in very explicit terms to the study of rhetoric and to that of the graver writers of antiquity; and two passages in his *de Doctrina Christiana* became "loci classici" in later ages whenever it was sought to defend the study of pagan literature in the Church.[i] Of these, the first enforces the precept that the writings of the philosophers of paganism, wherever they are found enforcing what is in agreement with the faith, may safely and advantageously be adapted to the Christian use, just as the Israelites, when they went forth from Egypt, though they left behind them the idols and superstitions of their masters, took with them the gold and the raiment (ii. 40; Migne, xxxiv. 63). The second passage (iv. 2) points out the value of a knowledge of rhetoric to the Christian preacher.

III. The course of events after the death of Augustine, when Gaul, Italy and Africa alike became the prey of the barbarian, involved the overthrow of the imperial schools. From this time, at least in the two first-named countries, the profession of the grammarian and the rhetorician, as that of a distinct class, appears to have gradually died out, while the culture which they represented survived only in a few rare and isolated instances among Christian writers and scholars, who, like Claudius Marius Victor, Sedulius, Pomerius of Lyons, Prosper, Claudius Mamertus, and Avitus of Vienne, sought to give to their discourses a certain rhetorical embellishment, or still cultivated the art of original composition. Whatever of education continued to exist among the laity rarely comprised anything more than reading, writing, and ordinary computation. The work of imparting this elementary instruction was carried on chiefly in the episcopal or cathedral schools which bishops, by virtue of their office, were required to institute in the chief city of their respective dioceses, in order that youths might be educated for the priestly office and the laity receive a certain grounding in the knowledge of the faith. The considerable political power which, at the commencement of the 6th century, the episcopal order still retained in Southern Gaul enabled them effectually to protect these institutions. In the year 529, at the council of Vaison, we have evidence that it was sought to raise the standard of education among the clergy by requiring that priests in charge of parishes, according to the custom of Italy, should receive "readers" into their houses and educate them there (Sirmond, i. 226). It appears to be a legitimate inference from the foregoing canon that, prior to the Lombard invasion, the education of the clergy in Italy was carried on in a regular and systematic manner, and that an endeavour was made to introduce a corresponding system into Gaul.

The conquest of Africa by the Vandals (A.D. 429) does not appear to have been attended by

[h] If the date assigned to this letter by the Benedictine editors be correct, this mention of Origen, after the dispute with Ruffinus with respect to the orthodoxy of the Alexandrine teacher, is somewhat remarkable. (See Ebert, *Gesch. d. christlich-lat. Lit.* p. 309.)

[i] Compare with these passages Cassiodorus, *de Inst. Div. Litt.* c. 28 (Migne, *Patr.* lxx. 554), and Rabanus Maurus, *de Institutione Clericorum* (*Opera*, ed. Colvener, vi. 41): the latter quoting Augustine without any acknowledgment,—a frequent practice in the middle ages.

results equally unfavourable to letters. The Catholic party suffered cruel persecutions, but their Arian antagonists were avowedly friendly to learning, and Carthage still preserved her reputation as one of the chief schools of the empire. Salvian speaks of the city as famed both for philosophy and the cultivation of all the liberal arts (*de Gub. Dei*, bk. vii., Migne, liii. 161). It is uncertain whether the treatise of Martianus Capella, a rhetorician of Carthage, *de Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, et de Septem Artibus Liberalibus, Libri Novem*, was composed before or after the Vandal invasion, but long after the author's time it continued to enjoy an extensive popularity as a manual of instruction. This fact is alone significant evidence of the permanence of a certain pagan element in education; for the treatise, owing to its speculative character, was always regarded by the Latin Church as a dangerous book (see Mullinger (J. B.) *Hist. of the University of Cambridge*, i. 23–26). Felicianus appears as an eminent teacher of grammar, whose school was frequented both by the sons of the Vandals and those of Roman extraction (Dracontius, *Praef. ad Hylan.*). Dracontius himself was a poet of no mean ability in the reign of Gundamund (A.D. 484–496); and the Christian mother of Fulgentius is said by his biographer, Ferreolus, to have caused her son to commit to memory the whole of Homer, together with large portions of Menander. After this early training in Greek, Fulgentius was initiated into Latin literature, and pursued the study with the combined advantages of home instruction and attendance at one of the grammar schools of Carthage—"domo edoctus, artis etiam grammaticae traditur auditorio" (Migne, lxv. 119).

With the advance of the 6th century, the study of pagan literature and the traditions of pagan education had become yet further circumscribed in Latin Christendom, and the oft-quoted lament of Gregory of Tours ("periit studium litterarum") may be accepted with little reservation as regards his own country. The monastic traditions of education alone survived, although, at the same time, it is evident that they were sustained with some vigour, and that schools for youth (probably of the kind that Caesarius of Arles had instituted and promoted in Aquitaine) were in existence in the time of Clotaire II. (A.D. 613–628), and of Dagobert (A.D. 628–638), which excited the emulation of other lands. We learn, for instance, on the authority of Bede, that Sigebert, king of the East Angles (A.D. 635), being anxious on his return from exile "to imitate the good institutions which he had seen in France," "set up a school for youth to be instructed in literature, and was assisted therein by bishop Felix, who came from Kent, and who provided him with masters and teachers after the manner of that country" (Baeda, *E. H.* iii. 18; Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Angl.* bk. iii.; Savile, *Script.* 332). Evidence again, hereafter to be noted, is also to be met with of the survival of a higher culture in Italy, Africa, and Spain.

After the time of the Origenistic controversy, there is to be discerned in the Western Church a growing disposition not only to look with distrust on all secular learning as tending to encourage speculations which too often ended in heterodoxy, but also to adopt a theory of Scriptural interpretation which involved a disparaging estimate of the collateral aid which such learning might supply. In the *Institutiones* and *Collationes* of the celebrated Cassian, the combination of these views is clearly to be discerned. Cassian adopted the Alexandrine theory, and taught that beyond the grammatical meaning of the Scriptures there lay hidden a succession of deeper meanings, the tropological, allegorical, and anagogical, which revealed themselves only to the sanctified and purified intellect (*Inst.* v. 24; *Coll.* viii. 3). The importance of his adoption of these views lay in the fact that he was also the author of a new rule of monastic life and education in the West, and that consequently those communities which accepted this rule (and they appear to have included the majority of the monasteries in Gaul in the 5th and 6th centuries) cannot but be looked upon as dominated by a narrow and illiberal conception of learning. For a time, indeed, under the influence of a genuine enthusiasm, they rose superior to their traditions. The monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, founded by Cassian himself, enjoyed a high reputation as a school of education. That of St. Honorat, on one of the Lerins group of islands, was yet more celebrated, and the "Studium Insulanum," under Vincentius, was famous as a centre of semi-Pelagian doctrine in the 5th century. Eucherius, bishop of Lyons about A.D. 449, when writing to Salonius, speaks of the latter as having received instruction in this school from Hilary of Arles, Salvian, and Vincentius, in all branches of religious knowledge (*Praef. ad Salonium*, Migne, l. 773).

But the severe manual labour imposed by the rule of Cassian (*de Coenob. Inst.* ii. 3) alone almost precluded any sustained attention to letters; and the study of the sacred text, the acquirement of the arts of writing and singing, together with such a knowledge of the Computus (see CALENDAR) as would enable the learner to calculate the return of the festivals and fasts, were probably the limits, but rarely exceeded, of monastic education under this rule. At the same time, however, it is to be noted that the importance attached by Cassian to the constant study of the Scriptures, rendered a certain amount of education *obligatory*, where it had before been *discretionary* (*Coll.* xiv. 10; Migne, xlix. 972), and it may probably be safely assumed that wherever after Cassian's time mention occurs of any considerable monastery in the West, there existed in connexion with such monastery a school which imparted at least such an amount of elementary instruction as above described.

The provisions thus laid down were yet more distinctly enforced in the rule of Caesarius of Arles, who, in addition to his efforts above noted, for the spread of education among the clergy, required that both in the monasteries and in the convents of his diocese, certain hours of study should be strictly observed. In the monasteries this time was from the hour of rising until nine o'clock (*Regula ad Monachos*, reg. 14; Migne, *Patr.* lxvii. 1100). In the convents for women it was for two hours, from six to eight o'clock in the morning (*Regula ad Virgines*, reg. 14; *ib.* lxvii. 1110).

But while such were the tendencies of education in the West, we find a far more liberal con-

ception maintaining its ground in many of the churches in the East. In marked contrast to the school of Alexandria, that of Antioch acquired, in the 4th century, scarcely less distinction as a centre of widely different teaching. The teachers of the school of Antioch were distinguished by *the high value which they set upon pagan literature*, and had their views with respect to Christian education gained the ascendancy, it is no exaggeration to say that the history of the Church, and consequently of Europe at large, throughout the middle ages would have been materially modified. That the profession of instructor in pagan learning did not necessarily involve a departure from orthodox belief is attested by the example of Malchion, a presbyter of the Church, and according to Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 29), "head of the profession of the sophists in the schools of pagan learning at Antioch," but who was also distinguished as a refuter of the heresies of Paul of Samosata.

It is, however, with Lucian, presbyter and martyr (†311), that the historical exegesis of Antioch, in conjunction with a recognised school of instruction, is first to be traced with certainty. (Neander, *Kirchengesch.* I. iii. 825). Lucian, like Origen, was famed as a teacher, and along with Dorotheus, educated a large circle of illustrious disciples (Nicephorus, viii. 31; Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 5). He was also connected with the schools at Caesarea and Edessa. When Meletius was driven into exile by the Arians, his see was ably guided by Flavian (†403), and both of these bishops, according to Theodoret (*E. H.* iv. 22), were the instructors or advisers of Diodorus, from whom the high celebrity of the school of Antioch, which lasted from about A.D. 370–428, may be held to date. Diodorus, although described by Jerome as ignorant of secular learning (*de Viris Illust.* c. 119), was really a man of wide and varied culture, and the instructor of both Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia. While distinguished as an opponent of the Apollinarian heresy, he was also an able defender of the historical school of Scriptural interpretation, a feature which sufficiently accounts for the hostility of Jerome. With the deposition and condemnation of Nestorius (431) the reputation of the school at Antioch appears to have come to an end.

The doctrines taught at Antioch re-appeared, however, in Mesopotamia, and especially at those celebrated centres of theological teaching, Edessa and Nisibis. The history of these two schools is singularly intertwined and somewhat obscure. It has been supposed that Edessa was the original seat whence Antioch first derived its characteristic tradition, and it is beyond doubt that it was here that Lucian received instruction from Macarius (Socrates, *H. E.* ii. 9). Eusebius of Emesa was also instructed here, not only in religious knowledge but also in pagan learning (*ib.*). It is not until the 4th century that Nisibis appears to have acquired distinction by the teaching of Jacob, its bishop, who was the instructor of Ephraem the Syrian. Ephraem was subsequently driven from Nisibis and took refuge in Edessa, where the school which he founded or re-established became distinguished for its judicious and scholarly principles of interpretation (Assemann, i. 38; Socrates, *H. E.* iii. 6). After the year 431, Edessa became a centre of Nestorian doctrine, and the survival of these tenets is attributed by Theodorus Lector to the activity of this school. Its suppression in the year 489 by the emperor Zeno, on this very account (Theod. Lector, *E. H.* ii. 49; Assemann, i. 406) failed to bring about the extinction of the sect, for its teachers, removing to Nisibis, maintained the same traditions; and a school, in which the Commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia were prescribed as sources of doctrine and all divergence from his teaching was forbidden under the pain of anathema (*ib.* iii. 84), continued to exist until the middle ages. Junilius Africanus, writing about the year 540, speaks of it as a centre of systematic religious instruction, "ubi divina lex per magistros publicos, *sicut apud nos in mundanis studiis grammatica et rhetorica*, ordine et regulariter traditur" (*Praef. ad de Part. Div. Leg.*; Migne, lxviii. 15). The foregoing passage from Junilius, who was an African bishop, is of twofold interest, inasmuch as it attests the continued existence and activity not only of the school at Nisibis but also of schools of grammar and rhetoric in Africa in the first half of the 6th century.

Among others whose attention was attracted to the teaching of these remote schools in the East, was Cassiodorus, the eminent minister of Theodoric the Great. It was his endeavour to give to monastic education a more liberal cast than it had received from Cassian, or than it was then receiving from his contemporary, Caesarius of Arles—the latter of whom, notwithstanding his efforts to promote the education of the clergy, was altogether adverse to the study of pagan literature. Cassiodorus appears to have succeeded in carrying his designs into effect in connexion with the monastery which he founded at Viviers in Bruttium; and we learn from the preface to his treatise, *de Institutione Divinarum Litterarum*, that he had sought, in conjunction with pope Agapetus, to found certain chairs of Christian instruction at Rome, after the fashion, he says, "that long existed at Alexandria, and that now prevails in full force at Nisibis, so that the souls of the faithful might gain eternal salvation and their speech be adorned with chaste eloquence" (Migne, lxx. 537). The *schema*, "lectionis ordo," given by Cassiodorus himself, is also in evident agreement with the method and range of instruction which prevailed at Nisibis; and it is worthy of notice that among those to whom he refers as eminent promoters of Scriptural instruction ("introductores Scripturae divinae") is Junilius Africanus. Cassiodorus, however, goes on to state that the outbreak of war had compelled him to abandon the above design, and that he has accordingly put forth his treatise, which he describes as "a compend of Scriptural knowledge and profane learning." The Catholic spirit in which his precepts are conceived is evident in many points; in his advice to the monks to study geography, and in the fact that he had caused Latin translations to be made of Josephus' *History of the Jews* and of the writings of Theodoret (c. 8). These were placed in the library which he collected, and of which his treatise gives an account. We learn that it included, besides the canonical Scriptures and the Fathers, the encyclic of the council of Chalcedon in the version of Epiphanius, Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, that of Sozomen together

with the works of Orosius, Ammianus Marcellinus, &c. (Migne, *Patr.* lxx. 1119–1147). He also takes occasion warmly to defend the study of pagan literature, urging that it is often an important aid to that of the Scriptures themselves, and that it had never been the design of the fathers wholly to prohibit it (*ib.* lxx. 554). He quotes the language of Augustine (*de Doct. Christiana*, ii. 40), "See we not how richly laden with gold, and silver, and raiment, Cyprian that most sweet teacher and blessed martyr, went forth from Egypt? How also, laden in like manner, Lactantius, Victorinus, Optatus, and Hilarius went forth?"—and concludes, in his own language, "*utrasque doctrinas*, si possumus, legere festinemus. Quis enim audeat habere dubium, ubi virorum talium multiplex praecedit exemplum?"

In the period directly following upon the invasion of the Lombards (A.D. 568), learning in Italy ebbed to its lowest point; but in the meantime the foundation of the monastery on Monte Cassino (A.D. 529) and the rise of the Benedictine order had inaugurated a new epoch. The rule of St. Benedict was a kind of mean between that of Cassian and that of Cassiodorus. It neither enjoined nor forbade the study of secular literature, but it prescribed, like the rule of Caesarius of Arles, the setting apart of regular hours for reading. The energies of the monk were still mainly to be given to active labour, but the grey dawn of the winter day and the meridian heat of summer were allotted to study; and in the season of Lent the time assigned for this purpose was extended. With the one exception of Cassian, Benedict specified no authors, but only the books of the Old and New Testaments, together with such expositions thereon as "the most illustrious doctors of the orthodox faith and the Catholic fathers had compiled" (*Reg. S. Benedicti*, c. 8; ed. Waitzmann, p. 32).

The interpretation given by Gregory the Great (A.D. 544–604), the admirer and biographer of St. Benedict, to the monastic theory was probably sufficient to exclude, for a time, all attention to secular learning. Writing and teaching under an exceptionally vivid conviction of the approaching end of the world—a consummation which he held to be plainly foretold by the troubles of the times—he looked upon all studies which did not directly conduce to the purposes of the religious life as worse than useless. We find, it is true, both his biographers, Paul and John, speaking in glowing terms of the flourishing state of learning in Rome in his day. But against these doubtful and vague assertions of a later age, we must place the following facts: (1) that according to John (*Vita*, iii. 33), Gregory expressly forbade bishops to study pagan literature; (2) that he strongly censured Didier, the eminent bishop of Vienne, for instructing some of his clergy in classical literature, an employment of time which he declares to *be unbecoming even in a pious layman* (*Ep.* xi. 54); (3) that by his own admission he was himself ignorant of Greek, although he had resided some years at Constantinople (*Ep.* vii. 30), and, according to Paulus Diaconus (*Vita*, c. 2) was "second to none in Rome in polite learning." As a striking illustration of the results of this narrow conception of intellectual culture, his *Magna Moralia*, or Exposition of the Book of Job, claims a passing notice, as a work conceived in the most daring spirit of allegorical interpretation, to the entire exclusion of the aids that oriental or classical learning might have supplied and which could hardly have failed to restrain the unbounded extravagance which characterises these pages. "It may safely be said," observes Milman, "that according to Gregory's licence of interpretation, *there is nothing which might not be found in any book ever written*" (*Latin Christianity*, bk. iii. c. 7).

The unrivalled influence exerted by Gregory over his age is thus to be traced in a two-fold form in relation to learning: (1) as distinctly unfavourable to secular studies; (2) as favouring the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture, and thereby setting an example which operated powerfully on the whole course of mediaeval theology; for while the monastic schools which arose in England were modelled mainly on his instructions, it was from England, in turn, that the schools restored or founded by Charles the Great in the latter part of the 8th century derived their method and their traditions.

It is mainly to the efforts of Theodore and Hadrian, in the 7th century, that we must attribute that somewhat more liberal conception of Christian studies which obtained in England at this period. Both these ecclesiastics, of whom the one was from Tarsus, the other from Africa, were Greek as well as Latin scholars (Bright, *Early Church History*, p. 219). Of the system of education introduced by Theodore it has been said, "that it was in principle substantially the same as that which now prevails" (Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, i. 196). Theodore also augmented the library at Canterbury (Edwards, *Hist. of Libraries*, i. 101). Of the higher learning which characterised this movement, Aldhelm († 709) and Bede († 735) are the two most conspicuous examples. The former was educated by Hadrian at the monastery school of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and subsequently, in order to obtain a livelihood, instituted a school at Malmesbury (William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Pont.* lib. v.). Aldhelm was also the founder of numerous other monastic schools in Wessex, and we still possess an account of his system of instruction (Wright, Introd. to *Biog. Brit. Litt.* i. 74). According to his biographer, Faricius, he was a competent Greek scholar (c. 1). He, however, so far reflected the influence of Gregory's teaching, that he discouraged the study both of the poets and philosophers of antiquity; in the inflated Latinity which passed for scholarship of this period, he intimates that the rude simplicity of the gospel appears to him far preferable to the slippery byways of pastoral poetry or the thorny winding paths of philosophy. (Malmesbury, *Gest. Pont.* ed. Hamilton, p. 342). At nearly the same time that Aldhelm was founding schools in Wessex, Felix, the first bishop of the East Angles (A.D. 680), was carrying out a similar work in his diocese, where, says the historian, "barbariem gentis sensim comitate Latina informabat" (*ib.* 147).

The tradition from Aldhelm was handed down by Albinus († 752), abbat of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and the literary adviser of Bede. Albinus was instructed in Greek by Theodore, and, according to Bede, "knew the Greek tongue to no small perfection, and the Latin as

thoroughly as the English, which was his native tongue" (*E. H.* v. 20).

The extensive learning of Bede, which was of a yet higher order, was acquired partly under the tuition of Benedict Biscop, at the monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow, and partly at St. Augustine's at Canterbury. Bede himself was subsequently an active founder of the famous school at York, the most distinguished centre of learning in England in the 8th and 9th centuries. It was successively presided over by Egbert, Ethelbert, and Eanbald, each of whom succeeded to the archbishopric of York; but its most distinguished teacher was Alcuin. The school appears to have been open to the secular clergy as well as to those designed to the monastic life, a fact which may to some extent account for the liberal character of the studies pursued by the scholars (Migne, *Patr.* c. 146; ci. 845; Stubbs, Pref. to *de Inventione*, p. vi.). Alcuin, who was not a monk, was for some time librarian of the cathedral library, and in his *Poëma de Pontificibus Ecclesiae Eboracensis* (Migne, ci. 845) has left us a glowing description of its treasures. According to his account it was a complete repository not only of patristic, but also of Greek and Latin, literature.

Such was the institution from whence the light of learning was transmitted to Frankland, and there handed down to the middle ages; but before proceeding to follow this main path, as it may be termed, of our subject, it will be necessary to devote a brief attention to the condition of letters and education in other parts of Europe during the 7th and 8th centuries.

The tradition of important Christian schools in Spain at a very early period in Church history, must stand or fall with that of the early evangelisation of the country [PAGANISM, SURVIVAL OF, sec. iii.]. It appears to have suggested to the author of the spurious *Chronicon* of Dexter (ann. 185 and 370),—a Jesuit forgery of the 17th century,—the statement that such schools existed in the 2nd and were restored in the 4th century; nor is it easy to believe that, under ecclesiastics like Hosius, the work of education could have failed to be carried on with vigour. Lannoy (*de Scholis*, &c. c. lvi.) observes, however, that the school of Bracara (now Braga in Portugal) is the only one of which we have any distinct mention prior to the 7th century. This school, where were pursued "optimarum artium studia," attained to yet greater celebrity under its abbat Fructuosus, the contemporary of Isidorus. In the time of Isidorus (A.D. 570–636) a general revival of learning throughout Spain appears to have taken place. The great school of Seville, which had been founded by his brother and predecessor in that see, Leander, exercised considerable influence over education throughout Andalusia. Isidorus himself was undoubtedly the most learned ecclesiastic of the 7th century and an active promoter of learning. He was also the founder of another school in connexion with a large monastery which he built without the walls of Seville. The discipline of this school was remarkable for its severity. The scholars were not permitted to go beyond the walls of the monastery until four years had elapsed from their first admission; and those who evinced a disposition to saunter about and neglect their studies, were compelled to wear iron fetters on their feet (Rod. Cerrat. *Vita Isidori*, c. xiv.;[k] Migne, lxxxi. 78). Discipline of this kind, however, was confined to the monastic schools, which appear to have sometimes served the purpose of the modern reformatory. We find, for example, that a decree of the fourth council of Toledo (A.D. 633), over which Isidorus presided, while enjoining the institution of schools for the clergy, directs also that refractory scholars shall be sent to the monasteries (Mansi, x. 626). The first canon of the second council of Toledo, A.D. 615, makes, likewise, express provision for schools for the clergy under the direction of the bishop.

Isidorus says (*Sent.* iii. 8) that both prayer and reading are duties of the religious life, though preference is to be given to the former. He discourages the perusal of pagan literature (*ib.* iii. 13), and affirms that the meretricious art of the grammarian must not be preferred to more simple knowledge (*ib.*). It is, however, a legitimate inference from his *Etymologiae* (or *Origines*, as the treatise is sometimes termed), that Isidorus did not consider these injunctions to be equally binding on the clergy. This latter treatise, along with those of Boethius, the *de Artibus ac Disciplinis* of Cassiodorus, and the *de Septem Artibus* of Martianus, may be looked upon as completing the list of the ordinary text-books of instruction up to the 13th century.

On the whole, it may be said that Christian education as conceived by Isidorus rested on a far more liberal basis than that laid down by Gregory,—a fact in some measure attributable to the immunity from war and invasion which Spain, when compared with Italy, at this time enjoyed. As regards the interpretation of Scripture, however, Isidorus followed in the steps of Gregory, a fact of which his *Allegoriae* affords decisive evidence, and he thus lent the weight of his high authority to the perpetuation of the Alexandrine tradition in the Western Church.

The extant writings of Braulio clearly prove that he had profited largely by the instruction of Isidorus, and the quotations from Terence, Horace, Vergil, and Juvenal, which they contain, shew a fair knowledge of Latin literature. Among Isidorus' other pupils were Sisebut, king of the Visigoths, and the archdeacon Redemptus, author of the Life of St. Didier. Braulio, in his turn, became the founder of an important school in northern Spain, at the city of Saragossa, and among his scholars were Eugenius, third bishop of that name of Toledo (a writer whose metrical compositions are among the most favourable specimens of the literature of the period), and Taïon, Braulio's successor in the see of Saragossa (Bourret, *L'École chrét. de Séville*, 119–133).

The conquest of the country by the Saracens under Musa, in the year 711, probably involved the extinction of these schools, though traces of learning and culture are discernible even after this time; but throughout the 7th century, Spain may fairly be regarded as an exception to the intellectual darkness that prevailed in Western Europe and almost justifies the observation of the abbé Bourret,—"On dirait que toutes les muses se sont enfuies vers les bords

[k] Perhaps one of the passages that may be accepted as genuine in this largely interpolated production.

hospitaliers du Bétis, car de là seulement arrivent les échos de la parole antique et les signes de la vie intellectuelle de l'humanité" (*ib.* p. 203).

In the East, and especially at Constantinople, the study of grammar and rhetoric received the countenance of the state long after the imperial schools of the West had ceased to exist. In the year 425, in the reign of Theodosius II., an edict was promulgated, designed apparently to restrict the function of public teaching to those who had been formally appointed to teach in the Capitol at Constantinople. Other teachers are forbidden to assemble their pupils "in publicis magistrationibus cellulisque" under pain of infamy and banishment from the city, but are allowed to teach in private dwelling houses, "intra parietes domesticos." This edict has been characterised by Finlay as a tyrannical exercise of power, but he omits to refer to the fact that the same measure makes provision for a fixed number of public instructors, as follows: in Latin, three "oratores" and ten "grammatici"; in Greek, five "sophistae" and one "grammaticus"; one teacher of philosophy; two of civil law. Each of these instructors was to have his appointed "locus," probably a fixed place, in which to assemble his class (*Cod. Theod.* xiv. tit. 9; ed. Haenel, p. 1389). The suppression of the schools of philosophy at Athens, by Justinian, was probably a blow aimed rather at heresy than at learning, and the grammarian and rhetorician still taught, as in Africa, unmolested, and in some instances with distinguished success. The names of Stobaeus, Theodorus Anagnostes, Agathias, and Evagrius, are sufficient proof of the continuance of a certain cultivation of letters. The schools at Constantinople, known as the oecumenical, were also celebrated, and though the circumstances under which the college of the Octagon in that city was founded are lost in obscurity, its existence in the 8th century, along with that of an extensive library, is sufficiently established. "The classical writers (ἐγκύκλιοι)" says Donaldson, "were taught with a strange mixture of Church fathers and later rhetoricians,—Libanius and Basil being placed on the same footing as Demosthenes, Plutarch and Dion Cassius being preferred to Herodotus and Thucydides, the commentators of Hermogenes and Aphthonius being substituted for the rhetoric of Aristotle, and Plato and Aristotle being seen darkly, if at all, through the clouded glasses of Proclus, Olympiodorus, and Joannes Philoponus" (*Hist. of Greek Lit.* iii. 373–374).

The accession of the Isaurian dynasty (A.D. 726) and the controversy respecting image worship were eminently unfavourable to letters, and the emperor Leo is accused of burning both the college of the Octagon and its library. Towards the close of the century, however, a considerable revival took place, and it is evident that no small amount of literary culture prevailed. At the commencement of the 9th century the celebrated Theodorus Studites assembled round him at the monastery of Studion a band of disciples, some of whom his biographer describes as devoted to general learning, others to Scriptural studies, and some to manual arts (Migne, Series Graeca, xcix. 168). "A proof," says Finlay, "that learning was still cultivated in the distant parts of the Byzantine empire, and that schools of some eminence existed in Greece, is to be found in the fact that Leo the mathematician, when a layman, retired to a college in the island of Andros to pursue his studies, and there laid the foundation of the scientific knowledge by which he established his reputation. After he was compelled to resign his archbishopric of Thessalonica, the general respect felt for his learning obtained for him from Bardas Caesar the presidency of the new university founded at Constantinople in the reign of Michael III. (A.D. 842–867), in which chairs of geometry and astronomy had been established, as well as the usual instruction in Greek literature." (*Hist. of the Byzantine Emp.* ed. Tozer, ii. 25; for Leo's attainments see Migne, Series Graeca, cix. 199.)

In northern and central Italy, where the rule of the Lombard supplanted that of the eastern emperor, the course of events could not fail to be unfavourable to learning; but it is evident that traditions of Greek culture lingered in the south long after the time of Gregory the Great. In the Life of John of Damascus there is a remarkable representation given by the monk Cosmas of his attainments and course of study. He had been captured by pirates when sailing from Calabria to the east, and as he stood exposed for sale in the market-place of Damascus, he informed the father of John (by whom he was subsequently ransomed) that his speech had been adorned by the study of rhetoric, his reason trained in dialectical methods and proofs; that he had studied ethics as taught by Aristotle and Plato; had acquired a knowledge of physical philosophy, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy (τῶν ἀστέρων περιφοράν); and, finally, had been initiated into the mysteries of theology, "both," he says, "as handed down by the Greeks and as the teachers of the Latin church had most clearly set them forth" (Migne, Series Graeca, xciv. 430).

In Frankland a continuous state of warfare sufficed to preclude much attention to the education of the people during the rule of Charles Martel and that of Pépin le Bref (A.D. 752–768). Guizot, however, contends that in the preceding century and a half (A.D. 600–750) there is good reason for inferring the continued existence of episcopal schools at Poitiers, Paris, Le Mans, Bourges, Clermont, Vienne, Châlons-sur-Saône, Arles, and Gap; while, besides the monastic schools of St. Médard at Soissons, and that at Lérins, he considers that others are to be traced in connexion with the foundations at Poitiers, Ligugé, Ansion, Luxeuil, Fontenelle, and Sithiu (*Hist. de la Civilisat.* ii. 3–4). It was reserved, however, for Charles the Great to initiate a series of efforts for the revival of learning, which were destined to be attended by marked success and long-enduring results.

Charles's regard for letters may have been derived, in the first instance, from Peter of Pisa, who appears to have taught grammar at the court of Pépin (Alcuin, *Ep.* 75); while Paulus Diaconus, the historian Leidradus, a Bavarian, and Theodulfus, a Spanish Goth, were scholars with whom he became acquainted during his campaign in Italy (A.D. 774). But in none of these were there combined the attainments and the energy requisite for carrying out the great work of restoration which

Charles had in view. In the year 782, he is accordingly to be found applying to Alcuin of York for further assistance. Ultimately Alcuin acceded to this request, and on repairing to Frankland was installed instructor of the palace school, and also invested with a general superintendence of the work of education throughout the realm.

There can be little doubt that Alcuin was the most accomplished scholar of his time, for, besides considerable theological attainments, he was well read in the Latin classics, and also possessed a slight knowledge of Greek; but his mind was wanting in independence and originality, and his proneness to lean on precedent and authority inclined him rather to follow out the precepts of Gregory the Great than to seek to impart to the studies of his age a more liberal and catholic tone. This must always be regarded as no slight misfortune for Christian education in the middle ages, for the almost unquestioning deference and obedience which his learning, high character, and amiable disposition won for him from his scholars resulted in an influence over education in Frankland which lasted until the rise of scholasticism, and may even be traced after the Renaissance.

The palace school, which included Charles himself, his family, and the leading members of his court, is noticeable as a successful endeavour to raise the standard of lay education at that time. To Alcuin's instructions we may probably attribute the literary tastes of Lewis the Pious; while Adelhard, Wala, Einhard, and Riculfus all perceptibly reflect the same influence. The teacher supplied his class with such knowledge as was to be gathered from the manuals of Boethius, Isidorus, and Cassiodorus on the subjects of the ancient *trivium* and *quadrivium*. In connexion with logic and astronomy this was of a very meagre character, and the inquiring intellect of Charles seems, in these branches, to have decidedly outstripped the willingness or the resources of his instructor (see Alcuin, *de Dialectica*, Migne, ci. 951–979; also *ib.* c. 275; and Dümmler, *Alcuiniana*, *Epp.* 98 to 112).

Aided by the counsels and the pen of Alcuin, Charles next commenced, in the year 787, an endeavour to awaken a more systematic attention to letters in the monasteries of his realm. A copy of the Capitulary designed to promote this object (that addressed to Baugulfus, abbat of Fulda) has been preserved, and supplies us with an important illustration of the actual status of education at this period, the argument for the necessity of improvement being enforced by reference to the uncouth and illiterate diction of the letters from time to time addressed to Charles by the different monastic foundations. It is to be noted, as further illustrating Alcuin's theory of education, that the desirability of the proposed reforms is chiefly insisted on on account of the aid that students would thereby receive in understanding the Scriptures and those deeper hidden meanings which they enfold. "For as these," says the Capitulary, "contain images, tropes, and similar figures, it is impossible to doubt that the reader will arrive far more readily at the spiritual sense according as he is the better instructed in learning" (*Constitutio de Scholis per singula Episcopia et Monasteria instituendis*, Baluze, i. 201–204; Pertz, *Legg.* i. 523). Both the clerical profession and the monasteries at this period were largely recruited from the servile class; and it marks the rising estimation in which education now began to be held, that another of Charles's Capitularies, of the year 789, enjoins the clergy to seek for scholars not *only among the sons of slaves* but almost among the sons of freemen; it also directs that in connexion with every episcopal see and monastery there shall be a school where boys shall be taught the psalms, notation ("notas"), singing, the use of the Computus, and the Latin tongue, and that they shall be supplied with accurately transcribed text-books, "libros bene emendatos" (*Capitula data missis dominicis*, Baluze, i. 360).

In the year 796, Alcuin's work of reform in Frankland entered upon its third phase, consequent upon his appointment to the abbacy of St. Martin of Tours. Here he forthwith proceeded to put in practice his more austere conceptions of monastic discipline and education, while his reputation attracted scholars not only from all parts of the empire, but also from England and Ireland. The influence he thus exerted over his disciples during the eight years preceding his death constitutes probably the most enduring impress that he left upon his age; but his mistrust of pagan literature and too deferential adherence to the Gregorian traditions largely tended to cramp and fetter the intellectual energies of subsequent generations.

The movement thus initiated continued to develop itself long after Alcuin's death. In the year in which he died (A.D. 804) fresh injunctions were issued with a view to the more systematic education of the clergy (Baluze, i. 417).[1] In 813 a decree of the council of Châlons enjoined the creation of additional schools for the cultivation of learning and the study of the Scriptures (Labbé, *Concilia*, vii. 1272). The augmentation in the numbers of the scholars is probably indicated by a canon of the council of Aachen, in 817, requiring that only those who had already embraced the monastic life (the "oblati") should in future be admitted to the schools within the monastery walls (Pertz, *Legg.* i. 202). From this time the monastic schools appear to have been of two kinds: the "scholae claustrales" for the "oblati," and the "scholae canonicae" for the secular clergy. In the year 822 Lewis the Pious issued new instructions, affirming that education since his accession had not received due attention, and enjoining that every candidate for holy orders, whether young or old, should have a settled residence and a competent instructor; the parents or masters of scholars were to provide for their maintenance, and if the extent of a bishopric rendered it difficult to assemble the scholars at one centre, additional schools were to be opened (Pertz, *Leges*, i. 231). Among the episcopal schools in Frankland those of Orleans and Rheims were especially distinguished. The first, under the

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[1] The charter representing Charles as endowing schools at Osnabrück for the purpose of maintaining a knowledge of both Greek and Latin among the canons of the cathedral (see Baluze, i. 419) is not accepted by Pertz, and is probably spurious. See *Diploma Caroli Magni Imperatoris* (1717), a treatise attributed to Eccard.

direction of Theodulfus, the archbishop, was perhaps the chief centre of clerical education up to the university era. Theodulfus was especially active in his endeavours to preserve and restore manuscripts, and those of Orleans were noted for their beauty and accuracy. He was also the author of a compendium of rules for the guidance of the clergy, which was widely circulated throughout the realm (Baunard, *Théodulfe*, c. 2; Migne, *Patr.* cv. 191–207). The school at Reims, under the patronage of the celebrated Hincmar, was not less famed, and under the successive teaching of Sigloard, archbishop Fulk, Remy of Auxerre, and Hucbald, enjoyed the proud distinction of having preserved throughout the 9th century that tradition of learning which links the episcopal schools with the university of Paris.

The monastic schools of this period, however, altogether surpassed the episcopal schools both in learning and in celebrity. Foremost in this category stands the school of the abbey at Fulda, under the rule of Rabanus Maurus, the disciple of Alcuin at Tours. He was equally distinguished by his attainments and his ability as a teacher, and his treatise on the education of the clergy, *de Institutione Clericorum*, contains not a few indications of his desire to set up a somewhat more liberal standard of such education than that which he had received. Among his scholars he numbered many of the most prominent characters of the 9th century, such as Walafrid Strabo, Otfried of Weissenberg, Rudolfus, Luitpertus, Hartmuat, Meginhard, &c. (*Opera*, ed. Colvener, 6 vols. 1626; Spengler, *Leben des heiligen Rhabanus Maurus*, 1856). The abbey of Hirsaugiae, an offshoot from Fulda, was also distinguished as a learned community under William the abbat (*Chron. Petershusanum*, Migne, cxliii. 338). That at Seligenstadt, under Einhard the historian, was noted for the scholarly and admirable productions of its *scriptorium*; that at Ferrières, in the Gâtinais, could boast of its abbat, Lupus Servatus, the presence of the most distinguished classical scholar of the time (Nicolas, *Étude sur les Lettres de Servat-Loup*, 1861). One of his disciples, Eric, afterwards abbat of St. Germain at Auxerre, was the instructor of Lothair, the son of Charles the Bald. At Mayence, the abbey of St. Alban numbered among its scholars Rupertus, known for his Greek learning, and Probus, a devoted student of Cicero and Vergil (*Chron. Hirsaugiae*, ann. 892; Lupus Servatus, *Epp.* 20 and 34; Migne, cxix.). The monasteries of St. Germain des Prés and St. Denis at Paris already enjoyed, in the 9th century, a considerable celebrity as schools. At Corbey, near Amiens, under Adelhard and Wala, and Paschasius Radbertus, was gathered a society eminent for its learning and illustrious as a parent foundation. It fell before the Norman invasion; but its namesake, New Corbey, in Saxony, sustained the same traditions with scarcely less distinction (*Walae Vita*, Pertz, ii. 578–581). The great abbey of St. Riquier, under the rule of Angilbert, another of Alcuin's scholars, was noted for its devotion to letters; an inventory of its possessions, made in the year 831 by the direction of Lewis the Pious, included a library of no less than two hundred and thirty-one volumes (Léon Maître, *Les Écoles*, &c. p. 67). The abbey of St. Martin at Metz, under the rule of Aldricus, was scarcely less celebrated (Baluze, *Miscell.* i. 19); a bible presented by the community to Charles the Bald, and the missal of bishop Drogo, are still preserved, and rank among the most valued specimens of 9th-century art. The society of St. Mihiel-sur-Meuse enjoyed the instruction of Smaragdus, whose compend of Donatus frequently appears in the catalogues of the libraries of the period. St. Bertin, in the diocese of Cambrai, claimed the distinguished honour of leaving educated Grimbald, whom king Alfred invited to aid him in his efforts towards a restoration of learning in England (Bollandus, *Juillet*, ii. 651).

A remarkable effort on the part of the episcopal order still further to extend the influences of education was made in the year 829, when at an assembly at Paris it was resolved to petition the emperor to found three large schools at three different centres, to be open to the clergy and the monastic orders alike (Mansi, xiv. 599). The scheme appears to have been frustrated by the outbreak of war.

The principle of the *gratuitous instruction* of the sons of the poor appears to have been very distinctly on its trial at this period. An inscription over the portals of the monastery at Salzburg contained the verse—

"Discere si cupias, gratis quod quaeris habebis;"

on the other hand, the monastery at Tours, under the rule of Fredegis, Alcuin's successor, was unenviably distinguished by its exaction of fees from the scholars. This practice was strongly denounced by Amalaric, who had formerly acted as librarian at the monastery, and had been promoted to the archbishopric of the diocese. In the year 843, he founded a fund for the purpose of providing gratuitous instruction in Tours, and the measure was subsequently sanctioned in a formal enactment by Charles the Bald (Martene, *Thes. Anecd.* i. ann. 843). At nearly the same time, Theodulfus issued instructions to the clergy of his diocese that they should in no case demand fees for the instruction of children, but only accept them when voluntarily offered by the parents (Mansi, xiii. 388). The Capitulary in which he embodied this proviso was subsequently widely adopted by other dioceses (Baunard, *Théodulfe*, p. 61).

It still remains briefly to advert to another school of thought, that of the Celtic church, and particularly the Irish monasteries, in order to complete the foregoing outline. With the name of St. Comgall there is associated the great school of Banchor[m] or Benchor in the Ards of Ulster, founded in the year 558 (*Life of Columba*, ed. Reeves, p. 306), and famous as a seat of learning. The yet more celebrated school at Hy or Iona is associated with the name of St. Columba; that of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, with the labours of St. Aidan; those of Luxeuil, on the confines of Burgundy and Austrasia, and Bobbio in the north of Italy, with the missionary career of Columban. St. Gall in Switzerland,

[m] This must be carefully distinguished from the monastery at Bangor (the modern Bangor-Iscoed in Flintshire) mentioned by Bede as numbering upwards of 2 000 monks (*E. H.* ii. 2); a foundation which possessed no school at all corresponding to its importance as a monastery (Bingham, *Ant.* ii. 347).

which in the 9th century possessed a library of four hundred volumes (Weidmann, *Hist. de la Biblioth. de S. Gall*, p. 16), still preserves the name of its founder. St. Kilian in Thuringia, and Virgilius in Carinthia, were representatives of the same great movement.

The question of the common origin of this teaching, characterised by a distinctive scholarship and a distinctive theology, in Irish foundations, would involve a more lengthened inquiry than is here admissible, but it may be observed that such evidence as we possess remarkably confirms the traditions which associate the early Irish civilisation with the East, either directly or indirectly through Massilia.

As early as the time of Jerome, there is evidence of an Irish Christian civilisation anterior to St. Patrick, and in the 6th century the "Scotti" as they were termed (Ireland being the original Scotland) were already eminent for their love of learning. An Irish scholar, Maildulf, instructed Aldhelm at Malmesbury in the 7th century; and Theodore, the archbishop, on his arrival, found himself, according to Aldhelm, surrounded by a throng of eager Irish disciples, "Hibernensium globo discipulorum stipatur" (Ussher, *Syllog. Ep.* p. 38).

The distinguishing features of this Celtic Christianity, so far as related to education and learning, were as follows: (1) the adoption of a text book of secular education which was condemned by the majority of the Latin clergy; (2) a superior knowledge of Greek and also of the Latin classics and of astronomy; (3) a disposition to employ dialectics in theological controversy.

(1) The treatise of Martianus Capella, to which reference has above been made (p. 1851), was a favourite text-book with those who leaned towards the cultivation of pagan learning. We find, for example, one Securus Melior Felix, a rhetorician at Clermont, editing the treatise in the year 534, and distributing copies throughout Frankland (*Hist. litt. de la France*, iii. 21, 173); so that in the time of Gregory of Tours, it would appear to have become the ordinary manual of all those who among his countrymen still made any profession of learning (*Hist. Franc.* x. 31). St. Patrick, it has been conjectured, first brought the book to Ireland, where its speculative character recommended it to the native genius. Various features, however, combined to render the volume peculiarly obnoxious to the orthodox party; it contained, for example, a remarkable anticipation of the Copernican theory in a statement that Mercury and Venus revolved round the sun; it asserted the existence of an antipodes, and finally it referred to the Triune God of Christianity in the same category with the gods of paganism (*Mart. Cap.* ed. Kopp, p. 856). It was from these pages that Virgilius, the Irish bishop of Salzburg, derived his theory of an antipodes, by the maintenance of which he drew down upon himself the enmity of St. Boniface and the anathema of pope Zacharias (Jaffé, *Mon. Mogunt.* p. 191; see also Gorini, *Défense de l'Église*, ii. 375–383). Prudentius of Troyes, in his controversy with John Scotus Erigena, broadly accused the latter of having "imbibed the deadly poison" of heresy from the same work (Migne, *Patr.* cxv. 1294).

(2) The superior scholarship and classical attainments of the Irish scholars are attested by frequent evidence. Columban beguiled his leisure with the composition of Latin verse. The affectation of Greek modes of expression is, however a serious defect in their Latinity, and adds much to the obscurity of their diction. "It is palpable," says Mr. Haddan, "in British writers, as well as in Irish and Saxon, from Gildas down to Rioemarch" (*Remains*, p. 280). They were often well read in the Greek fathers, and Clement the Scot, when at the court of Carloman in 742, shewed himself familiar with the writings of Origen, and declined to be bound by the dicta of Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory (*ib.* pp. 274, 286; Jaffé, *Mon. Mogunt.* p. 140). The translation of the treatises of the pseudo-Dionysius by John Scotus Erigena in the 9th century (a task to which none of the Frankish clergy had been found equal) proves his superior acquaintance with the Greek language, while we may infer from the questions which, at the suggestion of Clement of Ireland, Charles the Great propounded to Alcuin at Tours, a more than ordinary acquaintance with astronomy (Migne, *Patrol.* c. 266; Jaffé, *Alcuiniana*, p. 420).

(3) The proneness of the Irish theologians to the use of the syllogism aroused the antipathy which, as we have already seen, was traditional in the Latin church to such modes of discussing theological questions; Benedict of Aniane notes this feature to their discredit: "Apud modernos scholasticos, maxime apud Scotos, iste syllogismus delusionis" (Baluze, *Misc.* v. 54). The practice, probably carried to its abuse, is discernible from Pelagius down to John Scotus, the latter of whom Prudentius found it necessary to remind that the fathers of the church had enjoined that the faith should be defended, not by sophistic trickeries, but by the plain statements of the Scriptures: "Nequaquam sophisticis illusionibus, sed Scripturarum sanctarum evidentissimis allegationibus" (Migne, cxv. 1013).

But although, in the 8th and 9th centuries, the treatise of Martianus Capella and the employment of dialectics were discouraged by the church, there is sufficient evidence that neither the one nor the other fell into disuse; so that when, at the commencement of the 12th century, William of Champeaux opened his school of logic at Paris, and found both a pupil and a rival in Abelard, the ancient art was revived with new vigour, and the history of Christian education itself entered upon a new phase.

*Authorities, &c.*—Thomassin. Cave, *Historia Litteraria.* Keuffel (G. G.), *Historia Originis et Progressus Scholarum inter Christianos*, 1743. Ampere, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 3 v. 1867. Gorini, *Défense de l'Église*, 4 v. 1864. Kihn (H.), *Die ältesten christlichen Schulen*, 1865. Léon Maître, *Les Écoles épiscopales et monastiques de l'Occident*, 1866. Kaufmann (Georg), *Rhetorenschulen und Klosterschulen*, article in von Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch* for 1869. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*, vols. i. and ii. 1855–60. Mullinger (J. B.), *Schools of Charles the Great and Restoration of Education in the Ninth Century*, 1877.

[J. B. M.]

**SCILLITANI, TWELVE MARTYRS**, July 17; commemorated at Carthage (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker., Wand.). [C. H.]

**SCREEN.** [CANCELLI; ICONOSTASIS.]

**SCRIBHNEOIR, SCRIBHNIGH,** the Irish scribe, was an important officer in the monastery, and probably took the place of the more ancient Seanchaidhe or historian of pagan times. He was copyist, illuminator, annalist, and in the end of the 10th century became merged in the Ferleighinn or public lecturer in the school (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 631–2). As thus associated with learning, he frequently became abbat and bishop. In the *Annals of the Four Masters* we find frequent obits of the scribe during the 8th, 9th, and 10th centuries, and he is often (A.D. 803, 820, 828, 871, &c.) called "bishop, scribe, and abbat," or even (A.D. 819) "scribe, bishop, anchorite, and abbat" (Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 149 sq. and *St. Adamnan*, 365; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* iv. 129 sq.). By canon the mulct for the blood of a scribe was equal to that for the blood of a bishop or abbat (see the Irish canon of the 8th century, quoted from D'Achery and Martene by O'Conor, *Ib.* iv. 130, and Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 150 n.), and the manuscripts which still remain, both in our own libraries and in the continental, attest their skill, taste, and assiduity, and their knowledge of the principles of their art, and of the combinations of the colours and colouring matter they used. Chief of these may be enumerated the *Book of Kells*, the *Book of Armagh*, and the *Book of Lecan*, with their ornamentation of Runic knots and animals with elongated and interlacing extremities (O'Curry, *Lect. MS. Materials of Anc. Ir. Hist.* pass. ed. 1873). [J. G.]

**SCRIPTURE, STUDY OF.** The object proposed in this article is to throw some light upon the habitual use which was made of Holy Scripture during the early ages of the church, as the subject of the constant study, and as the guide and director of the daily life of its members.

I. As to the numerous versions made in ancient times little needs to be added to the articles which have already appeared in the *Dictionary of the Bible.* [VERSIONS.] Great importance was attached to the multiplication of versions into the vernacular tongues of those who received Christianity. St. Augustine (*De Doctr. Christ.* c. xi.) writes: "For the translations of the Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek can be counted, but the Latin translators are out of all number. For in the early days of the faith every man who happened to lay hands upon a Greek manuscript, and who thought he had any knowledge, were it ever so little, of the two languages, ventured upon the work of translation."* In the fifth chapter of the same work St. Augustine bears witness to the early diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in various tongues. Eusebius also says (*De Praeparat. Evangel.* xii. 1) that the Scriptures were translated into all languages, both of Greeks and barbarians, throughout the world; and Chrysostom (*Hom.* i. *in Joan.*) says that the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Indians, the Persians, the Ethiopians, and a multitude of other nations translated them into "their own tongues."

St. Augustine, in his letter to the people of Madaura (Letter ccxxxii. vol. ii. p. 446, Clark's ed.), says that the Divine Scriptures had "come into the hands of all."

II. Our next evidence of the actual use made of Holy Scripture in the early Church is derived from the citations both from the Old and New Testament, with which the works of early writers abound. It does not fall within our present province to discuss the import of the references made to apocryphal writings under designations the same as, or similar to, those given to the Canonical Books of Scripture. (See CANONICAL BOOKS, p. 278, and *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. CANON.)

The following extract from the *Bampton Lectures* of Mr. Conybeare bears directly upon the knowledge of Holy Scripture possessed by the members of the Corinthian Church in sub-apostolic days: "It is quite evident (Mr. Conybeare writes) that it (*i.e.* the first Epistle of Clement) must have been written to a Church, of which a considerable and influential portion of the members had been Jews, or proselytes to that faith, since it throughout supposes the most intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures of the Old Testament; for these, and not the Scriptures of the New, are universally quoted as the written authority for the doctrines it contains. The author indeed very properly refers to the discourses of our blessed Lord as to an authority of equal, and indeed more especial, weight; but he never expressly quotes these from any particular written gospel; and although he always exactly agrees with these evangelical narratives in substance and in sense, yet the verbal discrepancies will shew that he does not transcribe from them; but, as bishop Pearson has well observed, seems to have relied on a memory previously familiar with our Lord's words from the oral communications of the apostles or their disciples" (pp. 55, 56).

The same remarks apply to a considerable extent to other writings of the sub-apostolic age, and of the first three centuries of the Christian era, throughout which we observe that a uniform appeal is made to the Scriptures as the unerring rule of faith, and as the foundation of the various creeds which were composed within that period.

III. The next evidence which will be adduced of the actual use of Holy Scripture in the early Church, is derived from the numerous and earnest exhortations which are found in the homilies and other works of the most celebrated writers to the diligent study of Scripture, from the invitations addressed to the heretics and the heathen to examine the sacred writings for themselves, and from the incidental notices which their writings afford of the extent to which the Scriptures were read and studied in private, and of the effects thus produced.

Clement in his epistle, c. 45, exhorts the Corinthians to "look into the Holy Scriptures, which are the true words of the Holy Ghost." Again in the fifty-third chapter he says, "Ye know full well the Holy Scriptures, and have thoroughly searched into the oracles of God." Polycarp, in his epistle to the Philippians, c. 12,

* There is ground for doubt whether by the use of the words *interpretes* and *interpretari*, Augustine meant to denote only *translators* from the original tongues, or whether he included also those who undertook the *revision* of existing versions.

writes thus: "I trust ye are well exercised in the Holy Scriptures, and that nothing is hid from you." Tatian in his *Address to the Greeks* (c. 29) bears witness to the practical effect produced upon his own heart and life by the writings with which he happened to meet, "too old to be compared with the opinions of the Greeks, and too divine to be compared with their errors." Theophilus (*ad Autolycum*, i. 14) bears similar testimony to that of Tatian to the effect produced on his own mind by the study of the Scriptures, and he urges his friend "to study carefully the prophetical writings," assuring him that they will lead him "more certainly to a way of escape from everlasting punishments, and to the attainment of the everlasting blessings of God." Justin Martyr (*Cohort. ad Graecos*, c. 35) earnestly exhorts those to whom he writes "as the one thing which remained for them to do," that "renouncing the error of their fathers they would read the prophecies of the sacred writers . . . and learn from them that which will give them everlasting life." Athenagoras in his *Plea for the Christians* writes thus: "I think that you also cannot be ignorant of the writings either of Moses, or of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and the other prophets," and adds, "But I leave it to you, when you meet with the books themselves, to examine carefully the prophecies contained in them, that you may, on fitting grounds, defend us from the abuse cast upon us" (c. ix.). In like manner Tertullian (*Apol.* c. 31) invites the Roman presidents or magistrates at Carthage to "look into the words of God," and adds that the Christians did not conceal their Scriptures, and that many accidents brought them before those who were not of their religion. Clement of Alexandria in his *Exhortation to the Heathen* (c. ix.) not only quotes many of those "ten thousand Scriptures," which, he says, he could adduce, but he addresses them in the following words: "No one will be so impressed by the exhortations of any of the saints as he is by the words of the Lord Himself, the lover of man. . . . Faith will lead you in; experience will teach you; Scripture will train you, for it says, 'Come hither, O children; listen to me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord.'" And, again, in the *Stromateis* (i. 7), Clement writes as follows: "Wherefore also the Scriptures were translated into the language of the Greeks in order that they might never be able to allege the excuse of ignorance, inasmuch as they are able to hear also what we have in our hands if they only wish." So also Tertullian (*ad Uxorem*, ii. 6), when setting forth the dangers arising from marriages between Christians and idolaters, asks, "Ubi fomenta fidei de Scripturarum interlectione?" where he seems to assume as a matter of course that such reading would be common with those of the same faith. Other passages might be adduced from the same writer in proof of the prevalent use of Holy Scripture amongst Christians, and of the appeals made to it in their apologetical and controversial works in terms which imply its accessibility to all. In like manner Origen (*in Jerem.* Hom. iv.) says: "Let us read the Scriptures of the Old Testament. . . . Let us also read the Scriptures of the New Testament, the words of the apostles; and having read them, let it be our care that they be written in the table of our hearts." And again (in lib. *Jerem.* Hom. xx.) he says that "though at the very time of reading them (the Scriptures) there be no sensible advantage, yet in the end they will be found profitable for strengthening virtuous dispositions and weakening the habits of vice." And, once more, he exhorts his hearers to "come daily to the wells of the Scriptures, the waters of the Holy Spirit, and there draw, and carry home a full vessel" (in Gen. Hom. x.). In the letter addressed by Theonas, bishop of Alexandria, about the close of the 3rd century, to Lucianus, the chief chamberlain of the emperor (probably Diocletian), we find some interesting directions given concerning the duties of the person who may be entrusted by the emperor with the custody of his library. Amongst these we find a direction to "laud the Divine Scriptures which Ptolemy Philadelphus caused to be translated into our language; and sometimes, too, the gospel and the apostle will be lauded for their divine oracles" (c. 7). The following advice is also given to Lucianus himself: "Let no day pass by without reading some portion of the sacred Scriptures" (c. 9; in Dacherii *Spicilegium*, iii. pp. 297–299). Cyprian (*de Spectaculis*, c. 10) says: "Let the faithful Christian devote himself to the sacred Scriptures, and there he shall find worthy exhibitions for his faith." Origen urges his hearers not only to hear the Scriptures read in the church, but also to exercise themselves in the reading of the same in their houses, and to meditate thereon day and night (cf. Hom. in Levit. ix. tom. vi. pp. 164, 165, ed. Wirceburgi, 1783; cf. Hom. in Gen. x. tom. v. p. 229; Hom. in Ex. xii. tom. v. pp. 465, 466). St. Augustine, writing to Proba (*Ep.* e. xxxii. ii. p. 300, Ant. 1700), exhorts her specially to read the writings of the apostles, assuring her that by them she will be incited to acquaint herself with the prophets, whose testimonies the apostles used.

The earnest exhortations of St. Chrysostom, addressed to all classes of his hearers, to devote themselves to the diligent study of holy Scripture, are familiar to all who are acquainted with his writings. Such exhortations are found, *e.g.* in his twenty-first homily on Genesis, and in his thirty-second and forty-first homilies on St. John, and also in the homilies of St. Basil, as *e.g.* in those on Pss. xxviii. and lix. A more remarkable passage occurs in the third of Chrysostom's sermons on Lazarus, a passage which deserves special consideration in connexion with the present subject, not only by reason of the earnest exhortations of the preacher to the private study of holy Scripture, but also as bearing directly on the interesting and important inquiry respecting the extent to which copies of the Bible were multiplied and circulated in the 4th century. In the beginning of that sermon, Chrysostom assigns as one reason why he did not complete his examination of the parable of Lazarus in one day, his desire that the subject of his discourse might take deeper root in the minds of his hearers by continuous meditation on what he had said. He then goes on to assign as the reason why he frequently announced the subject of his discourse several days before its delivery, his desire that during the intervening days his hearers should take *the book* into their hands, and by a careful examination

of the whole of the *pericope*, or section, they might become better prepared for what was afterwards to be said (i. p. 903, ed. Paris, 1839). Chrysostom proceeds to exhort his hearers, and to assure them that he will never cease to exhort them, to the constant reading of the Holy Scriptures, and to expose the invalidity of the excuses of those who alleged that the study of the Scriptures was incumbent only upon persons who had retired from the world, and did not appertain to those who were engrossed by its daily cares and anxieties. He proceeds to exhort his hearers to procure the Scriptures for themselves, and points out to them the advantages accruing from their possession, amongst which he alleges that even the sight of the books makes men less prone to fall into sin. It is important to observe that the exhortations of Chrysostom have reference to the Old Testament as well as to the New; that he earnestly exhorts his hearers to continue to read the Scriptures, even though they might not understand much which they read; to have recourse, when needful, to those who were better instructed than themselves; and, finally, he assures them that when the zeal and the diligence to which he encourages them are displayed, if man should be unable to teach them the truths which they desired to learn, God would Himself reveal them. The whole of the first three sections of this sermon deserve special attention.

Another passage bearing upon the multiplicity of copies of the Bible in the 4th century is found in Chrysostom's tenth homily (according to some editions the eleventh) on St. John, where he deals with the excuse for neglecting the study of the Bible grounded on the alleged difficulty of procuring copies. As regards the rich, he says that this excuse is altogether ridiculous. He does not attach much weight to it as regards the poor, but observes that if any are so poor that they cannot purchase copies of the Scriptures for themselves, they might nevertheless, by reason of the continual public reading of them, become acquainted with the whole of their contents. Once more, in his thirty-second homily on St. John, Chrysostom reproves those who cared only for the fineness of the parchment on which copies of the Scriptures were written, or for the beauty of the characters, and who neglected the contents. And, as illustrating his own practice, reference may be made to a passage in his tenth homily on Genesis, in which he says that by taking the sacred books (*τὰ θεῖα βιβλία*, a term first applied to the entire collection of the books of Scripture by Chrysostom) into our hands, both before and after meals, we shall be able, when at home, to derive profit, and to afford spiritual food to the soul.

More especially the great writers of the early church urged the necessity of the diligent study of Holy Scripture on the part of the clergy. Gregory Nazianzen complains of those who, before they well knew how to read the Scriptures, had the vanity to think that they were qualified for the government of the church (*Orat.* i. *de Fuga*). St. Chrysostom, in his treatise *de Sacerdotio*, earnestly enforces the diligent study of Holy Scripture upon the clergy. He observes that, as spiritual physic for the souls of men, the word of God was instead of everything that was used in the cure of bodily distempers (lib. iv. c. 3), and therefore that it was necessary that the ministers of God should be very diligent in studying the Scriptures, that the word of Christ might dwell in them richly (*ib.* c. 4). St. Jerome in like manner says that a sermon should be seasoned well with Scripture: "Sermo presbyteri Scripturarum lectione conditus sit" *Ep.* ii. *ad Nepotian.*). And again, "Divinas Scripturas saepius lege; immo nunquam de manibus tuis sacra lectio deponatur" (*ad Nepot. de Vita Clericorum*, i. p. 16). So, at a later period, the council held at Toledo in A.D. 633 requires, in its twenty-fifth canon, that the clergy should be well acquainted with the sacred Scriptures. St. Gregory the Great, writing to Augustine after he had been made "archbishop of the English nation," as Bede says, assumes that he is "well versed in holy writ, and particularly St. Paul's epistle to Timothy, wherein he endeavours to instruct him how he should behave himself in the house of God" (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* p. 46, ed. Giles).

At the designation of Eraclius by St. Augustine, as his colleague in the discharge of some of his responsibilities, and his successor in the episcopate, he reminded the clergy and laity of Hippo that it had been agreed between them that no one should intrude upon him during five days of the week, in order that he might discharge that duty in the study of Holy Scripture which had been assigned to him in two councils of Numidia and Carthage; and he expresses his resolution for the remainder of his days, so far as Eraclius would "kindly give him leave," to devote himself to the study of the sacred Scriptures (Letter ccxiii. vol. ii. pp. 408, 409, Clark's ed.).

The following references throw some light upon the rules and observances of those who adopted the monastic life. In St. Augustine's rules for the observance of the nuns belonging to a monastery in which his sister had been prioress, he says that from the time of their coming to table until that of their rising from it, they should listen to whatever was read to them in course, and that, whilst their mouths were exercised in receiving food, their ears should be occupied in receiving the word of God (Letter ccxi. vol. ii. p. 396, Clark's ed.). Cassian says, respecting the monks of Egypt, that their manual labour in their respective cells was so conducted that their meditation on the Psalms and other portions of Scripture was never intermitted (*de Instit. Coenob.* lib. iii. c. 2). St. Jerome also says of the Egyptian monks: "Post horam nonam in commune concurritur; Psalmi resonant, Scripturae resonant ex more" (*Ep.* xxii. *ad Eustoch.*). The same writer says also that they daily learned some portion of holy Scripture (*ib.*). Bede says, concerning his own manner of life in the monastery of Weremouth, "I wholly applied myself to the study of Scripture."

IV. The next evidence which shall be adduced of the actual use which was made of Holy Scripture in the early Church is derived from the extent to which it was either committed to memory as a distinct exercise, or, as a result of continuous reading and meditation, became familiar to the mind both of public teachers and also of private individuals.

Eusebius says that Origen's father trained him

from his childhood in the Scriptures, appointing him to repeat some passages every day (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 2). Socrates also says that Eusebius of Emesa had studied the Holy Scriptures from his infancy and was then taught human learning (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 9)[b], and Sozomen, who bears the same testimony, says that this was done "according to the custom of his country" (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 6). The same writer says that Marcus the heretic was expert in the Scriptures (vi. 29), and Palladius says that he could repeat all the Old and New Testament without book (*Histor. Lausiac.* c. xxi. quoted by Bingham, *Antiq.* iv. p. 176). Gregory Nyssen remarks, in his life of his sister Macrina, that in her infancy she was taught the easy portions of Scripture that were most suitable to her age. Sozomen says of Julian the Apostate (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 2) that "he had been brought up in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures under the guidance of priests and bishops." The same writer says of Mark, one of the monks of Scetis, that "he committed the sacred Scriptures to memory" (*ib.* vi. 29). St. Jerome says that the young virgins whom Paula had collected out of different provinces were obliged to learn the Psalms and some portion of Scripture every day.[c] Augustine (*de Doct. Christ.* ii ix.) says that the first rule in the study of Holy Scripture is "to read them so as to commit them to memory," though he qualifies this direction by the words which follow, "or at least so as not to remain wholly ignorant of them." He adds: "In this matter memory counts for a great deal; but if the memory be defective, no rules can supply the want."

He refers moreover to the case of those with whom the Holy Scriptures had been so exclusively their text-book that when they met with other and more commonly used forms of speech than those to which they had been accustomed in their Latin Bibles, they were "surprised at them, and thought them less pure Latin than those which they had learnt from Scripture" (*De Doct. Christ.* ii. 15).

Thus, *e.g.* in his preface to his work on Christian Doctrine, St. Augustine refers to the case of the Egyptian monk Antony, who, though unable to read himself, "is said to have committed the Scriptures to memory through hearing them read by others, and by dint of wise meditation to have arrived at a thorough understanding of them" (*Works,* vol. ix. p. 2. Edinburgh, 1873). Gregory the Great, when chiding the abbat Theodore for neglecting to read some of the words of his Saviour daily, mentions the case of Servulus, a palsied man at Rome, who purchased a copy of the Scriptures, and, though unable to read, learned the Holy Scripture through hearing it constantly read to him by the religious men whom he entertained (*Hom.* xv. in *Evangel.* Quoted by Bingham, iv. p. 179). Eusebius of Caesarea mentions the case of a blind man who could repeat any part of the Bible, and sometimes supplied the place of a reader in the church (*De Martyr. Palaestin.* c. xiii. *ib.*). Socrates makes incidental mention of one Pambos, an illiterate man, who went to some one who could read for the purpose of being taught a Psalm (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23). The same writer says of Didymus, who lost his sight at a very early age, that his acquaintance with the divine oracles, as contained both in the Old and New Testament, was so perfect that he composed several treatises in exposition of them (*ib.* iv. 25), and of the Emperor Theodosius Junior, A.D. 422, that by his early training "he learnt the Holy Scriptures by heart," and that he was "a more indefatigable collector of the sacred books than even Ptolemy Philadelphus had formerly been" (*ib.* vii. 22).

Jerome (*Ad Gaudentium de Pacatulae Infantulae Educatione,* i. pp. 45, 1515) advises that when seven years old Pacatula should learn by heart the Psalms, and should then proceed to make the books of Solomon, the gospels, the Apostles, and the Prophets the treasure of her heart. Again, when writing to Laeta concerning the education of her daughter (i. p. 26), he advises that at a tender age she should be imbued with the sweet Psalms. He prescribes in the following words the order in which he recommends that the Scriptures should be studied and committed to memory: "Discat primo Psalterium: hic se canticis avocet: et in Proverbiis Solomonis erudiatur ad vitam. In Ecclesiaste consuescat quae mundi sunt calcare. In Job, virtutis et patientiae exempla sectetur. Ad Evangelia transeat, nunquam ea positura de manibus. Apostolorum Acta et Epistolas, tota cordis imbibat voluntate. Cumque pectoris sui cellarium his opibus locupletaverit, mandet memoriae Prophetas, Pentateuchum, et Regum et Paralipomenon libros, Esdrae quoque et Hester volumina. Ad ultimum, sine periculo discat Canticum Canticorum, ne si in exordio legerit, sub carnalibus verbis spiritualium nuptiarum epithalamium non intelligens, vulneretur. Caveat omnia Apocrypha (*ib.* p. 27). So again (*Ad Demetriadem de Virginitate servandâ,* i. p. 31) Jerome advises Demetriades thus: "Statue quot horis sanctam Scripturam ediscere debeas; quanto tempore legere, non ad laborem, sed ad delectationem et instructionem animae."

Again (*Vita Hilar.* c. 7) St. Jerome says of Hilarion, a monk of Palestine, "Scripturas sanctas memoriter tenens, post orationem et psalmos, quasi Deo praesente, recitabat."

V. The importance which was attached to the public reading of Holy Scripture in the religious assemblies of the early Christians is abundantly established. [EPISTLE; GOSPEL; LECTION; PROPHECY.]

But besides the public reading of the Scriptures in their assemblies and the earnest exhortations with which the writings of the early Christians abound to the diligent study of the same in private, it appears to have been a custom, adopted in some parts at least, to have copies of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue placed in convenient parts of the churches so that those who frequented them might have opportunity of reading them for themselves either before or after the public services. The following lines written by Paulinus upon the wall of the church

[b] Valesius, in his notes on the second book of Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History,* says that "it is well known that the boys of Edessa got by heart the books of Sacred Scripture, according to the usage of their ancestors."

[c] "Nec licebat cuiquam sororum ignorare psalmos, et non de Scripturis quotidie aliquid discere." (Epitaph. Paulae *Opp.* tom. i. p. 84. 1513.)

of Nola bear witness to the existence of this custom:

"Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas;
Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris." [d]

VI. The last evidence which will be adduced of the use of Holy Scripture made in the early Church is derived from the eagerness with which the heathen persecutors searched for copies of the Scriptures, the importance which the owners attached to their possession, and the infamy which was incurred by those who voluntarily surrendered them. [TRADITOR.]

Amongst the many passages which might be cited in proof of the practical use of Holy Scripture in the early Church reference may be made to the letter of Innocent bishop of Rome to Chrysostom when expelled from his bishopric, and of Theodoret to Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria. In the former of these letters Innocent reminds Chrysostom that "a good man may be sorely tried, but cannot be overcome, for he is preserved and guarded by the truths of Holy Scripture. The Holy Bible," he continues, "which we expound to the people, affords abundant examples of the afflictions to which the saints have been invariably subjected, and shews that they did not receive their crowns till they had passed with patience through the severest trials" (Soz. *Hist. Eccles.* viii. 26). In the letter of Theodoret to Dioscorus, written about A.D. 444, he speaks of the great comfort which the examples contained in Scripture afford to those who are calumniated, and cites the case of Joseph when cast into prison by Potiphar, of David when persecuted by Saul, and lastly of our Lord the Saviour Himself when accused by His enemies of deceiving the people (Baronii *Annales*, vi. pp. 25, 26; 1685).

As a further illustration of the practical use made of Holy Scripture in times of sorrow, reference may be made to an incident recorded in the 'Lives of the Abbats of Weremouth and Jarrow' appended to the works of Bede, to the effect that on the night on which Benedict died, Jan. 12, A.D. 689, some of the brethren met together in the church and passed the night without sleep in praying and singing, whilst others remained in the side chambers awaiting his departure; and it is added, "a portion of Scripture from the Gospels, appointed to be read every evening, was recited by a priest during the whole night to relieve their sorrow" (Bede, *Works*, iv. 385; ed. Giles). [C. J. E.]

**SCROLL.** [VOLUME.]

**SCRUTINIUM.** [MISSA, p. 1203.]

**SCULPTURE, CHRISTIAN.** The abhorrence of carved representations of the objects of worship inherited by the Christian from the Jewish church was at first so great as almost entirely to forbid the application of the art of sculpture to the service of religion. Early Christian statues, either in marble or bronze, are of the very rarest occurrence. Hardly more than half a dozen examples can be reckoned—enough to shew that the use of the plastic art was not wholly interdicted, but, at the same time, that its use was regarded with grave suspicion and dislike. If we could accept the authenticity of the story related by Eusebius that a statue of our Lord was erected at Paneas by the woman diseased with the issue of blood [JESUS CHRIST, REPRESENTATIONS, p. 877], we should have the earliest possible example of sculpture devoted to Christianity. The tale, however, is totally unworthy of credence. The statues of Christ and other scriptural personages with which Alexander Severus furnished his "lararium" have no claim to belong to the domain of Christian art. The very few early Christian statues that are known to exist exhibit in their form and technical treatment the genius of late Roman art, and possess no individual characteristics. As Lübke remarks (*Hist. of Sculpt.* i. 335), "the novelty of the subject was not yet powerful enough to evoke new forms or new expressions."

The only early Christian statues we can enumerate are those of the Good Shepherd, of St. Peter, and that of St. Hippolytus. D'Agincourt's researches in Italy during fifty years discovered no other well-authenticated example. For seven or eight centuries the art of sculpture was extinct, except in works in relief on sarcophagi and ivories.

I. STATUES.

(1) Among the earliest and best of these is a small marble statuette of the Good Shepherd, formerly in the Vatican Library, now in the Lateran Museum. "It is a pleasing idyllic figure, with artistic qualities that remind one of the works of a better period" (Appell, *Mon. of Early Christian Art*, p. 4). The tunic drawn up is fastened round the waist, and the shepherd's scrip hangs behind; he fondly holds the legs of the recovered sheep thrown over his shoulders by both hands. The antique grace it breathes, and the absence of any distinctive marks, have caused its Christian origin to be somewhat needlessly questioned. The legs have been partly restored (Appell, *u. s.*; Westwood, *Early Christian Sculpture*, p. 50, apud Parker, *Archaeology of Rome*, "Tombs"; Perkins, *Tuscan Sculpture*, i. p. xliii.). [SHEPHERD, THE GOOD, p. 1893.]

The Lateran Museum contains another marble statuette of the Good Shepherd, much inferior in execution, which is stiff and rude. The shepherd is young and beardless; he holds the lamb with his right hand on his shoulder, and the "pedum" with his left (Westwood, *u. s.*; Perret, *Catacombes*, iv. 4). There is also one of inferior workmanship in the Kircherian Museum (Perkins, *u. s.* I. xxxix.); and one is mentioned at the end of the 4th century in the collection of the Duke of Medina Coeli at Seville.

(2) *St. Peter.*—By far the most important early Christian statue as a work of art is the famous bronze figure of St. Peter in the Vatican basilica. It may probably be placed, as it is by Dr. Appell, Perkins, and Lübke, in the 5th century. Mr. J. H. Parker, however, who always regards early dates with suspicion, regards it as "a fine work of the 13th century." It is a close imitation of the ancient Roman portrait statues, and, according to Lübke (*u. s.* i. 337), "displays a care and accuracy of technical skill astonishing in the 5th century," but a complete absence of

[d] Quoted by Bingham, *Antiquities*, book xiv. c. iv. § 7.

originality "we have in every line of the laborious imitation of antique senatorial figures." The figure is in Roman costume, with the right foot extended to receive the kisses of the faithful; the right hand is extended in blessing, and he holds the keys in the left. The marble chair in which it is seated is of the 15th century. According to one tradition, Leo I. melted down the ancient statue of Jupiter Capitolinus and recast it in this form; others hold, with less probability, that it is the old statue with a new head and hands. The celebrated statue of St. Peter which Leo the Isaurian threatened to destroy in the time of Gregory II. (726–730), was probably that preserved in the crypt of St. Peter's, the body of which is antique, the head being an addition of the 13th century.

The royal cabinet at Berlin once contained a small standing bronze statuette of St Peter, said to have been found in the catacombs. It seems to have been taken by Napoleon I. to Paris, and to have never returned. It is described as being of good style, with drapery of artistic merit. The apostle was clad in the tunic and toga, holding the labarum in the left hand, and giving the benediction with the right. The head displayed the broad features, the short, thick beard and curling hair characteristic of St. Peter (Bartoli, *Antiche Lucerne*, part iii. pl. 27; Münter, *Sinnbilder*, ii. 21).

(3) *St. Hippolytus.*—This is a marble sitting statue, much restored, especially in the upper portions of the figure. It was formerly in the Vatican Library, but is now in the Lateran Museum. The figure is seated in a dignified attitude in a marble cathedra, on which is inscribed the *canon Paschalis;* and on the other side a list of Hippolytus's writings. It is vested in the philosophic pallium. The right elbow rests on a book held in the left hand, and the right hand is raised to the breast. The date is uncertain, but it is probably not later than the 6th century. Mr. Perkins regards it as devoid of character, while it is pronounced by Winckelmann and other authorities to be "the best known example of early Christian sculpture" (Westwood, *u. s.* p. 37; Perret, v. pl. i.; Bunsen, *Hippolytus*, i. frontispiece; Münter, *Sinnbilder*, ii. 13; D'Agincourt, *Sculpt.* pl. iii. No. 1).

II. Sarcophagi.

The chief field for the exercise of the art of sculpture in the early Christian church was furnished by the sarcophagi, in which the remains of its more wealthy members were deposited. The number of these is very large, especially in Rome, where very many have been discovered in the catacombs and other places of early Christian burial. Examples are also to be found at Ravenna, Milan, and other cities of Italy, as well as in the south of France, where a native school of Christian sculpture, derived from Italy, evidently flourished. There are also a few in Spain. The chief examples in Rome are now collected in the Lateran Museum, where a very interesting series of examples of Christian sculpture are brought under the eye at once, and may be studied and compared at leisure. The most important of these, as well as the other principal sarcophagi now existing in Rome, have been photographed at the cost of Mr. J. H. Parker, and their designs have been thus made accessible to the student at home.

The word "sarcophagus," as well as the mode of burial, was borrowed by the early Christians from heathenism, and passed into the nomenclature of the church. Augustine writes: "Arca in qua mortuus ponitur, quod omnes jam σαρκοφάγον vocant" (*De Civit. Dei*, xviii. 5). The word is also found in an early epitaph given by De Rossi, "in hoc sarcofago conditur" (*Inscr. Christ. Rom.* ii. 530).

Nowhere is the rapid decline of art more recognisable than in the sarcophagi. The bas-reliefs, which so lavishly adorn their sides, manifest a lamentable deterioration of style. The compositions are crowded and ill-balanced; the figures are usually ill-drawn, with short, thick bodies and large heads, and stiff draperies, and a general absence of dignity or grace. The compositions are rather architectural and pictorial than sculptural or statuesque. The figures occupy one plane, unrelieved by any depth of backgrounds. The majority of them are seen in front view, instead of the profile, which characterises the Grecian friezes. But with this decided deterioration of style, it is evident that the mode of decoration and its general spirit are directly derived from pagan art, and are in no sense the natural development of the Christian mind. The pose of the figures, their attitudes, the drapery, the types of the heads are inherited from ancient plastic works. The inferiority is due to the want of skill in the sculptors employed, not to the introduction of new forms. As a rule the earliest works are the best, and conform most closely to the pagan type. The later we descend, and the more unmistakable the Christian character of the sculpture, the greater is its inferiority as a work of art. Sarcophagi bearing a distinctly Christian character scarcely appear before the 4th century. Le Blant (*Sarcoph. Chrétiens d'Arles*, pp. iii. iv.) speaks of the exceeding rarity of earlier examples. He refers to one bearing the date A.D. 273, and regards as belonging to the same primitive type, that of Livia Primitiva, transported from Rome to the Louvre, and one at La Gayole (pl. xxxiv.), but is able to mention no others; and though an earlier date has been confidently affirmed for some others, the most trustworthy authorities agree that there are no well-authenticated examples of Christian sarcophagi which can be assigned to the 2nd century and hardly any to the 3rd.

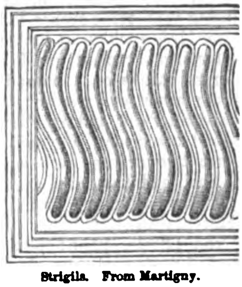
There is abundant evidence that pagan sarcophagi were used with little scruple for the burial of Christians—"Profanis tumulis Christiani non raro quasi propriis usi sunt" (Mabillon, *Iter Ital.* § 10, p. 81). The use of the sarcophagus was a mark of wealth, and the desire not to shew any inferiority to their neighbours, which is nowhere more powerful than in funeral rites, would lead Christians of means and position to adopt the mode of the disposal of their dead which was appropriate to their rank, without much regard to the character of the sculptures which decorated their last resting-place. If there had been Christian sarcophagus-makers they would doubtless have employed them by preference; but in the absence of artists of their own faith, they would have recourse to sculptors of the old religion, only

taking care to avoid those scenes which had an immoral tendency, and by preference selecting pastoral or vintage scenes, or other subjects into which a symbolical meaning could be easily read. A sarcophagus, discovered in the cemetery of St. Agnes, once containing the body of a Christian virgin, and bearing the inscription "Aurelia Agapetilla, ancilla Dei," is ornamented with figures of Bacchus and naked Amorini, side by side with "orantes" (Boldetti, *Osservaz.* 466). Another in the Vatican, figured by Cancellieri, exhibits Bacchanalian scenes, and a Christian inscription. One in the grounds of the Villa Medici on the Pincian is mentioned by Martigny, on which both Cupid and Psyche and Jonah appear. There is a very remarkable example of the 4th century at Tortona figured by Mabillon (*It. Ital. Mus., It.* i. 223), bearing the thoroughly pagan subjects of Leda and the Swan, Phaeton, Castor and Pollux, and boys looking on at a cockfight, together with the neutral subjects of the Vintage, and the Good Shepherd. Bottazzi, a canon of Tortona, has written a lengthy disquisition (Tortona, 1824) to establish the Christian character of this sarcophagus, but it hardly admits a doubt that it was originally a pagan work. The sarcophagus at Aix la Chapelle, in which the body of Charlemagne was first laid, on which the Rape of Proserpine is carved, is a well-known example of the employment of a pagan tomb for a Christian burial. The beauty and sumptuousness of the work overrode all scruples. The earliest dated sarcophagus bearing an undoubted Christian subject is one from the cemetery of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, presenting the Nativity, with the ox and ass standing by the cratch, with the consular date A.D. 343 (NATIVITY). The magnificent sarcophagus of St. Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine (d. 328), now in the Vatican, probably the largest ever fashioned with the exception of that of her granddaughter Constantia, is entirely devoid of Christian symbols. It is formed of one enormous block of red porphyry, highly polished, the face of which is covered with groups of armed warriors on horseback striking down their enemies, or driving their captives before them, all, as it were, floating in the air, without any indication of the ground. On the front and back at the upper angles are the busts of Constantine and Helena, and on the lid repose lions, wreaths, and winged genii. Lübke pronounces it to be "full of expression and animation in a good antique style" (i. 338); but Dr. Braun justly remarks that "the tolerable execution of individual parts only renders its want of meaning as a whole still more striking, there being a want of unity of design and conception" (Aringhi, ii. 41; Bottari, iii. pl. 196; Ciampini, iii. 28; Parker, *Tombs*, pl. xii.).

The sister sarcophagus of St. Constantia (d. 324), sculptured like the last-mentioned out of a solid block of porphyry, is equally wanting in any definite Christian symbolism. It is the earliest example of the vintage scenes with which Christian sarcophagi were so frequently decorated. It is a tasteless work, exhibiting heavy groups of clumsy-winged genii gathering grapes or treading them out (of the same character, but much inferior in style to the scenes on the mosaic vault of the sepulchral chapel where the tomb was found), with arabesque festoons, peacocks, and rams at the angles, all laboriously chiselled out of the unaccommodating material (Aringhi, ii. 157; Bottari, iii. 132; Ciampini, iii. 31). A sarcophagus of much less sumptuous character but of far more graceful design, in the portico of St. Lorenzo, shews similar scenes depicted with considerable life. Small winged genii gather the grapes from the vines in baskets; a goat laden with panniers carries them; one of the genii rides an ass; a cock pecks at a lizard, &c. (Bottari, iii. 19; Agincourt, *Sculpt.* vi. 1). A very fine example from St. Sebastiano, considered to be of the 4th century, stands in th hall of the Lateran Museum. Here, also, genii are gathering and pressing grapes; one rides a goat; another carries a kid. In the centre and either end of the face stands the Good Shepherd (Garrucci, *Monum. del Mus. Lat.* tav. xlix. fig. 1–4). Corresponding scenes from the olive harvest are with local propriety carved on a sarcophagus in the museum at Arles. Genii unwinged, naked or lightly clad, some on ladders, pick or carry the fruit to the oil-press (Millin, *Voyage*, &c., pl. 61, no. 3; Appell, p. 37).

Pastoral scenes are equally abundant, and the Good Shepherd occurs constantly, sometimes with, sometimes without subjects from Holy Scripture. One in the Lateran Museum (photograph 2924) portrays the shepherd character of our Lord and His apostles with unusual distinctness. The Good Shepherd with His "pedum," His right hand on the head of a sheep, stands in the centre, and is repeated with a group of two or three sheep at either end of the face. Between stand the apostles, six on either side, each with a sheep at his feet. Professor Westwood, in the above-quoted essay, supplies a large number of references to pastoral scenes represented on Christian sarcophagi (p. 43).

Many sarcophagi bear in the centre of their face, and sometimes also at the ends, what are known as IMAGINES CLIPEATAE, *i. e.* the busts of the departed, or in some cases standing figures (*e. g.* that of Probus and Faltonia, Bottari, 17), contained in a disk or shell, or surrounded with a wreath, sometimes borne by winged genii. In some cases these busts are unfinished, proving that the sarcophagi were ordinarily sold in an incomplete state, leaving the busts to be carved into the likenesses of the defunct (Le Blant, p. 14, pl. viii.; Fabretti, *Inscr.* p. 124; De Rossi, *Bullet.* 1865, p. 69; Parker's Photographs, No. 2902). Sometimes

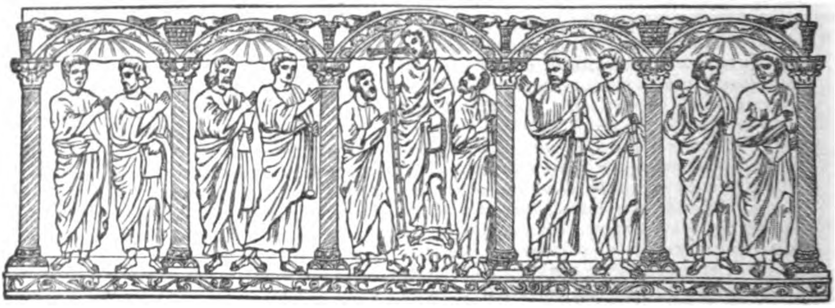


Strigils. From Martigny.

the disk bears only the sacred monogram (Bottari, 37). Not a few of the less costly are distinguished only by an "imago clipeata," the

remaining surface being incised with curved channels, known as *strigils*, from their resemblance to the bath instrument of that name. Hardly any of the sarcophagi have inscriptions. The magnificent tomb of Junius Bassus is an exception, as is that already mentioned of Aurelia Agapetilla. The custom of decorating sarcophagi with colours, proved to exist in Syria by Renan (*Descr. de Phénicie*, pp. 415, 416), has been shewn by Le Blant to have been sometimes adopted, not only in Jewish catacombs (Garrucci, *Cimet. d'Antichi Ebrei*, p. 21), but also in those of the Christians (Le Blant, p. 37).

One class of sarcophagi have as their only or principal subject figures of our Lord and His apostles. Reference has already been made to that in the Lateran Museum, in which the whole series appear in the character of shepherds. One of the most remarkable of this class, perhaps the very finest of the Roman sarcophagi, is that of



Sarcophagus of Petronius Probus.



Sarcophagus. Church of St. Apollinare in Classe (Appell).

Petronius Probus, praetorian praefect, d. 395, in the subterranean church of St. Peter's. The face is divided into compartments by spirally fluted columns supporting arches, in the spandrils of which are birds pecking at baskets of grapes. In the centre compartment our Lord, holding a jewelled cross, stands on a mound from which issue the four rivers of Paradise; on either side of Him stand St. Peter and St. Paul in attitudes of reverential attention. Beyond, to the right and left, are two arches, each enshrining two apostles. Each end has three arches, with two figures. On the back stand Probus himself and his wife Faltonia hand in hand, with a disciple at either end (Bosio, 49, 51, 53; Aringhi, pp. 281, 283, 285; Bottari, tav. 16–18; D'Agincourt, pl. vi. figs. 12–15; Appell, p. 12). A sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum (photograph 2909) bears on its face Christ and the apostles, each bearing a roll, under arches alternately round and angular. The same system of representation is found in sarcophagi out of Rome. The sarcophagus of Titus Gorgonius in the crypt of the cathedral of Ancona represents Christ standing on a mount, with a male and female figure embracing His feet. Near Him stand St. Paul and a disciple with a jewelled cross. Four disciples stand under arches on either side. At Ravenna, where the sarcophagi are of later date, we find our Lord no longer seated but enthroned, and sometimes nimbed; on one at St. Apollinare in Classe, thought by Professor Westwood to be perhaps not earlier than the 7th century, our Lord, represented as a nimbed youth, is seated between St. Paul, who with veiled hand receives a roll, and St. Peter, who bears a key and a cross. Both the apostles approach our Lord with hasty strides, their garments carried by the wind. On either side two figures offer crowns (Appell, p. 28). At "St. Maria in porto fuori" our Lord appears also as a beardless figure enthroned between four apostles, one of whom approaches Him bearing a crown. The difference in character between these sarcophagi and those of earlier date is very marked. Fine examples of this mode of treatment are offered by the sarcophagi of Arles. On one we see Christ seated, His feet on a footstool, with the apostles and evangelists seated on either side. Christ holds a book inscribed *Dominus Legem dat*, the other figures hold rolls, some open, some closed, those of the evangelists inscribed with their names (Le Blant, p. 7, pl. iv.). On another of remarkable beauty of execution, the central place is occupied by a cross surmounted by a chaplet with soldiers below, symbolizing the resurrection. Six apostles stand on either side, raising their right hands in token of adoration. Stars are seen in the background (*ibid.* p. 27, pl. xiv.). One, divided into six arched panels, contains two apostles on either side of Christ, one presenting a basket of bread, another fish, both with veiled

hands. The other two hold rolls. By a remarkable, if not unique, arrangement the extreme compartments are occupied by Abraham and Daniel, indicated respectively by the sword and by the serpent or dragon (*ibid.* pp. 19–21, pl. x.).

The large majority of the Christian sarcophagi are sculptured with scriptural subjects. These sometimes occupy the face alone, sometimes the face and ends, and there are instances in which all four sides are carved. The reliefs are sometimes in two tiers, one above the other, but more usually there is only one. The subjects sometimes form a continuous frieze-like series, one running into the other without any division; sometimes, and more commonly, they are separated into compartments by an arcade. There are rare instances in which a secondary frieze above the reliefs bears sculptures in more diminutive proportions.

We cannot fail to remark, as in the catacomb frescoes, the limited cycle to which the sculptor was confined by ecclesiastical tradition, as well as the small amount of liberty that was granted him in depicting the selected subjects. Each as a rule conforms more or less closely to one hieratic type. The subjects are derived almost equally from the Old and New Testaments, and are mixed together without any definite system of arrangement, so as best to secure symmetry and balance in the composition. Le Blant has called attention to the large number of examples in which Moses striking the rock with the Israelites eagerly stooping to drink, at one end, is balanced by the raising of Lazarus with the adoring sisters at the other, as well as those in which a Divine Hand issues from the clouds on either side of the central subject, in one case to arrest Abraham's sacrifice, in the other to give the Law to Moses.

The subjoined tabular list shews the comparative frequency of the occurrence of the various scriptural subjects on the sarcophagi of the Lateran Museum and of those given by Bosio chiefly from the Vatican. The list is based on one drawn up by Dean Burgon from an examination of the Lateran examples (*Letters from Rome*, Letter XX.), corrected by Dr. Northcote, by whom the list from Bosio has been added.*

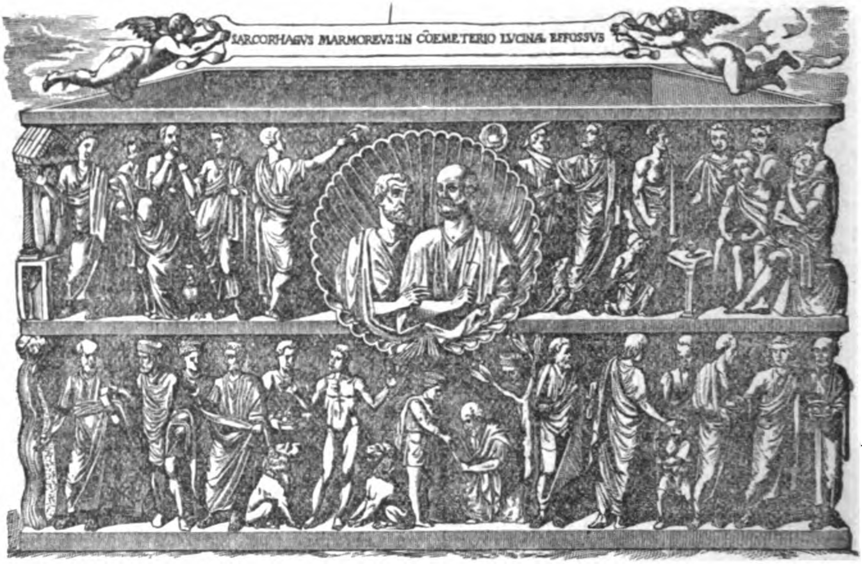
| | *Lateran.* | *Bosio.* |
|---|---|---|
| Jonah | 23 | 11 |
| Moses smiting the Rock | 21 | 16 |
| The Apprehension of Peter or, The Assault on Moses | 20 | 14 |
| The Miracle of the Loaves | 20 | 14 |
| The Healing of the Blind | 19 | 11 |
| The Miracle at Cana | 16 | 8 |
| The Raising of Lazarus | 16 | 14 |
| Peter's Denial Predicted | 14 | 8 |
| Daniel and the Lions | 14 | 7 |
| The Paralytic carrying his Bed | 12 | 7 |
| The Creation of Eve | 11 | 2 |
| The Sacrifice of Isaac | 11 | 9 |
| Adoration of the Magi | 11 | 8 |
| The Fall of Man | 14 | 10 |
| The Woman with the Issue of Blood | 8 | 9 |
| Christ's Entrance into Jerusalem | 6 | 8 |
| The Good Shepherd | 6 | 9 |
| Noah and the Dove | 5 | 6 |
| Christ before Pilate | | 6 |
| Moses receiving the Law | | 6 |
| The Three Children in the Furnace | 4 | 3 |
| Moses taking off his Shoes | 2 | 2 |
| Elijah's Ascension | 2 | 3 |
| The Nativity | 1 | 4 |
| Christ crowned with Thorns | 1 | 1 |

One of the most remarkable of this class is the very elaborate tomb of Junius Bassus, praefect of the city, A.D. 359, which "for its style and execution may be regarded as one of the best works of early Christian sculpture," though "it sufficiently betrays the decline of art, especially in the treatment of the nude" (Appell, p. 10). Its face is decorated with two tiers of scriptural subjects, in compartments divided by columns, the lower arched. In the centre of the upper tier our Lord sits enthroned between two apostles, borne up by Uranus, represented as a bearded old man with the canopy of heaven extended above him. The subjects sculptured are—beginning from the left of the upper tier—(1) The sacrifice of Isaac; (2) the apprehension of Peter; (3) Christ before Pilate; (4) Pilate washing his hands. In the lower tier—(1) Job visited by his wife and friends [OLD TESTAMENT IN ART]; (2) the Fall of man; (3) Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem; (4) Daniel in the lions' den; (5) Peter and Christ led to prison. On the two ends are carved genii representing the Four Seasons, engaged in operations suitable to each. The spandrils of the lower tier of panels contain on a diminutive scale one of the most remarkable series of carvings in the whole range of Christian art, and probably unique, indicating in the most unmistakable way the sense entertained by the early church of the unity of the two Testaments and the symbolical meaning of the acts of Moses as a type of our Lord, represented under the figure of the Lamb. In these very interesting and instructive reliefs a lamb holding the rod strikes water from the rock, multiplies the loaves, raises Lazarus, receives the law on Mount Sinai, and baptizes another lamb. As already stated, the sarcophagus is also remarkable from having on it the epitaph of the person found in it, with the interesting fact that he was praefect of the city at the time of his death, and that he had only recently been admitted to the church by baptism. "Jun. Bassus, V. C. qui vixit annis xlii men. ii in ipsa praefectura urbis neofitus iit ad Deum VIII. kal. Sept. Eusebio et Ypatio. coss" (Bosio, 45; Aringhi, i. 277; Bottari, i. 15; D'Agincourt, vi. 5, 11; Lübke, *Hist. of Sculpt.* i. 310; Parker, *Tombs*, pl. xiii.).

A very fine sarcophagus, supposed to be that of Petronius Probus, consul A.D. 341, formerly the altar of the chapel of St. Lucy at St. Mary Major, now in the Lateran Museum, offers one of the very best examples of this mode of treatment. The upper row exhibits the raising of

* The correspondence of the cycle of subjects depicted on the sarcophagi and in the catacomb frescoes, with those in the *Ordo Commendationis Animae* in the Roman Breviary, to which Le Blant has called attention (*Sarcophages d' Arles*), is too remarkable to be overlooked. The list includes Noah, the sacrifice of Isaac, Moses, and Pharaoh, Job, Elijah, Daniel, the Three Children, David and Goliah, Susanna, and the deliverance of Peter from prison.

Lazarus, Daniel in the lions' den, the law received from the hand of God, the sacrifice of Isaac, and Pilate washing his hands. A scallop-shell in the centre contains two excellent portrait busts. The Divine Hand issuing from the clouds on either side of the shell shews the usual attention to balance of composition (Le Blant, *Sarcoph.* p. xv. cf. pl. vi.). In the lower tier we have the combined subject of Moses striking the rock and the apprehension of Peter (see OLD TESTAMENT IN ART, p. 1458), Daniel and the lions, Moses reading the book of the covenant, the healing of the blind man, and the miracle of the loaves and fishes. This last subject is represented in a somewhat unusual manner. Our Lord stands, and puts His right hand on a loaf and His left on a basket of fish (Aringhi, i. 423; Bottari, ii. 49; Lübke, fig. 200, p. 843). The sarcophagus are very differently treated. Each is carved in low relief, with a background full of buildings, including a basilica and a detached baptistery, clumsily executed, but of high interest as contemporary representations of architecture. The one represents our Lord predicting Peter's denial; the cock standing on the top of an Ionic column; the other the woman with the issue of blood, and Moses striking the rock. These reliefs are separated by some centuries from the admirable sculptures on the front. They are placed by Mr. Parker in the 8th century (Bosio, 85, 87; Aringhi, i. 317, 319; Appell, p. 20). Another sarcophagus, of somewhat similar design, deserves especial notice not only for the beauty of its execution, but as exhibiting scenes from the Passion which occur very rarely. The front is divided into five compartments by columns with




From Aringhi, i. 423

largest sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum, discovered at St. Paul's outside the walls, also with two tiers of subjects, displays in the centre of the upper tier unfinished busts of a husband and wife in a "clypeus" supported by genii. The subjects belong to the usual cycle, with the addition of the creation of woman (OLD TESTAMENT IN ART), and the adoration of the Magi (Appell, 16, 17; Northcote, p. 200, pl. xix.; Westwood, p. 50).

A somewhat different mode of treatment is shewn in a sarcophagus of the 4th century, discovered at St. Peter's, now in the Lateran Museum, one of the most simple and excellent of the early Christian tombs. The front is divided by eight columns exquisitely carved with foliage and flowers. In the centre the youthful Christ, supported by Uranus bearing the vault of heaven, stands between two apostles. Others stand on either side, one of whom receives a scroll from the hand of Christ. To the left is the sacrifice of Isaac; to the right Christ before Pilate, who washes his hands. The whole are most beautifully designed and sculptured in high relief. The two ends of this very remarkable

spiral flutes. In the centre stands the labarum with the crown of immortality. Doves perch on the arms of the cross, and a waking and sleeping soldier sit below. To the right Christ, represented as a youthful figure with His fingers raised in benediction, stands before Pilate, who is preparing to wash his hands; a crown of glory hangs above. To the left we see Christ being crowned with thorns, which is transformed into a victor's chaplet; and Christ bearing His cross, a mere trunk, under a guard of soldiers, a crown hanging above. Few early Christian works of art exhibit a greater union of calm dignity and grace (Appell, 20, 21; Northcote, 307).

One of the most frequently recurring subjects is the history of Jonah, a type of death and resurrection. As an example we may produce one of singular grotesqueness from the Lateran Museum, the face of which is literally crowded with figures of different sizes, of which the Jonah series is the most conspicuous. The sea monster with long sinuous tail and vast yawning mouth, well furnished with teeth, appears twice in the centre, first swallowing the prophet as he is cast

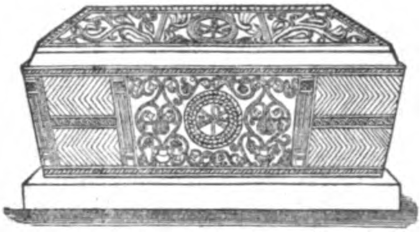
out of the ship, above the sails of which are allegorical representations of the sun and wind, and then vomiting him forth. Above, Jonah lies tranquilly sleeping, naked, under the shadow of the gourd. At either extremity fishermen are plying their craft, and snails, crabs, and lizards crawl on the shore. Above and around are the common Biblical scenes on a smaller scale; the raising of Lazarus, Moses smiting the rock, the apprehension of Peter, the Good Shepherd and two sheep in a little box-like shrine, and Noah and the dove floating in the water (Aringhi, i. 335; Bottari, i. 42; Appell, p. 19).

When we quit Rome a different school of art is evidenced by the change in the workmanship and the appearance of new subjects. A sarcophagus in the crypt of the cathedral of Fermo exhibits the raising of Dorcas and the imprisonment and release of St. Peter (De Minicis, *Monum. di Fermo*, p. 83; Appell, p. 24). At Verona we find in the crypt of St. Giovanni in Valle the very rare subject of Judas' kiss and the SAMARITAN WOMAN with the well-pulley and bucket, which is also seen at Clermont Ferrand (Maffei, *Mus. Veron.* p. 484; *Ver. Illustr.* part iii. pl. 2, nos. 1, 2). At St. Ambrogio, at Milan, the very remarkable sarcophagus called by some that of Stilicho and Serena, deserves much attention. The chief subject is a youthful bearded Christ teaching the apostles, with the adoration of the magi on one side, and the three children refusing to worship the golden image on the other. The ends exhibit the Fall, Isaac's sacrifice, Elijah's ascension, and other usual Old Testament subjects. In a pediment to the left is a curious relief of the Nativity (NATIVITY) (Appell, p. 33).

The sarcophagi at Ravenna display a remarkable poverty of invention and feebleness of execution, together with an almost complete absence of decoration. The ornamentation consists chiefly of the meaningless repetition of conventional symbols, crosses and monograms. The limited powers of the Ravenna sculptors is strikingly exhibited in the colossal marble tombs—five in number—in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, d. 450. Her own sarcophagus, of purest Greek marble, is now perfectly devoid of ornament, but once bore plates of precious metals. That of Honorius, d. 423, has its front divided by fluted columns; in the central compartment the Holy Lamb, with its head awkwardly turned back, stands before a cross, on whose arms doves rest. On either side are simple crosses. That of Constantine III., d. 421, has carved on its face three lambs with palm trees; the central lamb standing on a mount, whence the four rivers issue. The ten large marble sarcophagi of bishops from the 6th to the 8th century, at St. Apollinare in Classe, are characterised by the same extreme poverty of invention and feebleness of treatment. One, already described, exhibits our Lord enthroned; but nearly all are content with the same monogram repeated over and over again, sometimes encircled with wreaths, crosses, doves, and vases, lambs under palm trees, peacocks, and other frigid conventionalisms. It is an interesting fact learnt from Cassiodorus (*Varior.* lib. iii. ep. 19) that a certain sculptor named Daniel was summoned to Ravenna from Rome by Theodoric for his skill "in excavandis atque ornandis marmoribus," and received from him the privilege of supplying the inhabitants of Ravenna with sarcophagi, which are designated in Theodoric's rescript as "orneae quarum beneficio cadavera in supernis humata sunt; lugentium non parva consolatio." The tomb from St. Apollinare in Classe, already described, displaying our Lord enthroned with a cruciform nimbus, is considered by Martigny to be undoubtedly the work of Daniel the Sculptor. These sarcophagi have usually semicylindrical lids with imbricated scales. The tomb of the exarch Isaac at St. Vitalis, d. 644, represents the adoration of the magi. The child is nimbed, and the star stands above the Virgin's head. It is a poor scattered work, weak in design and rude in execution (Appell, pl. 27).

The south of France, as has been already remarked, is peculiarly rich in early Christian sarcophagi of the 4th and 5th century, particularised by Millin and Le Blant, who give engravings of many of the most remarkable. Gregory of Tours mentions such sarcophagi as existing in France in his day. One he speaks of formed of white marble, sculptured with the miracles of Christ and the apostles at St. Verona, near St. Allire (*de Glor. Confess.* c. 35, cf. c. 42), and in the next chapter records "sepulchrum sculptum meritis gloriosum sanctae memoriae Gallae." The sarcophagi at Arles conform both in style and subjects with those of Rome, in other places they are marked by local peculiarities. That of SS. Chrysanthus and Daria at Marseilles has its face divided into seven compartments by trees, on which are to be seen birds with their nests and young. Up the stems of the two end trees serpents are wriggling towards the young birds. A snail crawls up another. In the centre two harts are drinking from two brooks issuing from a rock; on either side the apostles stand in various attitudes (Appell, 39; Millin, tom. iv. p. 136, pl. xxxviii. no. 4). The same division by trees with birds on their branches and a snake climbing the trunk of one of them towards a bird's nest is found on one of the Arles sarcophagi (Le Blant, p. 9, pl. v.), and on one at Carpentras. The cycle of Biblical subjects is somewhat enlarged. One of the most favourite subjects on these Gaulish sarcophagi is the Destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea. Le Blant mentions three or four examples at Arles itself, and others at Metz and Avignon (pp. 50, 54–57). It is not, however, limited to Gaul. It is found at Rome (Bottari, tav. 40, 94, 199) and Pisa (Lasinio, tav. 128), and appears depicted with much stir and action on a sarcophagus at Spalato. In this last example, as at Arles and often elsewhere, the Red Sea is symbolized by a couchant human figure, as the Jordan frequently is in the subject of the baptism of Christ and the ascension of Elijah (Le Blant, pp. 51, 54). A sarcophagus formerly at Arles, now in the museum at Aix, in addition to the passage of the Red Sea, which occupies the whole face, has on one end Moses before Pharaoh, and on the other the gift of quails and the striking the rock. The pillar of fire is depicted in the most naturalistic manner as an actual column of stone with a blazing light on its summit (Le Blant, pp. 50–52, pl. xxxi., xxxii.; Millin, tom. ii. p. 353, pl. 2, no. 1, 2, 3). The grapes of Eshcol is found on one in the Marseilles Museum. Among the scenes from our Lord's history less frequently found elsewhere we may

mention the raising of the widow's son (Le Blant, pp. 1, 9, pl. 1, i. v. p. 57), the raising of Jairus's daughter (*ibid.* p. 29, pl. xvii.; Millin, t. iii. p. 537, pl. lxvi. 1), Christ and the woman of Samaria (*ibid.* p. 30, pl. xviii. 2; p. 63), and the washing of Peter's feet (*ibid.* p. 18, pl. lx). The raising of Dorcas is seen on the tomb assigned to Sidonius Apollinaris in the crypt of St. Maximin (Rostan. *Monum. Iconog.* pl. xii.), and on one in the Arles Museum (Le Blant, p. 4, pl. ii. 1), as well as at Fermo. On another at Aix there is the massacre of the innocents (Faillons, *Monuments inédits de S. M. Maj.*), and the giving of the keys to St. Peter at Avignon and



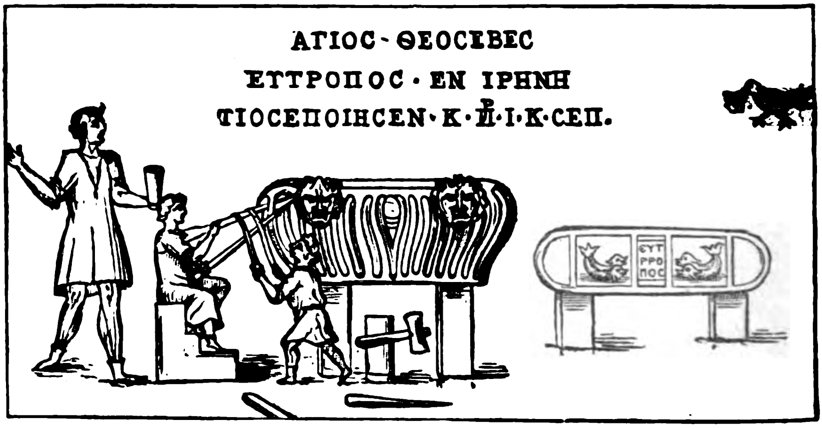
Sarcophagus. Bordeaux. Appell, p. 43.

at Arles (Le Blant, p. 4, pl. ii. 1). One of the most exquisite of extant sarcophagi is in the museum at Bordeaux. It has no figures, but the face is covered by graceful vine branches bearing grapes, issuing from two vases surrounding the crowned monogram, which also appears on the sloping lid (De Caumont, *Cours d'Antiquité*, vi. 220; Appell, p. 43).

Spain also can shew some early Christian sarcophagi at Toledo, Astorga, Zaragoza, and Marcellus. There has been some difference of opinion as to its date, but it may probably be assigned to the 4th century.

The mode of fabricating Christian sarcophagi is shewn in a very interesting manner on the tomb of a sarcophagus maker named Eutropus, given by Fabretti (*Inscr. Ant.* c. viii. p. 587, cii.), erected by his son, bearing the inscription ΑΓΙΟϹ ΘΕΟϹΕΒΕϹ ЄΥΤΡΟΠΟϹ ЄΝ ΙΡΗΝΗ ΥΙΟϹ ЄΠΟΙΗϹЄΝ. It represents the sculptor seated on a stool with steps of different heights working out a strigillated sarcophagus ornamented with mask, with a young apprentice turning by a cord and pulley the pointed iron drill he is using. The mallet and other tools lie below. A finished sarcophagus bearing dolphins and the name ЄΥΤΡΟΠΟϹ stand to the right. Behind the sculptor stands a tall male figure with outstretched arms, holding a small vase (*Rom. Sotter.* iii. p. 443).

III. *Tympana of Doorways, etc.*—The introduction of the Lombard style of architecture offered a new field for the Christian sculptor's art in the decoration of the portals, especially the tympana, of the newly-erected churches. The larger part of the existing specimens of this mode of architectural decoration are subsequent to A.D. 800. Some, however, come within our period, and demand a passing reference. One of the most remarkable is the bas-relief which occupies the tympanum of the chief doorway at the cathedral of Monza, to which a date between 591 and 615 may be assigned. This is curious, not only as an example of the rude awkward sculpture of the age, but also as representing in stone the consecrated gifts with which queen Theodolinda enriched the church, some of which may still be




Tomb of Eutropos. Fabretti, *Inscrip. Antiq.* c. iii. p. 587, cii.

Barcelona, but they are described as presenting no remarkable peculiarities. In England a tomb supposed to be Romano-Christian has been discovered at Barming in Kent (Roach Smith, *Collect. Ant.* i. 184), and a stone cist with a slightly gabled lid, bearing a long cross with a floriated foot, was found at Westminster Abbey (where it is still preserved) in Nov. 1869. The inscription states that it was erected to Valerius Amandinus by his sons Valerius Praeventor and seen in its treasury. The church being dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the principal scene represented is the Baptism of Christ. Our Lord stands in the water, which, in defiance of the laws of gravity, rises in a cone about Him. The Holy Spirit, depicted as a dove, descends on His head, holding a vase in its mouth, from which the sacred effluence descends upon Him. On either hand stand the Virgin Mary, St. John, St. Peter, and St. Paul. Above, Theodolinda

herself appears with her second husband Agilulf, and her son and daughters, offering a jewelled crown to St. John the Baptist. Behind are seen the pensile crowns, crosses, vases, as well as the curious *chioccia*, or hen and chickens, presented by her. Another interesting bas-relief of a coronation, of the same date, exists in the south transept (Perkins, *u. s.* i. xlv.; D'Agincourt, *Sculpture*, pl. xxvi. fig. 8). A large number of examples of early Lombard sculpture, thirty-eight in all, are collected by D'Agincourt in the plate just referred to, which shew the extreme rudeness of the art at the period.

Other examples are to be found at the baptistery of Cividale in Friuli, erected by Calixtus, patriarch of Aquileia, A.D. 712–744. Here we find the evangelistic symbols, crosses with palms, candelabra, &c., surrounded with circles rudely sculptured in a barbarous kind of relief, formed by lowering the surface round the clumsy figures which rather suggest than imitate real objects, the details being marked by furrows on the stone.

Mr. Perkins cites as other specimens of Lombard sculpture the tomb of Pemmone, duke of Friuli, at St. Mark's in Cividale, of the 8th century; the sculptures at St. Ambrogio at Milan, St. Tommaso in limine near Bergamo, the Well in the Lateran cloisters, &c. [E. V.]

**SEAL.** (1) The word σφραγὶς is frequently used in Greek liturgical language for the sign of the cross, and the person who makes the sign is said σφραγίζειν. [SIGN OF THE CROSS.]

(2) The stamp made on the bread used in the Holy Eucharist is also called σφραγὶς, and when the bread is divided in such a way that each portion bears a stamp, the portions are called σφραγῖδες. [LAMB, THE HOLY, p. 916.] [C.]

**SEALS.** (1) *Material Seals.* During the whole of the Christian period comprised in this work the most common mode of sealing was by rings, whether set with stones or not, the impression being made in wax.[a] [GEMS; RINGS.]

Wax impressions, however, were not always made from gems or rings. They were occasionally formed by a simple metallic matrix, like official seals in mediaeval and modern times. Very few such, being Christian, or indeed of any kind, appear to have come down to us until after the age of Charlemagne. We have, however, the brass matrix of the seal of Macarius, patriarch of Antioch in the seventh century, on which St. Peter is represented seated having a cock near him; it was found near Aintab in Syria by a rustic. (Chandler, *Marm. Oxon.* praef. p. vii., with a figure.) The following inscription, *litteris ligatis*, is round the margin: it runs thus in common minuscules: Μακάριος ἐλέῳ θεοῦ πατριάρχης τῆς μεγάλης Θυπόλεως Ἀντιοχείας καὶ πάσης ἀνατολῆς (Böckh, *C. I. G.* n. 8987). Macarius was condemned in the sixth oecumenical council (A.D. 681) as a Monothelite. Antioch was termed in the age of Justinian, who built very largely there, Theupolis (*i.e.* Theopolis), as being the see where St. Peter governed the church of God; this explains the device on the seal. M. D'Arc (see below) states that the matrix of Dagobert I. (A.D. 628–638) was discovered in the department of Doubs, but he does not mention the metal. It gives his face, seen in front, with long hair, accompanied by two crosses and the legend DAGOBERTVZ (*sic*) REX FRANCORUM.

Licetus mentions, on the authority of Petra-Sancta (*De Sym.* lib. iii. c. 9), that Charlemagne "non in anuli gemma, sed in gladii capulo sigillum habuisse, ut edicta et leges obsignaret: putabat enim, ejusdem gladii debere esse leges tueri ac eas promulgare" (*De Anulis*, p. 144).

### A. WAX IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS.

Of the wax impressions themselves a greater number has been preserved than might perhaps have been expected: they are mostly in very indifferent condition, and they vary much in quality. The oldest extant are white or pale yellow and pale red or reddish-brown; both colours are found in Merovingian and also in Carlovingian times. There are only two essential forms of these impressions, round and oval: the former is Merovingian, the latter Carlovingian (Heineccius, *de Sigillis*, pp. 51–56; *Sceaux des Rois de France*, p. 2, see below; D'Arcq, see below).

The most ancient mode of fixing the seal to the deed was to make a cruciform incision in the deed itself, usually on the right hand, through which the wax was introduced, and flattened on both sides. The seal was impressed on the written side.[b] Before the 11th century all wax seals were thus "plaqués;" the date of perhaps the earliest pendent wax seal being no older than A.D. 1067 (D. D'Arcq, *Elém. de Sigillographie*, pp. xvii. to xxiii., prefixed to *Collection de Sceaux des Archives de l'Empire*, Paris, 1863–1868). M. Douet D'Arcq enumerates the seals of the Merovingian and Carlovingian sovereigns existing in the archives of France; they comprise (besides the seal of Dagobert I., mentioned above, or rather apparently an impression made from it),[c] the following, all of wax and plaqués: Thierry III., Clovis III., Childebert III., Chilperic II., Pepin le Bref, Carloman and Charlemagne. Their names and portraits (more or less obliterated) occur upon nearly all of these, and a cross is still sometimes and was perhaps originally always prefixed. One of the seals of Pepin le Bref has on one side Christ crowned with thorns, seen in front, a person to the right of him is in profile; no legend; it is attached to a deed dated June 20, 750[d] (Nos. 1–16). Wailly[e] (*Elém.*

[a] "In Europe, as far as I know," says Beckmann, "wax has been everywhere used for sealing since the earliest ages." (Beckmann, *Hist. of Inventions*, vol. i. p. 140, transl. by Johnston, in Bohn's *Stand. Libr.*)

[b] The earliest example in the British Museum is of Eudes in the 9th century, just too late for this work.

[c] There is also an impression made from a seal ascribed to Sigebert II., reading S. R., preserved in the *Bibl. Imp. Cab. des Ant.* It is not mentioned by Chabouillet.

[d] Another of his seals has a head of Bacchus or Silenus: one of Charlemagne figured by Wailly, pl. A, No. 9, bears a head of Serapis. These were probably impressions from ancient pagan gems. It is difficult to say how extant wax impressions generally were formed. The seal of Dagobert (figured by Wailly, pl. A, fig. 1) is of considerable size, about 3¼ inches in diameter; it was probably made from a matrix; but its genuineness is very doubtful. See the remarks in the *Sceaux des Rois de France*, p. 2. All the other ancient impressions which he figures may have been executed either from gems or from rings.

[e] This plate is reproduced in the "Trésor de Numism.

*de Paléographie*, tom. ii. p. 338, pl. A, No. 8, Paris, 1838), figures a wax seal (plaqué) of Charlemagne, which reads XPE · PROTEGE · CAROL · REG · FRANCR. It is attached to the charter of a gift to the abbey of St. Denys, dated September 14, A.D. 774, it is about 1⅛ inches by 1; oval, not acuminated. There is an impression of this seal in the British Museum.[f]

The only English king within our period of whom any wax seal remains appears to be Offa, king of Mercia; it is described by D'Arcq in vol. iii. of the above-named work, n. 9995; head to r. surrounded by a diadem "à épi," the wax he describes as "rougeâtre, très-consistante, plaqué" on a charter of that king, dated 790, in favour of the abbey of St. Denys.

### B. Bullae of Earth and Metal.

In very early times some kind of earth was employed for the purpose of receiving the impression of the seal; this method, which seems to have originated in Egypt, was occasionally employed in the Greek empire, at least as late as the 8th century. The lump of earth so sealed was attached by a string or strip of cloth or leather to the diploma or other document. Such earth must have been employed in sealing by the Byzantine emperors, for we are told that at the second council of Nice (A.D. 787) Leontius, bishop of Cyprus, defended the worship of images by saying that no one believed that those who received written orders from the emperor and venerated the seal worshipped on that account the sealing-earth, the paper, or the lead. (See Beckmann, *u. s.*, pp. 137, 138. For the original Greek see below.) "Actual examples of such seals belonging to Egyptian and Assyrian times are still in existence, as well as remains of the cloth or strap by which they were appended" (Birch's *Ancient Pottery*, p. 83, 2nd ed.). No Christian seals of this character belonging to the period with which we are concerned appear to have been preserved. We have, however, a considerable number of such seals in lead, the earlier ones being principally papal bulls beginning by about the 7th century.[g]

The earliest leaden bull of certain date known to be now extant,[h] whose authenticity is generally acknowledged, is that of pope Deus-dedit (A.D. 614–617); it is figured by Ficoroni (*Piombi Antichi*, tab. xxiii. fig. 3). It bears on one side the Good Shepherd between two sheep, and on the other side in three lines DEVS | DEDIT | PAPAE. Leaden bulls of the following popes also are still preserved: Honorius (A.D. 638), Theodore I. (A.D. 649), Agatho (A.D. 678), John V. (A.D. 685), Sergius I. (A.D. 687), Constantine (A.D. 708), Zacharias (A.D. 741), Paul I. (A.D. 757), Stephen III. (A.D. 768), as well as of many later pontiffs. On all these, however, the types are very simple, such as a cross, a chrisma, or a star. On one side the name of the pope occurs in the genitive (sometimes in more than one line), on the other the word PAPAE (commonly in two lines). Thus: one of John, supposed to be John V., has on *obv.* a star of eight rays, in the centre, reading IOHANNIS around; the *rev.* has P + A | PAE in two lines (British Museum). Another of Sergius I. reads on *obv.* + SERGII on a circle, having for type chrisma and another monogram united with it; *rev.* PAPAE above a chrisma of the ordinary form (Brit. Mus. Figured in *English Cyclop.* Div. iv., *Arts and Sciences*, suppl. 1873, s. v. BULLA). Another of Zacharias has on *obv.* a cross, below which ZAC | CHAR | IAE in three lines; on *rev.* a cross, below which PA | PAE in two lines (Brit. Mus. Figured also in Martigny, *Dict.* s. v. *Numism.* ed. 2). A fourth of Paul I. has on *obv.* a cross, below which PAV | LI in two lines and beneath another cross. *Rev.* a cross; PA | PAE in two lines, and another cross below. (Brit. Mus.) Other examples are figured by Ficoroni, *u. s.* t. xxi.–xxv., and by Martigny, *u. s.*, and are mentioned by Mabillon (*de Re Dipl.* lib. ii. c. 14). Several may also be seen in the British Museum; their dimensions vary from 1 to 1½ inches across; the form is subcircular.

The leaden bullae of popes, so common in later times, bearing the heads of SS. Peter and Paul are not earlier than the time of Paschal II. A.D. 1099 (Martigny, *u. s.*). Mabillon (*u. s.* lib. ii. v. 14) mentions bulls bearing the *names* of those apostles as issued in the time of Urban II., his immediate predecessor.

The patriarchs of Constantinople were little, if at all, behind the popes in employing leaden bullae. Germanus I. who sat there A.D. 715 to 730, indited an epistle decorated with a bull of lead (μολιβδίνῃ βούλλῃ) which is described in the *Jus Graeco-Rom.* (tom. i. lib. iii. p. 236) as having on one side the Virgin and Child, and on the other (in Greek) "Germanus, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and ecumenical patriarch."

Somewhat later we find other bishops making use of leaden bulls both in the east and in the west.[i] The second council of Cabillon, *i.e.* Châlon-sur-Saône (A.D. 813), c. 41, directs that a presbyter moving to another place should carry letters fortified by the names of the bishop and the city in lead (in quibus sint nomina episcopi et civitatis plumbo munita). See Mabillon, *u. s.* lib. ii. c. XV. Other later authorities make

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et de Glypt." in the volume *Sceaux des Rois et Reines de France*, pl. 1.

[f] More than a dozen seals of Charlemagne are known in wax or metal according to the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*. Pieresc took impressions of ancient seals (vetera sigilla) which he found in various ancient abbeys; they bore the true likenesses (verae effigies) of Charlemagne and other kings of the second race (Chiflet, *Anastasis*, p. 112).

[g] Rainaldus maintains that papal bulls go still farther back, and affirms that leaden bulls of Sylvester, Leo I., and Gregory I., are kept in "archivo Aretino" and in the Castle of St. Angelo; but Heineccius does not believe in their genuineness (*De Sigill.* p. 48).

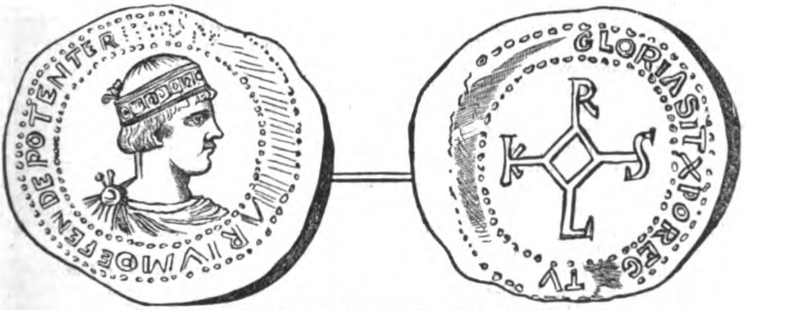
[h] Heineccius thinks that the Byzantine emperors made the earliest bulls (*u. s.* p. 42); that the patriarchs of Constantinople followed them, and that the popes of Rome were determined not to be behind these (p. 40). This may possibly be so, but the existing examples and notices suggest a different chronological order.

[i] The Lex Alamannorum has a chapter: *De servis ecclesiasticis, si ad Episcopum aut Judicem suum venire despexerint*, in which occurs this clause: "Si sigillum episcopi neglexerit aut ad veniendum aut ad ambulandum ubi jusserit, duodecim solidis sit culpabilis" (ap. Goldast. *Rer. Aleman.* tom. i. c. 22, p. 13). These may be suspected to be of lead, like those mentioned in council of Châlons.

mention of similar episcopal bulls (Heinecc. *u. s.* p. 49). The practice appears, however, to have been far from universal, and no actual examples earlier than the 12th century were known to Heineccius (*u. s.* p. 151). The writer, however, possesses a bulla of Hypatius, bishop of Nicopolis, in Epirus, in A.D. 626, of whom some account is given in Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* vol. ii. p. 138. It reads in barbarous Greek on the obverse: + ΙΠΠΑ ‖ CΙΟV: on the reverse + below which ΕΠΙCΚ ‖ ΝΙΚΟΥ below which vertically, ΟΠ (retrograde) and another cross (for ἐπισκ(όπου) Νικοπό(λεως). (Formerly in the Lovati collection at Rome.) Other episcopal bulls exist about whose age it is less easy to speak, as that of Nicolaus, patriarch of Constantinople, of whom there were several so named from the 9th to the 12th century (Ficoroni, tab. xvii. n. 1, Böckh, n. 9036), of Leo, bishop of Tauromenium (Ficoroni, tab. xx. n. 7, Böckh, n. 9029), of Sergius, bishop of Therme (Id. n. 9045), of Antonius, metropolitan of Catana (Ficoroni, tab. xvi. n. 4, Böckh, n. 9001), and of Paul, archbishop of Thessalonica (Ficoroni, tab. ix. n. 1, Böckh, n. 9037).[j]

Leaden bulls of ecclesiastics of lower rank than bishops have rarely been found. We have, however, one in England of archdeacon Boniface, supposed to be contemporary with Wilfrid (died A.D. 709). It reads on *obv.* + ‖ BONI ‖ FATII ‖ +; on *rev.* + ‖ ARCHI ‖ DIAC ‖ + (Hübner, *Inscr. Brit. Christ.* n. 221).

μόλυβδον, ἀλλὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν προσκύνησιν καὶ τὸ σέβας ἀπένειμεν. Concil. Nic. II. Act. iv.). Leaden bulls of Charlemagne are mentioned by authors (see Heineccius, *u. s.* p. 44), and some are still in existence; one is rudely figured in the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* (t. iv. p. 112) published in the last century; another impression from the same mould is here figured from a drawing kindly sent by M. Sambon, who possesses the original.[k] Neither specimen is complete, but from a comparison of the two with each other and with a bulla of Charles the Bald, the types and legends on both sides can be satisfactorily made out. On the obverse we have bust of Charlemagne to *r.*, with broad diadem, wearing the paludamentum, with legend: + *Jesu* (IHV) *nate Dei, Carlum defende potenter;* on the reverse a cross with open diamond in the centre, each arm terminating in a letter, the four letters being K R L S (Karlus); the legend is + *Gloria sit Christo* (X P O), *regi victoria Carlo.* It is not improbable that bullae of lead were employed by other emperors before Charlemagne; but it seems doubtful whether we have any genuine examples now existing in that or any other metal before his time. The silver bulla of Dagobert, detached from its diploma, which is mentioned as being in "gazophylacio ducali Gothano" by Mabillon and others is regarded by Heineccius with suspicion (*u. s.* p. 41). Polydore Vergil *De Inv. Rerum*, lib. viii. p. 605) says, that Charlemagne introduced seals (bulls) of gold,



Leaden bulla of Charlemagne. (Size of the original.)

Leaden bulls were likewise employed by secular persons. Those of the Greek emperors in the 8th century are the earliest recorded. Leontius, bishop of Cyprus, argued before the second Nicene council from the veneration paid to the leaden bullae of the Greek emperors to the veneration of images in churches. ὁ κέλευσιν βασιλέως δεξάμενος καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν σφραγῖδα οὐ τὸν πηλὸν ἐτίμησεν ἢ τὴν χάρτην ἢ τὸν

but neither Heineccius (*u. s.* p. 33) nor any later writer apparently have ever seen such. In later times both emperors and popes certainly employed them (Heineccius, *u. s.*).

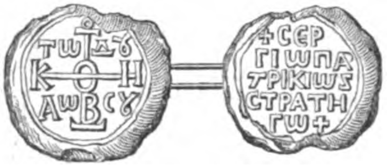
In a suit between bishop Wolfleoz and abbat Cotzpert held before Louis le Débonnaire, a document was produced bearing the seal of Charlemagne. "Quam (chartam) quum piissimus imperator suscepisset, sigillumque sui patris recognoscendo intuitus esset, venerando deosculatus est, circumque astantibus similiter honoris causa deosculandum contradidit" (Ratpert. *de Casib. Monast. S. Galli*, c. 6, p. 5; quoted by Heineccius, *u. s.* p. 11). It is not clear whether the diploma had a wax or a leaden seal attached; more probably perhaps the latter. (Cf. Leontius, quoted above.)

The number of leaden bullae belonging to secular persons of inferior rank is very considerable. All or almost all of them were struck in

[j] There are also leaden bullae which bear the names of various saints. A curious example, both in Greek and Latin, is given in Ficoroni, tab. xiv. n. 7. On one side is represented a man in the attitude of benediction, Ο ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟC being written κιονηδὸν in two lines; on the other is a cross, below which in three lines SIGILL | SCI | NICOLAI (Böckh, n. 9035). Ficoroni and Kirchmann consider that the bull is a seal of some monastery dedicated to St. Nicolas. The British Museum has other examples bearing the figures, names, and titles of the Blessed Virgin, St. Chrysostom, St. George, and St. Theodore, which probably belong to the same category. The dates of all such being uncertain, it must suffice to have alluded to them thus briefly.

[k] D'Arcq (*u. s.* vol. i. p. 269) ascribes this bull to Charles the Bald.

various parts of the Byzantine empire, more especially in Sicily. Many of them bear upon the obverse a cruciform monogram, representing Κύριε, βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ, or τῷ δούλῳ σου, for which τοῦ σοῦ δούλου is sometimes substituted (O Lord, help thy servant); the reverse bears in Greek the name (often in monogram) of the owner and his office (often in an abbreviated form) in the dative, more rarely in the genitive case: a cross often precedes, and sometimes follows.[1] But few of them comparatively can be dated. Of these we mention the following: A bulla, preserved in the museum of the



Leaden Seal of Sergius, about two-thirds of the size of the original. (Böckh.)

monastery of St. Nicolai at Catania, bears on the obverse the monogram and legend above-mentioned, and on the other side the name of Sergius, patrician and strategus—*Obv.* K. (*i. e.* Κύριε) βοήθι (βοήθει) τῷ δούλῳ σου. *Rev.* + Σεργίῳ πατρικίῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ +. He is reasonably supposed to be the praetor of Sicily mentioned by Anastasius under the year 733 (Böckh, n. 8988). Another bears the same obverse, and on the reverse "Gregorius, patrician, strategus of Sicily." He is supposed by Castelli and by Kirchmann to be the Gregory who governed Sicily in the beginning of the 9th century (Böckh, n. 8991). Another example (in Mus. Patern. Böckh, n. 8989) has the same obverse, but bears on the reverse the name of John, "patrician and royal spatharius," probably the same as John the protospatharius, who was sent to Sicily in the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (A.D. 780–797). A fourth, preserved in the Recupero Museum at Catania, is described by Prof. Salinas from a drawing by Recupero himself. The obverse is as before; the reverse bears the name and titles of Euphemius, "royal spatharocandidatus and strategus of Sicily." The title of royal candidatus occurs on other bullae, mentioned by Salinas, who considers that this Euphemius lived in the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, to whom he also now attributes the gold ring which he figures, mentioned above under RINGS, § 6 B. (*Tre anelli*, &c., *u. s.* pp. 4–6.) A fifth bulla in fine, found at Philippeville in Algeria, bears on each side a cross and two pellets; below is written on the obverse the name of Photinus (in the genitive), and on the other his title "stratelates." He appears to be the proto-spatharius and στρατηγὸς τῶν ἀνατολικῶν, who is mentioned by Cedrenus as governor of the province of Sicily in the reign of Michael II. (Böckh, n. 8990).

In much the greater number of cases, however, there is no indication of date; as for example in one preserved at Syracuse, which has the obverse so often mentioned, and on the reverse "Andreas, hypatus" (consul), "and strategus. Amen" (Böckh, n. 8998). Another example, in the possession of the writer, from the Lovati collection, has the obverse as before, while the reverse has "Leo notarius" (in genitive). Another from the same collection has the same obverse in the dative, and on the reverse "Antonius notarius" also in the dative. Many other names of officers of the Byzantine court occur on the bulls which are figured and described in Böckh's work. The British Museum also contains a large number of such.[m] But it is unnecessary to multiply examples here, not only because their date is doubtful, but also because their interest is rather secular than ecclesiastical.

(2) *A sacred Sign, especially the Sign of the Cross.*—The word seal is used for the sign of the cross with which the bread in the eucharist is signed. In the liturgy of St. Chrysostom the priest takes the oblation (προσφορὰν) with his left hand and the holy lance (LANCE) with his right, and with it sealing (σφραγίζων) over the seal (σφραγὶς) of the oblation, he says thrice: "In memory of our Lord and God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ." Heineccius (*u. s.* p. 18) notes from Goar that this seal is the sign of the cross impressed on the host or oblation, as is seen in Arcudius, and in the figures annexed. He likewise observes that the sign of the cross is frequently termed σφραγὶς in early and mediaeval Greek writers, whether used in baptism, or ordination or in the eucharist, or elsewhere. The tonsure of ecclesiastics is also so called. (See Goar, *Euchol. Graec.* pp. 117, 321; Suicer, *Thes. s. v.* σφραγίς; Ducange, *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Graec.* s. v. σφραγίς.)

(3) *Solomon's Seal used as a Charm.*—On an amulet of red copper, pierced for suspension, found at Keff in Tunis, described at length under MEDALS, part of the legend of the obverse runs thus:— *Inbidia* (invidia) *inbidiosa* (invidiosa) *nicil* (nihil) *tibi ad.* (adimat ?), *anima pura et munda Quiriace; sata malina* (maligna) *non tibi praevalea[n]t. Li[g]abit te Dei brachium, Dei et Christi, et Signum et Sigillum Solom[nis]* PAXCASA. (= Abraxas ?) Perhaps we should read *Dei et Christi signum* (i.e. the cross). Considered by M. Reuvens to be "assez récent." It may possibly be as late as the conquest of Africa in the 8th century by the Arabs, in whose view Solomon was a great magician, and from whom the Christians there may have derived it; this however is not certain, as there are gems (haematite) very similar to some coins of the 4th century; they bear a horseman spearing a fallen enemy, with legend ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ (*Solomon*), and on the other side ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΘΕΟΥ (*the Seal of God*), with mystic characters. (Writer's collection; others nearly similar in

[1] The same formula occurs also, though rarely, on rings. Prof. Salinas describes and figures a gold ring, preserved at Palermo in the museum of the Prince of Trabia, which reads in four lines ΚЄΒΟΗ ‖ ΘΗΤΩϹΩΔΟ̆ ‖ ΛΩΝΙΚΗΤΑΒ'‖Α'ϹΠΑΘΡ. *i.e.* Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Νικήτᾳ βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ. He considers that he is probably the Nicetas mentioned by Baronius under the year 797 as prefect of Sicily. (*Tre anelli segnator. . . . invenuti in Sicilia*, pp. 4, 6, Firenze, 1871.) We have also a ring of uncertain age, preserved at Syracuse: Κ[ύριε] β[οήθει] τῆς φορ[ούσης] (Böckh, n. 9057). These should have been given in RINGS, under CROSS.

[m] The writer's thanks are due to Mr. W. de G. Birch for giving him every facility to inspect these, and for other valuable help.

Brit. Mus.; one side of a bad specimen figured in King's *Gnostics*, pl. vi. n. 7). The seal of Solomon is said to be the pentalpha, or star of five rays formed by intersecting triangles (Kirch. *Oedip. Aegypt.* cl. xi. c. vii. t. ii. pars 2, p. 477). Hence the scars on the rhizoma of the *Convallaria multiflora* have given to the plant the English name of Solomon's seal. On the medal and on the gem, however, the name *Solomon*, and the words *Seal of God*, appear to constitute the charm, the sigil's power being to make the owner victorious. See more on this subject in King, *u. s.* p. 215, *Dict. of Bible*, s. v. SOLOMON; Lightfoot's ed. of St. Paul's Epist. to Coloss. *Introd.* pp. 91, 92, note.

[C. B.]

**SEASONS, THE FOUR.** This is one of the adopted subjects of Christian art. The seasons had long been a favourite subject of Roman decoration, of the most pleasing character, and connected with rural and pastoral imagery, so that the church soon invested them with associations of her own. To the heathen they furnished matter for contemplation on life, change, growth and decay; in Christian thought the hope of the resurrection was added; and pictures of sowers, reapers, and vinedressers would have their definite meaning for all who knew the Lord's parables. And these pictures are so frequently (almost invariably in fact) associated with the form of the Good Shepherd, that it is impossible to doubt their Christian import, at an early date. It is not here as with single emblems, like the peacock, lion or eagle, which have no special thread of meaning to connect them either with the Scriptures, or with Christian imagery unquestionably derived from Holy Scripture.

The customary use of this subject seems to have died away, perhaps with a parallel decline to that of the Good Shepherd (see *s. v.*). The Seasons in the catacomb of Domitilla, or St. Nereus and St. Achilles, were perhaps the earliest frescoes of which any remains are left (see FRESCO); also Parker's *Photographs*, No. 1820, 618, 619, and text, p. 123). The present paintings are evidently restorations of the roughest kind. Another fine example is in the Callixtine catacomb (Bosio, p. 223; Bottari, tav. lv.), where the figures are in pairs on each side of the Good Shepherd. "Winter" is a woodman by his fire; "Autumn," a vintager, almost nude; "Summer," a well-clad reaper; "Spring," a young man, only clad in a scarf, and gathering roses. The cemetery of St. Praetextatus contains another set, perhaps equal in antiquity to those of St. Domitilla, and of the character of early 2nd century work at latest. They are arranged in beautiful decorative forms round the vaulting, and on the walls below the arches of the cemetery. Laurels, vines and grapes, corn-ears and roses, represent the seasons above; and there are four corresponding agricultural scenes on the walls, of realistic treatment, but ornamentally arranged with great skill. These were undoubtedly types in use among the heathen; but then all Christian symbols alike, except the anagrammatic fish, appear to have been more or less employed thus at earlier or later dates, and in variously secular senses.

Martigny gives woodcuts of the Four Seasons, here reproduced, from the cemetery of St. Pontianus. They form four compartments of a cupola-vault, grouped round the Good Shepherd in the centre. "Spring" is a boy, bearing a lily and a hare; "Summer," a reaper; "Autumn," a vintager applying a ladder to a tree (shewing the Italian way of culture rather than the Greek training to stakes and frames); "Winter," a



Spring. From the Cemetery of Pontianus (Martigny).



Summer. From the Cemetery of Pontianus (Martigny).



Autumn. From the Cemetery of Pontianus (Martigny).



Winter. From the Cemetery of Pontianus (Martigny).

young man by a fire, holding a torch in his left hand, and in his right (perhaps) a billet of wood. Martigny refers to a sculpture from the cemetery of St. Agnes (Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 466; Maffei, *Gemm. Ant.* part. iv. No. 58, 59), where "Winter" bears a leafy bough and a bird. This subject exists in sculpture, on the ends of the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. Bottari, tom. i. *capo della prefaz.*, and Buonarotti (*Vetri*, p. i.) has published a sepulchral urn which bears it also. [R. St. J. T.]

**SEBASTE, FORTY MARTYRS OF,** in the reign of Licinius: Mar. 9 (*Mart.* Bed., Wand.; *Rom.* of Greg. XIII. 1584; *Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*); Mar. 10 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 12; *Mart. Rom.* of Bened. XIV. 1749, and as reprinted in 1873; cf. Neale's note at Mar. 9 in *Cal. Byzant.*); Mar. 11 (Usuard., Adon.; *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.); Mar. 16 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C. H.]

**SEBASTIA,** July 4, martyr with Innocentius and thirty others, commemorated at Sirmium (*Mart.* Usuard.); also called Sabbatius (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*) and Sabatia (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C. H.]

**SEBASTIANUS (1),** Jan. 20, commander of the first cohort, martyr under Diocletian, buried "in vestigiis apostolorum" (*Metr. Mart.*, Bed.; *Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Wand.); commemorated on this day in the Sacramentary of Gelasius, his name being mentioned in the collect, the secreta, and the post-communion; also in the Sacramentary of Gregory, his name occurring in the collect and ad complendum; Dec. 18 (*Menol. Gr.* Sirlet.).

(2) Feb. 8, martyr in Armenia Minor, commemorated with Dionysius and Aemilianus (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SEBOAS,** Nov. 13, deacon, martyr in Persia in the 4th century (Basil. *Menol.* i. 185). [C. H.]

**SECLUSION.** One of the penalties imposed upon penitents in the seventh and two following centuries was incarceration. It was a penal sentence, and distinct from the voluntary profession of monasticism undertaken to expiate a great crime. The practice arose on the decay of public penance. One of the earliest instances of the imposition of the penalty is in Spain. The *Conc. Narbonens.* A.D. 589 (c. 6) decreed that any clergyman or citizen of position convicted of crime was to be sent to a monastery for correction. In the 11th Council of Toledo, A.D. 675, c. 7, "retrusio" is coupled with exile as among the recognised punishments inflicted by the church. Nor was this mode of penance confined to the Peninsula; it became common throughout the West. Thus pope Gregory II. 715–731, in a letter (Ep. ii.) to the emperor Leo the Isaurian, contrasts the spiritual with the civil penalties: the state, he says, executes or tortures a criminal, but the church shuts him up in the "secretarium," the vestry or the chapter-house, that he may purge his soul by fasts and vigils. The sentence of incarceration occurs also among the decrees of a synod held under Boniface, A.D. 742, the decisions of which were confirmed in the following year by *Conc. Liptin.*: any Christian guilty of fornication was to do penance in prison on bread and water; an ordained priest guilty of the same sin was to be flogged and remain two years in prison; a monk or cleric was to be beaten thrice and shut up; and a nun who had fallen was to be confined and have her head shaved. The same discipline is apparent in the rituals of that period. The Gelasian Sacramentary, under the title "Ordo agentibus publicam penitentiam," directs a penitent to be taken in the morning of the first Wednesday in Lent, and to be shut up till Holy Thursday, when he was to be brought into the church; and among the rubrical directions for the Mass on "Feria 5, in Coen. Dom.," the penitents are instructed to come out from the retreat where they have performed their penance. Similar rubrics are contained in the *Ordo Romanus*, and in pseudo-Alcuin *de Divinis Officiis*, cap. de Coen. Dom., and in an ancient Toulouse Pontifical of the 9th century (Morin. *de Poenitent.*, appendix, p. 599), where the penitent is ordered to be shut up "in loco secreto" throughout Lent. In the Penitential of Theodore (I. vii. 1) lifelong confinement in a monastery is ruled to be the appropriate penalty for an accumulation of mortal sins. Compare *Poenitentiale* Cummeani, xiv. 1, and the early British penitential fragment "Sinodus Aquilonalis Britt." cc. 1, 2 (Wasserschleben, *Die Bussord.* p. 103). The discipline of imprisonment was enforced also against the *Canonici*. Thus the rule of Chrodegang of Metz (c. 28) orders the seclusion of the collegiate clergy when under penance in terms identical with the directions of the Rituals. In the case of the secular clergy, after monastic houses had become general, it was a common punishment to confine an offending clerk in a monastery, either for a term of years or for the remainder of his life. This mode of seclusion was appointed both by civil and ecclesiastical law. Justinian's *Novell.* cxxiii. 20 direct that a presbyter or deacon giving false evidence, shall, in place of being scourged, be deposed and shut up for three years in a monastery. The Council of Agde, A.D. 506 (c. 50), orders the seclusion to be lifelong when either forgery or perjury has been committed by a clergyman: a similar penalty was attached by 3 *Conc. Aurelian.* c. 7, to adultery; and by 4 *Conc. Tolet.* c. 29, to magic and soothsaying. See *Conc. Epaon.* c. 22; 7 *Conc. Tolet.* c. 3; 8 *Conc. Tolet.* c. 6. By the second Council of Seville, A.D. 618 (c. 3), a clergyman deserting his benefice was to be confined temporarily in a monastery. Monks who subjected themselves to penance were still further secluded by confinement in the cells or "ergastula" of their monastery. Syricius (Ep. i. 6) imposes this penal confinement upon monks or nuns who, in spite of their monastic profession, have contracted what were held to be incestuous marriages. See *Conc. Tarracon.* c. 1; *Conc. Autissiod.* c. 23; *Conc. in Trull.* c. 41. The severity of the austerities to which delinquent monks were exposed when under confinement may be gathered from the account given in the *Scalae* of Johannes Climacus, grad. 5. [G. M.]

**SECRETA, SECRETAE** (*sub-oratio, orationes.* Cf. εὐχὴ προσκομιδῆς· εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου ἣν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπεύχεται ἐπικλινόμενος, *i.e. super oblata*, μυστικῶς). In the course of the *Missa Fidelium*, the celebrating priest was wont to ask the prayers of the bystanders, "Pray for me,

brethren," and a mutual intercession followed, "that it might be *sursum corda* with them, as it was already with him" (Amalarius); he then turned to the altar, and prayed with a low voice, so as only himself could hear the words, over the oblations. To this prayer, or these prayers, was given the name of *secreta* or *secretae*. In the Clementine liturgy, the bishop was enjoined to pray silently, as well as the priests present, before he commenced the more solemn part of the service (εὐξάμενος οὖν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, *Apost. Const.* viii. 12). The Council of Laodicea, rehearsing the order of service (can. 19), says, "After the catechumens have retired, then the prayers of the faithful are to be made in three parts, the first with silence (εὐχὴ διὰ σιωπῆς), and the second and third with acclamation (διὰ προσφωνήσεως); then the kiss of peace is to be given," &c. Many of the fathers mention this prayer, and the titles of it as found in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom are given above.

Some (*e.g.* Bossuet) have conjectured that the word *secreta* is derived from the *secretio* (*secerno*), i.e. after the *separation* from the rest of the offerings of what was reserved for the eucharistic sacrifice, or after the separation of the catechumens from the faithful; but without ground, for the ancient sacramentaries, as well as the Greek, agree in the other interpretation, which is further proved by the *Book of Tours*, where we find these prayers called (not *secretae*, but) *arcanae*. The word is also used as an adjective, as in the Sacramentary of Bobio, "collectio secreta." The prayers were sometimes called *secretâ*, i.e. *submissâ* (*voce*). Indeed Amalarius and other writers put it beyond all question by the rationale of the practice they supply. Thus Rupertus (*de Divin. Offic.* c. 4) says, "The priest therefore standing in silence, and silently (*tacite*) saying the prayer over the oblations, prepares the holy sacrifice, because our Lord also, when He hid Himself, meditated the saving mystery of His own Passion. The silence of the priest designates the hiding-place of Christ. The priest says some things secretly, because, about the Passion of Christ, His disciples did not confess Christ but secretly." And so Amalarius (*de Eoc. Offic.* iii. 32): "The prayer is called *secret*, as being said secretly. In this the priest prays to be purged at the present time. It belongs to the priest alone, to offer sacrifice to God alone. And, therefore, because we speak out of our thoughts, no resounding voice is necessary, but words for this purpose alone, that the priest may be reminded what he ought to think." The same was put into verse by Hildebert, archbishop of Tours (see Durantus, *de Rit. Eoc.* ii. 29). See AMEN, 2. p. 75.

At the end of this "secret" prayer the priest, raising his voice (ἐκφώνως. Lit. St. Chrys.), then said the collect, "super oblata," and then proceeded aloud.

"The Leonian Sacramentary, as it has come down to us, provides proper prayers to be said over the gifts at the different days and seasons. They have no rubric or title, but in the later Gelasian are called *secretae*, in the Gregorian *super oblata*. The fact of their being said privately by the priest, and the frequent reference in them to the intercession of the saints, shew that they were not truly primitive. Yet the position of some may be justified by regarding them as a secret prayer of entrance on the *whole* sacrificial action of the liturgy. God is now besought to accept the elements for the holy use to which man is devoting them." (Scudamore, *Not. Euc.* pp. 371, 372.) Martene treats of this part of the ritual (vol. iv. lib. ii. cap. 2, § 29). [H. B.]

**SECRETARIUM.** Another name for the sacristy or diaconicum in the Latin church. The Council of Agde (can. 66) forbids lay officials "insacrati ministri" to enter the secretarium, called by the Greeks diaconicum, and touch the sacred vessels. The Saxon translation of the word in the passage of Beda (*H. E.* ii. 1) which records the burial of pope Gregory is "husel-portice," *Eucharistiae porticus*, i.e. the place where the eucharistic vessels were kept (Bevereg. *Pandect.* vol. ii. p. 76, *annotat.*). Dionysius Exiguus, in his Latin translation of the canons of Laodicea, writes, "quod subdiaconi a diaconico, i.e. secretario sint remoti." In the West the secretaria were frequently large apartments sufficient for the reception of a considerable number of people. Councils were not uncommonly held in them. Thus the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth councils of Carthage were held "in secretario basilicae restitutae," and that of Aachen in 836 "in secretario basilicae S. Mariae quod in Lateranis dicitur" (Cossart, xiv. 67; cf. Greg. Turon. lib. v. c. 19). The second Council of Arles, A.D. 452 (can. 15), ordained that "in secretario diacono inter presbyteros sedere non liceat" (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 1013). The word is sometimes used for the council itself, *e.g.* "venturo secretario," "praeterito secretario." Presbyters also sat in them to receive the salutations of the laity, or to hear and settle disputes. St. Martin sat in one "secretarium" while "in alio secretario presbyteri sederent, vel salutationibus vacantes, vel audiendis negotiis occupati" (Sulp. Sever. lib. iii. *Dial.* ii. c. 1). The "secretarium" also sometimes served as a lodging room. St. Martin slept there, and on his departure the virgins of the church rushed in and licked the place where he had sat, and parted the straw of his bed among them as a sacred treasure (*ibid.*). Paulinus of Nola describes the purpose of the two "secretaria" of his basilica, one as a vestry or sacristy, the other as a place of devout study, in the following lines.

To the right of the apse,

> "Hic locus est veneranda penus qua conditur, et qua
> Promitur alma sacri pompa ministerii;"

and to the left,

> "Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas
> Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris."
>
> *Epist. XII. ad Severum.*

Muratori says (*Mus. Ital.* tom. ii. p. xxii.) that in the older Roman basilicas the "secretarium" was usually placed towards the lower end of the nave to the south, *i.e.* on the man's side. An oratory was sometimes attached to it, as that at the Vatican dedicated to St. Gregory, and at the Lateran to St. Thomas. Here the popes robed themselves before the high festivals, and went thence to the altar. This agrees with the *Ordo Romanus*, which states that when the pope is about to celebrate, he does not go at once to the

altar, but proceeds first to the "secretarium," supported by his deacons.

Notices of "secretaria" are frequent in Anastasius. The first place of interment of Leo I. was "in abdito inferioris secretarii" at St. Peter's (Anast. § 163). Gregory IV. rebuilt at St. George's "secretarium diaconiae" (*ibid.* § 464); Benedict III. rebuilt the baptistery "cum secretario" at St. Mary's Trastevere (§ 572); and Nicholas I. that at St. Mary Cosmedin, and constructed in it a "triclinium cum caminatis" (§ 600). [E. V.]

**SECULAR.** The question about the word is whether in early Christianity it designated those who were not in holy orders, or those who were not living under monastic rule.

No very early passage is forthcoming in which the secular is contrasted with the monastic life. Even after the rise of the Benedictine system we find the term *secular* contrasted not with *regular* as applied to those living under monastic rule, but rather to *ecclesiastic;* for in the sixteenth Council of Toledo (A.D. 693) *secular* is applied to such as are not priests or bishops (*sacerdotes*, can. 6). So, again, in the fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633) the term *secular* seems almost equivalent to layman: "Quicunque ex secularibus accipientes poenitentiam totonderunt se, et rursus praevaricantes laici effecti sunt . . . ." (can. 55). Yet at this period the word seems to be hovering about its later sense as describing those who are unprofessed, for in the same council we have the following language: "Duo sunt genera viduarum, saeculares et sanctimoniales. Saeculares viduae sunt, quae adhuc disponentes, laicalem habitum non deposuerunt" (*Conc. Tol.* iv. can. 56). In the 8th century we find the term *secular* in the modern sense, as distinguished from *regular:* "Ut si quis secularium sanctae professionis famulatum subire desiderat, non antea tonsurae habitum suscipiat, quam illius conversatio ac morum qualitas secundum *monasticae regulae definitionem* manifestius probetur" (*Concil. Cloveshov.* ii. c. 24).

The word secular as applied to those who do not live in the monastery is found in those sermons, *ad Fratres in Eremo*, which pass under the name of Augustine. It is now, however, generally understood that these sermons are the production of an author long subsequent to the great Latin father, so that we cannot affirm that *secular* was used in its technical sense so early as St. Augustine's day. [H. T. A.]

**SECULARIZATION.** [ALIENATION.]

**SECUNDA (1),** July 10, virgin, martyr at Rome with Rufina, under Valerian (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*).

(2) July 17, one of the SCILLITANI.

(3) July 30, virgin, martyr at Tuberbolucernaria in Africa, with Maxima and others, under Gallienus (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SECUNDIANUS (1),** Feb. 17, martyr with Donatus, Romulus, and eighty-six others; commemorated at Concordia in Africa (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Hieron.*, Notker.).

(2) Aug. 9, martyr with Marcellianus and Verianus, under Decius; commemorated at Colonia in Etruria (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Hieron.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SECUNDINA,** July 17, one of the SCILLITANI.

**SECUNDINUS,** Feb. 21, martyr; commemorated at Adrumentum with Verolus and others (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Hieron.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SECUNDOLUS,** Mar. 7, called also Secundulus and Secundus [FELICITAS (1)].

**SECUNDULUS,** Mar. 24, commemorated in Mauretania with his brother Romulus (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker., Wand.). [C. H.]

**SECUNDUS (1),** Mar. 7, martyr. [SECUNDOLUS.]

(2) May 15, martyr in Spain, bishop of Avila, reputed to have been ordained by the apostles at Rome (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Vet. Rom.*, Adon.)

(3) June 20, martyr; commemorated at Sirmium (*Syr. Mart.*).

(4) June 30, martyr; commemorated at Synnada in Phrygia with Democritus and Dionysius.

(5) Aug. 26, martyr, leader of the Thebaean Legion; commemorated at Victimilium in Italy (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Vet. Rom.*, Adon.).

(6) Nov. 15, martyr; commemerated at Antioch with Orentius (*Syr. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**SECURUS,** Dec. 2, martyr in Africa with his brother Verus (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Hieron.*, Wand.). [C. H.]

**SEE** (Lat. *sedes;* Fr. *siége*). The history of the word *sedes*, in ecclesiastical usage, is exactly parallel to that of the word CATHEDRA (*q. v.*). Designating first simply a seat, especially a seat of dignity, it came to be especially applied to the seat of a bishop, and thence to the city in which he had his throne. Thus St. Augustine speaks of the cities, the churches of which had apostles for founders, as "sedes apostolicae," and in later times "sedes" came to designate what we call a "cathedral church." [DIOCESE.] [C.]

**SELEUCIA, COUNCILS OF** (SELEUCIENSIA CONCILIA); four in all. (1) A.D. 359, at which the Acacians or pure Arians were condemned by the semi-Arians. The formula composed by the latter is given in Latin by Mansi (iii. 315–326.)

(2) A.D. 410; but this was at the Persian Seleucia, where forty bishops and metropolitans are said to have met on Christmas Day, and passed twenty-two disciplinary canons, or, according to the Latin version of them published by Muratori, twenty-seven. But unless this Latin version misrepresents them seriously, its bare perusal more than confirms the doubts of their genuineness which he throws out (Mansi, *ib.* 1165–1174).

(3) In Persia likewise, but of the Nestorian body, when Acacius, their patriarch, whom Barsumas, the metropolitan of Nisibis, had accused of incontinence, proved his innocence. (Mansi, viii. 1173–1176.) The authors of *L'Art de vérif. les Dates* (i. 148) make two synods of this, and assign different work to both.

(4) A.D. 576, in Persia, and composed of Nestorians once more, whose bishops and metropolitans, it is said, requested their catholicos Ezekiel "ut fidem legesque Apostolorum patrumque *occidentalium* ipsis rursus ponere et confirmare dignaretur, quemadmodum predecessores ejus catholici facere consuevissent." This is too like the ground alleged by the bishops who formed the first of these Persian synods to be the effect of chance; but of the thirty-nine canons attributed to this synod, we have barely the headings of one-third to judge from. (Mansi, ix. 873.) [E. S. Ff.]

**SELEUCUS (1)**, Feb. 16, martyr with Pamphius and others at Caesarea, in the Diocletian persecution (Basil. *Menol.*).

(2) Mar. 24, martyr in Syria (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*).

(3) Sept. 15, martyr; commemorated in Galatia (*Syr. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**SEMANTRON***, or **SEMANTERION** (*σήμαντρόν, σημαντήριον,* also *τὸ ξύλον, τὰ ἱερὰ ξύλα*), substitutes for bells in the Greek church, usually of wood, sometimes of iron or brass. Goar (*Euchol.* 560) speaks of them as "perticae e ligno oblongae." There is so little change in the ritual of the Greek church that the present form of the "semantra" which are in daily use in the monasteries, under the name of "simandro,"[b] to call the monks to service, is probably that originally adopted. Neale describes a "semantron" as "a long, well-planed piece of timber, usually heart of maple, from 12 ft. and upwards in length, by 1½ ft. broad, and 9 in. in thickness." In the centre of the length, each edge is slightly scooped out to allow the priest to grasp it by the left hand, while he holds a mallet in the right, with which "he strikes it in various parts and at various angles, eliciting sounds not altogether unmusical." The semantra are usually suspended by chains from a peg in the proaulion (Neale, *Hist. of Holy East. Ch.* Introd. p. 217). The word for striking or sounding the *σήμαντρον* was the kindred verb *σημαίνειν*, either alone or with *ξύλον*, and also *κρούειν*. *Κροῦσμα* was used as the sound itself. Thus we find that the joy felt at Constantinople on the translation of the relics of St. Anastasius was shewn *τὰ ἱερα ξύλα σημάναντες* (*Concil. Nic.* ii. Sess. iv. Labbe et Cossart, xiii. 22). In the Life of St. Theodosius the archimandrite, given by Moschus (*Prat. Spirit.*), we read of some Eutychian monks of the party of Severus, who, to disturb the saint at his devotions, "beat the wood" at an unwonted hour, and of Theodosius beholding Nonnus praying, with a star over his head, *πρὸ τοῦ κροῦσαι τὸ ξύλον* (*ibid.* §§ 73, 74). St. Sabas rose for his devotions before the hour of striking, *πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κρούσματος ὥρας* (Cyril. Scythop. *Vit. S. Sab.* §§ 43, 59). The officer whose duty it was to sound the semantron was the candle-lighter, *κανδηλάπτης*.

Though usually of wood, the "semantra" were sometimes of iron, *ἁγιοσίδηρα*, or of brass. These were formed of slightly curved metal plates, and gave out a sound not unlike that of a gong.

Semantra were of different sizes, larger and smaller; *σ. μέγα, σ. μικρόν*. Thus we read in the *Typicon S. Sabae*, *κανδηλάπτης κατελθὼν σημαίνει τὸ μικρόν* (c. 1); *σημαίνει σήμαντρον μικρὸν καὶ συναγόμεθα ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι ψάλλοντες* (*ibid.* 57); and again, *κανδηλάπτης ἐξέρχεται, καὶ σημαίνει τὸ μέγα* (*ibid.* c. 1). The smaller were sounded first, then the larger (Goar, *Euchol.* p. 473), which were followed by those of iron. Theodore Balsamon, in a treatise devoted to the subject, compares the sounding of the little, great, and iron "semantra" to the preaching of the law and of the gospel, and the last trump. He says also that the congregations were summoned by three "semantra" in monasteries, and only by one large one in parish churches.

The slow deep notes, at long intervals, produced from the "semantra" at funerals, were called *αἱ βαρεῖαι*, and the striker was said *κρούειν τὰς βαρείας* (Goar, *Euchol.* p. 560).

"Semantra," from their size and shape, furnished formidable weapons, and were sometimes so used with fatal effect in a church brawl (Mich. Glyc. *Annal.* p. 302; Scylitzes, p. 637). [E. V.]

* An elegant epigram on a semantron is extracted by Neale (p. 219) from Allatius and Englished by himself.

[b] The vignette on the title-page of Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant* represents the beating of the *Simandro* in the outer court of a monastery.

**SENATOR**, Sept. 26, martyr; commemorated at Albanum (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*). [C. H.]

**SENATORIUM.** A term used in the ancient Roman *ordines* to designate the part of the church which was reserved for nobles. It was on the south side of the church opposite the part assigned to women. When the oblations were made by nobles, the pope or priest descended into the senatorium to receive them. The emperors, however, took their oblations to the altar itself. From the use of the term by Martene (*de Eccl. Rit.* I. iv. x. 4, vol. i. p. 155, fol.), it appears that at Rome the *senatorium* was that part of the church which was occupied by (what we should call) the aristocracy. When the pope was going to distribute the sacrament, after communicating those who were in orders, "descendit in senatorium, ubi magnates Eucharistia reficiebat." [H. T. A.]

**SENCHUS MOR**, a collection of ancient Irish laws, modified from the pagan code to meet the Christian requirements. It is the embodiment of ante-Christian Brehon law, and, with its additions, interpretations, and glosses, has formed the authoritative Brehon code from a very early date down even to the 16th century. But the time and circumstances of its compilation are matters of dispute. Ancient tradition and its present Introduction attribute it primarily to St. Patrick, who had acquired sufficient influence to procure a purgation of the pagan laws, and the infusion into them of a milder tone and purer Christian principles. This was between the sixth and the ninth years after St. Patrick's arrival, and in the reign of Laeghaire, monarch of Ireland (A.D. 428–463). The Irish *Annals of Ulster* and *Annals of Tigernach* give the exact year, A.D. 438 (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 101; iv. 1), a date which may point to the theory of the compilation as presented below. Nine are said to have been engaged

together in the work, viz. three kings, Laeghaire, with Corc king of Munster, and Daire, a chief in Ulster; three bishops, St. Patrick, Benignus his successor at Armagh, and Cairnech of Tuilen; and three poets or judges, Rossa, son of Trichem, Dubhthach mac Ua Lugair, and Ferghus (*Senchus Mor*, i. p. 5). This would assign the original draft of the *Senchus Mor* to about the middle of the 5th century, and the memory of St. Patrick's connexion with it was perpetuated by the deep reverence ever paid to its constitutions, and the name given to it of "Cain Patraic" or Patrick's law. It was also called Noıȷᵽıȷ or Noᵽıȷ, the knowledge of the Nine (*Senchus Mor*, i. 17).

But this Patrician origin has been keenly disputed (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 7, § 15), and had objections raised to it on the score of history and chronology (Petrie, *Hist. and Antiq. Tara Hill*, pass.; *Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad.* xviii. 52 sq.; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 482 sq., following Petrie). Its critics and opponents would grant it Christian authority, but of a date later than St. Patrick's time. But in the edition of the *Senchus Mor* (published under direction of the Commissioners for publishing the Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland, 3 vols. Lond. 1865 sqq.) the editor, Mr. W. Neilson Hancock, has met these objections and upholds the Patrician origin, while he shews that much has since been added, and allusions are made in it to interpretations and Brehon judgments of a much later date. The era of St. Patrick was peculiarly appropriate for the codification of the Brehon laws in Ireland, especially at the instance of a Roman citizen who had newly arrived from the Continent, where a similar process upon the Roman civil law was being carried out with all the weight of the imperial authority. The Theodosian Code received the imperial sanction in A.D. 438. (O'Curry, *Lect. Man. and Cust. Anc. Ir.* ii. 24 sqq., and *Lect. MS. Materials of Anc. Irish Hist.* 16. 91, ed. 1873; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 132–34 n.; Keating, *Gen. Hist. Ir.* B. ii.)

The *Senchus Mor* (derived from the Celtic root *sen*, old, and *mor*, in recognition of its authority) is in no sense an historical treatise, but is a body of laws, criminal, commercial, social, military and agrarian, containing the original text with a large collection of glosses, interpretations, and Brehon refinements. It is interesting as a record of ancient law, and doubly valuable as shewing the mellowing influences of Christianity upon heathenism. [J. G.]

**SENIOR**, a presbyter or priest, one belonging to the second order of the Christian ministry. The usage arose from the more common rendering of πρεσβύτερος in Scripture. Thus in Acts xv. 6 the early version gives "*Apostoli et seniores*" (Sabatier, *Bibl. Sacr. Vers. Ant.* iii. 549), and this is preserved by St. Jerome; similarly *ib.* 22 (Sab. 552; Hieron.) or 23 (*ib.*), xvi. 4 (Sab., Hier.). In Acts xiv. 2, xv. 23, St. Jerome gives *presbyteros*. The word is used in this sense by Tertullian (*Apol.* 39), Firmilian (*Ep. ad Cypr.* n. 75 inter *Epp. Cypr.* ed. Ben, "seniores et praepositi" = priests and bishops), and Paulinus (*Ep.* 4 *ad Amand.*, "nomine officioque seniores)." It occurs also in the *Missale Francorum*, "Probet se esse seniorem" (*Liturg. Gall.* Mabill. 307), and the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* of Thomasius and others, "Aedificet sacerdotes (the bishops) exaltet seniores, illustret Levitas" (the deacons) (*ibid.* 337). The prayers in which these occur are probably earlier than the codices in which we find them. We may mention, however, that so late as the beginning of the 7th century Gregory I., writing to a bishop in whose diocese Greek was spoken, uses the direct equivalent to the Greek term, "consensus seniorum et cleri" (*Epist. ad Joan. Panorm.* xi. 51). Compare PATRON, p. 1577. [W. E. S.]

**SENNES (1)**, July 30, martyr at Rome, with Abdon, Persian subreguli, under Decius (*Mart.* Bed., *Metr.* Bed., Flor., Usuard.; *Vet. Rom.*, Adon.; *Hieron.*, Notker., Wand.). The *Liber Antiphonarius* of Gregory has an office for their natale.

**(2)** Nov. 29, deacon, martyr; commemorated at Rome with the deacons Saturninus and Sisinnius [SATURNINUS (9)]. [C. H.]

**SENS, COUNCIL OF** (SENONENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 601, but the only thing, not purely conjectural, reported of it seems to be that St. Bethar, bishop of Chartres, was favourably received there. (Mansi, x. 485.) [E. S. Ff.]

**SEPTEM DORMIENTES** (SEVEN SLEEPERS OF EPHESUS), martyrs, Jan. 8, Mar. 4, Aug. 13 (*Cal. Ethiop.*); Jan. 19 (*Cal. Armen.*); Aug. 4, Oct. 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*); commemorated at Ephesus, Aug. 10 (*Mart. Hieron.*), June 27 (Notker.). [C. H.]

**SEPTEM FRATRES**, July 10 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*). Their intercessions are prayed for in the Gregorian Sacramentary on July 10. They must be the seven sons of Felicitas (cf. *Mart.* Bede, July 10). [C. H.]

**SEPTEM VIRGINES**, April 9; commemorated at Sirmium (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.* giving four only, Wand. giving five). [C. H.]

**SEPTIMIUS**, April 18, martyr; commemorated at Salonae with Hermogenes (*Syr. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**SEPTIMUNTIA, COUNCIL OF** (SEPTIMUNCENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 418 (?), one of the many councils of this period in Africa whose canons—in this case six—are known to us only through Ferrandus. (Mansi, iv. 439.) [E. S. Ff.]

**SEPTIMUS (1)**, Aug. 17, monk, martyr, with Liberatus an abbat, and others; commemorated in Africa (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.).

**(2)** Oct. 24, martyr, with Fortunatus, readers, under Diocletian; commemorated at Venusia (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.; *Vet. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**SEPTUAGINTA DISCIPULI DOMINI**, commemorated on Jan. 4 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

**SEPULCHRE, EASTER.** Amongst the many elaborate rites with which the ancient church solemnised the week before Easter was the ceremony of the Sepulchre. It is thus described in the ancient *ordinarium* of Bayeux: "On Good Friday a 'sepulchre' is prepared

towards the left horn of the altar, with cushion and costly linen. Inside this the bishop buries the cross, the reserved sacrament and the sacramental plate; an appropriate form of service is said; the sepulchre is censed, and closed; when all depart (according to a most ancient Rituale of Poictiers), leaving only two persons to guard the sepulchre, which remains till Easter."

Martene (*de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* IV. xxiii. 27) only gives examples of this in France and England (Sarum), and he furnishes no particulars from which the date of this singular performance can be inferred. There seems, however, no reason to suppose that it was coeval with the rise of transubstantiation, as it is plain that the practice of "reserving" the sacrament was one that existed centuries before that dogma was formulated. [H. T. A.]

**SEPULCHRE, THE HOLY.** It is now more than thirty years since the controversy on the site of the Holy Sepulchre was first fairly commenced,—though doubts were thrown upon the traditional site a hundred years ago by the German bookseller Korte. Dr. Robinson renewed the attack in 1842 by arguing that the second wall must have run outside the present church — a thing fatal to its traditions. The Rev. George Williams defended the site, maintaining that not only was there a continuous chain of historical evidence in its favour, but that the second wall could be proved to have run east of the church. Mr. Fergusson, in 1847, advanced the theory that the site was a forgery of the 10th century, the real site being that now occupied by the Dome of the Rock; and Mr. Finlay in the same year attempted a new and ingenious defence of the traditional site, to which we shall presently allude. Since then, many books have been written on one side or the other. Among them are the works of Professor Willis, De Vogüé, De Saulcy, Tobler, and Lewin. Colonel Wilson has produced the ordnance survey of Jerusalem; the rock levels of the city have been almost completely determined by him, Colonel Warren, Lieut. Conder, M. Clermont Ganneau, and Herr Schick; and Professor E. H. Palmer has published a translation of an Arabic historian, which makes the Dome of the Rock to have been built by Abd-el-Melek.

The question divides itself into two: (A) Is the present site that fixed upon by the officers of Constantine? and (B) Was that site certainly, or even probably, the true spot where our Lord was buried?

A. The evidence for the first question is historical and architectural. We propose to cite, as briefly as the subject permits, the chief historical evidence which bears upon the Holy Sepulchre from the Constantinian period.

I. [A.D. 326.] The sepulchre was recovered in the year 326. An account is given in some detail by an eye-witness of the whole event, the historian Eusebius. No doubt whatever has ever been thrown upon his trustworthiness. He says (*Life of Constantine*, Book iii. chap. xxvi. et seq.):

"It had been in time past the endeavour of impious men to consign to the darkness of oblivion that divine monument of immortality. . . This sacred cave certain godless persons thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men, supposing in their folly that thus they should be able effectually to conceal the truth. Accordingly, they brought a quantity of earth from a distance with much labour and covered the entire spot; then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound. Then, as though their purpose had been effectually accomplished, they prepare on this foundation a truly dreadful sepulchre of souls, by building a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure spirit whom they call Venus.* These devices of impious and wicked men against the truth had prevailed for a long time; nor had any one of the governors, or military commanders, or even of the emperors themselves, as yet appeared with ability to abolish these daring impieties, save only our prince. . . . He gave orders that the place should be thoroughly purified. . . . As soon as his commands were issued, these engines of deceit were cast down, . . . overthrown, and utterly destroyed. . . . Fired with holy ardour, the emperor directed that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth, and the soil . . . transported to a distant place. . . . But as soon as the original surface of the ground under the covering of earth appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection was discovered. . . .

"Immediately afterwards, the emperor sent forth injunctions granting ample supplies of money, and commanding that a house of prayer worthy of the worship of God should be erected near the Saviour's tomb, on a scale of rich and royal greatness . . . "

Here follows the letter of Constantine, in which occurs a remarkable passage, the following:—"That the monument of His most holy Passion, so long buried beneath the ground, should have remained unknown for so long a series of years until its reappearance, . . . is a fact which truly surpasses all admiration."

Eusebius resumes the narrative:—

"Accordingly, on the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings, a new Jerusalem was constructed over against the one so celebrated of old, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation. It was opposite this city that the emperor began to rear a monument to the Saviour's victory over death . . .

"First, he adorned the sacred cave itself . . . This monument, as the chief part of the whole, the emperor's zealous magnificence beautified with rare columns, and profusely enriched with the most splendid decorations of every kind. The next object of his attention was a space of ground of great extent open to the pure air of heaven. This he adorned with a pavement of finely-polished stone, and enclosed it on three sides with porticoes of great length; for at the side opposite to the sepulchre, which was the eastern side, the church itself was erected—a noble work rising to a vast height, and of great extent both in length and breadth."

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* A coin of Jerusalem, of the reign of Antoninus Pius, bears upon the obverse a temple of Venus. This coin is engraved in Williams's *Holy City*.

The description of this church follows:—

"In the next place he enclosed the atrium which occupied the space leading to the entrance in front of the church. This comprehended first the court, then the porticoes on each side, and lastly the gates of the court. This, then, in the midst of the open market-place, the entrance-gates of the whole work, which were of exquisite workmanship, afforded to passers-by on the outside a view of the interior, which could not fail to inspire astonishment."

II. The date of the "recovery" or "discovery" of the tomb, A.D. 326, was seven years before the anonymous Bordeaux Pilgrim visited Jerusalem. The buildings were then in progress, two years before the Dedication. The following is his evidence. Because, in his case, as well as in several others quoted, his words have been translated so as to mean quite different things, the Latin only is given.

He describes the Temple in its ruined condition, where there was shewn an "angulus turris excelsissimae," the pinnacle of temptation—"ad caput anguli et sub pinnâ turris ipsius, sunt cubicula plurima ubi Salomon palatium habebat;" no doubt the substructure still known as Solomon's stables. Colonel Warren has revived the tradition of the pilgrim by placing Solomon's palace on the spot. A remarkable passage follows: "In aede ipsâ ubi Templum fuit quod Salomon aedificavit, in marmore ante aram sanguinem Zachariae." What was the *aedes ipsâ?* And did the pilgrim confuse Hadrian's with Solomon's temple? If the memory of Herod as a builder had so completely perished, why not that of Hadrian? A line or two lower down he says, however, "sunt ibi et statuae duae Hadriani."

From the Temple he takes us to the Holy Sepulchre in the following words:—

"Item, exeunti in Hierusalem, ut ascendas Sion, in parte sinistrâ, et deorsum in valle juxta murum, est piscina, quae dicitur Siloa, habet quadriporticum . . . Inde eâdem viâ ascenditur Sion et paret ubi fuit domus Caiaphae sacerdotis, et columna adhuc ibi est, in quâ Christum flagellis ceciderunt. Intus autem, intra murum Sion, paret locus ubi palatium habuit David . . . Inde ut eas foris murum de Sion (eunti ad portam Neapolitanam) ad partem dexteram, deorsum in valle sunt parietes ubi domus fuit sive praetorium Pontii Pilati: ubi Dominus auditus est antiquum pateretur. A sinistrâ autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est crypta ubi corpus ejus positum fuit et tertiâ die resurrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini imperatoris basilica facta est, id est Dominicum mirae pulchritudinis, habens ad latus exceptoria unde aqua levatur et balneum à tergo ubi infantes lavantur."

III. [A.D. 337.] The Onomasticon places Golgotha on the north of Mount Zion.

IV. [A.D. 350.] While the temple of Venus with its foundations was being cleared away, there might have been, and most probably was present, a Christian lad, native of Jerusalem, eleven years of age, watching the discovery, which did as much as the great luminous cross which appeared in the sky four years later to confirm the doubtful and strengthen the faithful, that of the rock containing the sacred tomb. It was Cyril, afterwards bishop of Jerusalem. One must not forget that he is the third eye-witness who speaks of these things; that, though he was a boy at the time of the discovery, he lived in Jerusalem, and must have watched, step by step, the progress of the great basilica; that he was ordained before the completion and dedication of the buildings, and that many, if not all, of his lectures were delivered in the church of the Anastasis itself. "The kings of this day," he says, "have in their piety built this holy Church of the Resurrection . . . in which we are assembled."

The statements of fact which have been gathered from Cyril must therefore be admitted, unless there can be shewn any temptation to exaggerate, as exactly true. Four are important. They are as follows:—

(*a*) "The cleft which was at the door of the salutary sepulchre . . . was hewn out of the rock itself, as is customary here in the front of sepulchres. For now it appears not, the outer cave having been hewn away for the sake of the present adornment; for, before the sepulchre was decorated by royal zeal, there was a cave in the face of the rock."

(*b*) "Though the place"—outside the sepulchre—"is now adorned, and that most excellently, with royal gifts, yet it was before a garden, and the tokens and traces thereof remain."

(*c*) "The sepulchre consisted originally of a double cave, of which the exterior was cut away for the sake of the present adornment."

(*d*) "The entrance . . . was hewn out of the rock itself, as is customary here in the front of sepulchres. Now it appears not: the outer cave or vestibule having been hewn away for the sake of the present adornment; but before the sepulchre was decorated by royal zeal there was a cave in the face of the rock" (Lect. xiv.).

V. Sanctae Paulae Peregrinatio (circa A.D. 380). After praying at the Holy Sepulchre, she ascends Sion:—

"Inde egrediens ascendit Sion quae in arcem vel speculam vertitur. Hanc urbem quondam expugnavit et reaedificavit David."

VI. P. Eucherii epitome de aliquibus locis Sanctis (A.D. 427):—

"Situs ipse urbis pene in orbem circumactus, non parvo murorum ambitu, quo etiam montem Sion, quondam vicinum, jam intra se recipit, qui, a meridie positus, pro àrce urbi supereminet. Major civitatis pars infra montem jacet in planitie humilioris collis posita.

"Mons Sion latere uno, quod aquilonem respicit, clericorum religiosorumque habitationibus frequentatur: cujus in vertice planitiem monachorum cellulae obtinent ecclesiam circumdantes, quae illic, ut fertur, ab apostolis fundata pro loci resurrectionis dominicae reverentia.

"Primum de locis sanctis. Pro conditione platearum divertendum est ad basilicam quae martyrium appellatur a Constantino magno cultu extructa. Dehinc cohaerentia ab occasu insunt Golgotha atque anastasis; sed anastasis in loco est resurrectionis, Golgotha vero, medius inter anastasim ac martyrium, locus est dominicae passionis; in quo etiam rupes apparet quae quondam ipsam, affixo Domini corpore, crucem pertulit. Atque haec tum extra montem Sion posita cernuntur, quo se ad aquilonem deficiens loci tumor porrigit. Templum vero in inferiori

parte urbis in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum magnificeque constructum quondam miraculum fuit....

"Ab ea fronte montis Sion, quae praerupta rupe orientalem plagam spectat, infra muros atque e radicibus collis fons Siloa prorumpit."

VII. Theodori Liber de situ Terrae Sanctae (sixth century):—

"In medio civitatis est basilica. A parte occidentis intras in sanctam resurrectionem ubi est sepulcrum Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Et est ibi mons Calvariae ad quem montem per gradus callis est. Ibi Dominus crucifixus est et ibi est altare grande; sub uno tecto est. De Sepulcro Domine usque in Calvariae locum sunt passus numero XV. . . . De Calvariae loco usque in Golgotham passus sunt numero XV. . . . De Golgotha usque in Sanctam Sion passus numero CC, quae est mater omnium ecclesiarum. . . . De Sancta Sion ad domum Caiaphae quae est modo ecclesia Sancta Petri sunt plus minus passus numero L. De domo Caiaphae ad praetorium Pilati plus minus passus numero C. Ibi est ecclesia sanctae Sophiae."

Let us pause here to consider the position of Zion. It seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that all are agreed in describing as Zion the western hill. It is only on that supposition that the Bordeaux Pilgrim can be understood at all. Paula goes from the Church of the Sepulchre to *ascend* Zion, a phrase which has no meaning at all if Zion were the eastern hill and the Church of the Sepulchre built on the top of it. Eucherius speaks of the city lying below Zion, which can only be said of the higher hill, that on the west; and Theodorus places the basilica in the middle of the city, a statement which would never have been made of the Dome of the Rock. Again, there is nothing, as Lieut. Conder has remarked, in the Haram to correspond to the Golgotha of Theodorus, which was reached by steps.

VIII. Antoninus Placentinus undertook his journey at a date which is uncertain. It was, however, some time between Justinian and the Persian conquest. Very little reliance is to be placed on the statements or measurements of this traveller. He corroborates, however, the statement that the sepulchre was cut out of the rock:—

"Ingressi sumus in sanctam civitatem, in quâ adoravimus Domini monumentum . . . Ipsum monumentum in quo corpus Domini positum fuit, in naturalem excisum est petram. Lucernae hydria quae illo tempore ad caput ejus posita fuerat ibidem ardet diu noctuque: . . . Lapis vero unde clausum fuit monumentum ipsum est ante illud monumentum."

IX. On the conquest of Jerusalem by Chosroes II. in 614, the whole of the buildings were entirely destroyed, but rebuilt in 630.

The authorities for this statement are contemporary with the event. The *Chronicon Paschale*, Modestus (*de Persicâ Captivitate*), and Antiochus the monk—all three contemporary authorities—describe the destruction and the rebuilding of the church. The last-named writes: "Modestus . . . templa Salvatoris nostri quae quidem barbarico igne conflagrarunt in sublime erigit omni prorsus digna veneratione, puta aedes sanctae Calvariae ac sanctae Resurrectionis: domum insuper dignam omni honore venerandae Crucis, quae mater ecclesiarum est."

There seems to be little reason for doubting that this account is true. A statement supported by three contemporary independent authorities, and followed by all subsequent historians, has a strong groundwork of probability. Add to this the undoubtedly savage character of the Persian conquest, and the general consent that his camp followers were guilty of horrible atrocities. Add, too, the difference between the buildings described by Eusebius and the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and the churches described by Arculf, and there seems to be no room whatever for any doubt. The buildings of Constantine form a symmetrical and artistically-constructed whole. There was the sepulchre surrounded with pillars, and roofless. There was the open space, the atrium, and the market-place. In the buildings of the next period, as described by Arculf, Willibald, Eutychius, and other writers, there are three churches (not counting the small church of St. Mary), separate, without architectural connexion.

X. [circa A.D. 680.] We proceed to the account of Arculf. It was taken down from his own lips by Adamnanus, abbot of Columba in Iona. The date of the journey of Arculf cannot be determined; no one knows where he lived, or of what see he was bishop. He is made by Adamnanus to speak of "Majuvias, Saracenorum rex, qui *nostrâ aetate* fuit." Now Moawiyah, the first khalif of the Ommiades, reigned from 661–679. Mr. Wright thinks that the visit of Arculf to Jerusalem took place not long after that sovereign's death. If the conjecture be correct, he visited the town ten years before the reputed building by Abd-el-Melek of the Dome of the Rock. "On the spot where the Temple once stood, near the eastern wall, the Saracens have erected a square house of prayer, in a rough manner, by raising beams and planks upon some remains of old ruins; this is their place of worship, and it will hold about 3000 men. . . . The church of the Holy Sepulchre is very large and round, encompassed with three walls, with a broad space between each, and containing three altars of wonderful workmanship, in the middle wall at three separate points: on the south, the north, and the west. It is supported by twelve stone columns of extraordinary workmanship; and it has eight doors or entrances through the opposite walls, four fronting the north-east, four the south-east. In the middle space of the inner circle of the house is a round chamber, cut out of a single piece of rock, within which nine men can pray standing, and the roof of which is about a foot and a half higher than a man of ordinary stature. . . . Within, on the north side, is the tomb of our Lord, hewn out of the same rock, 7 feet in length, and rising three palms above the floor." These measurements were taken by Arculf with his own hand. "The tomb is broad enough to hold one man lying on his back, and has a raised division in the stone to separate the legs. The entrance" (*i.e.* of the loculus) "is in the south side, and there are twelve lamps burning day and night, according to the number of the twelve apostles. . . . . Internally, the stone of the rock remains in its original state, and still exhibits the marks of the workmen's tools: its colour is not uniform, but

appears to be a mixture of white and red." He goes on to describe the other churches which then formed the group—the square church of the Virgin Mary, and to the east the large church built on the site of Golgotha. "Under the place of the cross a cave is hewn in the rock, in which sacrifice is offered on an altar." If that is true, what has become of the cave, and how could a cave be cut in the rock east of the platform in the Haram esh-Shereef, where the ground has a slope of one in six? Adjoining the church of Golgotha to the east again was the basilica of Constantine—the Martyrion. Between the Anastasis and the Martyrion Arculf speaks of an open space, doubtless that described by Eusebius.

This description, with the rude plan which accompanies it, is evidently one extructed, so to speak, by numberless eager questions. Adamnanus wished above all things to form a clear idea in his own mind of the most holy of holy places.

XI. [A.D. 690.] The Dome of the Rock, which is according to Mr. Fergusson's theory Constantine's erection, over the Holy Sepulchre was built, according to Arabic historians, in this year by Abd-el-Melek. Three Arabic writers—Jelal-ed-Dîn, Kemel-ed-Dîn, and Mejr-ed-Dîn—agree in describing the erection by the Khalif. Prof. E. H. Palmer has given a full account from these sources in his *History of Jerusalem* (p. 79 et seq.). Eutychius, himself of Arab extraction, also ascribes the Dome to Abd-el-Melek.

XII. [A.D. 800.] The church of the Holy Sepulchre was given by Haroun-al-Raschid to Charlemagne.

XIII. [A.D. 765.] After the death of St. Willibald, who visited Jerusalem four times, the last about the year 765, a description of the sacred places was written by his biographer, apparently from his own narrative. It is found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, and is quoted by Mr. Fergusson, Canon Williams, and Professor Willis. As in the case of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, the words have been used by controversialists to support opposite views: "Et inde venit ad Hierusalem in illum locum ubi inventa fuerat sancta crux Domini. Ibi nunc est ecclesia in illo loco qui dicitur Calvariae locus: et haec fuit prius extra Hierusalem; sed Helena quando invenit crucem, collocavit illum locum intus intra Hierusalem.

"Et ibi stant nunc tres cruces ligneae foris in orientali plaga ecclesiae, secus parietem, ad memoriam sanctae crucis dominicae et aliorum qui cum eo crucifixi erant. Illae non sunt nunc in ecclesia sed foris stant sub tecto extra ecclesiam: et ibi secus est ille hortus in quo fuit sepulcrum Salvatoris. Illud sepulcrum fuerat in petra excisum, et illa petra stat super terram et est quadrans in uno et in summo subtilis.

"Et stat nunc in summitate illius sepulchri crux et ibi supra nunc aedificata est mirabilis domus et in orientali plaga in illa petra sepulchri est ostium factum per quod intrant homines in sepulchrum orare. Et ibi est intus lectus, ubi corpus Domini jacebat . . . . Ille lectus in quo corpus Domini jacebat stat in latere aquilonis intus in petra sepulchri et homini est in dextrâ manu quando intrat in sepulchrum orare. Et ibi ante januam sepulchri jacet ille lapis magnus quadrans in similitudine prioris lapidis quem angelus revolvit ab ostio monumenti."

XIV. About the year 870 the monk Bernhard visited Jerusalem. The following is his account of the second group of buildings:—

"Recepti sumus in hospitale gloriosissimi imperatoris Caroli, in quo suscipiuntur omnes qui causâ devotionis illum adeunt locum linguâ loquentes Romanâ; cui adjacet ecclesia in honore sanctae Mariae, nobilissimam habens bibliothecam studio praedicti imperatoris, cum xii. mansionibus, agris vineis, et horto in valle Josaphat. Intra hanc civitatem, exceptis aliis ecclesiis, quatuor eminent ecclesiae mutuis sibimet parietibus cohaerentes, una videlicet ad orientem, quae habet montem Calvariae et locum in quo reperta fuit crux Domini et vocatur basilica Constantini; alia ad meridiem: tertia ad occidentem, in cujus medio est sepulcrum Domini, habens ix. columnas in circuitu sui inter quas consistunt parietes ex optimis lapidibus; ex quibus ix. columnis iv. sunt ante faciem ipsius monumenti quae cum suis parietibus claudunt lapidem coram sepulchro positum, quem angelus revolvit et super quem sedit post peractam Domini resurrectionem. De hoc sepulchro non est necesse plura scribere cum dicat Beda in historiâ anglorum sua sufficientia . . . Inter praedictas igitur iv. ecclesias est paradisus sine tecto, cujus parietes auro radiant; pavimentum vero lapide struitur pretiosissimo habens in medio sui confinium iv. catenarum quae veniunt a praedictis quatuor ecclesiis in quo dicitur medius esse mundus."

XV. In the year 1010 the group of churches were all destroyed by order of the Khalif Hakeem. Of this fact there seems to be no doubt possible. It is attested by the following writers:—Raoul the Bald, Lib. III. chap. vii.; Ademar; Guido; William of Tyre; Abulfaragius; Makrizi; and it is acknowledged by Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*, and by De Sacy in his *Life of the Caliph Hakem Biamr Allah*. The churches, it is stated, were destroyed as completely as by Chosroes. It is related that the sepulchre itself was not spared —perhaps they broke the upper portion of the rock.

Scarcely had the buildings been destroyed than the capricious despot gave orders for them to be reconstructed. "Tunc," says Raoul, "de universo terrarum orbe incredibilis hominum multitudo exultanter Hierosolymam pergentes, domui Dei restaurandae plurima detulerunt munera." By the help of the emperor Romanus Argyros and his successor and the offerings of pilgrims, the churches were rebuilt in 1048.

XVI. [A.D. 1102.] It is hardly necessary to quote the long account given by Saewulf of the buildings as they were before the magnificent alterations made by the Crusaders. It is, however, most valuable in shewing what the buildings of the third period were—a circular church, with a group of churches and chapels round it. The description may be read in Prof. Willis's paper on the church (Williams's *Holy City*, vol. ii. p. 270).

No one has doubted, or ever will doubt, that the group of buildings described by Saewulf occupied the same site as that now covered by the modern church of the Holy Sepulchre. What follows, therefore, has no topographical importance, but affects the question whether the

present sepulchre is cut in the rock or built up.

XVII. [A.D. 1125.] The Russian abbot Daniel writes that the rock was, when he visited it, between thirty and forty years after the occupation by the Crusaders, cased in marble, with three circular openings in the front by which the stone might be touched and kissed.

XVIII. [A.D. 1185.] Phocas says that the sepulchre was divided into two parts, in one of which was a polished stone raised a cubit, on which was laid the Giver of Life; and a writer of 1187, just before Jerusalem was recovered by the Saracens, says that within the monument was the rock of the sepulchre. Travellers in 1211, 1322, and 1336 confirm the casing with marble and the three small holes in the southern side, by which the faithful could kiss and touch the rock. In the year 1480 Fabri resolved on examining the monument carefully to see whether any portion of rock remained: he found the wall in which the little door to the sepulchre is formed, *to be a naked rock in one piece, without joints, still shewing the marks of tools*,—"adhibito lumine petraeam parietem vidi, non quadris compositam, sed integram, in quâ instrumentorum ferreorum signa manifeste apparent." He concludes from this and other indications that the Holy Sepulchre had been destroyed, but not altogether; that it had been subsequently repaired and covered with marble, to prevent pilgrims from knocking off little bits as relics.

XIX. [A.D. 1555.] Bonifacius, then prefect of the council of St. Francis in Jerusalem, superintended extensive repairs in the church, during which he removed one of the alabaster slabs with which the Holy Sepulchre was covered and exposed the very tomb itself; and shortly after he discovered near Jerusalem, among the rock-cut tombs, one exactly resembling that of the Holy Sepulchre.

XX. Among the many scattered notices of the church and the temple area which have been carefully collected by the Rev. George Williams for his *Holy City*, we find a few indications of importance. Thus, when Julian's workmen were driven from their work by the "globes of fire," Sozomen says they took refuge *εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*. What was this *ἱερόν?* Was it the *aedes ipsa* mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim *ubi Templum fuit quod Salomon aedificavit?* Paschasius Radbertus, speaking from information given him by pilgrims, says that the monument (A.D. 848) was cut in rock; that it was all one stone, not many; and that a man could hardly reach to touch the roof. Eutychius (Saïd ibn Batrik) speaks of great damage done to the churches in the year 936 by the Moslems: "ecclesiae Constantini portas australes incendunt nec non dimidium porticus anno trecentesimo vicesimo quinto (A. H.) . . . Cranii locum cum (templo) Resurrectionis vastaverunt." This is the last fact recorded in his annals, and one can hardly suppose it to have been entirely without foundation. In 1130 the Russian abbot Daniel, as we have already seen, states that the rock was cased in marble, but had three circular openings in the front, through which it might be touched and kissed. William of Baldensel (A.D. 1336) was the first to express a doubt whether the tomb had not been built up. "Illud vero advertendum est quod monumentum . . . non est illud in quo corpus Christi sacratissimum examine primitus est immissum: quia sacro attestante eloquio monumentum Christi erat excisum in petrâ vivâ. Illud vero, ex petris pluribus est compositum de novo conglutinato cremento minus artificialiter et, minus quam deceat, ordinate."

XXI. In the above catena of evidence we have included everything that seems of real importance. There are many other and later accounts of the Holy Sepulchre—that in the Norman French, "La Citez de Jherusalem," which may be found in Williams's *Holy City;* those of the *Innominati* and others in Tobler's volume, *Palaestinae Descriptiones*. But they appear to add no new facts to help in the solution of the question.

Let us sum up the evidence.

It would appear, therefore, that Constantine (see his letter) thought the site had been entirely unknown, but that, according to Eusebius, the memory had been preserved, in spite of the "attempts of impious men;" that the emperor adorned the tomb with pillars, and built a basilica at some little distance from it, leaving the space between open and decorated with columns; that, according to the Onomasticon, Golgotha is north of Zion; that according to the Bordeaux Pilgrim, he who would go to Zion from the Temple must *ascend* in order to get there,—in which statement he is supported by Paula—also that if he would go outside the town from Zion to the Neapolitan gate, *i.e.* the gate which leads to Neapolis (Nablûs), the Praetorium of Pilate is *on the right, deorsum in valle;* that all writers alike, from Cyril, an eye-witness in 326, to Father Fabri, an eye-witness in 1480, declare that the tomb is cut in the rock; that there is room in the sepulchre for nine men standing—not kneeling—the area of the present sepulchre available for standing is from 20 to 26 square feet, just enough for that number; that the height is such as a man can hardly reach with his fingers—it is from 7 to 8 feet; that the churches were destroyed in 614 and rebuilt, probably much after the same plan in 630; that according to a doubtful authority (Cedrenus, who has not been quoted above) the churches were burned at the time when the emperor Nicephorus II. took Damascus and recovered Northern Syria; that in 1010 not only were the churches overthrown but also the sepulchre was partially destroyed, by order of the Khalif Hakeem; that considerable alterations were made by the Latin conquerors; and that from the conquest of Saladin, despite the destruction of the sculptured columns before the sepulchre by the Charezmians in 1244, no great change was made in the church till the fire of 1808 necessitated a rebuilding from the old foundations. Professor Willis has pointed out that these accounts of repeated demolitions, burnings, and reconstructions, should be received with certain deductions. When an immense building or group of buildings is destroyed, it is done generally by the hands of hurried conquerors. The foundations remain, with some of the walls, as may be witnessed to this day on the eastern side of the Tyropaeon valley, where stand the stones of Herod's Temple, known as the Jews' Wailing Place. It would be interesting

indeed to know what portions, if any, of the present church belong to the first, second, or third group; to trace, as far as possible, the remains of the buildings described by Saewulf; to ascertain what are left of the reconstructions of Modestus; to establish how much is left of the Crusaders' church; and, if possible, to find what belongs to the churches destroyed by Hakeem. This has been attempted by the count de Vogüé in the *Églises de la Terre Sainte*.

XXII. So far then, from Constantine downwards, the history of the Holy Sepulchre has appeared to most students a clear and continuous record of events which, exaggerated perhaps by the imaginary terrors of eye-witnesses and the zeal of historians, were really enacted around the site where now stands the traditional Holy Sepulchre. But in 1847 objections of an entirely novel kind were raised by Mr. James Fergusson, whose reputation as a student of architecture at once commanded a respectful hearing. He declared, on an examination (1) of the drawings, sections, and plans prepared by Messrs. Bonomi and Catherwood, and (2) after a personal visit to Jerusalem, that the Dome of the Rock, which he called the Masjid or Mosque of Omar, could not have been built by Abd-el-Melek in the 7th century; that not only the Arabs could not have erected such a building, but that no Christian architects of the period could have designed it; that, finally, it belongs, and can only belong, to the time of Constantine.

If of that time, then why have we no account of it? And what else can this splendid and richly ornamented erection be, but the structure placed up by the emperor's command around and over our Lord's place of sepulture?

This revolutionary theory necessitated many others: that the cave under the dome is our Lord's sepulchre; that Zion was also the Temple mount; that the Temple was in the S.W. angle of the Haram; that the eastern wall was built by Agrippa after the Crucifixion; that the second wall might run without the present church; that the northern part of the Haram area was a place of tombs, with other consequences.

Many solutions have been proposed to meet the difficulties of this theory, first started by Mr. Fergusson, but they have never yet been answered with such fulness as to convince him or his followers. Mr. Lewin (*Siege of Jerusalem*, p. 145) suggested that, when they wanted to build the Dome, the Arabs brought over as many pillars and other ornaments as they required from the church of Constantine over the Holy Sepulchre, on the opposite hill.

The count de Vogüé pronounced the building to be Byzantine in character, the work of Christian artists (*Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 82): "La disposition de l'édifice, prise dans son ensemble, est toute byzantine: un siècle avant l'hégire, les architectes byzantins bâtissaient des églises polygonales ou rondes, telles que celles de Bostra et d'Ezra, édifices datés du sixième siècle, qui se rattachent eux-mêmes par les églises Constantiniennes d'Antioche, de Saint-Constance de Rome, aux temples circulaires de l'antiquité. Sous Abd-el-Melek, les Arabes n'avaient pas d'art qui leur fut propre: ou du moins, s'ils avaient des tendances spéciales, un goût particulier pour telle forme ou tel motif de décoration, ils n'avaient ni écoles ni artistes de profession, et surtout ils n'avaient pas d'ouvriers en état de mener à bonne fin une grande construction: il serait injuste de dire qu'ils n'avaient aucune notion de l'art de bâtir, puisque les villes du centre de l'Arabie sont construites en maçonnerie de pierre et de bois, et certainement ces constructions, sur lesquelles nous manquons absolument de renseignements précis, devaient par quelque côté avoir leur originalité: mais à Jérusalem, en Syrie, en Égypte, dans les pays récemment soumis à leur domination, ils n'avaient que des soldats et des fonctionnaires: pour bâtir les nouveaux monuments de leur culte, ils durent s'adresser aux vaincus, à la population indigène qu'ils avaient convertie en force, mais non changée ni déplacée. Souvent même ils firent venir du dehors les artistes que le pays ne pouvait pas leur fournir: la grande mosquée de Damas fut décorée par des mosaïstes que le Khalife Al-Walid demanda directement à l'empereur d'Orient. . . . . Les renseignements historiques manquent sur la nationalité des architectes du Qoubbet es Sakhrah, mais le style du monument est un guide au moins aussi sûr que les chroniques arabes et ne laisse aucun doute sur le caractère byzantin de l'édifice. Mais quoique byzantin par le style, il n'a rien de chrétien: le trait principal qui le distingue des églises que lui ont servi de modèle est l'absence d'abside. . . . . L'abside est le signe distinctif des églises primitives, et son absence ici prouve que les architectes du Qoubbet es Sakhrah, dont en bâtissant suivant les habitudes byzantins, surent donner au monument le caractère musulman."

XXIII. But if the architectural argument of Mr. Fergusson, to shew that the Dome of the Rock is the work of Constantine, has never been disproved to the satisfaction of his followers, it must be also acknowledged that the objections to the corollary to the theory, that it is the monument raised by the emperor over the Holy Sepulchre, have also never been satisfactorily answered.

They are, as may be gathered from the foregoing historical evidence, briefly as follows:—

1. Constantine built no dome or church at all over the sepulchre. He simply ornamented it with columns.

2. It appears certain from the Bordeaux Pilgrim and others that the Zion of the 4th century was on that part of the city where it is now placed.

3. From the Onomasticon it is also certain that Golgotha was on the north of Zion.

4. Cyril says that the tomb had a vestibule, "as is customary here in the front of sepulchres." What sign of a vestibule can be found to the cave of the dome?

5. There was room for only nine men to pray, standing. This exactly fits the present tomb.

6. Paula, after leaving the church, had to *ascend* in order to get to Zion. How can one ascend from the Dome of the Rock, which is on the top of the hill?

7. How far is the theory that the church is that built by Constantine—even making all allowances for damages at various times, repairs, and additions—compatible with the two complete destructions by Chosroes and Hakem?

8. The time assigned to the proposed transference of the old to the present site, that of the wars between Nicephorus II. and the Khalif Muez,

is that when the passion for pilgrimages was the strongest, and the tide of pilgrims the most continuous. Can we believe, then, that a vast conspiracy—including bishops, priests, monks, pilgrims, and those who came and went each week—should have succeeded in transferring at one *coup* the whole of the sites, real and legendary, from one part of the city to another; that the conspiracy was joined in by all new comers while the churches were in process of erection; and that of all the hundreds necessarily engaged in this forgery, not a single one went home and told the tale, not one was found to write it? Nor was it only the pilgrims who would be pressed into complicity with the plot. There were the merchants who flocked every September to the great fair of Jerusalem—regular traders, who came year after year and knew the city, from Byzantium, Genoa, Venice, London, Marseilles, to buy spices, sugar, silks, and rich stuffs. These would have to join in the plot, and might perhaps have done so, being friends and brother Christians. But for the last thirty years of the century, Jerusalem was substituted for Mecca, and an immense number of Moslem pilgrims poured yearly into the Holy City. Was it likely that not one of these merchants, admitting their complicity, should carry home the tale? that not a single hostile Jew—Jerusalem was full of Jews, carrying on a rich trade in dyeing stuffs—should seize the opportunity of a scoff at the Christian? and that not one Mohammedan writer should tell how the worshippers of the Cross had combined together to invent a lie? Such a conspiracy *may* have been successfully carried through, but it seems most improbable. Such complicity and agreement between hostile fanatics seems impossible.

9. If the Dome of the Rock again was the Church of the Sepulchre, then, for 300 years, we must suppose the Christians and the Moslems entering the same sacred enclosure side by side, as friends, for prayer and worship. Nothing has ever been found in the Haram area itself, or in any book, to warrant the belief of a wall of separation between the Mosque el Alka and the dome.

10. The history of the building of the dome by Abd-el-Melek is as clear and precise as that of the building of St. Paul's by Wren. Three Arab historians relate it with such small difference as tend to shew their general fidelity. It may be urged that these wrote some hundreds of years after the events. That is true. There remains, however, an older record. In the building itself a long Cufic inscription in mosaic runs round the colonnade. "In the name of God . . . . the servant of God" (read Abd-el-Melek), "the commander of the faithful, built this dome in the year 72" (A.D. 691).

11. Eutychius (*Annales*, ii. 289) says that the Christians had built no church "within the area of the Temple," on account of the denunciations of the Lord, and had left it in ruins. The "area of the Temple" in the 10th century was surely the present Haram area.

12. Our Lord's tomb was rock-cut (Luke xxiii. 53), and after the general fashion of tombs in Jerusalem. What resemblance has there been found between the cave under the dome and a Jewish tomb?

13. Lastly, though more objections might be advanced, consider the express statement of the eye-witness Cyril, that the tomb was rock-cut, after the fashion of tombs in Jerusalem, and that it had a vestibule. Couple with this the fact that it had room for only nine men *standing*, and that there was in it, along the north side, a place open to the south, three palms high, large enough for the body of a man. Now the cave under the dome contains more than 500 square feet; it may possibly be rock-cut, but it certainly has no resemblance to a Jewish tomb; there is no vestibule, and no appearance of there ever having been any; there is no loculus, and no place apparent to the eye where there ever could have been one.

These objections and many others of equal and minor importance may be satisfactorily disposed of, but at present they remain to be met. And there are a large body of those interested in the question, who are content to accept De Vogüé's proposed solution of the architectural difficulty; who can refer all the accounts of pilgrims without difficulty to the present site; who hold that the modern site is that spoken of by Eusebius, Cyril, and the unknown pilgrim from Bordeaux, the three contemporary witnesses.

B. The next question is, whether the site is genuine? Was our Lord really entombed in the place now shewn to visitors and pilgrims?

I. Historically the evidence is very scanty.

The place was "nigh to the city" (John xix. 20); there was a garden in the place where He was crucified (John xix. 41); the sepulchre was in the garden (John xix. 41); it was a rock-cut tomb (Luke xxiii. 53; Mark xvi. 46; Matt. xxvii. 60); it was "without the gate" (Heb. xiii. 12), that is, without the second wall.

There is no other direct evidence on the site of the tomb, though indications may be found, by the light of which theories may be examined. Thus, it will be conceded that the place was a frequented spot, or at least so near the city that it was easily accessible by the crowds who went out to see the Crucifixion; that it was perhaps so near as to be visible from the Temple wall (John xix. 20, 21); that it was probably near a road leading from one of the city gates (Mark xv. 21); and, though this is less probable, that it was near the Gennath gate, or Gate of Gardens.

II. For 300 years there is silence as regards the sepulchre. Early in the 3rd century, in 212, Alexander goes to Jerusalem to see "the holy places" generally. Origen speaks of the cave at Bethlehem as proof of our Lord's birth. Surely, it is argued, if he had known of the sepulchre, he would have seen in that stronger proof still of the Resurrection. On the other hand, it is assumed that he knew of it, but, by reason of the mound of earth erected purposely to hide it, he could not see it.

III. In the absence of evidence we fall back on theory. There are two lines of argument:

1. Those who do not believe in the authenticity of the site contend that the early Christians took no care to preserve the memory of any sacred place; that after their return from Pella they found Jerusalem a heap of ruins, with the tenth legion encamped either upon or close to the modern site (if that was the true one), a fact which by itself would have prevented them from visiting it; that, after the revolt of Barcochebas, the Christians were confounded by the Romans

with the Jews, chased from the spot, and only tolerated when they shewed their distinction by electing a Gentile bishop; that the traditions of the past vanished with the Judaizing or Jewish Christians; that the spot chosen for the church was selected from some vague tradition of quite recent growth, from some fancied resemblance of ground, from some remains of gardens, or even by conscious and designed imposture.

2. On the other hand, the supporters of the tradition point out the improbability that such a place as the scene of the Resurrection, the stupendous importance of which has ever been present to all Christian teachers, should be forgotten by those on the spot. They argue that the Christians must have returned to Jerusalem very shortly after the siege, because they were able to elect for their bishop, in the place of the martyred James, Simeon, son of Clopas, brother of our Lord; that although houses and walls may be destroyed, streets and the site of gates remain to mark the places where old associations cling; that the tradition is unbroken; that the words of Eusebius clearly convey the fact that the site was known to all Christians in Jerusalem; and that when the historian speaks of old records from which he compiled his list of the early bishops, he suggests the very records which preserve the memory of the site.

IV. We may here briefly notice the theory, already referred to, of Mr. Finlay. It is this: The whole of the vast Roman empire, he says, had been exactly mapped and planned by the imperial *agrimensores*, under Augustus. On these maps everything — a group of trees, a garden, a vineyard, or a field—was accurately laid down. Of course, therefore, Mr. Finlay argues, the name of Golgotha or that of the tomb of Joseph would be found, and all Constantine had to do was to order a search in the survey map and send to Jerusalem word where to look for the sepulchre.

This is ingenious, but it hardly satisfies opponents of tradition, who say that it would be absurd to expect in any map the name of one tomb among many, or even the name of a certain obscure place outside the city; that it is not clear that Palestine was regularly re-examined; and that it is perfectly clear from the historian that Constantine pursued no such line at all, being under the impression that the tomb, if not the site, was unknown. On the other hand, the upholders of the site do not want the aid of an argument which requires the concession of so many improbable things.

V. We have, lastly, to notice the topographical argument.

The sepulchre was without the wall: *i.e.* the second wall, which, starting from Gate Gennath (Gate of Gardens), near the town of Hippius, ran to the fortress of Antonia, in some sort of curve — *κυκλούμενον*. The course of this second wall has yet to be traced. If it is proved to run *outside* the sepulchre, then the site must be at once abandoned. In 1862 a portion of a massive wall was found, about 12 feet deep, just south of the church. (Lewin, *Siege of Jerusalem*, p. 215.) Its stones were about 7 feet long by 5 feet wide, and shewed the well-known marginal draft. In 1874 M. Clermont Ganneau (Quarterly Statement, Palestine Exploration Fund, 1874, p. 145) found and partly traced a scarp which he ingeniously connects with the second wall. At present, however, we may admit that the course of the second wall has never yet been made out to the satisfaction of all. Until it has been followed from end to end, or at least until its foundations and general course have been established beyond a doubt, we cannot say with certainty whether or no the present site is within or "without the gate."

We may add that the latest writer on the subject, Lieut. Conder, R.E. (*Tent Work in Palestine*), argues from the rock levels, that the wall must have passed outside the church. He has discovered a place north of the city called the Place of Stoning, which, from the conformation of the ground as well as the name, he suggests as the real site of Golgotha.

There is one fact which makes in favour of the present site. It is that the church stands over at least one tomb of undoubted antiquity, and perhaps stands over many. It has long been suspected that the so-called tomb of Joseph of Arimathaea which is shewn within the church was a genuine rock-cut Jewish tomb. Professor Willis states the fact as already proved. Dr. Robinson, however, denied its antiquity. Colonel Wilson (Q. S. notes, p. 53) speaks of the place as an undoubted tomb with rock-cut *loculi*. M. Clermont Ganneau has proved beyond a doubt (Quarterly Statement, Pal. Explor. Fund, 1877, p. 81) that it was a tomb of the well-known type with three *loculi* on each side, in which he has been corroborated by Colonel Wilson (Quarterly Statement, 1877, p. 128), and has tried to shew that it is connected with another sepulchre cut in the rock beside it at a lower level. One may fairly argue, therefore, that by whatever means this site was chosen for that of our Lord's sepulchre, whether by transference, or by tradition, or by imposture, it was chosen with the knowledge that here had been a place of tombs. Now the only known tombs within the second wall were those of the kings and the prophetess Huldah.

It will be seen that, while no amount of argument will ever reconcile those who hold opposite views as to the continuity of tradition from the earliest times, the continuity of history from the time of Eusebius appears fairly demonstrable. On the other hand, if it cannot be disproved by architects that the Dome of the Rock is of the age of Constantine, what way out of the difficulty remains but one, that pointed out by Mr. Fergusson, itself bristling with other difficulties? A careful and exhaustive examination of this building on the spot by a thoroughly competent architectural scholar is greatly to be desired. That, indeed, seems the chief thing necessary. The next step, if it should not be the first, is the recovery beyond any doubt of the second wall. These two desiderata accomplished, and the rock-levels of the city—already far advanced—completed, the question of the site of the Holy Sepulchre will be narrowed to one or two issues. [W. B.]

**SEQUENCE.** [PROSA.]

**SEQUESTRATION.** [ALIENATION.]

**SERAPHIA**, Sept. 3, virgin, martyr under Hadrian; commemorated at Rome (*Mart. Usuard.*; *Vet. Rom.*, Adon., Notker.). [C. H.]

**SERAPION** (1), Jan. 31, martyr, belonging to Corinth, with Victorinus and others, in the reign of Decius (Basil. *Menol.*, where he is named Sarapion); Jan. 30 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); Feb. 25 in Egypt (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*); Apr. 5 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Mar. 19, martyr with Bassus (*Syr. Mart.*).

(3) Mar. 21, anchorite, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Vet. Rom.*, Adon.; *Hieron.*, Notker.).

(4) Mar. 26, reader, martyr; commemorated at Pentapolis in Libya, with Theodorus a bishop, Irenaeus a deacon, Ammonius a reader (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.; *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.).

(5) May 14, bishop of Antioch; commemorated with Aphrodisius (*Syr. Mart.*).

(6) May 21, martyr with twelve others at Alexandria (*Syr. Mart.*).

(7) May 24, Egyptian bishop and martyr under the emperor Antoninus (Basil. *Menol.* SARAPION; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

(8) July 13, martyr under Severus (*Syr. Mart.*).

(9) Aug. 18, martyr at Rome with Hermas and Polyaenus (Basil. *Menol.*).

(10) Aug. 27, martyr with Marcellinus, Mannea, and others; commemorated at Tomi (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Hieron.*, Adon.).

(11) Sept. 14, presbyter, martyr (*Syr. Mart.*).

(12) Nov. 14, martyr at Alexandria under Decius (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Vet. Rom.*, Adon.). [C. H.]

**SERENA**, Aug. 16, martyr, once the wife of Diocletian (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.; *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SERENUS**, June 28, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria with Plutarchus and others (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.; *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SERGIUS** (1), Jan. 2, martyr (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Feb. 2, disciple of St. Paul (*Cal. Armen.*).

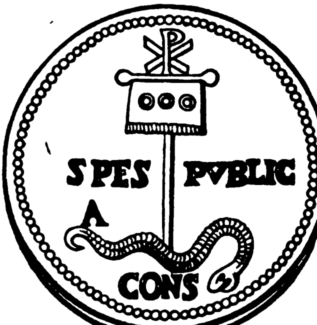
(3) Feb. 24, martyr; commemorated at Caesarea in Cappadocia (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Vet. Rom.*, Adon.; *Hieron.*, Notker.).

(4) Oct. 7, martyr with Julia and Bacchus in Euphratesia, under Maximian (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.; *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.; *Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**SERMON** (*Sermo*, &c.). The sermon, considered as part of the liturgy, always followed immediately after the Gospel, and thus preceded the dismissal of the catechumens in the Eastern church (*Constitt. Apost.* lib. ii. 57, viii. 4; *Ordo Rom.* vi. 7). This appears to have been its liturgical position from the very earliest times. Justin Martyr, describing Christian worship in the 2nd century, says, "When the reader (of the lections) has finished, the priest (προεστώς) admonishes and exhorts by word of mouth (διὰ λόγου) to the imitation of these noble deeds" (*Apol.* i. 65–67). Later on the first council of Orange is quoted as alluding to the place of the sermon as "intra missarum sollemnia habitum." Caesarius of Arles used sometimes to order the doors to be shut after the Gospel, to prevent people going out before the sermon (Cyprian Telonens. *Vit. S. Caesar.* lib. i. § 19). St. Gall (7th century) is recorded to have preached the consecration sermon after the Gospel had been read, on the occasion of the elevation of Joannes Diaconus to the episcopate (Wal. Strabo, *Vit. S. Galli*, i. 25; see Audoenus, *Vit. S. Eligii*, ii. 22). In St. Chrysostom's time the sermon was prefaced, *in common with other distinct portions of the liturgy*, with the versicle and response, "The Lord be with you," *R.* "And with thy spirit," and was closed with a doxology to the Holy Trinity (*Ep. ad Col.* Hom. iii. p. 348). Further information on this and similar points is given under PREACHING, p. 1684, and HOMILY, p. 781. [F. E. W.]

**SERPENT.** (See DRAGON and DEVIL.) There is this distinction between representations of the serpent and the dragon in Christian symbolism: that the former represents the evil power in its tempting office, as inviting to sin (Bottari, ii. 60, &c.), and the latter generally points to evil or the evil one in his destructive function, as the permitted agent of punishment. A gem given by Gori (*Thes. Diptych.* vol. iii. p. 160) represents the serpent twined about the cross and apparently tempting two doves [CROSS, p. 495]. Whether the serpent on the cross may not in this instance have reference to the brazen serpent (Numb. xxi. 9; John iii. 14) seems doubtful.

The early church simply followed Holy Scripture in its use of the serpentine symbol. Primarily it meant the power of evil; secondarily, it referred to the brazen serpent, as a type of the sacrifice of our Lord for man. In the first or direct form of symbolism, its use will date from the time of Constantine. He caused himself to be represented (see Eusebius, *in Vit. Constantin.* iii. 3) as piercing the dragon or serpent with the Labarum; and the same idea is repeated on one of his medals (woodcut No. 1),




No. 1. Serpent and Labarum (from Martigny, p. 611).

and afterwards on Constantius's (Aringhi, ii. p. 705; see Baronius, ad ann. 325; Gretzer, *de Cruce*, t. iii. l. i. c. 5). The ancient dragon form on the vexillum was continued by Constantine, with the monogram placed above it [DRACONARIUS, p. 579].

Continual use is made of the serpentine or lacertine form in Irish and Anglo-Saxon orna-

ment from the earliest date (see Westwood's *Palaeographia Sacra*, on the book of Kells and other ancient MSS.). This is of course in great part a result of the northern taste for plaited and interlaced ornament; and the forms to which snake heads are attached are generally mere ribands. Still Professor Westwood appears inclined to connect their continual recurrence with a symbolism of temptation, of the fall of man, and his spiritual enemies; perhaps, behind this, to fainter traditions of ancient Ophidian worship of the principle of evil or destruction.

The earliest representation of this kind in Christian Art is the great book-cover of the Vatican, representing the youthful Christ treading on the lion and adder (figured by Gori, *Thes. Dipt.* vol. iii. p. 32, tab. iv.; Westwood, *Fictile Ivories*, pp. 51, 55).

The appended woodcut of St. Michael trampling on the serpent or dragon, in his character alike of tempter of man and enemy of God, is certainly well within our period, and of some beauty and importance, as illustrating a transition (perhaps by the hands of some skilled northern workman)

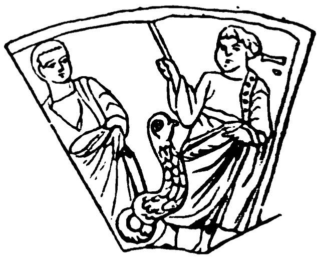


No. 2. St. Michael and Serpent (from Gori's *Thesaurus Diptychorum*).

from classic Roman to high Gothic art. Some of the perpendicularity of the harsher Byzantine is there, but, on the whole, the older classic style has not yielded to it. The drapery is too complicated, and, with the oval *cetr*., may remind us of Saxon work; nevertheless the figure is worthy of the best Gothic of later times, which it strongly resembles.

The various Ophite or Basilidean-Christian heretics made much use of the serpent on amulets, &c. (see GEMS, p. 721, Nos. 3, 4), and it appears from Augustine (*de Haeres.* cap. xvii. and xlvi.) that the Manicheans used it as a direct type of our Lord. See King (*Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii. p. 20, note), where the dove, with an olive leaf and perched on a wheat-sheaf, represents the church, and is supported by a lion and a serpent, evidently with reference to Matt. x. 16.

Our Lord's reference to the serpent of the wilderness as a type of Himself would give the early church the same natural reason for using it as a graphic symbol, as for the use of the Good Shepherd. Nevertheless, it seldom occurs, although it is the first "image" which occurs to Tertullian as permissible in his protest against all such things in *De Idololatria*, iii. St. Ambrose dwells on it thus (*De Spiritu Sancto*, lib. iii. c. 9): "Imago enim crucis aereus serpens est: qui proprius (*De Salomon.* cap. xii. et *Serm.* lv. *De Cruce Christi*) erat typus corporis Christi: ut quicunque in eum aspiceret, non periret."



No. 3. Serpent (from Martigny, p. 612).

Martigny also gives a woodcut, which we here repeat (No. 3), from a gilt glass, without reference, which, as he says, may represent Moses with his rod, and the brazen serpent, with a person who represents the Jewish people contemplating the latter. But from the large size of the serpent, and the calm attitude of the spectator, the subject may possibly be the rod-serpent as he appeared before Pharaoh, after swallowing all the others.

There still exists in the nave of St. Ambrogio at Milan a brazen serpent on a granite column, to which a number of stories are attached. It appears from Aringhi (*Roma Subterranea*, vol. ii. p. 453, bk. iv. 4) that it was given to Arnulf, bishop of Milan, at Constantinople in 1101; he having gone there as ambassador from Otho III. (see Ferrari, *Monum. di S. Ambrogio*, p. 20). It is not likely to be any remnant of a heathen temple of Aesculapius on the spot, and is probably an Alexandrian talisman of the 3rd or 4th century. (Murray's *Handbook of Northern Italy*, p. 158.) This reminds us of the singular wreathed or triple serpent-pillar still in the hippodrome of Constantinople,[a] said to be the same as that

[a] Its identity with the Delphic offering of Persian spoils after Plataea is now established (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 391).

partly shattered but not destroyed by Mohammed II. in 1453, at the Turkish storm of the city. The story may be an invention of Thévenot's, and the pillar is a mere wreck (see De Quincey, *Miscellanies, chiefly narrative*, p. 345, ed. 1854). At Milan it was long believed to have been received by Arnulf as the identical brazen serpent of the wanderings, and accordingly held miraculous, till Carlo Borromeo seems to have remembered or rediscovered that that relic had been destroyed by Hezekiah. He forbade any honours being paid it accordingly. [R. St. J. T.]

**SERVANDUS**, Oct. 23, martyr with Germanus in Spain (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon.). [C. H.]

**SERVATIUS**, May 13, bishop of Tongres, confessor (*Mart.*, Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon., Notker.). [C. H.]

**SERVICE.** [OFFICE, THE DIVINE.]

**SERVILIANUS**, Apr. 20, martyr; commemorated with Sulpicius at Rome (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SERVILIUS**, May 24; commemorated with Zoellus or Joellus in Histria (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*). [C. H.]

**SERVIUS**, Aug. 17, subdeacon; commemorated in Africa (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SERVULUS** (1), Feb. 21; commemorated with Verolus and others at Adrumetum (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

(2) Dec. 23, commemorated at Rome, buried in the church of St. Clement (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**SEVERIANUS** (1), Jan. 23, martyr with his wife Aquila; commemorated at Neocaesarea in Mauritania (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker.).

(2) Jan. 25, bishop; commemorated at Gavala (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker.).

(3) Sept. 9, martyr at Sebaste in Armenia under Licinius (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet).

(4) Oct. 9; commemorated with Sparechius (*Cal. Armen.*).

(5) Nov. 8. [CORONATI QUATUOR.] [C. H.]

**SEVERINUS** (1), Jan. 8, bishop and confessor, brother of Victorinus; commemorated at Naples (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.).

(2) Feb. 11, abbat of St. Maurice (*Mart.* Usuard.).

(3) Nov. 1, monk; commemorated at Tibur (*Mart.* Bed., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**SEVERUS** (1), Jan. 11, confessor; commemorated with Peter and Lucius at Alexandria (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.).

(2) Aug. 8, presbyter and confessor; commemorated at Vienne (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Notker.).

(3) Nov. 8. [CORONATI QUATUOR.] [C. H.]

**SEVILLE, COUNCILS OF** (HISPALENSIA CONCILIA). There were two councils held at Seville: one under Leander, the other under his brother St. Isidore.

(1) A.D. 590, which published three canons, the two first relating to the emancipation of slaves; while the third renews the 5th canon of the 3rd council of Toledo, as having been set at nought. But several more are given to it by Burchard and others (Mansi, x. 449 sq.).

(2) A.D. 619, which published thirteen canons: of which the twelfth relates to a Monophysite bishop, a Syrian by birth, who had come among them and at length abjured his heresy: which is refuted and condemned in the thirteenth. The rest are disciplinary (Mansi, x. 555 sq.). [E. S. Ff.]

**SEXES, SEPARATION OF.** In the early church the women were always separated from the men in public worship. What the origin of the usage was, it is by no means easy to say.

The practice may probably have come into the Christian church without any formal enactment from the usages of Jewish worship, in which the women were (and are to this day) separated from the men. Or, again, it may be simply a feature of Oriental life and manners, under which females were always kept in greater seclusion than they are with us under the civilisation of the West. In the Apostolical Constitutions it becomes the subject of a special direction that the women be seated apart (κεχωρισμένως) (*Apost. Constit.* ii. 57, ed. Bunsen; *Analecta Antenicaena*, vol. ii. p. 121); and (*ibid.* p. 122) if any man was found sitting out of his place, he was to be smitten by the deacon, and transferred to the place appropriate for him. At one time, moreover, it appears that the sexes entered the church by different doors (*Apost. Constit.* lib. ii. c. 61). The *ostiarii* were to stand at the entrances of the men and the deaconesses at those of the women (see Mede's *Discourse of Churches*, p. 327, fol. ed.). St. Chrysostom seems to speak of an actual partition between the men and the women. "There ought to have been within you [the men] a wall which parted you from the women; but since ye would not, the fathers thought it necessary to wall you off even with these boards: for I hear from my elders that anciently there were not these walls" (St. Chrys. *Hom.* 73. *in S. Matt.*).

In some places it would seem that the part of the church allotted to the women was, in some sense, upstairs. They were placed probably in some kind of a gallery (ὑπερῷον) [GALLERIES, p. 706]. It is said by Magri (*Hierolexicon*, s. v. Narthex) that in non-monastic churches women were placed in the narthex, which was fenced off by grilles and rails.

The authorities for the strict maintenance of this usage of separating the sexes in the early centuries of the church are very numerous. St. Cyril of Jerusalem compares the church to Noah's Ark, "in which were Noah and his sons and his wife and their wives; and though the Ark was one, and the door was shut, yet had all things been arranged suitably. And though the

church be shut, and all of you within it, yet let there be a distinction of men with men and women with women." (*Catech. Prefat.* Oxf. transl. p. 7.) There are several canons which expressly forbid women to enter the sanctuary of the church. We may cite as a specimen the 44th canon of the council of Laodicea—"that no woman enter into the apartment where the altar stands." The rubric of a pontifical of the church of Poictiers (executed in MS. not later than the 10th century) directs that the males be arranged *in dexteram partem*, and the females *in sinistram* (Martene, *de Eccl. Ritibus*, lib. i. cap. i. art. 12). [H. T. A.]

**SHAVING.** [BEARDS; HAIR; ORDERS, HOLY, p. 1491; TONSURE.]

**SHEEP.** [LAMB; SHEPHERD, THE GOOD.]

**SHELLS.** Both marine and fresh water shells, either whole or broken, are often found on the tombs of martyrs and other Christians (Boldetti, *Osservazioni*, p. 512, fig. 65). They are sometimes found fixed to the outside of the loculi; sometimes merely drawn or engraved upon them (*ib.* pp. 351, 435); often in the form of a buccinum or whelk. Various forms of this symbol may be observed on a curious sarcophagus in the Vatican, representing different kinds of fishing (Bottari, *Sculture e Pitture*, tav. xlii.). Gems are found engraved with this device, and sepulchral lamps, either in the form of shells, or having shells carved upon them (Bartoli, *Antiq. Lucern.* part iii. fig. 23). Ancient Gallic tombs exhibit precisely analogous features. Snail-shells were found in the sarcophagus of St. Eutropius discovered in 1843, and M. Letronne (*Recueil de Pièces*, &c. p. 81) shews that the use of them in Gaul cannot have been a matter of chance. Instances of the same symbolism have been met with in a Merovingian tomb in the cemetery of Vicq, and the abbé Cochet, in the course of his excavations, met with a good many, especially in a tomb of the time of Charlemagne, near Dieppe (*Normandie souterraine*, passim).

The most probable explanation of this custom is that the shell was used as a type of the Resurrection. The shell represents the tomb, which the occupant must leave empty on the last day. One sarcophagus, at Marseilles, shews the shell with the snail still in it (Millin, *Midi de la France*, pl. lviii. 4).

The significance attached to this symbol in the Middle Ages is shewn by a miniature of the 13th century, given by Count Aug. de Bastard (*Bullet. des Comit. Hist. Archéol.* &c. 1850, p. 173), representing a snail coming out of its shell by the side of a drawing of the resurrection of Lazarus; and the same combination may be seen in a MS. of the 15th century in a collection of ancient liturgical MSS. made by order of Louis XIV. The aptness of the symbolism is increased by the fact that the snail is said at the approach of winter to block up the mouth of his shell with a calcareous substance, which he bursts through on the return of spring (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v. 'Coquillages'). [E. C. H.]

**SHEPHERD, THE GOOD.** The image conveyed by this, perhaps the earliest and most important of all Christian symbols, occurs frequently in the Old Testament, and is common to all countries in which the pastoral life has ever prevailed. The Homeric epithet, "Shepherd of People," conveys much the same idea as Ps. xxii. lxxx. though with far less force and tenderness. (See Ezek. xxxiv.; Jer. xxxiii. 12, &c.) Our Lord's own use of the similitude concerning Himself, and His personal relation to all mankind (Luke xv.; John x.), gave it precedence of all others, excepting perhaps that of the vine, which stands on exactly the same ground. That of Jonah, which relates rather to the Lord's resurrection than to His relation to His human family, occurs more frequently in bas-relief, and almost as often in painting. But as is observed under FRESCO, the Good Shepherd is most frequently the *central* painting of a roof or wall; and perhaps the earliest type of the complete decoration of a Christian vaulting is the vine, with more or less conventionalised branches and clusters surrounding the Form, bearing on His shoulders the sheep which was lost. (See VINE; Bottari, ii. tav. 93.) Before going farther, we may notice that there are three types of the Good Shepherd: one connected with the analogical image of Orpheus, and frequently used in half-vaults and semicircular spaces; another certainly adopted from the Hermes Criophorus of Calamis, at Tanagra, and representing the Shepherd with His charge found and rescued. This is universal; occurring in fresco and on sarcophagi, on the gilt-glass cups; on lamps, in ivory, and more rarely in mosaic. The third, with staff and dog, is less frequent.



Hermes Criophorus. From Seemann's *Götter und Heroen*.

For reasons which can hardly be assigned with certainty, the Good Shepherd died away in the 5th, perhaps the 4th century. Constantine, it is true, placed "symbols of the Good Shepherd" in public places in Constantinople; but as Lord Lindsay says (vol. i. ch. on Roman Art), the Eastern church gave the subject up. And though it was unquestionably an image of Hellenic origin, technically speaking, it was never adopted by the Eastern or Byzantine side of the Christian church.

The paintings in the tomb of St. Domitilla are almost certainly the earliest Christian frescoes,[a] and the Good Shepherd was as certainly chief among them. There is one in the catacomb of St. Praetextatus [FRESCO], and the Callixtine contains, or did contain, many very ancient ones. The derivation of the form bearing the sheep will be found in Raoul Rochette, *Discours sur l'Origine des Types imitatifs qui constituent l'Art du Christianisme*; also in Seemann's *Götter u. Heroen*, p. 80, where the statue by Calamis is figured in a woodcut, which we here repeat. See also Pausanias,

[a] For proper use of the words "fresco" and "distemper" see FRESCO.

lib. ix. cap. 22, p. 752, ed. Kuhnii. This may be compared with the two 4th century statues of the Vatican and Lateran Museums, for one of which see Martigny, p. 515. Both are among Mr. Parker's *Photographs*, Nos. 2901, 2903. For the repetition of this type in fresco, see



Statue of the Good Shepherd (from the Lateran Museum, Martigny).

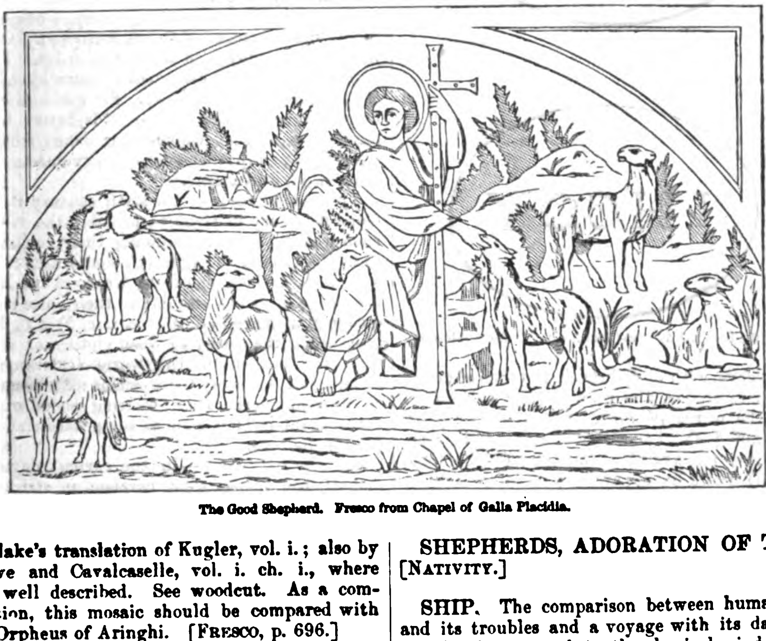
also No. 2928, and Aringhi, i. p. 531, 2. For the stuccoes of the Latin Way, Aringhi, ii. 28. For the three-fold Shepherd and vine, 3rd century, on a sarcophagus of the Lateran, see Parker, No. 2917, also 2938.

The chief example in mosaic is the Shepherd of Galla Placidia's Chapel. This is figured in probably during the fervour for burial with the martyrs, which prevailed about the time of Damasus. There is a shepherd with syrinx (Aringhi, i. 577), with a dog at his feet, and bearing the sheep, on a slab, at p. 594. See also Parker, No. 2052, in Lateran Museum, taken from St. Callixtus. These two last give traces of a third or Roman ideal of the Shepherd leaning on his staff, but there can be but little doubt of their meaning (see also Buonarroti, *Vetri*, iv. 1).

This subject occurs in the S. of France (Millin, *Midi de la Gaule*, pl. 65); in Africa (*Annales archéologiques*, am. vi. p. 196); also in a Cyrenaean hypogee (Pacho, *Voyage de la Cyrénaïque*, pl. li. p. 376).

D'Agincourt refers three examples of vaultings painted with the shepherd in their centres to the 2nd century, given at *Peinture*, v. pl. vi. text ii. p. 20. One is the Orpheus under FRESCO, p. 696; in the others the Shepherd bears the sheep. These designs are too good for any late date. See GEMS, p. 713; GLASS, p. 732; LAMPS, p. 920.

Rohault de Fleury, as usual, gives several interesting examples, some of them not figured elsewhere; as the Criophorus-Shepherd with the syrinx (pl. lxi. vol. ii. p. 47), and that with the two sheep looking up to Him; both from St. Agnes. The picture from the same place, of an orante between trees, and a man milking an ewe on one side, another bearing a sheep on the other, with mulctra or milkpails, as also the pastoral scene (fig. 5, *ib.*), seem to be of a mingled character. He also gives a cut of the Pisan bas-relief from the Campo Santo (pl. lxii.). [R. St. J. T.]



The Good Shepherd. Fresco from Chapel of Galla Placidia.

Eastlake's translation of Kugler, vol. i.; also by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. ch. i., where it is well described. See woodcut. As a composition, this mosaic should be compared with the Orpheus of Aringhi. [FRESCO, p. 696.]

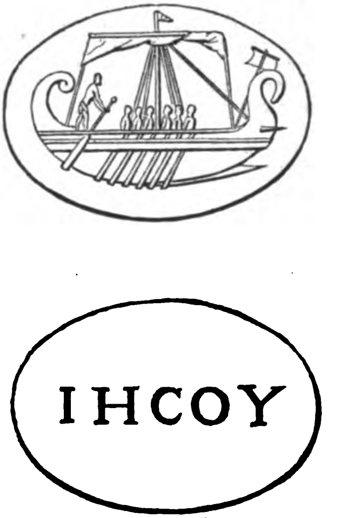
For other examples of the Orpheus-Shepherd in fresco, see Aringhi, vol. i. That on p. 563 is probably a painting of great antiquity, as it is defaced by a tomb being cut right through it,

## SHEPHERDS, ADORATION OF THE.
[NATIVITY.]

**SHIP.** The comparison between human life and its troubles and a voyage with its dangers was familiar enough to the classical mind (Hor. *Carm.* I. xiv. xxxiv.), and easily adopted by the Christian, especially from its near associations with the fisher-life of St. Peter and other

apostles. The ship in full sail (Boldetti, p. 360), or with sails furled (*ib.* 366) are alike used in the cemeteries, as prosecuting the voyage of Christian life, or the having happily concluded it. (See Boldetti, pp. 360, 372–3; Perret, vol. v. pl. xxxii. xxxvi. 397 of BIVIVS RESTVTVS.) The LIGHTHOUSE or pharos is sometimes added, as a sign of the accomplishment of the voyage of the soul (see Mamachi, *Origin.* iii. tav. xvii.; Perret, v. pl. xli. 10; and Boldetti, 372–3). And in some instances the name of the dead appears to be inscribed on the ship, as in the case of the Eusebia, whose titulus is found in Passionei's *Inscrizione antiche*, p. 125 (fol. Lucca, 1763). The latter example is a marble in the Kircherian Museum, where two large urns or vases are represented in the ship; which may seem rather to point to a quasi Egyptian symbolism of the voyage after death than to the Christian voyage of life. Sometimes (Perret, v. pl. liii. 6) the monogram takes the place of the pharos on the sepulchral slab.[a]

For the ship as representing the church of Christ, see CHURCH, p. 389. For the Cardinal Borgia's jasper with our Lord as pilot and six rowers on a side (of course implying six others on the other side) see woodcut.




Ship of the Lord and Apostles (from Borgia, *De Cruce Veliterna*).

The dove, with olive-branch, in token of peace, sometimes sits on the prow of the ship, often with the words *in Pace*. (See the inscription GENIALIS ‖ IN PACE, with ship and dove, Perret, v. pl. xxxii.) Sometimes (as Boldetti, p. 373) there is apparent play of words on the name of the buried person, as a ship is added to the epitaph of NAVIRA. For a large lamp in the form of a ship (see Mamachi, *Orig.* iii. pl. xx.) [R. St. J. T.]

**SHOES.** (1) The Lord's ὑπόδημα, the strap of which St. John Baptist declares himself unworthy to unloose (John i. 27), was probably a sandal; *i.e.* a leather sole fastened to the foot by straps; and He Himself bade His disciples "be shod with sandals" (Mark vi. 9), an injunction with which they no doubt complied (Acts xii. 8). It seems from the context that the intent of the Lord's command was, that the disciples should confine themselves to the simplest—even coarsest—necessaries in their journeys. And according to Martigny (*Dictionnaire*, p. 786, 2nd ed.) all sculptures on sarcophagi, all mosaics and some gilt glasses do exhibit the Lord and His apostles shod with sandals; but most of the frescoes in the catacombs (*e.g.* Bottari, *Sculture e Pitture*, liv. lvii. lxxii. cxx.) and gilt glasses (Buonarroti, *Vetri*, viii. xv. 1, xx. 2, etc.) represent them with bare feet. A few frescoes give them complete shoes (Bottari, xix. xlvi. lxxii.). Female figures in art are generally shod with complete shoes. See, for instance, in frescoes, the Virgin in the Adoration of the Magi (Bottari, xxxviii.), the sisters of Lazarus (xlix.), the woman of Samaria (xxiii.), and some of the *Oranti* (xxxvi. lx.). Many of the *Oranti*, whose attire is also in other respects different from that of every-day life [PARADISE], have bare feet (cxv. cxxiii. etc.); shoes were probably not thought necessary for those who tread the paths of bliss.

Clement of Alexandria (*Paedag.* II. xi. § 117) has a curious passage on the shoes of Christians. He deplores the prevalent fashion of wearing sandals embroidered with golden flowers or studded with ornamental nails and even with erotic devices. All such decorations as these he would have the Christian reject, considering that the proper use of shoes is simply to protect the feet. Women may be permitted to use white shoes, except when they are on a journey, when they should use a blacked shoe (τῷ ἀλειπτῷ). On a journey they may also use nailed soles. They should at all events use shoes of some kind, out of consideration for modesty. For men however, unless it be on the march, it is better to be unshod; or, if they cannot bear naked feet, to wear light slippers, such as gymnasts use (βλαύταις ἢ φαικασίοις).

By the beginning of the sixth century it was found necessary in Gaul to prohibit the clergy from wearing shoes unbecoming their condition. Thus the council of Agde (*C. Agathense*, c. 20) A.D. 506, forbids clerks to wear, or to have clothes or shoes not suitable to their office; and a council at Mâcon (*C. Matisc.* i. c. 5) A.D. 591, also forbids the clergy to wear clothes or shoes after the fashion of the world (calceamenta saecularia). Probably these canons were intended to prevent clerks from wearing shoes of an extravagant fashion, such as the peaked shoes of the middle ages. [C.]

(2) *Monastic Shoes.*—In the earliest days of monasticism monks went barefoot, in strict accordance with the austerity of their profession; like the Stoic philosophers and Hebrew prophets in whose steps they trod (Cassian, *Collat.* xxiv. 10; Gregor. Nazian. *Oratio* viii. de Pace, i. *Carm.* 47). Instances occur continually of this kind of ascetic self-mortification in the lives of monks and hermits[a] (Discalceatio; nudis pedibus

[a] The monogram is not to be found on this slab, but occurs on one in Perret's next page.

[a] Rosweyd, *Vitae Patrum*, passim.

incedere; nudipedalia exercere, etc.). It is related of Silvanus, bishop of Philippopolis, very early in the fifth century, that during his residence at Constantinople he walked about the crowded thoroughfares of the capital of the Roman empire in sandals of twisted hay (Socrates, *H. E.* vii. 37).

Some heretics strove to enforce on all Christians the obligation of going barefoot; these were condemned; but the practice was commended for those who were exceptionally devout, particularly monks and penitents (Augustin. *de Haeres.* 68; Hieron. *Ep.* xxii. 28; Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.* 4; Gregor. Turon. *de Vit. Patr.* 15). Thus Augustine praises his friend Alypius for travelling barefoot through Italy in winter (August. *Confess.* ix. 6). Instances of this kind might be cited almost endlessly during the middle ages. "Barefooted" was an epithet commonly applied to the mediaeval friars, even when they had ceased to merit it literally.

The great monastic legislator of Monte Casino, with his accustomed sagacity and tolerance, left the question as to the proper covering of the feet to be settled for his monks by the abbat's discretion in each particular monastery, according to the requirements of climate and locality. As a rule Benedict prescribed "pedules et caligas" as sufficient in ordinary circumstances, wisely prohibiting all controversies about size, material, colour, shape; only recommending whatever in each instance might be cheapest and least eccentric in those parts. In the list of articles of necessity for a monk are mentioned these "pedules et caligae" (Bened. *Reg.* c. 55).

As to the exact meaning of these terms there is much uncertainty. Martene, in his commentary on the Rule of Benedict, enumerates almost endless varieties of interpretation, not easily to be reconciled with one another, and Ménard speaks of the words as obscure. Smaragdus, according to the former, takes "pedules" as shoes, "caligae" as socks; Hildemarus takes the words severally as slippers and sandals; Bernardus Casinensis as shoes, whether of wool or leather, and buskins or gaiters respectively made of leather and wool; Boherius Nicolaus de Fracturâ as shoes and boots; Haeften as woollen socks and slippers; other commentators as slippers and half-boots, or as socks and stockings (*Bened. Reg. Comment.* in c. 55). In such a conflict of opinions on a point so remote from the experience of modern times it is hopeless to attempt to decide.

Nor do other monastic rules solve the difficulty. Cassian allows "caligae" at midsummer only and midwinter as a protection against excessive heat or cold (Cass. *Institut.* I. cc. 8, 10). Isidore of Seville allows "pedules" in winter, or during a journey; at other times "caligae" only (Isid. *Reg.* c. 14). So Fructuosus of Braga (Fructuos. *Reg.* c. 4). The anonymous Rule of "Magister" orders the "caligae" to be tipped with iron and studded with nails, "ferratae ac clavatae" (*Reg. Mag.* c. 81). A similar expression occurs in the writings of Gregory the Great (Gregor. M. *Dialog.* I. c. 4. Alteserra in his *Asceticon* defines "caliga" as equivalent to sandal, "calceus" to shoe or boot (Altes. *Ascet.* V. c. 18). Probably the meaning of all these terms varied in different times and places.

As usual, the rule and practice of the female devotees correspond with those of the monks. Egyptian nuns, for instance, are spoken of by Isidore of Pelusium, as "sandalled recluses" (Isidor. *Epp.* I. 87).

(Alteserra (A.D.), *Asceticon*, v. 18; Halae, 1782. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres monastiques*, Paris, 1714. Zoekler (O.) *Kritische Geschichte der Askese*, II. 2, Frankfurt a. M. 1863.) [I. G. S.]

**SHROUD.** [Obsequies, § v. p. 1428.]

**SIAGRIUS** (Syagrius), Aug. 27, bishop and confessor; commemorated at Autun (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.). [C. H.]

**SICK, VISITATION OF THE.** [Unction; Viaticum.]

**SIDA, COUNCIL OF** (Sidense Concilium), A.D. 483, al. 391, against the Massalians or Euchites, attended by twenty-five bishops, with Amphilochius of Iconium at their head. A letter was addressed by them to Flavian, bishop of Antioch, informing him what they had done. (Mansi, iii. 651.) [E. S. Ff.]

**SIDON, COUNCIL OF** (Sidonense Concilium), A.D. 511, attended by eighty Monophysite bishops, who met to condemn the council of Chalcedon, and Flavian, the second of that name, bishop of Antioch, and Elias, bishop of Jerusalem, for upholding it. (Mansi, viii. 371–374.) [E. S. Ff.]

**SIDRONIUS**, July 11, martyr; commemorated in the territory of Sens (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

**SIGISMUND**, May 1, king, martyr; commemorated at Sedunum (Sitten, Sion) (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Notker., Wand.). He has a mass in the Ancient Gallican Sacramentary. [C. H.]

**SIGN OF THE CROSS.** The use of the sign of the cross is of great antiquity, and was very frequent in the earlier centuries of the Christian Church. It was connected with such passages of Scripture as Ezek. ix. 4, Rev. vii. 3, ix. 4, xiv. 1, or more fancifully with such passages as Ps. cxliv. 1. It was by Moses' hands being held up in the form of a cross that Joshua was believed to have conquered Amalek (Ex. vii. 9–14), and the cross was identified with the sign of the Son of Man foretold to appear hereafter in the heavens (St. Matt. xxiv. 30). (Chrysost. and Jerome, *in loco*; Cyril, *Cat. Lect.* xiii. 41, xv. 22; Cyprian, *ad Quirin*, sects. 21, 22; Ephrem Syrus, *de Panoplia*.)

II. The original mode of making the sign of the cross was with the thumb of the right hand, generally on the forehead only, or on other objects, once or thrice (Chrysost. *Hom. ad pop. Antioch.* xl.; "Thrice he made the sign of the cross on the chalice with his finger" (Sophron. *in Prat. Spirit.*). So Sozomen of Donatus (lib. vii. cap. 27); and Epiphanius of Josephus (*Haer.* xxx.). Justin M. *Var. Quaest.* 118. "The sign of the cross is on our brow and on our heart. It is on our brow that we may always confess Christ, on our heart that we may always love

him, on our arm that we may always work for him" (Ambrose, *Lib. de Isaac et Anima*, viii.). "Be not ashamed of the cross of Christ. For this reason hast thou received it on thy forehead, as it were on the seat of shame" (Aug. *in frag. Serm.* 27; see *Serm.* 2 *in Parasceve; Com. in Pss.* 30, 141; Cypr. *de Unit. Eccles.* cap. 16). The act of crossing was generally performed in the name of the Trinity, expressed or implied. "The faith is sealed in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost" (Tertull. *de Bap.* cap. 6), or in the name of Christ. "Being a Christian she crossed herself in the name of Christ" (Epiphan. *Haer.* 30, cap. 7), or with some formula of renunciation of evil. "I renounce thee, O Satan, and thy pomp and thy service, and I enrol myself as thine, O Christ. As thou sayest this, make the sign of the cross upon thy forehead" (Chrysost. *Or.* 21, *ad Pop. Antioch*). It is impossible to fix the exact date at which this primitive method of making the sign of the cross became obsolete. In the 6th century a second and more elaborate method had already supplanted it. The hand was raised to the forehead, then drawn down to the heart, then to the left shoulder and then to the right, but in the Eastern Church first to the right and then to the left shoulder. Sometimes the thumb was laid cross-wise over the index finger and kissed (Gretser, *de Cruce*, bk. iv. c. 2). A third method, usual in benedictions and consecrations, was to make the sign of the cross in the air over persons or objects. A fourth method was to raise the hand to the forehead in the name of God, as the head of all, then to lower it to the mouth in the name of the Son, who is the Word of the Father, then to the heart in the name of the Spirit, who is the bond of love. In all these cases some or all of the fingers might be employed with varying symbolical significations. Five fingers would represent the five wounds of Christ; three fingers the Blessed Trinity; one finger the unity of the Godhead. Thus pope Leo IV. ordered, "Sign the chalice and the oblation with the right cross; that is to say, not in a circle and with various fingers, as many do, but with two fingers extended, and the thumb bent up underneath, by which the Trinity is signified. Study to make that sign of the cross rightly, for otherwise ye are unable to bless anything" (*Supplem. Mansi Concil.* tom. i. p. 911). The phrases, "Portare crucem in fronte," ἐκτυποῦν ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ, have led some persons erroneously to suppose that the cross was indelibly impressed on that part of the body; and a custom does seem actually to have existed at one time in the East of branding Christian children on the forehead in order that they might be recognised again if carried into captivity by Mahomedans (Renaudot, *Perpet. de la Foi*, tom. v. 1, 2, c. 4, p. 106).

III. The following passages will prove how widespread the use of the sign of the cross became from A.D. 150 onwards. They form merely a handful, selected from out of the multitude of allusions to it which occur in the pages of the chief Christian writers of the first five centuries.

"In all our travels and movements, in all our coming in and going out, in putting on our shoes, at the bath, at the table, in lighting our candles, in lying down, in sitting down, whatever employment occupieth us, we mark our foreheads with the sign of the cross" (Tertullian, *de Cor. Mil.* c. iii.). "We see the sign of the cross naturally in a ship borne along with bellying sails; we see it when the ship glides forward with outstretched oars, and when the yard is hoisted; we see it when a pure-hearted man worships God with extended hands" (Minucius Felix, edit. 1672, p. 287, compare Justin. M. *Apol.* 2; Ambrose. *Serm.* 56; Jerome, *Ep.* 29, &c.). "And when ye do this, we shall lay our hands upon your heads, and make the sign of the cross upon your foreheads" (Julius Africanus, *Hist.* lib. vi.). "We ought, therefore, on rising to give thanks to Christ, and to perform all our daily work with the sign of the cross (Ambrose. *Serm.* 43). "Whatever thou doest, wherever thou goest, let thy hand make the sign of the cross" (Jerome, *ad Eustoch. Ep.* 22). "Let the word of God and the sign of Christ be in thy heart, in thy mouth, on thy forehead, when thou sittest at meals, when thou goest to the baths, when thou retirest to thy bed, in going out and in coming in, in time of joy and in time of sorrow" (Gaudentius Brixianus, tract. i. *de Lect. Evang.*; see Migne, Patr. Cursus, tom. xx. p. 890). Compare Prudentius, *Cath. Hymn.* vi. 129, *seq.*; *adv. Symm.* ii. 712. "For this reason the Lord himself has fixed his cross on the foreheads of those who believe on him, which is as it were the seat of shame, where proud and impious madmen mocked him in order that the faithful may not blush at his name, and may rather seek the glory of God than of men" (Augustinus, *Hom.* liii. *in Evang. S. Joan.* sect. 13; *Hom.* viii. sect. 2; *Hom.* xi. sect. 3, *et passim*). "A third commentator, one of those who believe in Christ, said that the rudimentary elements presented in the letter Tau a resemblance to the figure of the cross, and that therein was contained a prophecy of the sign which is made by Christians upon their foreheads; for all the faithful make the sign in commencing any undertaking, and especially at the commencement of prayer or of reading Holy Scripture" (Origen, *Select. in Ezech.* cap. 9). "Let us not then be ashamed to confess the Crucified. Be the cross our seal made with boldness by our fingers on our brow, and on everything; over the bread we eat, and the cups we drink; in our comings in and goings out; before our sleep, when we lie down, and when we awake, when we are in the way, and when we are still (St. Cyril of Jer. *Catech. Lect.* xiii. 36).

"That sign of the cross which formerly all persons shuddered at, is now so emulously sought by every one, that it is to be found everywhere, among rulers and subjects, among men and women, among married and unmarried, among bond and free. All are continually making it upon the noblest portion of the human frame, and daily bear it about engraved on their foreheads as on a pillar. Behold it at the holy table; at the ordination of priests; refulgent along with the body of Christ at the mystic meal. Everywhere one may see it celebrated, in houses, in market-places, in deserts, in high-roads, on mountains, in groves, on hills, on the sea, in ships, in islands, in couches, in dresses, in arms, in porches, in convivial assemblies, on gold and silver vessels, in pearls, in mural paintings, on the bodies of the suffering brute creation, on the bodies of persons possessed by devils, in war, in

peace, by day, by night, in revellers' dances, in companies of ascetics. Thus do all vie with each other in seeking this marvellous gift, this unspeakable grace." (Chrysost. *contra Judaeos et Gentiles quod Christus sit Deus*, edit. 1718, p. 571; *Hom.* lv. *in S. Matth.*; *Hom.* xxi. *ad Pop. Antioch*; *Hom.* x. *in Acta* iv. 1–22, where he complains of its having dropped into a merely habitual mechanical action; *Hom. in* 2 *Tim.* ii. 26, and *in* 1 *Cor.* iv. 6, &c.)

IV. The above quotations prove that the sign of the cross accompanied almost every action, sacred or profane, in a Christian life, from rising in the morning until retiring to rest at night. It may, however, be convenient to specify some objects for which it was deemed especially useful, and some particular virtues which were believed to be contained in it, or results which were secured by its use.

(*a*) It was employed by members of the early Church to denote that they were Christians; and to distinguish themselves from the surrounding heathen. "We recognise the members of Christ, if they are the members of Christ, by their bearing the sign of Christ" (Augustine, *Serm.* 53, *de Verbo Dei*). The Puritans understood this, and urged the altered circumstances of the times as a ground for abandoning the custom altogether (Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.* lxv. 6).

(*b*) To put the devil to flight. It was believed to be very efficacious towards repelling the assaults and neutralising the power of evil spirits. "Then some of the assistant ministers, who knew the Lord, standing by the sacrificing priest, made the immortal sign of the cross upon their foreheads; and when it was made, the demons were put to flight, and the sacred rites thrown into confusion" (Lactantius, *Lib. de Mort. Persec.* edit. 1692, p. 87). "Along with these words make the sign of the cross upon thy forehead; for thus not only no human adversary, but also not even the devil himself, will be able in any way to hurt thee, seeing thee appearing everywhere protected by these arms" (Chrysost. *ad Illum. Catech.* ii. ad finem; *Hom.* lv. *in S. Matth.*; *Adv. Judaeos*, viii. 8; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. Lect.* iv. 13, xiii. 3, 36; Augustin. *Lib. de Symb.* cap. i. *et passim*). "Let him who wishes to obtain a proof of what has been said before come, and at the appearance of demons, or in the case of the deceitfulness of oracles and of the marvels of magic, let him use the sign of the cross which is ridiculed among them, merely naming the name of Christ, and he will see how the demons are put to flight by it, and how the oracles cease, and all magic and witchcraft are brought to nought" (Athan. *de Incarn. Verbi Dei*, cap. 48).

(*c*) For reminding and encouraging themselves and others under difficulties and trials to their faith. "The flesh is signed with the cross, that the mind may be fortified" (Tertull. *de Res. Carnis*, c. 8.) St. Cyprian encouraged martyrs thus: "Let thy brow be fortified, that the mark of God may be preserved intact" (*Epp.* 56 et 58, c. 6), and congratulated those who had not lapsed in these words; "The brow purified with the sign of God could not endure the crown of Satan, but reserved itself for the crown of the Lord" (*De Laps.* ch. 2, tom. i. 121).

(*d*) As a remedy against temptation to special sins; as anger (Chrysost. *in S. Matt.* xxvii. 44; *in Act.* vii. 36–53), or lust (Ambrose, *Exhort. ad Virg.*).

(*e*) As a charm against disease or mishap, St. Chrysostom enumerates this among its chief virtues. "This sign, both in the days of our forefathers and now, hath opened doors that were shut up, hath neutralised poisonous drugs, hath taken away the power of hemlock, hath healed bites of venomous beasts." (*Hom.* liv. *in S. Matt.* xvi. 23; *Hom.* viii. *in Col.* iii., Aug. *in Ps.* xciii.; Sophron. *in Prat. Spirit.* c. 56.) Many of the fabulous stories contained in the pages of later historians and martyrologists are connected with this supposed efficacy of the sign of the cross. (Sulp. Severus, *de Vita Martini*, cap. iii. ix. xxiv. *et al.*).

(*f*) For purifying places, churches, vessels, cups, food, drink, and other objects which were considered unclean, or had been abused to idolatrous purposes. "Is not then swine's flesh unclean? By no means, when it is received with thanksgiving, when it is marked with the sign of the cross; no more is any other thing unclean." (Chrysost. *Hom.* xii. *in* 1 *Tim.* iv.; for fabulous stories of later writers vide Bede, tom. iii. *in Vita S. Vedasti*; Fortunatus, *in Vita S. Germani*, c. 34.)

V. It remains to give some account of the ceremonial use of the sign of the cross in the liturgy and sacramental offices of the primitive Church. As most of the ritual writers and most missals and manuals, at all events in their present form, are of a later date than the 9th century, this account must be necessarily of a somewhat fragmentary character. A minute and systematic account or a comparative table of its use in the Eastern and Western office-books could only be drawn from materials of mediaeval and modern times.

The Sacramentary of Leo contains no rubrical directions at all. The few rubrics enjoining the sign of the cross in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, in the earliest ordines Romani, and in the fragments of certain Eastern and Western pontificals and rituals not later than the 9th century will be noted under different headings. Of early ritualists, Amalarius explains the meaning of crossing with oil and balsam in baptism (*lib.* i. c. 27), and its frequent ritual use in Holy Communion, at the gospel, at the consecration of the chalice by touching it crosswise with a particle of the consecrated host, and who suggests greater simplicity in its use: "It seems to me that if the sign of the cross was made once over the bread and wine it would be enough, because the Lord was crucified once" (*lib.* iii. 18, 24, 31).

There are many passages scattered up and down the pages of the Christian apologists and the early fathers which bear out what the above facts seem to imply, that the use of the sign of the cross became, at a very early date, a marked feature of Christian worship, both in their general devotions, and more especially in the administration of the sacraments. The joined or crossed hands in any prayer represented the cross—"Crucis signum est cum homo porrectis manibus Deum pura mente veneratur" (Minucius Felix, edit. 1672, p. 288), Ἐπὶ εὐχῶν σταυρὸ, κ.τ.λ. (Chrysost. *Demonst. quod Christus sit Deus*, cap. 8). In speaking of the sacraments,

language was sometimes employed which would seem to assert their invalidity, or at least their irregularity, if the sign of the cross was not a constituent portion of their ceremonial. "Whoever may be the ministers of the sacraments, of what sort soever may be the hands which either immerse the candidates (audientes) for baptism, or anoint them; by whatever lips the sacred words are uttered, it is the authoritative use of the sign of the cross which works the effect in all the sacraments" (Cyprian, *de Pass. Christi*). St. Augustine said that "Unless the sign of the cross is made either on the foreheads of the faithful, or on the water itself wherewith they are regenerated, or on the oil with which they are anointed with chrism, or on the sacrifice with which they are nourished, none of these things is duly performed" (*Hom.* cxviii. *in S. Joan.* xix. 24). St. Chrysostom used these words: "As a crown so let us bear about the cross of Christ. For by it all things are wrought that are done among us. If one is to be regenerated, the cross is there, or to be nourished with that mystical food, or to be ordained, or to do anything else, everywhere that symbol of victory is present with us" (*Hom.* liv. [*al.* lv.] *in S. Matt.* vii.; *Op.* tom. vii. p. 551).

In these and other passages we find that the sign of the cross was part of the ceremonial attending certain religious services, and was especially employed on the following occasions:—

(*a*) *At the reception of a Catechumen.*—St. Augustine, in an address to catechumens, told them, "Ye are not yet regenerate by holy baptism, but ye have been conceived in the womb of holy mother Church by the sign of the cross." (*Lib. de Symb. ad Catech.*; *Hom.* 1. *in S. Joan.* sect. 12; *Hom. in* 1 *S. Joan.* c. 2; *de Peccator. Mer.* c. 26, *et passim*). In the old Ambrosian rite the sign was ordered to be made once on the catechumen's forehead; in an old Gallican rite, twice on the forehead and breast; in an old Gothic missal four times, on the eyes, ears, nose, and heart; in a Gallican sacramentary (7th century), once on the face.

The above and the following details are culled from the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, and the fragments of early Western missals or rituals preserved in Mabillon's *Musaeum Italicum*, and Martene, *de Antiq. Eccles. Rit.* Their statements, or conjectures, as to the dates of documents have been accepted.

(*b*) *At Baptism.*—In the preliminary consecration of the water:—"Baptism, that is to say the water of salvation, is not the water of salvation, unless having been consecrated by the name of Christ, who shed His blood for us, it is marked with the sign of the cross" (Aug. *Hom.* xxvii.; *lib.* 6, *c. Julian.* cap. 8; Cypr. *Ep.* lviii. sect. 10); in the exorcism and imposition of hands (Aug. *Conf.* i. cap. 11); at the unction (*Constit. Apost.* lib. iii. cap. 17; Tertul. *de Resur.* cap. 8; Ambros. *de iis qui initiantur*, c. 4, *et passim*).

(*c*) *At Confirmation.*—This rite, in early times, immediately following baptism, consisted of the imposition of hands and the making the sign of the cross on the candidate's forehead with chrism and in the name of the Trinity. "Baptized persons receive the gifts of grace by the sign of the same cross, and by imposition of hands." (Aug. *Serm.* 19, *de Sanctis*; Gelas. Sacram.; York Pontifical of Egbert; Cahors, Beauvais, Poictiers rituals of 9th century.)

(*d*) *In extreme unction.*—The short office for this rite in the Gregorian Sacramentary contains no rubric enjoining the sign of the cross. It does not appear in connexion with unction of the sick till early in the 9th century, when a Troyes pontifical directs the sick man's breast to be anointed thrice with cinders, while a Tours pontifical of about the same date presents this elaborate rubric (Martene, lib. i. *Ordo*, iii. cap. vii. art. iv). [UNCTION.]

(*e*) *In Holy Communion.*—This rite is generally mentioned in passages previously quoted as one in the ceremonial of which the sign of the cross formed a part. The cross was symbolised by the elevated hands of the consecrating priest, who, "representing the mystery of the cross by the elevation of his hands, prays confidently on behalf of his own and the people's ignorance." (Cyprian, *de Coena Dom.*; Aug. *Serm.* clxxxi. *de temp.*; *Ordo Rom.* i. 8, 11, &c., ii. 2, 5; Gregorian Sacramentary; Mozarabic and Spanish liturgies of 9th cent. Martene, i. 382; Mabillon, *Lit. Gall.* p. 449.)

(*f*) *In Ordination*, whether of bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, readers, or other minor church officers (*vide supra*); but the earliest extant Western ordinals explicitly ordering the sign of the cross seem hardly to fall within the limits of this dictionary. There are directions for its frequent and elaborate use in the old Syro-Jacobite and Coptic ordinals printed in Martene, vol. ii. [ORDINATION.]

(*g*) *In the Consecration of Churches and Altars.*—"With the mark of the same cross churches are dedicated, altars are consecrated" (Aug. *Hom.* lxxv. *de Divers.*); of fonts, of patens (Gelas. and Gregor. Sacram.); in blessing and lighting the Easter candle on Easter eve (*ib*); and, therefore, probably in other minor acts of dedication or consecration which have escaped specific mention. (For further details, in addition to authorities previously quoted, consult Lipsius, *de Cruce*, and Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. iv. pt. 1.) [CONSECRATION.]

[F. E. W.]

**SIGNA.** [BELLS.]

**SILANUS**, July 10 (Bed. *Mart.*). [SILVANUS (5).]

**SILAS**, apostle; commemorated July 13 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., in Macedonia); July 30, with Silvanus, Crescens, Epaenetus, Andronicus (*Cal. Byzant.*, Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**SILVANUS** (SYLVANUS) (1), Jan. 29, martyr under Diocletian (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Feb. 6, bishop of Emesa, martyr under Numerian, with Lucas deacon, and Mocius reader (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

(3) May 4, bishop of Gaza, martyr under Diocletian (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., Wand.; Basil. *Menol.*).

(4) May 24, martyr; commemorated in Histria with Servilius and others (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker.).

(5) July 10 (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker.; Bed. SILANUS), one of the seven sons of Felicitas. [SEPTEM FRATRES.]

(6) July 30, apostle. [SILAS.]

(7) Aug. 23. [SABINUS (4).]

(8) Sept. 4, boy martyr with two other boys, Rufinus and Vitalicus; commemorated at Ancyra (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker.); Aug. 31 (*Hieron.*).

(9) Sept. 9 (*Syr. Mart.*); *Mart. Hieron.* has a martyr under this day in Sabinum, with Hyacinthus and others.

(10) Sept. 22, confessor, in the territory of Bourges (*Mart.* Usuard.).

(11) Oct. 26; commemorated at Antioch with Marcianus (*Syr. Mart.*).

(12) Nov. 5, martyr under Diocletian with Domninus and others. (Basil. *Menol.*) [C. H.]

**SILVESTER** (SYLVESTER) (1), Jan. 2, pope (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); Dec. 31 (*Mart.* Bed.; *Mart. Metr.* Bed.; *Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Wand.); prayed for by name in the Leonian Sacramentary, October; his natale observed on Dec. 31 in the Gregorian Sacramentary, which gives his name in the collect; his natale also observed in the *Lib. Antiph.* of Gregory.

(2) Nov. 20, bishop, confessor; commemorated at Châlons-sur-Saône (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.). [C. H.]

**SILVINUS**, Feb. 17, bishop; commemorated in the territory of Terouanne (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

**SILVIUS**, Apr. 21, martyr; commemorated at Alexandria with Arator, Fortunus and others (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker.). [C. H.]

**SIMEON** (SYMEON) (1), Stylites, Jan. 5; commemorated at Antioch (*Mart.* Usuard., Flor., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., Wand.); Sept. 1 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

(2) Senex, Jan. 5, aged prophet of Jerusalem who took the infant Jesus in his arms (*Mart.* Flor., *Hieron.*, Notker.); Feb. 1 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); Feb. 2 (*Cal. Ethiop.*); Feb. 3 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*); Oct. 8 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Rom.*).

(3) Feb. 18, bishop of Jerusalem, martyr (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.); Apr. 27 (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.*); Sept. 18 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*).

(4) Apr. 14, bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, martyr in Persia under Sapor (Basil. *Menol.*); Apr. 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.*); Apr. 21 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Wand., Notker.).

(5) Stylites the Younger, or the Thaumastorite, May 24 (*Cal. Byzant.*); May 23 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(6) July 18, patriarch of Alexandria (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(7) July 21, monk with John at Jerusalem "our fathers," in the time of Justinian, natives of Emesa (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*).

(8) July 27, monk (also called Simon); commemorated in Sicily (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SIMEON, SONG OF.** [CANTICLE.]

**SIMILIANUS**, June 16, bishop, confessor; commemorated at Nantes (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*). [C. H.]

**SIMON ZELOTES**, APOSTLE, FESTIVAL OF. i. *Legend.*—Although this apostle is designated by two apparently distinct surnames in the New Testament, Zelotes and Cananaeus,[a] these are, as is well known, identical in meaning. The latter merely represents the Hebrew, of which the former is the Greek equivalent, the reference doubtless being to the sect of the so-called Zealots. Beyond the fact of his apostleship, the New Testament tells us nothing of St. Simon; and, as in the case of so many other apostles, there is next to nothing of trustworthy tradition.

It is not our province to discuss either of the improbable theories which identify him either with Simon the Lord's brother, or Symeon who succeeded James as bishop of Jerusalem. The Greek Appendix of Sophronius to the *Liber de Viris Illustribus*, does indeed identify him with the latter (Jerome, vol. ii. 958), and speaks of the crucifixion which he underwent at the age of 120 years in the reign of Trajan. This, however, is too utterly unlikely to need further notice. A note in one of the Vienna MSS. of the *Apostolic Constitutions* states (viii. 27) that Simon was martyred in Judaea in the reign of Domitian.

The prevailing tenor, perhaps, of the traditions as to Simon's labours, associates him with the region east of Palestine. Thus, the prologue to the *Mart. Hieronymi* makes Simon suffer with Jude "in Susia, civitate magna apud Persidem" (*Patrol.* xxx. 437). In the Armenian chronicler Moses of Chorene (5th century) are given letters of Abgarus, king of Edessa, to Artasis, king of the Persians, and Nerses his son, which mention Simon, one of the chief apostles of Jesus, as labouring in Persia (ii. 29, 18; p. 140, ed. Whiston). Moses subsequently adds, "as regards Simon, the sphere of whose work was Persia, I can give no certain information, either as to what he did, or where he was martyred. Some declare that an apostle named Simon died near the Iberian Bosporus" (ii. 31, 6, p. 143). On this last point, however, Moses declines to give any opinion, and evidently views the whole thing as quite doubtful. It will be noticed here that there is in the above passage nothing to shew which of the two Simons among the apostles is referred to, and the Whistons (*not. in loc.*) remark that most commentators suppose the reference is to Simon Peter. In the *Apostolic History* of the Pseudo-Abdias (lib. 6, in Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepig. Novi Test.* i. 609), the scene of Simon's martyrdom is given as Suanir in Persia, and the name of the Persian king as Xerxes. The Christian poet Venantius Fortunatus (ob. A.D. 609), following the lead of Abdias, declares (*Carm.* viii. 6; *Patrol.* lxxxviii. 270)—

> "Hinc Simonem et Judam lumen Persida gemellum
> Laeta relaxato mittit ad astra sinu."

[a] The Κανανίτης of some authorities is doubtless a change of spelling due to the belief that the word was derived from Canaan or Cana.

Another story says that he laboured in North Africa, Egypt, Cyrene, and Mauritania, but the evidence on which this rests is of no weight (Niceph. Call. *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 40; Pseudo-Dorotheus, in App. to *Chronicon Paschale*, ii. 138, ed. Dindorf). The latter states that after labouring in Africa, he carried the news of the gospel to the British Isles. Such also is the story told in the *Menaea*.

ii. *Festival.*—As in the case of nearly all the apostles, there seems no trace of any early commemorative festival of St. Simon. In the West, he has been generally associated with St. Jude, and commemorated on October 28; in the East they are commemorated on different days.

As regards the festival in the Western church, it is not necessary to repeat what we have already said in the article on St. Jude, and we shall accordingly merely refer the reader there. It may, however, be well again to remark that, though in some Western records St. Simon is commemorated on other days than October 28, yet in all these cases, so far as we are aware, he is associated with St. Jude.

In the Greek church, St. Simon is commemorated on May 10. The *Menaeon* identifies him with Nathanael (**Σίμων ὁ καὶ Ναθαναὴλ ὀνομαζόμενος**), although there can be little doubt that Nathanael is the personal name of Bartholomew. The entry for May 10 in the Greek metrical *Ephemerides*, prefixed by Papebroch to the *Acta Sanctorum* for May is (p. xxvii.) **τῇ δεκάτῃ Σίμωνα σταύρωσαν Ἀπόστολον ἔχθροι.**

In the calendars of the Ethiopic and Alexandrian churches published by Ludolf, there is no mention of St. Simon, but, from the entry on July 10 "Nathanael the Canaanite" (*Ad Hist. Aeth. Comm.* p. 421), we may assume that these churches, like the preceding, identify Simon and Nathanael.

In the Armenian church St. Simon is perhaps commemorated on September 28, on which day we find in the first of the two Armenian calendars given by Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* iii. 1. 645 sqq.) "Simeon, Apostle;" though in the second the entry runs, "Simeon, the kinsman of Christ."

The name of Simon has not apparently been made much use of by the authors of apocryphal writings. We are not aware of the existence of any except the *Acta Simonis et Judae* given by the Pseudo-Abdias (*supra*). The *Apostolic Constitutions*, however (viii. 27, 28), assign to this apostle the regulations as to the consecration of bishops, benedictions, &c.

For an elaborate account of the legends in connexion with St. Simon and his cultus, reference may be made to Van Hecke in *Acta Sanctorum* (Oct. vol. xii. pp. 421 sqq.). [R. S.]

**SIMONY.** Bingham (*Antiq.* XVI. vi. 28) distinguishes between three degrees of simony; (i) buying and selling spiritual gifts; (ii) buying and selling spiritual preferments; (iii) usurpation of ecclesiastical functions without election or ordination. Against trafficking in spiritual gifts the laws of the early church were very severe. Thus the apostolical canons (c. 28) appointed that if bishop, priest, or deacon obtained his sacred character by means of money, both the ordained and the ordainer were to be subject to total excision from the church, **παντάπασιν τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκκοπτέσθω**, the severest sentence which it was in the power of the church to inflict. The second canon of Chalcedon likewise excommunicated those who obtained by a price the priceless grace of holy orders. Similarly the second council of Braga, A.D. 572, c. 3, recapitulating the decision of the Fathers against bribes pronounces "Anathema danti et accipienti." And in fact denunciations against simony are frequent throughout the whole of our period after the 4th century; see 2 Conc. Aurel. cc. 3, 4, 4 Conc. Tolet. c. 19, 8 Conc. Tolet. c. 3, 11 Conc. Tolet. cc. 8, 9, Conc. in Trull. c. 22, 2 Conc. Nicaen. c. 5, Conc. Mogunt. c. 30, Conc. Remens. c. 21, Basil. *Ep.* lxxvi. *ad Episc.*, Gelas. *Ep.* i. *ad Episc. Lucan.*, Symmach. *Decret.* c. 1, and very frequently in the writings of Gregory, *Epp.* v. 53, 55, 57; vi. 8; ix. 49, 106; xi. 46; xii. 28; xiii. 41; *Hom. in Evangel.* I. iv. 4. Against simoniacal transactions the civil law upheld the discipline of the church. Thus Justin. *Novell.* cxxiii. 1, cxxxvii. 2, required in the consecration of bishops that both the electors and the bishop elect should take an oath on the Gospels that nothing had been given either by way of donation or promise, or through friendship, to obtain the election and the consecration. Closely allied to the chief sin of corrupt ordinations was that of withholding the sacraments unless payment was made. The various canons directed against this abuse indicate that on pretence of asking an offering the clergy were in the habit of setting a price on the spiritual gifts which they administered. At baptisms, for instance, it seems to have been customary to make a voluntary oblation. This easily led to the notion that the oblation was compulsory, and was calculated to deter the poor from the sacrament. The council of Elvira accordingly (c. 48) prohibited the practice of casting money into a bowl at baptism, for the clergy were not to make gain on the sacred gift which they had received without cost. On the same ground Gelasius (*Ep.* i. *ad Episc. Lucan.*) forbade the Italian clergy from exacting a fee for baptism or confirmation. And in the Greek church Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* 40 *de Bapt.*) remonstrates with those who kept away from baptism, alleging that they could not afford the usual offering or the entertainment for the officiating clergyman; he tells them that the only offering demanded is that of themselves to Christ, and that their own holy life was the only entertainment expected. In the Spanish church apparently in spite of the decree of Elvira, the covetousness of the clergy still debarred the poor from baptism. In the second council of Braga, A.D. 572, there is a canon (c. 7) denouncing the compulsory demand of a pledge from those who had not wherewithal to offer voluntarily. The same council (c. 5) prohibited the exaction of a fee for the consecration service of a church. The eleventh council of Toledo A.D. 675 (c. 8) pronounced it contrary to ecclesiastical law to take money not only for promotion to holy orders, but also for baptism, confirmation, or unction; the demand of a fee for the administration of the eucharist fell under the same condemnation from Conc. in Trull. c. 23. A voluntary offering, which was of the nature of a thank-offering, from one who partook of a spiritual ordinance, was lawful and praiseworthy, but a compulsory fee was tainted with simony,

inasmuch as it was setting a price on the work of the Spirit.

Trafficking in the gifts of the Holy Ghost was simony of the darkest dye; another degree of the same offence was the employment of corrupt means to obtain promotion or preferment in the church. In the first three centuries, when the emoluments of office were small and the danger of holding them great, there was not much occasion to pass laws against simoniacal promotions, for when a persecution arose, the rulers of the church were struck at first. But when a bishopric became not only a position of dignity and importance, but also a secure one, there would arise unscrupulous candidates for the office. A bishop who accepted a bribe in order to advance any dependant, "a house-steward, advocate, or bailiff" (Conc. Chalced. c. 2), to an ecclesiastical position was guilty of simony, no less than the man promoted, and was subject to deposition. Compare the oath already quoted to be taken by the electors that the bishop elect was not chosen from favour or through the influence of money (Justin. *Novell.* cxxxvii. 2), but because he was known to hold to the Catholic faith, and to be a man of good life and sound learning. The intrusion into sees already occupied was schismatical rather than simoniacal. But the ambition of bishops to get themselves removed to larger sees, whenever it was done for the sake of gain or by corrupt means, was of the nature of simony. "That pernicious custom ought to be utterly rooted out that it be lawful for any bishop to move from one city to another; for the reason for which he does this is plain, since we never heard of any bishop who laboured to be removed from a larger city to a smaller. Whenever it appears that avarice is his motive, it is idle to plead that he has received letters of invitation, since many are corrupted by bribes and rewards to send the letter" (Conc. Sardic. cc. 1, 2). The translation of bishops whose motives were pure was a common practice, and was under no suspicion of corruption. [G. M.]

**SIMPLICIUS** (1), June 24, bishop; commemorated at Autun (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker.).

(2) July 29; commemorated at Rome on the Via Portuensis with Faustinus and Beatrix, martyrs under Diocletian (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker., Wand.). There is an office on their natale in the *Liber Antiph.* of Gregory.

(3) Nov. 8, with Claudius, Nicostratus, Sympronianus, and Castorius, eminent artificers and martyrs under Diocletian, commemorated at Rome on the Via Lavicana (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Wand.). [C. H.]

**SINERUS**, Feb. 23 (other forms of the name occurring in Ado and *Mart. Hieronym.*), monk, martyr under Diocletian; commemorated at Sirmium (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Adon.). [C. H.]

**SINGER.** [CANTOR; PSALMISTA; SCHOLA CANTORUM.]

**SINGILIONES** (σιγιλλίω). In a letter of the emperor Gallienus (ob. A.D. 268), cited by Trebellius Pollio (*Vita Claudii*, c. 17), in which he recounts a number of presents he was sending to Claudius, who afterwards succeeded him as emperor, he mentions, among several other articles of dress, *Singiliones Dalmatenses decem*. The meaning of the word is very doubtful, from its extreme rarity. It seems only to occur again in the will of Gregory of Nazianzum, where he bequeaths to the "notarius" Elaphius, with other articles of dress, σιγιλλιῶνα ἕνα (*Patrol. Gr.* xxxvii. 393). We may at once, with the Greek spelling before us, reject Casaubon's proposal to read *Cingiliones* (*not. in loc.*). It seems best to suppose that the Greek word is but a reproduction of the Latin, and to compare it in idea with such Greek words as ἁπλοΐς, διπλοΐς (cf. the English *singlet*, *doublet*). Thus we have in Hesychius, ἁπλοΐδες, ἱμάτιον μικρὸν and ἀπληγίς, σύμμετρος χλαῖνα οὐ δυναμένη διπλωθῆναι. Another view associates the word with *Sigillum*, and thus we should have a reference to marks worked into a dress (such as *e. g. Gammadia* [see the article] and the like), but this view seems much less probable than the foregoing. The epithet *Dalmatenses* may not improbably imply some connexion with the Dalmatic [DALMATIC]. See on the whole question Salmasius's note, Trebell. Poll. *l. c.*). [R. S.]

**SIRENS.** [PAGANISM IN ART, p. 1535.]

**SIRIACUS**, June 18; commemorated at Malaca in Spain with Paula (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

**SIRMIUM, COUNCILS OF** (SIRMIENSIA CONCILIA). The number and character of these councils have been hotly disputed. Cave (*Hist. Lit.* i. 377–379) makes five; Valesius in one place (*ad.Soz.* iv. 15), four, but in another (*ad Soc.* ii. 30) a fifth; Mansi (iii. 179–289), three, but is favourable to a fourth. The Jesuits Petavius (*Diss. de Phot.*) and Sirmondus (*Diat. Sirm.*) took opposite sides on the subject; and de Marca (*Opusc.* v.) intervened between them without settling it. There were three creeds likewise published at Sirmium, but it is not agreed by which councils. Taking Cave for our guide, whose statement is the least confused, we may arrange them as follows:—

(1) A.D. 349, when Photinus, bishop of that see, was condemned. "verùm, reclamante plebe, sede suâ jam deturbari non potuit," as Cave says. This synod was first brought to light by Petavius, and has been accepted by most.

(2) A.D. 351, when Constantius was there, treating with Vetranio (*Soc.* ii. 28) and Photinus, having disputed with Basilius of Ancyra and been worsted by him, was deposed; and Marcus composed the first of the three creeds in Greek, to which twenty-five anathemas are appended. Such at least is the conclusion of Petavius and Mansi. Valesius and Cave differ only from them in asserting that Marcus was not the author of this creed.

(3) A.D. 357, when Osius and Potamius both signed and lapsed. The creed signed by them was the second creed, published in Latin, but, according to Mansi, translated into Greek by the same Marcus who composed the first. It was much more heterodox than the first, however, so much so, that it is pronounced "blasphemy" by St. Hilary. Germinius, the successor of Photinus, was present at this council.

(4) A.D. 358, when a composite creed was put forth, to which pope Liberius subscribed, and on subscribing was restored to his see. (Comp. S. Hil. *Fragm.* vi. 6, and the notes in Migne, *Patrol.* x. 689.)

(5) A.D. 359, when, according to Valesius and Cave, "conscripta est fides illa, quam Marcus Arethusius composuit," with the names of the consuls prefixed to it. This was afterwards rehearsed at Rimini; but as it was probably this also to which Liberius subscribed, it must have been promulgated the year before, for he was restored that year, and if he subscribed to a different one, there must have been four, not three, creeds published here, which nobody maintains. Let us suppose, therefore, that the names of the consuls were prefixed to it at Rimini, and this council may be merged in the preceding one. [E. S. Ff.]

**SISINNIUS (1)**, May 29, deacon, martyr; commemorated with Martyrius reader, and Alexander doorkeeper at Anaunia or Anagnia (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Notker., *Hieron.*).

(2) Nov. 29, deacon; commemorated at Rome on the Via Salaria with Saturninus martyr, and Sennes deacon (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon.).

(3) Nov. 24, bishop of Cyzicus, martyr under Diocletian (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**SISOES THE GREAT**, July 6, monk of the 4th century, "our father" (Basil. *Menol.*; Cal. *Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet). [C. H.]

**SIXTUS (1)** (XYSTUS), Apr. 6, pope; commemorated at Rome (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon., Notker., Wand.); Apr. 3 (Flor.); Aug. 6 (Bed. *Metr.*), in the cemetery of Calixtus on the Via Appia (*Mart. Hieron.*). In the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries his natale is on Aug. 6; in the former his name occurs in the collect, secreta, and post-communion; in the latter he is mentioned in the collect. The *Liber Antiph.* of Gregory has an office for his natale.

(2) Sept. 1, bishop of Reims (*Mart.* Usuard., Wand.). [C. H.]

**SLAVERY.** The subject of the relation of the Church to slavery may conveniently be considered under the following divisions:—

(i) During the first three centuries, when Christianity was itself subject to oppression and whatever amelioration is to be discerned in the condition of the slave is to be traced rather (α) to the teaching of the Stoics, (β) to the state legislation, (γ) to the secret societies, &c.

(ii) From the commencement of Christian legislation under Constantine (A.D. 313), to the accession of Justinian (A.D. 525).

(iii) From the accession of Justinian to the death of Gregory the Great.

(iv) From the death of Gregory the Great to the commencement of the ninth century: (α) in the Eastern empire, (β) in Latin Christendom, (γ) among Teutonic nations, prior to the introduction of Latin institutions.

(i) *During the first three Centuries.*—The more general conditions of pagan life, which fostered the continuance and systematization of such an institution in the midst of highly civilized communities, are described under SOCIETY; it will be sufficient here to note a few of the principal facts which illustrate the indifference of society, as it existed at the commencement of the Christian era, to the moral wrong and physical suffering involved. Looking upon the slave as nothing more than an animal of superior intelligence, the statesman and the legislator had, up to this period, altogether discouraged the notion that he possessed any rights, or was entitled to any consideration, beyond what the interest of the master might dictate. Even Aristotle had asserted slavery to be an institution of divine origin, whereby inferior races were designedly subjected to the superior[a] (*Politics*, iii. 4), a view adopted by Cicero (*de Repub.* bk. iii., quoted by Nonius). Pliny compares the relation of slaves to the state to that of drones in the hive (*Nat. Hist.* XI. xi. 1). Cato advised that, like beasts of burden, they should be worked to death rather than be allowed to become old and unprofitable; and in order to divert them from forming conspiracies, he advised masters to incite them to quarrel with each other (Plutarch, *Cato*, c. 21). It was a proverbial saying that every slave was an enemy—"Quot servi, tot hostes" (Festus, ed. Mueller, p. 261). Columella (*de Re Rust.* i. 8) observes that the more intelligent they are the more frequently it becomes necessary to put them in chains. In the year A.D. 63, four hundred of the slaves of Pedanius Secundus, notwithstanding a strong display of popular feeling in their favour, were put to death in order to avenge his assassination by one of their number (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 45); and in the time of Ulpian, who wrote in the 3rd century, this cruel practice was still authorised by law (*Digest.* XXIX. v. 1, §§ 32 and 39). The chief representative of the artisan class, the slave, inherited the contempt with which mechanical labour was regarded by antiquity. Plato (*Repub.* bk. iv.) affirms that it is of small matter whether the mechanic lives a virtuous or an immoral life; and slaves under the empire were unable to obtain redress for the violation of their own wives (*Cod. Just.* IX. ix. 23; Kriegel, *Corp. Juris Civ.* ii. 587). As he was held to be a non-religious intelligence, or of a faith differing from that of his master, he was supposed to be incapable of being bound by oath, and controllable only by fear—"quibus diversi ritus, externa sacra aut nulla sunt, colluviem istam nonnisi metu coërcueris" (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 44). Even when on the eve of receiving his freedom, it was customary to bind him by a promise, subject to certain penalties, that on becoming a freedman he would ratify his promise by an oath (*Digest.* XI. xii. 44).

The severity with which the whole class was generally treated appears to have been owing rather to an instinct of self-preservation than to wanton cruelty. From the time of the Servile Wars of the 2nd century, the Roman, though master of the world, lived in constant dread of conspiracy and insurrection among those whom he had thus deprived of their natural rights, and

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[a] See on this point Krug. *de Aristotele Servitutis defensore*, 1815. Overbeck, however, quotes *Pol.* I. ii. 3 (*νόμῳ γὰρ τὸν μὲν δοῦλον εἶναι τὸν δ' ἐλεύθερον, φύσει δ' οὐδὲν διαφέρειν. διόπερ οὐδὲ δίκαιον. βίαιον γὰρ*), as proof that Aristotle recognised the radical injustice of the institution. Milman (*Lat. Christianity*, ii. 13, ed. 1867) appears to have overlooked this passage.

the slaves of southern Italy were looked upon as ever ready allies for those who might seek to kindle the flames of civil war (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 65). The proportion of the slave class to the rest of the community under the empire has been variously estimated—by Gibbon (ed. Smith, ii. 179) as high as one-half the entire population. This estimate is generally regarded as excessive, but the extent to which the system of slavery was intertwined with the whole social fabric can hardly be exaggerated. Labour, whether on the farm, in trade, or in domestic service, was abandoned almost entirely to the slave, and was itself consequently without honour. The shepherds of Calabria and Sicily were all slaves, and frequently endeavoured to assert their freedom by a life of brigandage. By the same class the mines were worked, the merchant ship and the trireme manned, the aqueducts, roads, and viaducts made and repaired. In fact, in every department of arduous toil or productive labour (the military profession alone excepted), the burden was mainly borne by the slave. In the higher departments of mechanical skill and artistic accomplishments, the slave was the chief element, and in the mansions of the wealthy, by his varied labour, often supplied the whole wants of the household. He designed the palace, executed its decorations, and adorned its walls with paintings; he prepared the feast and enlivened it with music; he was the family physician and surgeon. The attendants on public functionaries, on the magistrate or the priest, were either slaves or freedmen (Varro, ap. A. Gellius, xiii. 13). The whole wealth of a citizen was shrewdly estimated by the answer that could be given to the question, "Quot pascit servos?"—an answer that might often be stated in thousands. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 47) tells us that one C. Caecilius Isidorus, in the reign of Augustus, was the owner at his death of upwards of 4000 slaves, although a large portion of his patrimony had been lost in the civil wars; and Chrysostom, in the 4th century, when condemning the inordinate luxury of his time, implies that it was no unusual thing for the wealthy owner to possess from a thousand to two thousand—ἀνδραπόδων χιλίων, ἢ δὶς τοσούτων (*in Matt. Hom.* lxiii. 4; Migne, *Series Graeca*, lviii. 608).

A consideration of these broad facts at once suggests the risk and danger that would have attended any attempt on the part of the Christian teacher in the first three centuries to denounce and overthrow slavery as a system. Such an attempt would at once, and not without reason, have been interpreted as tantamount to advocating a revolution in the state; and the charge of being revolutionary in character, as regarded pagan institutions, was one which Christianity already found it difficult to repel. It accordingly sought to ignore rather than to obliterate the class distinctions of ordinary society, and, in this policy, it could undoubtedly claim the sanction of the highest source of spiritual instruction. The convert to its principles, if a master, found in the apostolic writings only injunctions to consider his conduct towards his slave as subject to the rules of Christian intercourse. He was forbidden "to threaten" him (Ephes. vi. 9); he was to give him what was "just and equal" (Coloss. iv. 1). If a slave, he was enjoined not to allow his condition "to be a care" to him (1 Cor. vii. 21), a passage which Chrysostom interprets as an injunction to remain contented with a slave's condition — τουτέστι, τῇ δουλείᾳ παράμενε (Migne, *Series Graeca*, lxii. 704); he was to be obedient to his master, and to serve him "with singleness of heart and good will" (Ephes. vi. 5–9), "fearing God" (Coloss. iii. 22); whatever his master's moral character, he was to serve him "with all fear" (1 Pet. ii. 18);[b] of the unlawfulness of such relations the New Testament contains no intimation, and St. Paul himself, when at Rome, was the owner of a slave (Philemon, 10–17).

The language of the early Fathers was mainly of the same tenor. They inculcated humanity on the part of the master by arguments which much resemble those with which the modern philanthropist urges the exercise of the same virtue towards the brute creation. On the slave himself they enjoined humility and resignation; but while the pagan philosopher recommended suicide to the most miserable of this unfortunate race (Seneca, *Consol. ad Marc.* c. 20), the Christian teacher pointed to the perfect freedom and happiness of a future state. Ignatius warns the slave not to be arrogant on account of his spiritual equality with his master, but to serve him with greater zeal; he advises the whole class not to seek enfranchisement at the expense of the community, lest they should themselves become the slaves of desire (δοῦλοι ἐπιθυμίας); he enjoins Polycarp not to despise slaves, whether male or female (*Epist. ad Polycarp.* c. 4; Cureton, *Corp. Ignat.* p. 7). Tatian appears to regard the tribute paid by the subject, and the service rendered by the slave, as coming under much the same category (*adv. Graecos*, c. 4; Migne, *Series Graeca*, vi. 246). Tertullian inculcates the exercise of patience, both on the part of the master and on that of the slave, as the most efficacious means of establishing satisfactory relations (*de Patientiâ*, c. 15). Clement of Alexandria, in whom the allusions to slavery are frequent, urges that "slaves are men like ourselves" (*Paed.* iii. 12; Migne, *S. G.* viii. 672), and that Christians are bound to act towards them as they would themselves be acted by, but nowhere condemns the institution itself. He urges, indeed, that the unduly large numbers about a household, the ὄχλος οἰκετῶν maintained by the wealthy, should be reduced, as constituting an unjustifiable luxury (*ibid.* iii. 7; Migne, viii. 610); and he holds that the moral condition and education of his slaves are a matter to which no master can rightly be indifferent. He even appears to place respect to parents and regard for one's slaves on an equal footing as social obligations. Origen (*Cont. Cels.* iii. 44, 54) tells us that it was made a reproach to Christians by their enemies that they addressed their appeals to women, children, the uneducated, and to *slaves*. He implies that Christian slaves often proved instrumental in bringing about the conversion of households to which they belonged (Migne, *S. G.* xi. 476, 483). Callistus, bishop of Rome (A.D. 218–223), had been a slave, and it is deserving of note that Hippolytus

[b] So in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, iv. 12 (Cotelerius i. 301), ὁ δοῦλος εὔνοιαν εἰσφερέτω, πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ, κἂν ἀσεβὴς κἂν πονηρὸς ὑπάρχῃ.

in the *Philosophumena*, while bitterly assailing his character and motives, does not refer to the fact as involving any stigma.[c] Of the uniform disregard in the church itself of any distinction between the slave and the free man, the catacombs afford silent but significant evidence; for "while it is impossible," says De Rossi, "to examine the pagan sepulchral inscriptions of the same period without finding mention of a slave or a freedman, I have not met with one well-ascertained instance among the inscriptions of the Christian tombs" (*Boll. di Arch. Crist.* 1866, p. 24; see also Le Blant, *Inscrip. chrét. de la Gaule*, i. 119).

In the meantime other influences were in operation, which, although there is sufficient reason for concluding that they could never have brought about the abolition of slavery, undoubtedly led to the amelioration of the condition of the slave, and to a more humane view of his position in relation to the body politic. These were (*a*) the doctrines of the Stoic philosophy; (*β*) the imperial legislation; (*γ*) the private clubs or societies.

That the humaner tendencies in the imperial legislation were owing to the spread of Christian doctrine, has been maintained both by the jurist and the historian, but is not supported by the most authoritative and recent research. M. Wallon (*Hist. de l'Esclavage*, iii. 91) distinctly admits that they are mainly to be referred to the teaching of the philosophy of the age. "When we add to these laws," says another writer, "the broad maxims of equity, asserting the essential equality of the human race, which the jurists had borrowed from the Stoics, and which supplied the principles to guide the judges in their decisions, it must be admitted that the slave-code of imperial Rome compares not unfavourably with those of some Christian nations" (Lecky, *Hist. of Morals*, ii. 327). "As regards certain improvements said to have been introduced by Christianity into the imperial law of slavery," says Sir Henry Maine, "they were probably quickened by its influence, but they began in principles which were of stoical rather than of Christian influence" (*Early Hist. of Institutions*, p. 63). The language of the Christian apologists above cited, in unison with that of the most enlightened stoicism, but scarcely transcending it, must be regarded as corroborative of these views. The stories told in Bollandus (i. Mai, p. 371; Januarii, p. 275), on the other hand, of eminent Romans in the reigns of Trajan and Diocletian, immediately after their baptism liberating large numbers of their slaves, are at variance with nearly all the evidence for this period.

(ii) *From the commencement of Christian legislation under Constantine* (A.D. 313) *to the accession of Justinian* (A.D. 525).—The period upon which we are now entering presents us with evidence of a desire on the part of the legislator not only to ameliorate the condition but to facilitate the liberation of the slave, while, in either case, the laws relating to the subject clearly bear the impress of a more humane spirit. For example, within two years from the time that Christianity received state-recognition, a law passed in A.D. 315 enjoins that fugitive slaves shall be branded only on their hands or their ears, and not on the face—"quo facies, quae ad similitudinem pulchritudinis est coelestis figurata, minime maculetur" (*Cod. Just.* IX. xvii. 17; Kriegel, *Corpus Jur. Civ.* ii. 271)—a sentiment manifestly of Christian origin.

The laws relating to manumission afford more decisive evidence. The customary form of manumission during the master's lifetime had hitherto been by a well-known ceremony performed in the presence of the praefect and his lictor; but, by a decree of the year 316, it was declared that a slave might be set at liberty by a simple declaration made in a Christian church in the presence of the priest and the congregation, while, instead of the ancient ceremony, a written document signed by the master was to suffice as evidence (*ibid.* I. xiii. 1; Kriegel, ii. 89–90).

In the year 321, a further concession was made in a decree of Constantine addressed to Hosius, the eminent bishop of Cordova, and not improbably reflecting his personal influence over that monarch (see Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, bk. iii. c. 4). Here, after recapitulating the above law, the enactment goes on to declare that *the clergy* are permitted to bestow complete civil rights on their slaves, not only by a simple declaration of their purpose before "the church and godly folk," but also by instructions in their wills or any formal document, the freedom thus conferred to acquire validity from the day on which their intent has been made known (*Cod. Just.* I. xiii. 2).

Biot (*de l'Abolition de l'Esclav.* p. 147) interprets this latter law as proof of a design on the part of Constantine to attract converts to Christianity, inasmuch as those whose enfranchisement was proclaimed in a Christian church would necessarily be Christians, and these are here admitted to "plenum fructum libertatis," *i.e.* to rank not simply as "Latini" but as "cives." It was not until the year 401, nearly a century later, that this mode of enfranchisement was extended to Africa (Biot, p. 148); but, wherever valid, it appears to have been recognised as a triumph of Christianity. Augustine, in one of his sermons (*Serm.* ccclvi. sec. 3), announces that several of his clergy are designing to emancipate the few slaves they possess,—the result apparently of the introduction of the new law into his diocese. Gregory of Nyssa, in contrasting the features which distinguished the Christian celebration of Easter from pagan festivals, mentions, among others, "the slave enfranchised by the good and humane proclamation of the church, and not smitten in unseemly fashion on the cheek" (*de Resur. Dom. Orat.* 3; Migne, *S. G.* xlvi. 657).

A law bearing on the same subject, but of yet earlier date than either of the foregoing, is lost; but we learn from Sozomen (*H. E.* i. 9) that a hundred years later these three laws were placed at the head of all formal documents of enfranchisement—προγράφεσθαι ἐν τοῖς γραμματείοις τῶν ἐλευθεριῶν (Migne, *S. G.* lxvii. 21); and it is easy

[c] The sanction extended by Callistus to marriages solemnised in his diocese between free Christian women and Christian slaves, is noted by Overbeck (*Studien*, &c. p. 190), as one of the very rare instances that present themselves before the time of Constantine of any attempt on the part of the church to determine questions that came within the provisions of state legislation (see *Hippolyti Refut.* ix. 12).

to recognise in the class enfranchised by the law of 316 the "tabularii," and in that of 321 the "chartularii" of barbaric codes of a later period (see *infra*, Pt. iv.).

If we add to the foregoing laws another of the year 334, forbidding the arbitrary separation of the father of a family from his wife and children upon the death of their common owner (*Digest.* XXXIII. vii. 12, § 7; Kriegel, i. 553); and another, passed under Zeno in the year 486, forbidding any citizen in any province of the empire to have a private prison (*Cod. Just.* IX. v.), we have before us the main evidence that presents itself, prior to the time of Justinian, of a desire on the part of the legislator to render the yoke of slavery less intolerable.

On the other hand, it is not to be disguised that the actual condition of the slave remained much the same. We find, for example, from a law of the year 317, that the examination of fugitive slaves was still carried on by torture (*Cod. Just.* VI. i. 4). A law of the year 319 declares that on a slave who has been subjected to the lash, or put in chains, dying, as the subsequent result, his master is not to be brought to trial, the latter being liable to the charge of homicide only when death has been the immediate result of his violence (*Cod. Theod.* IX. xiii. 1, ed. Haenel, p. 859). Another law of the year 332 enacts that freedmen may again be reduced to slavery if they have exhibited "superbiam," or have injured their patron (*ib.* IV. x. 1; Haenel, p. 396). Another, of the year 376, directs that slaves turning informers against their masters are to be burnt, along with whatever documentary evidence they may have put in, the sole exception being where the accusation which they have alleged has been that of treason against the state—"majestatis" (*ibid.* IX. vi. 2; Haenel, pp. 836–837).

It is undeniable that in the 4th century the language of the Fathers assumes a bolder tone. Chrysostom (*ad Ephes.* Hom. xxii. 2), Gregory Nazianzen (*Poem. Theol.* ii. 26), Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* v. 15) alike inquire into the *origin* of the institution, and concur in tracing it to evil principles, to avarice, tyranny, and injustice; it is openly stigmatised as a reversal of natural law (Arnobius, *adv. Gentes*, bk. ii.). Lactantius expressly states that Christianity recognises no difference between rich and poor, bond and free (*Div. Inst.* v. 16). Chrysostom boldly grapples with the apparent difficulty presented by St. Paul's non-condemnation of the system,[d] and gives it as his explanation that the exhibition of a state of slavery, in conjunction with that of spiritual liberty, was a greater moral triumph for Christianity than its abolition, even, he says, as the spectacle of the three Hebrew youths walking in the furnace was a greater marvel than the extinction of the flames would have been (*in Genesim*, serm. v. 1). The manner, again, in which the church asserted the slave's religious equality with the free man cannot but have paved the way for the recognition of his civil and social equality. While paganism had looked upon him as a non-religious member of the state, the church admitted him to the rite of baptism; and Gregory Nazianzen insists, with emphasis, on the absolute equality of all admitted to this sacrament: "Think not, ye rich, that it is beneath your dignity to be baptized with the poor, or, ye masters, with your slaves. For even in so doing ye humble not yourselves as did Christ, in whom ye are this day baptized, and who, for your sakes, took upon Him the form of a slave. For, from the day that ye are changed anew, all the ancient marks disappear; Christ is impressed as a common form on all" (*Orat. in Sanct. Bapt.*, Migne, *S. G.* xxxvi. 712). In like manner, Chrysostom (*in Sanct. Pascha*, Hom. iii. 4) maintains the theory of a perfect equality among the partakers of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. According to the 73rd of the Apostolical Canons, no slave was to be admitted to ordination without his master's sanction; for this, the canon says, would be the subversion of a household; his master's consent and his *own freedom* are declared to be essential. It would appear, however, that in Jerome's time slaves were sometimes ordained without having obtained enfranchisement. John, bishop of Jerusalem, having complained of such an ordination in the church at Rome, Jerome, writing to Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, retorts that John himself has some among his clergy of the same condition, and urges that Onesimus, whom Paul converted while in prison, was ordained a deacon while still a slave (*Epist.* 82; Migne, xxii. 516). In the correspondence of Gregory Nazianzen, we find him referring to a case where a slave had been made bishop over a small community in the desert. The Christian lady to whom he belonged endeavoured to assert her right of ownership, for which she was severely rebuked by St. Basil. After St. Basil's death she again claimed the slave, whereupon Gregory addressed to her a letter of grave remonstrance at her un-Christian desire to recall his brother bishop (συμποίμην) from his sphere of duty (*Epist.* 79; Migne, *S. G.* xxxvii. 149–154). It is, however, to be noted that Gregory himself, "though he had liberated some of his slaves in his lifetime, yet did not set others free till his death" (Babington, *Influence of Christianity*, &c., p. 29).

In the 5th century, and subsequently to that period, both the priestly office and the monastic profession were largely recruited from the servile class; but while the church compassionately connived at this means of escape from slavery, the exigencies of the state (as will shortly be shewn) appear to have been held incompatible with such licence. Leo the Great, indeed, in his lofty conception of the sacerdotal office, denounced a practice whereby he affirms "the

[d] This passage appears conclusive against the argument of bishop Horsley (Babington, *Influence of Christianity*, &c. p. 16), that St. Paul in denouncing "menstealers" (ἀνδραποδισταί) intends to convey a condemnation of slavery as an institution. His reference is plainly to those who gained a livelihood by *kidnapping*—a practice including *free* men and children, as well as slaves, and selling them into captivity in other lands. The charity of the church, throughout our period, was largely devoted to redeeming these unfortunate victims [see Cyprian, *Epist.* 60 (Migne, iv. 99); Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* vi. 12; Ambrose, *Off. Lib.* ii. 28], but such efforts, however valuable as evidence of Christian philanthropy, cannot be regarded as proof of a desire to abolish slavery at home. Of this, the law of king Ine of Wessex, in the 7th century, gives decisive proof. "If anyone sell his own countryman, *bond or free*, though he be guilty, over the sea, let him pay for him according to his "wer" (Stubbs, *Documents*, p. 61).

sacred ministry is dishonoured, and the rights of masters are set at naught" (*Epist.* 4; Migne, liv. 612). A decree of the first council of Orleans (A.D. 511) requires that whenever a bishop shall have admitted a slave to the office of deacon or presbyter unknown to his owner, the ransom paid shall be double the slave's value (Sirmond, i. 180). A council held in the same city, in 538, decrees that the bishop who has thus infringed upon the master's rights shall himself be suspended for a year from the function of celebrating mass (*ib.* i. 255); it further requires that neither "coloni" (see *infra*, sec. iii.) nor slaves "shall be admitted to ecclesiastical honours until either by testament or charter they have been made free,"—"Ut nullus servilibus colonariisque conditionibus obligatus, juxta statuta sedis Apostolicae, ad honores ecclesiasticos admittatur; nisi prius aut testamento aut per tabulas legitime constiterit absolutum" (*ib.*). The prevailing tone with respect to slavery is still such as indicates that, like poverty and other ills, it was regarded rather as a misfortune to be endured than an injustice to be done away with,—a form of suffering, consequent upon the Fall, of which the chief compensation was to be looked for in a future life (Eusebius, *Theophan.* v. 21; Gregory of Nyssa, *Orat.* 9; Chrysostom, *Hom.* 29, *in Gen.*; Cyril of Alexandria, *de Adorand. in Spiritu et in Verit.* bk. viii.). The fear that Christianity might appear to be aiming at revolutionising the state still operated with considerable force. Chrysostom says that "it is fitting that the Gentiles should perceive that a slave may please God; otherwise they will assuredly blaspheme and say that, if masters are to be deprived of their slaves, Christianity has been brought in to upset the existing order of things, and is a work of violence." In the same treatise he says that if a slave is distinguished by his excellent qualities, this is all the more reason that he should continue in servitude, so that by his presence he may exert a beneficial influence over the whole household (*Arg. in Epist. ad Philem.*, Migne, *S. G.* lxii. 704). He holds, however, on another occasion, somewhat different language, advising masters to give those slaves whom they do not really require, instruction in some useful art, and then, when they are able to earn their own livelihood, to set them free. But he admits that this advice is unpalatable to his hearers,—φορτικός εἰμι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν (*ad Epist.* i. *ad Cor.*, *Hom.* 40; Migne, *S. G.* lxi. 354). Isidore, the learned abbat of Pelusium, puts forward the singular theory that the servile condition may even be preferable to that of the freeman, because in the day of judgment the slave might plead in his defence that he had been compelled to obey the mandates of his earthly master (*Epist.* bk. iv. 12 and 169). Here, however, says Prof. Babington, "he is not giving his own counsel, but paraphrasing St. Paul" (*Influence of Christianity*, p. 29). It is a somewhat too sweeping assertion made by the last-named writer, that the writings of St. Basil, Ephraim the Syrian, Pseudo-Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome, Salvian, and Leo the Great do not contain a hint that slavery is unlawful or improper; but it is certain that none of them advocate its abolition. Theodorus Cyrensis, in his seventh oration, *de Providentia*, puts forward the view that slavery is a punishment inflicted on the human race which, while it convicts man of sin, bears witness to the justice of the Creator (Migne, *S. G.* lxxxiii. 676). So completely, indeed, did the church at this period dissociate the theory of the slave's spiritual equality with the freeman from that of his civil rights, that at the Council of Gangra (circ. 379) an anathema was pronounced against anyone who should make the former theory a ground for instigating a slave to repudiate his master's authority (Hardouin, *Conc.* i. 530). Hefele, who cannot be supposed to understate the argument in defence of the church, admits that fathers and councils alike systematically discouraged the self-assertion of freedom (*Beiträge*, i. 216). Enfranchisement was generally regarded as the reward of exceptional merit, and was often associated with some religious festivals; according to Gregory of Nyssa, especially with the celebration of Easter (Migne, *S. G.* xlvi. 657).* How far the church was from proclaiming a general denunciation of slavery is to be inferred from the fact that in the year 503 the household of pope Symmachus was largely composed of slaves, and that, in the course of this pontiff's struggle with Laurentius, the royal commissioner sent by Theodoric subjected them to torture in order to extract evidence bearing upon the matter in dispute (Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, bk. iii. c. 3). Christianity, to quote the language of Milman (*Lat. Christianity*, bk. iii. c. 5), had taken slaves "out of the class of brute beasts or inanimate things, to be transferred like cattle or other goods from one master to another, which the owner might damage or destroy with as much impunity as any other property; and placed them in that of human beings, equally under the care of Divine Providence and gifted with the same immortality . . . . But the abrogation of slavery was not contemplated even as a remote possibility. A general enfranchisement seems never to have dawned on the wisest and best of the Christian writers."

(iii) *From the accession of Justinian to the death of Gregory the Great.*—Although the efforts both of the legislator and of the church up to the commencement of this period must be looked upon as tending rather to the amelioration of the condition of the slave than to the abolition of slavery, events, in the mean time, were conspiring to bring about a more important change,—that whereby *slavery*, as a political institution, was gradually supplanted by *serfdom*. From the earliest days of the empire, the cultivation of the soil (the vital question with the civil administrator) appears as carried on mainly by two distinct classes,—the slave and the "colonus"; the first cultivating the land solely for his master's profit, the second receiving payment for his labour or renting the land of the proprietor. Owing to a conjunction of causes, into which it is here impossible to enter, the owners of the large estates found, with the advance of the 3rd century, the supply of

* A passage in St. Ambrose's celebrated reply to Symmachus, implying that the freeing of captives is, along with feeding the poor and supporting those in exile, one of the works of charity to which the revenues of the church of his day were largely devoted (Migne, xvi. 837), must be classed with the numerous passages referred to above (note [d]), and cannot be looked upon as having any real bearing upon the question of slavery.

labour altogether inadequate to the demand. In the reign of Honorius (A.D. 395–423) this evil had grown to such an extent that in Campania, the most fertile region of Italy, no less than 528,042 jugera were exempted from taxation owing to the fact that they had been deserted by the cultivator (*Cod. Theod.* XI. xxviii. 2; Haenel, p. 1120).

Against these difficulties legislation (as is clearly to be seen in the Theodosian Code) had long been contending, but in the meantime the condition of the "colonus" had been one of steady and continuous degeneration.[f] His rights as a freeman had been repeatedly disregarded; his property had been confiscated, and he and his family reduced to the position of serfs, under what has been described as the state's "imperious necessity of procuring and preserving instruments for the cultivation of land" [Maine (Sir H.), *Early Hist. of Institutions*, p. 150]. To quote the description of M. Wallon, the "colonus" shared the condition of a slave without being legally such, and partook of the condition without enjoying the rights of a freeman. From the reign of Constantius, this anomalous condition of things is frequently referred to in legislation; but it was not until the reign of Justinian that a series of fresh enactments took formal cognisance of the grievances under which the "colonus" laboured and defined his status and rights. The result of this legislation, according to Savigny, was to produce a kind of amalgamation of the "coloni" and the "servi," whereby the heredity of labour, when associated with the cultivation of the soil, became a recognised theory in law (*Mém. Acad. de Berlin*, 1822–1823), and it would even appear to have been the design of the legislator to obliterate, as far as possible, all distinctions between the two classes. In a law of Justinian, indeed, we find the question distinctly propounded as to what real difference can be supposed to exist between slaves and "ascriptitii," "when," it says, "both are in the power of their lord, who is equally able to enfranchise the slave (along with his private hoard), and to exclude from his overlordship the 'ascriptitius' along with the tract which he cultivates" (*Cod. Just.* XI. xlvii. 22; Kriegel, ii. 702). Every freeman who had cultivated the same land for thirty years, was now declared to be a "colonus," and as such was forbidden to transfer his labour to other territory (*Cod. Just.* XI. xlvii. 23); if he attempted to escape, he might be recaptured and chastised by his employer. He was disqualified both for civil and military functions (*ib.* XI. xlvii. 11 and 18; Kriegel, ii. 700–701). He could bring no legal action against his employer, unless for arbitrary raising of his rent or some personal injury sustained by himself or one of his family (*ib.* XI. xlix. 1–2; Kriegel, ii. 704). The slave, on the other hand, was gradually relieved from those disabilities which had hitherto distinguished him from the "colonus." He could no longer be sold away from the land which he cultivated. In his own person, in his rights over his wife and children, and in the right of acquiring and bequeathing property, he ranked as a freeman. As was the case with the "ascriptitius," election to the episcopal dignity rendered him, *ipso facto*, free,—"Post creationem autem a servili et adscriptitii conditione episcopos liberos esse jubemus" (*Novell.* cxxiii. 4; Kriegel, iii. 544).

It will be seen, from the foregoing evidence, that as regards that large portion of the servile class whose labour was bestowed on the land, their condition in the 6th century differed considerably from that of the agricultural labourer in the early days of the empire. It was much inferior to that of the ancient "colonus," but it was a great improvement upon that of the slave,—a circumstance which requires to be borne in mind when we observe that it was in the same century, especially during the pontificate of Gregory the Great, that the territorial possessions of the church first begun to form an important element in its history and policy. Of the relations of the church to the labour question the letters of Gregory afford valuable illustration. Among them there is one to Venantius, bishop of Luna (the great seaport on the confines of Liguria), from which it appears that a community of Jews, holding lands in the diocese, were also proprietors of Christian slaves. Gregory, having been consulted by Venantius, distinctly lays it down as a rule that no Jew can be allowed to hold Christian men in bondage, but he goes on to say that, in the present instance, although those over whom these Jews assert their claim may be free men in point of law, yet notwithstanding, *inasmuch as they have for a lengthened period continued to cultivate those same lands*, they are bound by the circumstances of the case, and must accordingly continue to cultivate these lands and to pay their rents to the proprietors, besides complying with all the obligations legally binding upon "coloni" or "originarii,"[g] but that no further burden is to be imposed upon them (*Epist.* iv. 21; Migne, lxxvii. 700).

This important letter, which M. Wallon (*Hist. de l'Esclavage*, iii. 312) regards as embodying the imperial legislation of the period, as conceived under the conditions above described, would appear to afford unquestionable proof that the position of the "colonus" at this time was one which secured to him a considerable degree of freedom. The antipathy of the church to the enslaving of Christian men by Jews or pagans begins now to be very strongly marked.[h] A decree of the Council of Mâcon, A.D. 581, directs that Jewish or pagan proprietors shall be bound to surrender Christian slaves for a ransom of 12 solidi; and that any Christian shall be empowered to ransom a slave at such a price, whether it be his design to retain him in his possession or to set him at liberty (Sirmond, i. 373). The criticism of Overbeck (*Studien*, &c.

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[f] For the main facts which illustrate this gradual descent of the "colonus" from his ancient freedom, see Biot, *de l'Abolition de l'Esclavage*, pp. 177–181.

[g] The "coloni" by descent, as distinguished from those who were such by agreement, the "ascriptitii." The influence of the question of labour in connexion with the land is to be recognised in many directions: thus a decree of the Council of Agde (A.D. 506) forbids the enfranchisement of the slaves of monasteries, holding it unjust "ut monachis quotidianum *rurale opus* facientibus, servi eorum libertatis otio potiuntur" (Mansi, *Conc.* viii. 334).

[h] As the complement to this sentiment we may note that which considered the enslaving of pagan captives in war justifiable (see Biot, *de l'Abolition de l'Esclavage*, p. 233).

p. 211) that this aversion took its rise in mere religious bigotry, and was contrary to the theory of the primitive church, breathing rather of the ancient pagan prejudice against the barbarian (Plato, *Repub.* v. 15), appears harsh and overstrained. It is also to be remembered that the exaggerated importance now discernible as attached by the church to a formal observance of religious duties, *e.g.* fasting, keeping of saints' days, &c., must have operated very strongly in the same direction. The Christian in slavery to a pagan master could hardly have avoided living in the habitual commission of mortal sin; and to no object were Gregory's efforts more ardently devoted than to the suppression of the slave-trade as carried on by the Jews in his day (*Epist.* iv. 9; Migne, lxxvii. 689; see also pp. 498, 652, 868, 953, 954, 1016). Writing to Theoderic and Theodebert, kings of Frankland, he expresses his surprise that they should permit any Jews in their dominions to possess slaves (*Epist.* ix. 110; Migne, lxxvii. 1018). It seems accordingly that the condition of these "coloni" at Luna was such as he would never have sanctioned, had it not left them free to observe Christian worship and perform the chief duties of the Christian life unmolested.

On the other hand, he appears to have held the theory already referred to, which looked upon one Christian in bondage to another as simply the result of the divine decree finding expression in human institutions (*Epist.* iii. 18; x. 66; xii. 4; Migne, lxxvii. 637, 1089, 1210); nor can it be denied that this theory appears sometimes to have been construed by him in a sense repugnant to more enlightened views. Thus, when directing Januarius, bishop of Cagliari, to take vigorous measures against pagans, aruspices, and sorcerers, he says that *if slaves* they are to be beaten and subjected to torture, but if free men, are to be subjected simply to imprisonment (*Epist.* ix. 65; Migne, lxxvii. 982). But, notwithstanding, it is in the letters of this pontiff that M. Biot considers we have the earliest example of the Christian sentiment of liberty as the *natural right* of man, finding expression in a definite act of manumission; this is on the occasion of bestowing their freedom on two slaves, Montanus and Thomas, when Gregory compares their enfranchisement from the yoke which the law has placed upon them to the liberty which Christ came to win for all mankind—"quos ab initio natura liberos protulit, et jus gentium jugo substituit servitutis" (*Epist.* vi. 12; Migne, lxxvii. 804).

The decisions of Gregory having formed, in almost every important question, the rule of the Latin church during centuries after his time, the theory to which he here gives expression, may be regarded as that which continued to prevail to the conclusion of our period, whereby slavery was looked upon as an admitted antagonism between "natura" and the "jus gentium."

(iv) *From the death of Gregory the Great to the commencement of the 9th century: (α) in the Eastern Empire; (β) in Latin Christendom; (γ) among Teutonic nations, prior to the introduction of Latin institutions.*

(α) The influences of legislation and religion, in the eastern provinces of the empire, combined steadily to diminish the number of slaves (Gibbon, ch. xliv.; Wallon, *Hist. de l'Esclavage*, iii. 452), and, according to Finlay (*Hist. of Greece*, ed. Tozer, ii. 220), were aided by conditions more favourable to free labour, operating more immediately "in extinguishing predial slavery, and repressing the most important branch of the slave-trade, by supplying the cities with free emigrants." The evidence afforded by legislation is to be studied, after the 6th century, chiefly in the enactments of Basil the Macedonian (emp. 867–886) and of his son Leo the Philosopher, and is described in its main features by M. Wallon (iii. 452, 453). It is to be noted that the latter emperor revoked the law of Justinian which conferred freedom on slaves who had taken refuge in churches or monasteries, in the event of their giving satisfactory evidence of having been subjected to ill-usage.

The monasteries of the East appear to have been distinguished by their repudiation of the employment of slave labour, a principle emphatically laid down by St. Platon and Theodore Studites. The latter, writing to his disciple Nicholas (recently created an abbat), instructs him that he is not to have a single slave, whether for his own service, or that of the monastery, or for the culture of the land; "for this," he says, "is permissible, like marriage, only to those who lead a secular life" (Sirmond, *Opera*, Paris, 1696, v. 84).

(β) In those countries where Latin influences continued to predominate, the close connexion of the question of slavery with that of the cultivation of the land appears to have hindered the progress of emancipation. Among the Western Franks, the condition of the slave differed, according to Guizot, from the ancient servitude of paganism, in that it was not "uniforme, constante et séparée de celle des hommes libres par un profond abîme" (*Essais*, p. 214); and owing to the fact, that it was thus vaguely defined, it afforded conditions which ultimately resulted in the establishment of freedom. He concurs, however, in the opinion expressed by Gibbon (ch. xxxviii.), that from the 5th to the 10th century "the laws and manners of Gaul uniformly tended to promote the increase, and to confirm the duration, of personal servitude;" but, at the same time, considers (*Essais*, p. 208) that in the many cases of enfranchisement that come under our notice during this period, religious ideas suggested the preponderating motive. The Formulae of Marculfus (a monk of the 7th century) systematically represent the bestowing of freedom on the slave as a meritorious action that will be rewarded in a future state (Migne, lxxxvii. 747). It would appear that it was customary for the king, on the birth of a son, to bestow freedom on three slaves on each of his farms (villae), and the formula used on these occasions is preserved in the same writer (bk. ii. 52). The Ripuarian Code (which exhibits an admixture of Latin and barbaric elements) defines three distinct modes of enfranchisement, according to which the slave was known as a "denarius," a "tabularius," or a "chartularius." On the first of these, freedom was conferred according to Salic law,—the slave holding a coin (denarius) in his hand, and the king thereupon striking his hand, so as to cause the coin to fly into his face, and pronouncing him a free man (Marculfus, *Form.* i. 22). The second mode ("secundum legem Romanam") corresponded exactly to that prescribed by the

law of Constantine of the year 316; the third (whereby the freedman was known as a "chartularius") reproduces the method prescribed in the law of 321 (for both of these see *supra*, sec. ii.). It is the opinion of Guizot (*Essais*, p. 213) that none of these modes secured complete freedom to the enfranchised slave, but that, in each case, he was subsequently under the necessity of attaching himself to a "patronus," who, in the first case, was the king; in the second, the church; while the "chartularius" elected to which of these two he would be bound.

A decree of the Council of Châlons (A.D. 650) prohibits the selling of slaves out of the realm of king Clovis II. (Sirmond, i. 491); and another of the year 743 prohibits their being, in any case, sold to Jews (Mansi, xii. 384). The abbat Smaragdus, in the reign of Charles the Great, exhorted that monarch not to reduce captives of war to slavery, and also to set free his own slaves (Biot, *u. s.* p. 311). The 104th canon of the Council of Aachen (A.D. 816) exhibits what may be regarded as the prevailing ecclesiastical view of slavery at the close of our period,—that it is to be looked upon as a consequence of the Fall, and that, although the Creator regards not the comparative intelligence (rationem) of individuals, yet He has destined some to slavery and others to freedom, in order that the "tendency of the slave to do ill may be restrained by the power of the master" (Mansi, xiv. 211).

The chronicle of the monastery of Farfi in the duchy of Spoleto, in an enumeration of the slaves and dependants of the monastery made towards the close of the 7th century, shews that these slaves resided in separate cottages, and were permitted to hold property of their own,—a condition closely resembling, if not identical with, that of the "colonus" (Muratori, *Scriptt.* II. ii. 428). In the year 815, Lewis the Pious, in a charter confirming the rights and privileges of the same monastery, refers to its "servi" and "ancillae" as well as its "libellarii" (= "tabularii") and "chartulati" (*ib.* II. ii. 365). Arichis, duke of Beneventum, in a capitulary of the year 774, defines the relations of servants to their masters as one of complete subjection,—"ita tamen ut ejus, qui eos acceperit, disciplinis et imperio, *sicut servi* subjaceant" (*ib.* II. ii. 336).

In Spain, where the laws of the Visigoths represented a kind of amalgamation of their own code with that of Theodosius, the enactments relating to the condition of the slave offer few points of material difference when compared with the Roman law,—the chief distinction being that slaves were permitted to engage in military service (Biot, p. 402).

(γ) Under the influence of the spirit of Teutonic conquest, the growth of personal freedom again received a check. "The fruitful cause of personal slavery," says Gibbon (ed. Smith, iv. 374), "which had been almost suppressed by the peaceful sovereignty of Rome, was again revived and multiplied by the perpetual hostilities of the independent barbarians." The theory maintained by one writer[1] on our subject,—that slavery, strictly so-called, never existed among the German races, and that contact with the Latin race and with Roman institutions tended rather to aggravate the condition of serfdom as existing among them,—is at variance with the best established conclusions. Tacitus (*Germ.* c. 25) clearly implies that the slave's life could be taken by his master with impunity. "It cannot be denied," says Professor Stubbs, "that slavery in the strictest sense was an early, if not a primitive, institution of the race" (*Const. Hist.* i. 78). In direct contravention of the law of Valerian and Gallienus [*supra*, sec. i. (β)], the laws of the Merovingian dynasty in Frankland permitted a freeman to sell himself into slavery, and even prescribed the formula (Marculfus, *Form.* ii. 28). The researches of Jastrow clearly prove that the earliest codes of the Frisians, Saxons, Thuringians, Franks and Alemanni, all involve that fundamental violation of natural law which represented the slave as a Thing rather than a Person. He had indeed a recognised legal value, which was determined like that of other "things," by assessment. In the Saxon and Thuringian codes this value is fixed by law, but solely as a question of his worth to his owner. In the older Salic Code and in that of the Alemanni, it is estimated with reference to the "wergild" of the freeman and of the "lite." The Kentish Laws of Ethelbert are the first which deal with the question of his "Mannwerth,"—equivalent, says Jastrow, to his "wergild," only under another name. "In some respects," says Professor Stubbs, "the practice of the law is better than the theory: the slave is entitled to his two loaves a day, and his holy days are secured to him. He can purchase his freedom with savings which in some unexplained way the law has allowed him to keep, and the spiritual law can enforce a penance on the master for illtreating him. But his status descends to his children; all his posterity, unless the chain is broken by emancipation, are born slaves" (*Const. Hist.* i. 79; see also Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i. 185-225). In the laws of Ine, king of Wessex (circ. 690), this "Mannwerth" becomes technically a "wergild" (see Jastrow, *Zur strafrechtlichen Stellung der Sclaven bei Deutschen und Angelsachsen*, p. 41). One of the laws of Wihtred, king of Kent, made at a witenagemot held at Berghamstede in 690, requires that the head of a family who gives them meat on a fast, shall do penance by devoting his "hals-fang" (price of commutation for punishment in the pillory) to redeeming "bond or free" (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 235–6). To Theodore of Tarsus is attributed the merit of obtaining in the West the adoption of the axiom of Eastern monasticism,—that "the monastery could have no slaves" (Hefele, *Beiträge*, i. 217). The same ecclesiastic, however, allows men to sell themselves into slavery "for meat," *i.e.* in order to avoid starvation (Haddan and Stubbs, *ib.* iii. 202). "Manumission," says Mr. Green, "became frequent in wills, as the clergy taught that such a gift was a boon to the soul of the dead. At the synod of Calnith the bishops bound themselves to free at their decease all serfs on their estates who had been reduced to serfdom by want or crime. Usually the slave was set free before the altar or in the church-porch, and the Gospel-book bore written on its margins the record of his emancipation . . . . The slave-trade from English ports was prohibited by law, but the prohibition long remained

[1] Venedey (J.) *Römerthum, Christenthum und Germanenthum*; c. viii. "Die Germanische Knechtschaft nach dem Sturze Roms."

ineffective. A hundred years later than Dunstan the wealth of English nobles was said sometimes to spring from breeding slaves for the market. It was not till the reign of the first Norman king that the preaching of Wulstan and the influence of Lanfranc suppressed the trade in its last stronghold, the port of Bristol" (*Short History*, pp. 54, 55).

The conclusions to which the foregoing outline of facts appears to point, as to the extent to which the Christianity of the first eight centuries modified the conditions of the slave, admit of being very concisely summarized. During the first three centuries Christianity could scarcely hope materially to influence that legislation by which it was itself persecuted, but, in conjunction with the philosophic teaching of the Stoics, it brought about a change of sentiment which led to the consideration of the whole question of slavery from a different standpoint. It spoke of him as a man in this life, and as destined to immortality hereafter. Of the general abolition of a system which underlay the entire fabric of the state and of society, it had little or no conception; but with the fall of the Western empire the whole question of labour, as associated with the cultivation of the land, assumed a phase which ultimately involved the suppression of the harshest features of the ancient slavery. Concurrently with this change, Christianity was gradually raising the condition of the slave by admitting him to the sacraments of the church and to the ranks of the clergy, as well as by the manner in which it encouraged his complete enfranchisement as a Christian act, and associated it with Christian observances. Even the intolerant spirit which, at this period, began to be displayed towards the Jew and the pagan, is to some extent redeemed by the fact that it led to the essential injustice of slavery being more fully recognised. With these considerations before us, it seems difficult not to assent to the view of M. Wallon, that when, at a later time, with the commencement of feudalism, the question of the cultivation of the soil entered upon another phase, there was no security in existing institutions that the serf might not relapse into the condition of the slave, Christianity interposed, and not merely averted any such retrograde movement, but paved the way for the complete emancipation of the serf; while, by the admission of Gibbon, "the custom of enslaving prisoners of war was totally extinguished in the 13th century *by the influence of Christianity*" (*Decline and Fall*, c. xxxviii. note 96).

Authorities and works referred to: Muratori, *Dissert.* xiv. and xv. in *Antiq. Ital. Med. Aevi*, vol. i. 1738; Venedey (J.), *Römerthum, Christenthum und Germanenthum, und deren wechselseitiger Einfluss bei der Umgestaltung der Sclaverei des Alterthums in die Leibeigenschaft des Mittelalters*, Frankfurt, 1840; Biot (Edouard), *De l'Abolition de l'Esclavage ancien en Orient*, Paris, 1840; Wallon (Henri), *Histoire de l'Esclavage*, 3 v., Paris, 1847; Babington (Churchill), *Influence of Christianity in promoting the Abolition of Slavery in Europe*, 1846; Rivière (A.), *L'Église et l'Esclavage*, Paris, 1864; Hefele (C. J.), *Sklaverei und Christenthum* (in *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte*, i. 212–226); Overbeck (Franz), *Ueber das Verhältniss der alten Kirche zur Sclaverei im römischen Reiche* (pt. iii. of *Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche*, Basel, 1875); Allard (Paul), *Les Esclaves Chrétiens depuis les premiers temps de l'Église jusqu'à la fin de la Domination Romaine en Occident*, Paris, 1876, and review of the same by Ad. Harnack in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1877, No. 6; Jastrow (J.), *Zur strafrechtlichen Stellung der Sclaven bei Deutschen und Angelsachsen*, Breslau, 1878. [J. B. M.]

**SMARAGDUS (1)**, March 12, commemorated at Nicomedia with Mardonius presbyter, and others (*Syr. Mart.*, *Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) March 16, martyr at Rome under Maximin with Largus and others; passio (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon.); Aug. 8, depositio (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon., on the Via Ostiensi; *Mart. Hieron.* on the Via Salaria).

**SOCIAL LIFE.** The design of this article is to point out and illustrate what appear to have been the distinguishing characteristics of Christian society during the first eight centuries. As, however, these characteristics are found to differ considerably according to the varying conditions of the age, any attempt to bring the phenomena of different periods within a single outline could hardly but prove fallacious; it is accordingly proposed to consider them as they present themselves to our notice at three different eras: (I.) During the first three centuries. (II.) In the empire, subsequent to the recognition of Christianity by the state. (III.) Among Teutonic communities, subsequent to their nominal conversion to Christianity.

(I.) The Christian life, as conceived in the primitive church, may be said to have been dominated by two distinct, and, at first sight, somewhat antagonistic conceptions. The apostolic injunction to be "not conformed to this world," but "transformed in the renewing of the mind," and the teaching which led the early Christians to regard themselves as "an elect people, a royal priesthood, a holy race," were combined with a theory of the relations of the Christian citizen to mankind at large, which completely broke down the barriers of the old Roman exclusiveness and led him to look upon mankind as, to use the expression of Tertullian (*Apol.* c. 38), one great republic. It is certain, however, that, partly from a sincere desire to inculcate principles which involved the recognition of a universal brotherhood, partly from anxiety to discourage notions which caused them to be regarded with suspicion and dislike, the earlier Christians emphatically disclaimed the adoption of distinctive institutions or peculiar habits. Thus the author of the Epistle to Diognetus (c. 5) says that Christians "are in no way distinguished by their country, speech, or customs from other men;" that "they neither dwell in separate cities, nor use any peculiar dialect, nor do they lead an unusual (παράσημον) mode of life" (Bunsen, *Anal. Ante-Nic.* i. 111).

It is in perfect harmony with historical experience at large that, though the centres in which Christianity first assumed a distinctive social character were noted for their luxury, dissipation, and immorality, the life of the Christians themselves in this uncongenial atmosphere appears (so far as we are able to arrive at the evidence) to have been faithful to an unusual extent to the Christian ideal. The corruptions

that surrounded the convert in cities such as Antioch, Alexandria, Corinth, Rome, and Carthage were, in fact, calculated to produce in minds not totally depraved a reaction of feeling which materially contributed to preserve them from yielding to the debasing influences of the example set by their fellow citizens.[a] Origen (*cont. Cels.* iii. 30), when referring to the life of the Christians in these great cities, does not hesitate to affirm that even the least exemplary among them greatly surpassed the majority of the pagan community (πολλῶν κρείττους τυγχάνειν τῶν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις ἐκκλησιῶν, Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xi. 466). If to this condition of moral isolation we add the sense of estrangement from the state, by which, if not actually persecuted, the earlier Christians were generally looked upon with mistrust, the Christian life at this period almost necessarily involved a certain exclusiveness and habitual caution in intercourse with the world without.

While, again, in all the ordinary relations of civil life the Christian could conscientiously disclaim eccentricity or incompatibility with prevailing practice, his religion and his conduct, as derived from that religion, were such that neither the one nor the other could pass unobserved. At home, his domestic life (the life which always affords the best guarantees for the right and virtuous discharge of the duties of the citizen) offered a superficial resemblance to that of the pagan in that the observance of worship was regular and systematic, but essentially differed from it in so far that what in the one was looked upon as a mere *ceremony* was observed in the other as a *spiritual exercise.* The three canonical hours of the early church, the 3rd, the 6th, and the 9th (HOURS OF PRAYER), were marked out as times of devotion. In the family circle, at the third hour, the Scriptures were read, the common prayer was offered, and the Hallelujah Psalm sung. Then followed the first meal of the day, preceded, like every other meal, by a special prayer for the divine blessing, an observance which, to use the expression of Clemens of Alexandria, converted every meal into a sacrament (*Paed.* ii. 1; Tertullian, *de Orat.* c. 20). When the first meal was over, the mother and her children exchanged the kiss of peace and then separated, where necessary, for their daily tasks (*Const. Aegypt.* ii. 57, 62; Bunsen, *Anal. Ante-Nic.* ii. 472–3). Besides the hours above specified, the duty of private prayer was strictly enjoined (Cyprian, *de Orat. Dom.* c. 4) at sunrise and at sunset (*ib.* c. 35), before retiring to rest, and at midnight. The Scriptures were daily to be read, but their right comprehension, it was held, could be looked for only when this exercise had been preceded by prayer (Origen, *de Orat.* c. 31). Husband and wife were enjoined both to pray together and to study the Scriptures together, a precept involving a view of the conjugal relations which strikingly contrasts with the reply of Critobulos to Socrates (Xenophon, *Oecon.* iii. 12) that "he spoke with no one less than with his wife." Even in the exercise of hospitality prayer found a place, and the householder was enjoined not to let his guest depart without a joint observance of this rite (Tert. *de Orat.* c. 21).

Dominated by this conception, each home became a sanctuary, each day a holy-day, and the life of the perfected Christian, to quote the expression of Clemens, one long service of adoration, ἅπας δὲ ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ πανήγυρις μία (*Strom.* bk.vii.; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* ix. 309). In all these observances, however, one feature is to be noted which offers the greatest contrast to the pagan domestic rites, namely, that they were not looked upon as a mystery to be guarded from the scrutiny of other families or races, but were readily shared with others and the doctrines they represented willingly explained, a spirit of propagandism taking the place of the exclusiveness characteristic of paganism.

Another important feature in the Christian home life was the altered position of the mother of the family, a change so considerable as to bring about a completely different conception of the relations of womanhood to society. While obedience to her husband was enjoined as a duty upon the wife, that duty ceased when it came in collision with one of a yet higher order (Justin, *Apol.* ii. 2). She was looked upon as capable of attaining to an equal degree of perfection (Clemens, *Strom.* iv. 19; Migne, *ib.* viii. 223), as his equal in all relations (Clemens, *Paed.* i. 4; Migne, *ib.* viii. 37), and endowed with precisely the same nature (Clemens, *Strom.* iv. 8; Migne, *ib.* viii. 213). She was to aspire to wisdom in a like degree, φιλοσοφητέον οὖν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐμφερῶς τοῖς ἀνδράσι (*ib.* iv. 8). While enjoined to be a stayer at home (*ib.* iv. 8; *ib.* viii. 214), the sphere of her activity in the domestic circle was at once extended and ennobled. To the household industry of the Roman matron she added the higher function of instructing her children (Polycarp, *ad Philippenses*, c. 5), and in this relation her influence was often of incalculable importance. The mothers of Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Augustine, and Theodoret, were mainly instrumental in the conversion of their sons. Clement of Rome commends the Christians at Corinth because they taught their children moderation and chastity, μέτρια καὶ σεμνὰ νοεῖν (*Epist.* i. 1; Cotelerius, *Patres Apost.* i. 147). "Let our children," says his namesake of Alexandria, "share in the instruction which is of Christ" (*Strom.* iv. 17; Migne, viii. 222). Augustine, on the other hand, is to be found admitting that his father, who was indifferent to Christianity, was far more anxious to see him accomplished and eloquent than virtuous and modest (*Conf.* ii. 3). In the Epistle of Barnabas (c. 19) the writer enjoins every Christian to instruct his sons and daughters in the fear of the Lord from their youth upwards. Leonidas, the father of Origen, made his son commit daily to heart and repeat a set portion of Scripture (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 2). The distrust with which parents regarded the appearance of their children in mixed assemblies (Clemens, *Strom.* iii. 11) was a reflex of their own sense of danger when mingling in pagan society, and their watchful and pious care in this respect stands in remarkable contrast to the declaration of Quintilian (I. ii. 8) that the rising generation of his day were corrupted before they could well understand the distinction between

[a] So Neander (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, &c. i. 218) notes that the numerous monasteries which grew up in the fourth century were often in the immediate vicinity of the great cities.

good and evil, and, so far from being demoralised by their school-fellows, often brought the contagion with them from their own homes.

The discipline of the Christian household was distinguished, again, by a spirit of greater gentleness, the sternness of the pagan father towards his son being exchanged for a tone of loving admonition (Cyprian, *Test. adv. Judaeos*, iii. 71).

While such were the influences that prevailed in his domestic life, the Christian citizen left his home to pursue his daily avocations in the world inspired by a teaching which led him to recognise in every other man a brother, and armed with a moral code which was equal to every question of conscience that might arise, a code which was, in the language of Rousseau, "always certain, always true, always single, and always in harmony with itself." In singular contrast to that feeling of hatred for foreigners on which Plato (*Menexenus*, p. 245) congratulates his fellow-citizens, Justin (*Apol.* i. 14, ii. 13) expressly notes that whereas sympathy and intercourse had before existed only between those who belonged to the same nationality, Christianity admitted no such limitations. "We," he says, "who hated and destroyed one another, and on account of their different manners would not use a *common hearth and fire*[b] with men of a different tribe, now, since the coming of Christ, live familiarly with them, and pray for our enemies." Even towards those who were not of the same faith the church recognised the obligation of shewing friendship and of exchanging friendly offices, "necessitas amicitiarum officiorumque gentilium" (Tert. *de Cultu Fem.* ii. 11; Migne, i. 1329); while all alike, young and old, bond and free, Greek and barbarian, were equally admissible as members of the Christian polity (Clemens, *Strom.* iv. 8; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* viii. 213). The exigencies of the state at this period forbade, indeed, any to entertain the notion of a general abolition of slavery [SLAVERY], but the Christian could look upon the slave as one born by misfortune in a condition which, however pitiable, involved no religious inequality, and which he was bound to ameliorate by acts of kindness.

Underlying this new and greatly enhanced estimate of man as an individual, there was the Christian theory of the sanctity of human life, which rested, in turn, on the belief in the immortality of the soul. The procuring of abortion, regarded among pagan communities as scarcely deserving of censure, was from the first systematically denounced by the church. The mother guilty of this crime was excluded by a decree of the council of Ancyra (A.D. 314) from the sacrament until the hour of death [CHILDREN]. Infanticide, and the exposure of newly-born infants, a common practice under the empire, and, according to St Ambrose (*Hexaem.* v. 18), especially prevalent among the poor, as abortion was more the practice of the wealthy, was shunned by the Christian community with horror. "Christians," says the writer of the Epistle to Diognetus (c. 5), "marry and beget children, like the rest of mankind, but they do not cast away their offspring." (See also Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* vi. 20; *Cod. Theod.* XI. xxvii. 1 and 2; *ib.* V. vii. 1; Allard, *Les Esclaves Chrét.* etc. p. 370.)

But while the conception of social obligations and sympathies became thus greatly extended, in one particular relation, that of the individual citizen to the civil power, it involved a different standard from that of paganism, and one which was also somewhat lower. The Christian placed humanity above the city, and repudiated a theory which involved the obliteration of individual rights whenever they came in conflict with the supposed necessities of the state. The duties of private life, those of the man to himself, to his family, and to God, were now regarded as paramount, and patriotism was no longer the supreme duty of the citizen. The patriotism of the pagan, indeed, it has been truly said, was but a species of refined egoism by which he demanded back with interest all that he gave to the commonweal. On the Christian the love of his neighbour was enjoined as a principle, a principle which rendered the interpretation of all social duties easy and intelligible (Clem. Rom. *ad Corinth.* i. 49). The emperor Julian (*Epist.* 49) could not but contrast the kindness of Christians to strangers with the ordinary pagan indifference, and indicates this feature, together with the care shewn by them for the tombs of the dead and their external decorum of demeanour, as three points well deserving the imitation of pagans.

On the other hand, the early Christians were ready cheerfully to recognise all the customary obligations of the citizen to the commonwealth. Justin, in addressing the emperor Antoninus Pius, says, "We everywhere before all things endeavour to pay tribute and taxes to those whom you appoint" (*Apol.* i. 17; see also Tatian, *cont. Graecos*, c. 4; *Apost. Const.* iv. 13). The grandchildren of Jude, Eusebius tells us (*E. H.* iii. 20), when summoned before Domitian, pleaded in proof of their loyalty to the civil power the taxes which they paid from their manual labour, exhibiting their hands callous with toil. Tertullian (*Apol.* c. 33) declares that the Christians are actuated by a more reasonable sentiment of loyalty towards the emperor than that of the pagan community. Origen affirms that by their prayers they render effective support to the imperial cause, "composing a sacred army by their intercessions with the Deity" (*cont. Cels.* bk. viii.; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xi. 797). His language to Celsus appears to imply that they often declined civic offices, but he justifies such conduct on the ground that in so doing they are able to give themselves "to the more holy and pressing service of the church in saving the souls of men" (*ib.*).

In the choice of a profession or a craft, the Christian was necessarily under a certain disadvantage when compared with his pagan fellow-citizen, from the disfavour with which his creed was regarded by the state on the one hand, and from the limitations imposed by the church on the other. By the church he was forbidden to engage in any art or occupation which either directly or indirectly subserved the rites of idolatry (TRADES). The profession of the astrologer or the conjurer (the latter at this period a frequent

[b] The allusion in this expression to a community of religious rites is especially deserving of notice. See Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, c. i.

and fruitful source of gain) was equally unlawful (Neander, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, &c. i. 120). He might assume the profession of arms when it had been imposed upon him by the state, but its voluntary adoption was held to disqualify him for Christian communion (*Const. Aegypt.* ii. 41). The calling of an actor or public dancer was altogether forbidden him (ACTOR, THEATRE). His adoption of that of a "grammaticus" or teacher of pagan learning was discouraged, partly on account of the character of the literature which he would be required to explain and comment on, partly from the close connexion of the profession with the observance of pagan festivals and ceremonies (SCHOOLMASTER). Beyond these necessary restrictions, his choice was circumscribed only by pagan prejudices against his creed: "It is lawful," says Clemens (*Paed.* iii. 11; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* viii. 10), "to take part in public affairs (πολιτεύσασθαι); to engage in the business of the world, provided that this be done honestly, and to buy and sell, provided that one has but one price."

Idleness was systematically discouraged, and, in contrast to pagan notions, the dignity of labour was upheld and enforced. The Apostolic Constitutions (iv. 2) direct bishops to endeavour to find employment for artisans out of work, and especially for orphans. Barnabas enjoins those to whom his epistle is addressed to labour with their hands that they may thereby gain forgiveness for past sins, εἰς λύτρωσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σου (Cotelerius, *Patres Apost.* i. 52). It was, however, the prevalent theory of the church, at least from the 4th century, that the clergy were entitled to be exempted from manual labour (MANUAL LABOUR).

The acquirement of wealth does not appear to have been pronounced unlawful by the church, but the teachers of this period insist strongly that when acquired it should be devoted to right purposes; money, according to Clemens (*Quis dives salvetur*, c. 14; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* ix. 338), being an *instrument*, not in itself an *end*. If lawfully obtained, whether by frugality, enterprise, or inheritance, there was nothing wrongful in its mere possession, but it was to be devoted to charitable purposes, not hoarded in a spirit of avarice. It indicates very significantly the new spirit of philanthropy fostered by Christianity, that although slavery as an institution still continued to absorb to but a slightly diminished extent the classes which at later times appealed mainly to public charity, acts of systematic benevolence on the part of the church are to be found becoming much more common. The church at Rome, in the 3rd century, supported no less than 1500 poor (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43). Nor was this charity limited to those who had embraced the Christian faith. The spontaneity of this benevolence, as it presented itself to the observation of Pachomius, impressed him so deeply as to bring about his conversion. A recent writer has said, probably with justice, that the care shewn by Christians for the unfortunate and the poor is the feature which offers the strongest[a] point of contrast to pagan society in these times (Schmidt, *La Société Civile*, p. 351). "Almsgiving," says Chrysostom (*in Matt. Hom.* xlix. 3), "is the first of trades for the rich;" and Fleury (*Oeuvres*, ed. Martin, p. 223) traces the principle of charity as one of the most prominent and well-sustained traditions of the church from apostolic times until the rise of monasticism.

This active principle of charity found a corresponding expression in the Christian's intercourse with those who were his equals or superiors in station. As, according to Origen (*contr. Cels.* Praef. c. 2), he preferred to vindicate the tenets which he had embraced rather by rectitude of life than skill in argument, so he held that his sentiments towards his fellow-men were best shewn by his unwillingness not merely to *do* them ill, but even to wish it, or even to speak or think evil concerning them (Tert. *Apol.* c. 36). Litigation was especially avoided, and the Pauline injunction to avoid all recourse to the pagan tribunals (1 Cor. vi. 6–8) became a permanent tradition in the church (Cyprian, *Test. cont. Judaeos*, iii. 44). "Accustomed," says Hallam (*Middle Ages*, c. vii. pt. 1), "to feel a strong aversion to the imperial tribunals, and even to consider a recurrence to them as hardly consistent with their profession, the early Christians retained somewhat of a similar prejudice even after the establishment of their religion. The arbitration of their bishops still seemed a less objectionable mode of settling differences. And this arbitrative jurisdiction was powerfully supported by a law of Constantine, which directed the civil magistrate to enforce the execution of episcopal awards." The church itself inculcated the practice (*Apost. Const.* ii. 45; Cotelerius, i. 246), and no circumstance tended more effectually to strengthen the influence of the clergy than this habitual reference of all matters in dispute among the Christians themselves to the arbitrament of their pastors.

In his personal habits, the Christian was taught to practise moderation, all ostentation being systematically avoided. His diet was to be simple, and temperance both in eating and drinking were strictly enjoined upon him. Boys and girls, says Clemens, should not touch wine, but ought ἀπέχεσθαι τοῦ φαρμάκου τούτου (*Paed.* ii. 2; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* viii. 65). Minucius Felix (*Octav.* c. 31; Migne, iii. 46) contrasts the moderation and modesty of the Christians at their banquets with the licence and excess customary among the heathen. The author of the Epistle to Diognetus speaks of the Christians as "living in the flesh and not after the flesh" (c. 5), and even the feasts held in honour of the emperor appear to have been shunned by them (Tert. *Apol.* c. 35). The usual accompaniment of the banquet—the revel (or κῶμος) with its lascivious dances and wanton songs—was, of course, equally to be avoided (Clemens, *Paed.* ii. 4; Migne, *ib.* viii. 70). In the matter of dress it is evident that the earlier Christians affected no peculiarity, the language of the writers of the period (see DRESS) appearing rather to imply that they followed too closely the fashion of the

[a] It has been the endeavour of some writers to prove that the difference in this relation observable between pagan and Christian societies is to be referred to other than religious opinions. The main facts and arguments bearing on the question are to be found in Lecky, *Hist. of Morals*, ii. 78–84; Wallon, *Hist. de l'Esclavage*, iv. 17; iii. 398, note 88; Havet, *Les Origines du Christianisme*, i. 24–26.

times. Even Clemens (*Paed.* iii. 11), while condemning undue luxury and effeminacy, says that "the wearing of gold ornaments and soft raiment is not altogether to be condemned, but only an undue fondness for such attire," and he quotes St. Paul (1 Cor. vii. 31). Tertullian, however (*de Cult. Fem.* ii. 11), seems to imply that among females the convert to the faith was distinguished by greater sobriety of apparel.

In the furniture of his house the Christian was to aim at simplicity. "The use of gold and silver vessels," says Clemens (*Paed.* ii. 8), "is vain and idle, a mere illusion of the eye. The superfluous possession of such wealth evokes envy, it is hard to acquire, hard to keep, and ill-adapted for use." Silver plates and goblets, tripods of cedar, ebony, or ivory, bedsteads with gold and silver feet, purple curtains, &c., are enumerated by him as tokens of undue luxury, which the Christian should not possess.

Works of art adorned with representations of the deities of the pagan mythology would of course be banished from the Christian household, but there can be little doubt that during the first two centuries the tendency to asceticism among Christian communities led to an undue depreciation of art, especially in sculpture and ornament. Buonarotti (*de Vitris Coemeterialibus*; Mamachi, i. 249) attributes to this fact the comparative rudeness of the devices on the Christian tombs (Hefele, *Beiträge*, i. 26).

In the question of lawful recreation and amusements, the broad principle laid down by Cyprian, that the scriptural code forbade the Christian to *witness* what it was unlawful for him to *do*—"Prohibuit enim spectari quod prohibuit geri" (*de Spectac.* c. 4; Migne, iv. 340)—afforded safe and intelligible guidance. The sanguinary gladiatorial conflicts which so delighted every class in those times were a spectacle altogether unlawful. "If," says Tertullian, "we can maintain that cruelty, impiety, and barbarity are lawful, let us to the amphitheatre" (*de Spectac.* c. 19). "What vileness," says Clemens, "is there which is not exhibited in the theatre? . . . They who, from the uncleanness of their own hearts, take pleasure therein, transfer the representations they have witnessed to their own homes" (*Paed.* iii. 11; Migne, *Series Graec.* viii. 109).

Of the isolation in which, according to some writers, the primitive Christians passed their lives (Renan, *St. Paul*, p. 562), few signs are observable in the 3rd century. "The Apostolical Constitutions," says Blunt (*First Three Christian Centuries*, p. 311), "abound in provisions for a mixed population of Christian and heathen thrown into the most intimate civic and social relations." Christians are not unfrequently to be found holding high public office and even important positions at court. The Christian father of St. Basil was one of the most influential citizens in Pontus. Eusebius (*E. H.* vi. 28) states that in the household of Alexander Severus, whose mother, Julia Mammaea, befriended Christianity, they were numerously represented. Theonas, bishop of Alexandria (A.D. 282–300), writing to Lucian, who held high office in the court of Constantine Chlorus, gives him detailed advice respecting his conduct in this difficult position: he was to practise impartial justice to rich and poor, never to grant access to the emperor for a bribe, to be courteous, benevolent, and modest on all occasions, and especially to obey and serve the emperor himself with the utmost fidelity, so long as in so doing he was not involved in a breach of religious duty (*Biblioth. PP.* Gallandi, iv. 69, 70). "If a Christian was appointed librarian, he was to take good care not to shew any contempt for secular knowledge and the ancient writers. He was advised to make himself familiar with the poets, philosophers, orators, and historians of classical literature, and while discussing their writings to take incidental opportunities of recommending the Scriptures, etc." (Newman, *Arians*, p. 68). Notwithstanding, however, many and eminent exceptions, it is evident that the larger proportion of the converts to Christianity during the first three centuries was drawn from the humbler classes of society. To Celsus, who made it a matter of reproach, that the new faith appealed to and was embraced by the most illiterate and simple of mankind, Origen contents himself with the general reply that Christianity was essentially catholic in character, and, while receiving accessions from all parts, did not exclude the young, the uneducated, and the slave (Origen, *c. Cels.* iii. 44; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xi. 476).

Although the foregoing outline is liable to the objection that the picture it presents is derived rather from the precepts which we find laid down by the authorities of the church than from facts in the actual lives of the early Christians themselves, there is good reason for believing that precept and practice in these ages were in closer agreement than perhaps at any subsequent period of church history. The observation of Milman (*Lat. Christianity*, bk. i. c. 2), that "early Christianity cannot be justly estimated from its writers," is applicable rather to the polemical character of many of their treatises—a feature which in no way detracts from the value of the didactic literature of the age, or the presumption therein afforded of large and increasing communities, like that at Rome, growing into power and importance amid quiet obscurity and the practice of a genuine though retiring Christianity. The impression which the very imperfect data that remain to us are calculated to produce—the heroism of those who from time to time were compelled to attest the sincerity of their convictions by encountering martyrdom—the reluctant admiration which the lives and tenets of the Christians evidently excited in the minds of the less prejudicial observers among the pagan party—all combine to prove that the natural recoil from the excessive demoralisation of society under the empire uniting with the lofty teaching of the new faith brought about a very high standard of practical morality.

Already, however, there were evidences of a considerable decline from the primitive simplicity and earnestness. Cyprian contrasts the lukewarmness of the church in Africa with the zeal of the apostolic age, when believers sold their possessions and gave them to the poor: "Now," he says, "we give not even tenths from our patrimony, and when the Lord bids us sell, we buy and store" (*de Unit.* c. 24; Migne, iv. 20?). In another passage he says that long immunity from persecution had brought about a great

decline in religious observance ("traditam nobis disciplinam pax longa corruperat"), and he looks upon the trial of the church under Decius as divinely designed to restore her "fallen and almost unconscious condition" (*de Lapsis*, c. 5; Migne, iv. 182). He cites as evidence not merely the increasing tendency to money-getting and avarice, but also the frequent marriages of Christians with pagans (*ib.* c. 6).

(II.) That Christianity deteriorated in genuineness and earnestness soon after its recognition by the state and its profession by successive emperors, is a generally admitted fact (Baur, *Die Christl. Kirche*, ii. 287; Pressensé, *Hist. des trois premiers Siècles de l'Église chret.* vol. v.; Schmidt, *La Société Civile*, &c. p. 484). Its very existence, it has been observed, was threatened by the vast numerical, but merely nominal accessions to its ranks (Hirscher, *Die Christl. Moral*, ed. 1851, i. 47). The fathers of the 4th century themselves frequently admit and deplore the degeneracy of their age when contrasted with apostolic times. Chrysostom speaks of the large numbers of professed Christians in his day whose sole religious observance consisted in coming to church once or twice in the year—*ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἢ δεύτερον παρ' ἡμῖν φοιτῶντα* (*de Bapt. Christi*, c. 1; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xlix. 364). Augustine laments over the numerous defections in his flock, and compares the body of the church to a corpse. Those who make a profession of religion, he says, are often influenced by unworthy motives: this man has a lawsuit, and seeks to gain the good will of the clergy that they may interest themselves in his behalf; another takes refuge in the church from a powerful foe; another seeks to gain a friend, to accomplish a marriage, or to evade some responsibility, "ut aliquam pressuram hujus saeculi evadat" (*in Joh. Evang. Tract.* xxvi. 10; Migne, xxxv. 1600; *Serm.* xlvii. 17; Migne, xxxviii. 306). On the other hand, the few who sought to lead a really Christian life were often subjected to persecution and ridicule by the rest (*in Ps.* 90, *Serm.* i. 4; Migne, xxxvii. 1152). Maximus of Turin compares the absence of charity and good works in his day with the zeal of the apostolic age. So far from collecting money to lay it at the apostles' feet, the Christians of his day, he says, are to be seen dragging the victims of their extortion from the feet of the priests. If true wealth consists in good works (1 Tim. vi. 18), he fears that a wealthy man is scarcely to be found "in coetu nostro" (*Hom.* 94; Migne, lvii. 321).

That, as soon as Christianity had been taken under the protection and patronage of the emperor, large numbers should have professed its tenets from no better motives than those of self-interest and policy is sufficiently intelligible; but it is necessary also to take into account other causes which at this period acted with considerable potency, and in a direction unfavourable to morality and simplicity of life. Among these the most important appear to have been—

(1) *The removal of the capital to Constantinople.* By this important change the imperial court was brought directly under the enervating influences of Oriental habits and customs, and as the result there prevailed among the upper classes of society an amount of luxury and effeminacy unprecedented in the history of the empire. "The manners of the East," observes Milman (*Hist. of Christianity*, bk. iv. c. 1), "were too strong for the religion. With the first Christian emperor commenced that Oriental ceremonial, which it might almost seem that, rebuked by the old liberties of Rome, the imperial despot would not assume till he had founded another capital." Ammianus Marcellinus describes the court at the accession of Julian as "vitiorum omnium seminarium" (bk. xxii. c. 4). With the latter half of the century this evil is to be seen spreading not only in the East, but also in Rome and throughout Italy. The sermons of Chrysostom, Maximus of Turin, and Theodoret, and the letters of Jerome and Augustine plainly shew that luxury and dissipation, with their usual concomitants of avarice and inordinate love of money-getting, were at this period the most flagrant vices of society—vices against which the teachers of the church were engaged in a continual struggle, though with very imperfect success.

(2) *The rise of numerous sects and the absorbing attention given to controversial theology*, which affected more directly the doctrinal teaching of the age. Ammianus describes the highways in the reign of Constantius as thronged by bishops urging their way to the different synods intent on "reducing the whole sect to their particular opinions" (bk. xxi. c. 16). Hilary of Poitiers, the distinguished opponent of the Arians, laments that there are "as many creeds as opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations, and as many sources of blasphemy as faults" (*ad Constant.* ii. 4; Migne, x. 545), and he affirms that the ten provinces of Asia are nearly all Arian (*de Synodis*, c. 63). Pacian declares that the simple enumeration of the different sects of Christianity at this time would suffice to fill a huge volume (Migne, xiii. 1053). When Julian essayed to establish the principle of religious equality in the relations of the state to these contending sects, their fierceness, says Ammianus, appeared to him to surpass that of the wild beasts towards man (bk. xxii. c. 5). Of the extent to which these disputes affected and stirred all classes of society, a good illustration is afforded in the thirty-second oration of Gregory of Nazianzum. He says elsewhere that the disputes generated by the Eunomians made the market places ring, disturbed every banquet, and penetrated even to the women's chambers (*Orat.* 27; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xxxvi. 488). Augustine deplores the fact that while the pagans worship many gods without quarrelling, Christians who worship but one God are unable to remain in unity (*Serm. de Utilit. jejun.* c. 7, Migne, xl. 712).

(3) *Importance attached to formal religious observances.* As the result of this excessive attention to obscure questions in theology, dogmatic belief began to be looked upon as of greater importance than virtuous conduct; while conduct itself was conceived in too mechanical a spirit—almsgiving, fasting, and praying at stated hours being the virtues most strongly insisted on (Baur, *Die Christl. Kirche*, ii. 289). Augustine expressly says that these are the most meritorious actions in this life (*in Ps.* 42; *Serm.* ix. 11). "Three things," says Leo the Great (*Serm.* xii. 4), "there are which most of all appertain to godly action—praying, fasting, and almsgiving."

Penance was imposed by the church for comparatively small offences, and the canons of numerous councils shew a tendency to enforce a discipline which, although perhaps productive of greater outward decorum, cannot but have exercised an enervating influence on the higher conceptions of morality.

(4) *Enhanced distinctions between the monastic and ecclesiastical orders and the laity.* Notwithstanding the many examples offered by monasticism in its earlier stages of self-denying virtue and saintly life, its influence on society at large was certainly of a somewhat mixed character, attracting admiration among the majority of a life which they were unable to imitate, and thus, as Gieseler observes, familiarising society with the notion of a "higher and a lower order of virtue" (*Kirchengesch.* vi. 104). It is again at least doubtful whether the greatly advanced conception of the priestly office that now began to prevail tended to raise the moral tone of society at large. The clergy were regarded as a class exclusively devoted to religious duties, whose works of supererogation might avail on behalf of others. Eusebius describes the clerical and lay elements as constituting the two great divisions of society, of which the former, seeking neither for marriage, nor children, nor wealth, is devoted to appeasing the Deity both on their own behalf and that of their fellow-Christians (*Dem. Evang.* i. 8; Migne, xxii. 29, 30). No humiliation or punishment was regarded by them with so much dread as that whereby they were degraded into the position of laymen (Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, bk. iv. c. 1).

(5) *Degeneracy of the clergy.* Notwithstanding the increased attention paid to organization and to ritual, the morality of the clergy was exposed to no ordinary temptations by their growing power and wealth, and especially by the right which the church acquired under Constantine of holding landed property and inheriting it by bequest. The practice that now began to prevail of making the clergy the ordinary dispensers of charity, was also productive of frequent abuse. A law of Valentinian I. (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 27, 28) declares all bequests and donations to ecclesiastics null and void. "Charioteers, actors, and harlots," says Jerome, "yea even pagan priests, may receive what a Christian priest may not; I complain not on behalf of the church, but I blush for those who have made this law necessary" (*Epist.* 52; Migne, xxii. 261). Chrysostom advises his hearers to distribute their alms themselves, and not through the agency of a priest or deacon (Thierry, *S. Jérôme*, p. 17).

Other causes might be enumerated, but the foregoing may safely be assigned as those which appear to have operated with the greatest potency when tested by the social phenomena of the 4th and 5th centuries. The period A.D. 350–400 has indeed been indicated as that when the greatest luxury known in ancient times prevailed, and whatever may be the feature of society selected, it is impossible not to recognise, even among those communities which enjoyed the most enlightened spiritual instruction of the time and afforded the most eminent examples of the Christian virtues, the demoralising effects of this influence. In the 4th century, the ostentation and luxury that prevailed among the Christians excited the surprise even of the pagan party, and Chrysostom reminds his hearers how much more effective is practice than precept: "when they" (the pagans), he says, "see us building splendid palaces and baths, laying out gardens, and purchasing estates, they cannot believe that we are looking forward to dwelling in another city" (*Hom.* xii. *in Matt.*; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* lvii. 208). The view that the frivolity and dissipation engendered by this excessive luxury are to be looked upon as mainly characteristic of those who, while giving a formal assent to Christianity, really retained the habits and tastes of paganism, is not altogether borne out by the facts. Zosimus (iv. 33) does not hesitate to accuse even Theodosius of culpable effeminacy; and the sons of Theodosius were conspicuous for the oriental splendour by which they were surrounded, and the gorgeous attire which attracted the admiration of the vulgar to their person (Müller, *de Genio, etc. Aevi Theodos.* p. 10). The language of Synesius at the court of Arcadius attests the existence of a moral degeneracy at the imperial court which the philosopher and the Christian alike condemned (Migne, *Patr. Graec.* lxvi. 1075–90). The governors of the provinces, Eutropius, Rufinus, and Andronicus, were as corrupt, as rapacious, and as cruel as Verres. Milman characterises the life of the aristocracy as "exhibiting the pomp and prodigality of a high state of civilization with none of its ennobling or humanizing effects" (*Hist. of Christianity*, bk. iv. c. 1). Ambrose describes the holders of high public offices as seeking to gain the popular favour by instituting games in the circus, performances in the theatre, and exhibiting gladiatorial combats (*de Officiis Minist.* ii. 21; Migne, xvi. 131). In another passage he says that the regard for wealth has taken such a hold of men that none but the rich are had in honour (*ib.* ii. 26; iii. 6). Asterius, bishop of Amasea in Pontus, remonstrates with his hearers on their abandonment of "all care for virtue and the welfare of their souls;" he describes them as devoting themselves entirely to the pursuit of gain and to lounging about the market places; he depicts the luxury of their banquets, —the attendants, wine-bearers, butlers, musicians, dancing girls, flute-players, buffoons (γελωτοποιοὺς), parasites,—and then asks, "How many poor are wronged in order to provide this luxury? How many orphans are maltreated (κονδυλίζονται)? How many widows made to weep?" (Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xl. 170). Perhaps however the most sinister feature is that he declares that many seek to be well spoken of by slave-dealers. In his sermon on Dives and Lazarus, he describes the prevailing extravagance in dress—a feature almost invariably indicative of a low standard of public morality. Some wove into the material of their costume representations of wild animals and hunting scenes, which excited the wonder even of the children in the street, who would follow pointing at the wearers. The more pious selected subjects in sacred history, the miracles, &c. (*ib.* xl. 166–170).

The clergy shared in this form of degeneracy. Jerome describes the young deacons at Rome as appearing in public with their hair curled like that of actors, perfumed, and wearing rings on their fingers, going from palace to palace, and there singing love-songs or declaiming comedies,

and leaving with their hands full of gold (*Epist.* 22; Migne, xxii. 112).

The amusements most in vogue exhibited the same tendencies. "Paganism," as Ozanam truly observes, "made its last stand as associated with these" (*Civilisation in the Fifth Century*, i. 89). Ammianus Marcellinus asserts of the lower orders that the Circus Maximus was at once "their temple, their dwelling, their place of assembly, and the centre of all their desires" (bk. xxviii. 4). Gambling was a vice especially prevalent, and tended materially to check all habits of thriftiness (Thierry, *St. Jérôme*, i. 4). At the council of Laodicea (A.D. 320) it was deemed necessary to enact that Christians attending marriage feasts ought neither to dance nor leap—βαλλίζειν ἢ ὀρχεῖσθαι (Mansi, *Conc.* ii. 574); the clergy are also directed to retire before the plays (θεωρίαι) have commenced, a direction which evidently implies that such performances were common on such occasions among the laity.

As a consequence of this degeneracy, religious duties and the sacraments were neglected. Leo the Great (*de Vocat. Gentium*, ii. 33) says that even the rite of baptism was deferred by many until they found themselves in some great peril. Other observances, such as the "Agapae" or feasts at the tombs of the martyrs, were degraded into occasions of shameful excess.

The widespread belief in magic (MAGIC), whether we look upon it as a relic of paganism (PAGANISM, SURVIVAL OF), or as fostered by new Oriental influences, shews how imperfect was the Christianity of the time. Augustine, on presenting to his congregation in church a "mathematicus" who had embraced Christianity and had come forward prepared to burn his books, implies that he had duped many Christians,—"Quam multis eum putatis Christianis nummos abstulisse?" (*in Psal.* lxi.; Migne, xxxvi. 748).

The laxity that pervaded married life is to be inferred from the fact that the restrictions placed by Constantine on divorce (*Cod. Theod.* III. xvi. 1) were almost abrogated under Honorius (*ib.* III. xvi. 2); and Asterius declares that men changed their wives as often as their clothes, and prepared fresh marriage chambers as readily as booths at a fair (Migne, *Patr. Graec.* xl. 227).

Zosimus (iv. 28, 33) supports the severest strictures of the Fathers, declaring that the corruptions of the court penetrated through every grade of society, and that all order and decency were disregarded in the gratification of appetite and indolence—a condition of society which, in the view of Gibbon (iii. 404) resulted, not from the overflowing prosperity of the empire, but from "that indolent despair which enjoys the present hour, and declines the thought of futurity." If indeed we note that the writers above quoted,—from Ammianus, who died towards the close of the 4th century, to Leo who died in 461,—represent both pagan and Christian opinion, and also depict society as it existed in the most important provinces both of the Eastern and the Western empire, the "discretion" which Milman recommends in estimating the morality of the times from the writings of the Fathers, will not prevent us from concluding that the impression conveyed is, on the whole, correct; nor can it be a matter for surprise that many Christians should have sought to escape from the influence of so much general corruption by retiring into almost complete seclusion from society. The lives of St. Basil and his mother and sister at Annesi, of Asella, and of Marcella at her mansion in the suburbs of Rome, described by Jerome (*Epist.* 24, 38; Migne, xxii. 129, 175), that of Jerome himself, that of Paulinus at Nola, may all be looked upon as indications of a growing sentiment which found more formal expression in monasticism.

Yet notwithstanding the evidence everywhere presented of a great decline from the standard of Christian practice in earlier times, there yet appears sufficient evidence to warrant us in ascribing to Christianity the influences which mainly averted the entire demoralisation of society, and ultimately brought about its reorganisation. Features are still to be discerned which contrast favourably with the best morality of pagan communities in any age. Infanticide and the exposure of offspring continued to be persistently denounced, and were to a great extent successfully repressed by the church (Chrysostom, *in illud: Filius ex se nihil facit, Hom.* 4). The dignity of labour began to be in some degree recognised, and industry to be associated with freedom (Wallon, *Hist. de l'Esclavage*, iii. 92; Guizot, *Hist. de la Civilisat.* i. 52). Chrysostom declares that laborious poverty is preferable to indolent wealth (*in I. Cor. Hom.* xxxiv. 5). The rights and social position of women continued to be respected, and were carefully protected by the legislator (WOMEN).

The principle of universal benevolence was more systematically recognised, and Ambrose (*de Offic. Minist.* iii. 7) denounces the traditional custom of expelling aliens from the city when famine appeared to be impending. Asterius, while censuring the selfish luxury of the age, affirms that the man who can look upon others suffering from hunger or disease without being moved gives the lie to his human nature (Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xl. 171). The letters of Theodoret relating to Celestiacus, a wealthy citizen of Carthage, who had been compelled to flee from that city on its capture by the Vandals in 439, with the loss of all his possessions, afford a picture in pleasing relief to these times. Celestiacus had been eminent both for his virtues and for his hospitality, and Theodoret (at that time bishop of Cyrrhus) describes the Christian fortitude with which he bears his heavy misfortune, and in a series of letters of introduction recommends him to the sympathy of Domnus, bishop of Antioch, and other of the chief men of that city (Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* lxxxiii. 1090-1096).

It is, in fact, in the virtues and abilities of the eminent men who at this period adorned the episcopate, that we recognise the element to which society owed its preservation, and round which it was, to a great extent, subsequently reorganized. "The bishop," says Gibbon (iv. 36), "was the perpetual censor of the morals of his people." "The religious heads of the communities," says Milman (bk. iv. c. 1), "were the supreme and universally recognised arbiters in all the transactions of life." As church discipline acquired greater definiteness, from the enactments of numerous councils, the episcopal influence made itself more effectively felt. The bishop often confronted the civil power with a

courage and authority to which the latter found it expedient to yield. Ambrose at Milan, Gregory at Nazianzum, Synesius at Ptolemaïs, Deogratias at Carthage, Leo and Gregory the Great at Rome, are instances which may be considerably multiplied at this period.

In proportion to the social and political authority of the bishop was the influence which he exerted as a teacher of morality, and the teaching of these centuries was often singularly enlightened and humane. No more judicious and effective rebukes of superstition can well be cited, than are to be found in the sermons of Maximus of Turin (PAGANISM, SURVIVAL OF). The arguments by which Asterius of Amasea enforces the advantages of temperance and occasional abstinence might command the assent of the most enlightened modern social reformer (Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xl. 371–4). Synesius, "in whose hands," says Milman (*Hist. of Christianity*, bk. iv. c. 1), "the power of the Christian bishop appears under its noblest and most beneficial form," repudiated the theory of the celibacy of the clergy. The most eminent of the Eastern clergy (in contrast to the narrow view that prevailed in the Latin church) encouraged the study of pagan literature (SCHOOLS). Even Gregory of Tours, though singularly prone to superstition and credulity, defended the principle of religious toleration. Of society, as presented to us under the influence of these more humane and liberal conceptions yet free from the deeper corruptions of the empire, we gain a glimpse in the pages of Sidonius Apollinaris, where he describes the ordinary life of the nobility of southern Gaul, with whom the bishops of the province associated on equal terms. The day commenced with attending service in the church; then early visits were paid to neighbours, from which it was customary to return before ten o'clock in the morning: the remainder of the morning was spent in playing tennis or in reading Latin authors in the library. Here the ladies were supposed to occupy themselves only with religious works, the profane writers being reserved for the men. Then followed the use of the bath, after which dinner was served (*Epist.* ii. 9).

It is probable that a full and satisfactory investigation of our subject at this period would render it necessary to distinguish the phenomena of Eastern and Western civilisation. In the opinion of some writers, the earlier and more complete acceptance of Christianity in the East served as an element of cohesion among the different ranks of society, which, notwithstanding the fierceness of theological controversy, enabled the Byzantine empire to oppose a successful resistance to successive shocks of barbaric invasion such as those to which the Western empire succumbed. The traditional theory, that "the example of the Byzantine empire has proved on a vast scale and in the most indisputable manner that Christianity *could act only mediately and indirectly on social life*, that it might receive the assent of an entire nation and yet not save it from decrepitude and death" (Flint, *Philosophy of History*, i. 54) is accordingly not unchallenged. "The popular element in the social organisation of the Greek people," says Mr. Finlay, "*by its alliance with Christianity, infused into society the energy which saved the Eastern empire*; the disunion of the Pagans and Christians, and the disorder in the administration flowing from this disunion, ruined the Western" (*Hist. of Greece*, ed. Tozer, i. 138).

(III.) "As Christianity," says Milman, "received the rude and ignorant barbarians within its pale, the general effect could not but be that the age would drag down the religion to its level, rather than the religion elevate the age to its own lofty standard" (*Hist. of Christianity*, bk. iv. c. 5). The features of society in the Teutonic communities, after their conversion, attest the truth of this observation. It is agreed by the majority of the most competent writers that the standard of morality in these communities, when compared with that of the Latin races, exhibits yet a further decline, and that if we are presented with fewer evidences of vice there was a larger amount of brutality and violence. The barbarian conquerors and the subjugated Latin communities reciprocally influenced each other, but this influence was, in the first instance, for the most part unfavourable. The latter were still further demoralized by their subject condition (Jerome, *Epist.* 89; Salvian, *de Gub. Dei*, vii. 5–10), the former by the licence in which they could indulge without check. De Broglie (*l'Église et l'Empire*, III. ii. 497) characterises the conquest as "la mise à sac d'une société tout entière par des hordes qu'aucun lien social ne contient." The fearful state of society in Frankland under the Merovingian dynasty, as described by Gregory of Tours, is familiar to most students of history. Ozanam (*Civilis. chez les Francs*, p. 311) quotes from the *Libellus de Ecclesiae Disciplinis* compiled by Regino, abbat of Prüm in the 9th century, the questions which the priest is there directed to put to an ordinary warrior in the confessional—a category which implies that crimes of violence and the grossest superstition were still fearfully prevalent. The aversion of the conquerors to city life enhanced the difficulty of bringing them within the influence of Christian teaching. The clergy, whose duty it was to convert, instruct, and humanise the conqueror, themselves shared in the general corruption. "From the moment that the barbarians became masters in the West, an immense deterioration becomes manifest in the clergy, in their teaching, in their standard of conduct . . . . Even from men like Prosper of Aquitaine, Avitus of Vienne, Caesarius of Arles, the descent is great to the next generation in the 6th century, with their coarse and superficial religion, their readiness to allow sin to buy itself off by prodigal gifts, the connivance by the best men at imposture, its direct encouragement by the average" (Church, *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, p. 49). The episcopal order, indeed, lost for a time, much of its sacred character. The bishop was often a warrior, and differed but little in his habits of life from an ordinary baron; while the work of evangelisation and the preservation of the scanty learning of the time devolved almost entirely on the monastic orders. Slavery reappeared in its harshest form, and, in spite of the efforts of the clergy, continued long after the 9th century to disgrace the Christianity of the age (SLAVERY).

In fine, it would seem that society, if we interpret the term in its strict sense, can scarcely be said to have existed in Italy, Gaul, or Britain

during the period that immediately succeeded the conquests by the Lombard, the Frank, and the Saxon. In its place we can discern only a state of disorganisation wherein the obligations and restraints imposed by the most rudimentary form of civilisation nearly altogether disappeared. This condition of things was gradually, and often with the intervention of an almost complete relapse, succeeded by one which exhibits the reorganisation of society mainly under ecclesiastical influences, and the establishment of institutions, national, social, and domestic, which reflect a combined tradition of Roman law and Christian doctrine.

Authorities and works of reference: besides the standard historians, Gibbon, Neander, Baur, Gieseler, Milman, Finlay, &c., Fleury, *Moeurs des premiers Chrétiens*, 1720; Cave, *Primitive Christianity;* Genin (J. L.), *De la Société chrétienne au 4me siècle d'après les Lettres des Pères de l'Église grecque*, 1850; Schmidt (C.), *La Société civile dans le Monde Romain et sur sa Transformation par le Christianisme*, 1853; Ozanam (A. F.), *La Civilisation chrétienne chez les Francs*, 1849, and *La Civilisation au 5me Siècle*, 2 v., 1850; Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*, 2 vols.; Thierry (A.), *St. Jérôme*, 2 v. 1867; Hefele, *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte, Archäologie und Liturgik*, Tübingen, 1864; Pressensé (E. de), *Hist. des trois premiers Siècles de l'Église chrétienne*, vol. v. 1869; Church (Dean), *The Beginning of the Middle Ages*, 1877. [J. B. M.]

**SOCRATES (1)**, Sept. 17, commemorated with Stephanus in Britain (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., Notker.).

**(2)** Sept. 21, soldier, martyr at Amasea with Theodorus, under Antoninus (Basil. *Menol.*).

**(3)** Oct. 23, presbyter, martyr with Theodota at Ancyra (Basil. *Menol.*); Oct. 21 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**SOISSONS, COUNCIL OF** (SUESSIONENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 744, attended by twenty-three bishops, when ten canons on discipline were passed, Abel and Arthert ordained archbishops of Rheims and Sens, and Adelbert condemned for heresy. (Mansi, xii. 369–372.) [E. S. Ff.]

**SOLDIERS.** [MILITARY SERVICE.]

**SOLEAS.** A term in Eastern church architecture, as to the meaning and derivation of which there has been great diversity of opinion. The orthography of the word is also very variable. We find σωλέας, σωλέα, σωλία, σωλεία, σολέα. The difficulty in determining the reference of the word was recognised by Goar, who attributes it to the arrangement having almost passed out of use, and remarks, "in ecclesiis Graecis ubique nomen habet, in rarissimis conspicitur" (Goar, *Euchology.* 18). Allatius, as is his wont, pours forth a mass of learning on the subject, and comes to strangely erroneous conclusions in the end. At one time he agrees with Meursius and Beveridge (*Pandect.* vol. ii. *annot.* p. 74) in regarding the word as synonymous with "solium," a throne (*de Templ. Graec. Recent.* ep. ii.); but in his Dissertation *de Solea* he identifies it with the "tabulatum" or "iconostasis." An examination of the passages in which the word occurs proves the erroneousness of both. It is true that the word is not always strictly used, and sometimes has a wider signification than at others; but there can be no doubt that the "soleas" was a division of the church, not a piece of church furniture; and there can be as little question that Neale is right in deciding it to be the raised platform intervening between the "trapeza" or nave, and the "bema" or sanctuary, ascended from the nave by one or more steps. It was outside the "cancelli" or "iconostasis" of the "bema," and was approached from the sanctuary through the "holy doors." The "beautiful doors," which are placed by Neale further down the nave, were to the (ritual) west of the "soleas," and the "ambo" stood near it. It corresponded to the chancel-rail step in our churches, being the place where the communicants knelt to receive the Eucharist. At ordinations, according to Goar (*u.s.*), the ordinand, whether deacon or priest, took his place on the "solea," and two deacons came out from the "bema" and conducted him, on either side, up to the holy doors. At a later period the "solea" seems to have gained extension to the west, and became the place for the subdeacons and readers, and was called βῆμα τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν. It is correctly defined by Gretser (*Annotat. ad Codin.* pp. 360–361, ed. Bonn) as "gradus vel locus excelsior ad sacras βήματος fores positus, ex quo Christus pro Christiana communione distribuitur." Its true position and character appear from various passages in Codinus, who describes the emperor descending from the "ambo," and passing alone across the "soleas," "not the way he came towards the beautiful doors," but towards the "soleas" and "bema," and finding the patriarch standing to receive him at the "holy doors" (Codin. *Curopal.* c. 17, pp. 91, 94; also p. 361). In the more stately churches the "solea" was inlaid with costly marbles, ornamented with plates of silver, and decorated with images. When the dome of St. Sophia fell, it broke to pieces τοὺς σωλείας ἐξ ὀνυχίτου ὄντας λίθου; and on the restoration by Justin II., both it and the ambo were made of silver (Codin. *Annotat.* p. 361; Allat. *de Solea*, c. xi.). [E. V.]

**SOLITARIES.** For some account of the impulses which led men to seek solitude in the wilderness, see HERMIT, MONASTERY. It may be added that solitaries before long began to cluster round great and populous cities. [Compare SARABAITAE.] Partly perhaps they were influenced by actual experience of the spiritual horrors of loneliness, partly by a wish to mingle in the theological fray between orthodox and heretics, partly perhaps by a longing to have their hardships noticed and honoured by men. Sometimes the cell of the solitary was semi-attached to a monastery (Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.* c. 3). Sometimes the solitary cell was only a temporary shelter, a retreat in which to take breath, as it were, for a moment before engaging again in the battle of life. It was ever the advice of the wisest leaders of the monastic movement that there should be a certain period of probation in a monastery before undertaking the life of a solitary, and that none should be allowed to expose themselves to the risks of it without the express sanction of their monastic

superiors (Cass. *Collat.* Praef. xviii.). As the monastic system became more firmly consolidated, and at the same time more complex in its organisation, the solitary life, especially in Western Christendom, came to be more and more exceptional in its occurrence (*Conc. Toletan.* vii. A.D. 646, c. 5; *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794, c. 12).

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**SOLOCHON**, May 17, Egyptian soldier, martyr under Maximian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**SOLOMON**, king, June 17 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C. H.]

**SOLUTOR** (1), Nov. 13, martyr, commemorated at Ravenna, with Valentinus and Victor (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Adon.).

(2) Nov. 20, commemorated at Turin, with Octavius and Adventor (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*). [C. H.]

**SOMNIARIUS**, *Somniatorum Conjector*, ὀνειροκρίτης, ὀνειρόμαντις, ὀνειρόπολος. A law of Constantius and Julian, A.D. 358, denounces those who "narrandis somniis occultant artem aliquam divinandi" (Theodos. *Codex*, x. 16, *De Malef.* 6). The offence was equally forbidden in the empire founded by Charlemagne (*Capit.* inc. an. c. 40; Baluz. *Cap. Reg. Franc.* i. 518; comp. the complete code, vi. 215; Herardi, *Capit.* 3). The council of Paris, A.D. 829, regarded the practices of the "somniatorum conjectores" as a relic of paganism (iii. 2; comp. *Add.* ii. to the *Cap. Reg. Franc.* c. 21). [W. E. S.]

**SONUS**, or rather, corruptly, *sonum*. The OFFERTORIUM of the Franks was so called, *e. g.* "Sonum quod canetur (*sic*) . . . quando procedit oblatio" (German. Paris. *Expos. Brev. Miss.*). The name is said (Germ. *u. s.*; comp. Isid. Hisp. *de Eccl. Off.* i. 14; Amal. *de Eccl. Off.* iii. 19) to have been given to the anthem, because sung in imitation of the *sounding* of trumpets over sacrifices under the law (Num. x. 10).

Among the Goths of Spain the proper anthem at lauds and vespers on festivals was also called sonum. *E. g.* the council of Merida, 666, orders that on such days "post lumen oblatum (= lucernarium) prius dicatur vespertinum quam sonum" (can. 2). This sonum was sometimes called laudes; for whereas the Mozarabic breviary directs that it shall follow vespers immediately, Isidore says that the lucernarium was followed by "two psalms, one responsory and laudes" (*Regul. Monach.* 6). The following is the sonum, or in the yet lower Latin of the Hispano-Gothic breviary, the "sono," for Easter day: "ego dormivi et quievi, et resurrexi, quoniam Dominus suscitavit me. *P.* Gloria mea. Alleluia. *V.* Non timebo millia populi mei circumdantis me: exurge, Domine; salva me, Deus meus. *P.* Gloria mea. Alleluia" (*Brev. Goth.* Lorenzana, 370). [W. E. S.]

**SOOTHSAYER.** [MATHEMATICUS.]

**SOPHIA, ST.** [SAPIENTIA.]

**SOPHRONIUS** (1), patriarch of Jerusalem, commemorated Mar. 11 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

(2) Dec. 9, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**SORTILEGY.** It was held that "demons rule lots" (Cypr. *de Idol. Vanit.*; comp. Minut. Fel. *Octav.* 8; Greg. M. *Epist.* vii. 66). Hence divination by lots was thought a part of magic and a branch of idolatry. It was therefore, forbidden to Christians both in the East and West; as by Conc. Ancyr. 358 (can. 23), C. Venet. in Gallia, 465 (c. 16), C. Agath. 506 (c. 42), Aurel. I. 511 (c. 30), Autiss. 518 (c. 4), &c. It was a subject of inquiry at episcopal visitation (Regino, *de Discipl. Eccl.* 151. ed. Baluz.), and at confession (see the old Gallican penitential, c. 26, in *Mus. Ital.* i. 393, and others in Morinus, *de Sacram. Poenit.* 587, &c.). It was condemned by Christian princes; as by Childeric, 742 (c. 5), Carloman, 742 (c. 14), Car. M. 769; id. 789 (c. 23), *Capit. Reg. Franc.* vi. 215, vii. 128. Under the Frankish laws sortilegi were not received as witnesses (*Capit. Reg. Franc.* vi. 397, vii. 369).

The methods were various, "sortes quas sanctorum vocant (comp. Conc. Agath. Venet. Aurel. *u. s.*; Bede, *de Remed. Peccat.* c. 11), vel quas de ligno, aut de pane faciunt" (Conc. Autiss. *u. s.*). Divination "per sortes sanctorum" was a Christian counterpart of the sortes Virgilianae, &c. An augury was drawn from, or a conclusion founded on, the first passage at which some sacred book (as the psalter or gospel, Car. M. an. 789, c. 3; the lectionary, Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iv. 16; the sacramentary, Jonas Aurel. in *Vita S. Huberti*, c. 15, in Baluz. *Not. ad Cap. Reg. Fr.* ii. 1038; &c.) first opened at hazard. This is condemned by St. Augustine as an abuse of the divine oracles, though he had rather men had such recourse to the gospels than to demons (*Ep.* 55 *ad Januar.* xx. 37). The Gallican Penitential, *u. s.* punished even this when "contra rationem." See instances of the practice in Greg. Tur. or Jonas, *u. s.*; *Vita S. Consortiae* 9, in *Acta Bened.* i. 249; *Vita S. Huberti*, 18; *Acta Ben.* iv. i. 302. An unsought omen from a Psalm ended the opposition to the choice of St. Martin as bishop of Tours (Sulpicius Sever. *de Vita B. Mart.* 9).

There is extant, under the title of *Sortes Apostolorum*, a collection of pious sentences, but not from the apostolical writings, so framed as to give suitable, though vague, replies to every probable inquiry. They were printed by Petr. Pithoeus in his *Codex Canonum Vet. Eccl. Rom.* Par. 1687, p. 370. A fast of three days on bread and water is prescribed before using them. On the third day the office of the Holy Trinity is to be recited and Mass heard. Special prayers are also provided. At the end we read, "Haec sunt Sortes Sanctorum quae nunquam falluntur, neque mentiuntur; id est, Deum roga et obtinebis quod cupis. Age Ei gratias."

Many tribes retained a custom observed by their heathen ancestors (see of the Suessones, *Vita Anskari*, 18, 26, 30, Pertz, ii. 701; of the

Saxons, *Transl. S. Alex.* 2, *ib.* 675; of the Frisiones, *Wulframi Vita*, 6, 8, in *Acta Bened.* iii. i. 359, 361; *Vita Willibrordi*, 11 ("sors damnatorum"), *ib.* 609; comp. *Willebrordi Vita*, 3, Pertz, ii. 381) of deciding questions of guilt or innocence, life or death, by lot. This was sanctioned by Christian princes; *e. g.* of a slave accused of theft, "ad sortem ponatur" (Childebert, 593, c. 5). The *Lex Frisionum* describes a method (comp. Tacitus, *Germania*, 10). Two tallies, one marked with a cross, were wrapped in white wool, and laid on the altar. If that marked was drawn, the person was acquitted. Some kinds of ordeal, as governed by chance, were included under the term *sors*. Hence, "ad sortem ambulare" (Childeb. *u. s.* 8). Dagobert, 630: "Ad ignem seu ad sortem se excusare studeat" (*Lex Ripuar.* xxxi. 5; *Reg. Franc. Cap.* Baluz. i. 34). Leo IV. charges the Bretons with settling every cause by lot: "Sortes quibus cuncta vos in vestris discriminatis judiciis" (*Ep.* ii. 4). [W. E. S.]

**SOSIPATER**, Apr. 27, with Jason, disciples of St. Paul (Basil. *Menol.*); Apr. 29 (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); June 25 at Pyrrhi Beroea (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Notker., *Vet. Rom.*; *Menol. Graec.*); Nov. 10 with Olympas, Rhodion, Tertius, Erastus, Quartus, "apostles," Rom. xvi. 11, 15, 22, 23 (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.*). [C. H.]

**SOSISTRATUS**, June 8, commemorated at Antioch with Hesperius and Glycerius (*Syr. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**SOSIUS** (SOCIUS), deacon of Misenum, martyr with Januarius bishop of Beneventum, commemorated or mentioned with him on Sept. 19 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Mart.* Bed., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.), and separately on Sept. 23 (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., *Vet. Rom.* Adon., Notker., Wand.). He occurs with Januarius and others on Sept. 29 in *Mart. Hieron.* [C. H.]

**SOSTHENES (1)**, June 11, disciple of St. Paul, commemorated at Corinth (*Mart.* Adon., *Vet. Rom.*); Nov. 28 (Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*); Dec. 9 with Apollos, Cephas, Tychicus, and others (Basil. *Menol.*); Dec. 7 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

**(2)** Sept. 10, martyr, commemorated at Chalcedon with Victor (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SOTER** (SOTHER), Feb. 10, virgin, martyr in the East (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., Wand.); her natale is given on this day in the Gelasian Sacramentary, which names her in the collect, secreta, and post-communion. She or another of the same name, a martyr under Diocletian, is mentioned by Notker under May 12. [C. H.]

**SOUL, SYMBOLS OF THE.** The following symbols were used by Christians in the first centuries to denote the deliverance of the soul from the fetters of the flesh and its approach to heaven: (1) a horse running a race and near the goal, derived no doubt from 1 Cor. ix. 24, and perhaps from 2 Tim. iv. 7; (2) a ship in full sail towards a lighthouse, or already arrived at port; (3) a sheep or a lamb, sometimes by itself, sometimes borne back to the fold in the arms of the Good Shepherd; (4) a dove, sometimes on the wing, sometimes seated near an empty vase—a symbol of the body deserted by the spirit—or again settling in a flower-garden, to signify the repose of the soul in Paradise; (5) a female figure quitting a lifeless corpse; (6) by a miniature figure resembling, and close by, the representation of the dead. A curious instance of the use of the female figure occurs on a leaden medallion figured by Lupi (*Dissert.* i. 197), representing the martyrdom of St. Lawrence [MONEY, pl. viii.]. An executioner is turning the body of the saint upon the gridiron, and a half-length female figure is rising from it with hands clasped towards heaven, from which a hand is extended, placing upon her head a crown of gold.

It is possible that the female figures in prayer or contemplation between two trees, found on so many tombs, may also be symbolic representations of the soul (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v. 'Ame'). [E. C. H.]

**SOULS, FESTIVAL OF.** [ALL SOULS.]

**SOZON**, Sept. 7, martyr at Pompeiopolis under Maximian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**SPAIN, COUNCIL OF** (*Hispanum Concilium*). [TOLEDO, COUNCILS OF (18).]

**SPANOCLISTUS.** A corrupt form of the Greek ἐπανόκλειστος, a term applied to chalices, patens, chandeliers, &c., closed-in at the top. The word occurs frequently in Anastasius. There we read that Leo III. gave to St. Peter's "calicem aureum praecipuum spanoclistum diversis ornatum lapidibus," together with "patenam auream spanoclistam" (Anast. § 399). The same pope also gave "gabathae spanoclistae" to hang for the purpose of giving light in the "quadriporticus" or cloister (§ 418); and a "regnum spanoclistum" of gold with a cross depending from it to hang over the altar (§ 398). Paschal I. also presented to the church of St. Praxedes a gold and jewelled "regnum spanoclistum" to light the altar (§ 435). [CROWN; CORONA LUCIS; GABATHA.] [E. V.]

**SPERATUS**, July 17. [SCILLITANI.]

**SPES.** [SAPIENTIA.]

**SPEUSIPPUS**, Jan. 17, with Elasippus and Melasippus, Cappadocian martyrs (Basil. *Menol.*), commemorated at Langres (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, Notker., Wand.). [C. H.]

**SPEUSIPPUS** and his brothers Elasippus and Melasippus; natale Jan. 17. (Bed. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

**SPIRIDION**, Dec. 12, Thaumaturgus, "our father," bishop of Trimithus, confessor under Maximian, commemorated in Cyprus (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); Dec. 14 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Wand.). [C. H.]

**SPIRITS, EVIL.** [DEMON; DEMONIAC; EXORCISM.]

**SPIRITUAL EXERCISES.** Under the head of "Spiritual Exercises" (*Exercitia Spiri-*

*tualia*) it is convenient to enumerate the principal practices which are believed to contribute to the exaltation of the spiritual life.

1. First among these we may reckon *Reading*, and especially the reading of the Bible [SCRIPTURE, STUDY OF], both in public and in private. To this soon came to be added works compiled with a special view to edification, such as the Acts of Martyrs, the *Collationes* of John Cassian, and the lives and miracles of famous men collected by Rufinus, Theodoret, Joannes Moschus, Gregory of Tours, and others. Forgeries in this field of literature soon came to be frequent, and many Christians had an inclination for the pagan literature which the more ascetic leaders condemned; circumstances which led to certain books being marked off by authority as unfit for the reading of Christian people [PROHIBITED BOOKS; SCHOOLS].

2. *The Psalms* in particular have always had a special prominence among the books used for spiritual exercise [PSALMODY]. The fathers constantly recommend the learning and the saying of psalms as an exercise of the highest efficacy. (See, for instance, Jerome, *Epist.* 107, *ad Laetam*, c. 4; *Epist.* 125 *ad Rustic.* c. 11; *Epist.* 108 *ad Eustoch.* c. 19.) And the psalms —however long a portion might be said—were commonly recited standing, unless in case of some grievous infirmity (Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.* cc. 2 and 5; Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, c. 40; Basil. *Epist.* 63 *ad Neocaesareenses*, &c.). With psalmody is intimately connected the observance of VIGILS, especially in monasteries [HOURS OF PRAYER, p. 795]. A whole class of monks, the "Sleepless" [ACOEMETAE], devoted themselves to keeping up the Divine office [OFFICE, THE DIVINE] without intermission.

3. PRAYER and PROCESSIONS, LITANIES, ROGATIONS, STATIONS, and PILGRIMAGES, which are reckoned among spiritual exercises, are treated under their proper headings.

4. The *Confession* of sin, both to the Lord (Ps. xxxii. 6; 1 John i. 8, 9), and to the brethren (James v. 16), is reckoned among the exercises which tend to edification. Nothing, says an old father of the desert (Rufinus, *Vitae Patrum*, ii. 9), so weakens the power of Satan as to disclose our unclean thoughts to holy men and spiritual fathers. And nothing, says another (*ib.* 117), more rejoices the enemy of souls than the concealment of such thoughts in the breast. Hence in monastic orders, both of earlier and later times, a reciprocal confession of sins is enjoined on the brethren. See, for instance, *Regula Columbani*, c. 10, and the *Regula Cujusdam*, c. 6 (in Holstenius, i. 397); the latter is supposed by Holstenius to be Columba's. This kind of confession is distinct from the auricular confession which is followed by sacramental absolution.

5. That the *Holy Communion* holds a high place among the means of grace needs scarcely to be said. On the frequency of communion, see COMMUNION, HOLY, p. 421. It may further be observed that in the early African Church the brethren were so anxious to sanctify every meal by first partaking of the Eucharist, that the consecrated elements were taken home for that purpose (Tertullian *ad Uxorem*, ii. 5; *De Orat.* 19; Cyprian, *de Lapsis*, ii. 26. See also ARCA, RESERVATION). Hippolytus wrote a treatise, which was known to Jerome (*Epist.* 71 *ad Lucin.* c. 6), on the question whether we ought to communicate daily or at set times. We may see from the laments of Chrysostom and others that ordinary lay persons communicated less frequently than was desired, but with specially devout men it was otherwise. The old monk Apollo, for instance, communicated daily, and taught his disciples not to eat until they had received the Eucharist (Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* c. 52, pp. 750, 751).

6. *Self-Examination* (sometimes called *Recollectio*) is a recognised duty of Christians (2 Cor. xiii. 5), especially before Holy Communion (1 Cor. xi. 28); but self-examination as a systematic practice, regulated by definite rules and recurring at certain times, is the development of a later age. Clement of Alexandria, in the directions for Christian life which form the *Paedagogus*, though he quotes the Pythagorean precept, that a man should examine himself every day, does not hold it up as necessary for the Christian (*Paedag.* i. 10), and Macarius in his special treatise on "the Guarding of the Heart," while he insists strongly on the necessity of withdrawing into oneself and of constant self-watchfulness, nowhere recommends any methodical practice of this exercise (περὶ φυλακῆς καρδίας, c. 1.; but compare Athanasius, *Vita S. Antonii*, c. 28). Cassian (*Collat.* v. 14) advises every man to direct his principal efforts against the sin which most easily besets him, but gives no directions for self-examination such as prevailed in later times. Nor do Chrysostom's strong recommendations of watchfulness over oneself (*Hom.* 73 *ad Pop. Antioch.*; *Hom.* 82 *in Joann.*) imply any definite rules for examination of conscience. Such rules, in fact, scarcely belong to an age earlier than that of St. Bernard and the mediaeval mystics.

7. *Meditation* or *Contemplation*, the effort to withdraw the soul from the world of sense, and fix it on God and things divine, plays a very important part in the lives of mediaeval and modern mystics. But in this case also the development of the system does not belong to the ancient Church, though we frequently find in ancient worthies—especially in the ancient hermits or "Fathers of the Desert"—an immense power of withdrawal from the outer world, generally coupled with the faculty of seeing visions of things unearthly. One particular form of contemplation—the contemplation of death—is found from a period of considerable antiquity. Several of the Eastern ascetics, after the example of Anthony, dug their graves near the caves which they inhabited, or lived in tombs, so as to be always reminded of their latter end (Palladius, *Lausiaca*, cc. 5, 45, 109, 113; Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.* cc. 6, 9, 12). John the Almsgiver, patriarch of Alexandria (†616), had his grave and coffin partly prepared, and bade the workman inquire aloud, on every high festival, whether he should not finish the work, as he knew not when his Lord would come (Leontius Neapol. *Vita S. Joann. Eleemos.* c. 18). The abbess Caesaria of Arles, sister of the famous bishop Caesarius (†542), had a hundred stone coffins made for her hundred nuns, which were placed around the church, that they might daily be reminded of death. And other instances might be mentioned of similar practices.

8. *Silence* of course accompanies meditation. Pambos, the monk, we read (Socrates, *H. E.* iv.

23, p. 238) was so struck by the first verse of the 39th Psalm—"I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I offend not in my tongue"—that he would hear no more, and said that in many years he had not learned to practise it. Monks came to be named ἡσυχασταί and their dwellings ἡσυχαστήρια, from their habit of silence [HESYCHASTAE]. Macarius kept silence a whole Lent (*Lausiaca*, c. 20, p. 723); Arsenius rushed from the tumult of the court-life of Constantinople to learn to practise silence in the desert (Rufinus, ii. 190). The monks of Tabennae kept so profound a silence that they seemed to be in solitude (*Lausiaca*, 48); the Nitrian monks appear to have kept silence, each in his separate cell, except when they met at the church on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day (*ib.* 69). The abbat Thomas kept silence for thirty years (*ib.* 50; Rufinus, ii. 6), an unnamed virgin (*Lausiaca*, 85) for twenty-five; John the Silentiary for forty-seven (Cyrillus, *Vita Jo. Sil.* c. 23; in Surius, v. 399). Pachomius taught his monks to indicate their wants by signs, so as to avoid talking (Pachomii *Reg.* c. 3, in Holstenius, i. 27). The Benedictine Rule, and most other monastic rules following it, enjoin absolute silence in a monastery after Compline, and also at table, except so far as regards the reading of an edifying book (*Reg. Benedicti*, cc. 38, 42, 52; *Fructuosi*, cc. 8, 15; *Columbani*, c. 8; *Magistri*, c. 8). (Alteserrae *Asceticon*; Zöckler, *Kritische Geschichte der Askese.*) [C.]

**SPOLIA.** [VACANCY.]

**SPONGE.** The sponge used in the Greek liturgical ritual is known as ἅγιος σπόγγος, or μοῦσα, *spongia sacra*, or *purificatorium*. Its present form, which has probably come down with little change from earlier times, is described by Allatius (*de Rec. Graec. Templ.* p. 149) as a piece of sponge compressed into a solid cube, affixed to a long handle. It was used in the office of prothesis to collect the small crumbs of the bread on the paten, that none might fall off (*Office of Prothesis*, Neale, *H. East. Ch.* Introd. 349), and in the Eucharistic office was repeatedly employed by the deacon to cleanse the paten and chalice (Goar, *Euchology. Lit. Chrysost.* pp. 76, 151), and after the reception any remaining fragments were swept by it into the chalice, and both that and the paten cleansed. For this purpose the holy veil was also employed, μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν σπογγίζει τῷ καλύμματι τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον . . . . τότε λαβὼν τὸν ἅγιον δίσκον ὁ διάκονος ἐπάνω τοῦ ἁγίου ποτηρίου ἀποσπογγίζει τῷ ἁγίῳ σπόγγῳ πάνυ καλῶς (*Liturg. S. Chrysost.*; Goar, *Euchol.* p. 83). The sacred virtue of the Eucharist was regarded as being imparted to the sponge, which according to Goar (*u. s.*) was distributed by the patriarch among the people. It is similarly recorded in the memoir of Gregory II. by Anastasius (§ 182) that Eudo of Aquitaine, when about to encounter the Saracens, distributed portions of a sponge "ad usum mensae pontificis," which saved all who received them from wounds and death. A liturgical sponge of larger size was also kept for the ritual washing of the Holy Table by the patriarch on Maundy Thursday (*Typ. S. Sabae*, c. 41; *Euchol.* p. 624). (Allat. *de Ecc. Graec. Temp.* Epist. 1, *de Mus.*) [E. V.]

**SPONSALIA.** [MARRIAGE.]

**SPONSORS** (ἀνάδοχοι; οἱ προσφέροντες; παιδαγωγοί; καθηγεμόνες; χειραγωγοί [of adults]; οἱ ἀποταττόμενοι, συντατόμενοι; *sponsores*; *fidejussores*; *fidei doctores*, *al.* *fidedoctores*; *susceptores*; *compatres spiritales*, even *parentes*; *offerentes*. The occurrence and meaning of several of these titles will appear below).

HISTORY.—Though analogies and justification for the institution of sponsors may be found in the Bible, yet there is no mention of the word or thing. And though Fuller (*Worthies of England*, p. 326) says "that the Jews had a custom, at the circumcising of their children, that certain undertakers should make a solemn stipulation for their pious education, conformable to our godfathers in baptism," it is doubtful whether these were anything more than witnesses of the ceremony. We may adopt the argument of Tertullian (*de Cor. Mil.* 3), "If no scripture hath determined this, assuredly custom hath confirmed it, which doubtless has been derived from tradition. Other observances, without any Scripture document, we defend on the ground of tradition alone, and by the supports of consequent custom. In fact, to begin with baptism, when we are about to come to the water, in the same place, but at a somewhat earlier time (*i.e.* as catechumens), we do in the church testify, under the hand of a chief minister, that we renounce the devil, his pomps, and his angels. Then are we thrice dipped, pledging ourselves to something more than the Lord hath prescribed in the Gospel; then, some undertaking the charge of us (*suscepti*, i.e. by the *susceptores*, lit. those who take the candidates out of the font, or god-parents), we first taste a mixture of honey and milk." The origin of sponsorship is lost in obscurity, for though some (*e.g.* Durantus, *de Rit. Ecc.* i. 19) make Hyginus, bishop of Rome, A.D. 138–141, to be the first authority for it, the necessity for its introduction is rather to be referred to the general circumstances of those times. The frequent persecutions during those early ages brought with them a twofold peril, the probability of the violent death of Christian parents, and the possibility of the lapse into paganism of the baptized. Hence arose a twofold necessity on the part of the church of obtaining a security, independent of the parents, that the baptized infants should be brought up in the faith of the church in case of their parents' death or apostasy, and that the real character of adults seeking baptism should be answered for by other than themselves, to guard against the like spiritual calamity. We know that the risk of post-baptismal sin and fall led many of the severer school of Christian thought to advise and practise postponement of baptism, *e.g.* Tertullian, who uses the following argument, which incidentally bears witness to the sponsorial office as an established institution in the church. "The delaying of baptism is more profitable, according to the condition, or disposition, and moreover the age of each person, but especially in the case of children. For why is it necessary, if the thing be not so necessary, that the sponsors (*sponsores*) also be brought into danger? for both they themselves may, from their mortal nature, fail of their promises, and they may be disappointed by the growing up of a bad disposition" (*de Baptism.* c. 18). The more charitable and trustful course was that

indicated in the *Respons. ad Orthod.*, attributed to Justin Martyr, 56, Ἀξιοῦνται τῶν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν τὰ βρέφη τῇ πίστει τῶν προσφερόντων αὐτὰ τῷ βαπτίσματι. And so the author under the name of Dionys. Areop. (*de Ecc. Hierarch.* cap. vii. ad fin.), "It appeared good to receive infants in this way, that the natural parents of the child offered should hand the boy over to one of the faithful, a good teacher of divine things, under whom, as under a divine father (godfather), and a pupil in sacred saving truth, the boy should be. On this man then promising that he will educate the child in holy living, the priest enjoins that he promise the renunciations and confess the faith. Mark, he does not say, I do this instead of the child, but so the child does, *i.e.* I promise that I will train up the child by my sedulous exhortations, so that when he grows to years of discretion he will renounce."

The *rationale* of the office for adults is thus given by the same writer (*de Ecc. Hierarch.* cap. ii. par. 2): "He that is inflamed with desire of obtaining the heavenly gift (in baptism) goes to some one of the number of the faithful, and prays him to take him to the priest, promising that he will thoroughly follow all that is delivered to him; and he prays that he will both bring him, and that he will undertake the care of regulating the rest of his life for him. The other (with deep sense of his responsibility, &c.) most kindly promises to do what he asks, and, taking the man, brings him to the priest, who with joy proceeds, &c. [At a later stage of the proceedings] he orders the man and his *susceptor* to be described and the names written down. One of the ministers calls aloud to each, and then leads him into the water," &c.

That these sponsors were provided in a great measure to afford guarantees for the character of the catechumen is plain from the *Apostolical Constitutions* (lib. viii. c. 32), "Let those who first come to the holy mystery be led by the deacon to the bishop or to the presbyters, and let them examine into the reasons wherefore they are come to the word of the Lord. And let those who bring them bear witness unto them, knowing accurately what concerns them. And let their manner and life be examined into." The rest of the chapter deals with this examination in detail. For the same ends it was customary for deacons and deaconesses to undertake the office. In the *Apostolical Constitutions* (lib. iii. 16) it is prescribed, "Let a deacon receive (*i.e.* as sponsor, for baptism) a man, a deaconess a woman, that the grant of the irrefragable seal may be made with seemly security." Instances are given by Cotelerius in his note, from the Life of St. Epiphanius: "Lucian was the father (*i.e.* the godfather) of Epiphanius in holy baptism; and Bernice, a holy virgin, had been the (god) mother of the sister of Epiphanius." Victor of Utica (*de Persec. Vandal.*) says, "A deacon stood for (*suscepit*) each one." (See also Bingham, bk. xi. cap. viii. § 7.)

Hence also the great care which the early church used in the selection of persons (other than deacons) to undertake the office of sponsors. The ancients excluded all catechumens, energumens, heretics, and penitents, that is, all persons who were never yet in full communion with the church, as being themselves unbaptized; or else, such as had forfeited the privileges of their baptism by their errors, or crimes, or incapacity. By some canons persons who were never confirmed were also excluded. At a council held at Auxerre, A.D. 578, monks and nuns were forbidden to act in this capacity (see Bingham, bk. xi. cap. 8, § 10). It does not appear that wives stood *with* their husbands in any case. Elias, metropolitan of Crete (A.D. 732), answering the monk Dionysius (lib. iii. *juris Oriental.*), speaks strongly on the grave duties of sponsors.

The fourth Council of Carthage (A.D. 398), canon 12, prescribed one of the duties of widows and deaconesses to be the instruction of the ignorant and rustic women how to make their responses to the interrogatories which the ministers would put to them in baptism; and how to order their conversation afterwards.

In the writings of St. Augustine, and in those attributed to him, we have frequent allusion to the institution of sponsors, with practical advice; *e.g. Serm.* 163, *de Tempore*, and to similar purport, *De Rectitudine Cathol. Conversat.* §§ 2, 4, "I admonish you above all, both men and women who have stood for children in baptism, that you recognise that you are sureties (*fidejussores*) to God for those whom you have been seen to receive from the font." Where also he adds further injunctions to persevere in this duty: "You ought to admonish them to preserve chastity, love, justice, charity, and above all things teach them the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and the first rudiments of the Christian religion." These instructions are quoted in the canons of Cealchythe, A.D. 785.

In his Epistle to Macedonius, no. 153, he speaks of a surety deceived by him for whom he stood.

The threefold interrogatories put to sponsors, and the promises made in return by them, are often alluded to by St. Augustine, and all is reckoned to the benefit of the child: *e.g.*, "It is piously believed that the faith of those by whom he is offered for consecration is profitable to the infant" (*De Lib. Arbitr.* iii. 23; and similarly *De Baptismo c. Donatist.* iv. 31; and *De Pecc. Mer. et Rem.* lib. i. in various passages, especially in cap. 38).

The questions put to Augustine by a scrupulous bishop, Boniface, occasioned him to treat of the subject of sponsors, and to expound the *rationale* of them more fully than elsewhere (*Ep. ad Bonif.* 98, al. 23). He expressly states the Scripture truth that regeneration is by water and the Holy Ghost, not by the will of the parents (1), or by the faith of the sponsors (2), or by the faith of the ministers; where we should observe the distinction between (1) and (2) drawn by the writer. Again, even misdirected faith and lack of right intention, on the part of sponsors, do not vitiate the sacrament. "For it is not so much by those by whose hands they are carried that children are offered for receiving spiritual grace (although by them too, if they be themselves good and faithful), as by the universal society of the saints and faithful; by all, in short, whose love and faith is in operation." Thirdly: "It is not necessary for the removal of original sin, that the children be presented by the parents: for in fact many are often offered by persons, as it may happen, no way related to them, *e.g.* slaves offered by their masters; or children whose parents were dead

are offered by those who have had it in their power to take on them this merciful office. Sometimes also those whom their parents have cruelly exposed to be nurtured by any chance people, are gathered in by holy virgins, and by them presented to baptism. *They* certainly never had any children of their own, nor have it in prospect."

In the view of this paragraph, exhibiting the great variety of sponsors in that disturbed time, we may believe that Bingham has assumed too much when he says (bk. xi. cap. viii. § 2), "Parents were commonly sponsors for their own children." The dogmatic truth which lay at the foundation of the institution of sponsors is stated by St. Augustine in the latter part of chap. 5 of his letter aforesaid. The very next scruple proposed by Boniface, and dissipated by Augustine, would seem to shew that if parents *were* sponsors in any case it was not *qua* parents, but as being members of the church and representing the church; that the primitive doctrine of infant baptism was to make sponsorship depend, not on a natural tie, but on its position in the communion of saints. And the answer of Augustine is made general for all cases, viz. that a child who through his sponsor answers that he believes, does believe, as having received the sacrament of faith, for the sacrament of faith does itself render him a faithful one. It may be added that, as the church was really and ultimately the spiritual mother, so on the church, and not on the sponsors, devolved the duty of maintaining the baptized orphan or destitute.

The writings of Clement of Alexandria, when he treats of regeneration in baptism, with details analogous to those of the birth in the flesh, embody the ancient sense of "godparents," as designating the parties who promote the spiritual regeneration of the infant by taking for him the pledges, or engaging to remind him of them, or both (see Blunt, *On the Use of the Fathers*, p. 537). And so is the later term "patrini" explained by Hugo, *de Sacram.* (ap. Durantus, *de Rit. Ecc.* lib. i. 19): "They are so called because while they offer children to be regenerated to a new life, they in a sort of way become auxiliary to their new regeneration." "That the spiritual generation may be more expressively represented, there being spiritual parents present, they are called *parentes*, and the *suscepti* are called *filii*" (S. Aug. *Serm.* 116). Other writers speak of the love which a godfather ought to bear towards his godchild as that of a father, not in the way of consanguinity but of spiritual proximity.

From language of this sort the step was perhaps natural to the doctrine associated with the term "spiritual affinity." [PROHIBITED DEGREES, p. 1728.] In the laws of king Ina, A.D. 693, no. 14, the sponsor had a share in his godson's weregild if slain, *i.e.* the satisfaction to be made in money for murder to the kindred of the murdered party. Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 806, excluded a man from church for having married a woman whose children he had stood for, thus being already a "compater," *i.e.* "simul pater." The Council of Mayence, A.D. 813, uses the same term "compatres spiritales," and orders them to instruct their children in the catholic faith. In canon 55 it is enjoined, "Nullus proprium filium vel filiam de fonte baptismatis suscipiat; nec filii olam, nec commatrem ducat uxorem; nec illam cujus filiam, aut filiam ad confirmationem duxerat." Where the reason on which the canon is based is to be especially observed. It was the same reason which led to the limitation of the number of sponsors again, which originally had been one, and in after years had grown to more.

It was always understood that the promises made by the sponsors were made, not in their own name, but in the name of the baptized, and that they became subsequently responsible.

Bingham (bk. xi. cap. viii.) has collected, as usual, much valuable information on the subject of sponsors. Martene has an apposite quotation from St. Chrysostom 'in Ps. 14,' but the reference is incorrect. [H. B.]

**SPOON, EUCHARISTIC.** In the 7th century in the East communicants often used small vessels, sometimes of gold, in which to receive the sacred elements and convey them to their mouth. This practice was forbidden by the Council of Constantinople in 691, on the ground that there could be nothing more meet for that office than the hand of the Christian (can. 101). From the language of John Damascene, 730, "With hands put together crosswise let us receive the body of the Crucified" (*De Fide Orthod.* iv. 13), and from the absence of all later mention of these vessels, we infer that the practice was effectually suppressed. It is probable, however, that the tradition of their use suggested that of the spoon which somewhat later became general in the Greek and in most of the Oriental churches. This was first employed, as is supposed (Maldonatus, *de Caerem. Disp.* 2, xxii. 3), to take out of the chalice, after the COMMIXTURE, so much of the steeped oblate as was to be reserved for the sick; but afterwards both for that purpose and for the communion of the laity.

The Greeks call the spoon λαβίς, the tongs, in allusion to Isaiah vi. 6, it being a very common thing with them to speak of the Eucharist under the figure of a "live coal;" a usage yet more common among the Syrians (St. Chrys. *Hom.* in illud *Vidi Dom.* § 3; Joan. Damasc. *u. s.*; St. Ephrem, *Comm. in Esai. u. s.* ii. 31, Rom. 1740). Hence even a conventional Syrian name for the sacrament, viz. *gmurto*, a coal (J. S. Assemani in *Biblioth. Orient.* i. 70; Renaud. *Liturg. Orient.* ii. 63). At first the fingers were spoken of as the tongs, as in the liturgy of Jerusalem: "The Lord shall bless us and make us meet to take up the fiery coal with the pure tongs of the fingers, and to lay it on the mouth of the faithful" (Assem. *Codex. Lit.* v. 56). When the image was transferred to the spoon we cannot say. In a Coptic prayer at the consecration of the latter, the bishop, after a reference to the angel "in whose hands were the tongs with which he took the live coal from the altar," proceeds thus: "Now also, O God, . . . . stretch forth Thy hand over this spoon, in which are to be taken up the members of the holy body," &c. (Renaud. i. 54).

In all the churches of the East the laity receive the elements together, *i.e.* the body steeped in the blood, and in all except the Armenian (Le Brun, *Dissert.* x. 21) the spoon is employed. In the Syrian rite the minister assisting, whether priest or deacon, may receive them either separately or from the spoon (Renaud. ii. 119); in

other Oriental churches and in the Greek he always receives in the former manner (Goar, *Euchol. Gr.* 82, 83, 149; Renaud. ii. 118).

*Intinction*, as the practice of steeping the body in the blood was called in the West, is thought by some (Ligaridius in Goar, 152; Arcudius, *Concord. Occ. et Or.* iii. 53) to have been first adopted (with the use of the spoon) in consequence of a heretic at Constantinople, whom St. Chrysostom was communicating, having carried off the Eucharist which he had placed in her hand (see Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 5). It is more probable, however, that a custom so general was suggested by the convenience found in ministering thus to the sick. In a story told by Eusebius the person sent to a dying man with the Eucharist, the priest himself being sick, was directed to moisten it and drop it into the mouth (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 44). The Council of Carthage, A.D. 398, orders "the Eucharist to be poured into the mouth" of those who have become insensible (can. 76). In the same city, not much later, a woman who had an obstruction in the throat received a "steeped particle of the Lord's body" (*De Prom. et Praed. Dei*, Dim. Temp. 6, inter *Opp.* Prosp.).

When intinction for ordinary communions began to prevail in Europe, it seems, like so many other minor rites, to have been introduced from the East through Spain and Portugal; for we find the first mention of it in a prohibition by the Council of Braga, A.D. 675. The ground alleged was that our Lord gave the bread and wine to the apostles separately (can. 2). The practice thus received a great check among the Latins, but in the 11th century we find it general. In the 12th it was suppressed, very much because it suggested the sop of Judas, but still under the authority of the canon of Braga, which was then known as a decree of pope Julius (*Notitia Eucharistica*, 705, ed. 2). There is no evidence that a spoon was ever employed in the West during the prevalence of intinction.

So far as I have discovered, the only proof that the practice of intinction existed in Europe between the 7th and the 11th centuries is to be found in the words of delivery used in many churches at the communion of the sick, and in directions that have reference to them. The form given by Theodulf of Orleans, A.D. 794, runs thus: "The body and the blood of the Lord be unto thee remission of all sins," &c. (Capit. ii. in Baluze, *Miscell.* ii. 104, ed. 2). A Scottish order of the beginning of the 9th century: "The body with the blood," &c. (*Book of Deer*, 90). Similarly two Irish orders in the *Books of Dimna* and *Moling* (*Liber de Arbuthnott*, xix. xxi.). Prudentius of Troyes, A.D. 846: "The body and blood of our Lord," &c. (in Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. vii. 6, n. 3). Regino, A.D. 906, gives a canon of Tours of uncertain date, in which it is expressly ordered that the "sacred oblation be steeped in the blood of Christ, that the presbyter may be able to say with truth, The body and blood," &c. (*De Discipl. Eccl.* i. 70. See again *Not. Euch.* 1023). In the 11th century some formulae of delivery verbally recognised the intinction: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, steeped in His blood, preserve thy soul," &c. (*Pontif. Suesson.* in Mart. *u. s.* 16; *Miss. Ambros.* cited by Sala in Bona, *Rer. Lit.* ii. 18, § 2) [W. E. S.]

**SPORTULA** is properly the basket used in distributing presents of money or food to clients (Juvenal, iii. 249). Hence it came to be applied to presents or donations generally, and Cyprian calls the clergy of his time "sportulantes fratres," as depending upon the contributions of their flock (*Epist.* 1, p. 466, Hartel). [C.]

**STACHYS**, Oct. 31; commemorated with Amplias and Urbanus, Rom. xvi. 8, 9 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**STACTEUS (1)**, June 27, one of the seven sons of Symphorosa. [SYMPHOROSA.]

(2) Sept. 28; commemorated at Rome (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*).

**STAFF** (*Baculus*, *cambuca*). During the saying of long offices, consisting principally of psalmody, at which it was usual to stand, it was permitted for the worshippers to lean on a long staff or crutch by way of relief (Martene, *de Rit. Eccl. Ant.* iv. xv. 13). Chrodegang of Metz in his Rule (c. 26) does not permit this indulgence to his canons, unless in case of infirmity. The monks of Fulda in their supplication to Charles the Great (Migne, *Patrol.* cv. 419) complain that their abbat did not permit even the infirm to use a staff or to lean on the standing-desk (*inclinatorium* or *reclinatorium*). The staff was laid aside at the reading of the Gospel (see p. 744). For the staff of the bishop, see PASTORAL STAFF. [C.]

**STAG** (IN ART). From a very early date in Christian symbolism and iconography, the stag has been used to represent the Gentile convert thirsting for and approaching the waters of baptism [CROSS, p. 496]. He accompanies the lambs or sheep, the catechumens of Christian or Jewish birth, in most baptismal works of art, as the Lateran cross, the frescoes of St. Pontianus, and the more ancient mosaics of the Ravenna baptisteries.

The stag is represented in the mosaics of Ciampini (*De sacr. Aedif.* cap. ix.); on tombs (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. c. 3; see also for later paintings Bottari, tav. xliv.); on lamps (Aringhi, ii. p. 603; see LAMPS, p. 921).

It would seem, from a Ravenna sarcophagus given by Ciampini (*Vet. Mon.* ii. p. 7, tab. iii. D), where two stags are represented with the chalice (as birds frequently at Ravenna), that the animal symbolises the desire of the faithful for the other sacrament also. These examples on Christian tombs can hardly have a secular meaning only; though occasionally, as in Buonarotti (*Frammenti di Vetro*, xxiv.), the stag only appears as a beast of chase. It is seen in this sense very frequently on the Lombard carvings from the 8th to the 11th century; very notably in the celebrated hunt of Theodoric on the façade of S. Zenone at Verona. [R. St. J. T.]

**STAGE.** [ACTORS; THEATRE.]

**STALLS, SEATS** (*θρόνοι*; *consessus presbyterorum*; *sedes*; *formula* [Magri, *Hierolexicon*]; *postellum*). Compare STASIDIA.

The most ancient notices describe the seats for the presbyters as being arranged in the arc of the apse, behind the altar, on either side of the seat (*θρόνος*) of the bishop, which was in the

middle of them (*Apost. Constit.* l. 2, c. 57). Bingham (*Antiq.* lib. ii. cap. xix. § 6) thinks that this arrangement may be the reason why the body of presbyters was called by Ignatius (*Ep. ad Magnes.* 13) the "crown of the presbytery." The term "throne" was not anciently confined to the seat of a bishop, but was applied to that of the presbyter also. Presbyters were spoken of by Constantine (Euseb. l. 10, c. 5) as "certain persons from the *second throne.*" St. Gregory of Nazianzum speaks of himself (*de Vitâ suâ*) as forced by violence "into the second throne," *i.e.* into priests' orders. This arrangement, says Viollet-le-Duc (*Dict. rais. de l'Architecture*, s. v. Choeur), was maintained in some cathedrals, for example in that of Lyons, down to the middle of the 18th century. The same writer (*ibid.* s. v. Stalle) affirms that in France stalls were constructed in wood at a very remote period. In Italy and Sicily, on the contrary, they were sometimes made in stone or marble, a practice which the comparative rigour of the climate rendered unsuitable in France. There are no stalls remaining in France anterior to the time of Charlemagne; but the earliest specimens that are left can only, says Viollet-le-Duc, be the consequence of a long tradition.

The principle upon which official seats were assigned in the early church seems to have been this, that seats were the index of spiritual rank. Hence great care was taken that men who were in deacons' orders should not sit with those of superior spiritual rank. As early as the Council of Nicaea there is a trace that deacons were endeavouring to thrust themselves into the row of priests. By the 18th canon of that council the disposition on their part to intrude into the "highest seats of the synagogue" is formally condemned. "But let it not be permitted to the deacons to sit in the midst of the presbyters, for that which is taking place is contrary to canon and contrary to order." It should be observed that deacons were always forbidden to sit amongst the priests in the sanctuary (see the 15th canon of the Council of Arles, *ap. Martene*, iii. 1, 7). The deacons were bound to stand.

It is not easy to say precisely when the arrangement of the clergy behind the altar, which originated in the East, was superseded by the plan of a choir with which we are now familiar. But the ancient arrangement of the clergy appears to have prevailed in the French church in the 6th century. Queen Chrodieldis, with the cross in her hand, enters the church to denounce the abbess, and presents herself before the assembled priests, who take their seats in the tribunal of the church—"Tunc residentibus sacerdotibus qui aderant super tribunal ecclesiae" (Greg. Turon. *Hist. Francorum*, lib. x. 15).

No mention of those appendages to choir stalls which are known as Misericordes (Misericordiae) has been found within the period comprised in this work. [H. T. A.]

**STAMINEA** (also *stamineum*, *staminia*, &c.). A woollen under-garment used by monks. The Rule of Fructuosus allots "staminiae duae" to each (c. 4, *Patrol.* lxxxvii. 1101: reproduced in the *Concordia Regularum* of Benedict of Aniane, c. 17, *Patrol.* ciii. 1248, where see Menard's note). The *Regula Magistri*, making a distinction according to the seasons, orders that in winter each monk should have "paraturam grossam quotidianam stamineam." Reference is also made below to a "pallium stamineum" (c. 80, *Patrol.* lxxxviii. 1030). See Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v. [R. S.]

**STANDING** was, as is well known, a common posture among the ancient Christians in PRAYER [p. 1684], on hearing the GOSPEL [p. 744] or sermons, and during PSALMODY [p. 1747], which formed a large portion of the daily offices. Compare STAFF, p. 1926. [C.]

**STAPIO.** A word of doubtful meaning, but standing for some article of female dress or ornament. In his Life of St. Radegundis (c. 13; *Patrol.* lxxxviii. 503) Venantius Fortunatus describes the rich objects deposited by the queen at different altars, including the above. Mabillon suggests that *scapio* (with the meaning of some sort of crown) should be read (*Acta Sanctorum ordinis Benedicti*, saecl. i. 321). He argues that if *stapio* be retained, it must be some kind of ornament for the feet. [R. S.]

**STARS** (IN ART). One or more stars are often seen on either side of the figure of Christ on early glasses, &c., which are regarded by Buonarotti as symbols of His divinity (*Vetri*, p. 38). A Christian lamp given by Bellori (*Antiche Lucerne*, part iii. 29) presents the Good Shepherd with His head encircled by seven stars. Sometimes the monogram alone appears thus attended (*ibid.* viii. 1). A starry field is frequently used in early Christian art as emblematical of heaven. At St. Vitalis at Ravenna the Holy Lamb is seen in a field thus sown with stars (Ciampini, tab. 18), and the cross is similarly placed in the chapel of Galla Placidia (*ibid.* tab. 65). On a sarcophagus at Arles stars, alternately single and double, are placed between the heads of the apostles (Millin. pl. lxv. 3; Le Blant, pl. xiv. p. 27). The figure of Habakkuk bringing food to Daniel on a sarcophagus at Brescia has seven stars above his head (Le Blant, p. 12). A single star, together with emblems of the Resurrection, and a Dove surrounded with stars, are seen on a gem given by Perret (*Catacombes*, iv. pl. xvi. 8). A young man with four stars on his tunic, accompanied with eucharistic emblems, is found on a glass (Maranzoni, *Cose Gentileschi*). In the representations of the Nativity and the Epiphany the star is an almost unfailing accompaniment of the scene. Instances will be found in the woodcuts of the articles NATIVITY; MAGI, ADORATION OF. [E. V.]

**STASIDIA.** The stalls in the monastic and other churches of the East. They are distinguished from the stalls of the Western church by their being originally, as their name implies, places for standing in, not for sitting. They had no seats, and their occupants supported themselves when weary on the elbows of the stalls, which corresponded to the crutches which were and are still much used by the worshippers in the Eastern churches. Suicer defines them with much accuracy as "sedilia in quibus sacerdotes vel sedentes quiescunt, vel stantes accumbendo laborem levius ferunt; eo ordine ut digniores dignius occupent sedile" (*sub voc.*). Goar states

that the stall of the "hegumenos" was the furthest to the east, on the south side opposite the "icon" of the patron saint (*Euchol.* p. 4, n. 35). He says also that in monastic churches they were usually returned, but not in parish churches (*ibid.* 19). Each monk had his own stall. The *Typicon S. Sabae* speaks repeatedly of a monk going εἰς τὸ στασίδιον αὐτοῦ. They are sometimes called τόποι. [E. V.]

**STASIS** (στάσις), one of the subdivisions of he Greek Psalter. In the Greek church the Psalms are divided into twenty groups, called καθίσματα or sessions. Each κάθισμα is divided into three στάσεις by the recital of the formula, Δόξα καὶ νῦν. 'Αλληλούϊα. So imperative was this rule that even Psalm cxix., which by itself constitutes the 17th session, was divided into three στάσεις. And further, when the number of Psalms in a session is even, still the odd number of στάσεις in it was preserved by grouping two or more Psalms together. With this may be compared the Western practice of securing the same result by saying two Psalms under one *Gloria Patri*. For further information on this curious subject the present writer may be permitted to refer to an essay upon it in his volume on *The Gradual Psalms*.

For the actual division of the Psalter see PSALMODY.

Suicer thinks the term στάσις arises either (1) from their standing to recite the Psalms, or (2) from their standing up at the close of each session (*Thesaurus*, s. v.). Perhaps, however, it may have meant a halt or stop, a sense which the word acquired in post-classical Greek. [H. T. A.]

**STATE AND CHURCH.** [LAW.]

**STATIO.** 1. By early Latin writers was applied to a fast day. Yet a distinction can be drawn between *jejunium* and *statio*.

There has been much difference of opinion whether a *statio* differed at all from a fast (*jejunium*); and if so, in what respect it differed. Pamelius, for example, argues that there is no difference. Bona, however, concludes that the *statio* is sometimes identical with the *jejunium*, and sometimes not. The *statio* closed at none, the *jejunium* (proper, *e.g.* in Lent) at vesper; then they were different. But sometimes the shorter fast (which Tertullian calls *semi-jejunium*) was called *jejunium*. In this case the faithful might take food at none, and then the fast was the same as the *statio*. The relation between *statio* and *jejunium* is discussed by Bona (*de Horis Div. Psalmodiae*, cap. iii.). In Tertullian, he says, *solvere stationem* is the same as *jejunium solvere*. But Gregory the Great assigned certain churches of the city (Rome) to stations, and on the more solemn days commanded that stations should be done (*stationes fieri*) until sext, and to those churches on stated days (*statis* diebus—this perhaps suggests the origin of the term *statio*) the faithful usually resort. The stations, Bona complains, have disappeared, owing to the chill that has come upon love, and the abstinence of the fast alone remains.

The classical passage on the subject in very early writers is a clause of Tertullian's: "Similiter et stationum diebus non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum quod statio solvenda sit accepto corpore Domini" (*de Orat.* c. xiv.). To this there may be added one or two other sayings of the same writer (*de Jejun.* c. 14; *ib.* c. 10; *ib.* c. 13), from which we gather that the *statio* was held on Wednesday and Friday in every week throughout the year (because, according to Gratian, on those days respectively the betrayal was planned and the Crucifixion accomplished), and that it lasted till the ninth hour. The fast on these two days of the week is enjoined by the sixty-ninth of the Apostolical Canons, though the Greek equivalent of the name *statio* does not appear there. It may be added that bishop Beverege's long note upon this canon will be found to give the most complete and the clearest *résumé* of the facts, amidst all that has been written upon the subject (*Pandectae Annot.* p. 35).

It has been already suggested that the fast was called *statio*, because the solemnity was kept on fixed days (*statis diebus*); but St. Ambrose gives another account of the origin of the term. "Our fasts are our encampments which protect us from the devil's attack; in short, they are called *stationes*, because *standing* (*stantes*) and staying in them we repel our plotting foes" (S. Ambr. *Serm.* 25). Tertullian likewise undoubtedly takes advantage of this military sense of the word (*stationem facere*) in his treatise *de Coronâ Militis* (cap. xi.). For an account of how the fast of the Wednesday *statio* became in process of time exchanged for the Saturday fast in some parts of the West, see SABBATH.

2. An assembly of the faithful in church, especially that which took place on the Lord's day. It has been mentioned above that Gregory the Great regulated these stations in Rome, but it is clear that he did not originate them: for though the word appears to be used in the sense of the Fast in all the passages of Tertullian (see the several notes on them in the Oxford translation), yet it (στάσις) is used by St. Gregory of Nazianzum in a passage where it could hardly mean anything but an assembly (Greg. Naz. *Orat. hab. in Concilio Const.*). The term has an obvious appropriateness in a Greek church, where there were no seats and all had to *stand*.

3. In a sense closely connected with the foregoing, a station is a church, oratory, or other place where ecclesiastical processions made a halt, and certain offices of divine worship were performed, sometimes the service of the Holy Eucharist itself. From this it came to pass that the processions themselves were called *stationes*. They were first instituted by Cyril of Alexandria (Ducange, *s. v.*). The tombs of the martyrs were often the scenes of stations. In later times the term was used of a procession made by all the clergy of a city to some leading church of the city. (Anselm. Leod. c. 69, in Wolb.) Ducange says that when the clergy from the various churches were assembled at a station, any difficult question that was pending was settled. This fact, he thinks, accounts for Tertullian's statement that the station was sometimes prolonged to the vesper hour. It appears from St. Cyprian (*Ep.* 41) that the Novatian schismatics demanded that their charges should be investigated "in statione." Some have thought that it was the stations of this class that Gregory

the Great took order to regulate ("sollicitè ordinavit"), and that while taking part in them he delivered many of his homilies on the gospels. This would point to the use of the eucharistic office in the station. The same use, too, prevailed in the church of Constantinople, where we are told that the epistle and gospel at the stations used to be recited in Latin (Nicolaus I. *Ep.* 8). Anastasius again (*in S. Vitaliano*) speaks of a station "ad Sanctum Petrum" on the Lord's day, and of the mass being celebrated there. It is not unlikely, indeed, that in the early Christian mind *statio* was eminently connected with the Eucharist, because the corresponding word (מַעֲמָד) was already in use in the ritual of Israel in connexion with the sacred oblation (see Buxtorf, *Lex. Talmud.* s. v. עָמַד); and *statio* may be an example of those many ideas which Christianity adopted from Judaism. Hofmann (*Lex: Univ.* s. v.) boldly defines *statio* as *ritus audiendi Evangelium*. This, however, would seem to restrict the liturgical use of the word too much.

At these stations the sacramental vessels were carried in procession. Anastasius tells us that this practice existed as early as the time of Hilarus (A.D. 461), the successor of Leo the Great in the papal see. Leo the Third (A.D. 795) made twenty such vessels of the purest silver, to be carried by acolytes in procession ("qui praecederent per stationes per manus acolytorum").

In modern times the term *stationes* is most often applied to the use of certain devotions in front of pictures or sculptures representing the leading incidents of our Lord's Passion. Of this use, however, no example has been found within the period to which the present work is restricted. [H. T. A.]

**STATIONS OF PENITENTS.** [PENITENCE, p. 1591.]

**STAUROPEGIUM** (σταυροπήγιον). The solemn act of fixing a cross by the bishop of the diocese, at the foundation of a church or monastery. The service and ceremonial in use on such an occasion, with full rubrical directions, are given in Goar's *Euchologion*, pp. 608–613. This custom is an ancient one. It is probably alluded to by St. Chrysostom, when he asks, "What community is there which has not the staff and cross? What church which has not been fortified with the cross?" (*Hom. in Baia.*); and it is distinctly mentioned by later writers (Balsamon in can. vii. Septimae Synodi).

In later times the term came to denote a special right claimed by a patriarch to consecrate a church in any diocese within his province, by sending a small wooden inscribed cross to be fixed behind the altar. Such a church became the patriarch's peculiar, exempt from ordinary diocesan jurisdiction. An account of the controversies caused by this custom is given in Ducange, Glossary, *Graec. Med. Aevi*, s. v. See for further authorities on the subject J. M. Neale, *Eastern Church*, Gen. Introd. p. 1041. [F. E. W.]

**STAUROPHYLAX.** After the supposed discovery of the true cross by St. Helena, the custody of the holy relic was committed for the time being to one of the presbyters of the church of Jerusalem, who was thence called ὁ σταυροφύλαξ. It was regarded as a position of very high dignity, and the holder of it was frequently advanced to the episcopate. Porphyrius bishop of Gaza (A.D. 421) held the office, as did John III. bishop of Jerusalem (513–524). "Elias episcopus Hierosolymae exilio traditur et pro eo Joannes crucis custos episcopus ordinatur" (apud Ducange *sub voc.*). The names of several presbyters who were "guardians of the Cross" occur in the biographies of St. Euthymius and St. Sabas by Cyril of Scythopolis. [E. V.]

**STAUROTHEOTOKION** (σταυροθεοτόκιον), a Troparium or Sticheron, including a mention of both the cross and the B. V. M. (θεοτοκός). For a rubric directing its use see Goar, *Eucholog.* p. 188; Triodium in Dominica Tyrophagi Menaea, July 12, in J. M. Neale, *Eastern Church*, Gen. Introd. p. 832. [F. E. W.]

**STEPHANIS**, Nov. 11, martyr with Victor, under Antoninus (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**STEPHANUS (1)**, Jan. 14, monk, "our holy father," in the time of Leo Isaurus, founder of the monastery of Chenolacus (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*).

**(2)** Mar. 27, hegumen of Triglia, confessor for image-worship under Leo Armenus (Basil. *Menol.*).

**(3)** Apr. 1; commemorated in Egypt with Victor (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*); May 8 (Usuard., *Hieron.*, Notker.).

**(4)** May 24, martyr with Meletius under Antoninus (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

**(5)** Aug. 2, pope (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon.; *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., Wand.; Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*); Sept. 7 (*Menol. Graec.*); Nov. 4 (*Cal. Armen.*). In the Gregorian Sacramentary, he is commemorated on his natale, Aug. 2, and named in every prayer; there is also an office for his natale in the *Liber Antiphonarius* of Gregory.

**(6)** Aug. 6, subdeacon, martyr with pope Sixtus (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard.).

**(7)** Sept. 17. [SOCRATES (1).]

**(8)** July 13, Oct. 28, "our father, Stephen the Sabaite" (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.*).

**(9)** Nov. 22, martyr under Diocletian, with Marcus, natives of Antioch in Pisidia (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*).

**(10)** Nov. 28, THE YOUNGER, martyr for image-worship (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; *Mart.* Usuard.).

**(11)** Protomartyr. See STEPHEN. [C. H.]

**STEPHEN, ST., PROTOMARTYR**, LEGEND AND FESTIVAL OF. 1. *Legend.*—In one of the appendices to the works of Augustine is a letter from Avitus, a Spanish priest then living in Palestine, to Palchonius, bishop of Bracara (Braga) in Spain, which was to be conveyed to him by Orosius the historian, then about to return to Spain, which was his native land. Besides the letter, Avitus furthur entrusted Orosius with some relics of St. Stephen, and with a Latin translation of the Greek narrative of Lucian, to whom, it was believed, had been

vouchsafed the discovery of the martyr's remains (Augustine, vol. vii. 1125, ed. Gaume).

We shall proceed to give, in the first place, a brief abstract of this latter document. Lucian was priest of the church of Caphar-Gamala, a village twenty miles from Jerusalem, and on a certain Friday ("parasceue, hoc est sexta feria"), three days before the Nones of December, Honorius being for the second time, and Theodosius for the sixth time, consuls (Dec. 8, A.D. 415), he was lying half asleep in the baptistery, where his bed was placed that he might guard the sacred vessels. Here, at the third hour of the night, he saw a vision of an old man clad in white, with a golden wand in his hand, who commanded him to go to John, bishop of Jerusalem, and bid him open his sepulchre. He further announced that he was Gamaliel, the teacher of Paul, and that he had caused the remains of Stephen to be secretly conveyed by night from the scene of his martyrdom outside the north gate of Jerusalem to Caphar-Gamala. Here Gamaliel laid the body in his own tomb, on the east side; and subsequently Nicodemus, who had been excommunicated by the Jews and had been maintained by Gamaliel, was laid in the same tomb. There also Abibas, a son of Gamaliel, who had with his father been baptized into Christ, and had died before his father, was laid. Last of all, Gamaliel himself was buried there; but his wife Ethna, and his eldest son Selemias, not having embraced the faith of Christ, were buried elsewhere.

Lucian, on awaking, doubted the reality of the vision, and prayed that if it were sent by God it might be repeated a second and a third time. On the following Friday the vision appeared again, and Gamaliel asked why Lucian had not obeyed. On being told the reason, he shewed as emblems of the relics three golden baskets filled with roses (one with red for Stephen, two with white for Nicodemus and Gamaliel), and a silver basket filled with fragrant crocuses for Abibas. The vision then vanished. Yet a third time it appeared. On the following Friday, at the same hour, Gamaliel appeared and upbraided him for neglecting to obey.

Lucian, being now convinced, set off for Jerusalem, and related the story to the bishop, who bade him dig for the relics, it being believed that they would be found under a heap of stones in the field indicated by Gamaliel. However, Gamaliel in a vision to a monk named Migetius explained that the bodies were not there, but had merely been laid down there at the funeral, the heap having been set in sign of mourning. The bodies really lay in the north part of the field, in a spot called Debatalia. A vain examination of the heap proved the truth of the last vision, and the relics in four coffins were found at the spot indicated. On that of St. Stephen was engraved, according to one text, "Keayea Celiel, quod interpretatur servus Dei" (c. 8, *Op. Cit.* 1133); according to another, "Celeliel quod Stephanus dicitur" (*ib.* 1134). The latter interpretation is of course the correct one, *celil* (כְּלִיל) being a common Aramaean word for a crown, as Stephen in Greek. Bishop John, then at the Council of Lidda or Diospolis, being at once informed, came to the spot, bringing with him Eleutherius bishop of Sebaste, and Eleutherius (*al.* Eustonius) of Jericho. When the coffin of St. Stephen was opened, the earth shook, and a fragrant odour was diffused, by which seventy-three persons were restored to health. The coffin was then reclosed, and was carried to Jerusalem, as the church of which St. Stephen had been deacon; a small portion of the relics being left at Caphar-Gamala. This translation was made, according to one text, on Dec. 26 (7 Kal. Jan.), or, according to the other, on Aug. 3 (3 Non. Aug.).

We cannot of course attempt to define accurately the historical element in this legend, still it is clear that some discovery of the relics, real or supposed, took place; and that this was followed by universal credence in the story. Thus, for example, as we shall presently see, Augustine, in the twenty-second book of the *De Civitate Dei*, written a few years after the above events are said to have happened, refers to miracles supposed to have been wrought by relics of St. Stephen brought from Palestine to the province of Africa; and the events are taken for granted by most of the immediately succeeding writers. The series of visions supposed to have been seen by Lucian we may readily allow; it demands nothing more from us than to credit Lucian with a lively imagination and an intense faith. Explorations in pursuance of these visions might easily be rewarded by the finding of a body, even if not so simply as the story makes out. We are not called upon either to lay to the charge of bishop John a craftily conceived and carefully worked-out imposture, or to accept the elaborate story in all its details. Much of these, the names upon the coffins and the like, we may readily discard as mere embellishments—a story of this kind never loses by the telling.

The news, when promulgated, would be, we can well believe, eagerly caught up. Relics were, as we have seen, widely dispersed; and the simple but intense faith of the time might often, by its very intensity, do marvels. Thus, for instance, the case of Paulus and Palladia, afterwards to be mentioned, is just one where strong faith, working on the line of strong nervous excitement, might well produce the results said to have happened.

We return now to Orosius. We find from the letter of Avitus that, in Dec. A.D. 415, he was eagerly looking forward to his return journey from Palestine. He returned to Augustine in the following year (Aug. *Epist.* 175, § 1; vol. ii. 923), bringing with him portions of the relics of St. Stephen, which Avitus had obtained from Lucian (Avitus, *l. c.*; Gennadius, *de Viris Illustribus*, c. 39; *Patrol.* lviii. 1081). The history by which Orosius is most generally known was then written; and after this he set sail for Spain with the relics. On his way, he landed on the island of Minorca; and here, learning that the Goths were ravaging Spain, and that it would hardly be possible for him to return thither, he settled rather to return to Africa, having intrusted his relics to the church in Minorca (Severus, *Epist. ad omnem Ecclesiam*, § 3; apud August., vol. vii. 1146, in Append.).

We have said that the belief in the discovery of St. Stephen's relics soon spread widely. Besides Augustine, of whom we have already spoken, and to whom we shall recur presently, we may mention Chrysippus, a priest of the church of

Jerusalem, living about the middle of the 5th century. Photius (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 171; *Patrol. Gr.* ciii. 500) says that he had read a work of Chrysippus, a panegyric of Theodore the martyr, where, in a digression, he speaks of Lucian and his vision, and the consequent discovery. At about the same period, Basil of Seleucia wrote a panegyric of St. Stephen and concerning the discovery of the relics (*Orat.* 41; *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxv. 461). The Chronicle of Idatius mentions the manifestation (*martyr Stephanus revelatur*) at Jerusalem in the episcopate of John (*Patrol.* li. 877); and the Chronicle of Marcellinus speaks of the discovery of the relics and of Lucian's narrative (*ib.* 923: see also Gennadius, *de Viris Illustribus*, 39, 46, 47; *Patrol.* lviii. 1080 sqq.).

We now return to Augustine. In the last book (the twenty-second) of the *De Civitate Dei*, written apparently towards the close of A.D. 426, he tells us of numerous miracles that had been wrought by the help of the relics in and near Hippo (c. 8, §§ 10–22, vol. vii. 1065), where a *memoria* or oratory of St. Stephen had been built about A.D. 425 (*ibid.* § 20), in commemoration, it would appear, of the arrival in Africa of fresh relics of the martyr. A sermon of Augustine's seems to have been delivered specially for this occasion (*Serm.* 317, vol. v. 1870), and the succeeding one when the relics were deposited in the church erected for them. In a letter of Augustine's to bishop Quintilian, commending two ladies to his care, he remarks that they are the bearers of relics of St. Stephen, "which your Holiness knows in what befitting way you ought to honour, even as we ourselves have done" (*Epist.* 212, vol. ii. 1194).

Besides the *memoria* at Hippo, Augustine specifies Aquae Tibilitanae, a place between Hippo and Cirta, Sinita, a town near Hippo, and Calama, where Possidius was bishop. At all these places, and at others near, as well as at Hippo, were *memoriae* of St. Stephen. Augustine remarks (*ibid.* § 20) that though he has mentioned many miracles, he has also passed over many, which, were they all to be given, "plurimi conficiendi sunt libri." He adds that not only in the country round Hippo, but at Uzalis also, a town near Utica, many wonders were done. The bishop of Uzalis, Evodius, an intimate friend of Augustine, caused a work to be written, *De Miraculis S. Stephani Protomartyris*, in two books, which is given in the Appendix to the seventh volume of Augustine (col. 1161 sq.).

One more example may be added, seeing that it was made the occasion of several sermons by Augustine, the case of Paulus and Palladia (*de Civitate Dei*, xxii. 8. 22; *Serm.* 320–324, vol. v. 1881). These were two out of ten children of a lady at Caesarea in Cappadocia, all of whom their mother's curse had afflicted with a terrible shaking of their limbs. The two above-named came at last in their wanderings to Hippo, about fifteen days before Easter. Here they daily visited the *memoria* of St. Stephen, and while praying on Easter morning, the youth was suddenly healed. On Easter Tuesday Augustine, in his sermon, embodied the whole deposition of Paulus (*Serm.* 322, *supra*), and on that day the sister was restored as the brother had been. Obviously, however, the above admits, as we have already said, of a very simple explanation, without recourse being had to the theory of miracles properly so called.

Another place where the *cultus* of St. Stephen early prevailed was Ancona. Augustine relates (*Serm.* 323, vol. v. 1884) that at the martyrdom of St. Stephen, a certain man picked up a stone that had rebounded after striking the martyr's elbow.[a] This man was a sailor, and, once being at Ancona, it was revealed to him that he should deposit the stone there, which he did, and thenceforth a *memoria* of St. Stephen existed in that place. This is mentioned by Gregory the Great (*Dial.* lib. i. 5; *Patrol.* lxxvii. 177).

Into later legends it is not worth while to enter at length, but we shall give them a passing notice. A translation of St. Stephen's body from Jerusalem to Constantinople is mentioned by Nicephorus Callistus (*Hist. Eccles.* xiv. 9; *Patrol. Gr.* cxlvi. 1084) as taking place in the reign of Constantine. This, of course, is at variance with the story of Lucian. Theodorus Lector (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 64; *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxvi. 215) also speaks of a translation to Constantinople, but puts it in the reign of Theodosius II. on a certain September 21. The story of the translation, with much the same details as that told by Nicephorus, is given in a writing purporting to be a translation into Latin by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, and sent by him with an accompanying letter to Landuleus, bishop of Capua (Augustine, vol. vii. 1137 sqq.).

From this we gather that Capua, too, claimed to possess relics of St. Stephen. In this narrative the translation to Constantinople is referred to the episcopate of bishop John. In the *Martyrologium Romanum* is recorded, under May 7, a translation of the body of St. Stephen from Constantinople to Rome in the pontificate of Pelagius, when it was laid in the sepulchre of St. Laurence. Even Baronius, however (*not. in l.c.*), gives up this legend.

To draw illustrations from other districts than those we have already cited, we find Gregory of Tours speaking of the relics of St. Stephen taken into Gaul (*Hist. Franc.* i. 30; *De Gloria Martyrum*, i. 34; *Patrol.* lxxi. 177, 734). For the story of the African bishop Gaudiosus fleeing from the persecution of the Vandal king Genseric to Naples, and of the relics of St. Stephen taken with him, see Baronius (*not. ad Mart. Rom.* Aug. 3, Nov. 28). We may note in conclusion before leaving this part of our subject, that the empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II., built a church just outside Jerusalem, on the scene of St. Stephen's martyrdom, and was herself interred there on her death in A.D. 461 (see *e.g.* Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. Eccles.* xiv. 50; *Patrol. Gr.* cxlvi. 1240).

2. *Festivals.*—The discovery of the relics in Palestine, whatever explanation we may give of the matter, soon caused the commemoration of St. Stephen to be widely observed as a festival of high importance. Still, prior to the date of that event, we have definite traces of the existence of a festival of St. Stephen. Thus we have two sermons for the festival by Gregory of Nyssa (*ob.* circa A.D. 396), in which, as well as in that next to be mentioned, we are told that it fell on the day after Christmas (*Patrol. Gr.* xlvi. 701,

[a] The play upon Ancona and ἀγκών is of course obvious.

721). We also have a sermon for the day by Asterius,[b] bishop of Amasea in Pontus, which we may safely refer to a date prior to A.D. 415 (*Hom.* 12; *Patrol. Gr.* xl. 338). Indeed the absence from the above three sermons of any allusions to the discovery in Palestine would of itself be evidence. The homilies, however, for the festival of St. Stephen, once attributed to Chrysostom, are clearly spurious (vol. viii. 501, 699; xii. 929, 931, 933, ed. Migne).

To the above may, we think, be added the instance mentioned by Augustine (*supra*) of the ancient *memoria* of St. Stephen at Ancona. If Augustine honestly believed that this had been built at a period not long subsequent to the martyrdom, we may fairly acquiesce in at any rate sufficient antiquity to carry it back to a time before A.D. 415. The reference to the festival of St. Stephen in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (viii. 33) would be of great importance, if only we had more definite knowledge of the date of the work. In the passage cited, it is ordered by Peter and Paul that slaves are to rest on certain great festivals, besides which are the days of the apostles and of Stephen and other martyrs unspecified.

It may at once be allowed, however, that these isolated notices do not suffice to establish the existence of a festival observed by the *church at large*, and thus we record its absence from the Roman calendar of Bucherius, a document of about the middle of the 4th century. When, however, we pass to the period after A.D. 415, we soon find all ancient calendars, martyrologies, and liturgies agreeing in containing a commemoration or commemorations of St. Stephen. The days specially associated with him are Dec. 26 and Aug. 3. The first is certainly the commemoration of the martyrdom, both because we have it mentioned in writings prior to the date of the finding of the relics, and because of the constancy with which it is so noted in ancient authorities. On the other hand, one text of Lucian's narrative gives Dec. 26 as the date of the translation, the other referring it to Aug. 3. Probably the latter date really commemorates the consecration of some church in honour of St. Stephen, or the like event, but, as we shall presently see, it is generally associated with the translation.

The festival of Dec. 26 is recorded in the Roman calendar of Polemeus Silvius of A.D. 448 (*Patrol.* xiii. 688), and in the *Calendarium Carthaginense*, which is probably only slightly subsequent to A.D. 484 (*ib.* 1228). It is not necessary to give an extended list of ancient authorities recognising the festival; it may suffice to mention the *Mart. Hieronymi* as edited by D'Achéry from the Corbey MS. (*Patrol.* xxx. 437), the *Mart. Gellonense* (D'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, xiii. 390), the Gelasian (*Patrol.* lxxiv. 1309), the Gregorian (*ib.* lxxviii. 33), and Ambrosian (Pamelius, *Liturgg. Latt.* i. 306) Sacramentaries, the Mozarabic Missal, the *Lectionarium Luxoviense*, the Gothico-Gallic Missal, and others. To the Leonine Sacramentary we shall refer at length below. Among the fathers who have written homilies for the day are Maximus of Turin[c] (*Hom.* 64, *Serm.* 85; *Patrol.* lvii. 379, 701) and Fulgentius of Ruspe (*Serm.* 3; *Patrol.* lxv. 729). Again, Aug. 3 is given as the date of commemoration of the discovery of the relics, *e.g.* in the *Mart. Corbeiense* (*supra*), the Martyrologies of Bede (*Patrol.* xciv. 996), Rabanus Maurus (*ib.* cx. 1160), Wandalbert (*ib.* cxxi. 606), Notker (*ib.* cxxxi. 1131), &c., and in one text of Lucian's narrative. Besides the above-mentioned two days, the *Mart. Corbeiense* also cites a commemoration at Jerusalem on Jan. 2, and at Antioch the "natalis reliquiarum Stephani protomartyris et diaconi," on Aug. 2. It is not improbable that in this last case Antioch is an error for Ancona, for several martyrologies (*e.g.* Bede, *supra*), while naming Antioch, add the story of the stone which struck St. Stephen's arm, mentioned by us above. Also Aug. 2 is perhaps an error for Aug. 3, on which day the reference occurs in Bede, Rabanus Maurus, &c.

It is now necessary to enter into details in connexion with one or two liturgical monuments. The Leonine Sacramentary makes no mention of St. Stephen among its December festivals, though it recognises there the festivals of St. John and the Innocents. In August, however, we have the heading "iv. nonas Augusti. Natale Sancti Stephani in coemeterio Callisti via Appia," after which follow no less than nine masses for a festival of St. Stephen (*Patrol.* lv. 91). Muratori, connecting the heading with the masses, considered that the *iv. nonas* was an error for *iii. nonas*, but there is no doubt that the Stephen mentioned in the heading is Stephen bishop of Rome (*ob.* A.D. 257), for in the *Depositio Episcoporum* (*i.e.* of Rome), which stands at the head of the calendar of Bucherius, we have "iv. nonas Augusti Stephani in Callisti" (Bucherius, *de Doctrina Temporum*, p. 267). Also the *Mart. Corbeiense* gives under the same date, "Romae in coemeterio Calisti Sancti Stephani martyris," and the *Mart. Gellonense*, "Roma Stephani episcopi et martyris." In like manner, too, the Gregorian Sacramentary gives a mass for the day (*Patrol.* lxxviii. 128). While, however, there can be no doubt as to the reference in the heading in the Leonine Sacramentary, the masses have direct reference to the protomartyr, except the eighth, which has no individual reference at all. It is important to note that the Preface in the seventh mass definitely places the festival of St. Stephen on the day after Christmas, shewing clearly that this mass, and therefore probably some at any rate of the others, are in their wrong place here, and should be transferred to December. It may be added that several of the prayers in these masses occur in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries under Dec. 26. The ninth of the Leonine masses refers to the dedication of a church in honour of St. Stephen, and the Ballerini (*not. in loc.*) suggests that the reference may be to the church on the *Mons Coelius*, dedicated by pope Simplicius (*ob.* A.D. 483). Possibly this mass properly belongs to Aug. 3.

In Mabillon's *Lectionarium Luxoviense*, a lection is provided for the festival of St. Stephen, ad

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[b] This sermon is definitely ascribed to Asterius by Photius (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 271; *Patrol. Gr.* civ. 204).

[c] There are also two other sermons attributed to Maximus, but relegated to the appendix as spurious, one for the festival of St. Stephen and the other for the Octave (*Sermm.* 29, 31, in Append.; *Patrol.* lvii. 905, 913).

*matutinum*, Jeremiah xvii. 7–18, followed by an extract from a sermon of Augustine. At mass, the lections are Acts vi. 1–vii. 2; Matt. xvii. 23–xviii. 11 (*Patrol.* lxxii. 174). In the Gothico-Gallic Missal is a *contestatio* or preface (the so-called *praefatio* being here the priest's first prayer) of unusual length, by which the minds of the worshippers were to be better fitted for the solemnity which was to follow. In this fact we may see obvious evidence of the importance of the festival (*ib.* 230).

In the Mozarabic Missal, the prophetic lection is not a special one, but serves also for the festival of St. Clement, Wisdom iv. 7–15; and for the epistle and gospel are respectively Acts vi. 1—viii. 4 (omitting vii. 2–51) and Matt. xxiii. 1–39 (*Patrol.* lxxxv. 190).

In the Greek church, the martyrdom of St. Stephen is now commemorated on Dec. 27, the festival of the previous day commemorating the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph. The heading in the *Menaea* speaks of St. Stephen as the "holy protomartyr and archdeacon." The festival of the translation is held on Aug. 2. The notices for these days in the metrical *Ephemerides* prefixed by Papebroch to the *Acta Sanctorum* for May, vol. i., are respectively εἰκάδι λαΐνεος Στέφανον μόρος ἑβδόμῃ εἷλεν and δευτερίῃ νέκυος Στεφάνου γίνετ' ἀνακομιδή (pp. lix., xxxix.). The epistle and gospel for Dec. 27 in the Greek church are respectively Heb. ii. 11–18 and Matt. xxi. 33–43.

In the calendars of the Armenian church, published by Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* iii. 1. 645 sqq.), Dec. 26 is the commemoration of the martyrdom, and Aug. 2 that of the discovery of the relics. Jan. 7 is also a commemoration of St. Stephen, apparently of the martyrdom, which thus comes, it will be observed, on the day after that on which the Armenians still, alone among Christians, celebrate the Nativity of our Lord. [CHRISTMAS.]

In the calendars of the Coptic and Ethiopic churches, published by Ludolf, Dec. 27 is the day for the commemoration of St. Stephen, though the Coptic calendar adds the note "Finding of the bones of Stephen" (*ad Hist. Aeth. Comm.* p. 403). This, however, as we have already said, is obviously wrong. On Sept. 12, both calendars have another commemoration, specially defined in the Coptic calendar as the "martyrdom of Stephen" [d] (*ib.* 391). On Oct. 14 is yet another, but in the Ethiopic calendar only (*ib.* 395).

3. *Apocryphal Literature.*—The council held at Rome in A.D. 494, under the episcopate of Gelasius, condemned among other books a "Revelatio quae appellatur Stephani" (*Patrol.* lix. 178).

In addition to works cited in this article, reference should be made for the legend and festival of St. Stephen to Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. ii. pp. 1, 503. The *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists do not avail us here, not having yet reached beyond the end of October. [R. S.]

[d] It is all the more probable that this variation from ordinary use is simply an error, because in the *Calendar of the Coptic Church*, published by Mr. Malan, the entry for September 12 is "Removal of bones of Stephen, First of Martyrs and First of Deacons;" and that for December 27, "Martyrdom of the holy Apostle Stephen, . . . ."

**STERCATIUS**, July 24, martyr at Merida with his brother Antinogenus (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*). [C. H.]

**STICHARION** or **STOICHARION** (στιχάριον, στοιχάριον). This vestment is simply the equivalent in the Eastern church of the alb [ALB] of the Western church. Before citing any references as to its use, we must first speak briefly as to the word itself. The etymology must be considered doubtful. Goar (*Euchologion*, p. 110) derives it from στίχος, "ab uno quasi lineae ordine," from the long unbroken sweep of the dress ("recta et longum protensa"). Ducange (*Glossarium Graecum*, s. v.) forms it from a word στιχίον, a tunic. There is no reason to doubt the *bona-fide* existence of this latter word, for we find in Hesychius, ἄβολον, ὄνομα στιχείου, and there are perhaps traces of a Latin word *stica* (see Ducange, *s. v.*) in the same sense; still it brings us no nearer the derivation. G. J. Voss (*de Vitiis Sermonis*, lib. iii. c. 50) suggests that *stica* is for *sticta*, giving us the notion of a χιτὼν κατάστικτος. He calls attention in support of this, to the fact that the *sticharia* of bishops are waved in bands. Although the fact is certainly so, the roundabout theory of derivation must be pronounced absurd. Indeed it does not seem unlikely that *stica* may have arisen as a shortened form of *sticharion*. It is possible, however, that the *sticharion* may have received its name from the bands or lines upon it.

As in the case of most other ecclesiastical vestments, the word evidently represents in the first instance a dress of ordinary life. One of the charges brought against Athanasius was that he had required the Egyptians to furnish contributions of linen *sticharia* (*Apol. contra Arianos*, c. 60; *Patrol. Gr.* xxv. 358). As, in describing this incident, Sozomen speaks of χιτωνίων λινῶν φόρον (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 22), and Socrates (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 27) of λινῆν ἐσθῆτα, we may feel pretty certain that we are not dealing here with ecclesiastical vestments properly so called. The same may be said of the references to *sticharia* in the will of Gregory of Nazianzum, who bequeaths to Evagrius the deacon, κάμασον ἓν, στιχάριον ἓν, πάλλια β', and to the "notarius" Elaphius a similar gift (*Patrol. Gr.* xxxvii. 293). See also Palladius (*Hist. Lausiaca*, c. 136; *Patrol. Gr.* xxxiv. 1235), where Athanasius, on an attempt to apprehend him, catches up a *sticharion* and a βιβλίον and flees in the dead of night.

We must refer now to the word in its ecclesiastical sense. Here we find it for the tunic of bishops, priests, and deacons, as well as for subdeacons and for monks. The earliest reference with which we are acquainted, other than those in a Liturgy the date of the several parts of which must be considered doubtful, is to be found in Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, early in the eighth century. His account is, "And first the *sticharion*, being white, setteth forth the splendour of the Godhead and the glorious citizenship of the priest (τοῦ ἱερέως). The stripes (λωρία) of the *sticharion* which are on the sleeve (τὰ ἐν τῇ χειρί), do set forth the bonds of Christ . . . . The stripes which run

across, the blood which flowed from the side of Christ on the cross" (*Hist. Eccles. et Mystica Theoria; Patrol. Gr.* xcviii. 394).[a]

We gather from all this that the vestment was originally of white linen; though it is now often made of costly materials, and in Lent (except on the Annunciation, Palm Sunday, and Easter Eve) purple *sticharia* are worn (Codinus Curopalata, *de Officiis*, c. 9, *in fin.*). This is of course meant in sign of mourning.

The bands spoken of by Germanus may be illustrated by those found in early instances of vestments in the West [see *e.g.* DALMATIC]. It will have been noticed that Germanus referred to the *sticharion* without special reference to any particular order. The wavy bands are now, however, peculiar to the *sticharia* of bishops. For another kind of ornamentation see GAMMADIA.

The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, at its beginning, gives the formulae to be used by priest and deacon on assuming the *sticharion* (Goar, p. 59). The same name, too, is given to the garment put on the subdeacon at his ordination (*ib.* 244). According to Goar, however (p. 246, n. 6), this is a tighter and shorter garment than that ordinarily so called. For an instance of the use of the term for the dress of monks, see *ib.* p. 484. Among the Syriac churches the vestment is known as *koutino*, a mere corruption of *χιτώνιον* (Renaudot, *Lit. Or. Coll.* vol. ii. 54, ed. 1847). Among Coptic Christians it is known as *jabat*, or *touniat*, the latter obviously formed from the above Greek word (*ib.* vol. i. 161). See for further notices Ducange's *Glossarium*, s. v.; and Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. v. [R. S.]

**STICHERA** (*στιχηρά*). (1) Verses composed by ecclesiastical authority, and forming part of the Greek liturgical offices. (Goar, *Euchology.* pp. 32, 206.) *στιχηρὰ προσόμοια* were versicles composed of an equal number of syllables, so that they could be sung conveniently to the same tone.

(2) Stichera Biblia was a name given to certain books of the Old Testament, in consequence of their metrical or poetical character, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles. (Greg. Naz. quoted by Ducange, *s. v.*) [F. E. W.]

**STOLE** (*orarium, stola; ὠράριον, ἐπιτραχήλιον, περιτραχήλιον, φακεώλιον* [Germanus, *l. c.*]; ܐܘܪܪܐ). It is true that the word *stole* does not occur, in its technical sense, as the title of a certain ornamental Christian vestment, till after our period of the first eight centuries, but it will be convenient to include here under this head our notices of the various ornaments which, under whatever name known, may be grouped together as being but varieties of the same general type.

Before doing this, however, we shall briefly remark on the uses of the word *stole* (*στολή*, *stola*) itself, in its earlier non-technical meanings. In classical Greek, *στολή* is most often found in the sense of garb or equipment (see *e.g.* Herodotus, i. 80, *ἱππάδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους*), and also, though less frequently, with the meaning of an article of clothing, a single garment. This twofold use obtains also in the LXX. Here *στολή* stands for a variety of Hebrew words, but most frequently it is used for the priestly and high-priestly garments, both in the singular for the whole *set* of vestments (and that though the Hebrew word itself is plural [בְּגָדִים]; see *e.g.* Exod. xxviii. 2, 3; xxix. 21, 29, &c.), and in the plural, where reference is made to the component parts (*e.g.* Exod. xxviii. 4). The collective sense of *στολή* is not confined to the priestly garb, though this is the commonest use of it (see *e.g.* Deut. xxii. 5, *στολὴ γυναικεία*; Jer. lii. 27, *τὴν στολὴν τῆς φυλακῆς*; see also Baruch v. 1). We may add that *στολή* is the word used for the robe put on Joseph by Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 42), for the "change of raiment" given by Joseph to his brethren, and that it twice occurs as the translation of *ephod*, David being the wearer (2 Sam. vi. 14; 1 Chron. xv. 27). The word will doubtless carry with it as a rule the notion of a long, stately dress, as may be inferred from the choice of it to represent the flowing priestly garments, though of course it is not meant to imply that the word *per se* will mean the priestly garb. Such is markedly its New Testament use (see *e.g.* Mark xii. 38; Luke xx. 46 [of scribes loving to walk about *ἐν στολαῖς*]; Luke xv. 22 [where it is the "best robe" brought forth for the prodigal], also Mark xvi. 5; Rev. vi. 11, &c.), and also that found in classical Latin, to which we shall presently refer.

In ecclesiastical Greek, the word, as applied to the garb of Christian priesthood, occurs exceedingly rarely.[a] Theodoret (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 27) tells of Constantine's gift of a *ἱερὰ στολή* to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, where one would suppose the word to be used much in its old classical meaning. Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople early in the 8th century, speaks of *ἡ στολὴ τοῦ ἱερέως* as being *κατὰ τὸν ποδήρη* 'Ααρών (*Hist. Eccles. et Mystica Contemplatio; Patr. Gr.* xcviii. 394). This, it cannot be doubted, is to be taken of the *phelonion*, the vestment *par excellence*; indeed it may be noted that the *orarium* is afterwards mentioned and described, as we shall shew below. Again, in the still extant letter of the patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem to Ignatius of Constantinople, at the time of the Fourth General Council of Constantinople (A.D. 869), when a present of the supposed *ποδήρης, ἐπωμίς* and *μίτρα* of St. James is sent to the latter, they are grouped under the collective term of *ἡ ἱεραρχικὴ στολή* (Hardouin, *Concilia*, v. 1029).

In classical Latin, the *stola* was the characteristic dress of a Roman matron, as the toga of a citizen.[b] It came down to the feet, *ad talos stola demissa* (Horat. *Sat.* i. 2. 99), and was generally edged with a kind of flounce (*instita*). The use of *stola* in the Vulgate version of the Old Testament is not of course specific, like this, but it generally carries with it a notion of stateliness. In the collective sense of the Greek word for the *set* of priestly vestments, it does not seem to occur. In the Vulgate version of

[a] Ducange (*Gloss. Graec.* s. v.) speaks erroneously of Germanus referring merely to the *sticharion* of deacons.

[a] Hefele (*Beiträge*, ii. 185) speaks of only two instances as to be found in the writers of the first eight centuries.

[b] Very rarely we find the word used in connexion with men, *e.g.* of the priests of Isis (Apuleius, *Metam.* xi. 24).

the New Testament, *stola* is always the translation of *στολή*.

The technical use of *stola* for a stole does not occur before the 9th century,[a] *orarium* being the current name of that ornament in the preceding centuries. Early in the 9th century, it would seem, the new name began to come into use. Thus Rabanus Maurus, writing about A.D. 820, speaks of the "orarium . . . . licet hoc quidam stolam vocent" (*de Inst. Cler.* i. 19; *Patrol.* cvii. 307). Only a few years later, Amalarius speaks of the ornament as *stola*, and ignores the word *orarium* altogether (*de Eccl. Off.* ii. 20; *Patrol.* cv. 1096). In Walafrid Strabo's list of Christian vestments, however, in the middle of the 9th century, the name *orarium* alone is used (*de Rebus Eccl.* 24; *Patrol.* cxiv. 952). Long after this, moreover, the old name survived side by side with the new. Thus, in a statute of Riculfus, bishop of Soissons (*ob.* A.D. 902), enjoining a proper stock of vestments for priest and altar, one item is "oraria, id est stolae duae nitidae" (stat. 7, *Patrol.* cxxxi. 17). Again, in a work once wrongly ascribed to Alcuin, but evidently written in the 10th or 11th century, we meet with the expression, "orarium, id est stola" (*de Div. Off.* 39; *Patrol.* ci. 1242), as though the former were rather a technical, the latter a familiar name. Writing as late as the middle of the 12th century, Honorius of Autun still uses the old word, "stola, quae et orarium dicitur" (*Gemma Animae*, i. 204; *Patrol.* clxxii. 695).

It may now be asked why such a word as *stola*, with its long-established meaning of a full flowing robe, should have been chosen to represent so totally different a thing as the narrow ribandlike ornament which we know as a "stole." To this question no very satisfactory answer has been given. It has been suggested that the *border* was the only surviving element of the old *stola*, and thus inherited its name. This is the view of Durandus (*Rat. Div. Off.* iii. 5, 6), who, after stating that the *stola* was once a white dress coming down to the feet, adds, "sed postquam alba coepit portari, *mutata est in torquem*." With this, Bock (*Liturg. Gewänder des Mittelalters*, i. 437) agrees. It must be confessed, however, that this theory does not seem at all probable. Equally little does Marriott's view (*Vest. Christ.* p. 215) commend itself to our mind, that from the use of *stola* in the Vulgate it became especially associated with the idea of a priestly robe, and that perhaps the *orarium*, being in the 8th century "the special vestment of Christian priesthood," gradually acquired the name of the "stola," as though the vestment *par excellence*. It does not, however, seem to us that *stola*, as used in the Vulgate, has any *special* priestly connexion; and further, it is rather a large assumption that the *orarium*, and not the *planeta*, should be considered the typical Christian vestment.

Even after *stola* had assumed the special meaning of *orarium*, the old meaning was still retained side by side therewith. Thus, *e. g.* Honorius of Autun (*op. cit.* 216) speaks of the "best robe" of the prodigal's father as *prima stola*. Very rarely we find *stola* and *orarium* spoken of together, the former presumably in its early sense—"stolam cum orario" (*Vita S. Livini*, c. 14; in D'Achéry and Mabillon's *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedicti*, saec. 2, p. 455).

We must now discuss the history of the earlier word *orarium*; and here, as with *stola*, the technical meaning is preceded by a non-technical one. Of this we have given one or two instances under the separate article, to shew that the non-technical sense still, as it were, overlapped the technical in Christian writers. We must now, however, carry back our examination a stage further. Much the most probable derivation of *orarium* is from *ora*, the face, but several others, some indeed very far-fetched, have been proposed, some from the Latin and some from the Greek. Salmasius (*infra*) derives it from *ora*, in the sense of border, "lorum quod ad oram vestis asseritur," much the same in fact as the *instita* of the *stola*. Another Latin derivation is from *orare*, seeing that the stole is always to be worn during prayer. Rabanus Maurus, and one of the canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo (*infra*), derive it from *orare* in the sense of *praedicare*, with reference to one of the special offices of the deacon. The advocates of a Greek etymology propose, some to derive it from *ὥρα*, because by means of it "is indicated the *time* of the different parts of the service," or because it is useful "ad ministrationem in horas;" others from *ὡραΐζειν*, because the deacon is beautified with it (!); and others even from *ὁράω*, because the sight of it shews whether it is the priest or the deacon who is ministering. A significant piece of evidence bearing on the question of the language is furnished by the *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. *φώσσων*, *φωσσώνιον* (an Egyptian word, meaning a linen cloth), which is explained as *σίνδων*, . . . . *ἢ προσώπου τι ἐκμαγεῖον. Λέγεται δὲ οὕτω καὶ ὃ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καλεῖται ὠράριον.* More reasonable than any of these latter views is that first given, and we thus obtain the meaning of handkerchief, in the point of view of a primary use of wiping the face. Then, by a very natural extension, the word would become used for things like the handkerchief, strictly so called, but without any reference to the function implied by the derivation. Thus in this latter stage it would cover pretty much the same ground as the English word *kerchief*.

Our earliest examples are found in the *Historiae Augustae Scriptores*. Trebellius Pollio quotes a letter of the emperor Gallienus (A.D. 260–268) to Claudius, who afterwards succeeded him, in which he mentions the presents he had sent him. Among them we find "penulam [see the article] Illyricianam unam . . . . oraria

[a] There would be a much earlier instance than this if we could accept the judgment of the editors as to the date of an anonymous fragment concerning the vestments used in the Gallican church (Martene and Durand, *Thes. Anecd.* v. 99, cited by Marriott, p. 204). Here the vestment is called *stola*, the name *orarium* being altogether absent. Although, however, the date of this document is given by the editors as the middle of the 6th century, there seems every reason for putting it several centuries later. We may note here that the rule is laid down concerning the stole, that it is not to be worn in Lent, "pro humiliatione." Again, the word *stola* occurs in the technical sense in the Gregorian Sacramentary, but the form in which this has reached us is certainly too much modified from the original to allow of any weight being given to this instance in the absence of any evidence which could be adduced in support of it.

Sarabdena[d] quatuor" (*Vita Claudii*, c. 17). The next emperor, Aurelian, was, as we are told by his biographer, Flavius Vopiscus, the first who gave *oraria* to the Roman people, "quibus uteretur populus ad favorem" (*Vita Aurel.* c. 48, where see the notes of Casaubon and Salmasius). This appears to mean that the people could by these indicate their applause in the circus or theatre, having previously been in the habit of waving their togas. Thus they would naturally be worn over the other dress. Marriott justly cites in evidence here one of the sculptures on the Arch of Constantine, where a number of the attendants of the emperor wear over their left shoulder a broad band or scarf (*Vest. Christ.* plate iv.). When we find that the earliest pictures of the ecclesiastical *orarium* (*ib.* plates xxviii. xxx. xxxi.) are, on the whole, similar to the above, the inference does not seem at all forced, that the Christian *orarium*, like the chasuble, the dalmatic, and other vestments, is but the old secular ornament, modified and adapted to its new use. The *technical* Christian meaning of the word then being thus formed, it speedily passed into Greek and Syriac; and indeed the earliest instance we are able to cite of this technical use is from the canons of a Greek council. Doubtless relevant to this matter is the question of the *pallia linostima*, which Sylvester, and afterwards Zosimus, is said to have commanded deacons to wear [MANIPLE]; and the papal *pallium* [PALLIUM] is obviously but another special instance of the general ornament. So too in the East we have ὠράριον, ἐπιτραχήλιον, ὠμοφόριον; all of which, we do not doubt, are but modifications of one primary idea.

We must now trace the history of the *orarium* as a ministerial garment. In the West our starting point for such a history will be the canons of early Spanish councils of the 6th and 7th centuries, one of which furnished us with an important record in tracing the history of the *chasuble* [PLANETA]. In the Eastern church, however, the use of the *orarium* can be traced much further back. It is to be remarked, before entering on this discussion, that the *orarium*, having been originally merely a handkerchief, even though at times of a choice and ornamental character (from which species of it, indeed, the *orarium*, in the sense of *stole*, has sprung), still retained its ordinary, as opposed to its ecclesiastical, meaning, even amongst Christians, long after its ecclesiastical meaning had been formed. Of this we have already given some examples [ORARIUM], but shall again here cite one or two instances. Ambrose uses the word *orarium* for the "napkin" with which the face of Lazarus was bound (*de excessu fratris Satyri*, ii. 78; *Patrol.* xvi. 1396). We find it in Augustine for the bandage which binds up a wounded eye (*de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 7; *Patrol.* xli. 765). Jerome couples it with *sudarium* (*Epist.* 52, *ad Nepotianum*, c. 9; vol. i. 264). The Christian poet Prudentius says of the martyrs Hemeterius and Celedonius, that they sent up to heaven, as it were heralds, the one his ring, the other his *orarium*—"hic sui det pignus oris[e] ut ferunt orarium" (*Peristeph.* i. 86; *Patrol.* lx. 289; cited also by Greg. Turon. *de Gloria Martyrum*, i. 93; *Patrol.* lxxxi. 787). Indeed, nearly two hundred years after this we may still cite an instance. The four *oraria* which Gregory the Great sends as a present to Constantinople, together with two *camisiae*, are obviously merely handkerchiefs (*Epist.* vii. 30; *Patrol.* lxxvii. 887). We must now proceed to speak of the *orarium* as a ministerial vestment.

The general result yielded by the whole series of early allusions is that the *orarium* might be, and was to be, worn by orders down to that of deacon inclusive, but below the order of deacons its use was prohibited. It thus becomes specially associated with the order of deacons, as the *planeta* with that of priests. Our earliest reference is to be found in the canons of the Council of Laodicea (c. A.D. 363), which forbade the use of the *orarium* to sub-deacons, readers, and singers. The latter are not to wear a stole when they read or sing (cann. 22, 23; Labbe, i. 1500). Again, in a sermon once attributed to Chrysostom, and which, though probably spurious, is not much later than his time, the writer speaks of the λειτουργοὶ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας imitating the wings of the angels with their λεπταὶ ὀθόναι, which are worn upon the left shoulder, the earliest trace of that which we afterwards find the universal custom (*Parab. de Fil. Prodigo*, vol. vii. 655). Much about the same time, Isidore of Pelusium speaks of the ὀθόνη with which the deacons minister in holy things (*Epist.* i. 136; *Patrol. Gr.* lxxviii. 272). It is true that *per se* the word ὀθόνη might just as well be a *maniple*, as a *stole*; but, in the first place, the maniple, as the word is understood in the West, is unknown to the Eastern church, and moreover in the preceding passage the ὀθόναι of the deacons are worn upon the shoulder. A very similar allusion to that of the Pseudo-Chrysostom is found in the account of Christian vestments by Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople (*l. c.*). Here the word ὀθόνη has been replaced by ὠράριον. We must notice, however, that whereas in Latin *orarium* means a *stole*, by whatsoever order worn, in Greek ὠράριον means the stole of a deacon, and ἐπιτραχήλιον is applied to that of a priest or bishop.

We shall next call attention to a series of conciliar decrees on the subject of the *orarium*, which, taken together, give us a pretty complete view of the state of the case. In the first instance, that of the Council of Orleans (A.D. 511), it is probable that the ordinary interpretation, which explains *orarium* in its non-ecclesiastical sense, is correct, from the company in which *orarium* here finds itself. The use of *orarium* and *tsangae* [TSANGAE], a kind of boots, is forbidden to monks (can. 20; Labbe, iv. 1407). Our earliest definite instances are drawn, as in the case of the *planeta*, from Spain. The Second Council of Braga ordained in A.D. 563 that, inasmuch as the habit had arisen among deacons of the province of wearing the *orarium* below the tunic, and consequently hiding it, so that they could not be distinguished from sub-deacons, therefore for the future, "superposito scapulae (sicut decet) utantur orario" (cap. 9, Labbe, v. 841). It is from the records of the Fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633) that we obtain the greatest amount of information. One

[d] The meaning and spelling of this word is doubtful: one conjecture is *Sareptena*, from Sarepta, the Phoenician city.

[e] The implied connexion here between *orarium* and *os*, as bearing on the question of derivation, will be noticed.

regulation passed here was to meet the case of clerics unjustly deposed from their orders. If a fresh synod reverses the sentence, they are still not to be considered to have regained their lost functions till they have received before the altar the external badges of their order from the hands of the bishop. In the case of bishops, priests, and deacons, one of these is the *orarium*. A subsequent canon of the same council forbids bishops and priests, and *a fortiori* deacons, to wear two *oraria*. The deacon is to wear it on the left shoulder only,[f] and it is to be plain (*purum*), not ornamented with colours or gold (cann. 28, 40; Labbe, v. 1714, 1716). The Fourth Council of Braga (A.D. 675) orders that at the celebration of the Eucharist the priest should wear his stole (and only one) so that it should pass round the neck and over both shoulders, and form a cross on his breast (can. 4; Labbe, vii. 581). This regulation is quoted by Innocent III. (*de Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, lib. i. c. 54; *Patrol.* ccxvii. 794). The penalty enacted for disobedience is excommunication.

All this points to a well-established state of things, when even the manner of wearing the vestment is prescribed; and there is nothing unfair in assuming that it represents a long-settled usage. The reference also to stoles ornamented with gold and colours points to the same conclusion. As an illustration of this last point, we may cite the will of Riculfus, bishop of Helena (*ob.* A.D. 915), who, among his legacies to his church and successors, leaves "stolas quattuor cum auro, una (*sic*) ex illis cum tintinnabulis" (*Patrol.* cxxxii. 468). We may probably assume, too, that the *omophoria* and *oraria*, by presents of which, according to Nicetas Paphlago (*Vita Ignat. Const.*, *Patrol. Gr.* cv. 572), the patriarch Photius signalised his restoration (A.D. 878), would be richly ornamented.

A number of later rules go beyond those we have already cited, and require at any rate a priest to wear his stole constantly. Thus the Council of Mayence (A.D. 813) directs priests to wear the stole,—"Sine intermissione .... propter differentiam sacerdotii dignitatis" (*Concil. Mogunt.* can. 28; Labbe, vii. 1249), with the view of course of shewing at all times that he was a priest. This rule assumes a special form as laid down at the beginning of the 10th century by Regino, abbat of Prumia, to the effect that a priest on a journey shall always wear his "stola vel orarium" (*Eccl. Discipl.* i. 62; *Patrol.* cxxxii. 190).

Later notices of the stole, its ornamentation, and special rules concerning it, do not fall within our province. It may suffice to remark that even in the 9th century not only were coloured and ornamental stoles worn, but also the prohibition to wear more than one stole seems to have been disregarded. We find, for example, in the illustrations to the Pontifical of Landulfus, a MS. of the 9th century, that some of the priests wear two stoles, one of which is white, with black crosses, and the other gold-coloured (plates xxxiv.–xxxvi. in Marriott, taken from D'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments*).

[f] The reason for choosing the *left* shoulder is given, viz. that, the right being free, the deacon may be able the more readily to hasten to and fro on his duties.

In the Greek church the stole is known by a different name, and assumes a different form, according to the different orders by which it is worn. Thus, as we have already seen, the form assumed by prelates is known as ὠμοφόριον [OMOPHORION], the stole worn by bishops generally and by priests being known as ἐπιτραχήλιον and περιτραχήλιον, the name ὠράριον being exclusively associated with the stole as worn by deacons. Into the case of the *omophorion* we need not again enter; the *epitrachelion* differs from the Western stole in that it is not thrown round the neck, but has a hole for the head to pass through and hangs down in front, though, from the seam down the middle, it preserves the idea of the ornament of which it is but a modification.

It may be convenient now, if we, at the risk of a slight repetition, indicate the various methods of wearing the stole characterising different orders in different branches of the church. In the Western church, the custom has been that priests, wearing the stole over both shoulders, should cross it on the breast, and confine it at the waist with a girdle; the bishop, who has his pectoral cross, allowing it to hang free, while the deacon has the stole hanging over the left shoulder and fastened at the right hip. As regards deacons, however, the present plan is an innovation on an older one, dating, it would seem, from the 12th century (Hefele, p. 191), before which time they appear to have allowed their stoles to hang down freely like those of the Greek deacons. Perhaps from the 12th century also dates the habit of deacons of the Western church of wearing the stole under the dalmatic. To do more, however, than just hint at this would be to go beyond our legitimate limits.

In the Greek church, the *epitrachelion* (worn by priests and bishops) practically forms, as we have said, one band, hanging down in front; and the deacon wears his *orarium* over the left shoulder, hanging down before and behind, thus justifying the simile of the wings. Among Syrian Christians we find a difference: here the stole is worn by *readers* (but among the Maronites only), hanging from the right shoulder; by sub-deacons (among the Syrian Christians generally), round the neck; by deacons, hanging from the left shoulder (as in the Greek church generally); and by priests, hanging round the neck and in front of the breast (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii. 2. 797). It may be added that among the Nestorians a *reader* wears the *orarium* over his arms, but only at the time of his own ordination. Among the Malabar Christians, the vestment, as worn by deacons, is known under the name of *orro*, the shape being apparently like that of the *epitrachelion*, with a hole for the head (Howard, *Christians of St. Thomas*, p. 133). The vestment is known in the Coptic church under the name *bitarchil*, which is clearly a corruption of *epitrachelion* (Renaudot, *Liturg. Or. Coll.* i. 162, ed. Frankf. 1847). Among the Armenians it is known as *poor-Ourar*, apparently a corruption of *orarium*; the shape, however, is that of the *epitrachelion* (Fortescue, *The Armenian Church*, p. 133).

For the matter of the foregoing article, we must express our obligations to Hefele's essay *die Liturgischen Gewänder* in his *Beiträge zu*

*Kirchengeschichte, Archäologie und Liturgik*, ii. 184 sqq.; Bock's *Liturg. Gewänder des Mittelalters*, i. 436 sqq.; Bona, *de Rebus liturgicis*, i. 24. 6; Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum*; Ducange's *Glossaries*, s. vv. *Orarium*, *Stola*, *ὠράριον*; Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, s. v. ܐܘܪܪܐ. [R. S.]

**STRATO**, Aug. 17, martyr; commemorated at Nicomedia with Philippus and Eutychianus (Basil. *Menol.*); Aug. 15 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C. H.]

**STRATOCLINIANUS**, June 30, presbyter; commemorated with another presbyter (Alpinianus) and bishop Martialis, at Limoges. [C. H.]

**STRATONICUS (1)**, Jan. 13, soldier, martyr with the deacon Hermylus, under Licinius in Moesia (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

**(2)** Mar. 4, Aug. 17, lictor, martyr with Paulus and Juliana at Ptolemaïs, in the reign of Aurelian (Basil. *Menol.*); Aug. 17 (*Menol. Graec.*). [C. H.]

**STRENAE.** [NEW YEAR'S GIFTS.]

**STRIGIL.** [SCULPTURE, p. 1863.]

**STUDITAE.** [ACOEMETAE, p. 13.]

**STUPACIUM.** A kind of cloth made from ...arse flax. In the work *De Vita Eremetica*, ...pended to the writings of Augustine, we find ...nong the rules for clothing a direction that ...here be in use for both summer and winter "duae de stupacio camisiae vel staminae" (c. 20, vol. i. 1390, in Append. ed. Gaume). [R. S.]

**STYLITES.** [Compare MORTIFICATION, p. 319.] Solitaries, who made their abode on the ...p of a pillar (στῦλος), received the name of στυλῖται. The first of these pillar-saints was Symeon, who in the early part of the 5th century took his stand on a pillar in the neighbourhood of Antioch, and died, after many years' exposure to the elements, A.D. 459 (Evagrius, *H. E.* i. 13 f.). His most famous followers were his pupil Daniel († 489), whose pillar was near Constantinople, and Symeon the younger († 596), who displayed himself, like his namesake, near Antioch (Evagr. vi. 23). [See their lives in the DICT. OF CHRIST. BIOGR.] A certain Alypius is said to have spent seventy years on a pillar in the neighbourhood of Adrianople (Surius, Nov. 26). The first Symeon's pillar was, according to Evagrius (i. 13), two cubits (about three feet) in circumference; and the saint abode seven years on lower pillars, and for thirty years upon one of forty cubits (about sixty feet). Another authority (Theodoret, *Hist. Rel.* c. 26) says that he took his stand at first on a pillar six cubits high, then on one of twelve, then on one of twenty-two, and that in the year 440 he was seen on one of thirty-six cubits. The supposed base of Symeon's pillar is still shewn at Khelat-Sema'n in central Syria, between the church and the monastery of St. Symeon (De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, pl. 139, quoted by Martigny). So slender a pillar as Evagrius describes must of course have had some kind of platform at the top, probably railed, or it would have been impossible to avoid falling during sleep; but it is clear that the saint allowed himself no protection from sun or storm. In an ancient drawing figured by Martigny (p. 745, 2nd ed.) the saint is represented sitting in a kind of cup-shaped capital, while a figure below attaches a basket, probably of food, to a cord which he lets down.

The pillar-saints naturally found few imitators in the more rigorous climate of the West. A Lombard named Wulfilac did, however, pass some time on a pillar in the district of Trèves, and quitted it at the desire of his bishop. He himself told Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* viii. 15) that he suffered horribly in winter from the cold, which had caused the nails to drop from his feet; and that the rain, freezing on his beard, formed icicles which hung down like a bunch of candles. (U. G. Sieber, *de Sanctis Columnaribus Dissert.* Lipsiae, 1714; Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, viii. 237 ff; Uhleman, *Symeon der erste Säulenheilige*, in Illgen's *Zeitschrift*, 1845; Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.* s. v.; Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v.) [C.]

**STYRACIUS**, Nov. 2, martyr with Tobias and Nicopolitianus at Sebaste in Armenia, in the reign of Licinius (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**SUBCINGULUM.** [GIRDLE, p. 728.]

**SUBDEACON** (ὑποδιάκονος, ὑπηρέτης; *subdiaconus*). At what precise time the orders lower than that of deacon were instituted in the church is a matter of complete uncertainty. The attempt to trace it to the apostles or their immediate successors is acknowledged by Cardinal Bona (*Rer. Liturg.* lib. i. c. 25, § 17) to be a failure. The most probable view of the case is that the growing needs and organization of the Christian community gave occasion to their institution and gradual and orderly development. "Crescente ecclesia, crevit officium ecclesiasticum: ut multitudini ecclesiae subveniri posset, adjiciuntur inferiores in adjutorio praepositorum" (Amalar. *de Ecc. Off.* lib. ii. c. 6). And, after their introduction, an apposite precedent was discovered by later writers (*e.g.* Isidor. Hispal. *de Ecc. Off.* lib. ii. c. 10; Amalarius, lib. ii. c. 11; Rabanus Maurus, *de Instit. Cleric.* lib. i. c. 8) in the Nethinim of the Jewish church, though, with their ignorance of Hebrew, they strangely interpreted the word as equivalent to "humilis;" and, by a similar mistake in etymology, they considered Nathanael, the "Israelite in whom was no guile," to have been a type of the order.

St. Ignatius certainly makes mention of only three orders—bishops, priests, and deacons. In his Epistle to Polycarp, vi., ὑπηρέτης means evidently a deacon. And so it is in Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 5. Beverege (*Cod. Can.* lib. ii. 4), after quoting No. 43 of the Apostolical Canons, argues that the office existed as far back as the 2nd century, though (he acknowledges) we can find no mention anywhere of its first institution. All that can be said is, with Martene (tom. ii. lib. i. c. 8), that it may have been of more ancient introduction than the other "minores ordines," and that it, as well as they, was instituted by the church in the 2nd or 3rd century.

Subdeacons are not mentioned by name in any Christian writings of the West till the 3rd century; *e.g.* St. Cyprian, *Epp.* 24, 28, 78, 79, 80 (ed. Benedict), and the Epistle of Cornelius,

bishop of Rome, to Fabius, ap. Euseb. vi. 43: and in the Greek church not till the 4th century; *e.g.* St. Epiphan. in *Exposit. Fidei Cathol.* and St. Basil, *Epist. Can.* li. who calls the office ἡ ἀχειροτόνητος ὑπηρεσία. Even then, and later, some uncertainty hangs over the time of their introduction into different churches, because other minor orders were included under the term deacon, after they were certainly in operation. *E.g.* Optatus (lib. i. p. 39, lib. ii. p. 53, as quoted by Cotelerius in his note on *Apost. Const.* ii. 25), "episcopos, presbyteros, diaconos, ministros, et laicos seu turbam fidelium": "cum sint quatuor genera capitum in ecclesia; episcoporum, presbyterorum, diaconorum, et fidelium." And so St. Jerome, on Isaiah xix. speaks of five orders in the church, not specifying subdeacons. In the *Apost. Const.* lib. ii. 28, the word ὑπηρέτης is used as an equivalent to διάκονος. In other places, *e.g.* iii. 11, vi. 17, viii. 28, it is used as equivalent to ὑποδιάκονος. This variation of meaning points to the probability of some interpolation in thesep assages; although the same variation of meaning can be exemplified from other writers.

The age for ordination to the subdiaconate was twenty years, according to the second council of Toledo, can. 1 (A.D. 447), and so the council in Trullo, can. 15 (A.D. 692). For the form of ordination, see ORDINATION, p. 1510.

In regard to his duties, the subdeacon was at first, no doubt, little more than what his name imported, one under the deacon, to assist the deacon. Special duties, however, were soon assigned to him. Such were, to supply water to the priest in which to wash his hands at the appointed time in the office (*Apost. Const.* viii. 11), a function elsewhere assigned to the deacon (see Cyril. *Hieros. Catech.* xxiii. 2). By the *Apostolical Constitutions* (viii. 11) it is enjoined that deacons should stand at the door by which men entered, and subdeacons by that at which women entered, so that no one even of the faithful should go in or out during the recitation of the solemn part of the office. The whole of this duty presently devolved on the subdeacons (so Dion. Areop. *Ecc. Hierarch.* c. 5). In the acts of the Nicene council, part 2, were recounted the ἱερούμενοι, viz. ἐπίσκοπος, πρεσβύτερος, διάκονος, ὑπηρέτης. It was the province of the last to remain at the narthex of the church, and there to keep order as people went out and in; and not to depart from the door, till the service was over. By the council of Laodicea, cans. 20–22, a subdeacon is to pay the same respect to the deacon as the deacon to the priest. He must not have any place in the deacon's apartment, nor touch the sacred vessels. He must not wear an ORARIUM, nor leave the doors. This is again forbidden him by can. 43. Zonaras on these canons explains that the subdeacons were placed at the doors for the purpose of clearing out the catechumens after their part of the service was finished; and so to bring in, and shew out, the penitents, calling aloud to them to leave the church, and to the faithful to remain They were not to leave the doors for the purpose of joining in the sacred mysteries, for that office belonged to the priests. Before the service they had to bring to the deacon the paten, to have charge of the bread for the oblations, and of the chalice; and after the conclusion, to convey them back again. In earlier times, the epistle had been commonly read by the lector, *i.e.* after the deacons had been appointed to take the gospel. The practice of the subdeacon reading the epistle cannot be traced earlier than the 7th century. Martene says it did not begin till the 8th century. Amalarius, at the beginning of the 9th (ii. 11), expresses his wonder how the subdeacons had come to read the epistle, a new practice which was then gaining ground. Other functions in detail fulfilled by subdeacons are to be found in *Apost. Const.* viii. 11, 12; Martene, sub voce subdiaconus (Ind.); and Bingham, bk. iii. c. 2.

In the church of Rome, as we learn from *Euseb.* vi. 43, the number of subdeacons was, and continued to be, seven only, in close adherence to Acts vi. In the church of Constantinople there were seventy.

The *subdiaconi regionarii* in Rome, of whom we read in Gregory M. (lib. viii. *Indict.* i. *Ep.* 14, p. 906, ed. Ben.), were appointed to attend on the priest, and on high days the pope himself, as he celebrated on the station days, to change his vestments, &c. Originally these were seven in number, then seven were added, and seven again, so as to make twenty-one in all; and they were placed under a prior (Ducange, *s. voc.*; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, bk. iii. ch. 7, p. 411).

At their first institution subdeacons were reckoned amongst the minor orders, as is evident from the council of Laodicea. From the writings of Gregory the Great, it appears they had come to be considered a sort of intermediate order. [ORDERS, HOLY.]

It is difficult to say when celibacy was first imposed on subdeacons. By the fourth canon of the first council of Toledo (A.D. 400), "subdeacons marrying a second time are to be reduced to the rank of porter or reader, and not to be permitted to read the gospel or epistle." From the thirteen canons of the council in Trullo, we learn that married men had been ordained subdeacons. Sundry epistles were written by Gregory the Great to subdeacons, from which we gather that the rule of celibacy was strict in Rome, but less so in Sicily, where Gregory made arrangements for a stricter rule in future. And as by degrees celibacy was enforced, so was the subdiaconate by degrees reckoned amongst "the holy orders": subdeacons could now enter the sacrarium, and touch the holy vessels; thus innovating on the canons of the councils of Carthage, and of Agde (can. 66). (Cf. Greg. M. *Epp.* lib. i. Ind. ix. *Ep.* 44, &c.) [H. B.]

**SUBINTRODUCTAE** (συνείσακτοι, ἐπείσακτοι, *extraneae adoptivae* (Conc. Bracc. ii. iii.) called also ἀδελφαί, *sorores*, and ἀγαπηταί), females, not related by blood, who, under the plea of spiritual relationship, resided with the clergy, occupying not only the same house but the same room, and even sometimes, with perilous rashness, often productive of the grossest scandals, the same bed (Hieron. *Ep. ad Eustoch.* 22, *de Virg. Custod.*). These females were commonly some of the consecrated virgins of the church, "whom," in the words of Bingham, "they that entertained them pretended to love only with a chaste love." The suspicions, however, which this injudicious custom gave rise to were so grave, and the evils resulting so terrible,

that the practice received the sternest condemnations of the church. How deeply it was rooted in human nature is evident from its springing up again and again in spite of ecclesiastical censures, and requiring to be repressed by repeated canons of councils. One of the earliest notices of this close intercourse between the sexes, cloaked with a religious sanction, occurs in the *Shepherd of Hermas* (lib. iii. simil. ix. § 11). The virgins of the vision invite him to stay with them. To his question, "ubi manebo?" they reply "nobiscum dormies ut pater, non ut maritus," which put him to the blush. He accepts, however, their invitation, and passes the night with them outside the tower, lying in the middle of the virgins on their "tunicae linteae," the whole night being spent by them in prayer. This passage, though, as Hefele remarks, inconsistent with the early date once assigned to the "Shepherd," proves the existence of this practice in the 2nd century. As early as the council of Elvira, A.D. 305, can. 27, a bishop or any cleric was forbidden to have any female residing with him except a sister or daughter, "extraneam neque quam habere placent" (Labbe, i. 973). The council of Ancyra also by its 19th canon, A.D. 314, forbade virgins to hold intercourse with males, *συνερχομένας ὡς ἀδελφάς* (Labbe, i. 1463). The third canon of the council of Nicaea was directed against this practice, forbidding any cleric, either bishop, presbyter, or deacon, to have any such female to reside with them, but only their mother, sister, or aunt, whose natural relationship would disarm suspicion, *μὴ ἐξεῖναι συνείσακτον ἔχειν πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα μητέρα ἢ ἀδελφὴν ἢ θείαν* (Labbe, ii. 29). These "subintroductae" were also condemned by the third and fourth canons of the first council of Carthage, A.D. 348, (*ib.* 715), the seventeenth canon of the third council and the forty-sixth of the fourth, as well as by the second council of Arles, A.D. 452, can. 3 (*ib.* iv. 1011); and of Lerida, A.D. 524, can. 15 (*ib.* iv. 1613); the first council of Seville, A.D. 590, can. 3 (*ib.* v. 1589), and the second and third of Braga, can. 15, and lex. 19 (*ib.* v. 838, 909), and the second (can. 3) and fourth (can. 42) of Toledo (*ib.* iv. 1733, v. 1716). The council of Antioch also, by which Paul of Samosata was deposed, A.D. 369, urged among the reasons for his degradation that his clergy had received into their houses "*συνείσακτοι γυναῖκες*, as the Antiochenes called them" (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 30). In spite of ecclesiastical censures, however, the custom continued to flourish to the great scandal of the church and the demoralisation of those who adopted it. The frequency of the recurrence of its prohibition by the Spanish councils proves its prevalence in Spain, where it was practised by the Priscillianists (Braccar. ii. can. 15, Labbe, v. 838). How intolerable the practice had become is evident from several passages of the writings of Cyprian, who praises Pomponius for excommunicating a deacon who had persevered in it in spite of episcopal warning (Cyprian, *Epist.* 62 [4] *ad Pomponium; Epist.* 6 [14]; *Epist.* 7 [13]). The grossly indecent lengths to which it was carried by some called forth Jerome's most powerful vituperation (*Ep. ad Eustoch.*). "Unde in ecclesias Agapetarum pestis introiit? Unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum? Immo unde novum concubinarum genus? Plus inferam, unde meretrices univirae? Quae eadem domo, uno cubiculo, saepe uno tenentur et lectulo; et suspiciosos nos vocant si aliquid existimamus . . . cum in eodem proposito esse simulant quaerunt alienorum spiritale solatium ut domi habeant carnale commercium." And in his letter to Oceanus, *de Vita Clericorum*, he ordains that if any one after his warnings, "agapetas amplius quam Christum quaesierit amore," he is to be convened according to the rule of the synod, and the Nicene canons read to him. Among the letters of Basil is one to a presbyter, by name Paregorius, an old man of seventy, threatening that, unless he dismissed his "subintroducta," he would depose him from his office, and if he ventured to exercise its functions he would excommunicate all who recognised him (Basil, *Ep.* 55 [198]). Basil's brother Gregory Nyssen also condemns those who openly cohabit with women, and give the name of sisterhood to such cohabitation (*De Virg.* c. 23).

We learn from Gregory Nazianzen that not only were clerics in the habit of having females to reside with them, but that ladies, who professed celibacy, also had their *συνείσακτοι* of the opposite sex. In his advice to virgins he says:

> ἄρσενα πάντ' ἀλέεινε συνείσακτον δὲ μάλιστα

and he expresses his suspicion of this questionable relationship in the following lines:

> τοὺς δὲ συνεισάκτους ὡς δὴ φάσκουσιν ἅπαντες
> οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τε γάμῳ δώσομεν, εἴτ' ἀγάμοις
> θήσομεν, εἴ τε μέσοντι φυλάξομεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε
> κἄν με λέγητε κακῶς πρᾶγμα τόδ' αἰνέσομαι.

We see from the words of Jerome, "coelibem virgo spernit germanum, fratrem quaerit extraneum" (*Ad Eustoch.*) that this indecorous custom was also in vogue among the religious ladies of the Western church.

On his appointment to the see of Constantinople, Chrysostom found "subintroductae" prevailing to the most scandalous extent among his clergy, and the unpopularity which culminated in his deposition and exile had as one of its first moving causes the stern determination with which he endeavoured to put them down, and the withering sarcasms he poured out upon them. It appears from the two homilies delivered by him, "*de iis qui subintroductas virgines habent*," that the clergy who adopted this practice degraded themselves into "*cavalieri serventi*" to their imperious mistresses, carrying their cushions, smoothing their sofas and easy chairs, providing delicacies for their table, and humouring their whims, to the complete disregard of their sacred character and the neglect of their clerical duties. The voice of the church having proved insufficient to repress the spreading evil, the civil power was called in to legislate against it. A law of Honorius and Theodosius II. (*Cod. Theod.* lib. xvi. tit. ii. *de Episc.* leg. 44; *Cod. Just.* lib. i. tit. iii. leg. 19) expresses its strong disapprobation of this "consortium sororiae appellationis," and forbids the clergy of any degree whatsoever to have any females residing with them, except mothers, daughters, and sisters, with a special reservation for wives married before their husbands entered holy orders, "quae ante sacerdotium maritorum legitimum meruere conjugium." The words of the law are "quicumque igitur cujuscunque gradus sacerdotio fulci-

untur, vel clericatus honore censentur, extranearum sibi mulierum interdicta consortia cognoscant; hâc eis tantum facultate concessa ut matres filias atque germanas intra domorum suarum septa contineant." The practice, however, obstinately survived, and was repeatedly denounced by the ecclesiastical authorities in vain. The second canon of the council held at Rome under pope Zacharias in the middle of the 8th century repeats the old prohibition of the Nicene council, and, as subsequent history shews, with as little effect, "presbyteri vel diaconi subintroductas mulieres nullo modo secum audeant habitare nisi forsitan matrem suam aut proximitatem generis sui habentes." (Bingham. VI. ii. 13; Bevereg. *Pandect.* tom. ii. *annot.* pp. 45–47, *ib.* p. 178; Muratori, *Anecdot. Graec.* p. 218 *sq.*; *de Synisactis et Agapetis;* Justellus *in can.* 3 *Nicaen.;* Gothofred. *Not. in Cod. Theod.; Novell.* 123, c. 29; *Novell.* 137, c. 1.) [E. V.]

**SUBSCRIPTION.** [SUPERSCRIPTION.]

**SUBSELLIUM.** Other words used in the same sense are *scabellum, subpositorium, suppedaneum* (ὑποπόδιον), the last of which is exclusively applied to the support of the feet of our Saviour on the cross. They all mean a footstool or any rest for the feet; and from the earliest time persons of rank or authority are represented, when seated, as resting their feet upon a *subsellium.* This mark of honour, according to Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 16), was invented by the Persians. Homer gives a footstool to Helen and to Ulysses (*Odyss.* iv. 136; x. 315). In Christian monuments this distinction is assigned to God when receiving the offerings of Cain and Abel (Bottari, *Sculture e Pitture,* &c. cxxxvii.); to our Lord when seated and teaching his disciples (Perret, *Catacombes de Rome,* ii. pl. 24): and to the Virgin when the Magi are presenting their offerings (Bottari, *Sculture e Pitture,* xl).

Episcopal chairs always had the subsellium, and Christians generally avoided the use of it as a matter of humility, and reserved the honour for bishops. In this spirit Jerome cautions Eustochium (*Ep. ad Eustoch.* xxiii.) (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v.). [E. C. H.]

**SUBSTRATI.** [PENITENCE, p. 1593.]

**SUBURBICARII** (EPISCOPATUS) or **SUBURBICARIAE** (ECCLESIAE). The earliest use of this term, in connexion with church history, occurs in the sixth canon of the council of Nicaea as given by Rufinus of Aquileia (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 6), decreeing that "the ancient custom" shall continue to be observed both at Alexandria and at Rome, whereby the patriarch (or metropolitan) of the one city exercises a general oversight over the churches throughout Egypt, and the metropolitan (or patriarch) of the other, over "the suburbicarian churches," "et ut apud Alexandriam et in urbe Roma vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille Aegypti, vel hic *suburbicarium ecclesiarum* sollicitudinem gerat" (Migne, *Patrol.* xxi. 225; Mansi, ii. 702). In the corresponding decree of the council of Chalcedon the same expression occurs: "Antiqui moris est, ut urbis Romae episcopus habeat principatum, ut *suburbicaria loca* et omnem provinciam suam sollicitudine gubernet" (Mansi, vii. 1127). It is matter of considerable dispute (i) as to what is intended by the above expressions, "suburbicarian churches," "suburbicarian districts;" (ii) whether the superintendence to be exercised was that of a patriarch or a metropolitan (METROPOLITAN).

(i) A decree of the emperor Julian affords further illustration of the use of the term. It says that the resources of the landed estates, whether patrimonial or copyhold, must be carefully preserved "not only throughout all Italy, but also in the suburbicarian territories, and in Sicily": "Non enim per Italiam tantum, sed etiam per *suburbicarias* regiones et Siciliam patrimonialium et emphyticorum fundorum vires servandas esse perspeximus" (*Cod. Theod.* II. i. 9). Here it seems difficult to accept the view of Gothofredus (*ad loc.*) and Cave, that the "suburbicariae regiones" are those included in the district governed by the "praefectus Urbi" or "custos Urbis," a region which from the time of Augustus embraced a circuit of 100 miles' radius from Rome (*Dig.* I. xii. 1, § 3, 4; Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. Stadt Rom.* ii. 55; Gothofredus, *Opera, Jurid. Min.* p. 1320). The law appears rather to contemplate the divisions of the empire established by Constantine, according to which "Italia" would mean the *Italian vicariate,* which comprised northern Italy, the First and Second Rhaetia, &c.: in distinction from this the "suburbicariae regiones" would denote the ten provinces of the *Roman vicariate,* which were— 1. Campania; 2. Tuscia and Umbria; 3. Picenum *suburbicarium* (so called to distinguish it from Picenum Annonarium in the Italian vicariate); 4. Valeria; 5. Samnium; 6. Apulia and Calabria; 7. Lucania and Bruttii; 8. Sicilia; 9. Sardinia; 10. Corsica. To this interpretation of the expression in the decree, the separate mention of Sicilia presents a slight, but by no means insuperable, difficulty.

Bingham, in discussing the above two interpretations, says, "either may be admitted, as having at least their arguments of probability to defend them" (*Antiq.* IX. i. 9). Ducange (*s. v.*) distinguishes between "suburbicariae" and "urbicariae," holding that the former term denotes the ten provinces, the latter the territory of the "praefectus Urbi." Baronius, on the other hand (*Ann.* 325, cxxxv., cxxxvi.), considers that these terms were of the same significance, and both denote the yet wider range of provinces bound by the "leges frumentariae" to supply the capital with corn at a fixed rate.

(ii) Bearing in mind the close analogy that existed between the political and ecclesiastical organisation of the empire, it seems difficult to suppose that the term "suburbicariae" could have been used in the church in a different sense from that in which it is employed by Julian; and we are thus led to the conclusion that the council of Nicaea recognised the right of the bishop of Rome to exercise over the ten provinces of the Roman diocese or vicariate a patriarchal authority corresponding to that exercised by the patriarch of Alexandria over Egypt. [METROPOLITAN, HOLY ORDERS.] That he already exercised immediate jurisdiction as a metropolitan over these provinces, and that this could have been described as "vetusta consuetudo" at the time of the

council of Nicaea, is contrary to all probability (POPE, iv. 2). [J. B. M.]

**SUCCENTOR** (Latin, *succentor*; Greek *ὑποφωνητής*; Sicil. *succiuntro*). It is not easy to say when this word or the corresponding office first came into use. But it was known to Joannes de Janua, who finished his *Catholicon* in 1286, for he describes it thus: "Qui in ecclesiâ post praecentorem sive principalem cantorem subsequenter canendo respondet, vel qui facit officium principaliter in choro sinistro." But although the word does not become at all common till later times, still it seems quite clear that it was known in early days; for it is named by St. Augustine: "Praecentor scilicet qui vocem praemittit in cantu, succentor autem qui subsequenter canendo respondet" (*Enarr. in Ps.* 87, 1). This is the earliest known passage in which the word occurs.

Some idea of what was meant by the term "succent" (succinere) may be gathered from the following passage, in which St. Basil describes the antiphonal mode of singing the Psalms in very early days:—"They sing them alternately, divided into two choirs. Then having entrusted to one to begin the tune, the others *succent*." (ὑπηχοῦσι, succinunt, Lat. Tr. *Ep.* 63 (al. 207) *ad Cler. Necoaes.*)

The Greek word which is given by Ducange as the equivalent of succentor, is found in a passage of the interpolated epistle of Ignatius to the Philadelphians: τίς γάρ εἰμι ἐγὼ . . . ἀλλ' ὡς συστρατιώτης ὑμῶν, ὑποφωνητοῦ τάξιν ἐπέχων (Oxon. 1644).

The passages already quoted point to this officer's duty of "succenting" in the service of the church. In subsequent times, when the office became a dignity in the greater churches, another character was superadded to him in that he was made the representative of the precentor in his absence. It is observed by Magri (*Hierolex.* s.v. Cantor) that in many churches of France a festival of the first class is called *festum cantoris*, because it then belongs to the praecentor (cantor) to arrange the service (officium ordinare); while a festival of the second class is called *festum succentoris*, because then the same duty falls upon the succentor. [H. T. A.]

**SUCCESSUS**, Apr. 15, martyr of Saragossa (*Mart.* Notker.); Apr. 16 (Usuard.).

**SUCCINCTORIUM.** [GIRDLE, p. 728.]

**SUDARIUM.** [MANIPLE.]

**SUESSIONENSE CONCILIUM.** [SOISSONS.]

**SUFFETA, COUNCIL OF** (SUFFETANUM CONCILIUM), A.D. 524, where St. Fulgentius yielded the presidency to bishop Quodvultdeus who had disputed it with him at a previous council. (*L'Art de vérif. les Dates*, i. 150.) [E. S. Ff.]

**SUFFETULA, COUNCIL OF** (SUFFETULENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 418 (?). The only record of this is a canon attributed to it by Ferrandus, (Mansi, iv. 439.) [E. S. Ff.]

**SUGGESTUS.** [AMBO.]

**SULPICIUS** (1), Jan. 17, bishop; commemorated at Bourges (*Mart.* Usuard.); Jan. 26 (Notker.). [C. H.]

(2) Apr. 20. [SERVILIANUS.]

**SUN** (see MOON). Martigny states, on Bottari's authority (tavv. xxxii. lxxvi.), that the two colossal masks or grotesque faces, sometimes observed at the angles of ancient sarcophagi, are intended to represent the sun and noon. In this sense they have the same import of the seasons, as denoting the meting-out of human life. Such faces or masks occur, at all events, on the altar of the Basilica of S. Lorenzo-fuori-le-Mura at Rome, which resembles an ancient sarcophagus in all its details of ornament (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* c. 1, tab. xlv. fig. 4).

The sun appears on the well-known Vatican sarcophagus, with the history of Jonah and the double sea monster (Bottari, tav. xlii.) with rays and a nimbus (see Parker, *Phot.* 2005). On a lamp referred to by Martigny in the collection of Sante Bartoli (*Lucern. antich.* part iii. No. 39), the sun and moon accompany the Good Shepherd, perhaps representing time and eternity, as is suggested by the Abbé Cavedoni (*Ragguaglio delle Art. Christ.* p. 32). Or they may probably be placed with the Good Shepherd, for the same varied reasons which account for their presence in so many of the early crucifixions. Either, which is possible, they denote the two natures of our Lord, or they give the idea of a presence and attendance, as it were, of the powers of nature at the central event of the world, and remind of the eclipse and darkness of that day. Both sun and moon occur, at all events, in the crucifixion of the Laurentian or Rabula MS. of Florence [CRUCIFIX, p. 515]. So in the 9th century MS. Bibliothèque nationale, No. 510). On the gates of St. Paul (R. de Fleury, ii. pl. 88), as angels. So in the majority of Saxon and Irish MSS.; on the diptych of Rambona, as half-length figures [CRUCIFIX, p. 515]; on the cross of Velletri (Borgia, *de Cruce Veliterna*), as faces; so also in the wall painting of the cemetery of pope St. Julius I. (Bottari, t. lxxxii.). The torches borne by the figures of the diptych of Rambona are a singular instance of barbaric return to classical treatment, quite in keeping with the almost unique addition of the wolf and twins.

In the classical revival of Charles the Great and Alcuin, for such in MSS. it really was, the sun and moon become figures in chariots, the sun drawn by horses, the moon by oxen. The Bible of Ct. Vivian in Count Bastard's second volume, contains a beautiful example of Franko- or Anglo-Greek fancy [MOON]. In the MS. of Joshua, 7th or 8th century (Vatican; d'Agincourt, *Peinture*, vol. v. pl. xxviii.) the sun stands still as an 8-rayed star, and the moon on the other side. This had been long before represented in the 5th-century mosaics of St. Maria Maggiore at Rome. The Utrecht Psalter has a sun and moon on its frontispiece; at the heading of the Song of the Three Children, at Pss. cxxxviii. and cxliii. as two heads, one wearing a crown of spikes or rays, the other a crescent; and in Ps. cxxi. they are represented as shooting "sharp arrows and hot, burning coals" on the false tongue. They are not present at the Crucifixion in Ps. cxii. [R. St. J. T.]

**SUNDAY.** [LORD'S DAY; WEEK.]

**SUNDAY-LETTER.** [EASTER, p. 593.]

**SUNDAYS, NAMES OF.** [YEAR.]

**SUPERHUMERALE.** This word is primarily used in patristic Latin for the ephod of the Jewish high-priest, exactly translating the ἐπωμίς of the LXX (see *e.g.* Exodus xxviii. 4, 6, &c.: Jerome, *Epist.* 64 *ad Fabiolam*, § 15, vol. i. 363: Bede, *de Tabernaculo*, iii. 4; *Patrol.* xci. 466: Rabanus Maurus, *de Inst. Cler.* i. 15; *Patrol.* cvii. 306).

The meaning of the word having thus been fixed, it seemed only natural to later liturgical writers, who saw in Christian vestments the reproduction of the Jewish, to find a Christian representation of the ephod, and to call it by this name. Accordingly the amice [AMICE] was often thus called (see *e.g.* Pseudo-Alcuin, *de Div. Off.* 39, *Patrol.* ci. 1242; Gilbert of Limerick, *de Statu Eccl.*, *Patrol.* clix. 999).

The word is also used for the archiepiscopal pallium [PALLIUM], as by Gregory the Great (*Reg. Past.* c. 14; *Patrol.* lxxvii. 29; *Epist.* lib. i. 25; *ib.* 471 [a long quotation from the preceding work]; lib. vi. 64, *ib.* 848), and in the *Collectanea* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*Relatio motionis in S. Maximum; Patrol.* cxxix. 610). In this last case the corresponding Greek word is ὠμοφόριον [OMOPHORION]. For further references see Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v. [R. S.]

**SUPERPOSITIO JEJUNII.** An addition of one fast to another, causing two, three, or sometimes even four or six days to be passed in total abstinence, was known in the Latin church by the name of *superpositio jejunii*, and in the Greek by ὑπέρθεσις. Such lengthened periods of fasting were termed ὑπερθέσιμοι ἡμέραι, and the corresponding verb was ὑπερτίθεσθαι, *superponere*. This superposition of one day of abstinence on another might take place at any time as an act of extraordinary devotion, but it was most commonly practised in Holy Week, as a preparation for the Easter solemnities, especially on Good-Friday and Easter Eve, which were very usually kept as a continuous fast. This practice is called by Tertullian "jejunia conjungere" (*de Patientia*, c. 13), and "sabbatum continuum cum jejuniis parasceues" (*de Jejun.* c. 14). It is referred to by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* xviii. c. 17) when he gives the ὑπέρθεσις τῆς νηστείας τῆς παρασκευῆς as a reason for shortening his address, lest he should exhaust the catechumens. Epiphanius also, when speaking of the observance of this week, states that all Christians observed it ἐν ξηροφαγίᾳ, *i.e.* taking bread and water and salt, and that only in the evening, but the more earnest passed the greater part or the whole of the week in perfect abstinence: οἱ σπουδαῖοι διπλᾶς καὶ τριπλᾶς καὶ τετραπλᾶς ὑπερτίθενται, καὶ ὅλην τὴν ἑβδόμαδα τινές (Epiphan. *Epitom. Fid.* tom. ii. c. 22; cf. *Haer.* 29, *Nazoraeor.*; *Constit. Apost.* lib. v. c. 18) Dionysius bishop of Alexandria in his canonical epistle (can. i. apud Bevereg. *Pandect*, tom. ii. p. 3) uses the same terms, ὑπερτιθέθαι and ὑπέρθεσις when speaking of those who practise special abstinence during this week, some adding two days together, some three, some four, some the whole six, while some keep the fast of superposition only on the Friday and Saturday, and think they have done a great thing if they hold out till break of day on Easter morning. This continuation of the fast from day to day during Holy Week is termed by Sozomen ἐπισυνάπτειν τὴν νηστείαν (*H. E.* i. 11). As has been said, neither the term nor the thing was peculiar to Holy Week, but was applicable to any period of special abstinence. So Evagrius, speaking of the strict asceticism of the monks of Palestine, observes, οἱ πόλλακις τὰς καλουμένας ὑπερθεσίμους πράττουσι (*H. E.* i. 21), and Victorinus uses "superpositio" of abstinence for two days in succession: "ratio ostenditur quare usque ad horam nonam jejunamus, usque ad vesperam aut superpositio usque in alterum diem fiat" (*De Fabrica Mundi*, apud Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 103), and in the *Acta Martyrum Numidarum*, c. 8, we find "continuatis in carcere geminis jejuniis." Such a fast was also called *jejunium duplex*, or *duplicatum* (Hieron. *Epitaph. Paulae*, c. 1). The prolongation of the Friday's fast through Saturday, which we learn from Augustine (*Epist.* 86), had become customary in his time in the church of Rome and in some of the African and Spanish churches, was also known by the title of "*superpositio*." This double fast was, with the exception of the months of July and August for health's sake (Labbe, i. 973), enacted by the council of Elvira, can. 26, "Errorem placuit corrigi, ut omni Sabbati die jejunium celebremus," and can. 23, "jejuniorum superpositionem per singulas menses placuit celebrari." [E. V.]

**SUPERPOSITIO SILENTII.** This expression occurs in the *de Poenitentiae Mensura* of Columbanus, c. 5, 6, for the penance of total silence. [E. V.]

**SUPERSCRIPTION.** The superscription and subscription of letters of ceremony early became in the Christian church, as elsewhere, matters of form and prescription. John the Deacon informs us (*Vita Greg.* iv.) that Gregory the Great in his letters used to address all bishops as "brothers and fellow-ministers;" clerics of other orders as "dearly beloved sons;" laymen as "dominos;" and laywomen "as dominas." He seems in fact to have used "dominus" and "domina" nearly as equivalent to the "sir" and "madam" of modern correspondence. According to the common forms of the Roman court, preserved in the LIBER DIURNUS, letters to the Byzantine emperor are to be addressed "Domino piissimo et serenissimo, victori et triumphatori filio, amatori Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi;" to an empress (Augustae), "Dominae piissimae filiae;" to a patrician, a "Comes Imperialis obsequii," an exarch or a king,[a] "Domino excellentissimo atque prae-excellentissimo filio;" to a consul "Domino eminentissimo filio." This is so far in accordance with Gregory's practice that "dominus" forms part of all the superscriptions, to laymen given in the *Liber Diurnus*, but none are given to a person of lower rank than a consul. Probably the pope did not communicate directly with inferior persons. [LORD, p. 1041.]

[a] A specimen of this form of address may be seen in the letter of Pope Honorius, A.D. 634, to King Edwin, in Bede, *Hist. Angl.* ii. 17. Pope Boniface IV., A.D. 625, wrote to Edwin as "glorioso regi" (*ib.* ii. 10).

The subscriptions given in the *Liber Diurnus* (lib. i.) are: to an emperor, "piissimum Domini imperium gratia superna custodiat eique omnium gentilium colla substernat;" to an empress, "vestrae pietatis imperium gratia superna custodiat, domina filia;" to a patrician or count, "incolumem excellentiam vestram gratia superna custodiat, domine fili;" to a consul, "Deus te incolumem custodiat, domine fili." Of ecclesiastical persons, a patriarch is addressed by the papal chancery as "dilectissimus frater;" a bishop as "dilectissimus nobis;" a presbyter, or one of lower rank, as "dilectissimus filius;" while to an archbishop of Ravenna the superscription is "reverentissimo et sanctissimo fratri coepiscopo, servus servorum Dei." The subscription is in each case "Deus te incolumem custodiat," with the addition "dilectissime frater, fili," &c. as the case may be. To the pope himself the superscription used—at least by the clergy of a suburbicarian church—is "Domino beatissimo papae," or "Domino sancto" (*Lib. Diurn.* ii. titt. 1 and 3). [C.]

**SURIEL**, archangel, July 15 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C. H.]

**SURPLICE.** The surplice (*superpelliceum*) is a late modification of the alb with loose sleeves. There appears to be no trace of it before the end of the 12th century, so that the history of it does not fall within our period. [R. S.]

**SURSUM CORDA.** [PREFACE, p. 1693.]

**SUSCEPTORES.** [SPONSORS.]

**SUSPENSION.** [ORDERS, HOLY, p. 1496.]

**SUSANNA**, Aug. 11, martyr under Diocletian; commemorated at Rome with Tiburtius (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SWEARING.** [OATH; PERJURY.]

**SWINE, MIRACLE OF THE** (IN ART). The only instance of a representation of this miracle (Luke viii. 27) given by Martigny is from a mosaic of St. Apollinaris at Ravenna, in which the possessed kneels at the mouth of a cave or tomb (Mark v. 3) and stretches out his hands towards the Lord, who stands before him, nimbed, while in the background the swine are rushing towards the sea (Martigny, *Dictionnaire*, p. 241, ed. 2). [C.]

**SYMBOLISM.** Σύμβολον means a sign by which one infers or knows a thing. It will apply in fact to any object by whose means we get a new idea of comparison, which is substituted in our own thoughts, or by general consent, for anything else; the substitution of a more obvious or familiar idea, drawn, written, or spoken, for a more recondite or important one, is necessary to human instruction or communication, in spite of all its various dangers of misapprehension or misapplication.

I. *Symbolism of Decoration.*—The idolatrous misuse of picture-symbolism within the body of the faithful itself, seems not to have affected the Christian church very severely for the first three centuries.

(a) The strong expressions of Tertullian (*de Idololatria*, iii.) are directed against paganism, and in his anxiety to prevent any tampering with it, he objects to all images and representations indiscriminately, and considers the painter's art unlawful. But it is evident that he virtually excepted the scriptural emblems, such as Clement's list (*Paedagog.* iii. 11, § 59; see GEMS, p. 712), and the figure of the Good Shepherd. He is obviously not thinking of them at all, and indeed has to make an exception in favour of the brazen serpent soon after one of his most sweeping statements. In the primitive church it was so practically understood as not to need statement, that images in painting or carving, made for the sake of conveying instruction, are an entirely different thing from images intended for use in prayer. The subject of IMAGES is already treated [p. 813]. The repugnance of the Jews to the use of images extended, after the time of the Maccabees, even to the making of the form of any living thing; and this would account of course for the strong feeling among Hebrew Christians against both symbolic and direct representation, if it involved the use of images resembling living beings in any place of worship. This prohibition has been adopted in its fulness by Islam. Again, recently converted heathen would often have nearly as strong a detestation of the idolatrous system which they had escaped from. Symbols in the second or a subsequent generation are apt to become, first, conventional realisms, then personifications, then idols. In the middle ages, the cross, from being in the 6th century the symbol of Christ's person, became an object of worship in itself, no longer an emblem of the life and death of God for man. This degeneracy of symbolism has exercised the church from the 4th century at least, and ran a parallel course in the Christian church and in the Hebrew. For as the Hebrews were always tempted to worship the images of the nations among whom they lived, so the Christians were tempted towards saint worship, as a traditional reproduction of the ancient Greek hero worship, or of Roman adoration of the manes. All mankind have a tendency either to turn symbols into images or actual fetiches, or to substitute beautiful personifications, or portraits of divine or sacred persons, for ancient conventional symbols of the entirely unseen presence of the Lord. Nevertheless, however dangerous tendencies may always exist in image-symbolism, carved or painted, very few systems of worship, Christian or gentile, have totally resigned its use. That the Hebrew dread of images in the apostolic days by no means prevented pious Hebrews from using picture-ornament is proved once for all by the Jewish catacombs (Parker, *Phot.* no. 1160, 1161). The seven-branched candlestick was painted in red or scratched in the mortar of every loculus. One of them was adorned with human figures, flowers, and birds, including the peacock, afterwards adopted as a Christian image. The earliest part of this cemetery dates from the Augustan age, but part is as late as Constantine. The Christian pictorial or graphic system was a convenience of teaching. Those who could not read, and perhaps could not well understand the language used by oral teachers, had the pictures of our Lord, His miracles and history, to help them.

The pictures were understood by the brethren, if they conveyed no meaning to the heathen. The ancient family religion of Rome was domestic and ancestral, and the human symbolism of hope in death belonged to it. It held the spiritual expectation of another life, and of a retribution, illustrating both largely by emblem and sign in its tombs. The Roman-Etruscan reverence for the dead led them to pay great attention to their sepulchres; and the decoration of burial vaults in ancient Etruria, and also in pre-Christian Rome, bears important witness to the permanence of national custom, and the willing adoption by the church of non-Christian symbolism, if only it was not pagan or anti-Christian.

There will be found in d'Agincourt, vol. ii. (*Architecture*, pl. x.–xiii.) three illustrations with important bearing on this point. One is the interior of the tomb of the Scipios, long since discovered and despoiled under Pius IV. This has chiefly architectural or constructive interest, from its sarcophagi and loculi—the prototypes of Christian burial in after days. But the burial vaults of Tarquinii, which accompany it, contain symbolisms of the gravest kind, asserting immortality and retribution. The soul is there, led away lamenting to punishment by dark yet beautiful Genii or Eumenides, its white guardian angels interceding. There are chariots of Day and Night, Seasons, and various other subjects known in the catacombs. There can be no doubt that this earlier sepulchral art, with its notes of future life and retribution, already naturalised and in use for centuries in Rome, made it easier for the early church to use picture-symbolism in tombs.

The relations of Christian symbolism to that of earlier religious systems seem to have been as follows:—Certain relics of Egyptian or Assyrian imagery, passed into the Hebrew system, were there found to lead back at length to the idolatry of the races who had first used them, and therefore, after the Maccabean dynasty, were rejected by the Jewish nation, though partly resumed in idea, and as pure symbols, by the Christian church. Such were the cherubic forms. Those of the lion, the ox, and the eagle have a Christian position of their own. A supposed permission of symbolic images and no more was inherited from the Hebrew church: the cherubic images and the brazen serpent being taken as precedents. But for nearly 300 years of its existence in Rome the church of Christ might be considered as a Greek colony, with cosmopolitan relations as well as Hebraic. Greeks were used to pictures everywhere, and would freely adopt and adapt the decorative wall-painting of their day. In the basilicas, or large halls of palaces where the brethren met for worship, there would then be symbolic pictures at an early date—principally the vine and the Good Shepherd, considered as painted texts of the Lord's words. But further, when we come to consider that the old religion of Rome was less mythological than sepulchral, and that its ancient Etrurian rites dwelt so much on adorning the tomb-chambers of the dead, it will be seen what special family-Roman reasons there were for the sepulchral paintings in the catacombs. The Etrurians had imaged an unknown life beyond the grave; the Christians set forth a known one.

The following is a list of the symbols most frequently represented in painting or sculpture by the church of the first seven centuries. Most of these are treated in separate articles, or under OLD TESTAMENT IN CHRISTIAN ART, or under PAGANISM IN CHRISTIAN ART.

| | |
|---|---|
| A and ω | Hippocampus (Jonah) |
| Abel with Cain | Horse |
| Abel in the act of sacrifice | House |
| Abraham " " | Issue of Blood |
| Abraham with the Holy Three | Jerusalem |
| Adam and Eve | Job |
| Anchor | Jonah |
| Angels | Jordan |
| Apples | —— as River-God |
| Ark | Joseph (Patriarch) |
| Bethlehem | Lamb |
| Bird | Lion |
| Bread | Lyre |
| Calf | Milk or Milk-pail |
| Car, Cart, Chariot | Monogram |
| Cask or Dolium | Moses |
| Cocks | Net |
| Children, The Three Holy | Olive |
| Corn | Orante |
| Cross | Orpheus |
| Daniel | Palm |
| Dolphin | Peacock |
| Dove | Phoenix |
| Dragon | Pilate |
| Eagle | Red Sea |
| Egg | Rock |
| Elijah | Seasons, Four |
| Firmament | Serpent |
| Fir-tree | Susanna |
| Fish (Ιχθυς) | Sheep |
| Fish, pictorial | Ship |
| Fisherman | Stag |
| Fountain or well | Shepherd, The Good |
| Furnace | Sirens |
| Goat | Triangle |
| Gourd (Jonah) | Ulysses |
| Hand | Vine |
| Hare | Whale (Jonah's). |

Symbolic personifications occur not unfrequently in early art, especially in the MSS., and may be distinguished from pure symbols because they are in some degree connected with mythology; perhaps with idolatry, either as derived from it or leading to it. For instance, the frequent repetition of the figure of the river-god, Jordan, as in the celebrated Greek drawings of the Book of Joshua in the Vatican, in the great Venetian Evangeliary, on the vault of the baptistery at Ravenna, and in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold (Westwood, *Palaeographia Sacra*) are harmless relics of Greek personification. In the Greek 7th-century MS. of the Book of Joshua in the Vatican (D'Agincourt, *Peint*, pl. 29), the hill of the foreskins (Josh. v. 3) is represented as a young man, and the city of Gibeon as a woman with a face full of anxiety; not to speak of the frequent personifications of the church as an Orante, as Susanna, or even as the woman with the issue of blood. A picture of Night occurs in a Bible of the 9th or 10th century in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, as a female figure in a dark-blue robe powdered with stars, and bearing an inverted torch. It is a beautiful reproduction of classical imagery, combined with Gothic colour and depth of feeling. Day and night, or the sun and moon, drawn respectively by horses and oxen,

are found in the Bible of Charles the Bold (*Palaeogr. Sacra*). [PERSONIFICATION.]

The range of authorities on this subject is, of course, very wide. The best manuals, perhaps, are those of Alt (*Heiligenbilder*, Berlin, 1845), Dr. Piper's *Mythologie d. christl. Kunst*, and Merz's article, "Sinnbilder," in Herzog's *Encyclopädie*, Bp. Munter's *Sinnbilder* (1825) is strongly commended. The Abbé Auber's *Symbolisme religieux* is ample, and perhaps verbose. The author may refer to a book called *Art Teaching of the Primitive Church* (S. P. C. K. 1873). The proper authorities for the art of the Christian cemeteries will be found under CATACOMBS. Prof. Westwood's works contain many facts relative to MSS. Aringhi's index, in *Roma Sotterranea*, contains an excellent account of early Christian symbols, with quoted authorities, for the most part. Lord Lindsay's work, with references to D'Agincourt's plates, is an equally brilliant and accurate manual of Christian art and symbolism.

II. *Symbolism of Construction.*—Hitherto we have been considering symbolic ideas as conveyed by sculpture or painting. But we can hardly pass over the indirect or less demonstrable symbolisms of architecture, or the religious or spiritual meanings attached to styles and features. What spiritual ideas did, or do, certain styles of building, in fact, convey to a competent number of competent witnesses? and how far, by the builders and contrivers, were the styles or features intended to convey spiritual or any other special ideas?

In the first place, the church or temple itself is in all cases a symbolic object, as indicating an unseen object of more importance than itself. All its splendour, all its grandeur, is in the nature of things emblematic of a house not made with hands. Symbolisms of the altar, and all in which the idea of sacrifice is involved, are matter for the theological rather than the artistic department of this work. We are concerned only with the constructive form of sacred buildings, whether designed by the ingenuity or piety of the builders, or inherent in the structure itself. Decorative symbolism is an addition to structure, unmistakably planned and intended by those who paint or carve; while to a great extent constructive symbolism seems to depend on resemblances observed after the fact, and analogies which the original builders may not have thought of. The features of a building typify or indicate the needs for which it was raised, or in honest architecture they ought to do so.

The simple constructive arrangements of the earlier Greek temple, passing through all the vicissitudes of time, climate, barbarism, war, and peace, developed into the Christian, even into the Gothic church, by a steady natural law of progress, which some call decadence and others development. The essential parts are always the place of the god, and the place for his ministers, with space—"temple," or "enclosure"—around, roofed, unroofed, or cloistered, for his people to stand before him. In the Hebrew temple there was strict classification; all the chosen people were sacred, and had their exclusive court; and the department of the priests was divided between their inner cloister and the sanctuary where the ministering course were employed; but the Holy of Holies still remained, where the brightness of God's presence had appeared. The later synagogue has its choir, sanctuary, and symbolic ark or chest as a memorial of the ark of the covenant, occupying the Jerusalem end of the building, as the Christian altar is placed at the east. [ORIENTATION.]* The construction of a Christian church then is in itself symbolic, like that of all other temples. The meanings attached to various parts of it, or to the horizontal or vertical style of its architecture, appear to have sprung up gradually from devout imaginations of various times. The form of the church is traceable in all cases either to the Basilica, or the circular buildings, baths or temples, of which the Pantheon is the grandest type remaining. The church, in the first instance, occupied the basilicas, or her builders adopted heathen construction, as they did heathen painting and sculpture. But they lost no time in connecting meanings of their own with the building and its parts. The ship-symbolism is fully carried out, when resemblances are contrived in the form and arrangements of the actual structure; and this is certainly indicated in the well-known passage from the Apostolical Constitutions. (*Apost. Const.* ii. c. 57, ed. Cotelerii, tom. i. p. 263.)

There was an important symbolism connected with the crypt of the basilica, which connects the larger churches with the primitive worship and celebrations in the catacombs, and may probably be coeval with the Book of Revelation. The altar of a cubiculum was originally the table-tomb above the remains of a martyr [CATACOMBS]. It is scarcely possible not to connect this with the passage in Rev. vi. 9, referring to the souls of the faithful to death, who cry from below the altar; nor with the parallel use to which the crypt (or prison cell) of a Roman basilica was converted. In Christian hands the crypt became the tomb of the martyr or saint to whom the church was dedicated, and its altar was placed directly above his sarcophagus or grave. Lord Lindsay says the theory of an ancient church presumed it to be built over a catacomb, but it seems probable that the catacombs were often opened from churches or their area (see *s. v.*). An altar in later days could not be consecrated without relics.

The arch of triumph, between the central nave and the sanctuary, in the Christian basilica-church, was figurative of the transition through death, and the decoration of the apse and tribune are often clearly intended to give the idea of heaven or the apocalyptic Jerusalem, with the Presence of God [MOSAICS]. See *Art-Teaching of the Primitive Church*, p. 163, by the author of this article.

This is matter of decoration; and the constructive symbolism of the simple or Roman basilica goes no further. But in Byzantium, during the early splendour of Constantine's great works, the Eastern or absolutely Christian form

* The introductory essay to a translation of Book I. of Durandus of Mende's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* by Neale and Webb should be read by all who wish for full enumeration of symbolisms in church construction.

of church was adopted, and the whole building made, as it were, emblematic from its foundations by being raised in the form of the cross. The cross is now combined with the dome; the form of the church commemorates the humiliation and sacrifice of God for man, while its central cupola involves all those ideas of aspiration and soaring victory which have since been claimed, almost as its exclusive property, by the northern spire, and campanile. The first and loftiest ideas of aspiration were given in strictly horizontal architecture by the Eastern dome and cupola. It is not pure vertical height which gives the idea of aspiration, it is the sweeping and climbing curves of arches or circles in perspective. Aspiring lines mean lines in which or by which the sight is led to travel upwards. The soaring effect of a Gothic interior, such as Westminster Abbey, is not conveyed by perpendicular lines, but by the perspective curves of piers and arches. The symbolism of aspiration has been worked out in the dome and cupola, as well as by the pointed arch and spire; and horizontal architecture is not necessarily grovelling, but adapted in the first instance to the uses of a hot climate, and capable of being adapted by modifications of the arch and vault to the needs of any climate. Without doubt the Eastern dome, rightly decorated, and seen from within, did and does seem, as Lord Lindsay says (i. p. 63), to expand into infinity like the vault of heaven. His beautiful corollary, that it is the emblem of heaven, as the cross-structure on which it rests is the type of suffering obedience, which in the end is built up or edified to reach heaven, is in the best and truest spirit of ancient imagery; and he adds, in a note, the remark that the roofs of temples, both Christian and Pagan, were frequently painted azure and powdered with stars to convey the same idea.

The elaborate symbolisms of pointed architecture are far beyond our period. [R. St. J. T.]

**SYMBOLUM.** [CREED; TRADITIO.]

**SYMEON.** [SIMEON.]

**SYMMETRIUS**, May 26, presbyter, martyr; commemorated at Rome (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Notker.). [C. H.]

**SYMPHORIANUS**, Aug. 22, martyr in the reign of Aurelius; commemorated at Autun (*Mart.* Bed., Bed. *Metr.*, Usuard.); called Sinfurianus in the Gothic Missal, where there is a mass for his natale (the day unnamed), and he is mentioned in the prayers as a follower of Andochius and Benignus. The *Liber Antiphonarius* of Gregory has an office for his natale and that of Timotheus jointly. [C. H.]

**SYMPHOROSA**, July 2, martyr in Campania with her seven sons (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.); commemorated at Tibur or on the Via Tiburtina July 18 (*Hieron.*, *Rom.*, Notker., Wand.); July 21 (Bed.); June 27 (Usuard., *Mart. Vet. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**SYMPHRONIANUS**, July 7 and Nov. 8, artificer and martyr; commemorated at Rome with Claudius, Nicostratus and others (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**SYMPHRONIUS**, July 26; commemorated with Olympius and others on the Via Latina (*Mart.* Usuard.); Dec. 4 (*Mart. Vet. Rom.*) [C. H.]

**SYNAPTE** (*συναπτή*, scil. *δέησις ἢ αἴτησις*), the Greek term equivalent to the Latin Collecta, Angl. Collect. The longer prayers in the Liturgy were called *μεγαλαὶ συναπταί*, and the Shorter Collects in Terce, Sext, &c., *μικραὶ. συναπταί*, also called *τὰ διακονικά*, from their being generally read by a deacon or *εἰρηνικὰ*, from the pax vobiscum which preceded them. Synapte is properly applied to the series of short petitions which often occur in Eastern offices, and of which a Western example may be seen in the Ambrosian Missal (Domin. 2, edit. Pamel. i. 321, 328. The expression *συναπτὴ αἰτήσεως* refers to the frequent repetition of the phrase *τῷ κυρίῳ δεηθῶμεν* (Morinus, *de Sacris Ordinat.* p. 227; Goar, *Eucholog.* pp. 46, 47). [F. E. W.]

**SYNAXARIA.** [MENOLOGIUM.]

**SYNAXARIA** (*συναξάρια*). The lives of the saints as drawn up and arranged in the Menaea or other ecclesiastical books, sometimes extracted and published for convenience' sake in a separate form by themselves. [F. E. W.]

**SYNAXIS** (*σύναξις*). (a) A general name for a course of ecclesiastical offices, constituting the day-hours and night-hours of the church. Cap. vii. of the Reg. S. Columbani is entitled "De Synaxi, id est, de cursu Psalmorum et orationum modo canoncio." Each separate office was also entitled a synaxis. Mention is made of a vespertina synaxis (Rule of St. Benedict, c. 17; Mab. *de Lit. Gall.* p. 109); a matutinalis or matutinorum synaxis (Martene, *Ampliss. Coll.* vi. 384, *Acta SS.* Ord. Benedict, saec. iv. pt. i. p. 399); nonae synaxis (*ib.* saec. v. p. 15).

(b) A congregation or gathering of monks or clergy for any religious purpose (Cassian, lib. ii. *de Instit. Mon.* cap. 10).

(c) An equivalent term for eucharistia (*Dionys Areop. de Eccles. Hierar.* lib. cap. iii.; de sacramento synaxeos sine communionis, *et passim*).

(d) In a non-technical sense in connexion with time; post unius anni synaxin, after the lapse of a year. [F. E. W.]

**SYNCELLUS.** Originally a monk occupying the same cell with another monk; subsequently a subordinate brother who shared the cell of the abbat, or of the bishop when the latter resided in a monastery, to be the constant witness of his manner of life and devotions, who by his presence might strengthen him against temptation and stimulate him to the practice of piety (see the authorities given by Ducange, *sub voc.*). In later times the term lost almost all reference to its original meaning, and became the designation of a high ecclesiastical dignity, the "syncelli" being the chaplains and confidential ministers, or private secretaries, of metropolitans and patriarchs, who very frequently became their successors. The number of "syncelli" of the patriarch of Constantinople attached to the church of St. Sophia was at one time very large, but it was reduced by the emperor Heraclius early in the 7th century to two. In public assemblies and synods the "syncelli" took precedence of the metropolitans, which, according

to a passage cited by Suicer, once gave rise to an unseemly squabble at the Pentecostal celebration (Codin. *Curopal.* p. 112, ed. Bonn). The chief of the "syncelli" at Constantinople was called πρωτοσύγκελλος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, corrupted into πρωτοσύγγελος (*Liturg. Chrys.*); he ranked next to the patriarch, whose spiritual director he was, and whose confessions he heard. He had rooms in the archiepiscopal palace, or when the patriarch resided in a monastery, a cell adjacent to that occupied by him. Cedrenus states that the "protosyncellus" before his time had usually succeeded to the patriarchal throne on its vacancy. (Goar, *Euchol.* p. 112; Suicer, *sub voc.*; Ducange, *sub voc.*; Codin. *Annotat.* pp. 112, 377.) [E. V.]

**SYNDICUS.** [ADVOCATE.]

**SYNETUS**, Dec. 12, martyr at Rome in the reign of Aurelian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**SYNOD.** [COUNCIL.]

**SYNODICAE EPISTOLAE.** [COUNCIL, p. 475.]

**SYNODITAE.** Monks are called Synoditae in the Theodosian Code, from their living in communities (συνόδοις) [COENOBIUM; MONASTERY]. [C.]

**SYNOPSIS** (σύνοψις). Any abbreviated compilation from the larger Office Books of the Eastern church and from other sources for private use. [F. E. W.]

**SYNTHRONUS** (σύνθρονος). The name given to the chancel seats round and behind the altar in the Greek church, in use by the officiating clergy during the Liturgy, &c. The Thronos, or chief seat, the bishop's throne, occupied the central and easternmost position behind the altar. It is marked G on the ground plan of the church exhibited in Goar's *Eucholog.* p. 13. [F. E. W.]

**SYNTYCHE**, July 22, Phil. iv. 4; commemorated at Philippi (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SYRINX.** As in numberless instances in ancient Pagan art the pipe is the regular accompaniment of the shepherd, so the Good Shepherd is, in Christian art, often represented with a pipe of seven reeds or straws. Sometimes he is holding it in his hand (Bottari, *Sculture e Pitture*, lxxviii. cv. cix.), sometimes he holds it to his mouth (Perret, *Cat. de Rome*, v. pl. lxviii.), sometimes it hangs on his arm (Bott. clxix.), or at his side, suspended by a strap over the shoulder (*ib.* clxxiv.); again, it is to be seen lying at his side, as on a fragment of ancient glass in the collection of Buonarroti (*Osservazioni*, &c. tav. v. 2).

This primitive musical instrument, with which shepherds were supposed to call back their flocks to the fold, like other pastoral emblems, soon began to be used in an allegorical sense by the early fathers. Thus Gregory Nazianzen (*Or.* 28, 43), after describing the anxiety of a shepherd, who, mounted on an eminence, fills the air with the melancholy strains of his pipe, recommends the spiritual pastor to follow his example and try to win souls to God by persuasion rather than by force, to use the pipe rather than the staff (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v.). [E. C. H.]

**SYROPHOENICIAN, THE** (IN ART). The Syrophoenician supplicating the Lord to heal her daughter (Matt. xv. 21 ff.; Mark vii. 24 ff.) is thought to be represented in a bas-relief of a sarcophagus from the Vatican cemetery (Bosio, *Roma Sott.* p. 65; Martigny, p. 162, 2nd ed.). The woman, represented of small size, kisses the hand of the Lord, while an apostle behind her lays his hand on her shoulder. The identification of this figure with the woman of Canaan is however by no means certain (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v. *Chananéenne*). [C.]

**SYRUS**, Sept. 12, confessor; commemorated with Eventius at Ticinum (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**SYSTATICAE EPISTOLAE.** [COMMENDATORY LETTERS.]

# T

**TABITHA** (IN ART). The subject of the resurrection of Tabitha is not to be found, as far as is known, on any Roman monument, but two instances occur in France. One of these is on a sarcophagus, supposed to be of Sidonius, bishop of Aix, seemingly as early as the 4th century, and still existing in the crypt of St. Madeleine at the abbey of St. Maximin (*Monum. relat. à Ste Madeleine*, t. i. col. 767). In agreement with the Scriptural account, St. Peter is represented standing and holding out his hand to Tabitha. The bed on which she is represented sitting up is furnished with curtains suspended by rings from a rod, and near it two children of unequal height kneel and extend their hands to the apostle in token of gratitude. On the other side of the bed is a front view of two female figures in a dress very like that of modern nuns, which is supposed to have been the dress of widows in the earliest Christian times. These two figures are of course intended for the widows spoken of in Acts ix. 39. The other instance referred to repeats all the features of the one already described, and is to be seen on a tomb in the museum of Arles, No. 70. The same subject is also found on a sarcophagus in the cathedral of Fermo, with this difference of treatment, that all the persons represented are taken from the Acts of the Apostles, and are in some way connected with the life of St. Peter. (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v.) [E. C. H.]

**TABULARIUM.** A name sometimes given to the muniment-room of a church in which the archives were kept. It was ordered in the legislation of Justinian, and afterwards in that of Charlemagne, that documents of special importance should be deposited in the *tabularia* of churches. (T. Eckhart, *Schediasma de Tabulariis Antiquis*, 1717; J. C. Beheim, *de Archivis sive Tabulariis Vet. Christian.* Altorf. 1722.) [C.]

**TALIONIS LEX.** [CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, p. 469.]

**TANIST ABBAT**, according to the Celtic laws of Tanistry, was the abbat designate (Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 364, 379), and may have exercised a certain authority (principatum Iae tenuit, *Ann. Tig.* A.D. 707, ap. O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* iv. 224), but the matter is obscure. (Skene, *Fordun*, ii. 441 sq.; Vallency, *Coll.* i. 265 sq., 274 sq.; O'Curry, *Lect. Man. Cust. Anc. Ir.* iii. 600.) [J. G.]

**TAPERS.** [LIGHTS; PASCHAL TAPER.]

**TARACUS** (THARACUS), Oct. 11; martyr with Probus and Andronicus in the Diocletian persecution (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., Wand.); Oct. 12 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*); Sept. 27, Oct. 9, Oct. 10 (*Hieron.*); May 13 in Palestine (*Hieron.*); Apr. 5 (*Hieron.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**TARASIUS**, Feb. 25, patriarch of Constantinople (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**TARBUA**, Apr. 22, martyr in Persia under Sapor, sister of bishop Simeon (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker.). [C. H.]

**TARRAGONA, COUNCILS OF** (TARRACONENSIA CONCILIA). Only two fall within our limits.

**1.** A.D. 464, to censure Silvanus, bishop of Calahorra, for ordaining out of his diocese; and to appoint to the see of Barcelona, then vacant. The alleged letters from this council to pope Hilary have been noticed under an alleged Roman synod of the year following (Mansi, vii. 957).

**2.** A.D. 516, when thirteen canons on discipline were passed, to which ten bishops under John, bishop of Tarragona, subscribed. (*Ib.* viii. 539-46.) [E. S. Ff.]

**TARSUS, COUNCILS OF** (TARSENSIA CONCILIA), A.D. 431 and 435. The first when several bishops returning from Constantinople met and deposed St. Cyril and the seven bishops who had been sent thither from the council of Ephesus against the Easterns (Mansi, v. 1147); the second when Helladius, metropolitan of Tarsus, and several of his suffragans, gave their adhesion to the peace made between John of Antioch and St. Cyril, and anathematised Nestorius. (*Ib.* p. 1179.) [E. S. Ff.]

**TATIANA**, Jan. 12, Roman deaconess, martyr under Alexander Severus (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**TATIANUS** (1), Mar. 16, deacon, commemorated at Aquileia with bishop Hilarius (*Mart.* Usuard.); Mar. 17 (Notker.).

(2) July 19, martyr; commemorated with Macedonius and others at Synnada (*Syr. Mart.*); Sept. 12, with Macedonius and Theodulus, under Julian, the place not named (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**TAURINENSE CONCILIUM.** [TURIN.]

**TAURINUS**, Aug. 11, bishop of Evreux, confessor (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*). [C. H.]

**TECLA.** [THECLA.]

**TE DEUM.** The history of this wondrous hymn is obscure. Although no version of it in Greek has as yet been met with, there can be little doubt that large portions of it were drawn from Greek or Oriental sources. Taking our modern version as our text, we shall find that it consists of twenty-nine clauses. Of these the first ten are closely connected with the Eucharistic hymn of the liturgy of Jerusalem. We find the germ of the next three in the Morning Hymn of the Alexandrine manuscript. Of the last nine clauses those numbered 22, 23, are to be found in Psalm xxvii. 9 (Vulg. or Septuagint). The next three are found in the Morning Hymn above referred to; 27 is identical with Psalm cxxii. 3; 29 is clearly derived from Psalm xxi. 6.

The conclusion of the hymn varies from our received text in three series of important manuscripts. In one manuscript, which probably survived the sack of a French monastery, and, after being purchased by Queen Christina of Sweden, was given by her to the library of the Vatican (Reg. xi. or *Vat. Alex.* xi.), we have the following clauses: "Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum et laudabile et gloriosum nomen tuum in aeternum. Dignare die ista sine peccato nos custodire." In another MS. at the Vatican, No. 82, we have nearly the same clause: "Benedictus es Domine," &c. We may compare this, together with the clauses 24, 25, 26 still remaining in our version with the following portion of the Alexandrine hymn, and the comparison will shew convincingly what is the origin of these clauses:—

> *καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν εὐλογήσω σε*
> *καὶ αἰνέσω τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*
> *καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος.*
> *καταξίωσον κύριε καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἀναμαρτήτους φυλαχθῆναι ἡμᾶς.*
>
> *εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ αἰνετὸν καὶ δεδοξασμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.*

It will have been seen that there are four different conclusions to this hymn. Speaking generally, all the copies are the same up to and including our clause 21; but the Vatican MS. 82 (a Roman psalter), after 21, has only 24, 25, 22, 23, concluding with the Benedictus es, as above. That is, it omits altogether 26, 27, 28, 29, and so far severs itself from the Greek hymn. The Vat. Alex. xi. a magnificent psalter, containing the versio Hebraica of Jerome, omits in the Te Deum clauses 24, 25, 28, 29, and reads thus: 22, 23, Benedictus es, 26, 27. A third version was current in Ireland. In the hymn-book edited by Dr. Todd for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, p. 194, and in the hymn contained in the Antiphonary of Bangor (now one of the treasures of the library at Milan) the order is 22, 23, 24, 25, 28. They leave out 26, 27, 29. These versions are introduced by the words "Laudate pueri Dominum; laudate nomen Domini" (see the Bangor Antiphonary, in Migne, 72, p. 587). These last verses precede the hymn also in the copy contained in the Isidore MS. now in the Franciscan convent at Dublin. At the end of the copy in Dr. Todd's Book of Hymns, p. 19, is the following:

"Te Patrem adoramus eternum: te sempiternum filium inuocamus: teque spiritum sanctum in una diuinitatis substantia manentem confitemur. Tibi uni Deo in Trinitate debitas laudes et gratias referemus ut te incessabili uoce laudare mereamur per eterna secula." These words also occur in the Franciscan MS., but they are not arranged in versicles in the Irish hymn-book. The order in the Bangor Antiphonary is the same as in the Irish hymn-book. According to Muratori, the "Te Patrem adoramus" is not found in this Antiphonary; but towards the end of the MS. there are some curious fragments sewn together (not noticed by Muratori), amongst which the above address to the Holy Trinity is inserted, and also another, which is identical with it as far as the word confitemur, and then proceeds:—

"Tibi Trinitas laudes et gratias referemus; tibi uni Deo incessabilem dicimus laudem; te patrem ingenitum, te filium unigenitum, te spiritum sanctum a patre [et filio is added in the margin] procedentem corde credimus; tibi inaestimabili incomprehensibili omnipotenti deo qui regnas in aeternum."

The result of this investigation seems to be that the Te Deum, even in its earliest form, was regarded, like the Morning Hymn of the Alexandrine MS., as a hymn sung to the Holy Trinity, even though the work of our Lord predominates in its latter clauses.

The earliest notice of it that has been discovered is in the Rule of Caesarius (about A.D. 527). According to it on every Sunday there were to be first six *missae* or prayers; these finished, the Matins were to follow. Exaltabo te (Psalm cxlv.); then Confitemini (cxxxvi. (?); then Cantemus Domino (the canticle in Exodus xv.); Lauda, anima mea (Psalm cxlvi.); Benedictio (the Benedicite omnia opera Domini Dominum); then Laudate Dominum de caelis (Psalm cxlviii.) Te Deum laudamus, Gloria in excelsis, and the Capitellum. The Rule of Aurelian was somewhat similar. Columbanus, who was connected with the Irish Bangor, and founded the monastery of Bobio, where the Bangor Antiphonary came from, does not mention the canticles or Te Deum in his rule; but it is worthy of notice that this Antiphonary gives the hymns *Canticum*, Cantemus Domino, *Benedictio trium puerorum*, Benedicite, "*Hymnum in die Dominico*, Laudate pueri Dominum; laudate nomen Domini; Te Deum laudamus" in the order of the rule of Caesarius. Only the introduction to the Te Deum is furnished by the two verses of Psalm cxii. instead of Psalm cxlviii.: the same two verses which precede the Te Deum in the two Irish hymn-books.

Towards the end of the Bangor Antiphonary, as given by Muratori, are series of five or six sets of short prayers to be used after the *Cantemus*, after the *Benedicite*, after the *Laudate Dominum de caelis*, and after the gospel. Internal evidence shews that the *Laudate Dominum de caelis* included here the *Te Deum*; and the prayers furnish a beautiful illustration of the Rule of Caesarius.

Columbanus died about 615, Caesarius about 542, but there is one expression in the *Te Deum* which seems to carry us back to an earlier date. We refer to the phrase "suscepisti hominem," for such was the universal reading until Abbo of Fleury altered it to "suscepturus." There are two readings of the verse. The two Irish manuscripts read, "Tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem." All the other old copies which have been examined omit the word "mundum." In either case the verse means, "Thou didst take upon thee man" or "a man" either "to deliver him" or to "deliver the world." The phrase "suscepit hominem" was current in the time of St. Augustine, but went out of favour after the Nestorian controversy; it gave way to the phrase "adsumpsit humanitatem" or "humanam naturam." (We find the words "ad liberandos homines" as describing one object of our Lord's Incarnation in Augustine's letters No. 137, § 11). We conceive that so far there is sufficient evidence that the words of the hymn may date from the time of St. Augustine.

The titles which we find prefixed to the hymn in various psalters are interesting in themselves, and may perhaps throw some light upon the localities where these psalters were written. The hymn is not found in the oldest psalters, as in those at Bamberg and Verona and the original Vespasian A 1 (which no doubt belonged to St. Augustine's monastery, Canterbury, and which was placed in a kind of recess or shelf over the high altar on the supposition that Augustine brought it from Rome, a present from Gregory the Great), or the original Galba A, xviii. It is found in several psalters written in the 9th century. The title "Hymnus in Die Dominica ad matutin." or "ad matutin. in die dominica" is prefixed to it in Marinus' psalter at C. C. C. Cambridge (No. 272); in the beautiful psalter of Charles the Bald at Paris; one at St. Gall, 15; another at C. C. C. 411; and the second part of Galba A, xviii. In the beautiful volume at Oxford, Douce, 59, it is entitled "Hymnus in Die Dominica." In the latter part of Vespasian A 1, in Claudius C. vii. (the Utrecht psalter), Harleian 2904, and the quadripartite psalter at Bamberg it is called simply "Hymnus" or "Ymnum in matutinis," or otherwise to the same effect. In the last-named psalter there is an attempt at a Greek version as far as clause 12, when it ceases. In St. Gall 20 we find the words "hymnus domin. pro noct. hoc est ante lectionem evangelii," and in Arundel 155, "hymnus doms. nocturna laud. can." In the former as well as in St. Gall 23 (Folkard's magnificent psalter), the words "Te decet laus, te decet ymnus, tibi gloria, domine, patri et filio et spiritui sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen," are at the end of the hymn. In what is called Bacon's psalter in the Cambridge University Library it is entitled "Hymnus optimus." In Reg. 2 B. v. at the British Museum "oratio pura cum laudatione." In St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 15, "laus angelica." Then we come to a series in which the title is prefixed, "hymnus quem S. Ambrosius et S. Augustinus invicem condiderunt." This is found in Vienna, 1861 (the famous psalter said to have been sent by Charlemagne to Hadrian: Daniel "confesses that he had always suspected that additions were made at the end of this psalter by a later hand"), Vitellius E. xviii.; St. Gall 23 (Folkard's) and 27. This or some equivalent title prevailed in later years. In a psalter at Salzburg, A. v. 31, "hymnus Augustini." In several notable psalters such as that in the great

Venice Bible and Paris 13,159, C. C. C. 391, Lambeth 197, Salzburg A. v. 30, there is no title prefixed. The Irish book of hymns has "haec est laus sanctae Trinitatis quam Augustinus sanctus et Ambrosius composuit." Archbishop Ussher seems to have seen two manuscripts in which the composition was ascribed to one Nicetus: one was in the Cotton Library. Such a volume cannot now be found, but in the Norfolk Library, now in the British Museum, "Arundel 60," the hymn is introduced thus, "YMH' SCI VICETI EPI DIEB; DOMIN. AD MATUT." and there are two MSS. at Florence, Plut. xvii. Cod. iii. and viii. where nearly the same words are found. Elsewhere (see Oudin, t. i. p. 668) it is described as "Sisebuti," "Sisebuti monachi," "S. Abundii;" these probably are phonetic spellings of the same name.

These memoranda may possibly assist in the effort to trace these manuscripts to their original sources or to the localities where they were used. Many of the titles agree with the account given in the rules of Caesarius, Aurelian, and Benedict. In this last the *Te Deum* preceded the lesson from the Gospel, the *Te decet* followed it on the vigils of the Sundays. The change from *mattins* to *nocturns* is interesting. Of course the service was the same, though the name was altered. It is also interesting to notice that in the 7th century, as now, the *Te Deum* preceded the lesson from the Gospel.

The words "Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus" have recalled to many minds the beautiful passage at the end of Cyprian's treatise *de Mortalitate*, "illic apostolorum gloriosus chorus, illic prophetarum exultantium numerus, illic martyrum innumerabilis populus."

The *Te Deum laudamus* is mentioned twice by Alcuin in his book *de Psalmorum usu* (Migne, 101, pp. 468, 469). It is entitled *Hymnum dominicale*, p. 592. But the text has been modernized in the "suscepisti." [C. A. S.]

**TEKLA HAIMANOT**, Aug. 17, Dec. 20, apostle of monachism in Ethiopia (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C. H.]

**TELEPTE, COUNCIL OF** (TELEPTENSE, TELENSE, or ZELLENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 418. We have ten canons attributed to this council by Ferrandus, and nine, by no means identical with them, in a letter of pope Siricius, said to have been recited at it. There are several expressions in both calculated to suggest doubts of their authenticity; nor was it Siricius, but Zosimus, who was then pope; nor, again, is this alleged letter of his found in the Dionysian collection; nor are the marginal references to this letter in Ferrandus of any value, as Ferrandus all through quotes the exact words of the council, and never of the pope, where the two differ; see ROME, COUNCILS OF, A.D. 386. (Mansi, iv. 379–82; comp. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 473.) [E. S. Ff.]

**TELESPHORUS** (THELESPHORUS), pope, martyr, Jan. 5 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Wand.); Jan. 2 (Flor., Notker.). [C. H.]

**TEMPESTARIUS**, Tempestuarius, Tempestatum immissor, Νεφοδιώκτης. By the last word Balsamon (*Comment.* in Conc. Trullan. can. 61) understands a diviner by observation of the clouds; but the earlier author of the *Quaestiones et Responsa ad Orthodoxos*, long ascribed to Justin, makes it identical with *tempestarius*. "How is it," his querist demands, "that they who are called νεφοδιῶκται contrive by means of certain invocations to send hail and excessive rains wherever they please" (*Qu.* 31). The reply denies that any have such power; but this remnant of heathen superstition prevailed widely among all classes of Christians from the 4th century downwards. A law of Constantius, 357, declares that there were "many who dared to disturb the elements by magic arts" (*Codex Theodos.* ix. 16, v.). The offence, which seems to have been more common in France than anywhere else, is frequently mentioned in the Carlovingian laws (Carol. M. 789, *Capit.* i. 63 (*Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 62); *id.* 805, *Capit.* ii. 25 (*C. R. F.* vi. 374)). A law of the Visigoths tells us that "immissores tempestatum" were "reported by means of certain incantations to send hail on the vineyards and crops" (*Lex Visig.* vi. 2, § 3). Agobard, 813, who wrote a tract on the subject, declares that almost every one in his part of France, of whatever condition, believed in their power, and that a storm ascribed to it was commonly called "aura levatitia" (*Contra insulsam Vulgi Opinionem de Grandine et Tonitruis*, 1, 12, 14). They also believed in a country called Magonia, from which ships came to the earth in the storm clouds, whose sailors bought of the tempestarii the fruits and corn that appeared to perish here (2). This imaginary crime is punished by the Greek council *in Trullo* (*u. s.*) with six years' penance. Latin penitentials assign seven to it (Halitgar, *Poen. Rom.* c. 5; Cumeanus Hyens.,[a] A.D. 630, *de Mensur. Poenit.* 7; Theodor. Cant. *Poenit.* 356, p. 73, Par. 1677); the old Gallican adds that three of the seven are to be on bread and water (*Mus. Ital.* i. 393). [W. E. S.]

**TEMPLUM** for a Christian church. In the Christian writings of the first three centuries "templum" maintains its pagan meaning, and is scarcely ever used to denote a Christian church. Wherever ναός or "templum" occur with a Christian reference it is almost universally in a metaphorical sense. In the passage from Ignatius (*ad Magnes*, c. 7) πάντες οὖν ὡς εἰς ἕνα ναὸν συντρέχετε Θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον, the local reference which cannot be ignored is subordinate to the spiritual. The early fathers are unanimous in spiritualising the idea of a temple, and applying it to the heart of the Christian. Thus Barnabas in answer to the inquiry whether the temple of God still exists, replies that it does, but it is the heart of Christian πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ Θεῷ (*Epist.* c. 16), and again, ναὸς ἅγιος τῷ κυρίῳ τὸ κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας (*ibid.* c. 6); and Augustine, to quote one out of an infinite number of similar passages, writes, "Simulacrum Deo nefas est Christiano in templo collocare;" how much more to admit evil passions into the true temple of his heart! (*de Fid. et Symbol*, c. 7). Passages are, however, to be found in which "templum" and ναός are unmistakably used for a sacred Christian building. Ambrose, writing to Marcellina (*Ep.* 33), says that, on the new basilica being demanded of him for Arian worship, "respondi, templum Dei a sacerdote tradi non posse." Lac-

[a] Cumeanus Hyens., A.D. 630.

tantius also (*de Inst.* lib. v. c. 2) states that at the time he was summoned to Bithynia to teach oratory "the temple of God was overthrown." The word ναός is also of frequent occurrence in the later books of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* for the churches rebuilt after the persecution, *e.g.* νεὼς αὖθις ἐκ βάθρων εἰς ὕψος ἄπειρον ἐγειρομένους (*H. E.* lib. x. c. 2), and says of that erected by Paulinus at Tyre, νεὼς φιλοπόνως ἐσκεύαστο (*ibid.* c. 4). Many other examples are referred to by Bingham (VIII. i. 6). [E. V.]

**TENEBRAE.** The office of Matins and Lauds in the last three days of Holy Week, at which a triangular candlestick with fifteen candles is used, one of which is extinguished after each psalm. The last one is, however, held behind the altar during the Benedictus, and is then brought back to typify Christ's resurrection from the dead. Allusions of Alcuin and Amalarius prove such an office, with local variations, to have existed in the 8th cent. (Martene, *de Ant. Ec. Rit.* iv. xxii. § 2). [F. E. W.]

**TERCE.** [HOURS OF PRAYER.]

**TERENTIUS,** April 10, African martyr under Decius (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*); Apr. 10, Oct. 28 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**TERMON,** receiving etymologies more or less fanciful as terra immunis, terre-moine or terra monachorum, and the Sanscrit *tarman*, is probably the Irish form of the Latin terminus, and was originally the name given to a place of sanctuary, marked off by its stones set up as boundaries. Hence it was applied to all lands belonging to a sanctuary, and more generally to all church lands. As such the termons were entirely free from secular control or interference; they might be mensals to the bishop or monastery, or let to tenants for maintenance, service, or money rent, and he who had charge of the termon lands was called the erenach, whose importance is shewn by his name being often found in the Irish annals. The immunity of the termons from all lay exactions was affirmed by the council of Cashel (c. 4), A.D. 1172, as an old right that had been encroached upon by the lay lords. In the year 831 (*Four Mast.*), and again in 844, the Irish annals record the burning and pillaging of the termon or terra immunis of St. Ciaran at Clonmacnoise. The presence of a termon is frequently found in the nomenclature of Irish topography. (*Ord. Surv.*, Londonderry, 50, 208 sq.; Ussher, wks. xi. 421 sq.; Vallancey, *Coll. de Reb. Hib.* i. 132–3, 158 sq., 179 sq., 2nd ed.; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iv. c. 26, n. [63], c. 29, § 3; Robertson, *Scot. under her Early Kings*, i. 329 sq., ii. 469; Killen, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 109; Girald. Camb. *Hib. Exp.* i. c. 35, wks. v. 281 sq.; Ware, *Ir. Ant.* c. 17; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 447. 471, et al.; Joyce, *Ir. Names of Places*, 2nd ser. 208–11, very full and apposite.) [J. G.]

**TERSANCTUS.** [PREFACE, p. 1696.]

**TERTIUS,** Dec. 6, martyr; commemorated in Africa with Dionysia, Dativa, and others (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TERTULLA,** Apr. 29, virgin; commemorated with Antonia (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.). [C. H.]

**TESIFON** (CTESIPHON), May 15, bishop of Vergium in Spain (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TESSELLI.** A word occurring in the life of Caesarius of Arles by Messianus and Stephen, published by Mabillon (*Acta Sanctorum ordinis Benedicti*, vol. i. 672), who explains (*not. in loc.*) the word as meaning "quadrati panniculi fovendo stomacho appositi." See also Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v. [R. S.]

**TESSERAE.** In the time of persecution, Christians recognised each other by secret signs or symbols, whether spoken as watchwords or pictorial. [GEMS; RINGS; SEALS.] Small tablets engraved with such symbols were called *tesserae*. Tesserae were given in particular to the newly baptized (*tesserae baptismales*), and the small fish of bronze or crystal which are frequently found, are believed to have served this purpose [FISH, p. 674]. It seems also probable that Christians, like their pagan forefathers, gave tesserae to each other as pledges of friendship (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. chrét.* s. v. Tessères). [C.]

**TETRAPODIUM,** a term in general use for any table with four feet; in special use for the table on which the bread and wine for oblation, the oil for consecration, &c., were placed in the Eastern Church. It usually stood near the iconostasis on the north side of the holy doors. [F. E. W.]

**THADDAEUS,** apostle, June 19 (Basil. *Menol.*); June 19, Aug. 21 (*Menol. Graec.*); July 20, Nov. 30 (*Cal. Armen.*); Aug. 20 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Oct. 28 (Bed.). [C. H.]

**THADDEUS.** [JUDE, p. 891.]

**THALASSA.** Θάλασσα or θαλασσίδιον, τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης is the name given to the hollow recess beneath the altar of a Greek church, used for the same purposes as the Western piscina. A detailed description of its shapes, ornamentation, and use is given in Goar's *Euchology.* p. 15. [F. E. W.]

**THALELAEUS,** May 20, physician at Anazarbus, martyr under Numerian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**THANKSGIVING.** [EUCHARIST, p. 624.]

**THARSICIUS,** Aug. 15, acolyte, martyr at Rome; commemorated on the Via Appia (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**THEATRE.** The objections of the teachers of the early church to the theatrical profession, and the reasons on which those objections were chiefly founded, have been partly stated under ACTORS; it will here consequently be necessary to consider simply what the church taught, and on what grounds, as regarded the lawfulness of *witnessing* such performances.

Here the maxim enunciated by the author of the treatise, *de Spectaculis*, that it was unlawful to witness what it was unlawful to do, "prohibuit enim spectari quod prohibuit geri" (*de Spect.* c. 4; Migne, *Patrol.* iv. 340), would supply a ready solution of the question; nor is it necessary to inquire what was taught as to the desirability of being present at grossly immoral

and indecent performances like those referred to by the early fathers (Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, pp. 343–4; Tatian, *adv. Graecos*, c. 22; Tertullian, *de Spectaculis*, cc. 10 and 17). The author of the above treatise *de Spectaculis*, formerly attributed to Cyprian, observes that "at the theatre it was lawful to teach whatever the law forbade" (Migne, 341), and declares that the Christian has better sights to witness, "the beauty of the world around, the rising and setting sun, the evolutions of the twinkling stars," &c. Augustine (*de Civit. Dei*, ii. 8), however, draws a distinction between the coarse representations of the mimes, and comedies or tragedies,—the latter class of plays being, he says, at least free from filthy language, while their study is approved by elders in a scheme of liberal education for youth; in his *Confessions* (iii. 2) he speaks of the performances he had himself witnessed as "luctuosa atque tragica," and of the scenes therein depicted as "vel antiquae vel falsae," language which clearly implies that the ancient drama still held its ground.

That the stage might be made a means of teaching moral lessons was a theory evidently not unknown to the primitive church, although the plea is summarily dismissed by Tertullian (*de Spect.* c. 27), who advises those whom he addresses to look upon whatever elements of good they may discern in stage productions as nothing better than "drops of honey intermingled with poison of toads" (Migne, i. 659). When, however, with the recognition of Christianity by the state, the majority of the population became professedly Christian, it was found altogether impossible to suppress such exhibitions. In conjunction with the games and combats of the circus they constituted very nearly the sum of the diversions of the lower orders (Ammian. Marcell. bk. xxviii. c. 4). Hence the utmost the church could do appears to have been to prohibit the profession of the actor among Christians, and to discourage as far as possible the popular passion for theatrical performances. The twenty-eighth of the African canons, recited at the council of Carthage in the year 419, forbids that "spectacula theatrorum" shall be given on Sundays or other days held sacred in the Christian calendar, for when such is the case, and especially at Easter, the canon goes on to say, "the people prefer the circus to the church," "populi ad circum magis quam ad ecclesiam conveniunt." The popularity which these performances still possessed for the majority is, however, clearly attested by the fact that the same canon enjoins that Christians shall not be *compelled* to witness them,—"nec oportere etiam quemquam Christianorum cogi ad haec spectacula" (Mansi, *Conc.* iv. 490). At the council of Arles, A.D. 452, Christians were forbidden to take part in the performance of plays, but nothing is said about their being present as spectators (Mansi, vii. 881; Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* ii. 283). Leo the Great says that in his day the theatre attracted greater throngs than even the celebrations at the festivals of the martyrs (*Serm.* 84; Migne, liv. 335).

In the East the untiring severity with which Chrysostom attacks these exhibitions [*Opera* (ed. Migne), ii. 337, 682; iv. 696–7; vi. 267; vii. 71, 426; viii. 120, 188, &c.], and the reproaches in which he indulges, clearly prove that even among the Christian community the fascinations of the theatre were too strong for their religious principles. At Antioch he complains that his audience brought with them to church the habits acquired in witnessing these performances, and instead of laying the exhortations of the preacher silently to heart, watched for opportunities of indulging in theatrical applause (*Opera*, ix. 227; Neander, *der heil. Chrysost.* i. 118). In his first homily on St. John he says that many Christians after listening to the words of Scripture and the Holy Spirit speaking therein, go away to witness lewd women "saying obscene things and representing still more obscene actions," and effeminate men indulging in buffoonery one with another (Migne, *Patr. Graec.* lix. 28–9).

Theatrical performances and the exhibitions of the circus appear to have been almost inseparably combined, and Isidorus, in the 7th century, indicates the characteristic vice of each kind of performance when he declares that Christians have no right to share in "the mad excitement of the circus, the impurity of the theatre, the cruelty of the amphitheatre, the barbarity of the arena, and the luxury of the play" (*Etym.* xix. 59; Migne, lxxxii. 409). So again Salvian, when describing the recklessness of the population of Carthage during the invasion of the Vandals, says that "the church of Carthage indulged in the mad excitement of the circus and the softer delights of the theatre, and while the victims of the one were butchered without the city, the victims of the other were debauched within" (*de Gub. Dei*, vi. 12). It is probable, from other passages besides the foregoing, that the exhibition of gladiatorial conflicts was not infrequent, even after the time of Honorius (GLADIATORS). We find, for example, Theodoric the Great addressing to Maximus, the consul, a letter in which he makes reference to the different modes of conflict in certain games which Maximus has recently been instituting, especially the conflicts of men with wild beasts, and implies that the result is frequently fatal to the man. He regrets that Maximus should be under the necessity of holding these games ("quibus necesse est talia populis exhibere"), but urges him to greater liberality in rewarding the combatants (Cassiod. *Variae*, v. 42; Migne, lxix. 675–7).

Among the collection of canons from former councils made at the second council of Braga, A.D. 610, we find one forbidding the clergy to be present at certain "spectacula," such as it was customary to give on the occasion of marriage feasts or other convivial entertainments; when any such exhibitions were about to commence the clergy were to withdraw (Migne, *Patrol.* lxxxiv. 624).

Where plays were not actually immoral in their tendency, the fathers of the church appear to have still held them to be open to objection. The author of the treatise attributed to Cyprian says that fathers of families were usually represented in a ridiculous light (*de Spect.* c. 6; Migne, iv. 341). Augustine associates such performances with paganism, and says that the gods enjoined them when the Pontifex Maximus would fain have forbidden them (*de Civit. Dei*, i. 32).

We find no traces of theatrical representations, properly so termed, among the Teutonic race for a long time after their conversion, not, in

fact, until the institution of the religious plays of the middle ages. [J. B. M.]

**THEBAEA LEGIO**, Sept. 22 (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker., Wand.). [C. H.]

**THECLA** (TECLA, TEGLA) (1), Sept. 23, virgin, "Protomartyr" of Iconium, disciple of St. Paul, buried at Seleucia in Isauria (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*, Notker., Wand.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 546); Sept. 24 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); *Mart. Hieron.*, followed by Notker, mentions her again under Feb. 22, in connexion with Nicomedia, and Bede's metrical martyrology assigns her, if the same, to Nov. 22. It must be this St. Thecla the martyr in whose memory Justinian built a church at Constantinople near the Julian gate (Procop. *De Aedif.* lib. i. cap. 4, ed. Dindorf, p. 190), and whose church or *μαρτύριον* is mentioned in the preface to the 159th Novel of Justinian (Ducange, *Cpolis. Christ.* lib. iv. pp. 104, 133, ed. 1729).

(2) June 1; commemorated with Zosimus at Antioch (*Hieron.*, Notker); Dec. 20 at Gildoba in Thrace (*Hieron.*).

(3) June 9, martyr in Persia in the 4th century with Mariamne, Martha, and Maria (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 173).

(4) Aug. 19, martyr with Agapius at Gaza (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*).

(5) Oct. 8, virgin martyr with Barbara and Pelagia (*Cal. Armen.*); she may be the companion of Andropelagia at Alexandria on Sept. 6 (*Menol., Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**THENES, COUNCIL OF** (THENITANUM CONCILIUM), A.D. 418 (?). Three canons preserved by Ferrandus alone vouch for it. (Mansi, iv. 440.) [E. S. Ff.]

**THEOCTISTUS**, Sept. 3, monk, "our father," companion of Euthymius; martyr under Maximian (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**THEODOLUS.** [THEODULUS.]

**THEODORA** (1), Mar. 13; commemorated at Nicaea with Theuseta and others (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.).

(2) (THEODATA), Apr. 1, martyr, sister of Hermes (Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. i. 5).

(3) Apr. 28, virgin martyr with Didymus at Alexandria (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 572); May 27 (Basil. *Menol.*); Ap. 5, May 26 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); Jan. 12 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(4) Sept. 11, confessor at Alexandria in the time of the emperor Zeno (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 788). [C. H.]

**THEODORETUS, THEODORITUS.** [THEODORUS (11).]

**THEODORICUS**, July 1, confessor at Reims (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

**THEODORUS** (1), DUX, of Euchaïta, general of Licinius, martyr; commemorated on Jan. 12 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Feb. 8 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*); Feb. 7 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 23); June 8, translatio (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). It was probably this saint or the following to whom the church of St. Theodorus, erected by St. Helena at Constantinople, was dedicated (Codinus, *De Aedif.* p. 38; Ciampini, *De Aedificiis*, p. 176), as well as that erected by Justinian (Procop. *De Aedif.* lib. i. cap. 4; Ducange, *Cpolis. Christ.* lib. iv. p. 132). There was likewise at Constantinople in 536 a monastery of St. Theodorus (Mansi, viii. 907 B). On the distinction between this saint and the following Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 23 may be consulted.

(2) TIRO, of Amasia, soldier, megalomartyr at Heraclea, under Maximian; commemorated on Feb. 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*); Nov. 9 (*Mart.* Bed., Flor., Usuard., Adon., *Rom.*); under the same day *Vet. Rom. Mart.* and Wand. probably mean this saint. He is commemorated in the Gregorian Sacramentary on Nov. 9, his name appearing in the Collect, Super Oblata, and Ad Complendum.

(3) Patriarch of Alexandria, commemorated on Feb. 1, Mar. 9 (*Cal. Ethiop.*); Dec. 3 (Basil. *Menol.*); Sept. 12 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 10); under Sept. 2 the *Mart. Hieron.* probably means the same.

(4) Mar. 26, bishop of Pentapolis in Libya, martyr; commemorated with the deacon Hiereneus or Irenaeus and the readers Serapion and Ammonius (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 617).

(5) TRICHINAS, Apr. 20, solitary near Constantinople (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. ii. 756).

(6) SICEOTES, Apr. 22, bishop, "our holy father" (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 32).

(7) SANCTIFICATUS, May 15, disciple of Pachomius (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*).

(8) July 4, bishop of Cyrene in the reign of Diocletian, martyr (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Gr.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. i. 19).

(9) Sept. 19, archbishop of Canterbury. It is inferred by the Bollandist Cleus (*Acta SS.* 19 Sept. vi. 55) that Bede, who records the day of his death, Sept. 19, must have taken it from the calendars of the church, thus affording proof of Theodore's early beatification. The inference is not confirmed by Bede's own martyrology, which omits him. Theodore does not occur in any of the early martyrologies, nor in the *Martyrologium Romanus* of 1498, Venice; but it appears in those of 1576, 1586, and all later dates.

(10) Martyr at Perga in the reign of Antoninus; commemorated Sept. 21 (Basil. *Menol.*); Apr. 19 (*Menol. Graec.*); Sept. 20 (*Mart. Rom.*).

(11) (THEODORETUS, THEODORITUS, THEODORICUS, THEODULUS), presbyter of Antioch, martyr under Julian; commemorated Oct. 23 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*); Mar. 23 (Flor., *Hieron.*, Notker., Wand.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 449); Oct. 22 (Notker.); Nov. 24 (*Menol. Graec.*); Mar. 2 (Basil. *Menol.*); Mar. 29, Apr. 10 (*Hieron.*). On the variety of names

and attempts to distinguish them, see Boll. *Acta SS.* 23 Oct. x. 32.

(12) Nov. 3, bishop of Ancyra (*Menol. Graec.*).

(13) STUDITA, commemorated on Nov. 11 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; *Cal. Byzant.*).

(14) Dec. 14, commemorated at Antioch with Drusus and Zosimus (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*).

(15) GRAPTUS, "holy father," commemorated on Dec. 27 with Theophanes poet and confessor, opponents of the iconoclasts (*Menol. Gr.*).

(16) Patriarch of Constantinople, commemorated Dec. 28 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**THEODOSIA**, Apr. 2, virgin martyr under Diocletian, at Caesarea in Cappadocia (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker; May 29, *Cal. Byzant.*).

**THEODOSIUS** (1), Jan. 11, Coenobiarcha, "holy father," cir. 485 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Emperor, commemorated on Jan. 18 and March 2 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(3) Patriarch of Alexandria, June 22 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(4) (THEODOTIUS), Oct. 25, martyr at Rome with Lucius, Marcus, Petrus; commemorated on the Via Salaria (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon.). [C. H.)

**THEODOTA** (1), July 3, martyr with Theodotus under Trajan (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

(2) Martyr at Nicaea with her three children under Diocletian; commemorated on Aug. 2 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.); July 29 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Dec. 22 (Basil. *Menol.*). It is probably this Theodota to whom a church was dedicated in the Hebdomon suburb of Constantinople (Procop. *de Aedif.* lib. i. cap. 4, p. 190, ed. Dindorf.; Du Cange, *Cpolis. Christ.* lib. iv. p. 105).

(3) Of Pontus, martyr under Alexander Severus, commemorated with the presbyter Socrates on Oct. 23 (Basil. *Menol.*); Oct. 21 (*Menol. Graec.*). [C. H.]

**THEODOTION** (1), Jan. 24, of the city of Cleopatris, martyr with Paulus and Pausirius under Diocletian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) June 20, martyr in Galatia (*Cal. Armen.*), probably the same as THEODORUS (12). The *Cal. Armen.* places a Theodotion under Oct. 22 also. [C. H.]

**THEODOTIUS**, Oct. 25. [THEODOSIUS (3).]

**THEODOTUS** (1), Jan. 4, martyr with Aquilinus and others in Africa (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, Notker, *Rom.*).

(2) Of Cyrinia in Cyprus, confessor under Licinius; commemorated on Jan. 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Jan. 19, Mar. 2 (Basil. *Menol.*); Jan. 19, May 6 (*Menol. Graec.*); May 6 (*Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. ii. 105). It may have been this Theodotus or the next in whose honour there was a monastery at Constantinople in 536 (Mansi, viii. 906 E).

(3) Martyr under Maximian with Maximus and Asclepiodote or Asclepiodotus, commemorated on Feb. 19 and Sept. 15 (Basil. *Menol.*); Sept. 16 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

(4) June 7. [THEODORUS (12).]

(5) Jun. 19, martyr at Antioch (*Mart. Syr.*).

(6) July 3, martyr with Theodota under Trajan (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. i. 634).

(7) Nov. 2, bishop of Laodicea, physician (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*).

(8) Nov. 3, companion of Theodorus of Ancyra (*Menol. Graec.*).

(9) Nov. 14, martyr with Demetrius, presbyters, at Perinthus (*Mart. Syr.*).

(10) Nov. 14, martyr with Clementinus and Philominus at Heraclea (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Wand., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**THEODULA**, Jan. 18, of Anazarbus, martyr under Diocletian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*); Feb. 5 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 657). [C. H.]

**THEODULUS** (1), Jan. 14, monk of Sinai, son of Nilus (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 967).

(2) Mar. 23, presbyter of Antioch [THEODORUS (11)].

(3) Apr. 4, reader, martyr with the deacon Agathopus at Thessalonica, under Maximian (*Syr. Mart.*; Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Hieron.*, *Mart.* Notker., *Mart. Rom.*); Apr. 5 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(4) May 2, martyr with his brothers and their mother Zoe, slaves in Italy, in the reign of Hadrian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; *Mart. Rom.*).

(5) May 3, presbyter at Rome, martyr under Trajan with bishop Alexander and the presbyter Eventius (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker, Wand., *Rom.*).

(6) Jun. 18, martyr in Phoenicia, companion of Leontius in the reign of Vespasian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; *Mart. Rom.*).

(7) July 26, martyr at Rome, commemorated with Symphronius and Olympius (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*); July 26, Oct. 31 (*Mart. Rom.*); translatio, Dec. 4 on Via Latina (*Vet. Rom.*, Adon.).

(8) Sept. 12, martyr under Julian commemorated with Macedonius and Tatianus (*Menol. Graec.*; *Mart. Rom.*).

(9) Dec. 23, martyr with Saturninus and eight others in Crete in the reign of Decius (Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**THEOGENES** (1), Jan. 3, martyr in the Hellespont under Licinius, commemorated with Cyricus and Primus (*Mart.* Flor., Usuard., *Hieron.*, *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 133); Jan. 4 (Notker.).

(2) Jan. 26, martyr with thirty-six others (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, *Rom.*, Notker.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 718). [C. H.]

**THEOGNES**, Aug. 21, martyr with his mother Bassa and brothers Agapius and Pistus in the reign of Maximian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**THEONAS** (1), Aug. 23, patriarch of Alexandria (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. 4, 579); Dec. 28 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(2) Jan. 4, martyr with Theopemptus in Cilicia under Diocletian (Basil. *Menol.*); Jan. 3 or 4 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); Jan. 3 (*Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 127); Jan. 5 (Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 250); Jan. 5, called Thomas (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C. H.]

**THEONILLA**, Oct. 29, martyr in Cilicia under Diocletian (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**THEOPEMPTUS.** [THEONAS (2).]

**THEOPHANES**, hegumenus, confessor for images under Leo Armenus, commemorated on Mar. 12 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 213); Oct. 11 (*Cal. Byzant.*). See also under THEODORUS (15).

**THEOPHANIA.** [EPIPHANY.]

**THEOPHILUS** (1), JUNIOR, Jan. 30, martyr under the Mahometans in the time of Constantine Copronymus (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) SCHOLASTICUS, Feb. 6, martyr at Caesarea in Cappadocia with Dorothea (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, *Rom.*).

(3) June 26, bishop, martyr with Philip and others at Laodicea (*Syr. Mart.*); July 28 (*Hieron.*, Notker.).

(4) July 23, martyr with Trophimus under Diocletian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Mart. Rom.*).

(5) Sept. 8, martyr at Alexandria with Ammon, Neotherius and others (Mart. Usuard.; *Mart. Rom.*).

(6) Oct. 2, monk, confessor under Leo Isaurus, (Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. i. 492); Oct. 2 and 10 (*Menol. Gr.*).

(7) Oct. 13, bishop of Antioch (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker, *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.*, Oct. vi. 108).

(8) Oct. 14, patriarch of Alexandria (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(9) Nov. 3, martyr at Caesarea in Cappadocia with Germanus and others (*Mart. Syr.*; *Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Wand., *Rom.*); Nov. 12 (*Hieron.*).

(10) Dec. 20, martyr at Alexandria (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*).

(11) Dec. 28, deacon, martyr under Maximian. (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**THEOPISTE** (THEOSPIS), martyr with her husband Eustathius and her sons Agapius and Theopistus or Theospes, in the reign of Trajan; commemorated Sept. 20 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Mart. Rom.*); Nov. 2 under Hadrian (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

**THEOPREPIUS**, Aug. 22, martyr, companion of Agathonicus (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**THEOTECNUS**, commemorated on Oct. 4 (*Syr. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**THEOTICUS**, Mar. 8, martyr with Arrianus at Antinous (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**THEOTIMUS**, Nov. 5, martyr, companion of Domninus under Maximin (Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**THEOTOKION** (θεοτόκιον). A troparium or sticheron in honour of the Virgin Mary, of frequent occurrence in the sacred offices of the Greek Church, into which it is stated to have been introduced after the condemnation of the Nestorian heresy. Its occurrence is sometimes indicated by the marginal mark θ. [F. E. W.]

**THERAPEUTAE.** The ascetics mentioned under the name of θεραπευταί by Philo (*de Vita Contempl.* c. 4) were (it can scarcely be doubted) a development of the same tendency of Jewish thought which in Palestine produced the Essenes [DICT. OF THE BIBLE, i. 583]. There would be no need to notice them in a work on Christian Antiquities, were it not that Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 17) takes them to have been a Christian sect which retained some Jewish customs. The supposition, however, that a Christian sect could have been formed in Egypt before the time when Philo wrote his treatise is destitute of all probability, and his language in no way favours the supposition. [C.]

**THERISTRUM** (θέριστρον). A dress or veil for female use, specially adapted, as the name shews, for summer wear. The Greek word occurs several times in the LXX (Gen. xxiv. 65, xxxviii. 14, 19; Cant. v. 8; Isa. iii. 23), in all cases for one of the two Hebrew words צָעִיף, רְדִיד. In Gen. xxxviii. 14, Isa. iii. 23, the Vulgate reproduces the Greek word. See Jerome (*Comm. in Isa.* l. c.), whose remarks are also cited by Isidore (*Etym.* xix. 25. 6; *Patrol.* lxxxiii. 692). [R. S.]

**THESSALONICA, COUNCILS OF** (THESSALONICENSIA CONCILIA), A.D. 649–50. Two seem to have been held in consecutive years by Paul, its Monothelite bishop—one for confirming his heretical doctrines which he then embodied in a letter to be sent to pope Martin, the other for dealing with the reply made to him by that pope. (Mansi, x. 785; *L'Art de vérif. les Dates*, i. 155.) [E. S. Ff.]

**THEUSETA**, Mar. 13, martyr at Nicaea, commemorated with Horris and others (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Notker., *Hieron.*, *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**THEVESTINE, COUNCIL OF** (THEVESTINUM CONCILIUM), A.D. 362, held by the Donatists, whom the emperor Julian had given leave to return, at which Primosus, bishop of that place, protested in vain against their excesses. (Mansi, iii. 374.) [E. S. Ff.]

**THEVIS, COUNCIL OF** (THEVINENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 536, when ten bishops under Nierses, catholicos of the Armenians, rejected the council of Chalcedon, and declared for the Monophysite doctrine, thereby separating themselves from the church (Mansi, viii. 871). Mansi (ix. 771) reports a second council, which, however, he miscalls, at this place, where the addition to the Trisagion—*Qui crucifixus es pro nobis*—was confirmed, A.D. 562. The authors of *L'Art de vérif. les Dates* report a council at another place in Armenia, called Tiben, ten years before, confirming all that had been done by Nierses and the ten bishops of the first council (i. 152.) [E. S. Ff.]

**THOMAS, ST.**, APOSTLE, LEGEND AND FESTIVALS OF. 1. *Legend, &c.*—As the name Thomas is merely the Aramaean word for a twin, with a Grecized termination, it is obvious that the apostle must also have had a personal name. This is given as Judas, *e.g.* by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 13), the *Acts of Thomas*, the *Doctrine of the Apostles* (in Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*), &c. Supposing this to be correct, it would be very natural that with two other Apostles of the name Judas, advantage should thus be taken of a convenient means of distinction.

Who the other twin was it is of course impossible to guess. From the fact that St. Thomas is always coupled with St. Matthew in the lists of the Apostles in the Synoptic Gospels, it has been argued that St. Matthew was the other brother. Again, two Paris MSS. cited by Cotelier (*Apost. Const.* lib. ii. 63, note) speak of St. Thomas and his sister Lysia, and add that Antioch was the native place of the Apostle. It has been argued by Thilo (*Acta S. Thomae*, p. 95) that the author of the apocryphal Acts identified Thomas with Judas the brother of the Lord. Here we might cite the curious remark of Isidore, that Thomas was "juxta Latinam linguam Christi geminus ac similis Salvatori" (*de Ortu et Obitu Patrum*, c. 74; *Patrol.* lxxxiii. 152).

Save the mention of Thomas in the lists of the Apostles, the only allusions to him in the New Testament are to be found in John xi. 16; xiv. 5; xx. 25 sqq.

The general tenour of early tradition connects him with Edessa and with Parthia (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 13; iii. 1 [cited from Origen]; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 19). Chrysostom (*Hom. in Heb.* 26, § 2; vol. xii. 338, ed. Gaume) speaks of the graves of Peter, Paul, John, and Thomas, as being those whose locality was known, though he does not specify them. That, according to the current tradition, St. Thomas was interred at Edessa may be inferred from Socrates (*Hist. Eccles.* iv. 18, cf. Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 18), who speaks of the splendid memorial church there (μαρτύριον). Some authorities also give India as the scene of the Apostle's labours (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxiii. 11; *Patrol. Gr.* xxxvi. 27). Sophronius, in an Appendix to the *De Viris Illustribus* of Jerome (vol. ii. 958), says that St. Thomas preached the Gospel to the "Parthians, Medes, Persians, Carmanians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and Magians," and that he died at Calamina in India. The story of the Apostle's work in India also forms the basis of the Acts of Thomas, already referred to.

It is by no means clear how we are to interpret the name India. The word is doubtless often used in a somewhat vague way, and there are grounds for believing the India of the Acts of Thomas to be Arachosia and the neighbouring regions, lying westward of the Indus (see DICT. OF CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY, Vol. I. p. 23). On the other hand, we find traditions associating the name of St. Thomas with the extreme south of India. When the Portuguese expeditions under Vasco de Gama and Pedro de Cabral succeeded in reaching India, they found there (first apparently in A.D. 1500) Christians, belonging to a fully developed and obviously very ancient church.

These Christians claimed the apostle St. Thomas as their founder, and, still surviving as a distinct church, are ordinarily known as "Christians of St. Thomas." The district occupied by these people was part of Malabar, on the western side of the southern extremity of India, between the ninth and twelfth parallels of north latitude. With their history generally we have nothing to do here, but a brief notice may be bestowed on the legend connecting them with the apostle. [On the subject generally, see Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* vol. iii. part 2, pp. 435 sqq.; La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*; Howard, *The Christians of St. Thomas, and their Liturgies.*] It would of course be rash to claim the legend as authentic history; it is, perhaps, none the less rash to maintain its certain groundlessness, but this latter form of rashness, it would appear, has seemed more justifiable than the former. We pass over as inconclusive from the vagueness of the word India, the story of Pantaenus's journey thither (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* v. 10); and the alleged presence of a "Metropolitan of Persia and the great India," among the signatories of the Council of Nicaea.[a]

We come to something undoubted, however, in the narrative of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who visited India in the 6th century, and tells us, "In the island of Ceylon (Ταπροβανῇ) in further (ἐσωτέρα) India, where the Indian Ocean is, there is a church of Christians, with both clergymen and believers. In Malabar (Μαλέ), in like manner, where the pepper grows . . . . and in the place called Calliana, there is also a bishop, ordained and sent from Persia" (*Topographia Christiana*, lib. iii.; *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxviii. 169; cf. lib. xi. *ib.* 446). In the 9th century Sighelm and Aethelstan were sent by king Alfred with alms to Rome, and thence to India, "to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, sub anno A.D. 883, p. 152, ed. Thorpe; William of Malmesbury, lib. ii. 122). The latter chronicler speaks of the envoy as Sigelin, bishop of Sherborne. Again, in the 13th century, Marco Polo visited the place in Southern India, where St. Thomas was said to have been martyred (lib. iii. cc. 17, 18); and see Col. Yule's notes, vol. ii. 342, ed. 2).

The existence, then, of these "Christians of St. Thomas," can be traced back definitely to the 6th century, and we have references of a still earlier date, which, however, do not necessarily apply. Those who reject the tradition of the apostle's labours in India ascribe the foundation of the Malabar church to one Thomas Cana, who, in any case, bore an important part in the history of this distant branch of the church. His date and nationality, however, are much disputed, for while one account makes him an Armenian, and places him at any rate before the sixth century (La Croze, p. 46), others (*e. g.* Assemani, *op. cit.* p. 444) think Armenian an error for Aramaean, and fix the date at the end of the 8th century, when he was sent out by the Nestorian patriarch. If this latter date could

[a] The reference to a mention of India seems altogether a mistake; and even as regards Persia there seems good reason for thinking that there has been some confusion between the name of the country and *Persa* the name of a place (Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, i. 533, note).

be considered as proved, then whatever share this later Thomas may have had in the development of the Malabar church, he clearly could not have been the founder,[b] since the testimony of Cosmas shews that Christianity was existing in Malabar more than two centuries before his time. In this uncertainty we must leave the matter, merely observing that if it be proved that the word India in the apocryphal Acts is used in a different sense from that in which we now use the word, still this only touches the main question to the same extent as if the Acts had called the region, *e.g.* Parthia, in which case we should have had two distinct claimants, not necessarily altogether antagonistic.

We conclude this part of our subject by remarking that the common form of the story as to the apostle's remains describes them as translated from India to Edessa, where they were buried (*Mart. Rom.*, Usuard, Bede). The first named Martyrology speaks also of a later translation thence to Orthona in Apulia.

It may further be noted that whereas writers who refer to the manner of St. Thomas's death at all, invariably speak of it as a violent one, Clement of Alexandria cites Heracleon the Gnostic to the effect that Thomas was one of those who died a natural death (*Strom.* iv. 9).

2. *Festivals.*—It seems probable that the observance of a festival of St. Thomas first arose in the East and thence passed to the West. Perhaps the earliest testimony to which we can refer is a Homily, cited as Chrysostom's by two early councils, but which editors have long decided not to be his, from the marked inferiority of style (vol. viii. 624, *in Spuriis*). Still Tillemont's arguments, to which Montfaucon assents as at any rate probable, tend to shew that it would have been delivered at Edessa in A.D. 402. The Homily is evidently delivered before the tomb of the Apostle (*γέροντες καὶ νέοι προσπίπτομέν σου τῷ ταφῷ*), and is distinct evidence of the existence of a festival (cf. also Socrates, *l.c.*; Sozomen, *l.c.*). The two historians speak of the splendid church of St. Thomas at Edessa and of the emperor Valens's visit to it. The author of the life of St. Ephrem (ob. circ. A.D. 373) tells a story of the healing of a paralytic before the doors of this church (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* i. 49). About twenty years after St. Ephrem's death (year of Greeks 705 = A.D. 394), there took place, according to the *Edessene Chronicle*, the translation of the coffin of St. Thomas to the church dedicated to him in Edessa. The day is specified as August 22 (*op. cit.* p. 399; cf. also p. 403, where the prefect Anatolius is said to have made a silver coffin for the apostle's remains). The celebration of the festival in Edessa is dwelt on by Gregory of Tours (*de Gloria Martyrum*, i. 31; *Patrol.* lxxi. 733). By him it is said to happen "mense quinto." If this is taken according to Western reckoning, the 5th month would be July, and, as we shall see, on July 3 is a commemoration of the translation in the Western church. Ruinart, however (*not. in loc.*), appears to refer the 5th to the Syriac reckoning, so that counting from November, the 5th month would be March. We shall presently mention a commemoration of the Apostle in this month in the East.

The earliest definite reference to a festival other than the local Edessene one, carries us back to the middle of the 5th century. Theodoret (*Graec. Aff. Cur.*, *Serm.* 8; *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxiii. 1033) speaks of the change of the old festivals of the heathen gods, into those of Peter and Paul and Thomas (the only three apostles mentioned), and other saints.

As regards the West, the earliest reference to the *cultus* of St. Thomas in any way is, so far as we are aware, to be found in a sermon of Gaudentius (bishop of Brescia at the beginning of the 5th century), on the occasion of the dedication of a church (*basilica concilii Sanctorum*). The good bishop claims to have acquired for this church relics of St. Thomas and three other saints (*Serm.* 17; *Patrol.* xx. 959).

It may fairly be assumed that the festival of St. Thomas was but gradually, and not till a comparatively late date, recognized in the churches of the West. This may be inferred from the absence of any mention of it in *e.g.* the ancient *Kalendarium Carthaginense*, the Roman Calendar of Fronto, the Leonine Sacramentary, and some forms of the Gregorian[a] Sacramentary (*e.g. Cod. Reg. Suec.*, *Colensis*), Mabillon's *Lectionarium Luxoviense*, the Gothico-Gallic Missal, the *Orationale Gothicum*, &c., representing North Africa, Rome, Gaul, and Spain.

It is found, on the other hand, in the Gelasian and in some forms of the Gregorian Sacramentaries, the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary, the *Martyrologium Hieronymi*, &c. In these St. Thomas is commemorated on December 21, the commemoration being undoubtedly of the martyrdom, though, as we shall see, in some cases it has been referred to the supposed translation of the Apostle's remains from India to Edessa.

In the last named of the above cited authorities, besides the main Western festival on December 21, several other commemorations are given. As regards this chief festival, it may be noted that while the reference to it in the list of festivals of Apostles, which forms a prologue to the Martyrology, speaks of it as "natalis Thomae Apostoli qui passus est in India" (*Patrol.* xxx. 451), the notice in the ordinary course of the Calendar gives "in Mesopotamia, natalis et translatio sancti Thomae Apostoli qui translatus est ab India, cujus passio ibidem celebretur" (*ib.* 501). We further have on December 28, "in Edessa, translatio corporis S. Thomae Apostoli;" on February 9, "depositio Thomae," if this be the Apostle (*ib.* 457); on May 9, a commemoration of SS. John, Andrew, and Thomas, at Milan, in the "basilica ad portam Romanam" (*ib.* 471); on June 3, a festival of the "natalis" (*ib.* 476); and on July 3, "in Edessa . . . natalis et translatio corporis S. Thomae Apostoli . . ." (*ib.* 479).

In the other documents cited, December 21 is the *Natalis* in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacra-

[b] No weight at all need be given to the claim on behalf of the Thomas, mentioned by Theodoret (*Haeret. Fab. Comp* i 26; *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxii. 380), as one of the three missionary disciples sent out by Manes, India being assigned as his province. It is a sufficient answer to say that no trace of Manichaeism was seen, when the Malabar Christians became known to the outer world.

[a] Menard gives the mass for the day, but Pamelius puts it in brackets (*Liturgg. Latt.* ii. 364).

mentaries, the martyrology of Bede, &c. So, for instance, we have in the metrical martyrology of Bede (*Patrol.* xciv. 606),

"Bis senis caelum coepit conscendere Thomas."

The metrical martyrology of Wandalbert, however (*Patrol.* cxxi. 622), refers the day to the translation,

"Translati Thomae celebret duodenus honorem,"

and the martyrology of Usuard has in one MS. (Cod. Lucensis) the translation, and in another (Cod. Corbeiensis), the two commemorations combined. The true text, however, of this last martyrology certainly gives *Natalis.* The day really associated with the translation in the Western church is July 3 (so *Mart. Rom.*, Bede, Usuard, *Mart. Hier.*), and occasionally the two commemorations have flowed together.

In the Greek church, the day on which St. Thomas is commemorated is October 6. Thus *e. g.* in the metrical *Ephemerides* prefixed by Papebroch to the *Acta Sanctorum* for May, the notice for the day is δούρασιν οὐτάσθη Θωμᾶς μακροῖσιν ἐν ἕκτῃ (*Acta Sanctorum*; May, vol. i. p. xlvii.). It may be noted further that the first Sunday after Easter is, in the Greek church, known as the Sunday of St. Thomas, from the subject of the gospel. This, however, is not strictly to be called a commemoration. In the *Pentecostarion* the title of the day is given in full, as κυριακὴ τοῦ ἀντίπασχα ἤτοι ἡ ψηλάφησις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ, writ short in the *Synaxarion* as κυριακὴ τοῦ Θωμᾶ. The same gospel is used both on this day and on October 6, St. John xx. 19–31.

In the calendars of the Armenian church given by Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* vol. iii. part 1, pp. 645 sqq.), March 31 is given in both as a commemoration of the "unbelief of Thomas;" August 22 commemorates "Thomas the Apostle," with a reference to India in the case of one of them; and on October 6 is yet another commemoration, but in one calendar only.

In the calendars of the Alexandrian and Ethiopic churches, given by Ludolf, is a commemoration of St. Thomas by the former church on September 9 (*ad Hist. Aeth. Comm.* p. 391), by the latter church on October 6, with the note "apostle of India" (*ib.* p. 394), and by both churches on May 21 (*ib.* p. 417).

3. *Apocryphal Literature.*—An apocryphal gospel, bearing the name of St. Thomas, was current in early times. There are two distinct recensions of it in Greek, and an independent Latin form, the Latin and one of the Greek texts having first been published by Tischendorf. The gospel is apparently referred to by Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* i. 20); and the author of the *Philosophumena* mentions it by name (lib. v. *Patrol. Gr.* xvi. 3134), and probably also Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 25). Cyril of Jerusalem, in speaking of it, assigns it to Thomas, the missionary-disciple of Manes, to whom we have already referred (*Catech.* iv. 36; *Patrol. Gr.* xxxiii. 593; cf. *Catech.* vi. 31). In view of the above-mentioned references this of course is absurd. For further details see GOSPELS, APOCRYPHAL, in *Dict. of Christian Biography.* We have also Acts of Thomas, first edited by Thilo, and since by Tischendorf. This and the *Consummation of Thomas*, first edited by Tischendorf, form the beginning and end of a whole, of which some of the middle part is lost. An abridged form is given in the *Apostolic History* of the Pseudo-Abdias (lib. ix.; in Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepig. N. T.* vol. i. pp. 687 sqq.), and we have also the Syriac form of the Acts edited by Dr. Wright. The Acts of Thomas are mentioned by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 47; *Patrol. Gr* xli. 852), and a περίοδος Θωμᾶ is named in the *Stichometria* of Nicephorus (*Patrol. Gr.* c. 1060), which is possibly, though not certainly, the same as the preceding. Both Gospel and Acts of Thomas were condemned by the council that sat at Rome under Gelasius in A.D. 494 (*Patrol.* lix. 162). A Revelation of Thomas, no longer extant, was condemned at the same time. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (lib. viii. 21) the constitution with respect to sub-deacons is referred to St. Thomas.

For further notices on the subject of St. Thomas reference may be made to Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, vol. v. part i. p. 523 sqq.; Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archäologie*, vol. iii. pp. 219 sqq. The *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists do not avail us here, not having advanced as yet farther than the end of October. [R. S.]

**THOMAS (1)**, Jan. 5, martyr. [THEONAS (2).]

(2) Mar. 20, patriarch of Constantinople (Basil. *Menol.*).

(3) July 7, solitary in Mons Malaeus (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 262).

(4) Apostle, commemorated on Dec. 21 (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Wand., *Rom.*); on this day his natale is celebrated in the Gelasian Sacramentary, his name appearing in the Collect and Secreta. An oratory dedicated to him was built and adorned by pope Symmachus in the Vatican Basilica (Anastas. *Lib. Pontif.* art. 'Symmachus'; Ciampini, *de Aedif.* pp. 69, 95). In the *Cal. Ethiop.* he occurs under May 21, and "Thomas, apostle of India" under Oct. 4. His festival in the Greek church was on Oct. 6 (Basil *Menol.*; *Menol. Gr.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 270). Three churches and a monastery dedicated to St. Thomas are known to have existed at Constantinople in the 6th century (Du Cange, *Cpolis. Christ.* pp. 116, 117). [C. H.]

**THRASEAS** (TRASEAS), bishop of Eumenia, martyr at Smyrna; commemorated on Oct. 5. (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*) [C. H.]

**THRASO**, martyr in the reign of Maximin, commemorated at Rome on Dec. 11 (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**THREE CHAPTERS.** [CONSTANTINOPLE (27) p. 442.]

**THREE CHILDREN, SONG OF THE.** [BENEDICITE, p. 186.]

**THREE KINGS.** [EPIPHANY; MAGI.]

**THRONE** (Lat. *thronus*; Gr. θρόνος), a seat to be occupied by persons of pre-eminent dignity on solemn occasions. By early writers (v CATHEDRA) the words "throne" and cathedra seem to have been not unfrequently employed

indiscriminately for the seat of the bishop, and "throne" was even employed for the benches on which the presbyters sat. At the present day we use the former word when we speak of the bishop's seat in his cathedral church.

A distinction, however, has existed both in the use of the words and in the objects themselves; "cathedra" being the more proper expression for the chair of a bishop, throne for that of an archbishop, a patriarch, a pope, or a sovereign prince. A good though late example of this distinction is afforded by the words used in the consecration of the pope of Rome when already a bishop, before he is placed in the papal seat by the senior cardinal bishop: "Deus . . . respice quaesumus propicius hunc famulum tuum N. quem de humili cathedra violenter sublimatum in thronum ejusdem apostolorum principis (*i. e.* St. Peter) sublimamus" (Marcellus, *Rituum Eccles.* &c. *libri tres*, p. xv. Ven. 1516).

That there was a distinction between the material throne and the cathedra we may learn by comparing the representations of the former to be found in mosaics in Rome and Ravenna, and in sculpture in marble and ivory, with existing examples of cathedrae; of these last several are to be found in the basilicas at Rome, often ancient "sellae balneares," of marble, of moderate size, with arms, rounded behind, and with a low, upright, back finishing, with a curved outline. Such are the cathedrae in the churches of S. Stefano Rotondo and SS. Nereo ed Achilleo at Rome. The chairs in the catacombs hewn in the living rock, and that in which the figure believed to represent Hippolytus, bishop of Porto, is placed (now in the museum of the Lateran), are all varieties of this form. The ivory cathedra at Ravenna, believed to date from the time of Justinian, is of nearly the same type, but has a much higher back. The cathedra in St. Cecilia at Rome is formed of marble slabs, but is of the same type.

If, however, we examine the mosaics abovementioned, we find that objects symbolical of our Lord, as crosses, or figures representing Him or the Virgin Mary, are placed on seats of a different type—that of a wide seat without arms, and usually with a low, straight back. This type, it would seem, was derived from the Roman bisellium, a seat of honourable distinction, which was a sort of wide stool without arms or back.

The emperor Theodosius and his sons Arcadius and Honorius are represented as seated on such seats on the silver disk at Madrid. In the mosaic, probably dating from the 4th century, in the apse of Sta. Pudenziana at Rome, the throne on which our Lord sits appears to have a low, straight back; and in the mosaic on the triumphal arch of Sta. Maria Maggiore, in the same city, the infant Saviour is placed on a wide seat with low sides and back. This mosaic probably dates from the 5th century. In the church of SS. Cosmo and Damian—a mosaic which covers the surface of the wall in front of the apse—has on the summit of the arch a figure of the holy lamb placed on a throne, represented as a wide stool richly ornamented and furnished with a cushion, but without sides or back. This mosaic dates from the 6th century.

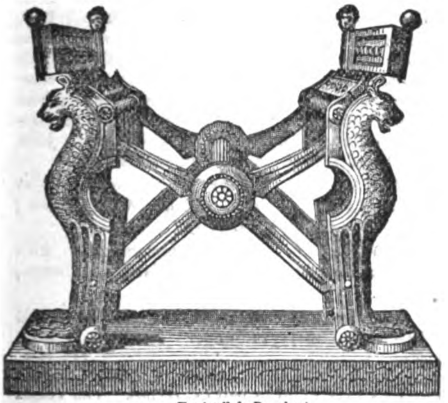
The distinction between the two forms was, it would appear, not rigidly kept up, thrones being sometimes furnished like cathedrae, with arms and backs; but it will generally be found that down to the mediaeval period bishops are usually represented in works of art as seated in chairs with arms and backs, while sovereign princes often appear as occupying seats without sides, though furnished with backs. Good examples will be found in plates lxvi. lxvii. of Agincourt's *History of Art by its Monuments*, section "Painting," particularly figs. 2–7 on the former, and 4 on the latter page. In the first the countess Matilda and her ancestors are shewn; in the last, the emperor Constantine. All these are taken from MSS. of the 12th century.

It seems probable that thrones were constructed without arms, in order that as they were intended for the use of persons of the highest dignity, on occasions of great solemnity, when dresses of the utmost richness would be worn, the stiff or voluminous embroidered robes of the dignitaries who occupied them might be conveniently disposed and fully seen, possibly also the tradition of the form of the Roman bisellium may have had its influence.

No example of a true throne, constructed within the period embraced by this work, has been described, but one probably very little later in date has been preserved—the so-called cathedra Petri—which is kept in a repository in the wall of the apse of the Vatican Basilica at Rome. This chair, after having remained shut up for many years, was exhibited in 1866 on the occasion of the centenary celebration of the martyrdom of St. Peter, and was carefully examined, among others, by that distinguished antiquary and student of Christian art, Padre Rafaelle Garrucci. The legend that it had been the curule chair of the senator Pudens, and bestowed by him upon St. Peter, is evidently erroneous, for the chair bears no resemblance whatever to a curule chair, which was fashioned in such a manner as to fold up like many garden chairs (*v.* a paper on the "Fauteuil de Dagobert," by M. Lenormant, in the first volume of the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*). It is a chair without arms, but with a back finishing in a pediment. On the front, below the seat, are fixed some carvings in ivory, but these are additions, not part of the original decorations. What, doubtless, are original, are the bands of carved ivory which are placed perpendicularly and horizontally on the front and back, and on each side of the pediment. On these are sculptured various groups of warriors fighting with men and with beasts, monstrous animal figures, and the like; but the most remarkable subject is a half-length figure of an emperor which Padre Garrucci believes to represent Charles the Bald. No figure or symbol of a religious character is to be found in these carvings; and from these facts it has been inferred that it was probably a throne made for or presented to Charles the Bald at the time of his coronation at Rome, A.D. 875. It may be, at any rate, safely asserted that neither its construction nor its ornamentation indicates that it was constructed for a cathedra (*v. Two Memoirs on St. Peter's Chair*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, 1870).

Thrones are to be found on works of art so

represented as to shew that they combine the elements of the curule or folding chair and of the throne; and one remarkable example exists in the "Fauteuil de Dagobert," preserved in the Louvre (*v.* woodcut). In this instance it will be



Fauteuil de Dagobert.

seen, that, in addition to the folding-pieces in the form of an X, there are uprights finishing in lions' heads. On many consular diptychs the throne on which the consul sits is so represented as to shew that it was constructed in like manner. M. Lenormant considers that the chair in question is probably of the period of the sovereign whose name it bears (A.D. 622–638). The curule chair, in its simple and primitive form, was evidently the model of the faldistorium or faldstool, the portable seat occupied by a bishop or abbat. M. Lenormant supposes that the use of such a chair was allowed to bishops in recognition of the dignity of their office.

In a painting in the cemetery of St. Callixtus at Rome (*v.* Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum*, pl. xv.), St. Peter and St. Paul are represented as occupying such seats, while our Lord is seated on an elevated throne without sides, but with a high back. As none of the figures have nimbi surrounding their heads, and the style of drawing is good, this painting should belong to an early period. [A. N.]

**THURIBLE**, a censer, a vessel for burning incense, called also *thymiaterium*, *thuricremium*, *incensorium*, *fumigatorium*. The thurible was usually made of precious metals, and was at first no more than an open dish or vase, to which a pierced cover was subsequently added, and eventually chains for swinging; these last, however, are not found earlier than the 12th century. An example of this date, suspended by three chains, is given by Martigny from the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, De Vogüé, *Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, pl. iii. Ciampini, tom. iii. tab. xxxiii. There is no mention of them in the Apostolical Constitutions. Thuribles of gold or silver, of large size and ornamented with precious stones, occur very frequently in Anastasius among the gifts made by the popes to the Vatican and other Roman basilicas. To take one example. Constantine is recorded to have presented to the Lateran two thuribles of gold set with jewels, one weighing 30 lbs., the other 15 lbs. (Anastas. *in Sylvestro*). Evagrius (*H. E.* vi. 21) also mentions golden thuribles among the gifts of Chosroes to the Church of Constantinople. The weight of these vessels shews that they were stationary, not to be swung.

The following description of a thurible is given by Alcuin (*poem.* 3):—

> "Hic quoque Thuribulum capitellis undique cinctum,
> Pendet de summo, fumosa foramina pandens,
> De quibus ambrosia spirabunt tura Sabaea.
> Quando sacerdotes missas offerre jubentur."

According to Amalarius (lib. iii. c. 18), "Thuribulum ante Evangelium portatur, quia Christus odor suavitatis in igne passionis pro nobis sacrificatus praedicatur." We find a different symbolism in the *Gemma Animae* (lib. i. c. 42), "Thuribulum significat corpus Dominicum; incensum ejus Divinitatem; ignis Spiritum Sanctum." [E. V.]

**THURIFICATI.** Those who in times of persecution betrayed the faith by offering incense to idols. Frankincense was an accompaniment of the heathen sacrifices, so that the offering of it was made a common test in the persecutions. The act of burning incense was so slight, taking two or three grains in the fingers and sprinkling them on the fire, that it readily lent itself to the purposes of a test, and the Christians were urged to save themselves by complying with it. "It seems absurd to be tortured and slain rather than throw into the fire incense taken with two little fingers" (Tertull. *de Idol.* c. 11, note, Oxford ed.). For the penalties incurred by compliance see SACRIFICATI. [G. M.]

**THYRSUS** (TYRSUS) (1), Jan. 28, martyr in the reign of Decius, commemorated at Apollonia with Leucius and Callinicus (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*); Dec. 14 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet). It was this Thyrsus (Du Cange, *Cpolis. Christ.* lib. iv. p. 97) in whose honour Justinian erected a church at Constantinople (Procop. *de Aedif.* lib. i. cap. 4, p. 190, Bonn.).

(2) Jan. 31, martyr, commemorated at Alexandria with Saturninus and Victor (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Notker., *Hieron.*, *Rom.*); named Tircus in Wandalbert.

(3) Sept. 24, deacon, martyr, commemorated at Autun with Andochius and Felix (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, Notker., Wand., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TIARA.** [MITRE.]

**TIBERIUS**, Nov. 10, martyr in the district of Agde in the reign of Diocletian (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Wand., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TIBURTIUS** (1), Apr. 14, martyr, commemorated at Rome at the cemetery of Praetextatus on the Via Appia with Caecilia, Valerianus and Maximus (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker., *Rom.*); commemorated the same day in the Leonian Sacramentary; and also in the Gregorian, where his name appears in the collect; Nov. 22 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); Nov. 24 (Basil. *Menol.*). There is an antiphon for his natalis in the Gregorian Antiphonary.

(2) Aug. 11, martyr, son of the prefect Chromatius, commemorated at Rome "inter Duas Lauros" (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, *Rom.*); his natale is kept this day in the Gelasian Sacramentary, his name occurring in the Collect, Secreta, and Post-communion. Also in the Gregorian Sacramentary, his name occurring in the Collect and Ad Complendum.

(3) Sept. 9, martyr, commemorated in Sabinum with Hyacinthus and Alexander (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TIGRIDES**, Feb. 3, bishop, commemorated with bishop Remedius at Gap (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Mart. Hieron.*, naming him Eporteredus; *Mart. Rom.*, Tigides). [C. H.]

**TILSAN.** [PLANETA.]

**TIMOLAUS**, Mar. 15, martyr with Agapius under Diocletian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); Mar. 24 (*Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TIMON** (THIMON), Apr. 19, one of the seven deacons, said to have been a martyr at Corinth (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon., *Rom.*); July 28, commemorated with Prochorus, Nicanor, Parmenas (*Cal. Byzant.*); Dec. 30, as bishop of Bostra and martyr (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.) [C. H.]

**TIMOTHEUS** (1), disciple of St. Paul, commemorated by the Greeks on Jan. 22 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Mart.* Usuard.; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 251); by the Latins on Jan. 24 (*Mart.* Bed., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 566); at Ephesus, Sept. 27 (*Hieron.*); his translatio commemorated at Constantinople, May 9 (*Mart. Rom.*).

(2) Patriarch of Alexandria, commemorated on Feb. 7 (*Cal. Ethiop.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 253).

(3) Ap. 6, martyr with Diogenes in Macedonia. (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Notker., *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. i. 537.)

(4) Martyr commemorated with Maximus at Antioch on Ap. 8 (*Mart. Syr.*).

(5) May 3, martyr in the Thebaid with his wife Maura in the 3rd century (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Gr.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 258; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. i. 376).

(6) May 20, martyr, coupled in the *Syrian Martyrology* with Polyeuctus, and may be suspected as identical with the following.

(7) May 21, martyr with Polius and Eutychius in Mauritania Caesariensis (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker, Wand., *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. v. 4).

(8) June 10, bishop of Prusa, martyr under Julian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 260; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 273). This was probably the martyr Timotheus to whom two churches at Constantinople were dedicated, mentioned in the *Menaea*, but their period or origin not stated (Du Cange, *Cpolis. Christ.* p. 115).

(9) June 20, martyr at Rome with his brother Novatus, disciples of the apostles (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker.).

(10) Aug. 22, martyr at Rome in the time of pope Silvester, commemorated on the Via Ostiensis (*Mart. Metr.* Bed.; *Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon, *Vet. Rom.*, Wand., Rom.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 534). *Mart. Hieron.* makes the saint of this day and cemetery the disciple of St. Paul. The Gregorian Sacramentary commemorates his natale on this day, naming him in the Collect and Ad Complendum. The Gregorian *Antiphonary* has an antiphon for the joint natalis of Timotheus and Symphorianus.

(11) Aug. 23, martyr with Apollinaris at Reims (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Wand., *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 573).

(12) Sept. 8, martyr, commemorated with Faustus at Antioch (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, *Rom.*).

(13) Nov. 5, companion of Domninus and Theotimus, martyrs under Maximin (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**TINTINNUM**, a bell (v. BELL). The verses by Tatwine, archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 731–734), alluded to in the article BELL, run as follows :—

DE TINTINNO.

Olim dictabar proprio cognomine Caesar
Optabantque meum proceres jam cernere vultum
Nunc aliter versor superis suspensus in auris
Et caesus cogor late persolvere planctum
Cursibus haut tardis cum adhuc tum turba recurrit
Mordeo mordentem labris mox dentibus absque.

From these verses it would seem that in the earlier part of the 8th century it had become customary in England, as on the Continent at a still earlier date, to hang bells of considerable size on the exterior of churches in order that the congregation might be summoned by their sound. Alcuin (*ob.* 804), describing the works executed at York, says (*Opera*, ed. Fröben, ep. 171), "Videtur condignum ut domuscula cloccarum stagno tegatur propter ornamentum et loci celebritatem." The "domuscula" in this instance would seem not to have been a tower, but rather a small separate edifice. Bells, according to Walafrid Strabo, who wrote in the early part of the 9th century (*de Exord. et Increment. rer. Eccl.* c. 5), were of two kinds, "fusilia," and "productilia," the former cast, the latter of sheets of metal, joined by rivets and hammered into form, in the manner of the early Irish hand-bells. The "tintinnum" of which archbishop Tatwine wrote was of the former class, and it should seem formed out of a bronze statue of some Roman emperor. Few, if any, bells of this early period (if we except the small Irish hand-bells) are probably now in existence, but Filippini is quoted as stating in his history of Corsica that a bell, bearing the date A.D. 700, had been found in the old campanile of the church of S. Maria dell' Assunzione near St. Florent in that island; it does not appear what was the size of this bell. [A. N.]

**TIRIANUS** (TRAJANUS), martyr, commemorated on June 7 (*Syr. Mart.*). [C. H.]

**TIRIDATES**, king, commemorated June 29 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C. H.]

**TITHES** (δέκαται, *decimae*). There is hardly any evidence of the general payment of tithes before the end of the 4th century. Until the publication of Selden's *History of Tithes*, A.D. 1618, the generally prevailing opinion was that tithes were due *de jure divino*, and that if not paid from the beginning, they were paid as soon as the church was free from persecution. This opinion not only lacks the direct support of antiquity, but is opposed to the few notices we have remaining of the practice of the early church. As the same passages have been quoted on both sides of the controversy, and as much depends upon the actual expressions, the more important evidence must be quoted in full.

In the 1st century it is admitted by all that there is no evidence of the payment of tithes. When the collection was made for the poor brethren in Jerusalem at Antioch, each man gave "according to his ability" (Acts xi. 29); in the churches of Galatia and of Corinth, each is ordered to give "as God has prospered him." (1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.) In the epistles to Timothy, where St. Paul touches upon the finances of the church, there is no mention of tithes or of any other fixed proportion as being paid or considered due.

In the 2nd century also it was felt that to fix upon a definite proportion was to limit the free spirit of Christian love. Irenaeus (*Haer.* iv. 27) says that our Lord came to expand and extend the law, and in place of definite commands to substitute principles; "and therefore instead of 'thou shalt not commit adultery,' he commanded men not to lust (Matt. v. 28), and instead of 'thou shalt not kill,' not even to be angry; and *instead of paying tithe to divide all one's goods to the poor*." Thus did Christ remove "the fetters of slavery." So again (iv. 34) Irenaeus contrasts the servitude of the law of Moses with the freedom of the sonship of Christians: "and for this reason, whilst they (the Jews) used to consider the tithes of their property as consecrated, they, on the contrary, who have apprehended freedom, *decree to the uses of the Lord all things which they have*—joyfully and freely giving not what is less, inasmuch as they have a greater hope." Yet in iv. 20, after stating that the Levites lived on tithes, he adds "Discipulis inquit Dominus Leviticam substantiam habentibus."

In the 3rd century, Origen (*Hom.* xi. *in Numeros*), advocating the payment of first-fruits mentions tithes also, not as due from Christians, but as a limitation which the Christian will exceed. He quotes Matt. xxiii. 23, "'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.' But if you say that He was saying this with reference to the Pharisees, not to the disciples, hear Him again saying to the disciples, 'Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.' What then He wishes to be done by the Pharisees, he wishes to be fulfilled much more and with greater abundance by the disciples. What He does not wish to be done by the disciples He does not command the Pharisees either to do. How then is our righteousness abounding more than that of the scribes and Pharisees, if they dare not taste the fruits of their land before they offer first-fruits to the priests, and tithes be separated for the Levites; whilst I, doing none of these things, so misuse the fruits of the earth that the priest knows nothing of them, the Levite is ignorant of them, the divine altar does not perceive them?" (cf. *Hom.* xvi. *in Genesim.*)

That Origen did not intend in this passage to give his judgment upon tithes is evident from the incidental way in which they are referred to, and from his formal conclusion in which he makes no mention of them, "Haec diximus efferentes mandatum de primitiis frugum vel pecorum debere etiam secundum literam stare."

Cyprian (*Epist.* i. 9, ed. Erasmus, 66 Pamel.) writes to dissuade a presbyter from accepting the position of guardian on the ground that the clergy are separated from all secular business. The tribe of Levi had no inheritance but was supported by tithes, that they might devote themselves entirely to divine service; "the same plan and form is now preserved in regard to the clergy," that they may not be diverted from their sacred duties, but receiving, *as it were tithes* ("sed in honore sportulantium fratrum *tanquam decimas* accipientes") may not depart from the altar. Here the phrase *tanquam decimas* is decisive against the payment of tithe as a fixed legal due, for decimae paid as legal dues could not be tanquam decimae. There is analogy, not identity in the method of support.

Cyprian also laments the diminution of almsgiving, which was consequent upon dissension (*de Unitate*, 23). "Then they were selling houses and estates, but now from our patrimony we give not even tithes; and when the Lord bids us sell, we are rather buying and increasing."

This passage is against the fact of payment, and does not even recommend tithes; for the reference is not to annual income, but to property: "we give not even the tenth part of our estates," not, "we do not even pay tithes on our estates."

Thus the fathers of the first three centuries nowhere speak of tithes as even a minimum due de jure divino, though they had occasion for saying so, had such been the opinion of the church, or had tithes generally been paid as legally due; they frequently and earnestly exhort to almsgiving, they never exhort their hearers to give tithes.

These are all the genuine passages which can be brought forward. They fail completely to shew that tithes were paid as a fact, or that payment was considered necessary *de jure divino*. In early times a tenth was not an authorised or an adequate proportion. Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, all make some reference to church finance, but in none of them are tithes mentioned as a source of income.

During the 4th century the *Apostolic Constitutions* refer to tithes. In lib. ii. cap. xxv. we read, "The gifts of tithes and first-fruits which are given in accordance with the command of God, let the bishop, as a man of God, expend." The Levites were so supported of old, and the clergy are the Levites now. Yet after this, a clear distinction is drawn between tithes payable *then* under the law, and the oblations offered *now*, under the Gospel. See also lib. vii. cap.

xxx., and lib. viii. cap. xxx., which regulate the disposal of tithes.

St. Ambrose (*Sermo* xxxiv. *in feria* 8 *post prim. dom. quadr.*) says, "God has reserved the tenth part to Himself, and therefore it is not lawful for a man to retain what God has reserved for Himself. To thee He has given nine parts, for Himself He has reserved the tenth part, and if thou shalt not give to God the tenth part, God will take from thee the nine parts."

So in a sermon on Ascension Day, "a good Christian pays tithes yearly to be given to the poor." (Cf. *in Lucam* xi. 7.)

Epiphanius (*Haer.* 50) argues against those who kept Easter according to the Jewish law for fear of the curse of the law, though in other respects they agreed with the church. The curse, he says, refers not to the case of the passover only, but also to circumcision and tithes. Thus he implies that the law of tithe was not binding on the church any more than the law of circumcision, and also that it was not observed by those whom he was addressing any more than by the church at large.

In the 5th century, Jerome on Malachi iii. says, "What we have said of tithes and first-fruits, which of old used to be given by the people to the priests and Levites, understand also in the case of the peoples of the church, to whom it has been commanded to sell all they have and give to the poor and follow the Lord the Saviour. . . . If we are unwilling to do this, at least let us imitate the rudimentary teaching of the Jews so as to give a part of the whole to the poor, and pay the priests and Levites due honour. If anyone shall not do this he is convicted of defrauding and cheating God."

In an epistle to Nepotianus, Jerome writes, "If I am the portion of the Lord, and the line of his inheritance, and do not receive a portion among the other tribes, but as if (quasi) a Levite and priest live upon tithes, and serving the altar am supported by the oblation of the altar." His language is clearly metaphorical, and not a precise statement of a fact.

Augustine (Ps. 146) gives conclusive evidence that tithes were not yet regarded as a legal due "Cut off, therefore, something first, and assign some fixed portion . . . . take off some considerable part of your income? Tithes will you? Take off tithes, although it be too little ("decimas vis? decimas exime"). . . . He beyond whom your righteousness is to abound, gives tithes; you, however, give not even a thousandth part.

In Homily 48, Augustine says that the present excessive taxation is laid upon them because they do not give to God the things that are God's. "Our ancestors used to abound in wealth of every kind for this very reason that they used to give tithes, and pay the tax to Caesar. Now, on the contrary, because devotion to God has ceased, the drain of the treasury has increased. We have been unwilling to share the tithes with God, now the whole is taken away. Alms ought to be paid according to the measure and quantity as it is written (Tobit iv.) 'As thou shalt have, give alms; if thou shalt have little, from that little impart to the hungry.'"

In his sermon to the brethren in the wilderness (*Serm.* 64), he warns those who till the earth not to defraud the church in the matter of tithes, nor any other, however they may live, lest they lose all.

A spurious sermon, attributed to Augustine (*de Tempore*, 219) is wholly on the duty of paying tithes. God who has given the whole condescends to demand back the tithes. This is enforced by Malachi iii. and Exodus xxx. God is wont to reduce to a tithe those who withhold tithes. For tithes are sought as a debt, and he who has refused to give them has invaded the property of other men. He, therefore, who wishes to gain reward or to merit indulgence for sin, let him pay tithe, and out of the nine parts as well, be zealous to give alms to the poor.

Other spurious documents are—a canon of Damasus, a letter of Jerome to Damasus, and later, a decretal of Gelasius, and some canons of Orleans and Seville (Selden, ch. v.).

Chrysostom (*Hom.* iv. in *Eph.* ii.) says that the Jews paid two tithes, whereas, now, a man observes to him with astonishment, "So-and-so gives tithes! Is not this shameful? If under the law it were dangerous to neglect tithes, consider how great a danger there is now."

Some writers quote also *Hom.* xxxv. *in Genesin*, and *Hom.* xviii. on the Acts; but in both these places *decimas* is found only in the Latin translation for ἀπαρχάς.

A homily on Luke xviii. 12, attributed to Eusebius of Emessa (c. A.D. 430) says that the payment of tithes is a very good and laudable practice.

Cassian (*Collat. Abbat. Theonae* xxi.) tells us that in Egypt many persons offered tithes and first-fruits to the famous old man, abbat John (c. 1). This is the earliest instance of the gift of tithes to a monastery. Yet they were not regarded as legally due, for (c. 3) the righteous shew that they are not under the law by exceeding the legal tenth (cf. c. 5); and Christ bids us not to pay tithe, but to sell all (c. 7). Yet, in c. 25, he says, that by the law of Moses a general precept was promulgated ("universo populo"), and we who are bidden (qui praecipimur) to pay tithes of our substance should also pay tithes of our time, and observe the lenten fast (cf. c. 33).

Isidore of Pelusium (c. A.D. 440), lib. i. *Epist.* 317, writes to count Hermin that he does great honour to the Lord by paying first-fruits and tithes, and will, as a reward, enjoy much prosperity here and eternal happiness hereafter.

The evidence belonging to this period would seem to shew that payment of tithe was first regarded as a duty soon after A.D. 350. By that time the idea generally prevailed that the priest of the Christian church had succeeded to the office of the Levitical priests, and consequently to their rights and privileges. Ambrose was the first exponent of this duty. Augustine and Jerome waver, partly influenced by the new ideas, partly mindful of the perfect freedom of Christian charity. In the East this doctrine seems to have made very little progress; Chrysostom shews that it was rarely practised. Epiphanius completely rejects it, Eusebius can say no more than that it is a good practice, Isidore is grateful; even the monk who accepts and enjoins tithes is mindful of a higher law than the Mosaic.

Caesarius of Arles (c. A.D. 490) *de Eleemos.*

*Hom.* 2, says not only are tithes not our own, but belonging to the church, but also all we have is from God, and therefore we ought to give to the poor (cf. Lev. xiv. and xxxvii., where he quotes chiefly from Augustine). Eugippius (*Vita S. Severani*, c. 17, § 18), c. A.D. 510, says that in Pannonia tithes were zealously paid—"quod mandatum licet cunctis ex lege notissimum sit," was taught there by the saint. A famine which happened was thought to be the punishment of neglect of tithes. When the Lombards were threatening Italy, one instance given of their savage habits was that they did not pay tithes (Greg. Turon. vi. 6). Anastasius Sinaita (A.D. 544), in his *Dux Vitae*, question 13, asks what proportion of his goods a man ought to offer to God. The answer is, "If he who gives half [referring to Zacchaeus] does nothing, quanti erit is qui ne decimam quidem praebet?"

In a synodical letter written after the second council of Tours, A.D. 567, the faithful are exhorted to follow the example of Abraham and pay tithes.

Thus for two hundred years, the doctrine of the obligation of tithe had been making its way, but still remained only a pious opinion, unenforced by any decree of emperor or council.

At length, in A.D. 585, the council of Mâcon, eager to take away the causes of the decay of the church, recites how the divine laws had ordered the payment of tithes that the clergy might be left free to their sacred duties: "Quas leges Christianorum congeries longis temporibus custodivit intemeratas. Nunc autem paulatim praevaricatores legum pene Christiani omnes ostenduntur, dum ea quae divinitus sancita sunt adimplere negligunt." Wherefore for the future all are to pay tithes, which the priests may spend also in redeeming captives or aiding the poor. All who refuse are liable to excommunication.

Selden says this canon is not in the oldest collections. Agobard, bishop of Lyons, certainly writes as if he had never seen it. Gregory the Great (*Hom.* xvi. *in Evang.*) says: "As ye are bidden by the law to pay tithes of property, so strive to offer Him also tithes of days."

About A.D. 660, Marculphus collected all legal forms relating to land; but there is no form for charging land with tithe. But the constant exhortations of the clergy began at last to produce permanent results.

Towards the end of the 7th century grew up the custom of making tithe a permanent charge upon land. The council of Arles (iv. c. 9, A.D. 813) orders "ut ecclesiae antiquitus constitutae nec decimis nec ulla possessione priventur." This does not require an earlier date; 130 years would fully satisfy "antiquitus constitutae."

In. A.D. 680, "decimancula in Rodolfi curte—that is, a tithe of small value, in a place called Rodolph's Court—was consecrated to the church of Arras.

The Ethiopian Missal, which dates from about this time, has a form of prayer: "Rogemus pro iis qui obtulerunt munera sanctae unicae quae est super omnes ecclesiae sacrificium scilicet primitiarum decimarum, gratiarum actionis signum et monumentum."

A.D. 720, Eadbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, was noted for his charities, so that, says Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 29), he used, according to the law of Moses, every year to give tithes, not only of beasts, but of corn and fruits, and of clothes for the poor. Bede also says (super *Exod. quaest.* c. 36) that ten is the number of perfection, and as in first-fruits we make a beginning, so in tithes we are ordered to perfect our work.

In his *Scintillae*, or common places (xxix.), he quotes from Malachi and other texts in favour of paying tithe; also from the spurious sermon *De Tempore*, 219 (*vide supra* Augustine).

Also in a sermon on Luke xvi. (*Dom.* ix. *post Trin.*), he urges his hearers to give half their goods, as Zacchaeus, or at least two-tenths, so as to surpass the Jews.

In A.D. 742, Pipin confirms to the abbey of Fulda all grants of tithe past or future; and in A.D. 750 he gives to the church of St. Monon a tithe of land.

There is no foundation for the story that Charles Martel granted the tithes to his knights in A.D. 740, and that they were restored at the synod of Ratisbon, A.D. 742.

A.D. 745, Boniface of Mentz, writing to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, speaks of the clergy as receiving tithes.

A.D. 750, the *Exceptiones* of Egbert, archbishop of York, make mention of tithes. No. 4, the priest is to teach his people to pay tithes of all their property. No. 5, the priests are to receive tithes and write down the names of those who pay them; they are to be divided into three parts—for church ornament, for the poor, for the clergy. No. 99 refers to the Mosaic law of tithe. No. 100 quotes from Augustine a passage exhorting a tithe to be paid of all sources of income.

Though tithes were now generally paid, they were still quite voluntarily, for the canon of Mâcon seems to have become obsolete even in its own province. But it was now determined to coerce the reluctant.

Of the capitularies of Charlemagne many refer to tithe, but most are later than A.D. 800.

A.D. 778, Charles the Great ordered tithes to be paid throughout his kingdom (*Capit.* v. 123); payment is to be enforced by excommunication or by the civil magistrate (v. 46). Herardus of Tours, at the same time forbids his clergy to use other than the milder methods of persuasion and warning.

*Capit.* vii. *anni* xi. A.D. 779—"Concerning tithes, let each man give a tenth, and let it be dispensed at the command of the bishop."

A.D. 787, the council of Calcuith (c. xvii.) quotes the law and Malachi, and orders tithe to be paid of everything.

A.D. 793, Offa, king of the Mercians, gave tithes of all, to expiate the treacherous murder of Ethelbert.

The council of Friuli, A.D. 791 (canon xiv), says that there is no better teaching concerning tithes than Malachi iii.

The council of Frankfort, A.D. 794 (canon xxv.), orders all who hold benefices of the church to pay tithes and ninths, and every man is to pay the lawful tithe to the church.

Yet towards the close of this period Agobard, bishop of Lyons, in a treatise on the dispensation of church revenue (p. 276), expressly denies that before his time any synod or church fathers had determined any fixed quantity as due of necessity. From his position he must have had

every opportunity of knowing the canon of Mâcon. About the same time Alcuin (*Epist.* vii.) presses upon Charles the Great the inexpediency of exacting tithe from such weak Christians as the newly conquered Huns. This he could scarcely do if tithes were generally regarded as of divine obligation.

Though the payment of tithes was always based upon the law of Moses, the duty was extended beyond the Mosaic precept (cf. Luke xviii. 12).

There was no limitation as to the kind of property of which tithes were paid.

Origen speaks only of annual produce; Ambrose, of grain, wine, fruits, cattle, business, hunting; Augustine, of income, of annual fruits, or daily gains. The spurious sermon commands tithes of anything whereby the man lives—warfare, business, or trade. So an epistle of the bishops of the province of Tours, A.D. 567, exhorts payment of tithes of all property, and even of slaves. Eadbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, gave tithes of fruits, quadrupeds, and clothes.

Similarly, whereas the Mosaic law granted tithes to the Levites, in the church they were claimed not for the clergy alone, but for the poor also.

The persons for whose benefit tithes were given were the clergy, says Irenaeus; Jerome, the poor, the priests and Levites. The *Apostolic Constitutions* claim them for the orphan and the widow, for the poor and the proselyte; "for the other clerics" (the bishops, priests and deacons were to be supported by the first-fruits) and for the virgins. The council of Mâcon decrees them for the clergy, the poor, and for the redemption of captives. In Cassian, we see tithe paid to monks, and in a capitulary of the fourth year of Charlemagne to monasteries.

Thus in two points the advocates of tithes went beyond the law upon which they based their claim.

At what time parochial tithes were separated from the mother church and affixed to the parish church does not appear. Selden (chap. xii. *on Tithes*) says that in the Saxon times we find "ecclesiae" simply, and not until the Norman dynasty "ecclesiae cum decimis."

See Selden *on Tithes;* Tillesley's Reply to Selden; Spelman *on Tithes* and *Concilia Anglicana;* Thomassin, part iii. lib. i. [J. S.]

**TITULUS.** (1) In pagan usage an inscription on a stone; later, the stone which marked the boundary of property.

(2) In the time of Trajan it meant the limits of the jurisdiction of presbyters at Rome. This is the germ of that meaning which *title* bears in ecclesiastical practice.

(3) Sphere of work for orders. [ORDERS, HOLY, p. 1486; PARISH, p. 1556.]

Closely allied to this sense of Titulus is the application of the term to some churches in Rome. Some of the churches there were called *tituli*, and some were not. Of pope Marcellus (A.D. 308), it is said he appointed in the city of Rome twenty-five "*tituli*, quasi dioceses." This last expression might suggest a correspondence, with the idea of "mother churches." And this would support Bingham's view, which he takes from Mede (*Discourse of Churches*), that the name *titulus* was given to certain churches, because they gave a title of cure or denomination to presbyters to whom they were committed (Bingham, *Antiq.* viii. i. 10). Succeeding popes,—Silvester, Damasus, Innocent—appointed each a titulus in Rome; so that in the time of Alexander the Third, they are spoken of as being twenty-eight in number (Anast. *Vit. Pontif.*). Another reason for the name titulus, as applied to the church, is suggested by Baronius (an. 112). The sign of the cross, which was inscribed upon them, was the titulus by which they were known to belong to Christ, just as imperial property was declared to be such by the imperial mark (*titulus fiscalis*) affixed to it.

From meaning the whole church the term titulus was sometimes applied to a part of the church, (a) a chapel in which the bones of a saint reposed, and (b) the sanctuary (presbyterium, βῆμα) or part which contained the altar. The churches called tituli were distinguished from the others, which were called *diaconiae, oratoria;* and, as being the principal churches of the city, were called tituli cardinales or simply *cardinales*, the priests who were attached to them being called *presbyteri cardinales*. See CARDINAL. [H. T. A.]

**TITUS** (1), disciple of St. Paul, commemorated by the Latins on Jan. 4 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*); by the Greeks on Aug. 25 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Cal. Ethiop.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 266).

(2) Martyr at Nicomedia, commemorated on Jan. 25 (*Syr. Mart.*).

(3) Apr. 2, THAUMATURGUS, confessor for images (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 256) [C. H.]

**TOBIAS**, martyr at Sebaste in Armenia under Licinius, commemorated on Nov. 2 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TOLEDO, COUNCILS OF** (TOLETANA CONCILIA). No less than 21 councils are said to have been held at Toledo, between A.D. 400 and 701, when they were stopped as abruptly by the invasion of Spain by the Moors, as they had commenced on its conquest by the Visigoths. But the genuineness of the two first, as now given, is more than doubtful, for the reasons which follow. The authorities to be consulted more particularly, besides Mansi and Hefele, are the *Collect. Max. Conc. Hisp.* by Cardinal Aguirre (Catalan's ed.); *Collect. Can. Eccl. Hisp.* by Gonzalez, Madrid, 1808: and more recently, with notes by M. Tejada y Ramiro.

(1) A.D. 400, or, as another reading has it, 397, when 19 bishops are said to have met and passed 20 canons. But appended to these canons is, first, a rule of faith followed by 18 anathemas, which, as we shall see, was made by a later and southern council. Some professions come next, which are called the professions of bishops Symphosius and Dictinnius, *of happy memory;* who certainly would have been dead by then. But, again, the definitive sentence, which comes last of all, must have been passed during their lifetime. Now, the two first documents, necessarily, can have no connexion with a council of this date; nor the third, for another reason, viz. that neither Symphosius nor Dictinnius appear among the subscribers to those 20 canons on discipline that come first. Nor, lastly, can pope Innocent

have corresponded with this council, as he is supposed to have done (Mansi, iii. 1063, et seq.), for he was not pope till two years afterwards. On the other hand, Idatius, bishop of Chaves, who was contemporary with St. Leo, says in his *Chronicon* (Migne, Patr. 41, 876), that, during the pontificate of Anastasius, "a council of bishops met at Toledo, in which, *as stated in its acts*, Symphosius and Dictinnius and other bishops of the province of Gallicia with them, subscribed to the condemnation of Priscillian, whom they had once followed; certain observances of ecclesiastical discipline were decreed; and Ortigius, bishop of Celene, who had been exiled by the Priscillianists, was present and took part." This statement lends positive countenance to the third of these documents; but none whatever to the 20 canons that come first; for it is of course quite possible for the council at which Symphosius and Dictinnius were present to have passed canons on discipline, yet not these. True, there is a bishop Ortizius, or Orticius, who subscribes to these; but nothing is said by the president to shew there was anything special in his case. Again, the 14th of these canons bears a close resemblance to the 3rd of the first council of Saragossa, A.D. 381, but it might have been just as well passed 40 years later as 21 years earlier. The mention of the *quotidianum sacrificium*, in the fifth of them affords a fair presumption that they were framed in Spain (Bingham, *Ant.* xv. 9, 4), yet there is a curious resemblance between the names of the last bishop subscribing to them, Exuperantius and Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse, with whom Innocent I. corresponded (Mansi, *ib.* p. 1038), which will at least be worth calling to mind further on. All the pieces are given by Mansi, iii. 997–1015, which the authors of *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates* only confuse further, in attempting to explain; and which the most recent editor of Spanish canons, M. Tejada y Ramiro, discusses at great length, after cardinal Aguirre, but alike fails to clear up.

(2) A.D. 405, according to Mansi (*ib.* p. 1161), and Cave (*Hist. Lit.* i. 470), or 407 according to others, for the mere purpose, that is, of bearing out the letter of Innocent I. already noticed. But as, 1, no such synod occurs in either the Isidorian or the pseudo-Isidorian collections; and 2, no such letter is ascribed to Innocent by Dionysius Exiguus; and further, as, 3, this letter in the Isidorian and pseudo-Isidorian collections is addressed to a synod of Toulouse, and is much shorter and vastly less explicit on disorders in Spain, than the longer version of it published by Sirmondus in his collection of the synods of Gaul, we may well doubt which deserves most credit, the letter, or the synod. The similarity between the names of the last subscriber to the canons of the former council, and the bishop of Toulouse with whom Innocent corresponded has been already pointed out, and is worth considering. According to the Isidorian and pseudo-Isidorian collections, the second council of Toledo was not till A.D. 527, when 8 bishops met and passed 5 canons, but between this and the supposed council of A.D. 405, another of A.D. 447, distinct from or identical with a general council of Spain, supposed to have been held this year, has been inserted (Mansi, vi. 491–494), the only ground for either being another papal letter, which even Cave will not dispute (*Hist. Lit.* i. 440). But this letter (*Ep.* xv. of St. Leo, *ad Turribium Asturiensem episcopum*, according to Mansi, v. 1286) is open to grave doubts, affecting not merely the alleged synod of its own date, but also that of A.D. 527. For the three local accounts of it are far from consistent. 1. Idatius, a contemporary, says in his *Chronicon*, that the writings of St. Leo against the Priscillianists were brought to the Spanish bishops by Pervincus, deacon of bishop Turribius; among which was a full discourse addressed to Turribius himself, on the observance of the Catholic faith, and on the blasphemies of the heresies; to which some Gallicians, however, gave but a treacherous assent (Migne, *ib.* 882). 2. Lucretius, president of the first council of Braga, then metropolis of Gallicia, A.D. 563 (Mansi, ix. 774), says that Leo forwarded his writings against the Priscillians to a synod of Gallicia by a notary of his own see, Turribius; and that by his order the bishops of Tarragona, Carthagena, Portugal, and Andalusia, having assembled themselves in council, drew up a rule of faith, with chapters appended, against the Priscillianists, which was sent to Balconius, then bishop of Braga, and read out now. Lucretius thus makes Turribius, not a correspondent, but a courier, of St. Leo; not a bishop, but a notary. He says further, that the writings of St. Leo were addressed not to a bishop, but to a council then sitting in the north; and that, afterwards, a southern, not a general, council was held at his instance, where the rule of faith was drawn up and sent to Braga, which was now read at Braga. But would not the writings of St. Leo have been read out there too, had they been then extant? 3. Montanus, who was bishop of Toledo, and presided in the alleged synod of A.D. 571, speaks, in the first of the epistles ascribed to him, not of any letter of St. Leo, but of books addressed to St. Leo by a most blessed and religious bishop Turribius (in these documents his see is never once named); yet, that the second of the epistles ascribed to Montanus himself is addressed also to a pious bishop Turribius, is proved incontestably by the words *vester coepiscopus fecit* (Mansi, viii. 791), which cardinal Aguirre must have been napping not to have noticed. This clumsy forgery, which must have been concocted before the middle of the 7th century to have imposed on St. Ildefonsus (*de Vir. Illust.* c. 3), only makes the inconsistency between the two former accounts doubly perplexing; and it is further enhanced by the fact that while the Isidorian collection includes both the letter of St. Leo and the two letters of Montanus, the pseudo-Isidorian collection ignores all three. Let the author of the false Decretals have credit for superior discernment for once. The letters of Montanus destroy each other without more ado; similarly, that of Leo to Turribius has only to be compared with the alleged letter of Turribius to Ceponius and Idatius (Mansi, v. 1302), and it will be seen that while both affect the papal in tone, one is not really more papal than the other. Baluzius had more reason for his suspicion than he liked to avow (*ib.* vi. 491), and cardinal Aguirre can find nothing to oppose to it, but the antiquity of a MS. (*ib.* 492). The main upshot of it all, however, is, that in neither of these collections, nor

in any of these documents, is there the smallest evidence for a second synod of Toledo before A.D. 527; and as for the acts of the alleged synod of that date, besides being prejudiced by the two letters ascribed to its president, they betray far too much special pleading for the metropolitan rights of that see to inspire confidence. (Comp. Card. Aguirre, *Diss.* tom. iii. 48 et seq.; art. GALLICIA, COUNCIL OF, p. 708; and the alleged synod of T. A.D. 610, below.)

(3) A.D. 589. Of this council there can be no doubt whatever, except as to its being the third, and as to its principal ruling having been founded on a misapprehension. As 68 bishops or their representatives subscribed to it, every see, whether of Spain, Portugal, or Narbonne, then in existence, must have been represented there; and as each bishop in subscribing appends the name of his see, the subscriptions are worth a careful study. It is the metropolitan of Merida who subscribes second—*perhaps* as being the oldest—and the metropolitan of Toledo subscribes third; but he who subscribes first is the king. Reccared, king of the Goths, summoned it to celebrate his own conversion, and that of his queen and people, from Arianism; and he and his queen commence proceedings in it by making profession of their orthodoxy, and reciting the creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople, as the faith professed by the Catholic church throughout the whole world, and then subscribing to them, and to the definition of the council of Chalcedon, in their own names. In reciting the creed of Constantinople, translated into Latin, they insert, according to the reading of some MSS. the words, "and from the Son," in describing the Procession of the Holy Ghost. Eight bishops, a number of presbyters, deacons, and of the high nobility, converts from Arianism, likewise, follow with their profession; in which besides reciting the two creeds, and the definition of Chalcedon, like their sovereign, they anathematise twenty-three different errors, the third of which is that of those who deny the Procession of the Holy Ghost to be from the Father and the Son. Regulations for discipline come next by order of the king, embodied in 23 lengthy canons. Among the subscribers to them, and to the acts of the council in general, are those bishops whose abjuration had just been made, with the king at their head, who subscribes first; and as no king, probably, before or since: "I, king Flavius Reccared, in confirmation of these matters, which with the holy synod we have defined, have subscribed." Each bishop after him meekly says, "I have subscribed assenting to these constitutions." So that this addition to the creed, and doctrine involved in it, was originally defined, in point of fact, by a convert prince at the head of the same council that received his abjuration. On the other hand, in the 2nd of these very canons we read: "The holy synod ordains that throughout all the churches of Spain and Gallicia, according to the form of the oriental churches, the creed of the council of Constantinople, that is, of the 150 fathers be recited, so that, before the reading of the Lord's prayer, it may be intoned in a loud voice by the people before communicating." Thus it would seem, that in anathematising the opponents of the twofold Procession of the Holy Ghost, the council never really contemplated interpolating the creed; but meant in all honesty to adhere to the form of it then used in the East. If, therefore, the interpolation of the creed dates from this council, it was as ignorant an interpolation as its defence has been. At the same time the doctrine meant to be expressed by it had been previously laid down in the rule of faith transmitted to Balconius, and endorsed in the so-called letter of Leo to Turribius; unless these documents have likewise received additions. But how, on the other hand, is the omission of all reference to the fifth council by Reccared and his bishops to be explained? Having been held A.D. 553, it was then thirty-six years old. And the pen of St. Gregory the Great with which he congratulated his friend Leander on the conversion of Reccared (*Ep.* i. 43, *Indict.* ix.), must have been dipped in the same ink with which he wrote to the Eastern patriarchs shortly before: "Quintum concilium *pariter* veneror" (*ib. Ep.* 25). Leander was in all probability grandson of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, and educated in his dominions. He may thus have sided with the bishops of Aquileia and Istria on that subject, rather than with Rome. At all events, neither at this, nor any subsequent council of Toledo, was the fifth council so much as named. Proceedings were wound up by a glowing review of them in the shape of a homily from Leander, metropolitan of Seville, who had acted as tutor to the king, and corresponded with pope Gregory whom he had known at Constantinople (Mansi, ix. 997-1010).

A.D. 597, where Massona, metropolitan of Merida, subscribes first again; the metropolitan of Narbonne, second; the metropolitan of Toledo, third. It is called a council of 16 bishops, but only 13 subscribe. And it passed only 2 canons, the 1st of which, relating to the celibacy of the clergy, cardinal Aguirre says, "difficillimus intellectu est," but he omits to add that this council is unknown both to the Isidorian and pseudo-Isidorian collections, and has not been known anywhere as the fourth council. It is transcribed from Loaisa by Mansi without comment (x. 477).

A.D. 610. But this, again, with the alleged edict of Gundemar confirming it, is unknown to both Isidorian collections, like the last, besides which, the plea set forth in it for the metropolitan rights of this see shews too palpably the use which it was designed to serve, and this its reference to the alleged council under Montanus only further confirms, so that even Mansi says its genuineness is a question which he leaves to the most learned to decide (x. 511). Nothing else purports to have been discussed at it; the petitions appended to it are, therefore, beyond explanation.

(4) A.D. 633, which is called everywhere the fourth council. Here the metropolitan of Toledo subscribes only fifth, and the metropolitan of Merida third, after the metropolitan of Narbonne; while the metropolitan of Seville, St. Isidore, who had succeeded his brother Leander in that see, presides. It passed no less than 75 canons, and no less than 69 bishops or their representatives subscribed to them. The first, headed "De evidenti Catholicae fidei veritate," dogmatises on the Trinity and Incarnation in language that every now and then exhibits phrases common to the

Athanasian creed, and ends similarly, "Haec est Catholicae ecclesiae fides: hanc confessionem conservamus atque tenemus, quam quisquis firmissime custodierit, perpetuam salutem habebit. . . ." The provision made by the next for divine service is no less noteworthy—"Unus ordo orandi atque psallendi a nobis per omnem Hispaniam atque Galliam conservetur, unus modus in missarum solemnitatibus, unus in vespertinis matutinisque officiis; nec diversa sit ultra in nobis ecclesiastica consuetudo, qui in unâ fide continemur et regno, hoc enim et antiqui canones decreverunt: ut unaquaque provincia et psallendi et ministrandi parem consuetudinem teneat. . . ." There is no reference whatever to the customs or the tenets of the church of any country besides their own in either canon. If, owing to circumstances, says the 3rd, councils cannot meet twice a year—*juxta antiqua patrum decreta*—they should at least be held once, general or provincial, as the case may require. All the other canons are conceived in the same spirit. Of the last book of the Bible the 17th says: "Apocalypsis librum multorum conciliorum auctoritas, et synodica sanctorum *praesulum* Romanorum decreta Joannis evangelistae esse praescribunt, et inter divinos libros recipiendum constituerunt. . . ." The 21st, entitled, "De castitate sacerdotum," leaves the question of marriage untouched, and is content to say, "Inoffensos igitur et immaculatos decet Dei existere sacerdotes, nec ullo eos fornicationis contagio pollui. . . ." The 57th commences a series of ordinances about Jews in these words: "De Judaeis hoc praecepit sancta synodus: nemini deinceps ad credendum vim inferre . . . non enim tales inviti salvandi sunt, sed volentes; ut integra sit forma justitiae. . ." And the seventy-second says of those slaves who have been emancipated, "A cujuslibet insolentiâ protegantur; sive in statu libertatis eorum, seu in peculio quod habere noscuntur. . . ." The writings of St. Isidore afford the best clue to the comprehensive character of these enactments (Mansi, x. 611–50). Compare, for instance, can. 57 with what is said of Sisebute (*Chron.* aera DCL.).

(5) A.D. 636, "Diversis ex provinciis Hispaniae" is what they say of themselves; and it is a fact that 2 or 3 bishops of the provinces of Tarragona, Portugal, and Narbonne figure among the subscribers to it; but all the rest of the 24 subscribing or represented bishops were suffragans of Toledo, whose metropolitan, Eugenius, is found, for the first time, subscribing first. The "diversis ex provinciis," whether regular or not, few or many, did homage to the occasion. No rival metropolitan was present. Eugenius subscribed himself: "Dei miseratione Toletanae ecclesiae provinciae Carthaginis metropolitanus," a style contrasting with his meek subscription but two years afterwards, when his see was again eclipsed. All of the 9 canons now passed have reference to existing disorders in the state (Mansi, x. 6538–8).

(6) A.D. 638, when the metropolitan of Narbonne presided, and Eugenius subscribed third, after the metropolitan of Braga, but before the then metropolitan of Seville, Honoratus. No less than 53 bishops, or their representatives, subscribe to the 18 canons now passed, the first of which is entitled, "De plenitudine fidei Catholicae," and embodies a disquisition on the Trinity and Incarnation about three times as long as the 1st canon of the tenth council under St. Isidore, yet borrowing on the Procession from his account of the third council under Reccared (*Chron.* aera DCXXIV.) as clearly as their 3rd canon—"De custodiâ fidei Judaeorum" departs from his spirit. Of the rest about half concern the state rather than the church, and the thanks of the council are voted to king Chintila for having called them together (Mansi, x. 659–674).

(7) A.D. 646, under king Chindasvinda, who dethroned the son of the summoner of the previous council. Here the metropolitan of Merida presides, and Eugenius of Toledo (strangely left out in Mansi) subscribes third once more, but this time *after* the metropolitan of Seville (Antonius), who had succeeded Honoratus since the previous council, and therefore must have been his junior. Thus the hypothesis of cardinal Aguirre making precedence depend on seniority breaks down here; for it was not Eugenius II. but Eugenius I. who was present, as we learn from St. Ildefonse (*Vir. Illust.* c. 13). But 6 canons were passed on this occasion, and the 1st of them, instead of expounding the faith, is headed, "De refugis atque perfidis clericis sive laicis," whose case is discussed at very great length. The rest are not of more lasting interest. Forty-one bishops or their representatives subscribe to them. (Mansi, x. 763–74.) Another council is appended by him to this in the next page, on no better evidence than because certain duties ascribed to archdeacons and other functionaries in the first book of Decretals (tit. 23–4), are there headed, "Ex concilio Toletano." But on this, see Bingham, ii. 21, 8.

(8) A.D. 653, where the metropolitan of Merida presides again, and a second Eugenius of Toledo subscribes third, after Antonius of Seville. Abbats here subscribed for the first time, signing between bishops and their representatives, and laymen of rank similarly for the first time, signing last. Twelve lengthy canons, in the 1st of which the creed of Constantinople is professed in its interpolated form, were passed, "d'un style si diffus et si figuré, qu'il n'est point aisé de les entendre," as the authors of *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates* truly say; 62 bishops or their representatives subscribed to them. King Recesvinda heads them with a lengthy profession of his own to which he subscribes himself, and the bishops supplement them with a decree respecting his goods and chattels, which he finally confirms (Mansi, x. 1205–1228).

(9) A.D. 655, where the second Eugenius subscribes first, adopting a new style, "Regiae urbis metropolitanus episcopus"; and from this time, whether it was a general or provincial gathering, the metropolitan of Toledo presides always at councils held in his own metropolis, and signs first. On this occasion, indeed, no other metropolitan was present. Seventeen canons, all on discipline, were passed, and signed by 16 bishops and the representative of a 17th; 8 abbats and 4 counts complete the list. The heading of the last canon, "Ut baptizati Judaei cum episcopis celebrent dies festos," shews what course legislation had taken on that subject since the days of St. Isidore (Mansi, xi. 23–32).

(10) A.D. 656, when 3 metropolitans were present, and the second Eugenius again presides and signs first. This was the first general council at which this had occurred. Only 7 canons were passed, and 20 bishops and 25 episcopal representatives alone subscribe to them. Yet this council deposed Potamius, metropolitan of Braga, whose name appears among the subscribers to the eighth council, on his own confession of a crime committed by him, and appointed Fructuosus, one of his suffragans, in his stead. It also transferred the festival of the Annunciation to Dec. 18, by an express canon, on the ground that it clashed so frequently with Lent or Easter that its due observance was compromised (Mansi, xi. 32–46).

(11) A.D. 675, at an interval of nineteen years from the preceding one, during nine years of which the see of Toledo was filled by St. Ildefonso, nephew to the last prelate, and pupil of St. Isidore. Why no council should have met in his day is a question to which more than one answer might be returned. This, however, is what the 16 bishops who met under his successor, Quiricius, on this occasion, say on the subject: "Eramus huc usque pro labentis seculi colluvione instabiles, quia annosa series temporum, *subtractâ luce conciliorum*, non tam vitia auxerat, quam matrem omnium errorum ignorantiam otiosis mentibus ingerebat." This is in the preface to their own proceedings, which ends with a lengthy paraphrase of the faith of the first four councils, and is followed by 16 canons, the 6th of which begins as follows: "His a quibus Domini sacramenta tractanda sunt, judicium sanguinis agitare non licet." Yet the very next canon contemplates bishops pronouncing sentences of exile and prison against offenders, if nothing worse (Mansi, xi. 129–152).

(12) A.D. 681, at which king Ervigius was present to open proceedings and make known his wishes, Julian metropolitan of Toledo subscribing first, the metropolitans of Seville, Braga, and Merida, being present, and subscribing after him to 13 canons then passed: in the 1st of which, after a profession of the faith of the first four councils, and a recital of the interpolated creed, the resignation of king Wamba and the accession of king Ervigius is declared to have been duly received and authenticated. Whereupon both acts are confirmed by the council, and all who had taken oaths of allegiance to the one are released from them in favour of the other; "Le premier exemple d'une pareille entreprise des évêques," as the authors of *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates* say of it. The pendant to it is contained in the 6th canon, whose title runs thus: "De concessâ Toletano pontifici generalis synodi potestate, ut episcopi alterius provinciae cum conniventiâ principum in urbe regiâ ordinentur." The 9th canon enumerates and ordains a series of severe enactments against the Jews to be made more stringent than ever. By the 10th protection is assured to all who have taken sanctuary; the 11th shews that worshippers of idols were by no means extinct in Spain at that date. Thirty-five bishops, 3 representatives of absent bishops and abbats, and 15 nobles, subscribe to them. Afterwards, in the editions of councils, follows an edict of king Ervigius confirming them all. But in the Isidorian collection the first part of this edict is omitted, and appended to the second is the long edict of king Gundemar, said to have been issued in confirmation of the alleged council of A.D. 610, neither of which, as stated already, were before given in this collection, each setting forth the privileges of this see. In the pseudo-Isidorian collection, only the second part of the edict of king Ervigius follows these canons, and that of Gundemar appears nowhere (Mansi, xi. 1023–1044).

(13) A.D. 683, when king Ervigius was again present, and retired after stating his wishes and handing in his address. Thirteen canons or chapters, as they are called from the tenth council onwards—and their length alone warrants the distinction—were then passed, after the faith of the first four councils had been professed and the interpolated creed recited, determining civil questions with as much freedom as ecclesiastical, and beginning with them in fact. Canon 5, which concludes this branch, forbids anybody to marry the widow of the king. Canon 9 confirms the twelfth council anew, while reciting the confirmation given to it at the time by Ervigius. The subscription to them of Julian, who subscribes first, is peculiar: "Ego Julianus indignus sanctae ecclesiae Toletanae metropolitanus episcopus instituta a nobis definita subscripsi." All the rest, 3 metropolitans and 44 bishops, merely subscribe their names and sees. Eight abbats, 27 representatives of absent bishops, 2 of whom were metropolitans, and 26 nobles complete the list. King Flavius Ervigius follows with his ratification (Mansi, xi. 1059–1082).

(14) A.D. 684, when 16 bishops of the province of Carthagena met under Julian of Toledo, their metropolitan; 6 abbats, and 2 representatives from each of the metropolitans of Tarragona, Narbonne, and Merida; 1 from each of the metropolitans of Braga and Seville, and 2 from absent suffragans of Toledo, being also present and subscribing. They had been ordered by king Ervigius, as they say in their 1st canon, to assemble thus, *ob confutandum Apollinaris dogma pestiferum*, concerning which a communication had reached them, *a Romano praesule*; so that whatever they might decide thereon the metropolitans of other provinces, apprised of it by their representatives, might be able to enforce by means of their own provincial synods throughout Spain and Gallicia. They therefore proceed to discuss this question in all its bearings, *quibus Romanae sedis fueramus literis invitati*. The 2nd canon adds that the courier of the Roman prelate had also brought with him the acts of a council held at Constantinople under the then Emperor Constantine; and that by the courteous letter of the pontiff of ancient Rome they were invited, *ut praedicta synodalia instituta quae miserat, nostri etiam vigoris manerent auctoritate suffulta; omnibusque per nos sub regno Hispaniae consistentibus patescerent divulganda*. This task is accordingly taken in hand by them forthwith; and finding these acts, on examination, to be quite consistent with the faith of the four first councils, they resolve as follows in their 7th canon: "Post Chalcedonense concilium haec debito honore, loco, et ordine, collocanda sunt: ut cujus glorioso themate fulgent, ei et loci et ordinis coaptentur honore." Even so, they cannot let the oppor-

tunity slip of dogmatising on the same points themselves, which occupies five more canons, to the exclusion of every other subject. It is difficult to say which is found the greater *crux* by Roman Catholics of modern times, this council or the papal epistles that gave rise to it. From this council we learn—1. That *gesta synodalia* of the sixth council were duly received in Spain from the then pope, Leo II., which of course necessitates their having been translated into Latin under his auspices, as his own letter contemplates and his own biographer expressly states (Mansi, xi. 1047, 1052). 2. That this council considered itself free to examine and only receive them on their being found orthodox. 3. That this council, by its manner of receiving them, distinctly testified its continued non-acceptance of the fifth council, though the pope, in his epistle to the bishops of Spain, had called them particularly the acts of the sixth council, and named five universal councils in addition (see above, council under Reccared, A.D. 589). From the papal epistles we learn that the Spanish bishops and their king Ervigius had the condemnation of Honorius of Rome by the sixth council formally notified to them by his then successor. G. Loaisa dares not impugn the genuineness of these letters; on the contrary, the MS. containing them has others, according to him, of the next pope, Benedict II., no less useful for throwing light on this council. If so, why were they not all published? Mansi prints but one and passes off one of the letters of Leo for another (*ib.* 1085–1086). Cardinal Aguirre reprints them timidly without a word from himself. Others content themselves with pronouncing them spurious or interpolated in general terms (Mansi, *ib.* 1050–1058, and CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF, p. 446). No confirmation of this council by the king is appended to it (Mansi, *ib.* 1085–1092).

(15) A.D. 688, when king Egica was present, opened proceedings, and handed in an address on withdrawing; after which the bishops reiterate their adherence to the faith of the first four councils, and recite the interpolated creed. They then proceed to their real business, which is curious in the extreme. Julian, their president, had sent a work entitled *Liber de tribus Substantiis*, to Rome, which the then pope, Benedict II., had criticised in detail and pronounced against. He had likewise condemned one expression in their own dogmatic profession which had accompanied it. The council unhesitatingly vindicates both by passages from the fathers, and in re-affirming them observes with caustic vein: *sicut nos non pudebit quae vera sunt defendere, hinc forsan quosdam pudebit quae vera sunt ignorare.* This matter ended, another is settled in the same breath, and with equal freedom, relating to the king. He is formally released from intricacies in the conditions to which the late king had bound him on marrying his daughter. And then 5 metropolitans, 55 bishops, the representatives of 1 metropolitan and 4 more bishops, 8 abbats, 3 superior clergy, and 17 nobles subscribe to its rulings on each head. Naturally king Egica confirms them by a special edict (Mansi, xii. 7–26).

(16) A.D. 693, when king Egica was again present, opened proceedings, and handed in an address on withdrawing, after which the bishops, without any previous reference to the faith or the creed of councils, put forth a long dogmatic statement of their own, in which the points criticised by pope Benedict are once more re-affirmed. At its close, those who depart from the communion of the church or have never joined it, or who reject the faith and decrees of the first councils, are anathematised; and 13 chapters on matters relating to church and state follow. Of these the 1st is headed *De Judaeorum perfidiâ*, and refers in high terms of praise to a late ordinance of the king having for its object, *quatenus aut convertantur ad fidem, aut in perfidiâ perdurantes, acrioribus sedule mulctentur stimulis.* The 6th, which is the last on ecclesiastical matters, is curious for the light it throws on the bread still commonly then used for the Eucharist, and for its own ruling thereon. The 8th is *De munimine prolis regiae*; the 9th, *De Sigeberto episcopo*—that is to say, the late metropolitan of Toledo, who had been incarcerated for having conspired against the king. The council therefore deposed him, translating Felix from the see of Seville to succeed him, Faustinus from the see of Braga to succeed Felix, another Felix from the see of Portugal to succeed Faustinus, as the 12th canon relates; and the last canon orders that the metropolitan of Narbonne, who was prevented from being present, should lose no time in convening his suffragans to subscribe to these chapters, which king Egica thereupon confirms. All the newly-appointed metropolitans, with Felix at their head, and the metropolitan of Merida, who alone went as he came, 54 bishops, 5 abbats, 3 representatives of absent bishops, and 16 nobles subscribe to them (Mansi, xii. 59–88).

(17) A.D. 694, when king Egica was once more present, opened proceedings, and handed in an address as before. After this, the bishops commence their part, by reciting the interpolated creed, and proclaiming their adhesion to it. In their 1st canon they further decree that the first three days of every council shall be spent as fasts, and occupied wholly with matters relating to the faith and other spiritual or ecclesiastical matters, to the exclusion of secular persons. Indeed, of the 8 canons now passed, only the 7th, which is headed *De munitione conjugis atque prolis regiae*, deals with anything else. By the 2nd baptisteries are to be kept locked in Lent, and not opened except for some grave cause. By the 3rd the washing of the feet on Maundy Thursday, which had been intermitted in some churches, is ordered to be revived and everywhere duly performed. By the 5th a pernicious custom of using a mass intended for the repose of the dead on behalf of the living, in order to imperil their lives, is to be punished with lifelong excommunication and imprisonment. By the 6th the general use of litanies in every month of the year decreed of old, is made special for Spain in these terms: "Ut deinceps per totum annum in cunctis duodecim mensibus, per universae Hispaniae et Galliarum provincias, pro statu ecclesiae Dei, pro incolumitate principis nostri atque salvatione populi, et indulgentiâ totius peccati, et a cunctorum fidelium cordibus expulsione diaboli, exomologesis votis gliscentibus celebretur. . . ;" with which St. Isidore, *de Etym.* vi. c. 75–81,

may be profitably compared. The heading of the 8th is *De Judaeorum damnatione*. The usual confirmation of these canons by the king follows; but there are no subscriptions to them (Mansi, xii. 93–108).

(18) A.D. 701.—But there is no earlier authority for it than that of Roderic, archbishop of Toledo in the 13th century; who merely mentions it to add, *tamen in corpore canonum non habetur*, without giving any particulars of it himself (Mansi, xii. 163–164). After this there is but one more real or conjectural council of Toledo till A.D. 1086, at the earliest, and this is vaguely called by most a "council of Spain;" but as it had Elipandus of Toledo for its president, Mansi thinks it may have been held in his metropolis. The date assigned to it by him is A.D. 793, and it is said to have declared in favour of the views of its president on Adoptionism, and to have defended them by testimonies from the fathers in a synodical epistle addressed to the bishops of France, subsequently refuted at Frankfort (Mansi, xiii. 857–858). [E. S. Ff.]

**TOLERATION, EDICT OF** [MARTYR, p. 1125].

**TOMBS, TOMBSTONES.** From the earliest times the bodies of Christians were interred in places open to the sky (CEMETERY) and in subterranean burial-places[a] (CATACOMBS). The forms and arrangements of the tombs in the catacombs of Rome and also of Naples are sufficiently described in the latter article. Those in the catacombs of Syracuse, Taormina, Malta, Canopus, and Alexandria,[b] are likewise alluded to and hardly require further mention here.[c] In the following article an endeavour will be made briefly to notice—

(A) Various kinds of tombs, excluding those mentioned above, found in different countries.[d]

(B) Objects found therein.

(C) Select sepulchral inscriptions of all kinds, wherever found.

[a] M. de Rossi (*Rom. Sott. Crist.* t. i. p. 87, Rom. 1864) announces his preparation for a general work on Christian tombs of both these classes. This most important work has not yet appeared, so far as the writer is aware.

[b] Christian catacombs occur also in Milo (Melos), in which vermilion inscriptions, probably of the 4th century, as well as a small *stèle*, have been found. (Böckh, *C. I. G.*, nos. 9288–9290.)

[c] It should perhaps just be mentioned that in countries where catacombs were unknown, some few sepulchral chambers have been discovered underground. De Rossi mentions one found at Rheims in 1738, adorned with pictures, which have perished; and another at the same place which was found and destroyed in 1517 (*Rom. Sott.* t. i. p. 100): see also Le Blant (*Manuel*, c. ix.) for a subterranean chamber at Montmartre, under a martyrium. In Palestine, again, we have an example of the same sort; a subterranean chamber thirty feet long, twelve wide, and eight high was discovered in 1854 near Saida (Sidon). On the interior of its whited walls various figures were drawn in red, and an inscription was written all round below their upper edge, which recorded that the chamber was made "for the memory and the repose of Anarbas and his brother John;" with two passages quoted from Ps. xxiii. and I Cor. xv. The date also given in the inscription is rather mutilated, but probably corresponds to A.D. 642 (Böckh, *C. I. G.*, no. 9153).

[d] Inscriptions in connexion with the particular tombs mentioned are included under this section.

It may be advisable, however, to make a few preliminary remarks.

The ancient Roman laws of the twelve tables and those of imperial times, from Hadrian to Diocletian, strictly forbade burials to take place in Rome and in cities generally (see the laws quoted by Bingham, *Antiq.* XXIII. i. § 2). The Christians do not appear ever to have been charged with transgressing these laws, but rather objected the transgression of them to the heathen. It must consequently follow that we cannot expect to find tombs in city churches or in any grounds contiguous to them during the first three centuries. [CHURCHYARDS.] There is, in fact, as yet no literary or archaeological evidence to shew that any Christian burial took place in a church, or that any sepulchral monument was placed in or even near to a church before the death of Constantine (Bingham, *u. s.*; Muratori, *Anecd.* t. i., *Dissert.* xvii. pp. 185–189).[e]

Neither does there appear to be a single well-authenticated instance of any burial, nor of any tomb properly so called, in any city whatever during the same period. For although it is stated by Eusebius, following Hegesippus (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii. c. 23), that James the Just, the brother of our Lord, had a tombstone (στήλη)[f] erected to him close by the Temple at Jerusalem, on the spot where he was martyred, yet it is far more probable that he was buried on the Mount of Olives, at no great distance indeed, but outside the city walls. This was the opinion of others mentioned by St. Jerome (*lib. de Vir. Ill.* c. 2); and it appears from the Gospels that it was the custom of the Jews to bury outside the precincts of cities. (Luke vii. 12; John xix. 42; coll. Heb. xiii. 12.)

For these three centuries we have very few sepulchral monuments remaining, with the exception of those in the Roman catacombs, though

[e] De Rossi's work on the Roman inscriptions of the first six centuries shews no sepulchral slab placed, or presumed to have been ever placed, in a church or basilica during the first three centuries. There are, however, many epitaphs of the 4th century now or lately to be seen in Roman churches or basilicas, but very few can be counted upon as being in their original sites. One marble slab was found adhering to its sepulchre on the pavement of the basilica of St. Alexander on the Via Nomentana (A.D. 396), and another (A.D. 402) on that of the subterranean basilica of St. Hermes (De Rossi, Nos. 438, 507). Some appear to have been taken from the catacombs (see Nos. 80, 153, 182, 186, 224); but De Rossi considers that this is not the case with others (Nos. 149, 184). The greatest number have occurred in the pavement of the basilica of St. Paul on the Via Ostiensis; it was built, according to Hübsch, A.D. 366, but some of the slabs bear earlier dates, the earliest being A.D. 345 (see Nos. 88, 98, 204, 209, 246, 316, 371), consequently the slabs have been moved from their original sites. This may also have been the case in many other instances.

An early example of a burial in an African basilica will be found in the mosaic of Reparatus, A.D. 475 (see below).

Slabs beautifully decorated with foliage, flowers, etc. occur in the church of Briord, A.D. 487 (Le Blant, no. 379, pl. 43), and in the nave of the cathedral of Vaison, A.D. 515 (Le Blant, no. 492, pl. 66).

[f] For the form of the στήλη see *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Ant.* s. v. "Funus;" but the word appears to be used somewhat vaguely.

there is abundant evidence that open-air burial-places of various kinds were then in use in many parts of the Christian world. Many of these monuments were doubtless destroyed during the times of persecution (Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 6). Even of the few which remain some appear to be restorations made in the time of the peace of the church. De Rossi thinks that the celebrated Autun inscription (see Vol. I. p. 806) is one of these. That of Caesarea in Mauretania (Vol. I. p. 848) is unquestionably so. (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* t. i. § iii. *I Cemeteri sopra terra.*)

At Rome, and indeed everywhere else for several centuries,[g] many tombs, among which some were Christian, were erected in the suburbs by the sides of the principal roads leading into the city. Thus according to Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epist.* i. 5, ed. Sirm.) the burial-place of St. Peter was outside the walls of Rome, a church being still, in his time (A.D. 470), standing over it. St. Jerome says that that apostle was buried in the Via Triumphalis beyond the Tiber, and that St. Paul was buried in the Via Ostiensis, three miles without the gates of the city (*u. s.* c. 1 and c. 5). Caius, a presbyter of the church of Rome, about the year 210, speaks of these tombs as "the trophies of the apostles" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 25). They were removed about the year 258 into the catacombs, lest some indignity might be offered to them at that time of persecution (*Dep. Mart. ap.* Pearson, *Annal. Cyprian.* p. 62). The very fact of their removal shews that they could not have been of very considerable size. They may probably have been *cippi* bearing inscriptions. Some other monuments belonging to open-air burial-places in the neighbourhood of Rome, which have come down to our times, will be noticed below under Italy.

"Quum antiquitus," says Onuphrius Panvinius (*Rit. Sep. Mort.* c. vii. ed. Col. 1568), "tantum extra urbem in coemiteriis hominum corpora sepelirentur, pace ecclesiae data intra urbes ad templorum limina, postea in ipsis templis sepeliri mos invaluit." He then gives many examples of burials in or close to churches, which we proceed to cite: the emperor Constantine was buried in the porch of the temple of the apostles at Constantinople, and this is probably the earliest known example of the kind; the emperor Honorius was laid in the porch of St. Peter's church at Rome, and his espoused wife Maria inside the same church; Rotharis, king of the Lombards, was buried in the church of St. John the Baptist at Pavia; king Clotharius in the basilica of St. Vincentius at Paris; Brunichildis, queen of the Franks, in the church of St. Martin at Autun; Charles Martel and his son Pepin in the church of St. Denis at Paris; Charlemagne in the church of St. Mary at Aachen, where a large tombstone bearing his name only, CAROLO MAGNO, is still to be seen. Pope Leo the Great, and many popes after him, were buried in St. Peter's at Rome; St. Benedict, abbot of Casino, in the basilica of St. John the Baptist. But of the character of their tombs, which were probably in most cases of great magnificence, we are unable, with scarcely an exception, to say anything. It may be suspected that some of them were marble sarcophagi, placed either above the ground or possibly below it, of which we have many fine Christian examples yet remaining from the 4th century downwards, more or less elaborately sculptured. [SCULPTURE.] Notwithstanding the examples above named, and some others which might be mentioned [CUBICULUM; OBSEQUIES OF THE DEAD, § xiv.], there were several laws of emperors of the 4th and following centuries, and several canons of councils from the 6th century onwards, down to the Council of Mentz in the time of Charlemagne, which distinctly prohibited burials in churches, this last council, however, making certain exceptions (Gretser, *de Fun. Christ.* ii. 8; Bingham, XXIII. i. §§ 4, 6, 7, 8). There is no doubt tha about this time many persons considered it advantageous to their souls to be buried in churches, and Gregory the Great in the 6th century sanctions this opinion. "When heavy sins do not press men down, it is profitable for the dead if they be buried in churches, because their friends, as often as they come thither, remember those whose sepulchres they behold, and offer prayers to the Lord for them" (*Dial.* lib. iv. c. 50). In spite of this opinion in its favour prohibitions continued to be made not only, as has been said, down to the time of Charlemagne's death, but also as late as A.D. 1076, when a council of Winchester under Lanfranc laid down in its ninth canon that "In ecclesiis corpora defunctorum non sepeliantur." Nor was it until the time of Boniface VIII., about the close of the 13th century, that it was spoken of as a customary thing for men to be buried in a church where their ancestors lay. From his decretals, as Bingham thinks, "may be dated the ruin of the old laws" (*u. s.* § 9).[h]

In what follows little will be said of any tombs which do not now exist, or have not lately been in existence.

(A) *General Character of Christian Tombs, exclusive of Catacombs, in various Countries.*

ITALY.—Christian tombs of a very early period have been found above ground in Tusculum and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Rome. De Rossi (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* for 1872) has a memoir entitled *Il Tusculo, le Ville Tusculane e*

[g] πᾶσα πόλις, καὶ πᾶσα κώμη πρὸ τῶν εἰσόδων τάφους ἔχει (Pseudo-Chrysost. *de Fide et Lege Nat.* t. i. p. 829, ed. Bened.).

[h] Muratori (*u. s.* p. 188) holds a brief to shew that burials in churches, in country places at least, had never been regarded as unlawful, and explains away the church canons and imperial laws above referred to as merely designed to prevent overcrowded burials in churches: "quia nimis in aedibus sacris tumulorum cadaverumque moles augebantur, ut *propterea* coercendi, ex parte fuerint Christiani." But, to say nothing of the fact that the laws and councils make no distinction between town and country churches, the Council of Braga in Spain, about A.D. 563, expressly assigns a very different reason for the prohibition (see can. 18, quoted in OBSEQUIES OF THE DEAD, § xvi.). The principal passages on which Muratori relies are from Paulinus (both quoted in CUBICULA) and from St. Ambrose, who desired to be and was buried under the altar in the basilica which he had built at Milan. "Dignum est enim ut ibi requiescat sacerdos, ubi offerre consuerit." (*Orat. in SS. Gerv. et Prot.* The true reference is to *Epist.* xxii. p. 877, ed. Bened.) None of his authorities are earlier than the end of the 4th century.

*le loro antiche memorie Cristiane*, in which he says that he was desirous to find a cippus which had been transcribed by Fabretti, and had been seen many years later, not bearing the patera and simpulum so frequent on pagan cippi, but two anchors, symbolical of Christian hope, a device found on the tombs of the Catacombs. It runs thus: *Cl. Irenico | filio dv'cis | simo cl. Ecty | ches avs et cl. Po | thvmenvs pa | ter et Decia Rv | fina mater fecervnt* (p. 98). It had been found at Ciampino, in the vicinity of Tusculum. The account of his successful exploration is very interesting (pp. 99, 100).

De Rossi is acquainted with only one other cippus bearing the Christian symbol of the anchor. It seems now to be known merely by the description contained in a MS. of the Vatican (6039, f. 252 verso): *Cippus in hortulis S. Sebastiani extra muros P. V.* (Petrus Victorius) *scripsit*. It reads: *Marcellae | sanctissi | mae femin | ae Alvnni | anvs frate | r.* Below which are two anchors, that on the left being reversed. "The cippus form of the monument," remarks De Rossi (*u. s.* p. 99), "if, according to all ordinary rules, it excludes a subterranean origin, does not necessarily exclude its Christianity, because we know that Christian sepulchres still exist above ground which are in the form of cippi" (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1864, pp. 25–32).

But besides isolated tombs in fields or vineyards or by the sides of the public ways, we have in the suburbs of Rome several cemeteries around basilicas which were apparently executed about the 4th century. De Rossi has observed traces of such in various states of preservation in the field above the cemetery of St. Callistus, and in the Agro Verano above that of St. Cyriaca, and in other places. He describes at length and gives a figure of the necropolis above ground under which is the catacomb of St. Callistus (*Rom. Sott.* lib. iii. pp. 393 sqq. tav. xxxix.). It consists of an assemblage of deep oblong chambers of different dimensions formed by walls made of mixed tufa and brick, intersecting each other at right angles, the tops of which are on the level of the ground. The covers and the bottoms of these chambers were sometimes composed of marble or granite slabs, the lateral walls being left rough; within them bodies were placed one above another in different manners, which De Rossi describes. Sometimes they were only separated by a stone slab, sometimes the bodies were placed in distinct sarcophagi; eight or nine corpses were ordinarily placed one above another. It would appear that only a very few inscriptions, unimportant and undated, have hitherto been found; but the cemetery may be referred to the fourth or fifth century from the style of the work of its walls.[1] He also found above the crypts of St. Lucina a few chambers or fosses, not subdivided like these into horizontal planes and receiving the corpses in their empty spaces, but left open like a well and having loculi excavated in their sides, precisely as in the Catacombs (*u. s.* p. 404). He gives in fine an account, in the first volume of his *Inscript. Christ. Urb. Rom.* (p. 108), of a cemetery attached to the Vatican basilica, which was accidentally discovered in the following manner. On September 6, 1689, a horse trod upon and broke the stone which covered the opening to the graves below. Beneath was found a white marble sarcophagus, between seven and eight feet long, three feet broad and three feet deep, composed of several pieces joined by mortar; the body, placed therein on its back, was swathed and embalmed. Below this, divided from it by a partition about nine inches thick, was discovered another coffin of the same size and with similar contents. On the inside of the lid of the latter was found an inscription, whose date corresponds with A.D. 369. Other coffins again were discovered below this, but the excavations were not thoroughly carried out. The stone, as frequently happens, was broken in pieces and part of it built into a wall. De Rossi describes the whole inscription from Ciampini, and indicates by his plate the small portion still surviving (see his no. 211, p. 108). He also gives (*Rom. Sott.* t. i. p. 94) a diagram illustrating this mode of sepulture. Coffins thus placed one above another in strata have not, so far as De Rossi is aware, been observed in Africa, or in Upper Italy or in France, or in any other country where subterranean cemeteries were unknown.[J] The arrangement indeed is substantially the same as that which is adopted in the catacombs of Rome [CATACOMBS, in Vol. I. p. 313].

Some very singular tombs have been found in the north of Italy, at Brescia, Verona, and especially at Milan, below the floor of the basilica of Fausta. Contrary to the rule which obtains in the Roman catacombs, the tombs are decorated with paintings in the interior; they are constructed of masonry, and their narrow walls are adorned on the inside with images and symbols traced in colours. They have been assigned to the ages of persecution, but although this opinion can hardly be maintained, their style is in all likelihood a survival from the times when it was dangerous to allow signs of Christianity to be seen outwardly (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* t. i. pp. 100–101, and references).

A few words should be said in conclusion of the two principal forms of the sarcophagus which are found in Italy, and also in other countries: (1) the oblong chest or coffin type, with flat lid; the ends are generally square (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* tom. i. tav. xxx., two examples—one sarcophagus is quite plain; the other slightly ornamented) or more rarely rounded (D'Agincourt, *Hist. de l'Art, Sculpture*, pl. iv. nos. 2 and 3, both sculptured): (2) the cottage type (*a capanna* of the Italian antiquaries), with lid like a roof, (Le Blant, *Inscr. Chrét. Gaule*, pl. 78, quite plain); the roof ridge is sometimes truncated to admit of an inscription being placed thereon (Le Blant, *u. s.* pl. 22, no. 139, nearly plain; D'Agin-

[1] With this necropolis De Rossi compares a very perfect example of an above-ground cemetery which has lately been found at Portogruaro, the ancient Julia Concordia, in Venetia, the excavations of which had not in 1877 been completed. Sarcophagi lie on the surface of the ground, and the inscriptions at present discovered appear to be of the fourth century. For some account of it see De Rossi (*Bull.* 1873, pp. 80–82; and for 1874, p. 133 sqq. tav. ix. and *Rom. Sott.* (1877), tom. iii. p. 395).

[J] He mentions, however, as an exception, the disposition of the sarcophagi in the church of Vienne. St. Gervais furnishes another exception. (For both these see below.) Still he thinks it not improbable that this mode of burial may have been introduced into other parts of the Roman Christian world.

court, *u. s.* pl. iv., sculpture 1), instead of being written on the end (Le Blant, *u. s.* pl. 69) or on the side (Böckh, *C. I. G.* no. 9163, pl. xv.). The base of the triangular end of the lid is sometimes ornamented with *acroteria*, like a temple. (Böckh, *u. s.*) The chest and lid may each be of a single stone, or of many; bricks and tiles were also used in the construction of the meaner sort. See various examples of sarcophagi given in SCULPTURE.

FRANCE.—After Italy this is the country which most abounds with Christian sepulchral stones and slabs. But of those which are preserved comparatively few tell their full story. The circumstances under which they were found are frequently unknown. M. Le Blant, partly by his own observations and partly by examinations of books and figures, comes to the conclusion that there were three forms of Christian burial in ancient Gaul accompanied by inscriptions. (1) Isolated tombs; (2) cemeteries, where the tombs were either below the surface of the ground, or resting on the soil; or (3) tombs clustered about sanctuaries of saints, or placed in churches (*Manuel*, pp. 144, 145). Of each of these one or two examples shall now be adduced. It must be borne in mind that no Christian sepulchral inscription of Gaul whose date is known is earlier than the 4th century.

(1) *Isolated Tombs.*—An example of this isolation was to be seen in the monument of Adelphius, at Sainte-Croix-du-Mont. The date is A.D. 405. It bears the following inscription:

*Depositio Adelfi . . . . | anorvm N̄. III mensivm | et tridvo P. C̄. D̄om. n̄tri | Honori Avgusti | Sex a ☧ ω posvit | pater Maurvsivs et Vrsa m | ? (mater ?).*

It is now in the museum at Bordeaux (Le Blant, *Ins. Chr. G.* t. ii. p. 384, no. 591).

"Elle (l'inscription) était," says M. Jouannet, "encore en place il y a quelques années au pied des côteaux de Viole dans les vignes du Peyrat, près de la voie publique. Elle était encastrée sur la grande face d'un tombeau construit en moëllons à chaux et à sable, et qui renfermait encore un squelette" (quoted by Le Blant, *u. s.*).

It would appear probable that a considerable number of the smaller extant inscriptions on marble of square or oblong form have been let into the tombs or sarcophagi, or into the wall near them, both in France and in various other countries (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* t. i. pp. 95, 96).

Another and a very curious instance of an isolated tomb occurs near Charmes, which was visited in the 17th century, when Spon saw it, as the burial-place of a saint. The inscription is in elegiacs, and the name of the person buried, Alethius, is read in acrostic. It is singular that it contains no evidence of distinctly Christian feeling. The last line, which is prose, probably indicated the date of the consulate of Paulinus, A.D. 534, when the Franks invaded Burgundy, to which allusion seems to be made in line seven. The lid of the sarcophagus, containing the inscription enclosed in a label of a common form, is figured by Le Blant (*u. s.* p. 196, pl. 64, no. 391), and he says that the form of the sarcophagus is exactly like one given by M. de Boissieu (*Inscr. Ant. de Lyon*, no. cvii. p. 524).

The epitaph runs thus:

*Aevi ingens genvs egregivm atq ordine princeps*
*Lvgdvni procervm nobile consilivm*
*Exacto vitae transcendit ad aethera cvrsv*
*Terrenvm tvmvlo dans animam svperis*
*[Hic patris] reliqva gener ac pia filia condvnt*
*I[gnara vt] non sin[t] saecla fvtvra svi*
*Vsvr [ae] lvcis natos melioribvs an[nis]*
*[Sex lv]s[tra] exegit non breve ter spativm*
*[Civis] qvi fverit simvl et qvo n[om]ine [dictvs]*
*[Ver]sibvs in primis ordine prod[it apex]*
*. n . . . terrier . . . s . . . Pavlvi . . .*

If the last distich is rightly restored the initial letters C V will probably stand, as M. Léon Renier thinks, for Clarissimus Vir; his proper title seems to be required.

(2) *Cemeteries.*

(*a*) *Where the earth received the sepultures.*—At St. Gervais a cemetery was discovered not many years ago, in making a cutting for the Vienne railroad. A great part of the inscriptions found therein are supposed by M. Le Blant to belong to the 5th century. Among the sarcophagi some were made out of one block, but the majority were composed of tiles and old fragments; in several instances the tombs had been placed one above another, and some corpses had been deposited between their lateral walls. With the exception of one which faced the south, they were regularly turned towards the east, after the usual Christian manner. Although the cemetery had never been violated, none of the epitaphs were placed symmetrically; they were found as it were thrown hap-hazard (*comme jetées par hasard*) upon the tombs, or in the inside or near them. A hasty sketch, by M. Girard, shews the irregular disposition of the tombs (Le Blant, *u. s.* tom. ii. pp. 52–53, with a figure).

Recent excavations in an ancient cemetery of the church of St. Jean-des-Vignes, near Châlons-sur-Saône, have revealed sarcophagi of freestone (*grès*) placed one above another two or three deep. They are supposed to be of the Merovingian age (Le Blant, *u. s.* t. ii. pp. 543-4).

At Lyons, in 1731, in making a trench for laying down pipes, a cemetery was discovered which served at once for Christian and pagan burials. The excavations were not pursued further than was necessary for making the conduit. Of the inscribed stones which turned up by chance the greater number were dated, and among them was found the earliest dated inscription yet discovered in France, being of A.D. 334 (Le Blant, *u. s.* t. i. p. 139, no. 62; and *Manuel*, pp. 211, 212).

The inscription was sometimes written in the inside of the sarcophagus, on a slab forming its bottom. Two such were found at Briord, one being made of stones and bricks, the other having its sides and lid composed of tiles and undressed fragments (*non-taillés*). They are at least as early as the beginning of the sixth century (Le Blant, *u. s.* t. ii. p. 6, no. 374; also p. 20, no. 381).

(*b*) *Where the Sarcophagi were resting on the Soil.*—Such occur at Aliscamps, near Arles, in great numbers. Le Blant (*Manuel*, p. 145) observes that the mass of tombs here struck the

eyes of Dante and Ariosto with amazement. (*Inf.* ix. 112, 115; *Orl. Fur.* xxxix. st. 72.)

Le Blant mentions an inscription engraved "sur le versant du couvercle d'un sarcophage de pierre." This cover, in form of a roof, is also marked with a cross *pattée* rudely traced with the point (*u. s.* t. ii. p. 271, no. 535). It is undated. Another inscription from the same place belongs to A.D. 541 (Le Blant, *u. s.* p. 272, no. 537). De Rossi also mentions having seen at Aliscamps coffins of calcareous stone with covers of the same shape incised with the chrisma and various forms of crosses, as well as lead coffins to contain the body (*Rom. Sott.* t. i. p. 95). When Mr. Fairholt visited Aliscamps in 1856, he remarked that, in spite of the numbers of sarcophagi that have been carried thence, hundreds still remain; and that for nearly a mile, as the visitor walks from Arles to the old church, he passes between rows of Roman tombs lying three and four deep on each side of him. The best tombs have been carried to the museums; a few of those that remain have sculptured inscriptions; some bear the insignia of the profession of the dead which they contained, as where the carpenter's adze and the mason's plumb and line appear; but the larger number have the Christian monogram only. A sketch of the general appearance of a part of the cemetery is given (C. R. Smith's *Collect. Ant.* vol. v. pp. 43, 44).

At Sivaux coffins or sarcophagi, engraved with a cross or chrisma and bearing a simple name, have been found on an old burying-ground (*champ de sépulture*). They seem to be of the 6th century, or thereabouts, and among them are some which appear to be pagan (Le Blant, *u. s.* t. ii. pp. 357–359; nos. 576 A–576 B). Some of the monuments of Aliscamps and of Sivaux have been drawn by Beauméné, but not very correctly (Le Blant, *u. s.* t. i. p. 25).

(3) *Burials in Churches and Sanctuaries.*—From the apse to the middle of the nave of the ancient church of St. Peter of Vienne have been found beneath the surface an important series of Christian tombs, and more recently others reaching down to the threshold between the church and the porch. Towards the altar, where the relics of the martyrs were preserved, they were more numerous, and in the choir were two or three deep; but not so near the entrance. The coffins had been old pagan sarcophagi, or made out of the *débris* of ancient buildings. The inscriptions, mostly cut in marble, have often been let into the stone which re-covered the tombs (Le Blant, *u. s.* ii. p. 581; see also De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* t. i. p. 95, and the reference). They belong, certainly in part, and probably all, to the 6th century. Among these broken relics was found a piece of the epitaph of Sylvia, wife of the patrician Celsus (A.D. 579), of which a complete copy exists in a MS. of the 9th century (Le Blant, *u. s.* p. 582, and *Manuel*, p. 219). A great number of Gaulish inscriptions shew that tombs were placed under the protection of the graves of martyrs (Le Blant, *u. s.* t. i. p. 397; see also his *Manuel*, pp. 146–148).

The tomb of Hilary, bishop of Arles, who died in 449, was formerly in a subterrânean chapel of the church of St. Honoratus at that place. It is a sarcophagus of white marble, and the inscription is written on the triangular end of the lid. It is now preserved in the museum. It reads: *Sacro* | *sanctae le* | *gis antestis* | (followed by a leaf) *Hilarivs* (between two doves) *hic qviescit* (preceded by chrisma, followed by vase) | (Le Blant, *u. s.* t. ii. p. 252, no. 515. pl. 69, no. 416). De Rossi remarks on the beauty of the marble sarcophagi with Christian sculptures, representing scenes of the Old and New Testaments, which are to be seen at Marseilles, Arles, Nismes, Avignon, and other cities in the south of France (*u. s.* p. 95).

Zacharias, third bishop of Lyons, in the beginning of the 3rd century, laid the first foundation of a *cella* known as the church of the Maccabees, and in after-times as the church of St. Justus. It was originally underground, being a kind of crypt which was carefully concealed from the knowledge of the pagans; therein were deposited the remains of the illustrious martyrs of Lyons, with St. Irenaeus at their head. In the ruins of this church were found in the year 1736 several Christian sepulchral slabs of marble belonging in part or entirely to the 5th century (Le Blant, *u. s.* t. i. pp. 39 sqq.). The two following are among the most important:—

(1) *Flavivs Flori* [*nvs*] | *ex tribvnis qvi vixit* | *octoginta et* | *septim militavi* (sic) *ann.* | *triginta et novem positv* (sic) | *est ad sanctos et pro* | *batvs annorum decim* | *et octo hic commemo* | *ra* [*tio fit*] *santa in eclesia Lvgdvnensi a.* | *i d Calendas Aug.* (Le Blant, no. 41).

Date probably of the 5th century, the *a i d* (*ante diem primum*) for *pridie* being a formula of that age. (See Le Blant, *u. s.* p. 338.)

To Florinus, a tribune, buried beside the tombs of the saints or martyrs of Lyons; entered as a military probationer, when eighteen years of age; mentioned during divine service in the diptychs, or list of benefactors to the church.

This inscription is interesting as mentioning the military profession of a Christian. Others have been diligently collected by Le Blant (*u. s.*).

(2) *In hvc loco* (for *hunc locum*) *reqviexit Levcadia* | *deo sacrata pvella qui* (sic) *vitam* | *svam provt proposverat* | *gessit qvi vixit annos xvi tantvm* | *beatior in dno condedit mentem* | *pst consv Thevdosi xiii.* The chrisma between two doves facing each other (Le Blant, no. 44).

*Post consulatum Theodosii xiii.* gives A.D. 430 for the date.

The *qui* twice occurring as feminine marks the transition to the French *qui*.

Le Blant's remarks on the three forms of Christian burial in France apply to sepulchres in France of an earlier date than the 8th century.

There is however another class of tombstones which he does not notice, belonging, in part at least, to a somewhat later time, but not altogether too late to be noticed in the present work. Le Men (in *Revue Arch.* vol. xxix. p. 89, for 1875) observes that at an ancient period, about the 8th, 9th, or 10th century, it was customary in Lower Brittany to mark the graves of important persons by a long stone set in the ground having the form of a pyramid or truncated cone, often channelled from top to bottom, sometimes surmounted by a cross of stone, and frequently having a cross *pattée* incised on one

face.[k] They rarely bore any inscription, but some few record the names of the deceased. They are very numerous in the departments of Morbihan and Finisterre. Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, vol. ii. pp. 97, 98) give an account of some of these tombstones and inscriptions, one or two of which appear to be even as early as the 6th century; but they observe that they all "need sifting and careful examination to ascertain their real dates."

SPAIN.—A very large proportion of the sepulchral inscriptions now remaining have been removed from their original sites, and the circumstances under which they were found have not been recorded. It is probable, however, that the modes of interment which prevailed throughout the country were much the same as in France. All the three kinds mentioned by Le Blant occur here also. Thus, an isolated tomb of one Oppilanus was found in 1821 in an olive-yard in Villafranca de Cordoba. It was a sarcophagus constructed of stones, covered with a large marble slab, bearing an inscription in twelve lines, dated by the Spanish era 680, *i.e.* A.D. 642 (Hübner, *Inscr. Christ. Hisp.* p. 36, no. 123). A Christian cemetery was discovered near Asquerosa, about half a league from Pinos de la Puente (Ilurco). Full particulars of an inscribed slab brought thence, probably of the 5th or 6th century, are to be found in Hübner (*u. s.* no. 116). We have an example of a tomb placed in a sanctuary at Alcala del Rio (Ilipa), where there is an ornamental cippus erected in honour of bishop Gregory, A.D. 544. At the top is the chrisma, combined with the α and ω, enclosed in a circle. On either side are two quatrefoils, one above another. The inscription, which commences with the words "In hoc tvmvlo iacet," shews that the cippus was once placed in immediate connexion with the grave. It is now standing in the chapel, dedicated in the 15th century by king Ferdinand to this Gregory, which was probably erected on the same site as a more ancient chapel (Hübner, *u. s.* no. 60). Fine sarcophagi, sculptured with scriptural subjects, probably of the 5th or 6th century, have been found in the crypt of a ruined church at Saragossa (Hübner, *u. s.* no. 152).

GERMANY.—For the few notices of tombs which follow, we are indebted mostly to De Rossi. At Augsburg there is a sepulchral area or "hortus, quem dudum Afra comparaverat et in quo mausoleum sibi suisque esse decreverat," as a writer of the 15th century expresses it, perhaps following some more ancient authority. She lies buried in a sarcophagus of calcareous stone similar to those of Aliscamps. At the beginning of the present century her coffin was found to contain a plate of lead inscribed AFRA in good Roman uncial characters, but without any indication of Christianity. She and her companions suffered in the Diocletian persecution, according to Ruinart on August 7, A.D. 304. There are also sarcophagi of the same kind without any inscription whatever at Cologne, in the crypt of St. Gereon and in the basilica of St. Ursula. At Trier likewise were found in the basilicas of SS. Paulinus and Matthias a large number of sarcophagi similar to those of Vienne, mentioned above (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* t. i. pp. 87, 95, 98, and the references). At the same place, as Le Blant observes, occurred a cemetery in which Christian and pagan tombs were mixed: on one of the former an inscribed tablet of white marble was let into a thick stone slab, which was placed against the side of the lid; this tomb was made in the form of a roof turned upside down (*u. s.* t. i. p. 380).

The ancient Franks, and perhaps the Germanic tribes generally, buried the dead in a wooden coffin (the *noffus* of their ancient laws, see Ducange, *s. v.*) or in a stone chest (*petra*), placing thereover small wooden structures covered with drapery (the *aristato* or *staplum* of the same laws, see Ducange, *s. v.*). The Christians adopted this usage; we read of corpses "pallis ac naufis exornata" (Greg. Turon. *de Glor. Conf.* c. 20); and from it our modern pall seems to have descended. Sometimes the structures of wood were larger (*porticulus*, *atriolum*, or *basilica*), and were of an oblong form, having four columns and being open on all sides; these also were used by the Christians. Wendelin in his Salic Glossary observes that up to the year 1000 almost all basilicas in Burgundy were made of wood (see Chiflet, *Anast. Child. Regis*, pp. 78–80).

GREAT BRITAIN.—In the Celtic parts—that is to say, in Cornwall, Devonshire, Wales, and Scottish and English Cumbria—pillar-stones, generally very rudely formed, were erected over the graves of the deceased. They vary in height from about two feet and a half to twelve feet, the most usual height being about four or five feet or a little more; they are four-sided, for the most part of nearly the same breadth throughout their whole length, usually rounded at the top, but occasionally sloping from the base to a point or cut square (Hübner, *Inscr. Brit. Christ.* nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 15, 18, 19, 30, 71, &c.; Berlin, 1876).[1] A great many of these bear no signs of Christianity, though they are presumed to be Christian by Hübner and others; but upon some few of them such signs are manifest in the chrisma (the only symbol save the cross which occurs), or in words, as *Christianus*, *in pace*, &c. It is exceedingly difficult to assign most of them to any particular period; some however are regarded as probably belonging to the 5th, while others are referred to various succeeding centuries. The inscriptions are mostly very short, often giving the name only, or "Here lies (*hic jacet*, more commonly *ic jacit*) such an one." In some cases the corpse was certainly buried under a heap of stones and the pillar placed at the top (Hübner, *u. s.* no. 136); such monuments were probably solitary. More usually the burials were in churchyards, or in cemeteries attached to religious houses, many pillar-stones having been found in such places or built into the walls of churches and priories (Hübner, *u. s.* passim). These rude *cippi* are often found not *in situ*, some having been converted into gate-posts (Hübner, *u. s.* nos. 14, 21, 102, 148), or

[k] Christian symbols occur on a "menhir" near Lannion, in the department of Côtes du Nord. See Haddan and Stubbs, vol. ii. p 98, note.

[1] This important work has appeared since INSCRIPTIONS (Vol. I. p. 845) was written. Figures are frequently added. Prof. Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliae* (now in course of publication) gives splendid plates of the Welsh inscriptions.

used for stiles, or bridges, or door-sills (Hübner, *u. s.* nos. 17, 29, 101).

The number of Cornish pillar-stones bearing inscriptions falling within our period, whose Christianity can be counted upon, is extremely small. (See Hübner, *u. s.* nos. 1–22; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. i. pp. 162 and 163.) In Devonshire there are no stones indubitably Christian bearing inscriptions; but stone crosses not inscribed, which are considered to be Christian, occur in several places here and in Cornwall.

In Wales, pillar-stones with Christian inscriptions are much more numerous. On one of them Paulihus is commemorated in two barbarous hexameters; he is presumed to be the bishop of that name who lived about the middle of the 6th century, and who taught St. David and St. Tilo at his college of Whitland. Another mentions Idnert, who is supposed to be the same as




Kirkmadrine Pillar-stone. (Stuart.)

the last bishop of Llanbadarn in the first part of the 8th century (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. i. pp. 164–169, 625).

In Scottish and English Cumbria there are very few inscribed tombstones whose Christianity is certain, but uninscribed crosses, some ornamented, have been found in churchyards in Cumberland, in Wigtonshire, and about Glasgow. At Kirkmadrine in Wigtonshire, however, there was in the old churchyard a stone bearing the chrisma on the upper part of both back and front. On the front the A ET ω is placed above the chrisma, which is enclosed in a circle, and below it, "Here lie the holy and principal priests, *i.e.* Viventius and Majorius." It is probable that it is of the 5th century, and commemorates priests connected with St. Ninian. This stone, and another bearing the chrisma and the name of Florentius, were lately used as gate-posts in the wall of the burying-ground (Hübner, *u. s.* nos. 205, 206; Haddan and Stubbs, *u. s.* vol. ii. pp. 51, 52).



The Bewcastle Cross. (Stephens.)*

There are very few pillar-shaped monuments inscribed in the Anglo-Saxon language; one, apparently sepulchral, has been found near Camelford in Cornwall, but the meaning of the inscription has not been ascertained (Hübner, *u. s.* no. 16). The Saxon tombstones are principally of two kinds—stone crosses with long stem and short arms near the top, sometimes highly

ornamented with interlacing patterns, &c., inscribed with Runes; or slabs bearing incised crosses very similar in style to the Irish (see below), and with Latin or Runic characters. Splendid Runic crosses have been erected to more than one of our early kings: one, now mutilated, to Oswin king of Deira, about A.D. 651, now reads only "*After* (to) *Onswini, King*;" it is at Collingham, Yorkshire. Another, at Bewcastle, Cumberland, was erected to king Alcfrith about A.D. 670. The top and both arms of the cross have been broken off; its present height is fourteen feet and a half, and it is conjectured to have been originally more than twenty feet high. Upon it are figures of John the Baptist with lamb, of the Saviour, and of another holding a bird (hawk?). On three of the four sides are vine-branches and grapes; two of these have also Runic inscriptions, as has also the fourth, where the figures are seen in relief. The longest inscription on this side tells us that this beacon (pillar) was erected by three persons named "*after* (to) Alcfrith, *some time king and son of Oswy*." The last sentence, to which a cross is prefixed, is "*Pray for his soul's great sin*." A third, the latest belonging to our period, is to Eadulf (A.D. 705), of which a small fragment only remains. It appears to read: "*This is King Eadulf's grave; pray for his soul. Myredah made me, Hludwyg inscribed me*" (see Stephens' *Runic Monuments*, pp. 390, 398, 461). A more humble, but better preserved cross than any of the foregoing, was found at Lancaster in a churchyard by some men who were digging a grave. Its date is supposed to lie between 600 and 700, and it reads in Runes: "*Pray for Cynibalth; God bless him*." A fragment of another cross, about A.D. 700, to Hroetberht, found at Falstone, Northumberland, has a Saxon inscription written twice, in Runic and also in Roman characters; and a small piece of a cross found at Dewsbury in Yorkshire bears a Saxon inscription, written in Roman characters; it probably belongs to the 7th or 8th century. (See fig. p. 1987.) Both inscriptions request prayers for the soul of the dead (Stephens, *u. s.* pp. 375, 456, 464).

Sarcophagi were not unknown to the Anglo-Saxons;[m] one of the *capanna* type, bearing a Greek cross on the side of one end, was found at Dewsbury (Fosbroke, *Encycl. of Ant.* vol. i. p. 132, with fig. from *Gent. Mag.* 1836, ii. p. 38). The lid of another, rounded at both ends, and bearing a peculiarly formed cross, on which is inscribed in Runes, *Kitil Urna lieth here*, was discovered at Dover (Stephens, *u. s.* p. 465).

At Hartlepool, in Durham, was found in July, 1833, the cemetery which belonged to the ancient church of St. Hilda. Several small slabs (cent. 7?), some with Runes and some with Latin inscriptions, were dug up about one hundred and thirty yards distant from the church. They bore crosses, with or without A and ω, and either the name of the dead only, or with the addition of a request for prayer on his behalf. Some are said to have been found three feet and a half below the surface of the soil, each like a pillow under the head of a skeleton placed north and south. The largest of these was only a foot square, the smallest seven and a half by five and a half inches. Bede (Lib. iv. c. 11) mentions that the Saxons sometimes buried the dead in stone coffins, and may perhaps allude to a pillow-stone in his account of the burial of Sebbi, king of the East Saxons (Stephens, *u. s.* pp. 392–397). It is strange, if true, that stones inscribed "Pray for such a one," should be originally placed underground.[n]

Saxon tombstones with Latin inscriptions have occurred in various parts of England, mostly in Yorkshire. On two fragments, perhaps pieces of a cross, we have the name of Aedilburga, abbess of Hackness; on both pieces prayers are invoked for her repose. They are of the beginning of the 8th century (Hübner, *u. s.* nos. 182, 183). For the remaining tombstones it must be sufficient to refer to Hübner (pp. 61–73).

IRELAND.—A small number of four-sided pillars have been found in ancient Irish cemeteries, which are of the same general character as those of Wales and other parts of Great Britain. Most of these have been found in the county of Kerry; they bear incised crosses, which are sometimes accompanied by the letters DNS, DNI, DNO, for *Dominus*, *Domini*, *Domino*.[o] Dr. Petrie considered that they were "unquestionably of the 5th, or, at the latest, of the 6th century" (Stokes, *Irish Christ. Inscr.* vol. ii. p. 6). Other square pillars, bearing crosses of various forms, have been found at Killpeacan (now Puckawn), in the county of Tipperary, standing close together near the ruins of an old church.[p] These last bear every appearance of being sepulchral. Some of those of Kerry, in Miss Stokes's opinion, viz. those bearing letters as above, do not appear to have been sepulchral, but were rather signs set up as terminal crosses to mark the boundaries of the sanctuary (*u. s.* vol. ii. p. 133). There is a fine quadrangular pillar-stone at Killnasaggart in the county of Armagh, which certainly seems, from the inscription, to have been erected for the latter purpose (cf. the Whithorn Inscription, Hübner, *u. s.* no. 207).

By much the greater number of sepulchral monuments consist of flat slabs, which have been sometimes found *in situ*. The earliest which can be approximately dated are of the 7th century, and there are others of the 8th and of the 9th. There is little doubt that they were

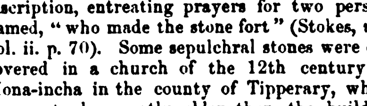
[m] For two Roman sarcophagi in England, presumed to be Christian, see SCULPTURE.

[n] May not these little slabs have originally been set in sarcophagi above ground, or in the walls or floor of the monastery? Similar small slabs have been found in the catacombs of Rome (Stephens, *u. s.* p. 394, from Burgon).

[o] The letters DNS are inscribed on one side of an ornamented cross in the churchyard at Nevern in Pembrokeshire; it is supposed to be of the 8th century. The letters on the other side, ANHEH (?), have not been explained (Hübner, *u. s.* no. 103).

[p] At Killeen Cormac, in the county of Kildare, there is a cemetery about the ruins of a very ancient church which was on the summit of a mound. "Pillar stones," says Dr. S. Fergusson, "fragments of crosses, and the *débris* of the walls, which formerly supported the terraces, give an appearance of singularity and antiquity to the place which it is difficult to describe." A sketch accompanies this notice in Stokes, *u. s.* vol. ii. p. 2, but it does not clearly appear whether the pillar-stones bear crosses or not; one of them has an Ogham inscription, with no certain mark of Christianity.

always laid flat upon the surface of the soil, or in the floor of a church or other sacred building over the body of the deceased. The brief request which most of them contain to pray for the deceased seems to shew that they could not have been buried along with the corpse, but must have been visible to the eye. The greater part of them have been broken, so that it is impossible to ascertain the dimensions accurately. A few are nearly perfect, and their dimensions are approximately as follows:—27 inches by 20 (vol. i. pl. xviii. fig. 47); 32 inches by 18 (pl. xix. fig. 49); 40 inches by 20 (pl. xliii. fig. 108); 58 inches by 20 (vol. ii. pl. xv. fig. 30); 33 inches by 12 (pl. xvi. fig. 34). The great ancient cemetery of Ireland was at Clonmacnois, or Cluain, in King's County, and princes and nobles desired to be buried there for the sake of the intercession of the patron saint Ciaran, who built the monastery at that place about the year 544. An ancient Irish poem speaks of men "sleeping under the flags of Cluain." Many of these flags of fine work have been met with in digging graves and during recent excavations (Stokes, *u. s.* vol. i. pp. 4, 5). Another singularly beautiful stone, probably of about the 9th century, the time "when Irish art was at the highest point, still lies half-buried in grass in the churchyard of Durrow" in the same county (Stokes, *u. s.* vol. ii. p. 57). At Termonfechin, near Drogheda, in the county of Louth, a native stone was found in the clay floor of the church when it was excavated about ten years ago. It bears a Greek cross, and a very early Celtic inscription, entreating prayers for two persons named, "who made the stone fort" (Stokes, *u. s.* vol. ii. p. 70). Some sepulchral stones were discovered in a church of the 12th century at Mona-incha in the county of Tipperary, which appear to be greatly older than the building itself, and may have been laid on the floor of an earlier structure on the site (Stokes, *u. s.* vol. ii. pp. 35–37). Miss Stokes remarks that "while the standing crosses" (none earlier than the 10th century, as it would appear) "throughout Ireland are much alike, there is a marked dissimilarity in the sepulchral slabs found in the different ancient burial-grounds throughout the country" (Stokes, *u. s.* vol. i. p. 8). These were, in perhaps every instance, marked with a cross of some kind. Sometimes a simple Greek cross



Tombstone reading "Colman the Poor." (Stokes.)

precedes a proper name, as that of Colman at Clonmacnois, who died A.D. 661. The Ogham following the name answers to the Irish word *bocht*, i.e. *poor* (Stokes, *u. s.* vol. i. p. 16). Sometimes an ornamented Greek cross has a circle about the centre, and each arm is terminated by a semicircle, as that of Colomban, who died A.D. 628 (Stokes, *u. s.* vol. i. pp. 15, 16, pl. i. fig. 3; see also Vol. I. p. 847). But the peculiarly Irish form is the Latin cross having a circle about the centre, of which the earliest perfect example is seen on the slab of Cuindless at Clonmacnois; he died A.D. 724 (Stokes, *u. s.* vol. i. p. 18). Crosses, both Greek and Latin, are sometimes enclosed in parallelograms. For the various details of ornamentation, see Stokes, *u. s.* vol. ii. pp. 138–146.

Respecting the tombs of other countries, a very few words must suffice. In most of them they appear to be of much the same general character as those which have been already mentioned. There are *cippi* in Egypt (Boeckh, no. 9131), in Asia Minor (*id.* no. 9165), as well as in Greece and the adjacent islands (*id.* no. 9311 sqq. nos. 9292, 9299). Sarcophagi appear to have been general throughout Asia Minor (*id.* nos. 9206, 9264, 9283), and have been found in considerable numbers in the cemeteries of Corycus in Cilicia (*id.* no. 9163, with fig., sqq.). They occur also in Africa, one sculptured with the Good Shepherd between sheep (Renier, *Inscr. Rom. de l'Algérie*, nos. 2293, 4031).

It is curious to observe that the columns of the peristyle of the Parthenon have been converted, so to say, into Christian tombstones. Upon them are inscribed *in situ* a great number of Christian epitaphs, the earliest of which appear to be of the 7th and 8th centuries, while they go down as low as the 14th (*id.* nos. 9350–9421). Their genuineness, however, has been denied (Ritter, *de Comp. Tit. Christ.* p. 2).

Cemeteries were attached to churches or monasteries in Nubia (*id.* no. 9122) and in Asia Minor (*id.* nos. 9249, 9268).[q] Burials in churches perhaps occurred at Constantinople and in Thessaly (*id.* 9447, 9424),[r] but appear to have been rare throughout the East generally, at all events in early times.

Tombs excavated in rocks occur at Jerusalem and elsewhere. On the side of the mountain called the Hill of Offence facing Mount Zion, a series of subterranean chambers have been cut out, each containing one or more repositories for the dead, carved in the rock of the sides of those chambers. M. Clermont Ganneau has lately discovered here several small sarcophagi, or rather ossuary chests, some bearing Hebrew and some Greek inscriptions, in which the name of the deceased is accompanied by a cross; these, he thinks, are almost coeval with Christianity in Palestine (De Rossi, *Bull.* 1874, pp. 155–158; *Quart. Statem. Pal. Expl. Fund*, 1874). Over the entrance of some of the sepulchres are Greek inscriptions, to which crosses are usually prefixed. One of them is over the door of the chamber appropriated to Jeremiah, a monk of the monastery of St. Thecla (*id.* no. 9139). These tombs are without ornament, and are supposed to be earlier than some other sepulchres at no great distance from them at Acel-

[q] Hamilton (*Researches in Asia Minor*, p. 390) says that the columns and capitals in this burial-ground at Nefes Kieui in Galatia are Byzantine. These tombs must have been of a considerable size.

[r] The epitaph at Constantinople is supposed to be of about the 6th century. That at Lamia in Thessaly of about the 4th. Query: Are they in their original sites?

dama. In some of these last, which may probably be of about the 4th or 5th century, are ancient paintings upon the sides and roof of the chambers, representing the apostles and others with nimbi about their heads (Clarke's *Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 549–571; Boeckh, *u. s.* pp. 441–443). Sepulchral caves occur also in North Syria (Boeckh, *u. s.* no. 9152), in various parts of Asia Minor (*id.* nos. 9211, 9259), and in Malta (no. 9450).*

We have said nothing of certain architectural monuments of a sepulchral character erected in memory of Christian princes, such as the tomb of the empress Helena outside Rome, the mausoleum at Rome of Constantia, a daughter of the emperor Constantine, both circular buildings with domes; of the cruciform funeral chapel of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, or of the splendid mausoleum of Theodoric the Great at the same place: for these see CHAPEL, CHURCH, also the well-known works of Hübsch, Quast and Fergusson, where figures will be found. The ruins of a very few others still survive. One known as the mausoleum of St. Soteris, of circular form and of gigantic size, stands beside the Appian Way, not far from the above-ground cemetery of St. Callistus (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* tom. i. tav. 1; tom. iii. p. 465). Another, which De Rossi considers to belong to the martyr Tibertius and other companions of St. Cecilia, is to be seen above the cemetery of Praetextatus; it is of hexagonal form and having six apses (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 471). He points out that a *martyrium* described by St. Gregory Nyssen was of octagonal form surmounted by a dome (*u. s.* pp. 459–472). It can hardly be doubted that many more Christian sepulchral monuments of an architectural character have perished. There are several imperial laws of the 4th and 5th centuries (for which see Bingham, xxiii. c. 4) directed against the violation of tombs in general; one of Constans condemns the abstraction of columns and marbles, and another of Constantius the transferring of the materials of sepulchral buildings to private houses. These laws were issued to protect such sepulchres without religious distinction, and rich Christians spared no expense in the erection of these edifices; see the passage from St. Basil quoted above.

### B. *Objects found in Tombs.*

The Christians, in common with their heathen neighbours, were in the habit of placing a variety of objects in the tombs of their departed friends. A Christian motive is sometimes evident in their selection, although for the most part it has not been influenced by any such consideration. Many of them have been already incidentally mentioned [OBSEQUIES OF THE DEAD, p. 1433]; a variety of personal ornaments and articles of the toilet are amongst the objects most commonly found. The waste to which the custom of thus placing gold and silver ornaments led became indeed everywhere so excessive that an imperial edict, though not always enforced, was issued to check the custom. [BURIAL OF THE DEAD, Vol. I. p. 253.] The most remarkable example is the large marble coffin of the child Maria, who had been affianced to the emperor Honorius, which was placed in the Basilica of St. Peter of Rome; it was found, when it was opened in 1544, to contain an immense quantity of jewellery among many other things, as will be seen by the following epitome of its contents: a vest, cloak, &c., made of silk and cloth of gold, from which forty pounds of gold were extracted by melting; a large silver box containing many vases and articles in crystal, great and small, one in the shape of a nautilus fitted up with gold settings for a lamp; other vases and little animals in agate and in gold, little vessels of gold, a gold heart, gold buckles adorned with gems, rings and hoops of gold of various patterns, gold pendants, and perhaps the remains of a rattle (*crepundia*), crosses made of red and green gems, crosses of gold set with gems, earrings of precious stones, necklaces of gold and gems, gold bracelets, a gold pin bearing the names of Maria and Honorius, a silver pin and many fragments of precious stones, besides other articles. (Chiflet, *Anast. Child. Regis*, pp. 55, 56, quoting Surius; King, *Gnostics*, pp. 123–125, quoting Fanno; De Rossi, *Bull.* 1863, pp. 53 sqq.) With this may be compared the objects found in 1653 in the tomb of the pagan king Childeric at Tournai, enumerated by Chiflet (*u. s.* pp. 37–39, 188, 189). For the splendid contents of the Christian tombs of Helena, mother of Constantine, of Narses, duke of Italy (who died 568), of Clovis, and of Charlemagne, see Chiflet, *u. s.* pp. 59, 60, 91, and compare *Archaeologia*, vol. iii. pp. 389–90. So far as the Roman catacombs are concerned, these objects are enumerated under CATACOMBS, Vol. I. p. 314. See also Martigny, *Dict. Ant. Chrét.* under "Objets trouvés dans les Tombeaux Chrétiens," and De Rossi's *Rom. Sott.* t. iii. p. 305, for impressions of others remaining in the exterior mortar of the *loculi*. They have also been found, though not in equal numbers in other countries, particularly in Gaul (Cochet, *La Normandie Souterraine*, passim and plates). Some of these occasionally bear Christian devices, more especially rings (see RINGS; GEMS). Fibulae have also occurred in tombs of the Merovingian age, on which Daniel is seen between two lions: in one instance his name is added (Le Blant, *u. s.*, pl. 42, 87). The abbé Greppo possessed a silver hair-pin of six faces above, on the first of which was written ROMVLA (the name of the owner), on the third VIVAS IN DEO, on the fifth SEMPER; it was probably found in the catacombs of Rome (Perret, *Catac.* vol. iv. pl. 20, no. 5, and vol. vi. p. 120; Martigny, *u. s.*). A pendant, composed of two onyx-stones joined together by a circle of gold ornamented on the edge with four emeralds and ten rubies, was discovered in the tomb of Maria. On one face was inscribed HONORI | MARIA | STILICHO | SERENA | VIVATIS, on the other STILICHO | SERENA | THERMANTIA | EUCHERI | VIVATIS |, with the chrisma (⳨) in the centre of each side (Perret, *u. s.* pl. 16, no. 78). The comb of St. Lupus (died 623), preserved in the treasury of the cathedral of Sens, was probably placed in his tomb with a religious feeling, as priests were accustomed to comb their

* De Rossi mentions that pictures like those in the catacombs of Rome are to be seen in a Christian cavern in the Cyrenaica, and that a similarly painted vault occurs in a chamber excavated in a rock in the Crimea (*Rom. Sott.* vol. i. p. 100). Probably these were sepulchral.

hair before celebrating the Eucharist (Martigny, *u. s.*; Ducange, s. v. *Pecten*).

Vestments are also frequently found in tombs: for Maria see above; for Constantine, who was placed in a gold coffin, clothed in the imperial purple and having a diadem on his head, see Eus. *Vit. Const.* lib. iv. c. 66; and for Charlemagne, who was dressed in his imperial robes, see *Archaeologia*, *u. s.* Military men were buried in military garments: St. Gereon was clothed in a soldier's purple cloak and black leather belt (Chifiet, *u. s.* pp. 95, 197). See more on this subject generally under OBSEQUIES OF THE DEAD, § v. p. 1428.

The insignia of office of those interred therein have often been found in tombs. Sebert, king of the East Angles, was buried with his royal robes and thumb-ring set with a ruby; while Charlemagne had his sword girt at his side, and opposite to him were suspended his golden sceptre and golden shield, which had been consecrated by pope Leo III. (*Archaeologia*, u. s.). Ecclesiastics were also sometimes buried with the symbols of their office. In the last century the tomb at Clonmacnois of St. Ciaran (died A.D. 544) was opened, and amongst other things his chalice and crozier were found therein (Stokes, *Irish Christ. Inscr.* vol. i. pp. 1, 3). A pectoral cross of lead and a small chalice were found among other objects in the grave of Birinus, bishop of Dorchester, who died A.D. 650 (Surius, *de Vit. Sanct.* Dec. 3, vol. vi. p. 220, Ven. 1681). And when the tomb of St. Cuthbert, who died 687, was opened in the 12th century, an onyx chalice was discovered beside his body [CHALICE]. To descend to people of lower rank, implements of handicraft, some of which have been mistaken for instruments of torture, have been found in the loculi of the catacombs [CATACOMBS, Vol. I. p. 314].

Lamps, pottery, and glass of various kinds have occurred both in the inside and outside of tombs in many parts of the Christian world [CATACOMBS, *u. s.*; LAMPS, POTTERY, GLASS]. Bay leaves have also been found under the head of the corpse or elsewhere in the coffin; they were placed there in token of triumph over death (Martigny, *u. s.*).

The instruments by which their sufferings were inflicted were sometimes placed within the tombs of martyrs [see OBSEQUIES, p. 1434]. Martigny has collected references to other instances. Leaden rolls containing the acts of their passion have also been found buried with martyrs (Boldetti, *Cimit.* pp. 322–324, and tav. ii. no. 3).

Perhaps the only other objects discovered in tombs which need be mentioned here are coins and medals. The first Christians, says Bosio, when they buried martyrs, were accustomed to bury with them the coins of the emperor under whom they suffered (*Rom. Subt.* lib. iv. c. 31). This may explain the finding of coins of Diocletian in the tomb of Caius, bishop of Rome (A.D. 283–296. Boldetti, *Cimit.* pp. 102–3). But in a single tomb of the cemetery of St. Agnes, Buonarotti counted more than ten coins of different emperors of different times (Buon. *Vetri orn. di Fig.* Pref. p. xi.). Roman money of various periods has also been found in the Christian tombs of Gaul and Germany (Le Blant, *Insc. Chrét. de la Gaule*, t. i. pp. 210, 345; Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 644). Coins and medals have likewise been seen fixed on the outside of tombs in the catacombs, perhaps for the sake of recognition only (Buon *Osservaz. sopra alc. Medagl.* referred to by Martigny, *u. s.* among other authorities). Their impressions have sometimes remained on the mortar, clearly shewing the types, after the coins have vanished (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* t. iii. pp. 305, 309).

### C. *Select Sepulchral Inscriptions.*

(See also CATACOMBS, Vol. I. pp. 303–4–7–8–11.)

The small collection here given has immediate reference to the article on INSCRIPTIONS (Vol. I. pp. 841–862). Those which are there figured (pp. 846, 847) will all be found written out and in some cases translated below. They were selected mostly with a view to illustrate the different styles of palaeography and the different symbols exhibited in different epitaphs. They likewise serve to illustrate the general subject of the present article, which contains a few additional figures; one having symbols not mentioned or represented above (pp. 847, 848). The following selection and the examples already cited in this article have been chosen to illustrate, so far as could be done by a limited number, the various points of interest which epitaphs present, such as their different ages, styles, grammatical peculiarities, contractions of words and modes of dating, as well as for their intrinsic historical, ecclesiastical, or doctrinal importance. Thus the three earliest known dated inscriptions, all in Rome, are here given, as well as the earliest of those in our own country, which belong to the latter part of the period comprised in this work. Examples of the varied forms of composition will here be found, including the most ancient, which have much in common with pagan epitaphs, and those of several definite Christian types which differ in different countries. A few instances of the solecisms, incorrect spellings, and peculiar uses of words as well as of the contractions of words (see INSCRIPTIONS, §§ v. vii.), occur in the epitaphs now given at length. The different modes of dating by consulates, post-consulates, indictions, eras of provinces, reigns of kings, or cyclic periods of time, will also here be exemplified (see *u. s.* § vi.).

#### 1. ITALY.

1. (De Rossi, *Inscr. Urb. Rom.* no. 3, p. 7.) Found by Boldetti in the cemetery of Lucina on the Via Ostiensis.

SERVILIA . ANNORVM . XIII .
PIS . ET . BOL . COSS .

*Servilia, 13 years old,* (buried) *in the consulate of Piso and Bolanus.*—Piso and Bolanus were consuls A.D. 111. The earliest complete Christian inscription yet found.[1] The place of finding, the omission of D . M . and the simplicity of the diction, unite in proving that the epitaph is Christian. After this no dated Christian in-

[1] Only two earlier are given by De Rossi, both very incomplete: one, A.D. 71, a fragment recording two burials in one tomb, from the Catacombs, reading only [KAL? A]VG . VESPASIANO III COS. || . . . . [KAL?] IAN . (p. 1). The other, A.D. 107, from the cemetery of Lucina, reading in one (the last) line N. (i.e. ann[orum]) XXX. SVRA . ET . SENEC . COSS . (p. 3).

scription of Rome (or indeed of any place whatever) has been found until A.D. 204.

2. (De Rossi, *u. s.* no. 6.) Rome, cemetery of St. Hermes.

TI. CL. MARCIANVS. ET.
CORNELIA. HILARITAS.
CORNELIAE. PAVLAE. PAR. (parentes)
FECR. (fecerunt[a]) QUAE. VIX. ANN. X. DIEB. (dies)
VIII. DEC. (decessit) X. KAL. AVG. MAX. ET. VRB. COS.

A fish and an anchor below. Maximus and Urbanus were consuls A.D. 234. Tiberius Claudius Marcianus is an example of the *tria nomina*; they have not been hitherto found on any Christian epitaph known to be later than the 3rd century. This is the earliest inscription bearing Christian symbols.

3. (De Rossi, *u. s.* no. 11, p. 18. Engraved in INSCRIPTIONS, Vol. I. p. 846.) Rome, from the cemetery of Saturninus; letters not incised, but painted in vermilion: the points do not indicate separations of words.

*Latin Inscription in Greek characters*:—

ΚΩCΟΥΛΕ ΚΛΥΔΕΙΩ ΕΔ ΠΑΤΕΡΝΩ ΝΩΝΕΙC
ΝΟΒΕΝΒΡΕΙΒΟΥC ΔΕΙΕ ΒΕΝΕΡΕC ΛΟΥΝΑ XXIIII
ΛΕΥΚΕC ΦΕΛΕΙΕ CΕΒΗΡΕ ΚΑΡΕC-CΕΜΕ ΠΟCΟΥΕΤΕ
ΕΔ ΕΙCΠΕΙΡΕΙΤΩ
CΑΝΚΤΩ ΤΟΥΩ ΜΟΡΤΟΥΑ ΑΝΝΟΥΩ-ΡΩΜ LV
ΕΔ ΜΗCΩΡΩΝ XI ΔΕΥΡΩΝ X.

Or, in Roman characters:—

KOSVLE (consule) KLVDEIO (Claudio)
ED (et) PATERNO NONEIS (nonis)
NOBENBREIBOVS (Novembribus) DEIE (die) BENERES (Veneris) LOVNA (luna) XXIIII
LEVKES PHELEIE (filiae) SEBERE (Severae) KARESSEME (carissimae) POSVETE (posuit)
ED (et) EISPEIREITO (ispirito, for spiritui) SANKTO (sancto) TOVO (tuo) MORTOVA (mortua) ANNVOROM (annorum) LV.
ED (et) MESORON (mensium) XI DEVRON (dierum) X.

*In the consulship of Claudius and Paternus, on the nones of November, on the day of Venus* (i.e. Friday, Nov. 5), *the twenty-fourth of the moon, Leuces* (Lucens?) *erected this to his dearest daughter, Severa, and to thy holy soul. She died, aged fifty-five years, eleven months and ten days.* Date A.D. 269.

"The inflexions of this epitaph, some of which appear also in an epitaph of the year 291, betray its Greek origin, almost as plainly as the characters in which it is written" (*Edinb. Rev.* July 1864, p. 233). The transition from *ejus* to *tuo* has its parallel in pagan inscriptions. See McCaul, *Christian Epitaphs*, p. 23.

This inscription has been rendered famous by Lupi's special treatise thereon.

For the mode of dating, see De Rossi's notes and *Prolegom.* cap. *De Cyclicis Temporum*, notes.

[a] The mention of the persons who made the tomb is general in pagan inscriptions, but fell before long into disuse among Christians.

4. (De Rossi, *u. s.* no. 23, p. 27. Engraved in Vol. I. p. 846.) Found in the cemetery of St. Laurentius, Rome, in 1699; the tablet was affixed to the loculus, to which a bloody (?) vessel [GLASS] was attached.

Σιμπλικία, ἡ καὶ καλώνυμος, ἔζησεν ἔτη ια ἡμέρας κγ. ἐτελεύτησεν πρὸ ιγ καλ. Νοβεμβρίων Φαύστῳ καὶ Γάλλῳ ὑπάτοις.

*Simplicia, who was also well named* (i.e. as being of a simple disposition), *died on the thirteenth day before the Calends of November* (Oct. 20), *in the consulship of Faustus and Gallus* (i.e. A.D. 298).

A very early example of a Greek Christian inscription with a date. For the play on the name see INSCRIPTIONS, Vol. I. p. 852.

5. (De Rossi, *u. s.* no. 1192.) Fragment of a Roman catacomb-stone, "tabula coemeterialis," now at Velitrae.

D M
LEOPARDVS QUI VIXIT [ANNOS . . . ]
ET MENSES N (numero) XI DEO R (reddidit)
S (spiritum) SA[NCTVM]
ELATVS EST VIII IDVS AVG. [CONS . . .]
AVG

The great interest attaching to the fragment is the occurrence of D. M (for *Dis Manibus*) on a Christian inscription. A few other examples of the same kind are found; nearly all, like the present, supposed to be earlier than the 4th century. (See Vol. I. p. 851; McCaul, *u. s.* p. 60; Martigny, *Dict.* s. v. D. M.) It has been variously explained; either as being engraved by stonecutters on the blank stones in advance before they were sold for actual use, or as repeated by Christians by the force of pagan example and habit without definite meaning attached, or as implying a certain fusion of heathenism with Christianity. Such a fusion in respect of this very matter appears in a Christian epitaph (quoted by McCaul, *u. s.* p. 63), *sanctique tui manes petentibus adsint.* In one example the chrisma is on either side of D. M. (De Rossi, *Bull.* 1873, tav. xi.) *Deo reddidit spiritum sanctum* is an expression found only on Christian monuments. *Elatus est* is very rarely met with except in pagan epitaphs. The date, now lost, is from the consulate of some emperor.

6. (De Rossi, *u. s.* no. 48. Engraved in Vol. I. p. 847.) From the cemetery of Callistus and Praetextatus, Rome. A marble tablet, which had once been the side of a sarcophagus; the original inscription having been obliterated:—

*Eq(uitius) Heraclius, qui fuit in saeculum* (saeculo) *an(nos) xix, m(enses) vii, d(ies) xx, lector r(egionis) sec(undae). Fecerun(t)* (sc. parentes) *sibi et filio suo benemerenti in p(ace). Decesit* (sic) *vii Irus* (Idus) *Februarias, Urso et Polemio conss* (*consulibus*) (i.e. Feb. 7, A.D. 338).

Rome was divided into seven ecclesiastical districts or regions, and Heraclius was attached as a reader to the second of these.

This inscription shews examples of the various leaves, points, and marks which are frequent in Christian inscriptions, besides the symbols of the chrisma (of unusual form), the dove, and palm-branches.

7. (De Rossi, *u. s.* no. 55. Engraved in Vol. I. p. 846.) From the cemetery of Theodora.

*Constantio Aug. II. et Constanti Aug.* [*Conss*] *Nonis Decemb. Claudianus dormit in* [*pace*] (i.e. Dec. 5, A.D. 339).

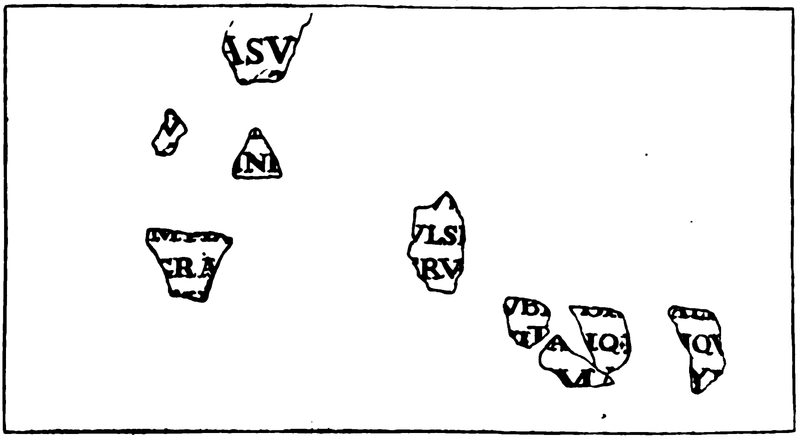
Principally remarkable as a piece of rude and hasty palaeography on mortar.

8. (De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1863, p. 17. Engraved in Vol. I. p. 847.) Discovered in front of the square crypt in the cemetery of Praetextatus, Rome.

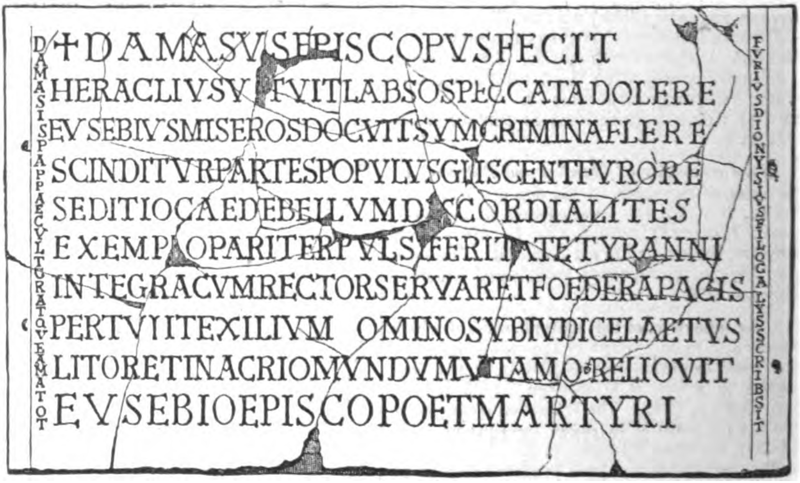
*Beatissimo Martyri Januario Damasus Episcopus fec t.*

Date of inscription determined by the pontificate of Damasus (A.D. 366–384). (Januarius was martyred in 305.)

From a few fragments De Rossi happily restores this inscription, which is written in the beautiful Damasine character.



Fragments of original Damasine Inscription to Eusebius. (De Rossi.)




The same Inscription restored. (De Rossi.)

9. (De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* vol. ii. p. 191 sqq. tav. iii. iv.; Brownlow and Northcote, *Rom. Sott.* p. 170, pl. ii. iii.).

*Epitaph of St. Eusebius, bishop of Rome* (A.D. 310), *composed by Damasus, but restored at some later period by Pope Symmachus or Vigilius, or John III.* (A.D. 498–573), *found in the cemetery of St. Calistus.*

The restored inscription itself, beautifully written in vermilion, required the restoring hand of De Rossi, who has pieced all the fragments together, and has thus obtained the whole epitaph, with scarcely the loss of a single letter. In addition to this, nine morsels of the original inscription written in the splendid calligraphy of Damasus, or rather of his artist Philocalus, were obtained, and their places were of course at once determined from the restored inscription (De Rossi, *u. s.* t. iii.). This was one of those epitaphs which was known in MSS. from the transcripts of Alcuin's scholars.

The restored inscription is bounded on all sides by two others, in the second of which the letters are placed columnwise below each other. Above and below we have:—

+ *Damasvs episcopvs fecit* | *Eusebio episcopo et martyri.*

On the right and left:

*Frrivs Dionysivs Filocalvs scribsit* (scripsit) | *Damasis pappae cvltor atqve amatot* (amator).

For *Damasis pappae* De Rossi suggests *Damasi sui papae*, a phrase confirmed by other authorities (*u. s.* p. 200).

The text of the restored inscription, a little corrupt, runs thus when corrected; the errors are given below: the letters in brackets are omitted on the stone.

"Heraclivs vetvit lapsos[a] peccata dolere,
Evsebivs miseros docvit sva[b] crimina flere;
Scinditvr [in][c] partes popvlvs gliscente fvrore,
Seditio, caedes,[d] bellvm, discordia, lites.
Exemplo pariter pvlsi feritate tyranni,
Integra cvm rector servaret foedera pacis.
Pertvlit exilivm [d]omino[e] sub ivdice laetvs;
Litore T[r]inacrio[f] mvndvm vitamq. reliqvit."

(*a*) *labsos.* (*b*) *sum.* (*c*) *in*, omitted here, occurs in the Damasine fragments. (*d*) *caede* only now visible, possibly originally *caedē.* (*e*) *d* may have been obliterated. (*f*) Tinacrio.

The whole may be expressed in English as follows:

"*Damasus, Bishop, set up this to Eusebius, Bishop and Martyr.*"

"*Furius Dionysius Filocalus, a worshipper and lover of Pope Damasus, wrote this.*"

"*Heraclius forbad the lapsed to grieve for their sins. Eusebius taught those unhappy ones to weep for their crimes. The people were rent into parties, and with increasing fury began sedition, slaughter, fighting, discord, and strife. Straightway both* [*the pope and the heretic*] *were banished by the cruelty of the tyrant, although the pope was preserving the bonds of peace inviolate. He bore his exile with joy, looking to the Lord as his judge, and on the shore of Sicily gave up the world and his life.*"

The inscription (translated as above by Messrs. Brownlow and Northcote, *u. s.* p. 170) refers to the severity of Heraclius, who following Novatian would fain close the door of reconciliation to apostates, in contrast with the merciful conduct of Eusebius, and to the excited feelings of the populace about the matter in dispute.

10. (De Rossi, *Inscr. Urb. Rom.* no. 251. Engraved in Vol. I. p. 847.) From the cemetery of Commodilla, Rome.

*Petroniae dignae cojugi* (sic) *q*ue (quae) *vixit annis* (annos) *xxi. et fecit cum conpare m(enses) x. dies v.* [*Deposita est*] *Kal. Nob.* (Novembribus) *pos* (post) *conss* (*consulatus*) *Gratiani ter et Equiti. Ursus maritus sibi et innocenti compari fecit. Cesquet* (quiescit) *in pace.*

The year after the consulate of Equitius, and the year after Gratian's third consulate, falls under 375 A.D., when there were no consuls (De Rossi, *u. s. Proleg.* p. xxx.). The two doves symbolise conjugal affection; the figure between them is an *orante.*

11. (De Rossi, *Inscr. Urb. Rom.* no. 376.) From the ruins of the basilica of St. Paul in the Via Ostiensis.

GAVDENTIVS PRESB. SIBI
ET CONIVGI SVAE SEVERAE CASTAE HAC (i.e. ac) SANC[TAE]
FEMINAE QUAE VIXIT ANN. XLII. M. III. D. X.
DEP (depositus) III. NON. APRIL. TIMASIO ET PROMOTO [CONSS].

*Gaudentius, a presbyter, made this tomb for himself and his wife Severa, a chaste and holy woman, who lived 42 years, 3 months, and 10 days. Buried April 2, in the consulship of Timasius and Promotus* (i.e. A.D. 389).

Allusion to the marriages of ecclesiastics are not unfrequent in epitaphs. Thus in an epitaph in Rome, in which Petronia the wife of a deacon is the speaker, occur the beautiful lines—

*Levitae conjunx Petronia, forma pudoris,*
*His mea deponens sedibus ossa loco,*
*Parcite vos lacrimis, dulces cum conjuge natae,*
*Viventemque Deo credite flere nefas.*

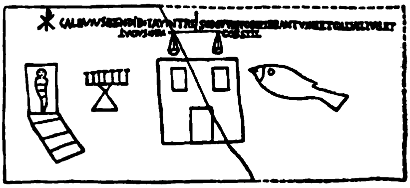
*I, Petronia, a deacon's* (lit. *Levite's*) *wife, a model of modesty, lay down and place my bones in this resting-place. Refrain from tears, my sweet daughters and husband, and believe that it is sinful to weep for one who lives in God.*

The remaining lines in prose tell us that her burial took place Oct. 5, A.D. 472, and that her daughter Paula and her son Gordian were buried in the same tomb in A.D. 484 and A.D. 485, as well as Aemiliana, 'sacra virgo,' probably also a daughter, in A.D. 489 (De Rossi, *u. s.* no. 843; McCaul, *Christ. Epist.* no. 65). A lengthy inscription, probably found at Narbonne, recording the reparation of the church in A.D. 445, tells of a married bishop, *Rusticus episcopus, episcopi Bonosi filius* (Le Blant, *u. s.* no. 617).

12. (De Rossi, *Inscr. Urb. Rom.* no. 489.) From the cemetery of SS. Quartus and Quintus, Rome.

CALEVIVS BENDIDIT AVIN[IO] TRISOMV[M] VBI POSITI ERANT VINI (bini) ET CALVILIVS ET LVCIVS IN PA[CE] COS (consule) STIL[ICHONE].

*Calevius sold to Avinius a place for three bodies, where both Calvilius and Lucius had already been placed in peace in the consulship of Stilicho* (i.e. A.D. 400).



Inscription with candlestick and various other symbols.

Remarkable for the accompanying symbols: the chrisma, the balance (cf. Dan. v. 27), the fish, the Jewish candlestick (a Jewish funeral ornament), the house (the last dwelling-place of the departed), and the mummy (Lazarus?) approached by steps, awaiting its resurrection. See McCaul (*u. s.* p. 49).

13. (De Rossi, *u. s.* n. 847. Figured in Vol. I. p. 847.) Engraved in a small *tabella coemeterialis*, found *in situ* attached to the *loculus* in the cemetery of St. Zotiçus on the Labican Way, Rome.

This barbarous inscription may be thus rendered—

*Lepusculus Leo, qui vixit annum et menses undecim, et dies decem et novem, perit septimo calendas Augustas, Honorio sexies Augusto.*

*Sexies*, sc. *consule*, i.e. A.D. 404. *Perit* is probably a preterite: but τελευτᾷ occurs in a Syracusan inscription, A.D. 408. It is one of several pagan words which survived in Christian times.

De Rossi does not give the size of this little slab, whose breadth does not very much exceed its height. Mr. Burgon remarks on the great difference in size of the early Christian grave-slabs in the catacombs of Rome, "some three or four feet long, yet ranging in height from a few inches to two or three feet, and some only a few inches across, either way" (*Letters from Rome*, p. 175).

Remarkable no less for its rustic palaeography than for its rustic spelling.

2. FRANCE.

1. (Le Blant, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, no. 58.) Lyons, in the underground chapel of St. Irenaeus:—

PROCVLA . CL. FEMINA
FAMVLA . DEI .
A . TERRA . AD MARTYRES

Considered to be of the 4th century; punctuation capricious.

*Famula Dei.* This expression, though occurring elsewhere (see Vol. I. p. 848, b), is found in the epitaphs of Gaul and Spain only, and seems to be therein *applied exclusively to the dead* (Le Blant, *Manuel*, pp. 10, 11). The last line indicates that she has joined in glory the martyrs beside whom she lies buried.

2. (Le Blant, *u. s.* no. 145.) From St. Eloi in Upper Normandy, where eight other Runic inscriptions have been found:—

INGOMIR : SEN : HAGEN[S]
IN : FRIEDE :
KONOUNG : CLOUDOOUIG
CONSOUL :
(In Runic characters.)

*Ingomar, son of Hagen, in peace. King Clovis being Consul.*

The date is A.D. 510. A confirmation of the statement of Gregory of Tours: "Igitur Chlodovechus ab Anastasio imperatore codicillos de consulatu accepit" (*Hist. Franc.* lib. ii. c. 38). The absence of the name of Clovis from the Consular Fasti had caused Gregory's accuracy to be doubted (Le Blant, *u. s.*). Perhaps the earliest Christian Runic inscription whose date is known.



Runic Epitaph, dated by the Consulate of Clovis.

3. SPAIN.

(Hübner, *u. s.* no. 117. Figured in Vol. I. p. 847.) A long marble tablet formed in an ancient wall near Arjona in Spain: remarkable for the manifold ligatures of the characters composed.

(1) + MARIA FIDELIS CHR(IST)I IN VITA SUA
(2) H(U)NC DILIGENS LOCUM, IBIQ(U)E SUMMUM M(AN)ENS? ET R(E)BUS?
(3) QUATUOR DENI UNO SUPERVIXIT ANNOS; CUM PEN(I)TEN-
(4) (TI)A REC(E)SSIT IN PACE D(IE) VII ID(US) MARTIA(S), SECUNDO R-
(5) ECCISVINTI REGNAN(TIS) C(UM) PATR(E) PR(IN)CIPIS ANNO. (Hübner's text.)

+ *Maria, a faithful servant of Christ, who loved this place* (a church?) *in her life, and there at last remains and reposes* (read *requiescens* rather than *rebus*), *overlived fourteen years by one* * * * (month or day). *She departed with penitence in peace on the ninth of March, in the second year of Reccisvintus the prince reigning with his father* (*Chindasvindus*), i.e. A.D. 650.

This appears to be the sense of this puzzling inscription. The second line may possibly be corrupt; in the third is some omission.

4. GERMANY.

1. (Le Blant, *u. s.* no. 226.) Found at Trier, now in the Museum of Porta Nigra:—

HIC AMAN
TIAE IN PACE
HOSPITA C
ARO IACET.

Two doves facing, the chrisma enclosed in a wreath between them.

*Here the pilgrim body of Amantia lies in peace.*

The letters are neatly formed, and also the birds: perhaps of the 4th or 5th century.

For Amantia see Vol. I. p. 853. The beautiful expression *hospita caro* implies that heaven is the Christian's true home: and the same thing is more directly said in the *Ad coelum praemisit opes* in an epitaph suspected to be written by Venantius Fortunatus, who uses various equivalent expressions (Le Blant, *u. s.* no. 218).

5. GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

1. (Haddan and Stubbs, *Counc. and Eccl. Doc.* i. 164; Hübner, *Inscr. Brit. Christ.* no. 82.) On a stone found at Pont y Polion, Cardiganshire, in five lines:—

SERVATVR FIDAEI
PATRIEQVE SEMPER
AMATOR HIC PAVLIN
VS IACIT CVLTOR PIENTI
SIMVS AEQVI.

Meant for two hexameters. Paulinus, the instructor of St. David, was present at a synod in Wales held before A.D. 569. An inscription in Old Welsh relating to St. Cadfan and king Cyngen is in a similar style and about the same date (Haddan and Stubbs, *u. s.*).

The other early Welsh Christian inscriptions, presumed to lie between A.D. 500 and 700, are very short and mostly barbarous. No prayers for the dead in any shape occur in any of them; little more than a *hic jacet* (often barbarized) and the name of the person buried, the name of the father being sometimes added. The stone sometimes has a cross within a circle. Three will suffice for this place:—(1) *Porius*

*hic in tumulo jacit* | *homo Christianus fuit.* (2) On a stone bearing a cross within a circle (accompanied by a long stem running down the centre of the stone, and with an equivalent (?) inscription in Ogham characters): *Cunocenni filius* | *Cunoceni* (sic) *hic jacet.* (3) Chrisma of peculiar form. *Carausius hic jacit* | *in hoc* (sic) *con|geries la|pidum.* We have also the name (*Pascent*) only. (Haddan and Stubbs, *u. s.* pp. 164, 169; Hübner, *u. s.* pp. 14–55.)

2. (Bentham's *Ely*, p. 51. Figured in Vol. I. p. 846.)

"Found some years since at Hadenham, near Ely; the stone which seems to have been the base of a cross is square, 2½ feet in diameter, and 14 in. thick; in the middle of the upper part is a square mortise, into which is fixed with lead another stone erect, about 4 feet high, and then broke off, which probably terminated in a cross. The inscription which fills one side of the stone is this:—

+ LVCEM.TVAM.OVINO.
DA.DEVS.ET.REQVIĒ.
.AMEN.

. . . Only one letter ɛ is of the Saxon cast, the rest being purely Roman" (Bentham, *u. s.*). Now in Ely Cathedral. Ovinus or Winn (*monachus magni meriti*) was the steward of Etheldreda, whom he accompanied from East Anglia on her first marriage about A.D. 652 (Beda, *H. E.* iv. 3). Hübner, apparently without reason, thinks this inscription much later (n. 169).

3. (*Archaeologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 437, pl. xxxv.; .. T. Fowler in *Yorks.-Arch. and Topogr. Journ.* with more correct figure.)



Saxon Epitaph at Dewsbury. (Fowler.)

Found some years ago near the church of Dewsbury, Yorkshire, now in the possession of Dr. Hemingway. Fragment of the upper arm of a cross (apparently) with the top edge broken off; four inches across in widest part. Reads in Saxon (modified Roman) letters in seven lines:

. . . RHTAE BE | CUN AEFT | ER BEOR | NAE GIBI | DDAD D | AER SA | ULE.

*M. or N. set up this in memory of* . . .] *rht, a beacon* (monument), *after* (on account of) *the bairn. Pray for the soul.*

The proper name is imperfect. Probably of the 7th century or somewhat later. Stephens (*u. s.* p. 464) observes that old North-English inscriptions in these letters are still rarer than those written in Runes.

4. (*Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language. Chiefly collected by G. Petrie. Edited by M. Stokes*, vol. i. p. 15, pl. 1. Engraved, Vol. I. p. 847.)

At Clonmacnois, in King's County, now placed as a head-stone to a recent grave.

OR̄ DO CHOLUMBON.
*i.e. Pray for Colomban.*

*Ōr* for *oroit*, equivalent to the Latin *orate*, which also occurs at length (p. 74). The form of the cross and character of the letters belong to the earliest period of Christian art in Ireland. There is little doubt that this is the Columbanus whose death in A.D. 624 is thus recorded in the *Annals of Ulster*: "Pausa Columbani, filii Barddaeni, Abbatis Clono," *i.e.* of Clonmacnois, where a monastery was founded about A.D. 544. The formula here used is frequent in the Irish inscriptions: thus we have *Ōr ar Chuindless* (*u. s.* p. 18), *Ōr do Comgán* (*u. s.* p. 19), both at Clonmacnois; the former supposed to be the epitaph of an abbat who died A.D. 724, the latter belonging to a person not clearly identified. We have it also in the epitaphs found at Fuerty,[a] Inismurray, &c. In one of the Aran islands occurs, *ōr ar. ii. canoin*, i.e. *pray for two canons* (*u. s.* vol. ii. p. 21). Much more rarely the good wish takes this form, *Bendachd for anmainn Joseph*, i.e. *a blessing on the soul of Joseph*, who seems to have died in A.D. 811 at Roscommon, where the inscription is to be seen (*u. s.* vol. ii. p. 11; see also p. 31, bis).

6. GREECE.

1. (Böckh, *C. I. G.* n. 9303).
Island of Salamis in Greece.

+
+ΟΙΚΟC ΑΙωΝΙΟC
ΑΓΑΘωΝΟC ΑΝΑ
ΓΝΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΦΗΜΙΑC
ЄΝ ΔΥCΙ ΘΗΚΑΙC
ΙΔΙΑ ЄΚΑCΤω ΗΜωΝ
ЄΙ ΔЄ ΤΙC ΤωΝ ΙΔΙωΝ
ЄΙ ЄΤЄΡΟC ΤΙC ΤΟ (Λ)
ΜΗCΗ CωΜΑ ΚΑΤΑ
ΘЄCΘΑΙ ЄΝ ΤΑΥΘΑ
ΠΑΡЄΞ ΤωΝ ΔΥΟ
ΗΜωΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ Δω
Η Τω ΘЄω ΚΑΙ Α
ΝΑΘЄΜΑ ΗΤω
ΜΑΡΑΝΑΘΑΝ
+

*The eternal house of Agatho, a reader, and of Euphemia in two graves, one for each of us. But if any of our own or any one else dare to place a body here except us two, may he give an account to God; and let him be anathema maranatha.*

Perhaps of the 4th or 5th century: see *domus aeterna* in a Christian Roman inscription, A.D. 363 (De Rossi, *I. U. R.* n. 159). For similar pagan sentiments in Greek inscriptions see Ritter, *De Comp. Tit. Christ.* p. 24 (Berlin, 1877); and for similar execrations, pp. 37–39.

[a] In one instance accompanied by a fish, the only Irish example known (on a tombstone), though frequent in Scotland (vol. ii. pp. 12, 13).

2. (Böckh, *u. s.* n. 9439.)
Thessalonica—

> **Καλόκερος Μακεδό-**
> **νι κε (καὶ) Σωσιγενίᾳ, τοῖς**
> **γλυκυτάτοις γονεῦ-**
> **σιν, τὸ κοιμητήριον ἕως**
> **ἀναστάσεως.** A fish below.

*Calocaerus made this for Macedon and Sosigenia, his sweetest parents, as their resting-place* (lit. *cemetery*) *till the resurrection.*

The form of the letters (often ligated and scarcely capable of being represented by types) and the style of this beautiful inscription are considered to point to the 2nd or 3rd century.

### 7. Asia.

Böckh, *C. I. G.* n. 9148.
Ezra (Zorave) in Syria: above the entrance to a mausoleum.

ΓΕΡΟΝΤΙΟΥ ‖ ΨΥΧΗ ‖ CωZECΘω ‖

*May the soul of Gerontius be saved!*

A very uncommon formula.
2. (Böckh, *u. s.* n. 9180.)
Corycus in Cilicia in a cemetery, on the lid of a sarcophagus, upon which are four crosses.

*θήκη διαφέρου‖σαΓεοργίου‖κυρτοκα‖πίλου* (corrected text). *διαφέρουσα* is often joined to *θήκη* and *σωματοθήκη* in various Asiatic *tituli*; it appears to mean *particular* or *peculiar*, i.e. in which no other body must be laid. *κυρτοκάπηλος* is *a fishing-tackle seller*. The trade of the person buried is frequently named in the sepulchral inscriptions of Cilicia and other provinces of Asia; thus we have a brazier, an oil-seller, a potter, a seaman, and several others. The inscriptions of Corycus appear to be of the 5th and 6th centuries.

The most curious example is from Ancyra in Galatia, where Theodorus is described as being at once a presbyter and a silversmith (Bockh, *C. I. G.* n. 9258). Dr. McCaul gives Latin examples from the catacombs of Rome of the mention of the secular position of various persons buried there, as count of the household troops (*comes domesticorum*), lawyer, prefect of the city, physician, baker, gardener, ex-quaestor, prefect of the market, keeper of a public granary (*Christ. Epitaphs*, pp. 28–36). M. Le Blant, therefore, must be understood with considerable limitations, "Des indications courantes sur les épitaphes des païens, la filiation, la patrie, la condition sociale, la profession . . . ne figurent point, pour ainsi dire, sur les inscriptions chrétiennes de langue latine" (*Manuel*, p. 20). The inscriptions, however, where a profession is named, seem to be nearly, if not always, later than Constantine.

Representations of tools belonging to particular trades have been mentioned above as occurring at Arles, and there are other examples in the Catacombs at Rome (Martigny, *Dict.* s. v. *Instruments*).

Slaves and freedmen are occasionally mentioned in Christian inscriptions, some of which appear to be very ancient, one is certainly before Constantine (Le Blant, *I. C. G.* tom. i. pp. 119–121. De Rossi, *I. C. U. R.* n. 5, dated A.D. 217. *Edinburgh Review*, u. s. p. 240).

### 8. Africa.

1. (Renier, *Inscr. Rom. Algér.* n. 3701, p. 448.)
Orléansville, Algeria; designed in mosaic in the pavement of a basilica.

> HIC REQVIES
> CIT SANCTAE MEMO
> RIAE PATER NOSTER
> REPARATVS E. P. S. QVI FE
> CIT IN SACERDOTIVM AN
> NOS VIIII MEN XI ET PRE
> CESSIT NOS IN PACE
> DIE VNDECIMV . KAL
> AVG PROVNC . CCCCXXX
> ET SEXTA

*Hic requiescit sanctae memoriae pater noster, Reparatus episcopus, qui fecit in sacerdotium* (sacerdotio) *annos IX, menses XI et praecessit nos in pace, die undecimu* (undecimo) *Kalendas Augustas, Provinciae* [anno] *quadringentesimo tricesimo et sexta* (sexto).

"Here rests our father of holy memory, Reparatus the bishop, who passed in his priesthood nine years, eleven months; and went before us, in peace, on the eleventh day before the Calends of August, in the 436th year of the Province, *i. e.* July 22nd, A.D. 475." (McCaul's Transl. *u. s.* p. 37.)

The years of the secular life are entirely omitted, those devoted to God alone being mentioned. (Le Blant, *Manuel*, p. 10, who refers to many other examples in Gaul and Italy.)

2. (Renier, *u. s.* n. 4026.)
A marble slab, found to the west of Cherchel, near Caesarea, in Mauretania.

> IN MEMORIA EORVM
> QVORVM CORPORA IN AC
> CVBITORIO HOC SEPVLTA
> SVNT ALCIMI CARITATIS IVLIANAE
> ET ROGATAE MATRI [S] VICTORIS PRESBYTE
> RI QVI HVNC LOCVM CVNCTIS FRATRIB. FECL

(fecit? see *fecerun* above, Italy, n. 5).

Remarkable for the word *accubitorium* (i. e. *public cemetery* or *area*), and also for the word *sepulta*, which has been thought to be unknown to Christian epigraphy. [Inscriptions, p. 851.] Perhaps of the 3rd century, to which several inscriptions in this region belong.

3. (Böckh, *C. I. G.* n. 9114.)
From Kalabscheh in Nubia.

> [Ε]ΝΘΑΚΑΤΑΚ[ΕΙ]
> ΤϵΗΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ
> ΘΙϹΑΥΡΙΛϵΤϵΛϵω
> ΘΗΜΑΘΥΡΔΙΝ
> ΔΙΚ (*litt. lig.*) ΗΓΟΘϹΑΝΑΠΑV
> ϹΟΝΤΗΝΨΥΧΗΝ
> ΑΥΤΗϹϵΝΚΟΛΛΙ
> ΠΙϹ (*κόλποις*) ΑΒΡΑΑΜΚΑΙ (*litt. lig.*)
> ΙϹΑΑΚΚΑΙ (as before) ΙΑ
> ΚωΒΓΕΝΙΤΟ
> ΑΜΗΝ †

*Here lies the blessed Thisauril. She was made perfect on the fourth day of the month Athyr, in the eighth indiction. O God, rest her soul in the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. So let it be! Amen.*

Probably of the 5th or 6th century. Another very similar inscription from Nubia (n. 9120),

gives the date (mutilated) taken from the era of the martyrs, probably corresponding to A.D. 489. The Egyptian epitaphs generally contain these prayerful hopes for the dead taken from the ancient liturgies. Ritter (*u. s.* pp. 31, 32) considers that these inscriptions are almost or quite peculiar to Egypt and Nubia, and are of Judaeo-Christian origin. [C. B.]

**TONSURE.** The cutting off of the hair of the head wholly or partially, in some one of the modes to be hereafter mentioned, has been from the earliest times a preparatory step to taking holy orders, or to embracing the monastic life, and an outward mark of the placing of those persons who submitted to the operation under ecclesiastical law. Numerous mystical interpretations of the tonsure are mentioned by early ritualists (Amalarius, *de Eccles. Off.* ii. 5, iv. 39; Isidor. *de Eccles. Off.* i. 4; Raban. Maur. *de Institut. Cleric.* i. 3). The usual circular shape was believed to be an imitation of the crown of thorns. Bede speaks of St. Cuthbert "receiving the yoke of Christ and the Petrine tonsure resembling the thorny crown which encircled the head of Christ" (*Vit. S. Cuthberti*). Other fanciful reasons which are supposed to have induced St. Peter to institute the tonsure are given by Raban. Maur. (*Lib. de Institut. Cler.* i. 3, *ad finem*).

The act of tonsure was solemnly performed by the bishop in the case of clergy, by the abbat in the case of a monk entering a monastery, the monkish corona being somewhat larger than that of a secular priest. Instances are on record of the performance of the tonsure by the officiating priest of the church within which the ceremony took place (in the church of St. Martin of Tours), and even by the candidate for holy orders himself (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iii. 18). In Egypt and Syria it was the custom in St. Jerome's time to shave the heads of virgins on their entering the monastic profession (Hieron. Ep. 48, *cont. Sabinian*); but such a custom never became prevalent in the West, and was condemned by a law of Theodosius the Great (Lib. xvi. tit. 2, *de Episc. Leg.* 27). [ORDERS, HOLY, p. 1491.]

It has been stated that regulations with reference to the clerical cut of hair date from a very early period, and are almost coeval with the Christian church. But the earlier of these regulations do not describe the tonsure in the later and technical sense of the term, but are merely injunctions to the clergy not to wear long hair, and have been erroneously pressed into service by eager advocates of the antiquity of the coronal tonsure. Such are the directions attributed to Anicetus A.D. 167 (Anast. *in Vita;* Migne, *Bib. Pat. Lat.* cxxvii. p. 1203), and of pope Damasus (*Ep.* viii.) A.D. 366-84; iv. Concil. Carthag. can. 44; Optatus, *c. Parmen.* lib. ii. p. 58; Hieron. xiii. *in Ezek.* cap. 44; Prudentius's description of St. Cyprian on his reception by the clergy at Carthage:

> "Defiua caesaries compescitur ad breves capillos."
> *Peristeph.* xiii.

Socrates's description of the cutting of Julian the Apostate's hair, when he pretended to be a monk, ἐν χρῷ κειράμενος (*Hist. Ec.* iii. 1); Evagrius's description of the ordination of Marcianus (*Hist. Ec.* iii. 26); the account of the admission to holy orders of St. Germanus of Auxerre in the 5th century (*Vit. S. German.* ap. Surium, 31 Jul.); and of St. Caesarius of Arles in the 6th century (*ibid.* 27. Aug.) The phraseology of some of these passages is consistent with, but does not necessarily prove the employment of the coronal tonsure, the first indisputable evidence for which is a 6th-century mosaic representation of St. Apollinaris of Ravenna (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. 27) and can. 41 of the fourth council of Toledo (A.D. 633), which ordered that "omnes clerici, detonso superius capite toto, inferius solam circuli coronam relinquant." A similar direction is given in Concil. Quinisext. A.D. 692, can. xxxiii.

The custom of the tonsure is said by most ritualists to have been derived by the Apostles from the Nazarites, in order that those who dedicated themselves to God's service might be distinguished likewise by the tonsure of the hair. The resemblance is not very complete, as the Nazarites cut off their hair at the close instead of at the commencement of a vow (Isidore, *de Div. Off.* i. 4; Alcuin, *de Div. Off.* edit. Hittorp. p. 61; Raban. Maur. *Lib. de Institut. Cleric.* i. 3). Gregory of Tours attributed its introduction to St. Peter, as a sign of humility (*de Glor. Mart.* i. 28), a theory which is criticised by Amalarius as possible but not proved, and he concludes by wisely leaving the origin of the tonsure an open question like the authorship of the book of Job (*de Eccles. Off.* ii. 5, iv. 39). It is of course most improbable that either the apostles or their successors during the period of heathen persecutions, should have received an outward mark which might at any moment lead to their detection and identification as the leaders of a religious body, the members of which were liable to the punishment of torture or of death. We have the express testimony of Hegesippus to the contrary in the case of St. James, "upon whose head no razor was ever passed" (Euseb. *Hist. Ec.* ii. 23).

There were three distinct varieties of ecclesiastical tonsure.

(*a*) The Roman tonsure, associated with the name of St. Peter, which was formed by the top of the head being shaved close, and a circle or crown of hair being left to grow round it. In breadth this coronal tonsure was said "to be like the golden crown which is placed on the head of kings" (Isidore, *de Div. Off.* ii. 4).

(*b*) The Eastern or Greek tonsure, styled St. Paul's, which was total. When Theodore was selected to be archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 668) he was obliged to wait four months to let his hair grow in such a manner as would enable him to receive the coronal tonsure in the Roman manner, "for he had previously, as subdeacon, received the tonsure of St. Paul, according to the manner of the Easterns" (Bede, *Hist. Ec.* iv. 1).

(*c*) The Celtic tonsure, known as St. John's, in use in the Celtic church of Great Britain and Ireland. It consisted in shaving all the hair in front of a line drawn over the top of the head from ear to ear. The Anglo-Saxon church attributed this form of tonsure in use among their opponents to Simon Magus. Abbat Ceolfrid discussed the subject at length in his letter to Nectan, king of the Picts, A.D. 710 (Bede, *Hist. Ec.* v. 21). Although not brought forward by St. Augustine either at Augustine's Oak or at Bangor this question of the shape of the ton-

sure formed the subject of the most frequent and violent controversy in England during the 7th and 8th centuries. There are traces of the same controversy in France, where a Saxon colony at Bayeux had copied the Celtic tonsure from the Bretons before A.D. 590 (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* x. 9), and in Spain, where a tonsure like the Celtic was condemned by Conc. Tolet. iv. A.D. 633, can. xli. [Further details are given by Bede, *H. E.* iv. 1; Gildas, *Epist.* ii.; Aldhelm, *Epist. ad Geruntium* in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c. iii. 268; Mabillon, *Ann. Benedict.* i. 528; *Act. SS. ord. Bened.* saec. ii. pp. 119–20; Chamillard, *de Corona tonsura et habitu cleric.*; Martene, *de Antiq. Eccles. Rit.* tom. ii. p. 14, edit. 1788.] [F. E. W.]

**TORMENT, PLACE OF** (IN ART). The only representations of any place of bodily punishment, beyond the grave and in the spiritual state, which the writer knows of as possibly within our period, are the hell of the Torcello mosaics, and the numerous pits or rapidly sketched infernos, generally with ministering demons, found in the Utrecht Psalter. [See RESURRECTION.] The writer counted eighteen in the first half of that extraordinary work (see woodcut). But the dates of both these documents are very doubtful. It is particularly curious in the Utrecht Psalter, that there (for the first time in Christian imagery as far as he knows) the mouth of hell is sometimes an actual mouth, belonging most



From the Utrecht Psalter. Hell.

frequently to a monstrous head, sometimes quasi-human, sometimes nearer the fish or serpent-monster of the Giottesque infernos. The idea may be derived from the vision of Er, in Plato's *Republic*, bk. x. The souls in that allegory who have passed round the circle of the rivers of punishment are allowed to try to leave Tartarus by its mouth; which lets them pass, if their purgation is complete. If not, it roars horribly, and the sinner has to go back and repeat his circuit of Phlegethon and Cocytus. But this subject is not really a part of Christian iconography, even of the first millennium. It came into prominence with races like the Lombard, accustomed to every form of slaughter and terror, and also full of inventive genius. [R. S. T. T.]

**TORPES**, May 17, martyr in Etruria under Nero (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TORQUATUS**, May 15, bishop of Guadix, one of the seven apostolic bishops sent to Spain (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*).

**TORTURE, INSTRUMENTS OF.** [CATACOMBS, p. 314.]

**TOUL, COUNCIL OF** (TULLENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 550, held by order of king Theodebald to support Nicetius, metropolitan of Treves, in whose province Toul lay, in his struggle with persons excommunicated for incestuous acts. (Mansi, ix. 147–50.) [E. S. Ff.]

**TOURS, COUNCILS OF** (TURONENSIA CONCILIA), A.D. 461 and A.D. 567. Both remarkable for the length of their disciplinary canons; the first, at which thirteen were passed, to which Perpetuus, bishop of Tours, and seven bishops, a blind bishop through his presbyter, and Thalassius, bishop of Angers, on their being communicated to him, subscribed (Mansi, vii. 943–8); the second, at which no less than twenty-seven were passed, and subscribed to by Euphronius, bishop of Tours, and eight others (Mansi, ix. 789–814). Both were celebrated in honour of St. Martin, but the latter was held in his church, as though it had been finished in the interval between them. [E. S. Ff.]

**TOWER.** We have now so long been accustomed to see a tower either attached to or immediately adjoining a church, that many persons would be disposed to make the presence of a tower the distinctive mark of a church, and its absence that of a chapel. Such, however, would be a very great mistake as regards the churches of the earlier centuries of Christianity. Until bells came to be in general use a tower would have served no other purpose in connexion with a church than that of a place of security for the servants and treasures of the church in the event of an attack from brigands or enemies. Towers, therefore, did not in the earlier ages invariably form part of the design of a church.

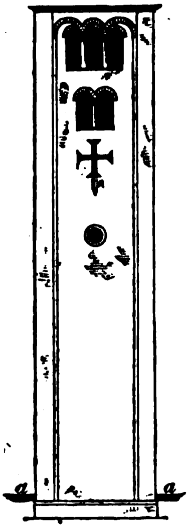
In the centre of cruciform churches towers may, however, have been erected rather for æsthetic reasons than for any special use, as the raising the central part of such a church obviously greatly adds to its beauty and dignity. The germ of the central tower may perhaps be found in such buildings as the sepulchral chapel of SS. Nazzaro and Celso at Ravenna [CHAPEL, p. 346], built before A.D. 450, where the intersection of nave, transepts, and chancel is covered by a dome enclosed in a low square tower.

It has been shewn in the article BELL that bells, and probably bells of considerable size, were well known in Gaul and England in the 6th and 7th centuries, and in Italy doubtless they were known as early, if not even earlier. Towers were of course familiar objects, and it may easily have occurred to some ecclesiastic or architect that a tower adjacent or annexed to a church would afford a convenient means of so hanging bells that their sound would travel freely.

The earliest examples of towers connected with, or adjacent to, churches would seem to be the towers of some of the churches at Ravenna. Hübsch (*Altchristl. Kirchen*) asserts that the lower part of the tower at the cathedral shews that it is of the same date as the adjacent baptistery (attributed to A.D. 425), by the fact that the quality and form of the bricks, and the manner in which they are laid, are identical in the two structures. On like grounds he considers that the square tower of S. Francesco (see woodcut) and the circular one at S. Giovanni Evangelista date from the latter part of the 5th century, and that at S. Apollinare in Classe (v. CHURCH,

p. 376) from the period of the building of the church (A.D. 568).

On similar evidence the same writer thinks that part of the towers of S. Pudenziana and S. Lorenzo at Rome are as early as the 7th century. Certainly no one who knows how safe a guide the character of brickwork at Rome is as to the dates of buildings will be disposed to disregard the opinion expressed by Herr Hübsch, but the earliest documentary evidence of the building of



Tower of S. Francesco, Ravenna.
(From Hübsch's *Altchristl. Kirchen.*)

a tower in connexion with a church at Rome would appear to be the mention in the *Liber Pontificalis* of the tower built by pope Stephen III. (A.D. 768-772) at St. Peter's, in which three bells were placed "to call together the clergy and people to the service of God." This passage is given by Ducange, but does not appear in all editions of the *Liber Pontif.* If genuine, it certainly seems to point to the introduction of a practice which had something of novelty about it.

In the life of pope Leo IV. (A.D. 847–855) in the *Liber Pontif.*, it is stated that he at the church of St. Andrew the Apostle "fecit campanile et posuit campanam cum malleo aereo," as if there were something rather unusual and remarkable in the fact of a hammer being used to strike the bell. The fact that while at Rome there are nearly thirty churches, portions of which are of earlier date than A.D. 800, while the existing bell-towers are, with very doubtful exceptions, of later date, and that no early mention of the construction of towers is to be found in the *Liber Pontif.*, which enters into such full detail upon the works done by the successive popes to the various churches, would seem to make it almost certain that, as has been said before, it was not until a comparatively late date that a tower was deemed to be at all an essential adjunct to a church; and, indeed, many of the older churches in that city remain to the present day unfurnished with such an appendage. Two churches (built 827–824), Sta. Cecilia and Sta. Prassede, shew clearly that a tower did not form part of the original plans; in the first case, it is awkwardly wedged in in a corner; in the latter it has been raised on the end of a transept.

The early examples above mentioned are all detached from the neighbouring churches, but towers forming internal parts of churches of very early date are to be found in central Syria. The annexed woodcut of a part of the front of the church at Taftkha, from Comte de la Vogüé's work, shews the three-storied tower which forms part of the façade. This church, Comte de la Vogüé says, is probably of the 4th, but cannot be later in date than the 5th, century. At Tourmanin, in the same country, are remains of a church which the same authority attributes to the 9th century; here are two western towers, which, however, do not rise above the roof.

Towers were, it would seem, built as portions of churches in England at an early date, for a square tower annexed to the nave is to be found at Brixworth in Northamptonshire, which there is some historical ground for believing to have been built before A.D. 700 (*v.* the *Basilica*, &c., by the Rev. C. F. Watkins, and Britton, *Chron. Hist. of Christian Architecture*, p. 192). That the existing building is really of an early date is the more probable as the head of an original window in the wall between the tower and the nave has been altered by the insertion of a window of three lights, divided by two balusters; this alteration is supposed to have been a part of the repairs effected after A.D. 870, when the monastery was devastated by the Danes.

Another early example of a tower is afforded by the church in Dover Castle; in this case the tower is in the centre, resting on four semicircular arches. No historical or documentary date from which the period of the erection of this church can be inferred have been brought forward, but the character of the architecture is much the same as that of Brixworth, the arches in both cases being square-edged, and constructed chiefly with large flat tiles; in Brixworth of Roman make, and at Dover, it would seem, imitative of that manufacture, being much inferior in quality to those of which the adjacent pharos is built.

Another feature these churches have in common, viz. windows of large size, measuring, at Dover, 7 ft. 2 in. by 3 ft. 8 in., and at Brixworth 5 ft. 10 in. by 3 ft. 6 in.; these dimensions much exceed those of windows of churches of the same proportions of the 11th or 12th centuries, and this is what is just to be found in the churches at Rome earlier than A.D. 1000. Windows may be seen in some of these, *e.g.* the clerestory of S. Lorenzo fuor le Mura (772–795 ?), and the windows in the transept of St. Prassede (817–824); which approach very closely in size, proportion, and construction, to those of Brixworth and Dover. In Rome the great window spaces were filled with pierced marble slabs (*v.* Churches in Rome before A.D. 1000, *Archaeologia*, vol. xl.). In England wood may probably have served in place of marble, and the apertures in the wooden slabs filled with horn, or other semi-transparent substances, or even with glass, the use of which for such purposes was, as we are told by Bede, introduced by Benedict, bishop about A.D. 675. It is possible that in both these

cases the towers may have been built with the view not only of hanging bells, but also as affording places of security for the treasures of the church and its ministers; some of the latter may even have dwelt in them, as was so frequently the case in Ireland during the middle ages.

The history of the detached slender circular towers with conical caps, which are peculiar to Ireland, was very carefully investigated by the late Earl of Dunraven, and his notes and conclusions have been well edited and commented on by Miss Stokes, who expresses an opinion based mainly on the character of the masonry of the towers, and its correspondence with that of buildings, the date of which can be approximatively fixed, that none of these towers now existing in Ireland can be believed to date from an earlier period than the latter part of the 9th century. But see ROUND TOWERS.

The foundations of two circular towers, one on each side of the altar end of the old cathedral at Brescia, still exist; the date of this church has not been ascertained, but it may be as early as the 8th century. Hübsch (*Alt-Christliche Kirchen*) places it between 600 and 750.

According to the restoration suggested by the same author the original plan of S. Lorenzo at Milan comprised four towers at the angles of the buildings; this church is not later than the 6th century.

In the church of Romain Motier in Switzerland, which was dedicated in 753, is a low but perfectly-developed central tower, and it seems not unlikely that if we had more examples of this century in existence we should find that then or afterwards, on this side of the Alps at any rate, a tower, either central or at the west end, frequently, if not even generally, formed a portion of every important church. We find, however, in the plan prepared for the monastery of St. Gall [CHURCH, p. 383] about 820, only two circular towers, one on each side of one of the apses, and connected with the church only by narrow passages.

In the dome at Aix-la-Chapelle we have at the west end a tower-like building flanked by two circular towers containing staircases.

Several churches in France of about the same date as St. Martin at Angers, founded in 819, and Germigny-sur-Loire, dedicated in 806, have central towers.

In the countries where the Eastern church was predominant towers do not appear to have been built in connexion with churches until a late period. An exceptional instance is that of the erection of a bell-tower at St. Sophia, in Constantinople, between 867 and 880, by the emperor Basil, to receive bells sent to him by Orso, Doge of Venice; at no time do they appear to have been commonly built. The central cupola is, however, in the mediaeval churches of the Byzantine type so much elevated as to present something of the appearance of an octagonal tower. [A. N.]

**TRACT.** [GRADUAL, § v. p. 747.]

**TRACTORIAE.** [COUNCIL, p. 475.]

**TRACTUS.** [PSALMODY, p. 1745.]

**TRADES** (including PROFESSIONS). The only pursuits absolutely interdicted by the church were those associated with idolatry, such as statuary and painting (so far as they involved the fashioning of idols or the representation of false divinities), or those of a directly immoral tendency, such as the theatrical profession, as practised in these times. [ACTORS, THEATRE.] Tertullian (*de Idololat.* c. 6), in condemning the trade in idols, replies to the supposed excuse: "Facio, sed non colo," by asking how it is possible "to disavow in speech what we confess with the hand, to destroy with words what we construct by our actions, to proclaim but one God and to make many?" The artificer, he affirms, is even more culpable than the priest: "plus es illis quam sacerdos, cum per te habeant sacerdotem" (Migne, i. 668). On like grounds, he condemns with equal severity the trade in incense, a peculiarly lucrative one in his day; and he concludes that every art, profession, and trade which ministers to idol worship is itself a species of idolatry.

As regarded other ordinary modes of money-making, they were in no way looked upon by the early church as incompatible with the duties of the Christian life. Tertullian, when repudiating the notion that Christianity involved a withdrawal from ordinary society, says (*Apol.* c. 42), "we carry on trades among you" (*i.e.* among the pagan world of the 3rd century). Eusebius (*Dem. Evang.* i. 8; Migne, *Series Graeca*, xxii. 30) says that the pursuits of agriculture, of the market-place, and of civic industry generally, are perfectly compatible with a God-fearing life. The only requirements of the church, indeed, in these relations, appear to have been honesty and moderation. Tertullian (*de Patientiâ*, c. 7) contrasts the impatience of the pagan trader under losses, and the eager desire of gain which seemed to hold it preferable to life itself, with the Christian view which teaches us to prefer our spiritual welfare to the acquirement of wealth (Migne, i. 1262; Cyprian, *de Orat. Dom.* c. 20). Cyprian (*de Lapsis*, c. 6) states that many bishops in his time had abandoned their sacred profession to seek the acquirement of wealth in distant provinces, attending markets, and even lending out money on usury: "negotiationis quaestuosae nundinas aucupari . . . . usuris multiplicantibus foenus augere" (Migne, iv. 183).

It is, however, to be remembered that, according to the traditions of the empire, all trades were looked upon as unworthy of a free citizen and, to some extent, disreputable. It is probable, therefore, that in the earlier centuries they were largely carried on by Christians. Justin Martyr (*ad Zenam et Serenam*, c. 17) repudiates the notion that Christians should be ashamed to labour for fear of sinking in public estimation. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (iv. 11) enjoin that children shall be taught some useful art. The legislation of the state, after the recognition of Christianity, does not appear to indicate a juster sense of the dignity of labour; and the removal of the capital to Constantinople was followed by a marked decline in the commercial prosperity of the empire. "The humble and honest occupation of the shopkeeper," says Finlay, "was treated as a dishonourable profession, and his condition was rendered doubly contemptible. He was made the serf of the corporation in which he was inscribed, and his industry was fettered

by restrictions which compelled him to remain in poverty" (*Hist. of Greece*, ed. Tozer, i. 117; *Cod. Theod.* IX. xxiii. 1). St. Basil (*Hom.* 3 *in Hexaemeron*) says in one of his sermons that he is aware that there are present among his audience a good many artisans (τεχνῖται τῶν βαναύσων τεχνῶν) who are wanting to get away to their work, and are consequently anxious for him to shorten his discourse (Migne, *S. G.* xxix. 22). It is evident, however, that the untruthfulness in which traders habitually indulged often made commercial pursuits difficult for a Christian. Augustine, in commenting on the 15th verse of Psalm lxxi. (Septuag. Vers. No. lxx.), and adopting the reading of the Septuagint—"for I am not acquainted with the ways of men"—renders the Greek word πραγματείας by "negotiatores," and says: "Audiant negotiatores, et mutent vitam." He then proceeds to point out that trading and truth-telling are not incompatible. He supposes the "negotiator" to urge in his defence that the labourer is worthy of his hire; and that bringing, as he does, his wares from a distance to supply a public want, he is entitled to a profit. But this, replies Augustine, is not the point in question, "agitur de mendacio, de perjurio;" and he maintains that the vice is not inherent in the transaction, but is the fault of the vendor. He advises him to confess candidly what he has given for his wares, and to state what he demands as his fair profit: "Possem enim dicere, Tanto emi, sed tanto vendam; si placet, eme." He thinks that tradesmen who acted thus would greatly increase their custom. He also rebukes with severity another common phase of mercantile disingenuousness; as, for example, when a shoemaker, on receiving an order for a pair of shoes, promises them by a certain time; but, on receiving further orders, puts the first order aside and disappoints his customer (Migne, xxxvii. 886).

In the West, by a series of changes which cannot be very clearly discerned, we find that in the 5th century a remarkable change had taken place in the respect paid to labour. Trades and crafts formerly carried on almost exclusively by slaves are to be found, especially in the municipal cities of Gaul, in the hands of free men who united themselves in corporations for the protection of their interests (Guizot, *Hist. de la Civilisat.* i. 52).

The following examples are given by Martigny from various collections of inscriptions in the catacombs and elsewhere, which illustrate the occupations pursued by Christians in the earlier centuries:—

Of a "rationalis," or collector of taxes (Aringhi, i. 406); of a "scutarius," or maker of shields (*ib.* 117); of dealers in purple (cf. Acts xvi. 14), of silversmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, lapidaries, potters, tanners, tent-makers, weavers, colliers, and fishermen (see Lami, *de Erudit. Apost.* p. 184). Marchi (*Monumenti delle Arte Crist.* p. 26) gives an epitaph of a female vendor of barley, and (p. 28) that of a "lintearius," or linen-weaver. De Rossi (i. 212) furnishes us with that of a baker—BITALIS PISTOR; and that of a "pastellarius," or maker of rolls, is found after the 5th century; that of one Marcellus, patron of the corporation of the "pastellarii," is given by Muratori (527, v). We find also epitaphs of one Lucilius Victorinus, a manufacturer of dice—ARTIS TESSALARIE LUSORIE (Boldetti, p. 416); of a "confectorarius," or pork butcher (Muratori, cmliv. 5), and find from Gruter (ccclxi. 5) that the "confectorarii" formed a corporation along with the "suarii," or dealers in swine; of a "capsarius" (Marchi, p. 27), or keeper of the clothes at a public bath; of a sculptor, with design of his chisel and puncheon (Rossi, i. 188); of a painter, with similar designs of compass, puncheon, and brushes (Marangoni, *Acta S. Vict.* p. 125); of a public measurer of corn, accompanied by designs of a "modius" full of wheat, and a measuring rod (Lupi, *Sev. Epitaph.* p. 51); of a "faber," with the design of a shovel; of a Christian lady, SEVERA SELEUCIANE, on whose tomb there is the design of a weaving loom (Lupi, *Opp. Laud.* pp. 28, 29); designs of combs (*ib.* pp. 22, 29, 30) designate "lanarius pectinarius." Fabretti (*Insc. Ant. Explic.* p. 574) shews us a poor "colonus" named Leon. Perret (V. lii.) gives us the representation of a sower. Marini (*Iscriz. Alban.* p. 188) supplies us with the only known example of a "pincerna," or cupbearer, though Lami (*de Erud. Apost.* p. 230) says that this was an office often filled by Christians. The "fossores," who prepared the tombs in the catacombs, are frequently represented by a spade, or some other implement of their profession (Boldetti, pp. 53, 59, 65; Perret, i. 30). Boldetti (p. 184) gives a design which he supposed to represent an instrument of martyrdom, but which De Rossi (*Bolletino*, 1864, p. 36) has explained as designed for a dentist's instrument for extracting teeth with an extracted tooth by the side.

The evidence with respect to professions has an almost entirely different significance. The military profession and those of the "grammaticus," the "rhetor," and the jurist, were generally held in high honour, and instances of Christians in these, during the earlier centuries, are comparatively rare. In the legal profession there occur the names of Minucius Felix, the senators Hippolytus and Apollonius (Baldin. *Praef. in Minuc. Fel.*), and Tertullian, according to Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 21), was distinguished by his knowledge of Roman law. De Rossi (i. 64) gives an inscription on the tomb of a Christian jurisconsult, which records that he was honoured by the friendship of Constantine during the emperor's sojourn in Rome. The profession of the healing art, often adopted by slaves, appears to have been far more common among Christians. The name of St. Luke at once suggests itself. Boldetti (p. 416 *et pass.*) gives a large number of inscriptions of this class. Reinesius gives the epitaph of one Alexander, a physician, who is said to have been ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟϹ ΚΑΙ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟϹ (*Syntag.* 898, v.), the latter probably denoting that he belonged to a class of empirics who in their diagnosis profess to refer every symptom to the πνεῦμα. Aringhi (i. 415) gives the epitaph of one Timothy, an "archiatrus" or "princeps medicorum," an officer who was also physician in ordinary to the emperor. Christian freedmen appear as discharging, in the service of the emperor or of senators, the offices of secretary "commentariensis" (Lami, *de Erudit. Apost.* p. 250), of "librarius" or copyist, of "tabellarius" or courier who carried despatches (Passionei, 124, n. 84), of "arcarius" or treasurer, and "cubicularius" or groom of the bed-

chamber. Lucian, head of the "cubicularii" of Diocletian's palace, was instrumental in the conversion of many to the Christian faith (Tillemont, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 7, 8, 180). An instance of a Christian holding the office of "scrinarius" or keeper of the archives, an important function, and one involving considerable attainments, occurs in Aringhi (i. 415). The father of St. Basil was a teacher of rhetoric equally famed for his eloquence and his Christian virtues. The profession of a "grammaticus" was not common among the earlier Christians, probably on account of its association with pagan observances (see SCHOOLS). De Rossi (i. 1242) gives us the epitaph of a "magister ludi" and also (i. 1167) that of a "magister ludi litterarii." The military profession, though often disavowed by certain sects and by individuals, does not appear, at any time, to have been actually forbidden by the church (see WAR, and, for other points connected with the whole subject, COMMERCE). [J. B. M.]

**TRADITIO SYMBOLI**, the solemn delivery of the creed to the catechumens as their baptism drew nigh. We only read of it in connexion with the more numerous baptisms of Easter Eve, but it is certain that a similar discipline prevailed with reference to those of Whitsun Eve. At Rome it took place on a day appointed by notice in the fourth week of Lent (*Ordo Scrutinii*, 6, in *Mus. Ital.* ii. 79). Wednesday was the usual day (Assemani, *Codex Liturg.* i. 93, "feria quarta, seu illa feria;" see Amalarius, *de Eccl. Off.* i. 8; *Ordo Rom.* in Hittorp. *de Eccl. Cath. Off.* 31, ed. 1). At Milan the creed was given on Saturday in Passion Week (See SABBATUM, &c., p. 1827). In Gaul, before the Roman scrutinium and other rites were forced on the national churches (*Capit. Reg. Franc.* v. 372), Palm Sunday was the day universally observed. This appears from the internal evidence of the "Missae in Symboli Traditione" in the Gallican sacramentaries, which refer to the entry into Jerusalem (*Miss. Goth.* in *Lit. Gall.* 235; *Miss. Gall. Vet. ib.* 346; *Sacram. Gall.* in *Mus. Ital.* i. 314), and from the thirteenth canon of Agde, A.D. 506. The lessons or Palm Sunday in the Gallican lectionary (*Lit. Gall.* 127) are obviously chosen with an eye to this rite (Jer. xxx. 1–34; Heb. x. 3–34; John xii. 1–24). In Gothic Spain it took place on the same day (Isid. Hispal. *de Eccl. Off.* i. 27), but not everywhere in Spain; for the council of Braga (now in Portugal) in 572 (can. 1) says that the creed is to be taught the catechumens "in the twenty days" before their baptism. The traditio, then, was some three weeks before Easter, in which the church of western Spain seems to have agreed, or nearly agreed, with the churches of Greece and Asia. There has been a controversy about the time of the traditio in proconsular Africa. The Benedictine editors of St. Augustine infer from his language in *Serm.* 212 "in Traditione Symboli," that it took place "die ante Pascha serius ocius quinto decimo" (note *u. s.*), while Martene argues from the same premises that it was "sabbato ante dominicam quartam quadragesimae" (*De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. i. 11, n. 11). The *redditio* or repetition of it to the bishop was eight days later when the catechumens received the Lord's Prayer, and again on Easter Eve before their baptism (Aug. *Serm.* 58, §§ 1, 13).

We have also less precise information on the practice of the Greek and Oriental churches than on those of Gaul, Spain and Italy. St. Jerome, A.D. 397, writing in Palestine, says, "Consuetudo autem apud nos istiusmodi est, ut his qui baptizandi sunt per xl. dies publice tradamus sanctam et adorandam Trinitatem." From this we should infer that the creed was delivered at the beginning of Lent, unless, which seems improbable, it was only imparted piecemeal during the whole course of it. We find Cyril of Jerusalem, A.D. 347, explaining the first article of it in his fourth catechetical lecture delivered not far from the beginning of that season, and in the fourteen that follow dealing with doctrines exclusively Christian.

The only early notice of time in the church of Constantinople with which I am able to meet occurs in the statement of Theodorus Lector, that before the time of Timotheus, A.D. 511, the Nicene creed was "recited only once in the year, viz. on the holy day of preparation (parasceve) of the divine Passion at the time of the catechisings held by the bishop" (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 32). We can only suggest that the Apostles' creed was used in earlier catechisings by the priests.

The delivery of the creed was in the Latin church preceded by a short address, "praefatio symboli" (*Sacram. Gelas.*; Assemani, *Codex Liturg.* i. 11; *Ord. Scrut.* 6, *u. s.*; *Miss. Gall. Vet.* in *Lit. Gall.* 339; *Sacram. Gall.* in *Mus. Ital.* i. 310. Comp. *Catech. Graec.* Ass. 111).

It was afterwards explained in detail (Aug. *Serm.* 214; the *Sacramentaries*, u. s.). St. Augustine has three sermons (212, 213, 214) "in Traditione Symboli;" but the office books give forms to be used on the occasion.

According to the earlier Roman ritual the creed was said in Greek over the male candidates, and in Latin over the female (Martene, *u. s.*, I. i. 12, ord. 2 (MS. Gellon); *Pontif. Pictav. ib.* ord. 3; ord. 4, *ad Scrut.* MS. Wertin. *ib.* &c.). In the Gallican it was said in Latin only, but over each sex (*Miss. Gall. Vet.* u. s. 340; Jesse Ambianensis, *de Baptismo*, § 1). In the Gelasian Sacramentary, as we have it, it is given both in Latin and Greek, but both are said over all the candidates.

The day on which the delivery took place was called by the Latins "Dies in Apertione Aurium" (*Sacram.* Gelas. i. 34; Murat. i. 537; *Miss. Gall. Vet.* in *Lit. Gall.* 342; Jesse Amb. *u. s.*, &c.) It had a proper mass, "Missa in Symboli Traditione" (*Miss. Goth.* u. s. 235; *Gall. Vet.* 346; *Sacram. Gall.* u. s. 314; *Miss. Ambros.* u. s. 336).

The creed used was at first everywhere a form identical with or closely akin to the Apostles' creed (*Miss. Gall. Vet.* u. s. 348; *Sacr. Gall.* u. s. 312; Isid. Hispal. *de Eccl. Off.* ii. 22; Raban. Maur. *de Instit. Cler.* i. 27; *Ord. Rom.* Bernoldi in Hittorp. *de Eccl. Off.* 32, ed. 1; Ordd. 9, 10 in Martene, *u. s.*, "Credo in Deum," &c.); but when the Nicene creed was generally adopted into the liturgies it was also chosen in many churches for the instruction and profession of catechumens (see for the Latin, *Sacram. Gelas.* Assem. *u. s.* 11; Greg. *ib.* 22; *Ord. Scrut.* 97; Ord. 5 in Martene, *u. s.*; for the Greek, Assem. *u. s.* 114, 138; Armenian, *ib.* 172; Syrian, 212, 238, 252, 271). There is early evidence of the

Greek use of this creed, as in the statement of Theodore already quoted. The council of Constantinople, A.D. 518, speak of it as "the holy symbol in which we were baptized and do baptize" (*Epist. Sym. ad Joan.*, Labb. *Conc.* v. 166). Some monks memorialising a later council at the same place (A.D. 536) express themselves in the same manner (*ib.* 172). Similarly, Caesar Basiliscus writing to Timothy Aelurus, "The symbol of the 318 fathers . . . into which we and all who have believed before us have been baptized" (Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 4). The Copts use a short form declaring belief in the Three Persons of the Trinity (Assem. i. 159). In one Latin Ordo an option is given, "Credo in Deum" or "Credo in Unum Deum" (Martene, *u. s.* ord. 4). [W. E. S.]

**TRADITORES.** Those who in the time of the Diocletian persecution delivered up their Bibles, and sacred utensils for destruction: "Post Cypriani mortem 40 annis peractis traditio codicum facta est, unde coeperunt appellari traditores" (Aug. *de Bapt. contr. Donat.* vii. 2). The charge of betraying sacred books was urged in turn against the Catholics and the Donatists (Aug. *Epp.* l., clxii., clxiv., *De Verb. Dom.* xviii. 19; *Contra Crescon.* iii. 27). The first council of Arles, A.D. 314 (c. 13), held immediately after the persecution, decreed that any clergyman convicted, not by hearsay but by manifest acts, of having betrayed either the sacred Scriptures or the church vessels or the names of the brethren, was to be deposed. [G. M.]

**TRANQUILLINUS**, July 6, martyr at Rome under Diocletian (*Mart.* Usuard., Flor., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*); Dec. 18 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**TRANSENNA.** In classical usage "transenna" stands for any piece of reticulated work, either a net or snare for catching birds (Plaut. *Bacchis*, iv. 6, 22; *Persa*, iv. 3, 11; *Rudens*, iv. 7, 10), or a wicker hurdle, or lattice, or anything imitating that form. In this sense it was applied to a carved grating filling up the aperture of a window, admitting the light, but hindering those outside from looking in, called by the Greeks δικτυωτόν. An example of this arrangement is to be seen in the church of Sylvester, below that of St. Martino ai Monti, in Rome. "Per transennam aspicere" was a common Latin proverb found in Cicero (*de Oratore*, lib. i. c. 35).

Paulinus of Nola also describes the "transenna" as adapted to a window opening, "laetissimo vero conspectu tota haec basilica, aperitur tribus arcubus paribus perlucente transenna" (*Epist.* 12, *ad Sever.*).

In Christian Antiquities "transenna" is applied to the carved marble gratings used both to fill up the openings of the "cancelli" in the churches and oratories (precisely as in those of the secular basilicas, of which an excellent example has been found in the recently excavated "basilica Jovis" on the Palatine Hill), and to protect the shrines of the martyrs from too rude handling, while they afforded a distant and mysterious view of the sacred treasures, and allowed handkerchiefs and napkins called "brandea" to be put through the lattice work, and bring back healing virtue from contact with the consecrated coffer. A "transenna" in this last sense was completed of pure silver by Sixtus III. about the tomb of St. Lawrence, "ornavit transennam et altare et confessionem sancti martyris Laurentii" (Anastas. *in Sixto III.* § 65). The design of a "transenna" discovered in the cemetery of St. Callistus is given by Boldetti (*Osservaz.* p. 35). One published by De Rossi (*Inscr. Christian.* tom. i. proleg. cxv. Northcote, ed. 2, pl. ix.) bears a curious inscription of the end of the 3rd century, together with an earlier one partially obliterated. From the former we learn that it was originally prepared by a heathen lady for the reception of her own epitaph. It was subsequently taken possession of, as the later inscription records, by a deacon named Severus, who clumsily set it horizontally instead of vertically, to guard the aperture of a "cubiculum duplex cum arcosolio et luminare" constructed for himself and his family by the permission of pope Marcellinus. This "transenna," which is one of elegant design, measures 6 feet by 3 feet. The inscriptions are on a plain oblong slab in the centre. The design of the "transennae" of the "cancelli" and of the altar of what is known as the papal crypt in the cemetery of St. Callistus, has been faithfully restored by De Rossi from the fragments discovered, and the supposed arrangement is given (tav. 1, A. of the second volume of his *Roma Sotterranea*. See woodcut). The use of the "transenna" to fence in the "confessio" is still seen at St. Clement's. Perret gives beautiful examples from St. Priscilla and St. Helena.



Transenna. *Roma Sotterranea* (pl. ix. new edition).

The life of Stephen IV. (Anastas. § 274) affords an instance of the use of the word in its first meaning as a fence. A presbyter named Waldepertus, who had fled for refuge to the church of St. Mary ad Martyres, was dragged out and thrown "juxta transennam campi Laterani," where his eyes were dug out.

Martigny (*sub voce*) presents a beautiful and elaborate example of a "transenna" from a church at Cherchel, in North Africa, with the letters A and ω forming elements of the lattice work. [E. V.]

**TRANSFIGURATION** (IN ART). This event in our Lord's history had no place in the ordinary cycles of art representations in the early church. It occurs, however, two or three times in mosaics, and has been found in some minor works of art. The most remarkable is that of the 6th century at St. Apollinare in Classe, already described in the article MOSAICS (p. 1333). Here the representation is almost entirely symbolical. A jewelled cross within a circle of glory occupies the central place, on either side demi-figures of Moses and Elias float in clouds, while three sheep among the trees on the hill below represent the apostles. The Transfiguration is also depicted in a mosaic of the 6th century in the chapel of the convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai (La Borde, *Voyage dans l'Arabie*), and in an ill-designed clumsy work of the 8th century in the church of SS. Nereus and Achilleus at Rome (MOSAICS, p. 1333). Martigny states that Millin mentions the subject being found on a sarcophagus at Ostia, but he gives no reference to the place. Raoul Rochette speaks of it as being seen on a lamp discovered in a catacomb at Corneto (see also D'Agincourt, *Sculpt.* lxii. no. 24, 28). [E. V.]

**TRANSFIGURATION OF CHRIST**, commemorated July 14 (*Cal. Armen.*); Aug. 6 (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Cal. Ethiop.*; Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 265; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TRANSITORIUM**, the anthem sung after the communion (see COMMUNIO, p. 412) in the Ambrosian liturgy (Radulphus Tungr. *de Canonum Observ.* Prop. 23, in *Max. Biblioth. Vet. Patr.* xxvi. 319). It is so called because, while it is being sung, the priest leaves his place and "transfert missale ad aliam partem altaris" (Rubr. in *Missali Ambr.* A.D. 1669; Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. iv. 12, n. 3). See an example in Pamelius, *Liturgica*, i. 305. [W. E. S.]

**TRANSLATION** [BISHOP, p. 225; RELICS, p. 1772.]

**TREASURER.** [OECONOMUS.]

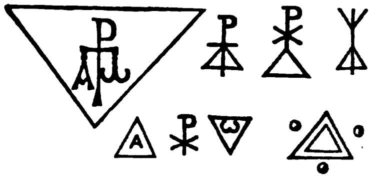
**TRECENSE CONCILIUM.** [TROYES.]

**TREES IN ART.** The trees so frequently seen in the early Christian mosaics and frescoes, and on gilded glasses, sarcophagi, and other objects of art, are commonly, as Bosio acknowledges (lib. iv. c. 44), simply ornamental accessories devoid of any symbolical meaning, though in some cases it is probable that we may not be wrong in regarding them as typical of the Tree of Life, an emblem of immortality, and of Christians as trees of the Lord's planting. This is certainly the case with the palm-tree. [PALM TREE.] The trees between which the Good Shepherd is often placed, sometimes with the adjuncts of birds and a milk-pail (Perret, *Catacombes*, V. pl. xlviii., lxxvii.; Agincourt, iv. vii. 10), may be safely regarded as decorative, though a symbolical meaning may be easily read into them. The same may be said of the trees which accompany the raising of Lazarus, sometimes growing out of the tomb (Buonarruoti, tav. vii. 2) or in part of it (Bottari, tav. vii. 2), and of those between which the "orantes" often stand; sometimes with a lamb on either side (Perret, V. v.). St. Agnes is so depicted (Buonarruoti, tav. xviii.-xxi.; Bottari, tav. xcvii. 4). The symbolical reference is more unmistakable when a tree or a branch is depicted between A and ω (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* tom. ii. p. 323), and where a green tree, rich in flowers and fruit, is opposed to one that is dry (Le Blant, *Inscr. Christ.* pp. 390, 394, 409). Compare PARADISE. [E. V.]

**TRENTALS.** [OBSEQUIES, xxxi. p. 1437.]

**TREVES, COUNCIL OF** (TREVIRENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 385, at which St. Martin was beguiled into being present, when Ithacius, the accuser of Priscillian, was acquitted, and Felix ordained bishop of Treves. (Mansi, iii. 679-84.) [E. S. Ff.]

**TRIANGLE.** For this emblem, which is rarely used in the early church, and has been little noticed in consequence, Martigny refers almost entirely to a learned article by M. de Rossi, in the *Spicilegium Solesmense*, vol. iv. p. 497, on some inscriptions from Carthage.



Triangle. (Martigny, p. 641.)

These examples are almost the only ones known. [See MONOGRAM.] The first will be found in Aringhi (*Rom. Subt.* i. p. 605), the second and third are Lupi's (*Sev. Epitaph.* pp. 64, 102), the fourth in Boldetti's *Cimit.* p. 402. The fifth and sixth, with the monogram and enclosing the A and ω were found by De Rossi in a MS. of the Barberini library, and published by M. E. Le Blant (*Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule*, t. i. p. 107), the last is on the fifth of the former's African marbles (in the *Spicilegium*).

Three fishes arranged in the form of a triangle are represented in Munter's *Sinnbilder*, p. 49, tab. i. 26. And, as Martigny observes, all the triangles are closely connected with the Monogram, the special symbol or name of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. [R. St. J. T.]

**TRIBIMAEUS**, Mar. 1, martyr at Perga with Nestor under Decius (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**TRIBUNAL.** [IMMUNITIES; JURISDICTION; LAW.]

**TRIFORIUM.** It is defined by Ducange as a kind of gallery or arcade, which is carried all round a church, in order to furnish means of circulation about the church above the principal arcade. The same writer derives the name from the fact that in the earlier forms of the triforium the wall had a triple perforation between each pair of the great columns below. Structurally

the triforium is the roof-space of a lean-to aisle. It is pronounced by Viollet-le-Duc (*Dictionnaire de l'Architecture*, s. v.) to be a tradition of the gallery (ambulatorium) of the first story of the Roman basilica. The name he says was introduced into the vocabulary of architecture by English archaeologists. Besides its purpose of a passage to which Ducange appears to limit the triforium, Viollet-le-Duc speaks of its being used for the congregation in the larger cathedrals on the occasion of a great solemnity.

[H. T. A.]

**TRINITY, THE HOLY** (IN ART). The early Christians shrank from representing God the Father in human form, much more from a pictorial representation of the Holy Trinity. The TRIANGLE was used to symbolize it, but even of this early examples are not common.

But the appearance of the three angels to Abraham (Gen. xviii.) was commonly regarded by the ancients as a manifestation of the Holy Trinity, and it is no doubt as such that it is represented in a mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore, a work of the 5th century (Ciampini, *Vet. Monim.* I. tab. li. 1).

In representations of the baptism of the Lord by St. John, the presence of the Father is frequently indicated by a hand appearing from a cloud, while the Holy Spirit appears as a dove [DOVE, p. 576]. Such a picture Paulinus describes in the church of St. Felix at Nola. The abbé Martigny sees also a representation of the Trinity in a mosaic of the 6th century in the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. tab. xvi.), where the Lord stands teaching; a hand from above suspends a crown over His head, while a dove, the head surrounded with rays, flies towards him. On a sarcophagus recently discovered, and now in the Lateran Museum, three bearded persons — probably representing the Trinity—are engaged in the creation of Eve. This is said to be of the latter half of the 4th century (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v. Trinité). [C.]

**TRIODION** (Τριῴδιον). One of the ecclesiastical books of the Eastern church containing the offices from Septuagesima Sunday to Easter-Eve. It derives its name from the fact that while hymns in honour of our Lord, the B. V. M., and other saints had usually nine strophes (ᾠδαί), during this period of the year they have only three. Hence lxx. Sunday is sometimes called simply "Triodium." A detailed and hostile examination of the contents of this book has been written by the Roman Catholic Leo Allatius *de Lib. Eccles. Graec.* Hamburgi, 1712; Neale (J. M.), *Holy Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 857. [F. E. W.]

**TRIPHO.** [TRYPHO.]

**TRIPHONIA**, wife of Decius Caesar, commemorated on Oct 18 (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Wand., Notker.). [C. H.]

**TRIPODES**, June 10, martyr with Basilides and Madales under Aurelian at Rome (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TRIPODIUM.** This word occurs in a description of a Gospel procession in a passage quoted by Martene (*de Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* i. iv. v. 2) from an ancient Tours ritual. It was probably a triangular stand, on which the Evangelistarium rested while the Gospel was being read.

[F. E. W.]

**TRISAGION** (Τρισάγιον). A hymn sung in the Eastern liturgies during the Little Entrance. It derives its name from the nature of its wording, Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, Ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, Ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. It is also called τοῦ τρισαγίου δοξολογία, and τριαδικὴ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ τῆς θείας ὑμνολογίας ἐκβόησις. It is said to have been first introduced into the Liturgy in the reign of the younger Theodosius (408–450), but it is probably much older. The legend of its being supernaturally communicated to the terror-stricken population of Constantinople during an earthquake in the episcopate of St. Proclus (A.D. 434) is preserved by many writers (Joan. Damasc. *de Fid. Orthodox.* iii. 10). Peter the Fuller at Antioch (ob. 477) added the words ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς. His successor neutralised this Patripassian addition by inserting Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ; but neither phrase obtained a permanent footing, although the emperor Anastasius (A.D. 491–518) tried to impose the acceptance of Peter's heretical formula which was adopted by the Syrian Monophysites (Bingham, *Antiq.* xiv. ii. 3; Robertson, (J. C.) *Hist. of the Christian Church*, i. 527, ed. 1864; Martene, *de Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* lib. iv. c. 23). In the West it forms part of the Improperia on Good Friday, where it is placed in some of the earliest extant service books of Troyes, Poictiers (*ib.*). The Εὐχὴ τοῦ Τρισαγίου was the prayer said by the priest (μυστικῶς, secrete), while the trisagion was being sung. For the Latin *Sanctus* or *Tersanctus*, with which the Trisagion is sometimes confused, see PREFACE, p. 1696.

[F. E. W.]

**TRIUMPHAL ARCH.** The name given to the large arch at the altar end of the nave in the early basilicas, separating it from the transept or from the sacrarium. Of this arrangement we have examples in the basilicas of St. Paul's outside the walls, St. Praxedes, and in the original church of St. Peter's. The application of the name is also extended to the great arch of the apse. These arches are often supported with lofty columns of precious marbles, and have the spandrils and soffites richly decorated with mosaic pictures. [E. V.]

**TROJANUS**, bishop of Saintes, commemorated on Nov. 30 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.); Feb. 10 (Notker.). [C. H.]

**TROPARION** (τροπάριον). A generic name for all the short hymns which abound in the offices of the Eastern church (Neale, J. M., *Eastern Church*, Introd. pp. 832, 918).

[F. E. W.]

**TROPHIMUS (1)**, Apr. 14, commemorated with Aristarchus and Pudens, "apostles" (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); Apr. 15 (Basil, *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 257); Dec. 29 as bishop of Arles (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Wand., *Rom.*).

(2) Martyr with Thalaeus or Thalus under Diocletian, commemorated on Mar. 11 (*Menol. Graec.*; *Mart. Rom.*); Mar. 16 (Basil. *Menol.*).

(3) July 23, martyr with Theophilus under Diocletian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet. *Mart. Rom.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 264).

(4) Sept. 19, martyr with Serapion, or Sabbatius, and Dorymedon, under Probus (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 269). [C. H.]

**TROYES, COUNCIL OF** (TRECENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 429, from which Lupus, bishop of Troyes, and Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, were sent, at a request of the British church, on a mission into Great Britain to assist in confuting Pelagianism. (Mansi, iv. 543; Haddan and Stubbs, COUNCILS, etc. i. 16–18.) [E. S. Ff.]

**TRUDO** (ST. TRUYEN), presbyter and confessor at Hasbanium (Haspengaw), commemorated on Nov. 23 (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Wand., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TRULLUS**, a Latinised form of the low Greek τροῦλλα or τροῦλλος = θόλος, a hemispherical roof or dome. The covering of the cupola of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian at Rome by pope Sergius I. is thus recorded in Anastasius (§ 163), "trullum ejusdem ecclesiae fusis chartis plumbeis cooperuit et munivit." The anonymous writer (*de locis Hierosol.* § 1) describes the church of the Holy Sepulchre as being στρογγυλοειδὴς, and as having τρούλλας δύο. The Quinisext council has gained the name of "Trullan" or "in trullo" from having been held in a large domed hall in the imperial palace at Constantinople (cf. Ducange, *Constantinop. Christiana*, lib. ii. c. 4, § 20; lib. iii. c. 33). [CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCIL OF (34), p. 444.] Codinus gives the name "trulla" to the silk cap or turban worn by the chief imperial secretary (*De Offic.* c. iv. p. 22, ed. Bonn). [E. V.]

**TRUMPET**. The Egyptian monks appear to have used a trumpet as the call to prayer, probably in imitation of the trumpets by which the Israelites were summoned to their solemn assemblies. Thus Pachomius (*Regula*, c. 3) bids every monk to leave his cell as soon as he heard the sound of the trumpet summoning him to divine service. And the same usage is mentioned by Joannes Climacus (*Scala Paradisi*, Grad. 19) as prevailing at the convent on Mount Sinai in the 6th century. Perhaps the custom was then general in Egypt and Palestine (Bingham, *Antiq.* VIII. viii. 15; Martene, *de Rit. Antiq.* IV. ii. 9). [C.]

**TRYPHO** (TRIPHO) (1), Jan. 4, martyr in Africa with Aquilinus and others (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Adon., Notker., *Rom.*).

(2) Feb. 1, martyr in Phrygia under Decius (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*). At Constantinople were two churches dedicated to him by Justinian and Justin II. respectively (Codinus, *de Aedif.* p. 5, p. 100, Bonn; Procop. *de Aedif.* lib. i. cap. 9, p. 201, Bonn; Du Cange, *Cpolis. Christ.* lib. iv. 140), and in 536 a monastery is mentioned (Mansi, viii. 907 C).

(3) July 3, martyr with ten others at Alexandria (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TULLENSE CONCILIUM.** [TOUL.]

**TUNICA.** Any description of the *tunica* in its ordinary classical sense is foreign to our purpose; and its diminutive *tunicella* (whence the English *tunicle*, and less correctly *tunacle*) does not occur within our assigned period, its later special use being for the vestment of the subdeacon at the Eucharist (see *e.g.* Durandus, *Rat. Div. Off.* iii. 11. 3).

One or two instances, however, of the word *tunica* in early Christian writings must be noticed. The *tunica* was one of the articles of dress provided by the Rule of St. Benedict for his monks (c. 55, *Patrol.* lxvi. 771). It seems to have been much the same as the *Colobion* (see the article), a tight-fitting garment, short-sleeved or sleeveless. Later on, we find the *tunica* as an article of sacerdotal dress. Here it is a kind of upper shirt, worn over the *camisia*, and of course under the *casula*. Two *tunicae* might be worn, an upper and an under one (Amalarius, *de Div. Off.* ii. 22; *Patrol.* cv. 1097). The word often occurs in the Vulgate as a translation of χιτὼν, and thus our Lord's "coat without seam" becomes *tunica inconsutilis*. For the legend in connexion with this, see *e.g.* Greg. Turon. *de Gloria Martyrum*, i. 8; Fredegarius, *Chronicon*, c. 11 (*Patrol.* lxxi. 712, 614). [R. S.]

**TUNSIO PECTORIS.** (1) St. Augustine more than once alludes to the beating of the breast by priests and people at the recital of the petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Forgive us our trespasses" [LORD'S PRAYER, p. 1058].

(2) It was also usual in some churches to beat the breast when the *Agnus Dei* was said (Martene, *de Rit. Antiq.* i. 158, ed. Venet. 1783). [C.]

**TURBO**, Jan. 17, martyr with Speusippus and his brothers (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**TURIANUS**, bishop and confessor in Brittany, commemorated on July 13 (*Mart.* Usuard., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TURIN, COUNCIL OF** (TAURINENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 400 or 401, assembled at the request of the bishops of France, for considering a difference between the metropolitans of Arles and Vienne respecting the primacy which each claimed. Eight canons are embodied in their synodical letter. (Mansi, iii. 859–66.) [E. S. Ff.]

**TURRIS**, a pix of precious metal for the reservation of the consecrated bread in the Eucharist, formed in the shape of a tower, as other similar vessels were fashioned in the shape of a dove (DOVE, EUCHARISTIC). In the Greek church πύργος was used for the *ciborium* (Ducange, *Const. Christ.* iii. 62). Paulus Silentiarius writes of St. Sophia (ii. 303),

> χρυσείης δ' ἐφύπερθε παναχράντοιο τραπέζης
> ἄσπετος εὐρυκέλευθον ἐς ἠέρα πύργος ἀνέστη.

Smaller towers were employed as reliquaries. Not unfrequently the dove and the tower were conjoined. Conical vessels surmounted by a dove appear in the 6th century mosaics at St. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. c. 12). There is also a doubtful example on a sarcophagus (Bottari, tav. xix.). The two are constantly united in the catalogues of presents to the Roman churches in Anastasius; *e.g.* Hilary gave to the Lateran "turrim argenteam et columbam auream." Martene states that towers were hanging in his time in some

of the Roman basilicas (*de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i.). Gregory of Tours has (*de Glor. Martyr.* i. 86) "accepta turre diaconus, in qua mysterium Dominici corporis habebatur, ferre coepit ad ostium, ingressusque templum ut eam altari superponeret." The will of St. Aredius (Mabillon, *Analect.* tom. ii.) enumerates "turres," together with silver chalices and velvet coverings, among essential church furniture. The exposition of the ancient Gallican liturgy given by Martene (*Anecdot.* tom. v. col. 95) says that the body of the Lord is carried in towers, "quia monumentum Domini in similitudinem turris fuit scissum in petra," a sufficiently far-fetched and unintelligible reason. Mabillon (*Mus. Ital.* tom. i. p. 389) furnishes the "benedictio calicis et patenae, et turris in qua celebraturi sumus sacrosancta mysteria," and supplies a reference to the will of St. Remigius desiring "turriculam et imaginatum calicem fabricari" (Flodoard. *Hist. Rem.* i. 18, ii. 6). [E. V.]

**TUSDRUM, THYSDRUS, or TISDRUS, COUNCIL OF** (TUSDRENSE, or, as in the marginal references to Ferrandus, THUSDRITANUM CONCILIUM), A.D. 417, inferred from the marginal references to canons 76 and 77 in Ferrandus, and from words in the preface to the council of Telepte, A.D. 418; but see that council. [E. S. Ff.]

**TYANA, COUNCIL OF** (TYANENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 366, at which Eustathius of Sebaste, deposed at the synod of Melitena, sought to be restored to his see, which was done; but it was only followed by his relapse. (Mansi, iii. 393–8.) [E. S. Ff.]

**TYCHICUS**, deacon, disciple of St. Paul, commemorated at Paphos on Apr. 29 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*); Dec. 9 with Sosthenes, Apollos, Cephas, and others (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**TYPICON** (τυπικόν) [=Lat. *Ordinarium*]. (*a*) One of the ecclesiastical books of the Eastern church containing the regulations and rubrics for the performance of divine service, including the Liturgy, the Hours, and other offices, with the variations to be observed on festal and ferial days throughout the year. Every church possessed its own typicum, but the edition most widely accepted was that drawn up by St. Saba for the monks at Jerusalem, and afterwards revised by Sophronius, patriarch of Constantinople and John of Damascus. A full description is given by L. Allatius (*de Lib. Eccles. Graecorum Dissert.* p. 1, Hamburg, 1722; Neale, J. M., *Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 848).

(*b*) Typica is also the name applied to verses selected from the Psalms to be sung on certain festivals observed in the Greek church in honour of our Lord and the B. V. M. called Despotica. Full directions are given in Goar's *Euchologion*, pp. 124, 186. [F. E. W.]

**TYRANNIO**, Feb. 20, martyr with Silvanus, Peleus, and others under Diocletian (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**TYRE, COUNCILS OF** (TYRIA or TYRIENSIA CONCILIA), A.D. 335, A.D. 449, and A.D. 518). Of these the first has become notorious for having deposed St. Athanasius on charges that turned out utterly false; but that it could have been summoned for no other purpose than to condemn him must have been clear at the time from the fact that it was chiefly composed of his enemies. All the documents relating to it are given in Mansi (ii. 1123–54), and its proceedings told clearest in Cave (*Hist. Lit.* i. 353). At the second Ibas, bishop of Edessa, charged by four of his presbyters with Nestorianism, was, after a full hearing, acquitted. The documents relating to it were rehearsed at the ninth and tenth sessions of the council of Chalcedon (Mansi, vi. 497, and vii. 197 et seq.). At the third the orthodox acts of a council of Constantinople three months earlier were confirmed. The synodical letter of Epiphanius, bishop of Tyre, and the other bishops with him, was rehearsed at the fifth session of a later council of Constantinople under Mennas, A.D. 556. (Mansi, viii. 577 and 1073–82; comp. art. COUNCILS OF C.) [E. S. Ff.]

**TYRSUS.** [THYRSUS.]

**TZANGAE** (also *tsancae*, *zanchae*, *zancae*, *zangae*; τζάγγαι, τζαγγία), a kind of high boot, first apparently mentioned (with the spelling *zanchae*) in the letter of the emperor Gallienus (ob. A.D. 268) quoted by Trebellius Pollio, in which he enumerates a list of presents he had sent to Claudius, who afterwards succeeded him. Among these we find "Zanchas de nostris Parthicis (*al.* Parthicas) paria tria" (*Vita Claudii*, c. 17; where see Salmasius' note). Thus their foreign origin may be inferred; and probably it is on this ground that the Theodosian Code prohibits their use in Rome. A law of Honorius, promulgated in A.D. 397, threatens those who wear *tzangae* and *braccae*, *intra urbem*, with confiscation of property and perpetual exile (lib. xiv. tit. 10, l. 2, where see Gothofredus's note). Two years later the same law was re-issued (*ib.* l. 3).

This prohibition refers to persons generally, inclusive that is of laics, but at a later time we find the prohibition specially laid down for monks. The first council of Orleans (A.D. 511) forbids the use of *orarii* [STOLE] and *tzangae* to monks (can. 20; Labbe, iv. 1408). Akin to this is the order of the first council of Mâcon (A.D. 581) that the clergy shall not use "calceamenta saecularia" (can. 5; Labbe, v. 968).[a]

The Greek words often occur in Byzantine writers for boots worn by persons of high rank, especially the emperor. Codinus Curopalata (*de Officiis*, c. 5) describes those worn by the emperor when walking or on state occasions (προκύψεις),[b] adding that the workman who made them for the emperor was called τζάγγας, not τζαγγάριος, as in the case of other people. See also *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 614, ed. Dindorf; Theophanes, vol. i. pp. 260, 484, 705, ed. Bekker.

The etymology of the word is quite unknown. Salmasius suggests that it is to be viewed as equivalent to a supposed form διάγχη, derived from ἄγχω, which seems most improbable.

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[a] Ducange (*Glossary*, s.v.) cites a capitulary of Charlemagne ordering "ut clerici pampis ut tzangis vel armis non utantur." In the text, however, as given by Baluzius is read "pompis aut *sagis*" (Lib. vii. 398; vol. i. 1112); and, further, the whole of this part of the capitularies is considered by Pertz as spurious (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*: Legum, tom. ii. p. 127 *in spuriis*).

[b] This word literally means a kind of raised throne. See Ducange, *Gloss. Graec.* s.v.

Sophocles (*Greek Lex. of Roman and Byzantine periods*, s. v.) derives it from the Teutonic word, which appears in English in the form *shank*. For further notices, see Ducange's *Glossaries*, s. vv. [R. S.]

# U

## UNCTION. I. Of Persons.

(1) *Of Catechumens.*—(*a*) The practice of anointing catechumens in Africa on their first reception appears to be implied by St. Augustine when he says, in reference to the anointing with clay in John ix. 6, "When He anointed him, He perchance made him a catechumen. . . . (*Tract.* 44. *in S. Joan. Ev.* § 2). A Roman council assigned to the age of Innocent (402–416) decides, in reply to a question of some Gallican bishops, that it is sufficient to use the "exorcised oil" once before the day of baptism, viz. "at the third scrutinium." (can. 8). In Spain, Isidore of Seville, 610, who distinguishes between the catechumens and competentes, says of the former, "These are first exorcised, then they receive the salt, and are anointed" (*De Eccl. Off.* ii. 20). So Ildefonsus of Toledo, 657 (*De Cognit. Bapt.* i. 29; see Hincmar, *Epist. de Baptismo*, 7; Hard. *Conc.* v. 417). There is no trace of this rite in any extant Ordo Scrutinii. See the collection in Assemanus, *Codex Liturg.* i. 53–104. Only one *Ordo ad faciendum Catechumenum* out of ten printed by Martene (*De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. i. 7) preserves this unction (Ord. 6); but there not the ears but the breast and shoulders are touched, as in the later pre-baptismal unction.

(*b*) In the East we early hear of an unction with exorcised oil immediately before baptism. Thus in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii. 22): "Thou shalt first anoint him with holy oil and afterwards baptize him with water" (compare iii. 16). St. Cyril of Jerusalem, A.D. 350: "Being stripped, ye were anointed with exorcised oil from the hair on your head to the soles of your feet. After that ye were led by the hand to the holy font of baptism" (*Catech. Myst.* ii. 3, 4). So Chrysostom (*Hom.* vi. in Ep. ad Coloss. § 4); Pseudo-Dionysius (*de Eccl. Hier.* ii. 7), the *Recognitions* of Pseudo-Clement (iii. 67). This "anointing with holy oil" before the baptism is mentioned in an Egyptian story told by John Moschus, 630 (*Pratum Spirit.* 3).

In the Greek church there is still but one unction with exorcised oil, which takes place immediately before the baptism (Goar, *Euchol.* 354; *Assem.* ii. 141). With this agrees the Arabic office of the Greek Melchites (*Assem.* ii. 149). The Armenians have no such unction now. They had it, however, in the 8th century, as appears from a canon of John the Catholic printed by Mai, in which "the oil of catechumens" is expressly mentioned (*Nova Collectio Script. Vet.* x. ii. 304). In the Coptic church, when its constitutions were compiled, there was clearly but one unction with exorcised oil during the previous part of the baptismal office (*Apost. Constit. Copt.* ii. 46; Tattam's ed. 57; Boetticher's Gr. Tr. in Bunsen's *Anal. Antenic.* ii. 467); but in the Coptic order of baptism, as we have it, there are two (Assemani, *Codex Liturg.* i. 148, 163). The Abyssinians use the same order. There are two also in those of the Nestorians (*ibid.* i. 204; ii. 211), of the Syrians (i. 239, 254, 272, and ii. 224, 234, 240; ii. 253, 259, 285, 296, 302, 304), and of the Maronites (ii. 332, 349). In the former of these unctions the Syrian priest uses his thumb (i. 239; ii. 285).

We infer from the narrative of John Moschus that both sexes were anointed over the whole body (*Prat. Spir. u. s.*); and the rituals make no distinction when they prescribe the unction of the whole. See Goar, *Euchol. Gr.* 354; *Ordo Nestor. Assem.* ii. 211; Syr. 224 (Antioch.), 234 (Hieros.); 240, 259, 296, 304, 349 (Maron.). The Office of Philoxenus (240) expressly orders it in the case of females.

The unction of which we are now speaking appears to have been of much later introduction in the West. It is not noticed by the Spanish writers (Isidore, 610, *De Bapt. in Eccl. Off.* ii. 24; Ildefonse, 657, *De Cogn. Bapt.* i. 111, in Baluz. *Misc. Sacra*, tom. ii.). The earliest witness in Gaul is Caesarius, who died in 542: "All who are presented to the church for saving baptism receive both the chrism and the oil of benediction" (*Serm.* 22, § 2). Germanus of Paris, 555, mentions an unction that took place when the creed was given at baptism, but he is singular in speaking of it as an unction with proper chrism: "Catechumenis (*sic*) chrismate unguetur." This he expressly says was made with balsam (*Epist.* ii. Migne, lxxii. 96). The mistake in using chrism implies that the rite was quite recently adopted. We next read of this unction in the Besançon sacramentary found at Bobio, which is assigned to the 7th century (*Mus. Ital.* i. 324). Another probable Gallican witness is the author *De Sacramentis*: "Thou didst enter . . . Thou wast anointed as an athlete of Christ" (i. 2). This dates from about 745, if Ambrose of Cahors be the writer. It appears, however, in the Gelasian sacramentary (*Litury. Rom. Vet.* Murat. i. 563), our copy of which is of the time of Charlemagne, and in some copies of the Gregorian of the 9th century (Murat. *u. s.* ii. 61; Pamel. *Liturgicon*, ii. 264; Gerbert, *Monum. Vet. Liturg.* Alem. i. 83; not in Ménard, *Opp. Greg.* Ben. iii. 70, or Rocca, *Opp. Greg.* 1615, v. 111). We find frequent mention of it by Gallican bishops using the Roman rites at the close of the 8th century; as Theodulf of Orleans, 794 (*De Ord. Bapt.* 10); Leidrad of Lyons, 798 (*De Sacram. Bapt.* 2); Jesse of Amiens (*Epist. de Bapt.* c. *De Unct. Pect.* &c.); Magnus of Sens (*de Myst. Bapt. ad Car. Magn.* printed in Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. i. 17).

This unction, as we have already mentioned, is prescribed in some of the Roman Orders of Baptism. It appears also in the *Ordo ad Scrutinium* printed by Assem. *Cod. Lit.* i. 102, and the earliest *Ordo Romanus* by Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* ii. 24. It is found in the modern office of Milan, but as it comes before the exorcism of the child and the giving of the salt, it is rather in the place of the ancient unction of the catechumen than of that of the competent. See Assem. *u. s.* ii. 44. As we might expect from the silence of Isidore and Ildephonsus, it is not prescribed in the ritual of the Goths of Spain (*Miss. Mozar.* Leslie, 189), nor do we find it in the Gothico-

Gallican missal (*Liturg. Gall.* 248), nor in the Old Gallican (*ibid.* 364). The only Gallican book in which it appears is the Romanizing sacramentary of Besançon (*Mus. Ital.* i. 324). We remark, too, that whereas a law of Carloman in 742 only directs presbyters to obtain "new chrism" from their bishop (Cap. 3, *Capit. Reg. Fr.* i. 147), Pepin, who desired conformity with Rome, in 744 orders them to apply to him for both "chrism and oil" (c. 4, *ibid.* 158).

For the formulae used at this unction we must refer generally to the collections of Martene and Assemani as above, contenting ourselves with that anciently employed at Rome: "I anoint thee with the oil of salvation in Jesus Christ our Lord unto life everlasting" (Assem. *u. s.* i. 102).

(2) *The Unction of the Baptized with Chrism.*—According to the older Coptic rite, when the deacon and the neophyte "came out of the water, the presbyter anointed him (the neophyte) with the oil of thanksgiving, saying, I anoint thee with an anointing, with holy oil, in the name of Jesus Christ" (*Constit. Eccl. Aegypt.* ii. 46, Boetticher's Gr. Tr. in Bunsen, *Analecta Antenic.* ii. 467, or Tatham's *Apost. Constit. Copt.* 59). This is the only authority, if we mistake not, for this practice in the East. An unction by the officiant immediately after baptism is mentioned by Latin writers, long before we hear from them of that which immediately preceded it. It is probable that pure oil was used (as evidently in Egypt, for in the canons above cited no distinction is made between the material exorcised and that blessed for chrism), the chrism being termed oil merely by several early writers who will be quoted; but ere long a compound (μύρον) was introduced from the East,[a] which soon appropriated to itself the name of "chrisma."

The first Latin witness to this unction is Tertullian, 192: "Having come out of the font, we are thoroughly anointed with a blessed unction, after the ancient rite, in which they were wont to be anointed unto the priesthood with oil from a horn" (*De Bapt.* 7; see Exod. xxix. 30, &c.). (comp. *Adv. Marc.* i. 14; *De Resurr.* 8). St. Cyprian: "It is also needful that the baptized person be anointed, that having received the chrism, *i.e.* the unction, he may be an anointed of God, and have the grace of Christ. Moreover, that is a thank-offering (eucharistia: comp. the titles of the prayers over oil and μύρον in *Constit. Apost.* vii. 27, 42, 44, &c.), from which those who are baptized are anointed, viz. the oil hallowed on the altar" (*Epist.* 70). Compare *De Mysteriis*, the work ascribed to St. Ambrose (v. 29); Jerome (*Dial. adv. Lucif.* § 9); Augustine (*de Bapt. Don.* v. 20, § 23; *Serm.* 324; *de Trin.* xv. 22, § 46); Pseudo-Innocent of Rome (*Epist.* i. 3); Isidore of Seville (*de Eccl. Off.* ii. 25); Ildefonsus of Toledo (*de Cogn. Bapt.* i. 123); Caesarius (d. 542) (*Serm.* 22, § 2); Fortunatus (living in 600) (i. v. 5; *Opp.* ed. 1786); Pseudo-Ambrose (*de Sacram.* iii. 2, § 8); Theodulph (*de Ord. Bapt.* 15); Leidrad (*de Sacram. Bapt.* 7); Jesse (*Epist. ad Sacerd.* c. *De Unctione Capitis*); Magnus (Martene *u. s.* i. i. 17; sim. Anon. *Tract. de Sacr. Bapt.* ibid.); Alcuin (*Ep.* 90 *ad. Lugd.* and *De Bapt. Caerem. ad Oduin.* Opusc. 4); Smaragdus (*Coll. in Epist. in Sabb. Pentec.* u. s. 321). From Aquileia we have the testimony of Maxentius (*Collect. Dicta* app. *Epist. de Signif. Rit. Bapt.* § 8); from Metz, of Amalarius the chorepiscopus (*de Eccl. Off.* i. 27); from Treves of Amalarius the archbishop (*de Sacr. Bapt.* u. s. 897); from Mentz, of Rabanus Maurus (*de Instit. Cler.* i. 28); from Rome, of John the deacon (*Epist. ad. Senar.* 6, u. s.).

This unction, as we have learnt from Theodulph, was on the head. So other authorities; *Sacram. Gelas.* in Murat. i. 570, "on the brain;" *Greg.* ii. 65; *Codex Elig. Greg.* in *Opp.* Gr. iii. 73, ed. Ben., and *Cod. Vatic.* Rocca Opp. Gr. v. 111, ed. 1615, "on the crown;" a Gregorian Order for the Sick, Mur. ii. 264, Assem. ii. 10; the Milanese Office, "the crown" (Ass. ii. 47). The Besançon Sacramentary (*ibid.* 42) is peculiar in having "in frontes ejus." This unction was with the thumbs. See the *Ordo Ambros.* Assem. *u. s.* 47; *Sacram. Gellon. ibid.* 54; *Remig.* 59; *Codex Elig.* Greg. *u. s.*; *Cod. Vat. u. s.*; &c.

(3) *Oil of Chrism* (μύρον) *used at Confirmation.*—An unction, generally on the forehead, distinct from the unction of the head which immediately followed baptism, came to be practised in the church. This is not mentioned by the earlier Latin writers who speak of the imposition of hands. See Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, viii.; Cyprian, *Epist.* 72 *ad Steph.* and the council of Carthage, A.D. 256, cc. 5, 24; that of Elvira, about 300, can. 38 (to be inferred also from 57), the author *De Haeret. Bapt.* in App. ad *Opera* Cypr. 23, ed. 1690. The date of Pseudo-Innocent is not known, but as we certainly hear of the rite in Italy in the 5th century we may give his testimony here. His statement is that presbyters ought not to sign the forehead of the baptized with the oil of chrism, "for that is the privilege of bishops only, when they give, the Holy Ghost" (*Epist.* Inn. i. § 3). Cassiodorus, 514: "Our forehead has been anointed with the unction of the sacred chrism" (*Comm.* in Ps. cxxxviii. v. 2, E.V.). Fortunatus, 560, is the first Gallican writer who is a contemporary witness to the rite in France; but we may infer from a passage in the remains of St. Patrick, who received Gallican consecration and was closely connected with the church in Gaul, that it was practised there in the middle of the 5th century. Some of his Irish neophytes were murdered by Welsh invaders, "while still in their white robes, the day after they had been anointed with chrism, and while it was yet visible on their foreheads" (*Epistle to Coroticus*, Olden's tr. 93). The frontal chrismation at confirmation is mentioned by Fortunatus in a hymn (*Opera*, i. ii. 9). Gregory of Tours, 573, says that Chlodovaeus was baptized (in 496), and "anointed with the sacred chrism, with the sign of the cross of Christ" (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 31). In the 6th century the rite was probably universal in the West. The gift of the Holy Ghost is also connected with the imposition of hands and unction of chrism by Ildefonso of Toledo, 657 (*De Cogn. Bapt.* i. 128–131). Later witnesses towards the close of our period

[a] Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xiii. 1) says, "Unguentum Persarum genti se debet." He also gives the composition of the "unguentum regale" of the Parthians (2), which resembled the μύρον of the Greek church.

and beyond it are Theodulf (*de Ord. Bapt.* 17); Leidrad (*de Bapt.* 7); Jesse (*de Bapt.* c. *De Conf. Episc.*); Amalarius of Metz (*de Eccl. Off.* i. 27); Rabanus Maurus (*de Instit. Cler.* i. 30).

In France the general adoption of this practice met with a check from the council of Orange in 441: "Inter nos placuit semel chrismari."[c] If the chrism had been from any necessary cause omitted at baptism, the bishop was to be informed that he might supply the omission "Nam inter quoslibet (*al.* nos) chrismatis ipsius non nisi una benedictio est; non ut praejudicans quicquam (*al.* dico), sed ut non necessaria habeatur repetita chrismatio" (can. 2). This decree was adopted by the council of Arles in 452 (can. 127). The testimonies of Fortunatus of Poitiers and Gregory of Tours shew that the rule of Orange did not prevail over France. That it obtained largely and survived to the time of Charlemagne may be inferred from the silence of certain authors, who speak only of the imposition of hands in their description of confirmation. Thus Alcuin, after an account of the rites of baptism: "Novissime per impositionem manus a summo sacerdote septiformis gratiae Spiritum accipit" (*Epist.* 90; sim. *De Bapt. Caerem.* ad Oduin.). So Magnus of Sens, using here the same words as Alcuin, but adding much of his own (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. 17), and an anonymous copier of Alcuin (*ibid.*).

We see from several of the foregoing authorities that the forehead was anointed at confirmation. This was done both in the East and West, but in the East other parts are anointed also; as the eyes, nostrils, ears, breast, hands, and feet among the Greeks (Goar, *Euchol.* 355, 6), or, as in some MSS., the eyes, nostrils, and ears only (359, 360); one omits the feet only (362); another omits the hands and feet, but prescribes an unction of the back (368). Cyril of Jerusalem mentions the forehead, ears, nostrils, and breast (*Catech. Myst.* iii. 3). The Copts and Abyssinians anoint the forehead, eyes, mouth, ears, hand, breast, knees, feet (the soles), back, arms, and shoulders (Assem. iii. 83;—compare a purely Abyssinian order, 111); the Armenians the forehead, ears, eyes, nostrils, mouth, hands (together), breast, shoulder, feet, shoulder-blades, saying a proper sentence over each (*ibid.* 119; see Vartanes, *Resp.* 2 in Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* x. ii. 271). Most of the Syro-Jacobite orders prescribe an unction of the whole body in both sexes, but they all begin with the forehead (154, 160, 163, 169, 175, 184); one (148) mentions the forehead and windpipe only. The Maronite bishop anoints the forehead, the priest the head only (187). The Melchites, the forehead, ears, hands, feet, breast, shoulders, nostrils, palms, knees, legs, back (227). The apostolic imposition of hands is lost in every Syrian order. On the other hand the Nestorian books do not prescribe the unction at all (*ibid.* 138; Badger, *Nestorians*, ii. 209); from which we infer that this unction was not universal when they left the church in 451. When this rite found its way into the West the frontal unction only was adopted, probably because none other was then practised, at least over the greater part of the East. See *Sacram. Gelas.* Murat. *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* i. 571; *Sacram. Gregor. Codd. Elig.* in *Opp.* Greg. iii. 74, ed. Ben., *Cod. Vat. u. s.* 112; *Pontif.* Egbert; Surtees Soc. no. 27, p. 7; &c.

The Romans used the thumb in this unction (*Sacram. Greg. Codd. Elig. Vat.* u. s.), as they and the United Maronites (Assem. iii. 187) do now. In theory the minister of this rite was the bishop. In the West it is expressly confined to him by the author of the Epistle to Decentius (*Epp.* Innoc. I. i. 3), Gregory I. (*Ep.* iii. 9), the Council of Seville 619 (can. 7), Ildefonso of Toledo 657 (*De Cognit. Bapt.* i. 131); Theodore of Canterbury (*Poenitentiale*, iii. 8, in Stubbs and Haddan's *Councils*, iii. 193), Theodulf of Orleans (*de Ord. Bapt.* 17), &c.; and recognised as his proper office by all, as *e. g.* Cornelius, A.D. 251 (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 43), St. Jerome (*c. Lucif.* 4), Isidore of Seville (*De Eccl. Off.* ii. 26), Jesse of Amiens (*u. s.*), &c. See also the Sacramentaries.

Nevertheless some liberty was allowed even at Rome. In Sardinia it had been the custom for priests to anoint the head after baptism. Gregory I. forbade this, but afterwards, in 593, modified his prohibition which had given offence: "We acted indeed according to the old custom of the church, but if any are really distressed about this matter, where bishops are wanting, we permit presbyters also duly to touch the baptized on their foreheads with the chrism" (*Epist.* iii. 26). In Spain the council of Toledo, so early as 400, had allowed the presbyter to do this in the bishop's absence; and even before him, if he commanded it (can. 20). The latter liberty is also given by a canon in the collection of Martin of Braga, A.D. 569 (c. 52). In France, as we have seen above, the unction by the bishop was from the 5th century to the 9th considered a needless repetition of that by the priest immediately after baptism. Pseudo-Baeda (*in Psalmo* 26 v. 1, *Comment.*) asserts that the unction "quae per manuum impositionem ab episcopis" is the same with that last mentioned, adding "propter arrogantiam tamen non concessa est singulis sacerdotibus sicut et multa alia" (Baed. *Opp.* viii. 558, ed. 1563). That one of the chrismations was originally regarded as a substitute for the other, or otherwise connected with it, may also be inferred from the tradition that Sylvester, A.D. 314, permitted priests to use the chrism after baptism, lest the person should die without any chrismation (Anastas. *Biblioth. Vit. Pont.* 34).

In the East, also, the bishop was considered the proper minister of this unction (see Dionys. *Hier. Eccl.* iv. 10; Maximus, *Scholia in H. E.* ii. 78); but there the liberty which Gregory I. permitted in a special case was extended to all

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[c] A couplet from an inscription to the memory of a bishop named Mareas found in a church in Rome (Gruter, *Corpus Inscrip.* 1176) has been quoted in the same sense:—

"Tuque sacerdotes docuisti chrismate sancto
Tangere bis nullum judice posse Deo."

It is, however, difficult to believe that an unsuccessful attempt to introduce the Gallican restriction into the suburbicarian dioceses would have been recorded with approbation in Rome itself; and as the context speaks of conflict with misbelievers, we rather understand that Mareas maintained the Roman rule not to give unction to heretics who joined the church. See Morinus, *de Sacram. Poenit.* ix. 10.

priests. Hilary the Deacon, 351 (*Comm. in Epist. ad Eph.* iv. 11), tells us that "among the Egyptians presbyters give the seal if a bishop be not present" (comp. MS. Colbert, cf. *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.* 101, probably by the same writer). In the *Apostolical Constitutions* the priest, no less than the bishop is commanded, to "seal with μύρον" after baptizing (vii. 22). In the 9th century Photius affirms the right of priests to give the unction of confirmation as freely as to baptize (*Epist. Encycl.* i. 13, § 7). Gabriel of Philadelphia, while aware that this was at first the privilege of bishops, says that "the Eastern Church considerately permits it not to bishops only, but to presbyters also after the sacred rite of baptism" (in Assem. *Cod. Liturg.* iii. lxxxi.). The bishop is, however, in every case the real minister of the rite, because the chrism which the priest applies has been consecrated by him [CHRISM]. To the authorities there given add Damasus, *Epist.* 5; Conc. Vasense, A.D. 442, can. 3; Gelasius, 494, *Ep. ad Episc. Lucan.* 4; Conc. Hispal. 619, cap. 7; Synod. Regiat. 850, can. 7; Conc. Wormat. 868, can. 2.

Information respecting the several unctions of which we have treated above, and the oils used in them, may be found in the following books and many others. Jos. Vicecomes, *de Ant. Bapt. Rit.* ii. 42, Mediol. 1615; idem, *de Ant. Confirm. Rit.* i., Med. 1618; M. Larroquanus, *Brevis Dissert. de iis penes quos recens tinctos jus erat ungendi*, in his *Adversaria*, iii. 7, Lugd. Bat. 1688; Luc. Holsten. *Dissert. Duplex de Forma et Materia Sacram. Confirm. apud Graecos*, Rom. 1666, reprinted in Morini *Opera Posthuma*, Par. 1703; Jo. Dallaeus, *de Duob. Latinorum Sacram. Confirm.*, &c., Genev. 1659; J. A. Assemanus, *de Sacram. Confirm.* in *Codex Liturg.* iii., Rom. 1750, a reply to Daillé; Cl. De Vert, *Cérém. de l'Eglise*, ii. *Rem. sur Ch.* ii. 32–34, Par. 1708; J. A. Orsi, *de Baptismo et de Chrism. Confirm.* Mediol. 1773, the latter an answer to De Vert.

(4) *Unction of Heretics.* — Heretics whose baptism was considered invalid, on whatever grounds, were baptized and confirmed on their admission into the church. This was ruled unanimously by the council of Carthage, A.D. 256, in the case of heretics whose baptism was afterwards allowed by the church. See BAPTISM, ITERATION OF, p. 172.

There were some, however, whose baptism was admitted, but who were not confirmed. The Novatians "did not confer the most holy chrism on those whom they baptized; on which account," says Theodoret, "the most highly esteemed fathers gave command to anoint those who are joined to the church from this heresy" (*Haer. Fabul.* iii. 5).

Those whose baptism and confirmation were considered valid were of two classes; i. those who had received those rites in the church, before they lapsed into heresy; and ii. those who had received them from heretics.

i. The former were regarded as penitents (HERESY, 4, i. p. 768; PENITENCE), and readmitted with the simple laying of hands, as in the absolution of other penitents (Conc. Carth. 256, cc. 4 and 22). So Cyprian (*Epist.* 71, *ad Quint.*; *Ep.* 74, *ad Pomp.* in fine). Even those who had been rebaptized by heretics were thus readmitted as penitents (Leo. I. *Epist.* 159, *ad Nicet.* c. 6, ed. Ballerin. Comp. Innocent I. A.D. 402, *Ep.* 18 *ad* Alex. § 3; Vigilius, 538, *Ep.* ii. § 3).

ii. A different language was held with regard to those converts who had been baptized by heretics only. These from the time of St. Augustine, supposing that the proper matter and right form had been employed, were received at first with imposition of the hand simply (see Stephen in Cyprian *Epist.* 74; *De Bapt. Haeret.* in App. ad *Opp.* Cypr.; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 2; Leo M. *Ep.* 166 *ad Neon.* 2, *Ep.* 167 *ad Rust.* Resp. 18), afterwards with imposition and unction. The earliest witness to the change is the council of Laodicea, which some place so early as 314; others so late as 372. This council directs that Novatians, Photinians, and Quartodecimans joining the church, "having learnt thoroughly the symbols of the faith and been anointed with the holy chrism, shall thus communicate of the holy mystery" (can. 7). So St. Basil directs the Cathari, Encratites, Aquarii, and Apotactites to be "anointed by the faithful and so approach the mysteries" (*Ep. ad Amphil.* can. 1). Pseudo-Justin: "Let the fall of the heretic who comes to the orthodox faith be remedied, as to his heterodoxy by a change of mind, as to his baptism by the unction of the holy μύρον, as to his ordination by the imposition of hands" (*Quaest. et Resp. ad Orthod.* R. 14). The council of Constantinople, 381, decreed that Eunomians, Montanists, and Sabellians should after a long catechumenate be rebaptized, because it regarded their baptisms as defective in form; but it only required that Arians, Macedonians, Sabbatians and other Novatians, Quartodecimans and Apollinarians, should be "first sealed or anointed with the holy μύρον, on the forehead and eyes, and nostrils and mouth and ears" (can. 7). The council adds, "And while sealing them we say, The seal of the gift of the Holy Ghost,"—thus making it an act of confirmation. Converts from these five sects are mentioned as requiring the unction only by Timotheus C. P. (*Epist. de Recept. Haeret.* in Coteler. *Eccles. Graec. Monum.* iii. 392–396), and Theodorus Studita (*Epist. ad Naucrat.* i. 40). The council in Trullo, A.D. 691, reaffirmed the decree of 381, only adding the Pauliani to the number of those who were to be rebaptized (can. 95). See also the Arabic Nicene canon in the article on HERESY, 4, ii. (p. 768), and the Eastern form of admission (*ibid.* iv. p. 769).

It is probable that this unction was never introduced at Rome; for we find Gregory I. saying in 600, "the West restores Arians by the laying on of the hand, but the East by the unction of the holy chrism, on their entrance into the holy Catholic church." Some, he tells us, as the Monophysites, were received on a profession of faith only (*Epist.* ix. 61). In Gaul, however, this rite had already been observed for more than a century and a half. For the council of Orange in 441 says, "It is decreed that heretics in danger of death and desiring to become Catholics be sealed by the presbyters with chrism and benediction (*i.e.* imposition of hands), if the bishop be not present" (can. 1). The council of Arles, 452, ordered Photinians or Paulianists to be baptized "secundum patrum (Conc. Nic. 19, &c.) statuta"; but Bonosiani (a subdivision of the same sect), because they

baptized in the name of the Trinity, were to be received into the church "with chrism and imposition of the hand" (cann. 16, 17). Faustus of Rhegium, 475 (*De Grat. Dei et Lib. Arb.* i. 15), taught that one thus baptized was to be "judged to be so washed by the operation of grace, that he need only to be clothed with the benediction of the chrism." The author *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmaticis* (22 al. 52), supposed to be Gennadius of Marseilles, 495, says that all who have been baptized in due form and matter by heretics should, if able to answer for themselves, "being already purged by the soundness of their faith, be confirmed by imposition of the hand;" but that those who cannot answer for themselves should be presented by sponsors as at baptism, "and so being fortified by imposition of the hand and the chrism, be admitted to the mysteries of the Eucharist." The Gallican council of Epaone, A.D. 517: "We require the presbyters for the safety of souls, which we desire in all, to assist with the chrism heretics who are given over and confined to bed, if they seek a sudden conversion. Which let all desiring to turn know that they must, if in health, seek from the bishop" (can. 16). Examples of such chrismation in France are found in Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 31; 34; iv. 27, 28). The same discipline prevailed in Spain. "Heretics," says Isidore, "if they are proved to have received baptism in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, are not to be baptized a second time, but are to be purged by chrism only and imposition of the hand" (*De Eccl. Off.* ii. 24). The council of Seville in 619 says that it is not lawful for *presbyters* to sign the forehead of the baptized with chrism (can. 7). For instances of the practice see Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 39; ix. 15; and Reccared at the council of Toledo, 589 (*Conc.* Hard. iii. 471). In the 9th century we hear of the same rule from Walafrid Strabo (*de Reb. Eccl.* 26).

(5) *Unction of the Sick.*—The Apostles anointed many for whose recovery they prayed (St. Mark vi. 13), and St. James (v. 14, 15) recommends the same practice to "the elders of the church." It was followed by very many, both laymen and women, in every part of the church. *E.g.* a female saint, Eugenia, is said to have healed a sick woman by anointing her with oil (*Vita*, 11, in Rosweyd, 343). We need not stop to prove this at length; as it will be conceded that they who could do the greater, viz. bless the oil (of which see many instances in OIL, USES OF (3), p. 1455, could certainly do the less, viz. apply it when blessed. The oil blessed by St. Monegund on her death-bed was necessarily used by others. It is more important to shew that this liberty remained, when the oil was no longer blessed by laymen and women. Thus Pseudo-Innocent (*Ep. ad Decent.* § 8): "Being made by the bishop it is lawful, not for priests only, but for all Christians to use it in anointing in their own need, or that of their friends." Caesarius of Arles, 502: "Let him who is sick receive the body and blood of Christ, and then let him anoint his body" (*Serm.* 66, § 3). In an epidemic he recommends a person to "anoint both himself and family with blessed oil" (*Serm.* 89, § 5). St. Eligius, 640: "Let him faithfully seek the blessed oil from the church, wherewith to anoint his body in the name of Christ" (*De Rect. Cathol. Convers.* 5). This liberty is recognised in an old pontifical of Rouen, in which the bishop is said to "bless the oil for the sick and for the people" (Note 282 in *Lib. Sacram. Gregor.* Ménard). Notices of the rite in the 8th and 9th centuries sometimes leave it uncertain whether the priest anoints the sick himself, though the unction and communion are both mentioned. *E.g.* Theodulf of Orleans, 794: "When the sick man shall have been anointed, with prayers, &c., then let the priest give him the peace and communicate him" (*Capitulare* ii. in Baluz.; *Miscell.* ii. 104, ed. Mansi). With this compare Conc. Aquisgr. 836 (*De Vita Infer. Ord.* c. 5); Conc. Mogunt. 847, can. 26; Herard. Turon. 858, cap. 21; Isaac Lingon. 859, *Canones*, i. 23; *Capit. Reg. Franc.* vi. 75; the articles of visitation (n. 18) preserved by Regino (*De Discipl. Eccl.* p. 23, ed. Baluz.); "Bede" cited *ibid.* i. 119; &c. Not till the middle of the 9th century, if I mistake not, do we meet with any express injunction to the priest to perform the unction himself. Then Hincmar, 852, says to his clergy, "Let him himself both anoint them with the sacred oil and communicate them" (*Capit.* 5, Labb. *Conc.* viii. 578). Riculfus of Soissons, 889: "It is the duty of presbyters to anoint their sick with holy oil" (c. 10, *ibid.* ix. 419). So Leo iv. 847 (*De Cura Pastorali*, *ib.* viii. 34), and Ratherius of Verona after him, 928 (*Synodica*, *ib.* ix. 1271): "Oleo sancto inungite et propria manu communicate"), and the three *Admonitiones Synodales* printed by Baluze in App. to Regino (*De Discipl. Eccles.* 603, 608, 612).

The restraint of the unction to the priest had momentous consequences. The original intention of it in relation to the healing of the body was practically forgotten, and the rite came to be regarded as part of a Christian's immediate preparation for death. Hence, in the 12th century, it acquired the name of the last unction, "unctio extrema," (Peter Lomb. *Sentent.* iv. 23), *i.e.* as the *Catechism of Trent* asserts (P. 2, De Ext. Unct. 3), the last of those which a man received from the church. In the 13th it was placed by schoolmen among the seven rites to which they then limited the application of the term "sacrament" (Thomas Aquin. *Summa*, suppl. ad P. iii. qu. 29). See Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. vii. 1, § 2; *Notitia Eucharistica*, 1011, 2nd ed.

The order in which the sick were anointed and communicated was changed more than once. The earliest extant notices (Conc. Turon. in Regino, i. 116; Caesarius, *u.s.*; Eligius, *u.s.*; &c.) put the communion before the unction. This is what we might expect; for when recovery from sickness was the object of the unction, the sufferer would naturally prepare for it by communicating. On the other hand, when they had recourse to it only at the supposed approach of death, it was put at first before the communion, because that had always been regarded as the proper VIATICUM, the last preparation for departure. This was the common order in the 9th and 10th centuries, as we learn from "Bede" in Regino, Leo, Hincmar, &c. already quoted, and from nearly every *Ordo Ungendi* in Martene, *de Ant. Rit. Eccl.* I. vii. 4. See also the first *Admonitio Synodalis* cited above. At length, however, *extrema unctio* was supposed to mean *unctio in extremis*,

and men returned to the original order from a new motive. As unction is still notoriously the last rite of the dying, we need give no proof of this; but we may mention, as an interesting illustration, that the clauses ordering unction and communion in the first form of the *Admonitio Synodalis* (above) are in the two later inverted with a view to this change. Their reading is, "Propria manu communicet, et oleo sacro inungat" (Regino, 608, 612). The earliest ordo given by Martene which follows this rule is an Amiens Pontifical not 600 years old (I. vii. 4 ord. 27). It was never adopted in the Church of England. An early example occurs in the life of St. Hildegund of the 12th century, "Corpore Dominico sibi dato, sancto eam inungi fecit oleo" (*Vita*, v. 30; Bolland. Apr. 20).

It has been common both in the East and West for more than one priest to be present at this rite; but there is no evidence that the Greeks or Orientals observed such a custom before the 9th century. See Leo Allatius, *de Consensu utriusque Ecclesiae*, iii. 16, § 15; Arcudius, *de Concord. Eccl. Occ. et Or.* iv. 3). In the West, however, examples occur from an early period. *E.g.* St. Clotilda, 554, was "secundum Apostolum inuncta sacerdotibus" (*Acta Chrotildis*, iii. § 19, Boll. June 3). Several were present at the unction of St. Hunegund, A.D. 690 (*Vita*, iii. 20, Boll. Aug. 25). Theodulf requires three (*u.s.*). In 850 the synod of Ticino ordered that "the presbyter of the place . . . should invite the neighbouring presbyters also" (Syn. Regiatic. can. 8); and traces of the custom are found in some of the ancient offices (Mart. *u.s.* Ord. 13, "unus ex sacerdotibus"; Ord. 14, "singuli sacerdotes").

The Greeks in the 8th century made only three crosses with the oil which they "poured out of the ampulla crosswise on the head and dress and whole body of the sick man" (Theodulf, *u.s.*). The French bishop who tells us this also informs us that the Latin practice was to anoint the eyebrows, ears, nostrils, lips, the back of the hands, the feet, throat, breast, neck, shoulder-blades, navel, or the seat of pain (*ib.*). The same details are given in an old English pontifical of about A.D 800 (*MS. Gemmet.* Mart. *u. s.* Ord. 1), and in that of Prudentius of Troyes, 850 (Ord. 3); only the former omits the throat, the latter the breast. A cross was made with the oil on every part.

We need hardly mention that a public penitent could not be anointed in sickness until he had been "reconciled by the communion of the body and blood of Christ" (Conc. Regiatic. can. 8).

On Maundy Thursday, while the other oils were provided beforehand by the clergy, offerings of oil for the sick were brought by the people, who probably, as we infer from their use of it, took much of it home with them after it had been blessed. The earliest Ordo Romanus, about 730, says, "Benedicitur oleum quod populus offert" (§ 30, *Mus. Ital.* ii. 20). The Gelasian Sacramentary has "Benedictio olei ad populum" (*Liturg. Rom. Vet.* Murat. i. 555). The Gregorian: "Ampullae quas offerunt populi" (*ibid.* ii. 55).

On some points connected with this subject we are at a disadvantage in consulting Roman Catholic authors, as they draw no clear line between the primitive use of oil with prayer and the medieval priestly rite; but we may mention Edm. Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. c. 7 in several editions; Jo. Launoius, *de Sacram. Unctionis Infirmorum*, Par. 1673; J. C. Trombellius, *Tract. de Sacram. Extr. Unct.* Bonon. 1776; and on the other side, Jo. Dallaeus, *de Extrema, ut vocant, Unctione*, Genev. 1659.

(6) For the Unction of Kings, see CORONATION, p. 466; for the Unction in Ordination see ORDINATION, p. 1512 ff.

II. UNCTION OF THINGS.—Pseudo-Dionysius, perhaps about 520, tells us that altars were consecrated by the affusion of μύρον (*Hier. Eccl.* iv. iii. 12). An Armenian Catholicus of the 8th century says of the chrism, "The priest ought to receive this oil from the bishops, and with it anoint altars, temples and churches" (Joannis can. 9; Mai, *Nova Coll. Script.* x. ii. 304). The Coptic priest signs the new paten, chalice, and SPOON, and the black corporal as well as the altar itself with chrism when he consecrates them. See the Benedictions in Renaud. *Liturg. Orient.* i. 54, 55. In the Syrian rite an altar is consecrated by a bishop only, who "signs the slab by anointing it with chrism in which he dips his thumb, drawing it over the same lines which he had before described in the form of a cross, and that he does thrice, reciting meanwhile versicles from the psalms, hymns, and responsories." After which he says, "This altar set before us hath been signed, anointed, and sealed in the Name," &c. (*ibid.* ii. 57). The practice has descended to the modern Greeks, whose office directs the bishop at the dedication of a church to pour μύρον on the slab, and cross it thrice with the same, and then beginning at the crosses to anoint the whole upper surface. The pillars and sides of the altar are then thrice crossed with chrism. A cross is also made with it on every column and pilaster in the church (Goar. *Euch.* 837–8). The chrism is also used at the consecration of *Antimensia* before as well as after being mixed with relics and ceromastic (*ibid.* 648). We hear of the same use of oil in the West from the latter part of the 5th century downward, if indeed the *Homily on the 4th Sunday after Pentecost* ascribed to Eusebius Emissenus be really written by Faustus of Rhegium, who is said to have assumed that name, A.D. 472; for there we read, "By oil a church is hallowed" (*Hom.* Euseb. E. 151; Par. 1554). The council of Agde, 506, says, "It is decreed that altars be hallowed not only by the unction of chrism, but also by a sacerdotal (*i.e.* episcopal) benediction" (can. 14). The council of Epaone, 517: "Altaria nisi lapidea chrismatis unguine non sacrentur" (can. 26). Yet the Frankish missal, of about 560, only orders a sprinkling with wine and water, mixed (*Lit. Rom. Vet.* Murat. ii. 677). The canon of Epaone was adopted by Egbert of York, A.D. 732–766 (can. 51; Hard. *Conc.* iii. 1966). The rite is not, however, mentioned by the council of Cealchythe, 816, when it prescribes the mode of dedicating a church. In Spain, Isidore of Seville, about 630, says, "Ad episcopum pertinet basilicarum consecratio, unctio altaris, confectio chrismatis" (*Ad Leudef.* § 10). It was thought to be done in the case of the altar in imitation of Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 18, xxxv. 14). The council of Aix la Chapelle, in

836, after citing his action, says, "The Christian religion, taking example from the ancient tradition of the fathers, . . . erects altars, and pours oil on them, and anoints them with the most holy chrism, and from the acts and vows of the aforesaid Jacob sings a melody to Christ" (lib. iii. cap. 23). Compare Rabanus Maurus *de Instit. Cleric.* ii. 45, and Walafr. Strabo, *de Reb. Eccl.* 9. This notion is preserved in the old English pontificals. See Remigius of Auxerre (*de Dedic. Eccles.* 8) on the question, "Quid signetur in varia Unctione Altaris?" After the unction of the altar, the bishop going round the church signs the walls with chrism, using his thumb (*Pontif.* Egberti Ebor. in Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* ii. 13, Ord. 2). Comp. the English pontifical preserved at Jumiéges (*ibid.* Ord. 3), that of Dunstan (Ord. 4), and the Gallican Pontificals of Rheims, Noyon (Ordd. 5, 6), &c. Egbert gives a form for consecrating a paten and chalice with unction (Mart. *u. s.*, but at length in the Surtees Society's edition, p. 47. Comp. Mart. Ordd. 1, 3, 4, &c.). The blessing of the chalice follows, and here Dunstan only of those whom we have cited orders it to be anointed. Bells were also anointed with chrism when blessed (Surt. Soc. 118; Mart. *u.s.* Ord. 3). [W. E. S.]

**UNIVERSITIES.** [SCHOOLS.]

**UNLEAVENED BREAD.** [ELEMENTS.]

**URBANUS** (1), Jan. 24, one of three children martyred with Babylas at Antioch under Decius (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Mart. Rom.*).

(2) Apr. 16. [SARAGOSSA, MARTYRS OF.]

(3) May 25, pope, martyr, commemorated at Rome on the Via Numentana, in the cemetery of Praetextatus (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*, Wand.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vi. 11), commemorated on this day in the Gregorian Sacramentary, which mentions him in the collect.

(4) July 2, martyr, one of the companions of Aristo in Campania (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*).

(5) Sept. 5, martyr with Theodorus, Medimnus, and eighty priests and deacons under Valens (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Mart. Rom.*).

(6) Oct. 31, commemorated with Stachys and Amplias, disciples of the apostles (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Gr.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**URCEOLA -US.** A pitcher for containing water for ritual use in the Eucharistic service, whether for washing the ministrants' hands, or for cleansing the vessels. In the ordination of acolythes the delivery of an "urceolus" formed part of the ceremonial: "accipient urceolum in quo datur eis potestas infundendi aquam in calicem dominicum" (Steph. Eduens. *lib. de Sacr. Altaris*). In Lanfranc's Epistles we find "vas superius unde lavandis manibus aqua infunditur" (*Cantuar. Ep.* 13). [E. V.]

**URGEL, COUNCIL OF** (URGELLENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 799, where Felix, bishop of that see, was condemned by the French bishops sent by Charlemagne to sit in judgment on him (Mansi, xiii. 1033). [E. S. Ff.]

**URSACIUS**, Aug. 15, confessor at Nicaea under Licinius (*Mart.*, Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**URSICINUS** (URSINUS) (1), June 19, martyr at Ravenna (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*).

(2) Nov. 9, bishop of Bourges, confessor (*Mart.* Usuard., Flor., Adon., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**URSICIUS**, Aug. 15, tribune of Illyricum, martyr under Maximian (Basil. *Menol.*); Aug. 14 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**URSMARUS**, bishop, confessor; commemorated in the monastery of Lobbes, Apr. 19 (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Mart. Rom.*); Apr. 18 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. ii. 557). [C. H.]

**URSULA**, Oct. 21, martyr with eleven thousand virgins at Cologne (*Mart. Rom.*); the virgins without Ursula in some MSS. of Bede and in Wandalbert. [C. H.]

**URSUS**, Sept. 30, commemorated at Solothurn or Soleure with Victor, martyrs of the Theban legion (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**USTAZADES**, Apr. 21, martyr in Persia (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**USURY.** In the early church, the austere morality inculcated by its teachers and the comparative seclusion of its members from intercourse with the world and participation in the more equivocal methods of acquiring wealth, combined to cause the calling of the usurer, and even the occasional lending of money *for purposes of gain* (whether to fellow Christians or to strangers), alike to be regarded as unlawful. Such procedure, whether systematic or exceptional, was accordingly altogether condemned; passages such as Exod. xxii. 24; Levit. xxv. 36, 37; Deut. xxiii. 20, 21; Neh. v. 7, 10, 11; Ps. xiv. 4, 5; liv. 12; St. Luke, vi. 34, 35; &c., being regarded as decisive of the Scriptural teaching on the subject. This view continued, for the most part, to prevail long after the 8th century. The schoolmen unanimously raised their voice against usury in any form (Bonaventura, *ad Sent.* iv. xv. 2, art. 2, quaest. 1, 4; Aquinas, *Summa*, II. ii. 78, art. 1). The passage in the New Testament (Luke xix. 23) which appears to countenance the practice was explained away by Aquinas by supposing that money as referred to in this parable is to be understood only in a metaphorical and spiritual sense. The Reformers (Luther, Melanchthon, &c.) also held that the teaching of the Mosaic law left no doubt as to the obligations of Christians in this matter.

The practice of usury under the Empire offered however peculiar temptations to the clergy, from the fact that it required no previous acquaintance with any craft and but little knowledge of commercial affairs. On the other hand, it was liable to abuse which involved great moral wrong: the legal rate of interest was fixed at twelve per cent.—"usura centesima,"[a]—but in the time of

[a] *I.e.* one per cent. per month. This law was re-enacted by Constantine only a month before the council of Nicaea, a fact which, as Professor Funk observes, shews that the prohibition of the church could have had but very partial effect (*Cod. Theod.* I. ii. 23; Funk, *Gesch. des Kirchlichen Zinsverbotes*, p. 9).

Chrysostom there were many who demanded as much as fifty. He denounces this as καινὰ γένη τόκων, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήνων νόμοις νενομισμένα,—"a new rate of interest unauthorised even by the laws of the pagans," and yet, he says, the usurer will exact it from a poor man who has a wife and children and gets his living by thrashing corn or treading the wine-press (in *Matt.* Hom. li.; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* lviii. 588).

Apollonius (Euseb. *E. H.* v. 18) enumerates the lending of money at interest as one among other unlawful practices indulged in by the teachers of the Cataphrygians. Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* ii. 18) says, "the law" (*i.e.* the Mosaic law) "forbids thee to lend money at interest to thy brother;" and he interprets "brother" as including ὃς ἂν ὁμόφυλος ᾖ, ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λόγου κεκοινωνηκώς (Migne, *ib.* viii. 171). Tertullian quotes Ezekiel (xviii. 8), and says that the prohibition of the Old Testament is ratified by that of the New (*adv. Marcion.* iv. 17). Cyprian (*Testim.* iii. 48) cites the same passage, and also Ps. xiv. and Deut. xxiii. 20. Commodianus (*Instruct. adv. Gent. Deos*, c. 65) declares that the alms of the usurer find no favour in God's sight, even though he bestow in charity twice the amount that the legal rate of interest would enable him to give,—"duplicem centesima nummum" (Migne, v. 251). Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* vi. 18) classes it as one of the "mandata Dei" that no man shall receive interest for money lent to another who is in necessity, otherwise, he says, the kindly act loses its value, and the lender is as one who profits by his neighbour's trouble, —"quod qui facit insidiatur quomodo, ut ex alterius necessitate praedetur" (*ib.* vi. 699).

But while it is not unreasonable to suppose that in the practice of the austere morality inculcated by the early church these views found corresponding observance among a certain minority, the evidence plainly shews that they were frequently disregarded. If, for example, we accept the account given by Hippolytus of Callistus, both Callistus and his Christian master Carpophorus pursued the calling of money-lenders (Bunsen, *Anal. Ante-Nicaea*, i. 371). Cyprian, in his treatise *de Lapsis* (c. 6), complains that many bishops among the "Lapsi," neglecting their divine office, "divina procuratione contempta," had turned their attention to worldly gain, and were wandering about in other provinces, attending markets for the sake of lucre and increasing their capital by lending it out at compound interest,—"negotiationis quaestuosae nundinas aucupari . . . . usuris multiplicantibus foenus augere" (Migne, iv. 183).

It is supposed by Hefele (*Beiträge*, i. 38) that we may infer from this that there existed in Cyprian's time no formal declaration from the church on the lawfulness of the practice. It appears, however, more reasonable to conclude that the above bishops had repudiated all further ecclesiastical control. The first canonical decision of which we have evidence relating to the subject is that of the council of Arles (A.D. 314), which directs that all priests practising usury are to be debarred from communion,—"eos juxta formam divinitus datam a communione abstineri" (Mansi, *Conc.* ii. 472). At the council of Laodicea (? ann. 320) it was decreed, "Non oportere hominem sacratum foenerari, et usuras, et quae dicuntur sesquialteras[b] accipere" (*ib.* ii. 564). This canon was re-enacted with yet greater stringency at the council of Nicaea, when it was decreed that whoever of the clergy should be found indulging in the practice in his dealings with another or demanding "sesquialterae," should be deposed from his office and excommunicated: "si quis inventus post statutum usuras ex mutuo (ἐκ μεταχειρίσεως) sumere, vel eam rem aliter persequi, vel sesquialteras exigere, vel aliquid aliud excogitare turpis quaestus gratia, e clero deponatur et sit alienus a canone" (Mansi, ii. 675; *ib.* iv. 413). The forty-fourth of the Apostolical Canons similarly requires that any "bishop, priest, or deacon" who demands interest from a debtor shall be deprived of his office (Cotelerius, i. 448).

Although the conditions of the mercantile community in the East and the West differed materially in some respects, the fathers of the two churches are equally explicit and systematic in their condemnation of the practice of usury. Among those belonging to the Greek church we find Athanasius (*Expos. in Ps.* xiv.); Basil the Great (*Hom. in Ps.* xiv.), Gregory of Nazianzum (*Orat.* xvi. *in Patrem tacentem*), Gregory of Nyssa (*Orat. cont. Usurarios*), Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* iv. c. 37), Epiphanius (*adv. Haeres. Epilog.* c. 24), Chrysostom (*Hom.* xli. *in Genes.*), and Theodoret (*Interpr. in Ps.* xiv. 5, and liv. 11). Among those belonging to the Latin church, Hilary of Poitiers (*in Ps.* xiv.), Ambrose (*de Tobia liber unus*), Jerome (*in Ezech.* vi. 18), Augustine (*de Baptismo contr. Donatistas*, iv. 19), Leo the Great (*Epist.* iii. 4), and Cassiodorus (*in Ps.* xiv. 10). Among these writers some evince less disposition to appeal exclusively to the Mosaic law; Basil, for example, cites Luke vi. 34, 35; Chrysostom, Matth. v. 42; Gregory of Nyssa, the fate of the unmerciful servant in the parable (Matth. xviii. 23–35), and the fifth petition in the Lord's Prayer. Ambrose, whose treatise *de Tobia* is entirely devoted to the condemnation of usury, quotes the sentiment of Cato,—"fenerare est hominem occidere," and inveighs strongly against the cruelty involved in the practice. "The borrower," he says to the usurers, "asks of you medicine, and you give him poison; bread, and you proffer him a sword; liberty, and you condemn him to slavery!" Referring to the technical term "centesima," he asks whether it might not better serve to recall to our recollection Him who came to seek the hundredth lost sheep? (Migne, xiv. 591–622). Christ, he says, came to fulfil the law, not to destroy it, consequently the Mosaic prohibition is still in force. Leo the Great, in his letter to the bishops of Campania and Picenum, implies that the clergy sometimes evaded the prohibition by lending their money in the name of another, and declares this to be equally forbidden. He laments that even laymen, who wish to be considered Christians, should practise the usurer's calling,—"quod et in laicos cadere, qui Christianos se dici cupiunt, condolemus" (*Epist.* 5; Migne, liv. 615). Chrysostom refers to the legislation which forbade senators (τοὺς . . . . εἰς τὴν μεγάλην τελοῦντας βουλήν, ἣν σύγκλητον

[b] "Sesquialterae" or ἡμιόλιαι, a Byzantine term for interest half as much as the capital, or 150 per cent.

καλοῦσι) to take interest for loans, and contrasts the usurer's craft with that of the husbandman, the grazier, or the artisan, affirming that his gain is a harvest reaped without the aid of soil, plough or rain (*in Matt.* Hom. lvii.; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* lviii. 557).

The conditions of modern society and commercial life have involved such a revolution in the conceptions respecting the employment of capital, that the arguments whereby it was sought to justify the Mosaic condemnation of usury now appear scarcely intelligible. It was objected that usury was an infringement of equal dealing, because more was given by the borrower than he received,—that it was ruinous to many, while serviceable to but few,—that it was oppression of the poor man under the guise of rendering him a service (August. *in Ps.* xxxvi. Serm. 3; Ambrose, *de Offic.* iii. 3; Chrysost. *in Matth.* Hom. 56). When it was asked, as an extreme case, whether the man who lent a bushel of corn to his neighbour, from which the latter reaped tenfold, might not justly claim to share equally in the gain, Jerome replied by citing Gal. vi. 7, and by a quibble worthy only of a professed dialectician (*ad Ezech.* vi. 18; *Opera*, ed. Migne, vi. 176). This excess of stringency produced its natural results and evasion was frequently resorted to. Ambrose (*de Tobia*, c. 14) states that it was a common practice for those who lent money (especially the wealthy) to receive the interest in the form of goods.

The canons of later councils differ materially in relation to this subject, and indicate a distinct tendency to mitigate the rigour of the Nicaean interdict. That of the council of Carthage of the year 348 enforces the original prohibition, but without the penalty, and grounds the veto on both Old and New Testament authority, "nemo contra prophetas, nemo contra evangelia facit sine periculo" (Mansi, iii. 158). The language, however, when compared with that of the council of Carthage of the year 419, serves to suggest that, in the interval, the lower clergy had occasionally been found having recourse to the forbidden practice, for the general terms of the earlier canon, "ut non liceat clericis fenerari," are enforced with greater particularity in the latter, "Nec omnino *cuiquam clericorum* liceat de qualibet re foenus accipere" (Mansi, iv. 423). This supposition is supported by the language of the council of Orleans (A.D. 538), which appears to imply that deacons were not prohibited from lending money at interest, "Et clericus a diaconatu, et supra, pecuniam non commodet ad usuras" (*ib.* ix. 18). Similarly, at the second council of Trullanum (A.D. 692) a like liberty would appear to have been recognised among the lower clergy (Hardouin, iii. 1663). While, again, the Nicaean canon requires the immediate deposition of the ecclesiastic found guilty of the practice, the Apostolical canon enjoins that such deposition is to take place only after he has been admonished and has disregarded the admonition.

On the other hand, at the second council of Arles (A.D. 452), we find that such an offence on the part of an ecclesiastic was required to be punished not only by deposition but also by excommunication, "depositus a communione alienus fiat" (Mansi, vii. 880).

Generally speaking, the evidence points to the conclusion that the church imposed no penalty on the layman. St. Basil (*Epist.* clxxxviii. can. 12), says that a usurer may even be admitted to orders, provided he gives his acquired wealth to the poor and abstains for the future from the pursuit of gain (Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xxxii 275). Gregory of Nyssa says that usury, unlike theft, the desecration of tombs, and sacrilege (ἱεροσυλία), is allowed to pass unpunished, although among the things forbidden by Scripture, nor is a candidate at ordination ever asked whether or no he has been guilty of the practice[c] (Migne, *ib.* xlv. 233). A letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epist.* vi. 24) relating an experience of his friend Maximus, appears to imply that no blame attached to lending money at the legal rate of interest, and that even a bishop might be a creditor on those terms. We find also Desideratus, bishop of Verdun, when applying for a loan to king Theodebert, for the relief of his impoverished diocese, promising repayment, "cum usuris legitimis," an expression which would seem to imply that in the Gallican church usury was recognised as lawful under certain conditions (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iii. 34). So again a letter (*Epist.* ix. 38) of Gregory the Great seems to shew that he did not regard the payment of interest for money advanced by one layman to another as unlawful. But, on the other hand, we find in what is known as archbishop Theodore's Penitential (circ. A.D. 690) what appears to be a general law on the subject, enjoining "Si quis usuras undecunque exegerit . . . tres annos in pane et aqua" (c. xxv. 3); a penance again enjoined in the Penitential of Egbert of York (c. ii. 30). In like manner, the legates, George and Theophylact, in reporting their proceedings in England to pope Adrian I. (A.D. 787), state that they have prohibited "usurers," and cite the authority of the Psalmist and St. Augustine (Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc.* iii. 457). The councils of Mayence, Rheims, and Châlons, in the year 813, and that of Aachen in the year 816, seem to have laid down the same prohibition as binding both on the clergy and the laity (Hardouin, *Conc.* iv. 1011, 1020, 1033, 1100).

Muratori, in his dissertation on the subject (*Antichità*, vol. i.), observes that "we do not know exactly how commerce was transacted in the five preceding centuries," and consequently are ignorant as to the terms on which loans of money were effected. A later period shews us, to use the language of Mr. Pearson, "the moral guides of society, on the one hand, endeavouring to enforce a law which was, without abatement, the law prescribed originally for the Hebrews in Palestine; while, on the other, foreign wars, foreign commerce, and the perfectly unequal division of land, were introducing entirely new conditions of life, which could not be satisfied by the provisions designed for a nation living under totally different circumstances" (*Theories on Usury*, p. 16). See also Funk, *Gesch. des Kirchlichen Zinsverbotes*, Tübingen, 1876.

[J. B. M.]

[c] A canon of the council of Agde (A.D. 506): "Seditionarios nunquam ordinandos, *sicut nec usurarios*," etc., probably points to a distinction drawn by the church between the professional usurer and those who only occasionally practised usury (Mansi, viii. 336).

# V

**VACANCY.** The voidance of a see by a bishop's death was often the occasion of abuse and outrage, which the church in various parts made successive and (it may be added) not unsuccessful efforts to restrain.

There are three factors which must be kept distinct in any discussion about the property of a vacant benefice, bishopric or other. There is (1) the property of the deceased (spolia); (2) the revenue of the benefice in the interval (deportus) and (3) the income at the beginning—a year or half a year—of the new incumbency (annata).

The twenty-eighth canon of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, stands thus: "That it is not lawful for clergymen after the death of their bishop to seize what belongs to him, as has been forbidden by the canons of old time" (sc. *Can. Apost.* 40; *Can. Antioch.* 24). A reference to the Antiochene canon here quoted shews that it is the *private* property of the bishop, and not the estate of the see which the canon was designed to protect.

A canon such as the following shews what sometimes took place on the voidance of a see. "This also is determined, that on a bishop's being summoned from this world at the Lord's bidding, clerics keep rapacious hands from all furniture or whatever is in the church house or belongs to the bishop, in books, valuables (speciebus), utensils, vessels, produce, flocks, animals or all property altogether, and plunder nothing like robbers." (*Conc. Valentinum Hispan.* cap. 2, A.D. 524).

By the following chapter of the same council, the kindred of a bishop dying intestate were forbidden to touch anything without the sanction of the metropolitan or four provincial bishops. They were required to wait for the ordination of his successor. The reason assigned is lest they should touch some of the official property, which might have got mixed with what would descend to his heirs. Other precautions to the same effect are laid down both in the seventh and the ninth councils of Toledo. The Visigothic law (l. 5, t. i. c. 2) even directs that every bishop should at the commencement of his episcopate verify the inventory made by his predecessor.

The second council of Orleans (A.D. 533) enacted that the bishop who came for the funeral should demand "praeter expensam necessariam nihil pretii pro fatigatione." The same council also provided that he should call the presbyters together and, going to the bishop's residence (*domum ecclesiae*), should leave it when inventoried (*descriptam*) to the custody of fit persons. So strict were the directions afterwards issued by Gregory the Great that not even the cost of the inventory might be taken out of the episcopal property.

From a canon of the Trullan Council (c. 35) it appears that on the death of a bishop his own goods and those of his church were under the custody of the clergy, or in default of that under the custody of the metropolitan, who shall give them to the successor in the see.

Besides the visiting bishop or the clergy the archdeacon is often named as the proper guardian of the vacant see. "Patrimonio ecclesiae in gubernatione archidiaconi ejusdem ecclesiae constituto," says (*Ep.* 7) pope Agapetus († 536). The same arrangement is enjoined in France by the council of Paris in 615 (can. 7). For the form of appointing a bishop to take temporary charge of a vacant diocese, see *Liber Diurnus*, c. iii. tit. 11.

From the seventh and eighth canons of the same council of Paris Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, pt. ii. Liv. iv. c. 25, 4) draws the following conclusions as to the state of the church under this head at the beginning of the 7th century. 1. Other churches besides cathedrals were despoiled at the death of their incumbent. 2. Bishops and archdeacons seized the "spoil" of abbeys and other benefices. 3. This was done under specious pretences, as that all other churches were but offshoots from the cathedral. 4. The "spoils" went to the commonalty of the clergy (sc. the cathedral body), and not to the bishop or the archdeacon in particular. 5. The council condemns the abuse. 6. Both the revenues of the vacant church and the private property of the deceased incumbent were despoiled. 7. The spoliation took place under the authority of sovereigns, magistrates, and magnates. 8. Archdeacons are recognised as the proper guardians of all the property of the vacant bishopric and of other vacant churches. 9. The clergy are associated with them in this charge. 10. That these ancient outrages, being so condemned, lend no colour of justification to any pretended rights of spoliation, which in later times have been based upon them. 11. But most important of all (says Thomassin) is this deduction from the language of the canons—that temporal princes were not yet put in possession of the guardianship of the vacant sees or abbeys. Yet it must be observed that Clothaire the Second, when confirming by an edict the decrees of this council of Paris, seems to reserve to himself the right of making certain donations (*praeceptiones nostrae*) from the goods of a vacant see.

The lengths to which the outrage of "spoliation" sometimes went may be gathered from a story told by Gregory of Tours (lib. 6, c. 13). The clergy of Marseilles combined with the governor against their bishop. The bishop was arrested, and the clergy themselves pillaged the residences of the bishop, and made a raid upon his property, just (adds the narrative) as if the bishop were already dead. This licence, however, must not be supposed universal, as there is a marked absence of any allusion to it in the letters of Gregory the Great about the property of vacant sees. The first recorded instance in Rome is that recorded by Anastasius (A.D. 638) of the pillage of the church of St. John Lateran on the accession of Severinus.

The great point to be established upon the subject is that in early days the sovereign did not pretend to have any rights either upon the property of deceased bishops or upon the proceeds of vacant sees. This appears conclusively from two examples, also given by Gregory of Tours (l. 10, c. 19). Giles, the bishop of Rheims, was deposed and exiled. In his chests large sums of money were found. The king confiscated that portion of it which had been gotten by illicit means; the rest was left. Again, Baudin the

sixteenth bishop of Tours, was enabled to distribute amongst the poor a very large sum of money ("amplius quàm viginti millia solidorum"), which his predecessor had left, and which clearly had not escheated to the crown.

The letter of Gregory the Great to the clergy and people of Hortona (lib. iii. *Ep.* 39) is a good specimen of his action during a vacancy. "We solemnly delegate the visitation of the destitute church to our brother and co-bishop, Barbarus. To whom we have given in charge 'ut nihil de redditu, ornatu, ministeriisque a quoquam usurpari patiatur'. . . . We have given him licence to ordain priests and deacons, if need be," &c. In another case (Lib. iv. *Ep.* 12) he directs that the bishop-visitor of the church of Agrigentum should receive the same income for his services as the regular bishop would receive. At times the arrival of the visitor-bishop was the occasion of a squabble. How pope Gregory dealt with such a difficulty may be seen in his letter to Leontius, who was made bishop-visitor of Rimini (Lib. iv. *Ep.* 42). [VISITATOR.]

In reply to the claim that has at times been made of the right of the pope to the "spoil" of a vacant see, Thomassin quotes words of Gregory the Great addressed to Constantius, bishop of Palermo, who was made visitor of the church of Terracina (lib. vii. *Ep.* 75): "Mobile vero praedictae ecclesiae facta subtiliter volumus describi notitia, nobisque transmitti, ut ex hoc quid fieri debeat, auctore Domino, disponamus." The French writer argues that Gregory would not have considered at his leisure how it should be disposed of, if it had belonged of right to his own church; and he concludes that all the "spoil" of a deceased bishop, and all the revenue of the vacancy belongs to the clergy in common, and the succeeding bishop, whilst ecclesiastical superiors and worldly magnates can pretend to no other glory than that of giving protection to the canons and liberties of the church. Bishops lost neither *spolia* nor *deportus* nor *annatae*; and bishops in their turn preserved the *deportus* of vacant parochial cures, handing them faithfully to the new incumbents (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, pt. ii. Liv. iv. c. 26).

That portion of the episcopal revenue which fell to the crown during a vacancy was known by the name of *regalia* (Ducange, *s. v.*). When the bishop was dead, it was said to be *aperta* ("regalia est aperta"), and it so continued until his successor was appointed, when it became *clausa*. The act of homage or allegiance on the part of the successor preceded the delivery of the regalia to him. [H. T. A.]

**VACANTIVI**, or, in the Greek form, *βακάντιβοι*, were clergy who were found in other dioceses than that in which they were first ordained, with letters from their bishop. Against such frequent decrees were made. The council of Agde (c. 52) forbids communion to be given to such wandering clerks, and this is repeated by the council of Epaon (c. 6); the council of Valentia (*C. Valentin.* c. 5) orders such wanderers, if contumacious, to be deprived both of communion and of orders (Bingham, *Antiq.* VI. iv. 5). [C.]

**VAISON, COUNCILS OF** (VASENSIA CONCILIA), A.D. 442 and A.D. 529. Formerly there were thought to have been three. 1. Which some make the second, "apud Auspicium episcopum ecclesiae catholicae," says the title, which was the favourite style of the bishops of Rome, when ten canons on discipline were passed, but no subscriptions to them have been preserved (Mansi, vi. 451–60). 2. Which some make the third, where four interesting canons on ritual—one relating to the reading of homilies of the fathers by deacons when no presbyter could be got to preach; another to the saying of the *Kyrie eleison*, the *Sanctus*, *Sanctus*, *Sanctus*, the *Sicut erat* of the Doxology, and recital of the name of the pope for the time being in divine service—follow the first on discipline, with the names of St. Caesarius of Arles and eleven other bishops affixed to them. (*Ib.* viii. 725–8.) [E. S. Ff.]

**VAKASS.** The vakass is a vestment or ornament peculiar to the Armenian church. It bears a certain resemblance to the amice, but has a breastplate attached to it, as in the case of the Jewish high-priest; the names or figures of the twelve apostles replacing those of the twelve tribes (Neale, *Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 306; Malan, *Liturgy of the Armenian Church*). It is doubtful whether we are to view this as a direct imitation of the Jewish ephod, or as really a modification of the Western amice. The Armenians themselves maintain the Jewish origin of the vestment, but the Armenians have borrowed so much from the Roman church that the latter is by many thought the more probable view. In a recent work by a Melchitarist of St. Lazare, and therefore of the Roman communion, the vakass is described as "a large collar of precious stuff, to which is attached the amice" (Issaverdens, *The Armenian Church*, p. 413). [R. S.]

**VALENCE, COUNCILS OF** (VALENTINA CONCILIA), A.D. 374, A.D. 530, and A.D. 586. 1. When thirty bishops, according to some MSS., met—it is not clear under whose presidency—passed four canons on discipline, and addressed two synodical letters, one to the bishops of France, the other to the clergy and people of Fréjus, inviting attention to their fourth canon respecting candidates for the episcopate, priesthood, or diaconate (Mansi, iii. 491–500). 2. Where the doctrines of freewill and grace were discussed with reference to St. Caesarius of Arles, who was prevented from attending it by ill-health, but deputed able representatives to express and defend his opinions (*ib.* viii. 723–6). 3. When the donations of king Guntramn and of his wife and daughters to different churches were confirmed by seventeen bishops (*Ib.* ix. 645–8). [E. S. Ff.]

**VALENS**, Feb. 16, deacon, martyr with Pamphilus, Seleucius, and Paulus, at Caesarea under Diocletian (Basil. *Menol.*; *Mart. Hieron.*). [C. H.]

**VALENTIA, COUNCIL OF** (VALENTINUM CONCILIUM), A.D. 546, where six chapters on discipline were drawn up by six bishops, and an archdeacon representing a seventh. (Mansi, viii. 619–24; but he suggests a later date for it on the next page.) [E. S. Ff.]

**VALENTINA**, martyr with Thea and Paulus at Caesarea, under Maximin; commemorated on July 15 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.); July 25 (*Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**VALENTINUS (1)**, Feb. 14, presbyter, martyr at Rome under Claudius (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*). According to Baronius (*Mart. Rom.* Feb. 14, note) it is this Valentinus who is commemorated on this day in the Gregorian Sacramentary, which names him in the collect and super-oblata. He is also celebrated in the *Liber Responsalis* of Gregory, p. 757; and he is probably the Valentinus commemorated in the *Liber Antiphonarius* of Gregory, p. 665. Pope Theodorus erected a church in his honour at Rome on the Via Flaminia near the Milvian bridge (Anastas. Biblioth. *de Vitis Rom. Pontif.* art. THEODORUS, num. 128; *Mart. Rom.* sub Feb. 14, ed. Baron. note; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 751). On the distinction between this Valentinus and the following see Sollerius's *Obss.* under Feb. 14 in Usuard.

**(2)** Feb. 14, bishop of Interamnia, martyr (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, Notker., *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 754). According to Baronius (*l. c.*) it is this Valentinus who is commemorated on Feb. 14 with Vitalis and Felicula in the Gelasian Sacramentary, which names them in the collect, the secreta, and the post-communion. The name Valentinus, but undistinguished, occurs briefly in the metrical martyrologies of Bede and Wandalbert. In the latter case it is the bishop according to Baronius (*l. c.*). For other saints of the same name commemorated on this day see Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. pp. 742, 762, 763.

**(3)** Nov. 13, martyr, commemorated at Ravenna with Solutor and Victor (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*).

**(4)** Dec. 16, martyr, commemorated at Ravenna with Navalis and Agricola (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**VALENTIO** (VALENTINUS), martyr, commemorated with Pasicrates at Durostorum in Moesia by the Latins on May 25 (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker., *Rom.*); by the Greeks on Apr. 24 (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). [C. H.]

**VALERIANUS (1)**, Jan. 20, martyr of Trapezus with Candidus and Aquila under Diocletian (Basil. *Menol.*); Jan. 20, 21 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Jan. 21 (Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 251).

**(2)** April 14, commemorated with Tibertius and Maximus at Rome on the Via Appia in the cemetery of Praetextatus (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*); Nov. 24 (Basil. *Menol.*); Nov. 22 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

**(3)** Sept. 15, martyr in the reign of Antoninus Verus, commemorated at Tournus in the territory of Châlons-sur-Saône (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.* Notker., *Rom.*).

**(4)** Sept. 17, martyr, commemorated at Nividunum (Nyon) with Macrinus and Gordianus (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.); or at Noviodunum (Notker., *Rom.*).

**(5)** Dec. 15, bishop, confessor in Africa under Genseric (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**VALERIUS (1)**, Jan. 29, bishop of Trèves, reputed disciple of St. Peter (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, Notker., Wand., *Rom.*).

**(2)** June 14, martyr with Rufinus near Soissons under Diocletian (*Mart.* Usuard., Flor., Wand., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**VANNES, COUNCIL OF** (VENETICUM or VENETENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 465, or, as Pagi, 461, when sixteen canons on discipline were passed by Perpetuus, bishop of Tours, and five others, and sent, with a synodical letter in their name, to the absent bishops of that province. (Mansi, vii. 951–8.) [E. S. Ff.]

**VARUS AEGYPTICUS**, soldier, martyr under Maximian, commemorated on Oct. 19 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 272); Oct. 25 (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**VEDASTUS** (VAAST), bishop of Arras, commemorated with bishop Amandus on Feb. 6 (*Mart.* Usuard., Flor., *Rom.*); Oct. 26 (Notker., Wand.). [C. H.]

**VEILS**, Eucharistic, in the Eastern church. The Eucharistic veils in use by the Greek church were three in number: (1) the paten veil (δισκοκάλυμμα, called in the Syriac ritual *Nauphar* or *Anaphora*), for covering the holy bread; (2) the chalice veil; (3) a very thin, transparent veil, known as ἀὴρ, or νεφέλη, spread over both (Renaudot, *Lit. Or.* i. 304; ii. 61). They were always of the finest and best materials procurable. The disk-veils at St. Sophia's were of cloth of gold, embroidered with pearls (*Descript. S. Soph. Anon.* apud Du Cange). According to the mystical interpretation of Germanus, the disk-veil represented the napkin that was about our Lord's head; and the ἀὴρ either the shining cloud at the Transfiguration, or the stone which closed the door of the sepulchre (Goar, *Euchol.* 121, 838). To these should be added the εἰλητόν or *corporale*, called also καταπέτασμα (Renaudot, i. 195), the altar-cloth covering the Holy Table, on which the paten and chalice stood, which, according to the same authority, symbolised the fine linen cloth in which our Lord's body was wrapped (Goar, *Euchol.* 101, 130, 838, 849).

The ritual of the veils, as given in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, is as follows. (N.B. The references are to Savile's edition of *Chrysostom*, vol. vi.) At the prothesis the priest censes the paten veil, and after the asterisk has been placed over the holy bread, covers the whole with it, with words from Ps. 93: "The Lord hath put on glorious apparel, and girded Himself with strength." He then censes the chalice veil and covers the holy cup with it, while he utters (Habakkuk iii. 3), "His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of His praise." After this he censes the ἀὴρ and spreads it over both paten and chalice with the words (Ps. xvii. 8), "Hide me under the shadow of Thy wings" (p. 986). At the celebration, after the Gospel has been read, the priest takes the εἰλητόν and unfolds it, and places it on the holy table before the εἰρηνικά (p. 993). At the great entrance the ἀὴρ is placed over the left shoulder of the deacon at the same time that the disk is put on his head (p. 994). The priest then removes the veils from the paten and chalice, and taking the ἀὴρ from the deacon's shoulders and censing it covers the holy things with it (p. 995). The

deacon then takes the asterisk and puts it crosswise over the disk, and having sponged it on the εἰλητόν, he covers it with the ἀήρ, and if there is no fan he fans the holy things with the paten veil (p. 997). After the priest has communicated he sponges the cup and his own lips with the veil (p. 1002). After the deacon has communicated he sponges the disk over the cup, and covers the cup with the veil, and replaces the asterisk and the veil over the disk (p. 1003). Finally, after the washing of the cup and cleansing of the disk he covers the holy things, the cup and the disk with the veils, according to custom (p. 1004). The form of consecration of disk veils in the Coptic church is given by Renaudot (*Liturg. Orient.* i. 304). [E. V.]

**VENANTIUS (1)**, Apr. 1, bishop, martyr (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Notker., *Rom.*). There was a monastery bearing the name of Venantius at Constantinople in the 6th century (Mansi, viii. 1056 B; Du Cange, *Cpolis. Christ.* lib. iv. p. 162). The oratory of St. Stephen in the Vatican basilica is said to have been called also that of Venantius (Rasponi, *de Basilica Vaticana*, p. 234; Ciampini, *de Sacr. Aedif.* p. 17).

(2) Abbat, commemorated at Tours on Oct. 11 (*Mart.* Flor.); Oct. 13 (*Mart.* Usuard., *Mart. Rom.*); Oct. 23 (Notker.). [C. H.]

**VENETICUM CONCILIUM.** [VANNES.]

**VENITE.** [INVITATORIUM.]

**VENTRILOQUUS.** The "master of obh" was frequently called ventriloquus, ἐγγαστρίμυθος, ἐγγαστρίμαντις, στερνόμαντις; though the Hebrews, according to Bochart, "ariolum id genus non ex ventre, sed ex axillis vocem emisisse somniant" (*Hieroz.* iii. 5). To prove this he cites the Talmud in *Sanhedrim* 7, the gloss on it, and Rabb. Selomo on Deut. xviii. 11. Maimonides (*de Idol.* vi. 2) says that these diviners after certain ceremonies appear to be "consulting another person, who speaks with them and answers their questions from the earth in a very low voice, which they cannot hear with their ears, but only perceive in their mind"; or they "fumigate the skull of a dead man and sing charms, until they hear a voice going before them coming out of their armpits, and an answer is given them." It is evident, at least, that the voice was generally traced to some part of the person. Thus Plutarch says that "the *ventriloqui* [formerly called Eurycleitae, from Eurycles a soothsayer; see Hesychius, Suidas] are now called pythons" (*de Orac. Defectu*, Reiske, vii. 632). The italic version of Lev. xx. 27 gives "ventriloquus" (Sabatier); that of Isaiah viii. 19, "Qui de terra loquuntur, qui de ventre clamitant." So the LXX render *obh* by ἐγγαστρίμυθος in Lev. xix. 31; xx. 6, 27; 1 Sam. xxviii. 7, 9; Isaiah xliv. 25; &c. That such diviners were ventriloqui in the common belief appears also from various ancient writers. Origen affirms that some "from the earliest age have been under the influence of a demon, whom they call python, *i.e.* a ventriloquus" (*de Princip.* iii. § 5); an opinion noted by St. Jerome as unsound (*Ep.* 124, *ad Avit.* 8), but only as to the *early* possession, for the latter himself paraphrases Is. viii. 9, thus, "Quaerite ventriloquos, quos pythonas intelligimus" (*Comment.* in loc.). Gregory Nyss. says, referring to the witch of Endor, "One form of deceit was that of the ventriloquus, whose magic art was skilled to drag back to the life above the souls of the departed" (*de Pythonissa Ep.* i. 869). See also Tertullian (*de Anima*, 57); Jerome *in Ezek.* xiii. 1–9; *Quaest. Christ. et Resp.* inter *Opp.* Just. M. 52; Pionius in Ruinart, *Acta Sinc. Mart.* 124; Isidore, iii. 370; Eustathius Antioch. *de Engastrim.* 30. [W. E. S.]

**VENUSTIANUS**, Dec. 30, martyr with his wife and children under Maximian; commemorated at Spoleto with bishop Sabinus (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Mart. Vet. Rom.* which states that his passion was on Dec. 7, and the festival of his sepulture on Dec. 30). [C. H.]

**VENUSTUS**, May 6, martyr, commemorated with Heliodorus in Africa (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Mart. Rom.*). In *Mart. Hieron.* both names occur on this day in a numerous list, Venustus at Milan and Heliodorus in Africa. [C. H.]

**VERANUS**, bishop, commemorated at Lyons on Nov. 11 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**VERBERIES, COUNCIL OF** (VERMERIENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 753. Several canons on discipline are found in Gratian and elsewhere given to a council at this place, which is thought to have met in the first year of king Pepin, and been attended by him. (Mansi, xii. 365–8.) [E. S. Ff.]

**VERIANUS**, Aug. 9, martyr at Colonia in Etruria under Decius, commemorated with Secundianus and Marcellianus (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**VERISSIMUS**, Oct. 1, martyr at Olisepona (Lisbon) with his sisters Maxima and Julia (*Mart.* Usuard., *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**VERN or VER, COUNCIL OF** (VERNENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 755, held by order of king Pepin in his palace there, when twenty-five canons on discipline were published. (Mansi, xii. 577–86, who thinks, however, it should be dated A.D. 756). [E. S. Ff.]

**VEROLUS**, Feb. 21, martyr, commemorated at Adrumetum with Secundinus, Servulus, and others (*Mart.* Usuard., *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**VERONICA**, commemorated at Antioch on Apr. 20 with Prosdocius and Romanus (*Mart. Syr.*); Apr. 15 at Antioch with Prosducus (*Hieron.*); July 11 at Antioch with Prodixa and Speciosa (*Mart. Hieron.*); the matron of Jerusalem so called is said to have been commemorated at Rome on Feb. 4 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 451 F). [C. H.]

**VERSE, VERSICLE.** A short verse or text said by the priest in the course of the liturgy or the divine office, to which the congregation replied in another short verse or text called a Response. Some of these versicles, as the *Sursum Corda* in the liturgy, and the "Deus in adjutorium," which occurs at the commencement of all the Hours, are of great antiquity. The

latter is mentioned by Cassian (*Collat.* x. 10), and in the rule of St. Benedict (cap. x.). Mediaeval Monastic Consuetudinaries contained elaborate regulations for their use, of which a specimen may be seen in the *Antiq. Consuetudines Canon. Regularium*, S. Victoris, Paris., printed by Martene (*de Antiq. Eccles. Rit.* tom. iii. p. 279, edit. 1788). Their rationale and the ritual reason why are described at length by Amalarius, *de Eccles. Off.* iv. 13, *et passim.* Technical names were applied to some of these versicles. "O Lord, open thou our lips," with which nocturns opened (Amalar. *de Eccl. Offic.* iv. c. 9), was called "Versus Apertionis," and the verse "Let us bless the Lord," with which most offices concluded, was hence called "Versus Clusor."

[F. E. W.]

**VERULAM, COUNCIL OF** (VEROLAMIENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 793, attended by king Offa, archbishop Humbert, and a large concourse, before whom the foundation of the abbey of St. Alban was discussed, and the king recommended a journey to Rome thereon. (Mansi, xiii. 861; Wilkins by Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 470.)

[E. S. Ff.]

**VERUS**, Dec. 2, martyr in Africa with his brother Securus (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

**VESPERS.** [HOURS OF PRAYER; OFFICE, THE DIVINE.]

**VESTA** and **VESTURIUS**, July 17, Scillitan martyrs (*Mart.* Bed.). [SCILLITANI, MARTYRS OF.] [C. H.]

**VESTMENTS.** On this subject there have been two leading theories: the one viewing Christian vestments as a direct imitation of the Levitical, the other deriving these from the dress of ordinary life prevalent in the early ages of Christianity. The former theory does not probably meet with any wide-spread acceptance at the present day. Some of the most characteristic features of the Jewish dress are unrepresented in the Christian. Thus, whereas in the Levitical priestly dress the element of colour is strongly marked, we have every reason to believe that the dress worn by the ministers in primitive times was simply white [COLOUR]. Again, the head-dress of Jewish priests, to say nothing of the more striking cap of the high priest, with its golden πέταλον, had for a long time nothing to answer to it among Christian vestments; for, as we have already shewn [MITRE], any satisfactory traces of a use of an official head-dress on the part of the Christian clergy are hardly to be found for the first thousand years. So too the coloured girdle of the Jewish priest fails to reappear, for the GIRDLE is not met with as a recognised Christian vestment till the 8th century. Conversely the Christian vestment *par excellence*, the chasuble [CASULA], is utterly unlike anything in the Jewish dress.

Now, on the other hand, when we come to consider the nature of the secular dress worn under the empire in the early times of Christianity, we are at once met with a large amount of coincidence in the form of the dresses and in the names.

A Roman gentleman in the 1st century and later wears his tunic with some form of super-vestment, *lacerna*, *pallium*, or the like, over it, the *toga* being now rather old-fashioned. If we take as our stand-point for Christian vestments the records of the fourth council of Toledo (A.D. 633), to which we have often referred already, we have mention made of *alb*, *planeta*, and *orarium*. Here, then, we have the tunic in the ALB, the super-vestment in the PLANETA, and an ornament, whose secular origin is absolutely demonstrable in the *orarium*. [STOLE.] The *planeta* does not under that name meet us as a secular dress used by heathens, though we do find it worn by Christian laymen; still its shape is practically the same as the paenula, which meets us again and again in heathen writers, and which is identical in name with the Eastern equivalent of the chasuble, the φενόλιον. [PAENULA.] The *casula*, another variety of the same dress, whose name has given rise to the modern chasuble, is itself found in use by Christian laymen. As regards other varieties of the tunic, the DALMATIC is first met with as in use by a Roman emperor; the Greek στοιχάριον [STICHARION] is first mentioned in connexion with the dress of ordinary life. Another form of super-vestment, the COPE, has certainly had a similar origin. The STOLE and the MANIPLE, again, were both, as has been already shewn, in their origin of the nature of handkerchiefs, carried in the hand; nor can there be any reasonable doubt that in such things as the OMOPHORION, archiepiscopal PALLIUM, &c., are mere modifications of what in its simplest form we know as the stole.

On the general subject of the history of Christian vestments reference may be made to Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*; Hefele, *Die Liturgischen Gewänder* in his *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte Archäologie und Liturgik*, vol. ii.; Rock, *The Church of our Fathers*, London, 1848; Bock, *Die Liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters, &c.* [R. S.]

**VESTRY.** (*Secretarium*, *secretaria*, *sacristia*, *sacrarium*, *vestiarium*. Διακονικόν, βεστιάριον.) Among the *exedrae* of an ancient church was an apartment to which these terms were applied. Some writers take it for a part of the church itself, whilst others are of opinion that it was a distinct building. (See Bingham, *Antiq.* VIII. vii. 7.)

We find that in early, as in modern days, not only the vestments but also the treasures of the church were sometimes kept in the vestry [SCEUOPHYLACIUM]. Sacred vessels were kept there (in secretario), no one being allowed to touch them except the subdeacon or acolyte (*Capitula Martini Brac.* c. 41. cent. vi.). Besides eucharistic vessels, a gold cross of six pounds weight is given by pope John III. († 573), "ex sacro nostro vestiario." Gregory the Great, when he would give six coins to the angel who appeared to him in the guise of a shipwrecked sailor, was informed that there were no coins in his vestry (Joh. Diac. *Vita S. Greg. Mag.* lib. i. c. 10). In these passages, however, as well as in several others quoted by Ducange, it may be doubted whether the *vestiarium* was an attachment of a church. It seems rather to have formed a portion of a royal or pontifical establishment.

Another point of resemblance between the ancient and the modern use of the vestry is

found in the fact that it was used as a place of meeting. From this it may be inferred that the vestry was sometimes a place of considerable size. The third, fourth, and fifth councils of Carthage were spoken of as *in secretario basilicae restitutae.* The synod of Arles was held "in secretario ecclesiae." The same is true of a multitude of other councils. Just as the modern word vestry means both the place where a meeting is held, and also the assembly or session that takes place there, so we find a similar transition in the Latin word *secretarium*, which at times means a part of a church, and at times a session of a council held in that part. Hence we get such phrases as "secretarium venturum" for the "coming session" (see *Conc. Rom.* ii. act. 1 ad fin.).

There were some other uses to which the vestry was at times appropriated. Du Cange (in Paul. Silent. p. 594) shews that it was sometimes used as a place of confinement for delinquent ecclesiastics, and pope Gregory II. in a letter to the emperor Isaurus contrasts the actions of a secular with that of a spiritual judge. The former confiscates, hangs, beheads; but the latter places the gospel and the cross about the culprit's neck, shuts him in the vestry, and puts fasting in his stomach, vigil in his eyes and doxology in his mouth.

Sometimes the vestry became the lodging of an ecclesiastic. Sulpicius Severus relates that St. Martin had his lodging "in secretario ecclesiae," and that after his decease all the Virgins burst into the apartment, licked the several spots where the saint had sat or stood, and appropriated the straw upon which he had lain. Bingham (*Antiq.* VIII. vii. 8) shews that the vestry was also called *receptorium* and *salutatorium*, as being the scene of pastoral intercourse between clergy and people. [H. T. A.]

**VEXILLUM.** (1) The principal Christian banner has already been described under LABARUM. From an ancient period banners were carried in processions, the bearers of which were called DRACONARII or *vexilliferi.* When Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* v. 4) speaks of a procession to a basilica "post crucem praecedentibus signis," we are no doubt to understand that a cross headed the procession, followed by banners. Similarly Honorius of Autun (*Gemma Animae*, i. 72) says, "ante nos crux et vexilla geruntur." An old use of Sarum ordered a banner of sackcloth to be carried in the procession at the Reconciliation of Penitents. (2) The word *vexillum* is sometimes applied to the processional cross itself (Durandus, Innocent III.) [C.]

**VIATICUM.** This word, which occurs frequently in classical authors denoting "provision for a journey," is, together with its Greek equivalent ἐφόδιον, often used in early Christian writings to denote the Eucharist, generally, but not always, as the communion given to a sick person before impending death. "This mystery is sometimes called 'viaticum,' because, if any one enjoys it on the way, he will arrive at that life which he already has within himself" (*Car. Mag.* lib. vii. 101). "This word 'viaticum' is the name of communion, that is to say, 'the guardianship of the way,' for it guards the soul until it shall stand before the judgment-seat of Christ" (*Synodus Hibernensis*, lib. ii. c. 16, Wasserschleben's edit. p. 20).

The phrase τὰ ἐφόδια τοῦ Θεοῦ is used by St. Clement in a passage (Ep. 1 ad Cor. cap. ii.) which need not necessarily bear, although it is not incapable of bearing, a Eucharistic reference, but which is usually interpreted as involving a general reference to the "doctrines and means of salvation," as where the same phrase is used by St. Basil (*Ep.* lvii., ccxlix. *ad Melet.* tom. iii. pp. 157, 384) and by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, of faith (*Hom. Catechet.* v. § 12). The phrase ἐφόδιον ζωῆς ἀϊδίου is employed by St. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 33), which is like the words ἐφόδιον ζωῆς αἰωνίου, which occur in the liturgies of St. James, St. Basil, and St. Mark, with a necessarily Eucharistic meaning (in the Prayer of Thanksgiving, Hammond, *Liturgies*, etc. p. 191). Bede, in his account of the death-bed of Caedmon, speaks of his last communion as "caeleste viaticum" (*H. E.* iv. 24), and describes its reception in his hand. Amalarius speaks of the "viaticum morientis" (*de Eccl. Off.* iii. 35). The expression ἐφόδιον τῆς σωτηρίας occurs in an Eastern formula of indulgence (Goar, *Euchólog.* p. 682). The earliest extant conciliar direction on the subject is can. xiii. of the council of Nice, ordaining that "none, even of the lapsed, shall be deprived of the last and most necessary viaticum (τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ἐφοδίου), but let the old canonical law be observed . . . let the bishop, upon examination, give the oblation to all who desire to partake of the Eucharist upon the point of death." This direction is re-enforced in varying phraseology by the following councils: iv. Carth. cc. 76, 77, 79; i. Araus. c. 3; ii. Vasens. c. 2; Gerundens. c. 9; ii. Arelat. c. 28; Agath. c. 15; Epaon. c. 36; iii. Aurel. c. 6; i. Matisc. 12; xi. Tolet. c. 11. By all these canons the administration of the viaticum is enjoined, even to apostates and parricides, without waiting for the fulfilment of the incurred course of penitential discipline, although stipulating for its completion in case of recovery. Another relaxation of church rule lay in the fact that it was permitted to be received by persons not fasting. Cardinal Bona calls this exemption a "praxis ecclesiae ubique recepta," but gives no authorities for his statement (*Rer. Lit.* i. c. xxi. § 2). Alcuin refers to its *immediate* administration in such cases as a "lex antiqua regularisque" (*de Div. Off.* p. 79, edit. Hittorp.), but the abolition of this formal pre-requisite of fasting seems to be a tacit inference or unwritten custom rather than an explicit dispensation resting on conciliar enactment.

The language of the canons recently quoted throws no light on the question whether the death-bed Eucharist involved reservation or otherwise; but there is plentiful evidence from other sources that the dying person was usually communicated from the reserved sacrament [RESERVATION]. It was carried in a vessel called a CHRISMAL [p. 356], and various penalties were assigned by St. Columbanus for dropping it accidentally, or leaving it behind through negligence (*Reg. Coenob.* xv.). The capitularies of Charlemagne order that "the priest should always have the Eucharist in readiness, that if any one is ill, and if a child is ill, he may communicate him at once, that he may not die without communion" (lib. i. c. 161). Sometimes, but rarely, there seems to have been a private

and special celebration of the Eucharist in a sick man's house. Paulinus, bishop of Nola (409–31), had an altar in his sick chamber, at which he consecrated the Eucharist not long before his death (Uranius, *Vit. Paulin.* § 2). Such was possibly the object of the invitation to St. Ambrose to offer the sacrifice in a private house at Rome (Paulin. *Vit. Ambros.* as quoted by Bingham without further reference, but in chap. xlvii. Paulinus evidently refers to the reserved Eucharist).

It has been a subject of discussion whether the viaticum was administered in one or in both kinds. Bede describes a dying boy as refreshed "viatico Dominici corporis et sanguinis accepto," although the words which describe his act of communion have been sometimes interpreted to refer to one kind only, "simul et infirmanti puero de eodem sacrificio Dominicae *oblationis particulam* deferri mandavit" (*H. E.* iv. 14). The same inference has been drawn from the language in which the communion of Serapion is described by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 44). But if the decision of the question is to turn upon the use of the singular or plural number, counter evidence is supplied by the description of the reserved Eucharist found on St. Cuthbert's body, "oblatis super sanctum corpus positis" (Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. p. 44, edit. 1858). This tallies with other and direct evidence that a sick person was usually communicated in both species (Concil. Tolet. c. xi. Reginon. lib. 1, *de Eccles. Discip.* cap. 119). The decolorization of the reserved sacrament alluded to as a test of its corruption in the *Regula S. Columbani*, c. xv. possibly points to the twofold but conjoint reservation of both elements. The Eastern custom of the simultaneous administration of both reserved elements is implied in the wording of the formulae in several ancient Western service-books, *e.g.* in the offices for the Communion of the Sick in the Celtic books of Deer, Dimma, and Moling: "Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi filii Dei vivi conservet animam tuam in vitam perpetuam" (*Book of Dimma*, fol. 53 b). "Corpus cum sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi sanctus sit tibi in vitam aeternam" [perpetuam et salutem, *Book of Deer*] (*Book of Moling*, ad fin. Ev. S. Mat.).

The formula in an ancient Ambrosian ordo, quoted by Gerbertus (*Liturg. Aleman.* ii. 487), is still more explicit: "Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sanguine suo inlitum intinctum, mundet te ab omni peccato."

Here there is a literal compliance with an order of the council of Tours (A.D. 813), which enacted in reference to the viaticum that "sacra oblatio intincta debet esse in sanguine Christi, ut veraciter presbyter possit dicere infirmo, corpus et sanguis Domini proficiat tibi," &c. (Gerbert, *de Liturg. Aleman.* disquis. v. c. iii. § 4). There was a curious provision sometimes made (iv. Conc. Carthag. can. 76; xi. Toled. can. xi.), that in case of extreme infirmity the sick person might be communicated in one kind only, from the chalice, its liquid contents being poured into his mouth when he was unable to swallow solid food.

It was the office of the deacon to convey the viaticum to the dying, as it was his duty to take the Eucharist to the absent in Justin Martyr's time (*Apol.* i. 65); but in cases of emergency any ordinary messenger might be despatched with it, as in the case of that sent to the dying Serapion under the circumstances described by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, and recorded by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 44). This permission to employ any agent was afterwards abolished as derogatory to the dignity of the Eucharist (Concil. Remens. A.D. 813, Regino, lib. i. *de Eccles. Discip.* cap. 120), but several later visitation articles and episcopal inquiries prove that the custom became by no means immediately extinct.

In cases where the sick man was both anointed and communicated, the unction seems usually to have preceded the viaticum (Ivo Carnotens. *Decret.* p. xv. c. 35; Martene, lib. i. c. vii. art. 2, and the early ritual offices preserved there), but this was not always or necessarily the case. Sometimes the order was inverted (Caesarii *Serm.* 265, in appendice S. Aug. *Op.* tom. v.; Migne, *Bib. Pat. Lat.* tom. xxxix.), but the evidence for early usage on this point is deficient, the earliest ordines "visitandi infirmum" or "ungendi infirmos" not belonging in their present form to a period before the 9th century (Mabillon, *Lit. Gall.* lib. i. c. 9; Gerbert, *Vet. Lit. Aleman.* pars ii. Disquis. 5; Martene, *de Antiq. Eccles. Rit.* lib. i. c. vii. art. vii.). Compare UNCTION, p. 2004.

ii. A title (ἐφόδιον) sometimes given to baptism in allusion to that sacrament being the spiritual provision for Christians in their way through this life (Basil. Hom. xiii. *de Bapt.* p. 480, edit. Paris, 1618). To administer the rite of baptism is termed ἐφοδιάζειν by Greg. Naz. (Orat. xl. *de Bapt.* p. 644, edit. 1630; Suiceri *Thes. Eccles.* sub voc.) [F. E. W.]

**VIATOR**, Oct. 21, martyr, minister of Justus bishop of Lyons (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.); Oct. 20, translatio (Notker.); Dec. 14, depositio at Lyons (*Mart.* Flor.; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**VIBIANUS** (BIBIANUS), Aug. 28, bishop, confessor at Saintes (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Wand.). [C. H.]

**VICAR.** Though the term *vicarius*, or *vicarius generalis*, is later than the period with which we are concerned, it is, from the nature of the case, probable that bishops who were either infirm or oppressed by extraordinary labours must sometimes have had an assistant, who corresponded more or less to the "Vicar-General" of modern times. In fact, Touttée (Cyrilli *Opp.*, *Vita S. Cyr.* Diss. i. c. 3, p. 8) does not scruple to call Cyril, who had acted as assistant to his predecessor in catechising and other episcopal offices, the Vicar-General of Jerusalem. So Vincentius (Ruinart, *Acta MM.* p. 366, ed. 1713) acted as the vicar of Valerius, bishop of Saragossa, so far as preaching was concerned. Paulinus (in Ruinart, p. 251) describes the presbyter Felix of Nola as assisting the successive bishops Maximus and Quintus. Gregory of Nazianzus, as he himself declares (*Oratio* xviii. p. 327), while still a presbyter, assisted his father, who was bishop of the same see, and afterwards performed similar offices towards Basil the Great at Caesarea. Basil had himself performed similar services for Eusebius (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xx. p. 340). In Constantinople the CHARTOPHYLAX was a kind of vicar-

general to the patriarch. For episcopal assistants, see COADJUTOR, p. 398. (Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Bd. I. Th. ii. p. 415 ff.; Alteserrae *Asceticon*, ii. 13). [C.]

**VICTOR (1)**, Jan. 22, martyr, commemorated at Embrun with Vincentius and Orontius (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker., *Rom.*).

**(2)** Jan. 31, martyr, commemorated at Alexandria with Saturninus and Thyrsus (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, *Rom.*).

**(3)** Corinthian martyr under Decius, commemorated on Jan. 31 with Victorinus, Nicephorus, Claudianus, Diodorus, Serapion, Papias (Basil. *Menol.*); Jan. 30 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). Feb. 25 under Numerian in Egypt (*Mart.* Usuard. *Vet. Rom.*, Adon., Notker., *Rom.*); Apr. 5 (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.*); Mar. 6 at Nicomedia (*Hieron.*); Mar. 6 at Nicomedia with Victorinus, having been tortured three years with Claudianus and his wife Bassa (Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon., *Rom.*, Notker., Wand.; Boll. *Acta SS. Mart.* i. 423).

**(4)** Mar. 30, commemorated at Thessalonica with Domninus (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Notker., Wand., *Rom.*).

**(5)** Apr. 1, martyr, commemorated in Egypt with Stephanus (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, *Rom.*); May 8 (Usuard., *Hieron.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. ii. 299).

**(6)** Apr. 18, martyr under Diocletian, commemorated with Acindynus, Zoticus, Zeno, Severianus (Basil. *Menol.*); Apr. 20 (*Mart. Rom.*; *Menol. Graec.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. ii. 747).

**(7)** Apr. 20, bishop of Rome, martyr (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*); July 28 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. vi. 534, where see the natale discussed; Aug. 1 (Flor.).)

**(8)** MAURUS, May 8, martyr under Maximian, commemorated at Milan (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Wand., *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. ii. 288).

**(9)** May 14, martyr with Corona under Antoninus, commemorated in Syria (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, Notker., Wand.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 265); elsewhere Feb. 20 (*Hieron.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 173).

**(10)** July 21, soldier, martyr at Marseilles under Diocletian (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*; Notker., *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. v. 142).

**(11)** July 24, soldier, martyr at Merida with his brothers Stercatius and Antinogenus (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. v. 535).

**(12)** (VICTORIUS, VICTURIUS, VICTURUS), Aug. 25, bishop of Le Mans cir. A.D. 619 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. v. 140).

**(13)** (VICTORIUS, VICTURIUS), Sept. 1, bishop of Le Mans, cir. A.D. 690 (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Flor.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 220).

**(14)** Sept. 10, martyr in Africa in the time of Decius and Valerian with Felix, Litteus, Polianus, and others (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Notker., *Rom.*).

**(15)** Sept. 10, martyr with Sosthenes at Chalcedon (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., Wand., *Rom.*).

**(16)** Sept. 14, martyr with Cyprianus Crescentianus, Rosula, Generalis, and others (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Rom.*).

**(17)** Sept. 22, martyr of the Thebaean Legion (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, *Rom.*). [THEBAEA LEGIO.]

**(18)** Sept. 30, martyr with Ursus, both of the Thebaean Legion (Usuard.; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. viii. 261); his translation commemorated at Milan (*Mart. Hieron.*).

**(19)** Oct. 10, martyr in the territory of Cologne (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., *Hieron.*, Notker., Wand., *Rom.*).

**(20)** Nov. 11, martyr under Antoninus, commemorated with Mennas and Vincentius (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 274).

**(21)** Nov. 13, martyr, commemorated at Ravenna, with Solutor and Valentinus (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*); Mar. 26 (*Hieron.*, here calling him Pictor; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 617).

**VICTORIA (1)**, Nov. 17, martyr with Acisclus at Cordova (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.).

**(2)** Dec. 23, virgin, martyr under Decius, commemorated at Rome (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**VICTORIANUS (1)**, Mar. 23, proconsul of Carthage, martyr under Hunneric, commemorated in Africa with Frumentius (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 460).

**(2)** May 16, martyr with Aquilinus in Isauria (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*, Notker.). [C. H.]

**VICTORICUS**, Dec. 11, martyr under Maximian, commemorated at Amiens with Gentianus and Fuscianus (*Mart.* Usuard., Flor., *Hieron.*, Wand., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**VICTORINUS (1)** Mar. 6, martyr at Nicomedia (*Syr. Mart.*). For references to him as the companion of Victor and commemorated with him on other days, see VICTOR (3).

**(2)** Apr. 15, martyr under Trajan or Nerva, commemorated in Italy with Maro and Eutyches (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*).

**(3)** July 7, martyr, commemorated at Rome with Nicostratus, Claudius, and others (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon. *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*).

**(4)** July 19, martyr, commemorated at Synnada with Macedonius and others (*Syr. Mart.*).

**(5)** Sept. 5, martyr, brother of Severinus, commemorated at Rome (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*); on the question of his identity see Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. ii. 489.

**(6)** Nov. 2, bishop of Poictiers, "episcopus Pitabionensis," martyr in the Diocletian persecution (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Rom.*).

**(7)** Nov. 8, one of the four crowned martyrs [CORONATI QUATUOR]. [C. H.]

**VICTORIUS (1)**, May 21, martyr, commemorated at Caesarea in Cappadocia with

Polyeuctus and Donatus (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Notker.); Victorinus (*Mart. Rom.*), Victurus (*Mart. Hieron.*).

(2) Aug. 25 [VICTOR (12)].

(3) Sept. 1 [VICTOR (13)].

**VICTURUS** or **VICTURIUS** [VICTOR (12), (13)].

**VIGILIUS**, Jan. 31, bishop of Trent, martyr (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*); Jun. 26 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. v. 165). [C. H.]

**VIGILS** (*Vigiliae*). (1) For the custom of waking in the night for prayer and psalmody, see HOURS OF PRAYER, p. 798.

(2) As a preparation for the greater festivals, vigils were observed in churches for the whole or the greater part of the night. These were called by the Greeks παννυχίδες, by the Latins *Pervigilia*, or *Pernoctationes.* Of such Chrysostom speaks (*Hom.* 4, *de Verbis Esaiae;* vi. 121 B, ed. Montfaucon). "See the holy night-long vigils linking day to day." Such vigils preceded not only the great festivals, such as Easter and Pentecost, but also the Sabbath and the Lord's Day (Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 8). But especially in the case of a martyr it was the custom of the faithful to pass the night preceding his festival in the church which covered his remains, or in one dedicated to him. Thus Chrysostom (*Hom. de Martyr.* ii. 668 D) says that on the eve of a martyr's festival the faithful had turned night into day by their holy watchings (διὰ τῶν παννυχίδων τῶν ἱερῶν). Against such watchings at the end of the 4th century Vigilantius (Hieron. *c. Vigilant.* p. 395, Vallarsi) protested, as giving occasion for riot and disorder, and Jerome defended them with his accustomed vigour. Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epist.* v. 17, in Sirmondi *Opp. Var.* i. 569) describing the celebration of the anniversary of St. Justus at Lyons, mentions the preceding vigil. "We went to the church," he says, "before dawn; there was a concourse of both sexes, greater than the spacious church would hold. After the vigil-office, which was sung antiphonally by the monks and clergy, we separated, going however to no great distance, to be ready for the third hour [nine o'clock in the morning], when we were to join with the priests in the divine office." Here the vigil appears to have begun at an early hour in the morning, not on the evening preceding the festival. Such vigil-offices consisted of prayers, LECTIONS [see p. 252] and psalms, and at least occasionally included preaching (Caesarius of Arles, *Sermon.* 285 and 300, in Augustine's Works).

The interval which Sidonius mentions between the vigil and the service of the day was a cause of great disorder. There was often dancing and singing, not only in the neighbouring houses, but in the out-buildings of the church, and even in the church itself. As early as the year 305 the council of Eliberis (c. 35) prohibited women from keeping vigil in cemeteries on account of their excesses. A constitution of king Childebert (Hardouin, *Concilia*, iii. 334) notices the riots which took place at vigils. Binterim (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, V. ii. 154) quotes an article of inquiry from Theodore of Canterbury, complaining of the indecent sports which were sometimes practised in vigils.

There is in early times no indication that fasting was a condition of a vigil. Chrysostom, indeed, in the homily delivered at Antioch after the earthquake (ii. 718 B.), seems to speak as if fasting was connected with the vigil; but this was on a very special occasion of humiliation. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* x. 31) says that Perpetuus, in the latter half of the 5th century, arranged the fasts and vigils which were to be observed throughout the year, but there is nothing to indicate that the fasts and the vigils were identical. Nicetus, however (*De Vigiliis*, c. 4, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, iii. 6), does warn his monks to prepare themselves by abstinence for a vigil as for a divine mystery. Pope Nicholas I. (858–867) in his *Responsio ad Bulgaros* (Mansi, xv. 420) enjoins a fast before the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and before the Nativity of the Lord. Regino (*Concil. Germ.* ii. 482) quotes a canon of uncertain date, in which presbyters are desired to give notice to the people not only of festivals to be observed but also of vigil-fasts (jejunia vigiliarum). We may say therefore that the observance of a vigil by fasting came to be usual not later than the 9th century. Vigils are of rare occurrence in the oldest calendars. [CALENDAR, p. 258.]

(Bingham, *Antiq.* XIII. ix. 4; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Bd. V. Th. ii. p. 152 ff.) [C.]

**VIGOR**, Nov. 1, bishop of Bayeux, confessor (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*). [C. H.]

**VINCENTIUS** (1), Jan. 22, deacon, martyr in Spain (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Flor., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*, Notker., Wand.; Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 394); commemorated this day in the Gregorian Sacramentary, being named in the collect and Ad Complendum. He is also celebrated in the *Liber Antiphonarius* of Gregory, p. 664.

(2) Jan. 22, martyr, commemorated with Orontius and Victor at Embrun (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker., *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 389).

(3) Apr. 19, martyr at Colibre (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. ii. 621).

(4) May 24, martyr at Portus Romanus (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. v. 281).

(5) Abbat of Lerins, commemorated on May 24 in modern martyrologies (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. v. 284).

(6) June 9, deacon, martyr at Agen (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 166).

(7) July 24, martyr, commemorated at Rome on the Via Tiburtina (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*); July 23 (*Hieron.*, Notker.).

(8) Aug. 25, martyr under Commodus, commemorated with Eusebius, Pontianus, Peregrinus (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*)

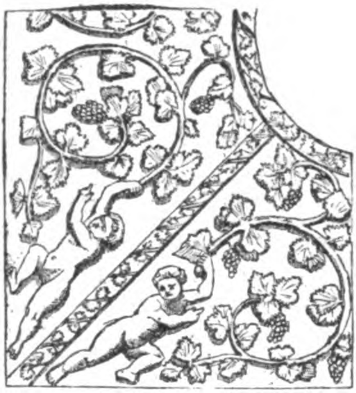
(9) Oct. 27, martyr at Avila, commemorated with Sabina and Christeta (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Wand., *Rom.*).

(10) Nov. 11, martyr, commemorated with Mennas, Victor, Stephanus (Basil. *Menol.*;

*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 274).

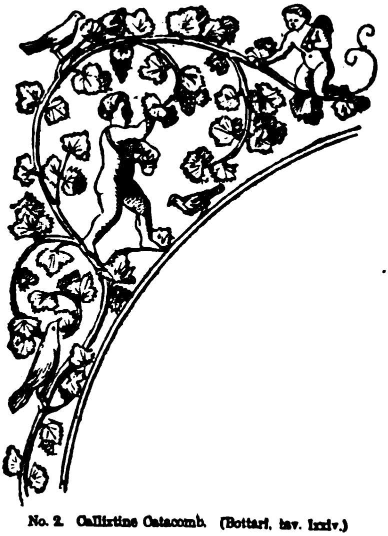
There was a church named after St. Vincentius at Constantinople in the reign of Justinian (Theoph. *Chronog.* p. 196, ann. A.C. 550; Du Cange, *Cpolis. Christ.* lib. iv. p. 196). [C. H.]

**VINE (IN ART).** (See John xv. 1; Psalm lxxix.; Isaiah v.). The vine is the most ancient subject of Christian art, perhaps without excepting the Good Shepherd, with which it is so frequently combined [see SHEPHERD, THE GOOD]. It is one of the foremost of the symbols chosen by our Lord Himself from the natural things around Him, as the ancient vines on Mount Olivet still remind the traveller. Its earliest examples



No. 1. From a tomb on the Latin Way. (Bottari, tav. xciii.)

in Christian fresco are probably the vine of St. Domitilla [FRESCO, p. 693], and those of St. Praetextatus (*ib.*). The stuccoes of the tomb on the Latin Way, woodcut No. 1 (Bottari, tav.



No. 2. Callixtine Catacomb. (Bottari, tav. lxxiv.)

xciii.; Aringhi, ii. 29), certainly existed in Bosio's time, though now unknown, and seem to have been of the 2nd century. The great vine of the Callixtine Cemetery (woodcut No. 2) is probably of high antiquity, and is the best-known instance of the graceful naturalism of the Christian classic style of decoration (Bottari, tav. lxxiv.; Aringhi, i. 569). In mosaic, the vines of St. Constantia in Rome are perhaps the earliest example (see Parker's *Mosaics of Rome and Ravenna*, and a fine fac-simile in the South Kensington Museum). The vine of Galla Placidia's tomb, woodcut No. 3 (combined, like



No. 3. Tomb of Galla Placidia. (Parker's *Mosaics of Rome and Ravenna.*)

most of the others, with the Good or Royal Shepherd), dates about A.D. 450, and is highly interesting as compared with the stuccoes and also with the Callixtine vine.

The three modes of treatment are so distinctly related to each other and to the Domitilla example, and give so clear an illustration of the progress or retrogress from classic naturalism to Byzantine formalism of the highest order, still retaining classic beauty, that woodcuts are given here to illustrate them.

It is surprising to see how far the vine has shared the fate of the Good Shepherd, so as to exist no more as a sacred emblem after the first five or six centuries. Its heathen or ethnic or human use went on; but the use of the vine becomes idly decorative, in churches and houses alike. However, its sculpture is a little later than its painting, and as important. The porphyry sarcophagus of St. Constantia (Aringhi, ii. p. 157) has been photographed by Mr. Parker. See Aringhi, i. 307–9, for vines on unquestionably Christian sarcophagi, St. Constantia's being by no means certain. See also Parker, No. 2917, for a quaint and beautiful sarcophagus, evidently by some zealous and ingenious workman, perhaps of the 3rd century, who cared more for his subject than for the exemplaria Graeca of his art. Again, Bottari, i. p. 1. There was, in 1871, a curious sarcophagus in St. Vitale at Ravenna, where the mind of the sculptor seemed to have been bent on the vine and the acanthus at the same moment. The vine of the columns of Torcello is a late type of Graeco-Byzantine work of the highest order (*Stones of Venice*, ii. plate 3).

For the vine or grapes on lamps, see Aringhi, i. 517, for two examples, also ii. 648, with the Good Shepherd. Grapes are cut on tombs

of various kinds (Lupi, *Sev. Epitaph*, p. 182; Fabretti, 581). Martigny points to a strong resemblance between certain carvings of this kind at Lyons (De Boissieu, *Inscr. Antiq. de Lyons*, 1846–54) and Jewish coins in Calmet's *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. pl. 3, pp. 17–19. From this he infers that both Jews and Christians used the symbol each in their own sense, with reference to a Promised Land. This is confirmed by a glass in Garrucci (*Vetri*, tav. ii. No. 9), with the inscription, "In Deo, Anima Dulcis, Pie Zeses," which would certainly connect the sacramental and historical senses of the symbol. See also Millin, *Midi de la France*, pl. lix. 3, xxxviii. 8, for Gallic sarcophagi.

Nevertheless, as Martigny remarks with obvious truth, the eucharistic meaning of the vine or its fruit is later than its original or historic symbolism of the person of our Lord. The first written evidence on this point, he says, is that of Paschasius in the 9th century, *De Corpore et Sanguine Christi*, c. x. t. ix. *Bibl. Patrum*, ed. Colon. He mentions a sculpture in which genii with ears of corn are combined with others bearing grapes, of about the same date. It is an Arles sarcophagus (Millin, *Midi de la France*, pl. lviii. No. 5). There is an amethyst in the Royal Library at Turin (Perret, iv. pl. xvi. No. 52) with a vine-stock and grapes, having corn-ears on each side. Both these may point to the elements. But the real meaning of the vine of Christian symbolism is that assigned it by our Lord's words in St. John xv. He is the vine, His servants are the branches, bearing fruit only while they abide in Him. [R. St. J. T.]

**VIRGINS.** It is clear that in the course of the 2nd century there arose a strong current of feeling in favour of abstinence from marriage on the part of both men and women. This tendency is not found in Clement of Rome, nor in the Epistle of Barnabas, but it is apparent, though under allegorical forms, in the Shepherd of Hermas (*Sim.* 9, 10, 11). Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 15) speaks of "many men and women of sixty and seventy years old who have been disciples of Christ since infancy, and have kept themselves uncorrupted." Athenagoras (*Legat.* c. 32) uses almost similar language. Tatian (*adv. Graecos*, 32, 33) flings back upon the Gentiles their taunts at Christian virginity. At the end of the century the whole question of the relation of Christianity to marriage was brought prominently into discussion by the rise and prevalence of Montanism; and in the treatises of Tertullian, *de Velandis Virginibus* and *de Exhortatione Castitatis*, the Montanist view is set forth by a zealous advocate. In the next generation Origen (*c. Cels.* 7, 48) contrasts the Christians who dedicated themselves to a life of virginity for the sake of virginity itself with the pagan priestesses who did so only for the sake of worldly honour. In Cyprian we find, probably for the first time, the expression of the idea that virginity is in itself higher than marriage. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 3, p. 558) and Tertullian (*ad Uxor.* 1, 8) appear to agree with those who place married continence or widowhood above virginity on the ground that "facile est non appetere quod nescias;" but Cyprian gives the higher rank to virginity (*e. g. De Habitu Virg.* c. 23; *De Mortalit.* c. 26). In the Apostolical Constitutions the same relative rank appears to be implied in the metaphor, that whereas widows are the θυσιαστήριον, or altar of sacrifice, virgins are the θυμιατήριον, the altar upon which was offered the purer offering of incense (*Const. Apost.* 2, 23; 4, 3; it may be noted as one of the differences between the earlier and later books of the Apostolical Constitutions that in 2, 25 the order is 1, widows; 2, virgins; whereas in the third and later books the order is reversed). Athanasius speaks of the fact that girls of tender years took vows of perpetual virginity as a proof of the power of Christ in fostering the virtue of continence (*De Incarnat. Verb.* c. 51); and Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catches.* 4, 24, p. 64), following Cyprian (*de Habitu Virgin.* c. 22; so also Pseudo-Cyprian *de Bono Pudicitiae*, c. 7; S. Hieron. *Epist.* 107 (57) *ad Letam*, c. 13, S. August. *Epist.* 150), speaks of those who had taken such vows as living a life like that of the angels; but with the exception of the curious *Convivium decem Virginum* of Methodius (printed in Migne P. G. vol. xviii. 27 sqq.) the exaggerated praises of virginity which characterise some later literature are almost altogether absent from the genuine and orthodox writings of the first four centuries; those writings undoubtedly contain the germ of the later developments, but it is a significant fact that, when those later developments required the support of the earlier fathers, spurious treatises had to be manufactured, *e. g.* those of St. Athanasius *de Virginitate*, Migne, P. G. vol. xxviii. 251, and of St. Basil, *Op.* ed. Bened. vol. i. p. 618. The more sober view of the church seems to be expressed in the language which the Apostolical Constitutions put into the mouth of the apostles: "About virginity we have received no commandment; but we permit it as a vow to those who wish it, only urging this upon them—that they make not any profession rashly. . . . For one who has made a profession, doing works that are worthy of her profession, must shew that her profession is true, and that it is made to give her leisure for religion, and not to cast a slur upon marriage" (*Const. Apost.* 4, 14).

Those girls or women who thus devoted themselves to lives of virginity came in time to form a separate class or "ordo" in the church. In the single passage of the genuine, or approximately genuine, letters of Ignatius which refers to them, they are apparently co-ordinated with widows (*ad Smyrn.* c. 13. The text of the passage is obscure, and has given rise to much discussion; the view here taken is that of Zahn in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Patres Apostolici*, fasc. ii. p. 95, which is strongly confirmed by the gloss on the corresponding passage in the interpolated epistle, and also by Pseudo-Ignat. *ad Philipp.* c. 15). Polycarp (*ad Philipp.* c. 4, 5) treats in succession of wives, widows, young men, and virgins, which may be taken as an indication that virgins had not as yet acquired the distinct status which they ultimately had; nor do they appear to have had such a status at the time when the earlier books of the Apostolical Constitutions were written; nor is there any certain evidence of their being regarded as a distinct "ordo" until the 4th century. This order of "holy virgins," or "church virgins" (παρθένοι ἅγιαι or ἐκκλησιαστικαί), is found at

Jerusalem (Sozom. *H. E.* 2, 2; Socrat. *H. E.* 1, 17), where the empress Helena assembled them and waited on them at supper; in Persia (Sozom. 2, 11, 12); at Alexandria, where Constantine writes, after the death of Arius, to the "clerks and holy virgins," enjoining quietness (*ibid.* 2, 31); and at Nicomedia (*ibid.* 8, 23). Their existence is also implied in the fact that Constantine directed provincial governors to make an annual provision for them as well as for widows (Incert. Auct. de Constant. ap. Haenel, *Corpus Legum*, p. 196). The extent of their existence may be measured by the violence of the Arian reaction against them; whatever was prized by the Catholic party was profaned by the Arian party; and this comparatively new institution of an order of holy virgins seems to have excited an especial spirit of antagonism. The indignities to which the virgins were subjected are mentioned by many contemporary writers, *e. g.* St. Athanas. *Epist. Encycl.* c. 3, *Apol. ad Constant. Imp.* c. 33; Socrat. *H. E.* 2, 28; S. Hilar. Pictav. *ad Constant. Aug.* i. 6, and *Fragm. Hist.* 2, 3; 3, 9, ap. Migne, P. L. vol. x. pp. 561, 633, 665; S. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* 43 *in laud. Basil. M.* c. 46, p. 805; and *Orat.* 33, c. *Arianos*, c. 3, p. 605. A similar inference may be drawn from the pagan reaction under Julian; that part of that reaction was directed against this institution of virgins is clear from S. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* 4; *c. Julian.* c. 87, p. 121, and Sozom. *H. E.* 5, 5, who mentions that Julian went so far as to require virgins and widows who, under the regulation of Constantine, had received allowances from the state to refund them. After this time the references to them are frequent. Basil (*Epist. Canon.* 2 *ad Amphiloch.* c. 18) and Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cateches.* 4, 24, p. 64) speak of τὸ τάγμα τῶν παρθένων; and, probably about the same time, the spurious epistles of Ignatius speak of τὸ σύστημα τῶν παρθένων (*ad Philipp.* c. 15) and exhort Christians to honour them as consecrated to Christ (*ad Tars.* c. 9). As an "ordo" or class they were τὸ τάγμα τῶν παρθένων (S. Basil, Epist. Canon. 2, ad Amphiloch. c. 18; S. Cyrill. Hierosol. *Cateches.* 4, 24, p. 64; so, probably about the same time, τὸ σύστημα τῶν παρθένων Pseudo-Ignat. *ad Philipp.* c. 15. As individuals, they were, like the Virgin Mary who was constantly held before them as their pattern, "handmaids of the Lord" (δούλη τοῦ Θεοῦ on a tombstone at Smyrna, A.D. 540; *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* no. 9277; cf. *ibid.* nos. 9286, 9324, 9448; so in the West "puella Dei," 1 Conc. Tolet. c. 6).

It is not clear by what external signs the vow of virginity was indicated in the first three centuries. There is no mention of any special ceremony, and the fact of Cyprian writing an exhortatory treatise, *De Habitu Virginum*, in which he urges those who had taken such a vow to have nothing to do with worldly ornaments ("quid istae cum terreno cultu et cum ornamentis," c. 5), shews that as yet there was no special dress. But in the course of the fourth century two external signs of the vow came to be adopted, the wearing of a dark-coloured dress, and the ceremony of being vested with a veil. The first of these was but partially adopted in the time of Jerome: "solent *quaedam* cum futuram virginem spoponderint pulla tunica eam induere et furvo operire pallio, auferre linteamenta; . . . . aliis vero e contra videtur" (S. Hieron. *Epist.* 128 (98) *ad Gaudent.* vol. i. p. 961, ed. Vallars.; cf. id. *Epist.* 107 (57) *ad Laetam*, c. 5, vol. i. p. 683; *Epist.* 24 (21) *ad Marcellam*, vol. i. p. 129). A few years later Leo the Great speaks of "virginitatis propositum atque habitum," as though by that time the adoption of a special dress had become usual (S. Leon. M. *Epist.* 167 *ad Rustic. Narbon.* c. 15, vol. i. p. 1426). Such a change of dress was not only a voluntary act, but was not necessarily attended by any special ceremony: a Spanish council of the seventh century forbids any who have adopted it to return to the secular life (10 Conc. Tolet. A.D. 656, c. 5), but this stern rule does not appear elsewhere, and the fact of its being enacted and of the severe penalties by which it had to be enforced, shews that it had not up to that time been universally recognised even in Spain. The second mark of the adoption of a vow of virginity seems to have arisen out of the metaphor which is found as early as the time of Cyprian (e.g. *Epist.* 4 (62), p. 472, ed. Hartel), and which is treated as a common expression by Athanasius (*Apol. ad Constantin. Imp.* c. 33), that a girl who had vowed virginity was a "bride of Christ." The poetry of the metaphor (which survives *e.g.* in Methodius, *Convic. Dec. Virg.* Orat. 11, c. 1, p. 207, where the virgins sing a hymn with the beautiful refrain, νυμφίε, ὑπαντάνω σοι) was translated into visible acts. The virgin was publicly vested with the bridal veil ("flammeum Christi," S. Hieron. *Epist.* 147 (93) *ad Sabinian.* vol. i. p. 1090; *Epist.* 108 (86) *ad Eustoch.* vol. i. p. 723). This was a solemn and irrevocable act. It could only be performed (*a*) by a bishop, and, (*b*) apparently, on a great festival; for the latter point, cf. Ambros. *Exhort. Virgin.* c. 7, vol. ii. p. 288, "venit paschae dies, in toto orbe baptismi sacramenta celebrantur, velantur sacrae virgines;" Gelasius, *Epist. ad Episc. Lucan.* = *Decret. General.* c. 14, ap. Hinschius, p. 652, allows Epiphany, Easter, or the Nativity of an apostle; for the former point cf. S. Hieron. *Epist.* 130 (97) *ad Demetriad.* vol. i. p. 976, scio quod ad imprecationem *pontificis* flammeum virginalem sanctum operuerit caput; the absolute restriction of the veiling of a virgin to a bishop belongs to an African council of uncertain date, 2 Conc. Carthag. c. 3, and to later times, 2 Conc. Hispal. A.D. 618, c. 7, Conc. Rotom. A.D. 650, c. 9, 6 Conc. Paris, A.D. 829, lib. i. c. 41, 43, in all of which presbyters are prohibited; Caroli M. *Capit. Aquisgran.* A.D. 789, c. 75, prohibits abbesses; on the other hand 3 Conc. Carth. c. 36, allows presbyters to act with the consent of the bishop. The reason for this restriction to bishops was probably the desire to uphold the dignity of the profession of chastity; it was fitting that the "sanctiores purioresque hostiae," who were thus offered upon the altar of God, should be offered "per summum sacerdotem" (*Epist. ad Claudiam sororem de Virginitate*, c. 1, ascribed erroneously to Sulpicius Servius, and printed by Halm as an appendix to his works in the Vienna *Corpus Script. Lat.* vol. i.).

The act of veiling came to be accompanied with ceremonies. Basil speaks of the vow being taken "before God and angels and men, the venerable gathering of clergy, the holy band of virgins, the assembly of the Lord and the church of the saints" (S. Basil. *Epist.* 46 (5) *ad Virg. Laps.* p. 136). Augustine seems to imply that

there was a feast (*Epist.* 150 *ad Prob. et Julian.* ap. Migne, P. L. vol. xxxiii. 645, "velationis *apophoretum* gratissime accepimus," but the expression may be metaphorical). The treatise *De Lapsu Virginis consecratae*, c. 5 (sometimes ascribed to Ambrose, and printed in his works, vol. ii. p. 305; more recently, on the strength of an Epinal MS. of the eighth century, ascribed to Nicetas, bishop of Romaciana in Servia; see De Lisle, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1877, p. 274), gives a vivid account of the ceremonies which had taken place when the lapsed (*i.e.* married) sister had taken her vow "in tanto tamque solemni conventu ecclesiae Dei [*sc.* at Easter], inter lumina neophytorum splendida, inter candidatos regni coelestis quasi Regi nuptura processeras;" the epithalamium of Solomon, Psalm xlv., had been sung over her; and the prayers of the assembled people in their shouted "Amen" had been, as it were, her spiritual dowry. The earliest of the later rituals is probably that of the Missale Francorum ap. Muratori *Lit. Rom. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 460, which for the most part coincides with the Leonine Sacramentary, *ibid.* vol. i. p. 719, the Gelasian Sacramentary, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 222, and the Gregorian Sacramentary, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 786; the ritual of Hittorp's *Ordo Romanus*, p. 141, contains the same prayers with others, and with some rubrical directions; that of the Codex Maffeianus (Muratori, vol. iii. p. 103) is different.

There was the further distinction between those who had "changed their dress" and those who had "taken the veil," that for the latter there was a limit of age. Basil (*Epist. Canon.* 2 *ad Amphiloch.* c. 18) allows it at the age of sixteen or seventeen. Ambrose mentions that in his time there was a controversy whether the veiling of virgins should not be deferred until they were of mature years, and decides that it is a question of sobriety of character and not of lapse of time (S. Ambros. *de Virginitate*, c. 7, vol. ii. p. 223). But in the course of the fifth century the civil law disallows the veiling of virgins until they are forty years old, and enacts that any one who causes a virgin to be veiled before that age is to be fined a third of his goods (Novell. Majorian, tit. 6, c. 1, § 1, 2, A.D. 458, ed. Haenel, p. 306; so Conc. Caesaraugust. A.D. 381? c. 8). The council of Agde (A.D. 506 c. 19) and the Liber Pontificalis (*Vit. S. Leon. M.* p. 67) fix a still later period, viz., that of sixty years of age; but the African code (*Cod. Eccles. Afric.* c. 16) and in later times the Carolingian capitularies (*Capit. Francofurt.* A.D. 794, c. 46, ap. Pertz. M. H. G. *Legum*, vol. i. p. 74, Hludowici I. *Capit. Aquisgran.* A.D. 817, c. 26 ap. Pertz, M. H. G. *Legum*, vol. i. p. 209) fix the age at twenty-five. Later canonists made a distinction between (1) the "velum professionis," which might be taken at twelve years of age; (2) "velum consecrationis" at twenty-five; (3) "velum ordinationis" at forty; (4) "velum praelationis" at sixty; (5) "velum continentiae," which was proper to widows, and for which no age is specified (Silvester Prieras, *i.e.* Mazolinus, *Silvestrina Summa*, s.v. Consecratio, ed. Antwerp, 1581, p. 173; Durandus, *Rationale*, ii. 1, 45, puts these in a different order).

In order to protect the virginity of those who had taken the vow arose the custom of secluding them. The custom existed as early as the time of Tertullian, who speaks of it as one which prevailed in some churches of both Greece and Africa (*de Veland. Virg.* c. 2). The first mention of special houses in which such virgins lived together is in the middle of the fourth century; Eleusius was banished by Julian for having founded παρθενῶνας at Cyzicus (Sozom. *H. E.* v. 15); Basil is said to have founded παρθενῶνας (S. Gregor. Naz. *Orat.* 43 *in laud. S. Basil. M.* c. 62, vol. i. p. 817); and Ambrose speaks of a "sacrarium virginitatis" as existing at Bologna (*de Virginibus*, i. 10, vol. ii. p. 160). In these houses an organization prevailed; Sozomen (*H. E.* 8. 23) speaks of the virgin Nicarete, whom he praises as the best woman he ever knew, as having refused frequent solicitations to preside over the church virgins; and of Matrona as having been τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων ἡγουμένη; so also Athanasius in his life of the monk Anthony speaks of his sister as having been placed early in life in a παρθένων, where she afterwards became καθηγουμένη τῶν ἄλλων παρθένων (S. Athanas. *Vit. S. Anton.* c. 2, 54, vol. i. pp. 634, 668).

Ultimately this seclusion became the rule; those who vowed virginity, whether they had merely "changed their dress" and were "professae," or whether they had received the veil and were "velatae," or "consecratae," lived in monasteries and were nuns. For their history and organization reference must be made to other articles (NUN; MONASTERY).

A virgin who married after taking a vow was subject always to censure, and sometimes to penalties. Cyprian spoke of such an one as "non mariti sed Christi adultera" (*de Habitu Virgin.* c. 20 and *Epist.* 4 (62), ed. Hartel, p. 476), and the phrase was often repeated, *e. g.* by Basil, *Epist.* 46 (5) *ad Virginem lapsam*, p. 138; but Augustine repudiates it, and will not allow that marriage after a vow of continence is adultery (*de Bono Viduitatis*, c. 10). Leo the Great treats it as a case of "praevaricatio" or double-dealing (*Epist.* 167 *ad Rustic. Narbon.* c. 15); but both Jerome (*adv. Jovin.* lib. i. 15, vol. ii. p. 258, ed. Vallars.) and Gelasius (*Epist.* 9. *ad Episc. Lucan.* c. 22) apply to it the stronger term "incest." The civil law made marriage with a dedicated virgin penal; Constantinus in 354 (Cod. Theodos. 9. 25, 1) enacted a severe penalty upon those who made attempts on the chastity of virgins, whether with or without their consent; ten years later Jovian, in the counter reaction against what had happened under Julian, went so far as to enact that even the solicitation of a virgin or widow, willing or unwilling, was not merely penal but capital (Cod. Theodos, 9. 25. 2, Sozom. *H. E.* 6. 3); but the enactment, though preserved in Cod. Justin. 1. 3. 5, probably failed from excessive severity, since in 420 Honorius and Theodosius imposed the milder, though still severe, penalty of confiscation and deportation; but Majorian, Novell. tit. 6. 1. 4, re-enacted the penalty of Jovian, with the addition of confiscation. The Barbarian Codes follow the principle of the Civil Law; the *Interpretatio* and two *Epitomes* of the Visigothic Code punish the virgin or widow as well as the man (*Lex Romana Visigothorum*, ed. Haenel, p. 195); the laws of Luitprand make forfeiture the penalty

of marriage even with one who has been dedicated by her parents, or herself taken a vow, without having been veiled (Leges Luitprandi, c 30, A.D. 723, in Gengler's *Germanische Rechtsdenkmäler*, p. 556); the Bavarian code makes the penalty for such marriage twice the ordinary composition for the abduction of a married woman (Lex Baiuwariorum i. 11, textus primus, ap. Pertz, *Legum*, vol. iii. p. 276); in the Frankish domain, Lothair I. simply forbad such marriages (Chlothacharii I. *Constitut.* c. 8, A.D. 560, Pertz, *Legum*, vol. i. p. 2); but Lothair II. made even the attempt to marry capital (Chlothacharii II. *Edict.* c. 18, A.D. 614, Pertz, vol. i. p. 15). The ecclesiastical penalty for virgins who married was excommunication, for a longer or shorter period. The leading enactment of a general council is that of Chalcedon, c. 16; of local Western councils the chief enactments are the following. The council of Elvira A.D. 305, c. 13, condemns them to perpetual excommunication; the first council of Valence, A.D. 374, c. 2, will not admit them to penance until after the lapse of a long time; the first council of Toledo, A.D. 398, c. 16, will not re-admit the offender to communion unless she lives, even during her husband's lifetime, a life of continence; the first council of Orange, A.D. 441, c. 28, treats the offence, as Leo the Great had done, as a case of "praevaricatio;" the second council of Arles, A.D. 451, limits the excommunication to those who were above "twenty-five" years of age; the council of Vannes, A.D. 465, c. 4, treats such a marriage as adultery; the council of Lerida, A.D. 523, c. 6, treats it as "stuprum;" the third council of Orleans, A.D. 538, c. 16, treats it as "raptus," and makes the excommunication perpetual: so also the second council of Tours, A.D. 567, c. 20, the first of Mâcon, A.D. 581, c. 12, and the fifth of Paris, A.D. 615, c. 13. So also in Spain; the sixth council of Toledo, A.D. 638, c. 6 directs those who persist in such a marriage to be "banished from all Christian society, so that not even talk be had with them." (The canons seem always to avoid the honourable word for marriage to be used in reference to such cases; but that "rapere" is used not in its ordinary civil sense, but only to cast a stigma upon such marriages is shewn, *e.g.* by the council of Reims, A.D. 625, c. 23, which implies that the "raptor" sometimes had the king's consent, or was supported by other legitimate authority. [E. H.]

**VIRGINS, THE WISE AND FOOLISH.** A curious painting of an arcosolium, in which the part of the parable relating to the wise virgins is unquestionably treated, was found by Bosio in the cemetery of St. Agnes at Rome (Bottari, *Scult. e Pitt.* &c. tav. cxlviii.). In the centre is a woman in the attitude of prayer, probably intended for the person buried in the tomb, robed in a dalmatic, with two bands of purple down the front. At her feet, representing the soul of the deceased, is a dove with outspread wings, and as if listening for the voice of her mate (Cantic. ii. 10). On the right of this female figure stand the five wise virgins, similarly clad in dalmatics with purple bands, each bearing in her right hand a torch, and carrying in her left by the handle a vessel of oil (St. Matt. xxv. 4). The leader of the five, who is knocking at the door of the room where the feast is going on, has her torch lighted. On the left of the praying figure five other women, also intended no doubt for the wise virgins, are seated at a table on which are two dishes, a flagon, and two loaves.

There is also in the cemetery of Cyriaca, a painting in fresco of the same subject, more fully treated, the foolish virgins being also represented. They are standing on the left hand of the Saviour, easily recognizable by their extinguished torches and down-cast looks. Our Lord, turning to the wise virgins, points out to them the heavenly feast to which they are invited (De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* p. 76). De Rossi thinks that this fresco, so far unique of its kind, indicates that the tomb is that of a virgin consecrated to heaven; a conjecture deriving much probability from a trustworthy tradition of a convent on the same spot. The sarcophagus under the fresco exhibits on its front face a figure in the attitude of prayer, while two other figures of saints, thought to be intended for SS. Peter and Paul, are drawing back a curtain and ushering the soul into paradise (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v. 'Vierges Folles,' &c.). [E. C. H.]

**VISITATION.** The right of personal visitation appears to have been considered as inherent in every office that conferred authority or imposed responsibility for the maintenance of discipline. Thus it belonged (i) to metropolitans in their provinces. Bingham (*Antiquities*, ii. c. 16, § 18) thinks that the right of visitation is implied in the ninth canon of the council of Antioch, A.D. 341, which asserts that the metropolitan received the care (τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι) of all the dioceses in his province. But the wording of the canon, which goes on to assign as a reason that all men who had any business in hand visited the metropolitan city to transact it, seems rather to point to some supreme power of jurisdiction to be exercised in the metropolis itself, as having been in the minds of the framers of the canon (cf. Bracar. II. c. 4; Bruns, *Conc.* ii. p. 44). Clearer language is employed by the council of Turin, A.D. 401 (*Conc. Taurinense*, c. 2), which, in deciding between the rival claims of the bishops of Arles and Vienne to the office of metropolitan, decrees that each should visit the churches which were contiguous to his own see (eas ecclesias visitet quas oppidis suis vicinas magis esse constituat). The council of Leptina, A.D. 743, or Boniface (*Ep.* lxx.), decrees that it is the duty assigned by the canons to metropolitans to look into the lives of the bishops of his province and the way in which they discharged their duties. Occasional notices of metropolitan visitations are met with in early writers. Thus Possidonius (*Vit. August.* c. 8) speaks of Megalius, primate of Numidia, arriving at Hippo in the course of his visitation tour, and Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 2) speaks of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, as passing through the whole island, ordaining bishops where they were needed and setting right all things which he found in disorder.

(ii) But the duty of visitation especially belonged to bishops in their dioceses. [BISHOP, p. 232.] The councils were continually laying down rules for the punctual performance

of this duty and defining the business to be transacted.

(*a*) Visitations were to be held yearly in every parish. The council of Lugo, A.D. 569 (*Conc. Lucense*, Labbe, *Conc.* t. v. p. 874) orders a new division of the dioceses in Gallicia, on the ground that in their present condition they were too large to admit of a yearly visitation. The council of Tarragona, A.D. 516 (c. 8), orders that the bishop should make yearly visitations to provide for the reparation of such churches as had fallen into bad repair. The second council of Braga, A.D. 572, c. i. (Bruns, *Conc.* ii. 39), orders that the bishop should visit every parish in his diocese, and, on the first day, inquire how the clergy performed their duty, in order that where it was necessary he might instruct those who were ignorant, especially with reference to the canonical rules for the exorcism and instruction of catechumens during the twenty-one days before their baptism. On the second day he was to assemble the people and instruct them in their duties, both as to belief and practice. No express mention is here made of an annual visitation, but it appears implied. Probably the expenses of a visitation extending over two days were found oppressive to the clergy, for the seventh council of Toledo, A.D. 646 (c. 4), enacts, amongst other precautions to prevent extortion, that no bishop shall remain in any parish during his visitation for more than a single day. Probably many parishes were desirous of altogether avoiding the expenses of the visitation, since the council of Merida, A.D. 666 (*Conc. Emerit* c. 11), speaks of certain abbats and presbyters who had obtained exemptions (absolutionem) from former bishops, and orders that whenever a bishop arrives for the purpose of visitation he should be received with due honour, and a reasonable provision for expenses. The annual visitation is provided for in the fourth council of Toledo, A.D. 633 (c. 36), which orders that a bishop shall visit each of the parishes in his diocese every year, for the purpose of seeing that the churches are in proper repair; but if he himself is prevented by ill-health or by the pressure of other duties, the visitation might be performed by one of his presbyters or deacons, who should inquire into the condition of the churches and the lives of the clergy. This permission of visiting by deputy appears to have led to abuses, for we find the council of Meaux (*Conc. Meldense*, c. 29), A.D. 815, speaking in terms of the strongest condemnation of an iniquitous custom (reprehensibilis et damnabilis consuetudo) which had arisen among some bishops, of never, or scarcely ever, visiting in person the parishes under their jurisdiction.

(*b*) The canons above quoted speak of the objects of the bishops' visitations as consisting chiefly in the inspection of the fabric of the churches, and the maintenance of discipline among the clergy. Other duties were added at a later period. The council of Leptina, above quoted, decrees that the bishop's visitation should be held annually, for the purposes of administering confirmation, instructing the people, inquiring into the morals of the clergy, and searching out and prohibiting all pagan customs. To add weight to his authority in this last duty, it was provided that he should be accompanied by the graphio, or count, who filled the office of "defensor ecclesiae" in his diocese, "Gravione, qui defensor ejus ecclesiae est" (Labbe, *Concilia*, vi. p. 1534; see *Advocatus Ecclesiae*, p. 34). The capitularies of Charlemagne, vii. cc. 94, 95, 129, 365 provide that the bishop shall visit every parish in his diocese for the purpose of administering confirmation, of inquiring into the morals of his people, and extirpating any pagan practices that yet lingered among the people, and (*Addit.* iii. 65) of correcting any oppression or corruption on the part of the nobles or judges. Offenders were first to be reproved and admonished by the bishop, and if this failed to produce reformation to be reported to the emperor.

(*c*) These visitations appear to have been conducted with large and occasionally extravagant expenditure. Some exceptions are recorded. Severus Sulpitius (*Dialog.* 2) writes of St. Martin that he went round his diocese clad in a ragged dress and a black cloak and riding upon an ass. Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 28) narrates that St. Chad went round his diocese on his feet, especially noting that he visited all the country districts, the farms and villages and castles. But these are evidently noted as exceptional instances. Athanasius, on the other hand (*Apolog.* ii. § 74), is said to have been invariably attended while on his visitation not only by priests and deacons, but by a considerable number of the laity, "non paucos ex plebe." For the measures taken by later councils to check the oppressions and exactions for which visitations were made the excuse, see PROCURATIONS.

(iii) Archdeacons also had the power of holding visitations, but the practice seems to have been of gradual growth. Isidore of Seville (*Epist. ad Ludifred*), after defining the ordinary duties of an archdeacon, adds that he investigates in person, "ipse inquirit," the condition of the fabric and ornaments of the churches and other parish matters, and sends his report to the bishop, but notes that this is done by special commission "cum jussione episcopi." Hincmar of Rheims, however, in his Precepts to Archdeacons, c. 1 (*Opp.* ii. p. 728), speaks of their visits to country parishes, either in his company, or by themselves, as if such visitations were part of their regular duty (see ARCHDEACON, p. 138, and PROCURATIONS).

(iv) The right of visitation appears to have been claimed in some instances by the civil authorities. The council of Châlons (*Conc. Cabillon* (c. 11) speaks with great indignation of the conduct of certain judges who claimed a right of visitation over all parishes and monasteries subject to episcopal superintendence, and demanded provision for their expenses. Probably this claim arose from the practice above mentioned of associating the civil "defensor ecclesiae" with the bishop, in order to provide for the more effectual suppression of pagan customs. [MISSI DOMINICI.] [P. O.]

**VISITATION OF THE SICK.** [UNCTION, p. 2000; VIATICUM.]

**VISITATOR.** A bishop temporarily appointed to perform the duties of a vacant see, or to act in the place of another bishop when incapacitated by illness or lying under ecclesiasti-

cal censure. See INTERCESSOR. An old formulary relating to the election of a bishop, quoted by Du Cange from the *Spicilegium Achericnse*, tom. viii. p. 154, provides that the bishop who had been in charge of the funeral of a deceased prelate ("tumulator") should be the "visitator" of the vacant see, and take charge of the property in or belonging to the church, the appointment to be made by the metropolitan. The council of Riez, A.D. 439 (*Conc. Reg.* c. 6), orders that in case of the death of a bishop, no other bishop should approach the cathedral church at the time of the funeral, except one from a neighbouring see, who should take charge of the see in the capacity of a "visitator"—"visitatoris vice." The use of the word seems especially to belong to the Western church. It is of frequent occurrence in the writings of Gregory the Great. Thus (*Ep.* ii. 25) he appoints Leontius to be "visitator" of the see of Rimini in consequence of the ill-health of the bishop, and (I. 15) commands Balbinus, and (I. 51) Felix to go as visitatores to certain churches, mentioning that their chief duty was to provide for the ordination of the clergy. Hincmar of Rheims, in his epistle to the bishop of Laon, expressly claims the right, as metropolitan, of appointing a visitator" to the care of a vacant see (see Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* ii. 2, c. 21, § 9). The word περιοδευτὴς is sometimes translated *visitator* (see Bruns, *Canon.* note in *Conc. Laodic.* c. 57), but the offices were essentially distinct. See PERIODEUTES, VACANCY. [P. O.]

**VITALIANUS**, pope, commemorated in modern martyrologies on Jan. 27 (*Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 780). [C. H.]

**VITALICUS**, Sept. 4, youthful martyr with two others, Rufinus and Silvanus (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker., *Rom.*); Vitalica (*Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, Adon.). [C. H.]

**VITALIS (1)**, Jan. 9, martyr, commemorated at Smyrna with Revocatus and Fortunatus (*Mart.* Usuard., Wand.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 567).

(2) Feb. 14, martyr, commemorated at Rome with Felicula and Zeno (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Rom.*, Notker.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 743). This is probably the St. Vitalis commemorated in the *Liber Antiphonarius* of Gregory, p. 693.

(3) April 21, one of the companions of Arator (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, Notker, *Rom.*).

(4) Apr. 28, martyr, commemorated at Ravenna (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*, Notker., Wand.).

(5) July 2, one of the companions of Aristo (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Rom.*).

(6) July 10, one of the seven sons of Felicitas, martyrs at Rome (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, Notker., *Rom.*).

(7) July 23, bishop, martyr, commemorated at Ravenna with Apollonius (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.).

(8) Sept. 22, martyr of the Thebaean Legion (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, *Rom.*).

(9) Nov. 3, martyr, commemorated at Caesarea in Cappadocia, with Germanus, Theophilus, and Caesarius (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*).

(10) Nov. 27, martyr, commemorated with Agricola at Bologna (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*, *Vet. Rom.*, Wand.). [C. H.]

**VITUS (1)** (VITIUS), Jan. 20, martyr, commemorated at Nicomedia with Cyriacus and others (*Mart. Syr.*).

(2) Jan. 15, martyr under Diocletian, commemorated in Sicily with Modestus and Crescentia (*Mart.* Bed., Flor., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Wand., *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 1013); in Lucania (*Hieron.*); commemorated on this day in the Gelasian Sacramentary, and named in the collect and post-communion.

(3) Jun. 26, martyr, commemorated at Nicomedia (*Mart. Syr.*). [C. H.]

**VIVIANA** (BIBIANA), martyr, commemorated at Rome on Dec. 2, with Faustus and Dafoosa (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**VOCATORIUM**, an invitatory. [INVITATORIUM.] "In oratorio versum non dicant, nec vocatorium" (*Ordo Off. in domo S. Bened. ante Pascha*, in Mabill. *Vet. Anal.* 151, ed. 2). [W. E. S.]

**VOLUME.** The "roll of a book" (*volumen*) was composed of leaves of papyrus or parchment, glued, or otherwise fastened, end to end, and rolled, as its name implies, round an axis. *Libri* and *codices*, on the other hand, derived their names from the material of which they were formed, and were put together as books are now. Donati (*de' Dittici degli Ant.* p. 17) gives a drawing of a volume rolled up and fitted with all requisites for use and protection. The fittings of a volume, as seen in a drawing given by Montfaucon, were a stick to roll it on, with a boss or knob at the left hand of the MS., and projecting a little way beyond the right side of it, so as to furnish a handle; a cover of vellum fastened with strings or straps at either end, and a slip of thinner vellum glued on, with the title of the book written on it. Volumes were sometimes called by a name of similar origin, *rotulae* (Durand. *Ration. Div. Off.* i. c. 3, n. 11).

I. Among the Greeks and Romans, a volume in the hand was the mark of an orator. Polyhymnia, the muse of rhetoric, is always represented in this way, and the same mark of distinction is given in statues and bas-reliefs to senators and other great men. In the museum of the Vatican there is a statue of Augustus, with a volume in the left hand, and making a rhetorical gesture with the right. Among the early Christians the use of the volume as a symbol seems to have been more general, though apparently always confined to persons of distinction, and its significance more varied and subtle.

1. It was used in representations of the first person of the Trinity. Bottari (*Scult. e Pitt.* lxxxiv.) gives a drawing of a sarcophagus from the catacombs, in which the Father appears as an old man standing up, with a volume in his left hand, and his right stretched out after the classical manner, and representing an orator towards Moses, whom he is ordering to put off his shoes before he approaches the burning bush.

The hand alone bearing a volume is sometimes met with as a symbol of the Father, as in a bas-relief of the 6th century representing the

baptism of Agilulfus, king of the Lombards (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. tab. v.)

2. The patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament are represented with the volume in hand (Durand, quoted above). Moses appears on sarcophagi thus represented (Bottari, *Scult. e Pitt.* xlix. *et pass.*) only when he is striking the rock, which looks as if the volume were intended as a mark of the divine power granted to him to work miracles for the people. In some engravings the volume is not in his hand, but in the space behind his head (Garrucci, *Vetri Orn.* &c. tav. ii. 10).

3. Our Saviour is almost always represented in mosaics and in the bas-reliefs of sarcophagi with a volume in his left hand. The volume is shewn unrolled (*a*) when he is addressing St. Peter (as on a great number of sarcophagi), and there is a remarkably clear example of this treatment in the mosaic of St. Constance, thought to be due to the munificence of Constantine (Ciampini, *de Sacr. Aedif.* tab. xxxii.); the phylactery which he presents to St. Peter is also shewn unrolled, and inscribed with the words *Dominus pacem dat*, intended, of course, as the apostle's commission as preacher of the gospel of peace (Eph. vi. 15). (*b*) Our Lord also bears the volume when he is teaching (Bottari, *Scult. e Pitt.* &c. cxxxiii.; Allegranza, *Sacr. Mon. di Milano*, tav. i.), and when he is disputing with the doctors (Aringhi, *Roma Subt.* i. 579; ii. 213) [DOCTORS, CHRIST WITH THE]; and on this occasion he has a casket at his feet, supposed to contain the books of the Old Testament, to which he may make reference in his discussion. When a miracle is being wrought the volume is always represented rolled up, as in the healing of the man born blind (Bottari, *Scult. e Pitt.* cxxxvii.); of the paralytic (*ib.* lxxxviii.); the changing of water into wine (*ib.* lxxxix.); the healing of the woman with the issue of blood (*ib.*). But in some representations of the raising of Lazarus (Bottari, *Scult. e Pitt.* xxxii. xxxvi.) the volume is unrolled, with the probable intention of symbolizing the revelation of the glory of God (St. John xi. 4), and of "life and immortality through the gospel" (2 Tim. i. 10). But, for some reason as yet undiscovered, the volume, which is an invariable accompaniment of a miracle in the sculptures of sarcophagi, does not appear on glass or in the paintings of the catacombs. In the museum of the Vatican there is a beautiful fresco brought from the catacombs exhibiting, as far as is known, the only ancient representation of the Last Supper, and in this the Saviour appears with the rolled-up volume in his hand.

4. Where a volume appears in the hand of St. Peter or St. Paul, it is supposed to represent his own writings; but when, as sometimes on ancient gilded glass, a volume is placed between these two apostles, it is supposed to symbolize the unanimity of these apostles and the identity of the gospel preached by them. The golden crown by which it is generally surmounted is probably intended to indicate its royal origin as the good news of the kingdom of heaven (St. Matt. iv. 23). Mosaics often exhibit these apostles with the volume unrolled and showing extracts from Scripture referring to some remarkable event in their lives; thus, in the apse of the ancient Vatican, St. Peter is represented (Ciampini, *de Sacr. Aedif.* tab. xiii.) with a phylactery in his hand inscribed with his memorable confession (St. Matt. xvi. 16). In the same mosaic St. Paul appears standing by the seated figure of the Saviour with a volume in his hand, bearing the words "*Mihi vivere Christus est*" (Philipp. i. 21).

5. The apostles, as a body, are found represented both on mosaics and bas-reliefs with this sign of their commission to preach the gospel (Aringhi, *Rom. Subt.* passim; Bosio, *Rom. Sott.* passim; Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* t. i. tab. lxvi.), and the Saviour commonly stands in the midst as if he were teaching them (Millin, *Midi de la France*, p. lix.).

6. In the more ancient monuments bishops, as depositaries of the word, bear the roll in the left hand; but in mosaics (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. tab. xxiv.), diptychs (Paciandi, *de Cult. Joan. Bapt.* pp. 230–260), and paintings of a later age, a square book richly bound. A representation on glass of the figure of St. Cyprian (spelt Cripranus) from the catacombs has the roll in hand, and, besides, a volume standing on end at the feet (Garrucci, *Vet. Ornat.* xx. 6). Representations of Justin and Timothy may be cited as instances of similar treatment (*ib.* xxiv. 3), the latter having always on ancient glass a second volume behind him—a possible allusion to the two epistles addressed to him by St. Paul.

7. Deacons are also represented bearing in the left hand the same badge of their ministry. Buonarotti (*Vet. Ornat.* tav. xvi. 2) gives a drawing of St. Lawrence from a glass bearing the volume, and seated between SS. Peter and Paul, who appear to be teaching him.

8. Readers, in token of their office, as readers of the Scriptures to the congregation, always appear with the volume. A gilded glass, given by Buonarotti (*ib.* tav. xvii. 2), preserves what appears to be a representation of the ordination of two youths as readers, who both bear the volume in their hands.

9. In some sepulchral monuments, especially bas-reliefs of *double* sarcophagi, in which the marriage ceremonies of the deceased are commemorated (Bottari, *Scult. e Pitt.* &c. tav. cxxxvii.; Maffei, *Veron. Illust.* part iii. p. 54) the bridegroom holds a volume in his hand supposed to be the nuptial contract. Sometimes three or four volumes stand on end at his feet, possibly indicating the various offices or magistracies he may have held. Volumes of this kind are said to have been borne by slaves after patricians at Rome; and when they appear, as they sometimes do, on glass (Buonar. *Scult. e Pitt.* tav. xxviii.; Garrucci, *Vet. Ornat.* xxvii. 1), and on the shields and sarcophagi, it is probable that they are merely a mark of the dignity of the person commemorated, as he has almost always, in such cases, the senatorial badge of the broad purple band.

II. Besides these volumes borne in the hand by divers personages and for various reasons, a great many are found on ancient glass (Garrucci, *Vet. Ornat.* xviii. 5, 6; xvii. i. 5, &c.) to which it is difficult to assign any certain significance. Buonarotti (tav. xx.) gives a representation of St. Felicitas and her seven sons between two volumes supposed to signify the two volumes of Scripture, for the truth of which martyrs shed their blood; and Bottari (*Scult. e Pitt.* tav. xix.)

preserves a figure in the attitude of prayer, with two volumes tied together on one side and an eucharistic cup on the other—a symbolism of which the meaning is obvious enough.

III. Although books, as we understand the term, soon began to be used for the reading of the gospel in churches, volumes, strictly so-called, were, for some time, retained for the prayers and ritual of certain ecclesiastical functions. Cardinal Cassanata had some of these volumes of as late a date as the 9th and 10th centuries, containing the forms of the ordination service, the ritual of baptism, of the blessing of the font, and of the paschal candle (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v. 'Volume'). [E. C. H.]

**VOTIVE OFFERINGS**, "votiva," "quae sanctis *ex voto* aut veneratione offerebantur" (Muratori). The custom of bringing offerings to Christian churches in acknowledgment of some signal deliverance from peril or illness or of some other answer to prayer, with the design of perpetuating the remembrance of these divine favours, became widely prevalent in both the Eastern and Western churches at a very early period. While the observance undoubtedly offers a strong resemblance to the same custom as known to pagan antiquity, it was held to be sanctioned by Scripture; *e.g.* in such passages as Exodus xvii. 4; Ps. cxi. 4. It ultimately became closely associated with the veneration of the tombs and relics of martyrs, whose intercession and aid were frequently implored. Augustine seems to have sought to divest the practice of the superstitious notions with which it was already becoming connected in his time, by pointing out that such offerings, "apud memorias sanctorum martyrum," ought to be looked upon as really offered to God (*Serm.* 273; Migne, *Patrol.* xxxviii. 1251).

The same father is the first who distinctly lays down the theory that such offerings must be made in churches. As quoted by Prosper of Aquitaine, he says that the best offering we can make to God is that of ourselves, and as the image of Caesar was to be given to Caesar, so the image of the Deity is to be consecrated to Him. We have however not only to consider what we can offer and to whom, but also *where* our offering should be made, "quia veri sacrificii extra catholicam ecclesiam non est" (*Opera*, ed. Migne, x. 1860). It is in harmony with this view that we find the 20th canon of the collection ascribed to the council of Nantes (A.D. 660) forbidding the offering of vows or presenting of candles or any other offering for the restoration of health in any other place except Christian churches: "Nullus votum faciat aut candelam vel aliquod munus pro sanitate sua rogaturus alibi deferat nisi ad ecclesiam Domino Deo suo" (Mansi, *Concilia*, xi. 59–61; Migne, lxi. 846).

Similar offerings were made by virgins on the occasion of their consecration to the service of the altar, with the prayer that they might be enabled to keep inviolate their vow of virginity. In the ancient *Sacramentarium* attributed to St. Leo (Migne, lv. 38), we find in the appointed service for such occasions, "Offerimus tibi, Domine, preces *et munera.*" Gregory the Great, in his *Liber Sacramentorum*, speaks of the relics of a martyr (those of St. Laurentius) as themselves a kind of offering, "votiva martyria" (*ib.* lxxviii. 1251); and on another occasion, when referring to an instance of a wife who presented offerings at the altar for her husband's recovery from sickness, styles them a "sacrificium" (*Dial.* iv. 57).

The extent to which the practice prevailed both in the East and in the West in the 5th century, is sufficiently proved by two writers—Theodoret and Paulinus of Nola. Of these, the former, in a remarkable passage, exultingly describes the honours paid to the tombs of the martyrs in his time—and the tombs themselves as objects of universal admiration, splendidly adorned, and radiant in every part. "To these," he says, "we repair not once or twice a year, or five times only, but frequently and in great multitudes (πανηγύρεις), addressing often, each day, hymns to Him who is their Lord. And those who are in health pray that their health may be preserved; those in sickness, for relief from their malady; the childless, for children; the barren women, for offspring; while those already thus blessed, pray that their sons and daughters may be endowed with desirable gifts." He then goes on to describe some of the offerings (ἀναθήματα), as consisting of models of arms, legs, eyes, &c., according to the affected part, and fashioned out of gold, silver, or wood—"for the Lord," he says, "accepts both small and costly gifts, estimating them by the capacity of the giver." He describes other offerings (probably tablets) as recording the virtues of the martyrs, "but their virtues," he says, "prove that He who was their God was the true God,"—ἡ δὲ τούτων δύναμις τὸν τούτων Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἀποφαίνει Θεόν (*Graecarum Affect. Curat.*; Migne, *Pat. Graec.* lxxxiii. 922). At the council of Lestines (A.D. 743) the offering of models, such as those which he describes, was condemned as a pagan usage (see PAGANISM, III. ii.).

The references to the practice in Paulinus give evidence of a still more superstitious conception of its efficacy. He describes in his fourteenth poem (*de S. Felice Natalitium Carm.* iii.) the assembling throngs and the donors as hanging their votive offerings to the pillars of the church. He then proceeds to narrate three stories, which enforce the necessity of faithfully observing such vows. The first is that of an inhabitant of the town of Abellina, who, having vowed a pig to St. Felix, brought his offering to the shrine of the saint, but endeavoured to evade the genuine performance of his vow by killing the pig and simply giving the entrails to the poor of the church, himself carrying off the carcase. On his journey home, however, he was thrown from his horse, and smitten with apparent paralysis, but having been carried back to the church, he there implored the forgiveness of the saint, and ordered the whole carcase to be divided among the poor. Whereupon he was miraculously restored to the complete use of his limbs and to his former health (Migne, lxi. 439–501).

The second instance is that of some peasants of Apulia, who, having reared a fat sow and dedicated it to the same saint, proceeded to drive it to the church. The animal however succumbed to the fatigue of the journey, and was unable to proceed. Full of anxiety lest they should seem unfaithful to their vow, the pious

peasants hastened to select one or two pigs of a smaller size, and with these as an offering presented themselves at the church, where to their astonishment they found the sow, which had been miraculously conveyed thither before them.

According to the third story, a heifer had been similarly dedicated to St. Felix from its birth, and when the time came the owner proceeded to yoke it to the cart, when it broke away and escaped. On arriving at the temple however the owners found the animal standing, a seemingly voluntary victim, at the altar of the saint. [J. B. M.]

**VOWS** (εὐχή, "votum"). "If in Scripture a vow is usually termed εὐχή, being designated as a prayer, we must understand more especially that kind of prayer which we offer when making a vow, *i.e.* πρὸς εὐχήν. But all things which we offer to God are vowed, and most of all the offering of the holy altar, wherein is implied the greatest of all our vows, whereby we vow to be in Christ, as members of His body" (Augustine, *Ep.* lix., *ad Paulinum*).

The earliest example of a Christian vow, a proceeding derived from Old Testament precedent, is that recorded of St. Paul in Acts xviii. 18,—εἶχε γὰρ εὐχήν. Hegesippus (Eusebius, *H. E.* ii. 25) implies that James the Just was under a similar vow. The tendency in the church, after the 3rd century, would seem to have been at once to encourage the practice of making vows and to attach an increased, and it would seem an exaggerated, importance to their observance. While Cyprian (*Epist.* iv.), for example, advises young women who feel themselves unable to preserve their vow of virginity, to marry, the 19th canon of the council of Ancyra (A.D. 314) speaks of such vows as of perpetual obligation, and affirms that those who break their vow of virginity might as well commit bigamy, —τὸν τῶν διγάμων ὅρον ἐκπληρούτωσαν (Mansi, *Conc.* ii. 520). Similarly Fulgentius, in his treatise *de Fide*, lays it down that vows of chastity are of perpetual obligation on both sexes (Migne, *Patrol.* xl. 769).

Among the principal causes of the tendency above referred to, may be named the increased disposition to assert the superiority of the clergy to the laity, the special sanctity with which it was sought to invest the profession of the monk or the anchorite, the veneration of martyrs and of their relics, and, at a later period, pilgrimages to shrines and masses for the dead. The attacks directed against these new theories and practices by such writers as Aërius, Jovinian, and Vigilantius being recognised as just by the teachers of the church only so far as they applied to excesses and abuses, the theory of the vow with which each was associated seems to have been left untouched, and the lawfulness or expediency of taking vows, under certain conditions, appears never to have been called in question. Ambrose, for example, has a warning against vows, but it is only against such as He to whom they are made could not be expected to approve,—"quod sibi cui promittitur nolit exsolvi" (*de Officiis*, iii. 12). The Apostolical Constitutions recognise with approval the taking of vows of virginity, simply advising that they should not be hastily assumed (bk. iv. 14; Cotelerius, i. 302).

Vows were distinguished as (1) "vota personalia," or those applying mainly to oneself, (2) as "vota realia," or those having reference to external objects and circumstances; they were also distinguished as "perpetua" and "temporalia," or vows taken for a specified time. Among the "vota personalia" the most common were those of abstinence, chastity, and fasting. Hilary of Poitiers says, "Deo vovenda sunt contemptus corporis, castitatis custodia, jejunii tolerantia" (Migne, ix. 184). Augustine urges Christians not to be backward in taking vows, for they will not, he says, be sufficiently inspired by their unaided strength,—"Non sitis pigri ad vovendum; non enim viribus vestris implebitis." He enumerates as ordinary vows in his time, those of married people of conjugal fidelity to each other or of abstinence from sexual intercourse with each other, of the wealthy to extend hospitality to all religious persons approaching their houses, of others, to give all their property to the poor, and take upon themselves the religious life (*in Ps.* lxxvi.).

The most common form of vow in the earlier centuries would appear to have been that of virginity. Those who assumed this vow had their names entered in records kept by the church, and certain other formalities were observed, calculated to render the ceremony more impressive (Socrates, *H. E.* i. 13; Chrysost. *de Sacerd.* iii. 16). The binding nature even of the personal vow was not only insisted upon by the church but sometimes enforced by the law. Thus the 15th canon of the second council of Tours (A.D. 567) invoked the assistance of the law to impose divorce on a monk who had so far violated his monastic vow as to marry,—"etiam judicis auxilio separetur" (Mansi, ix. 760). Generally, however, the non-observance of such vows was a matter to be brought before the episcopal courts, and the bishop was held to have the power of mitigating the penalty according to circumstances (council of Chalced. can. 16; Mansi, viii. 378). As regards the "vota realia," the reader may consult the comments of Ulpian in the Digest (fr. 2, D. 50, tit. 12 *de Pollicit.*).

Vows appear to have been frequently taken at the tombs of the martyrs, and Eusebius speaks of this as a common custom in his time,—Ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν ἔθος ἡμῖν περιιέναι, καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς παρὰ ταυταῖς ποιεῖσθαι (*Praep. Evang.* xiii. 7).

The vow, like the votive offering, was held to be of no efficacy unless taken in a church and accompanied by the observance of certain religious rites. Thus Hilary of Poitiers, when commenting on Ps. lv. (liv.) 1, says that vows are of use only when invested with this character, and that it is only when they are thus offered that the intercession of the Holy Spirit can be looked for in our behalf: "Vota enim tantum *ecclesiasticae religionis* utilia sunt. Quae cum et dignis Deo cautionibus et propositae in ecclesia observantiae studio probabuntur, tum digni erimus pro quibus Deum Sanctus Spiritus interpellet" (Migne, ix. 184). See also NOVICE, p. 1409; PILGRIMAGE, v. (2), p. 1638, VIRGINS, and VOTIVE OFFERINGS. [J. B. M.]

**VULFRANUS**, Mar. 20, confessor (*Mart.* Usuard.). [C. H.]

**VULMARUS**, June 17, confessor (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.); July 20 (*Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

# W

**WAFER.** [ELEMENTS, p. 603.]

**WALERICUS**, confessor in Pagus Vinnacensis (or Vinemacus) in Picardy, commemorated Dec. 12 (*Mart.* Usuard.); Apr. 1 (Notker.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. i. 14). [C. H.]

**WANDREGISILUS**, confessor in the neighbourhood of Rouen; commemorated on July 22 (*Mart.* Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. v. 253). [C. H.]

**WANTI.** [GLOVES.]

**WAR.** The question of the lawfulness of war, as it presented itself to the early church, assumed a twofold character: (1) whether a Christian prince could rightfully embark in any war; (2) whether a Christian subject was bound to render military service. On both points the decisions of successive teachers of the church exhibit a material difference, a difference mainly to be explained by the altered relations of the church to the civil power.

During the first three centuries the consideration of both the above questions was necessarily complicated by the facts, that the soldier in the Roman legions would be compelled to bear arms in the service of a state professedly pagan, and that military service was closely conjoined with the ceremonial of pagan worship. Hence to both questions the more austere teaching of the church rejoined with an unqualified negative, and the words of Christ (Matt. xxvi. 52) were adduced as placing the matter beyond dispute.

If, as some critics maintain (Hefele, *Beiträge*, i. 21), the language of Justin (*Apol.* i. 14) and of Athenagoras (*Legatio pro Christ.* c. 35) does not necessarily imply a general disapproval of the profession of the warrior, the writings of Tertullian, both before and after his conversion to Montanism, contain passages which are sufficiently explicit. "There can," he says (with allusion to ordinary military service) "be no harmony between the divine and the human oath, the standard of Christ and of the devil, the camp of light and the camp of darkness; one soul cannot be claimed by two masters,—by God and by the devil" (*de Idol.* c. 19). His treatise, *de Corona*, called forth by the incident of the Christian soldier who refused to adorn himself with the laurel wreath associated with pagan observances, is well known. He there declares that merely to wear the wreath alone constitutes an act of idolatry—"Ita et corona idolothytum efficitur" (*de Corona*, c. 10). As for the military profession itself, "Can it," he asks, "be lawful to handle the sword, when the Lord Himself hath declared that he who uses the sword shall perish by it? Shall the child of peace engage in battle, when he looks upon even the strife of the law-courts as unseemly? Shall he who avenges not even his own wrongs, consign others to prison and to chains, torture and punish them?" (*ib.* c. 11). In the same spirit the martyr Maximilian (circ. A.D. 295) says, "Mihi non licet militare, quia Christianus sum" (Ruinart, *Acta Martyr.* ii. 209). So again Clemens of Alexandria (i. p. 289) asserts that they who seek peace have no need of the sword or the bow.

The opinion of Origen is less distinctly pronounced. In two passages (*adv. Cels.* v. 33; vii. 26) he appears to support the view of Tertullian, and in a third (*ib.* viii. 73) he puts forward the theory that Christians, as a race professedly devoted to the service of God, cannot justly be called upon to bear arms. The pagan priests, he urges, are exempt from such service, and, on like grounds, Christians claim a similar immunity. "We could not fight under the emperor," he says, "even if he should seek to constrain us; but we fight for him when in our own camp (ἴδιον στρατόπεδον εὐσεβείας) we offer up prayers on his behalf" (Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xi. 797). This argument, it is to be noted, appears as a rejoinder to certain criticisms of Celsus, who, in the opinion of Gibbon (ed. Milman and Smith, ii. 189) had exposed a weak point in the Christian theory: "the pagans very frequently asked, what must be the fate of the empire, attacked on every side by the barbarians, if all mankind should adopt the pusillanimous sentiments of the new sect?" Lactantius condemns war on purely philosophic grounds. The aim of the wise man, he says, should be not to engage in combat, the issue of which must always be doubtful, and thereby to annihilate ("tollere") his foe, but to do away with the cause of disagreement itself (*Div. Inst.* vi. 18). Origen himself, in a fourth passage, appears to allow that defensive war is justifiable, and somewhat quaintly suggests that the mode in which bees carry on their wars may perhaps serve as an example πρὸς τοὺς δικαίους καὶ τεταγμένους πολέμους (*adv. Cels.* iv. 82).

It is tolerably certain, indeed, that whatever may have been the prevalent theory of the church during the first three centuries, many Christians at that period served in the armies of the empire. Tertullian's own expressions, "vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, *castra ipsa*" (*Apol.* c. 37); "navigamus et nos vobiscum *militamus*" (*ib.* c. 42); and the story which he tells of the "legio fulminatrix" (*ad Scapulam*, c. 4), are decisive evidence to this effect. We find again from Eusebius (*H. E.* viii. 4, x. 8) that in the time of Diocletian the number of Christian soldiers was considerable, and that many officers were consequently called upon by the emperor to choose between a return to paganism and degradation from their posts.

The important evidence afforded by Christian inscriptions might, it is true, seem at first sight to contradict these statements. Aringhi (*Antiq. Christianae*, i. 430) gives an epitaph of a soldier of the time of Hadrian, and (ii. 170) that of a soldier in the praetorian guard; Boldetti (*Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri*, &c., p. 432), one of a VETERANUS EX PROTERIORIBUS (? "protectoribus"), and also (p. 415) one "Pyrrho militi," and (p. 416) that of one who is described as "felicissimus miles." Marangoni (*Act. S. Vict.* p. 102) gives us that of a centurion, and Ruinart (*Act. Mart.* i. 50) that of two brothers, Getulius and Amantius, who were military tribunes under Hadrian. Le Blant, with the view of arriving at a more precise estimate of the evidence thus

afforded, has been at the trouble to compare the results exhibited in three collections of pagan inscriptions taken from three distinct localities (Reinesius, *Syntag. Inscript. Antiq.*; Steiner, *Cod. Inscript. Rom. Rheni*; Mommsen, *Inscript. Regni Neapol.*) with the Christian inscriptions contained in Séguier (*Inscript. Antiq. Index*). This comparison has shewn that while the pagan epitaphs give, out of an aggregate of 10,050, as many as 545 as those of soldiers, or an average of 5·42 per cent., the Christian epitaphs, amounting to 4734 in number, contain only 27, or about 0·57 per cent. He offers, however, what may be accepted as a reasonable explanation of this disparity, and a sufficient solution of the apparent incompatibility with the historical evidence. The early Christians, he considers, accepted military service much as they did the institution of slavery, namely as a *political necessity*. As, however, the Christian slave would not suffer the fact of his earthly servitude to be recorded on his tomb, because he regarded himself as first of all SERVUS DEI, as the Christian soldier, who was first of all MILES CHRISTI, shrank from recording in his epitaph that he had been the soldier of man (Le Blant, *Inscrip. Chrét. de la Gaule*, i. 81–87).

As soon, however, as Christianity received the recognition of the state, much of this early scrupulosity began to disappear. The ☧ inscribed by Constantine on his standard, and the subsequent appearance of the Cross on the imperial eagles, mark the commencement of this change. Some difficulty is indeed presented in the fact that the 13th canon of the council of Nicaea (if we accept the version of Rufinus) imposes thirteen years' penance upon those who, having abandoned the military confession, were induced again to embrace it: "Qui vero propter confessionem militiam abjecerant, et rursum ad hanc abierunt, hos tredecim annis poenitentiam gerere," etc. (Mansi, *Conc.* ii. 703). Hefele, however, maintains that this canon is to be taken in immediate connexion with that by which it is preceded, and that it refers only to the soldiers under the emperor Licinius, who as Christians resigned their posts rather than take part in pagan sacrifice, but subsequently from mercenary motives returned to the ranks and paid the required homage to the pagan gods (*Beiträge*, i. 22; *Conciliengesch.* i. 399).

St. Basil, again (*Epist.* 188, *ad Amphilochium*), says that soldiers, after their term of military service has expired, are to be excluded from the sacrament of the communion for three whole years. But Hefele (*Beiträge*, i. 23) interprets this as referring only to those whose hands had been actually imbrued in the blood of their fellow beings. He looks upon the passage also as conveying rather an expression of opinion on the part of the writer than an express injunction, and maintains that it does not imply that St. Basil held all war to be unjustifiable.

Chrysostom nowhere actually condemns the soldier's calling, although (*Hom. in Matt.* 61, c. 2) he laments the temptations to violence and the indulgence of the passions to which soldiers are exceptionally exposed.

But by far the most explicit and authoritative declaration on the subject is to be found in the writings of Augustine. In his letter to Marcellinus (*Epist.* 138), he says that if Christianity demanded the condemnation of all warfare, the soldiers in the New Testament seeking for a knowledge of salvation would have been directed by our Lord to throw aside their arms and altogether renounce their profession; whereas the advice he gave them was to be content with their wages, &c.; and "quibus proprium stipendium sufficere debere praecepit, militare utique non prohibuit" (Migne, xxxiii. 532). In the same letter he says that as a father sometimes severely chastises the son whom he loves, so, in dealing with different nations, the Roman power may be compelled to consider what is for their benefit rather than what they would themselves desire,—"quorum potius utilitati consulendum est quam voluntati" (*ib.* xxxiii. 531). Elsewhere he says that ambuscades and other deceptive stratagems are quite legitimate in war (*Quaest. in Hept.* bk. vi.; Migne, xxxiv. 781). He draws also a distinction which subsequently became classical, between just and unjust wars. In the former class he includes wars undertaken to obtain redress for wrongs; as, for instance, when a neighbouring state has neglected to make reparation for injuries inflicted by any of its citizens, or to make restitution of property wrongfully seized. A war entered upon for the purpose of chastising the undue arrogance of another state,—"ad subjugandam mortalium superbiam,"—may even be looked upon as entered upon "Deo auctore" (*cont. Faust.* c. 75; Migne, xlii. 447). A Christian man may fight even under a sacrilegious king, provided that what is enjoined upon him personally is not "contra Dei praeceptum" (*ib.*). Augustine encouraged Count Boniface in his valiant struggle against the Vandals by the exhortation not to think that "no one who wages war can please God," and cited for his encouragement the examples of king David and Cornelius, the centurion (*Epist.* 189; Migne, xxxiii. 855).

These and similar utterances of this father would seem to have determined the theory of the church after his time, and it is easy to understand that the views to which he gives expression would be further enforced by the fact that a large proportion of the wars of Christendom were carried on against the pagan or the infidel, as, for example, those against the Lombards, the Saracens, and the Turks, and thus represented a struggle in which the existence not merely of the state but of Christianity itself was in peril. The words in which he seeks to reassure the conscience of Count Boniface are quoted as authoritative by Hincmar (*de Regis persona et regio ministerio*, c. 10); and the moral distinction which he draws between different kinds of war is reproduced and further elaborated by Isidorus. The latter, in his *Etymologiae* (bk. xviii.),—the standard authority, after the 7th century, with respect to the relations of the church to secular matters,—distinguishes wars as of four kinds: (1) just; (2) unjust; (3) civil; (4) "plusquam civile." His definition of the first coincides with that of Augustine, to which he adds, "aut propulsandorum hostium causa." Unjust wars he defines as those undertaken from passion and without adequate cause. No war can be just save that which is undertaken for the purposes of inflicting just punishment ("ulciscendi causa") or in

order to repel aggression. As an instance of (3) he cites the war between Sylla and Marius; of (4) that between Caesar and Pompey, who were not only "cives" but also "cognati."

The efforts of the church, after the time of Augustine, were mainly restricted to repressing the far from infrequent endeavours of the clergy themselves, in times of special danger and excitement, to participate in the strife of the battlefield. That such service was wholly unbecoming their profession does not appear to have ever been seriously denied. War was always regarded by the church as distinctively the concern of the laity; and Eusebius (*Dem. Evang.* i. 8; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xxii. 29–30), in drawing an elaborate comparison between the avocations permissible to the ecclesiastic and to the layman, specifies as among those that belong solely to the latter, the carrying on of just warfare,—*τοῖς τε κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον στρατευομένοις*. The 74th of the Apostolical Canons requires that any bishop, priest, or deacon devoting himself to military service and aiming at combining it with the duties of his office shall be forthwith degraded from his ecclesiastical rank, on the principle of giving to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's (Bunsen, *Analect. Ante-Nic.* ii. 31). The council of Toulouse (A.D. 633) directs that those of the clergy who venture to take up arms "in quacumque seditione" shall be similarly treated and sent to do penance in a monastery,—"in monasterium poenitentiae contradantur" (Mansi, x. 630). At the council of Meaux (A.D. 845) the clergy were forbidden either to engage in military service or even to carry arms, "armati incedere," under pain of deprivation of office as "sacrorum canonum contemptores et ecclesiasticae sanctitatis profanatores" (*ib.* xiv. 827).

But notwithstanding these and similar prohibitions, we find pope Nicholas I., in the year 865, remonstrating with Lewis the German and Charles the Bald for allowing many of the Frankish bishops to absent themselves from a synod for the purpose of joining in the defence of the coast against the Northmen,—"Cum militum Christi sit Christo servire, militum vero saeculi, saeculo" (*Epist.* 83; Migne, cxix. 922). [J. B. M.]

**WASHING.** The principal ceremonial ablutions anciently used in the church, besides baptism itself, are: the washing of the heads of the catechumens on Palm Sunday [HOLY WEEK, p. 780], and of their feet, and sometimes of their whole bodies, on MAUNDY THURSDAY [p. 1160]: the washing of the feet of the newly baptized [BAPTISM, p. 164]; the solemn washing of an infant seven days after baptism (Martene, *de Rit. Antiq.* I. i. 18, Ordo 26); the washing of the hands of those who entered a church for worship and communion, and of the ministrants in the celebration of the holy Eucharist [HANDS, WASHING OF, p. 758; LAVABO, p. 938]. For the ablution of the vessels used in holy communion, so far as it is found within our period, see PURIFICATION OF ALTAR VESSELS, p. 1756. [C.]

**WATCHERS.** [ACOEMETAE.]

**WATER, HOLY.** [HOLY WATER.]

**WATER, ORDEAL OF.** [ORDEAL, p. 1468.]

**WATER-VESSELS.** HOLY WATER must of course have required some vessel to receive it, and very ancient vessels destined for this use are believed to be still in existence. Boldetti (*Osservationi*, p. 16) declares that he had seen in the catacombs certain round vessels of marble, terra cotta, or glass, placed on pillars at such a height as to be easily reached by the hand. Such a pillar, which may have supported a water-vessel, is found at the entrance of an ancient subterranean chapel at Chiusi (Cavedoni, *Cimit. Chius.* p. 20). The well-known palindromic inscription, ΝΙΨΟΝ ΑΝΟΜΗΜΑΤΑ ΜΗ ΜΟΝΑΝ ΟΨΙΝ, which is found on a vase discovered at Constantinople in the last century, and also (in an incorrect form) on one more recently discovered at Autun, is thought to indicate that the vase had been used to hold holy water. There is in the church of SS. Mark and Andrew, in the island of Murano, a well-proportioned urn of Parian marble, brought by the Venetians from Greece, which bears the inscription—ΑΝΤΛΗΣΑΤΑΙ[ε] ΥΔΩΡ ΜΕΤΑ ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ ;ΟΤΙ ΦΩΝΗ ΚΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΥΔΑΤΩΝ (Isaiah xii. 3; Ps. xxviii. [xxix.] 3). This is also thought to have been a holy water vessel (Paciandi *de Balneis*, p. 141; figured in Martigny, p. 263, 2nd ed.). Gori (*Thes. Diptych.* iii. suppl. pl. xxv.) has figured an ivory vessel, bearing in relief the holy family and the four evangelists, which is believed to have been a portable holy water vessel. But perhaps the most curious of all the vessels of this kind which have been discovered is a leaden vessel, from the district of Tunis, bearing the inscription—ΑΝΤΛΗCΑΤΕ ΥΔωΡ ΜΕΤ ΕΥΦΡΟCΥΝΗC. Within a border formed partly by the inscription itself, partly by branches of the vine, are two rows of figures. The upper row displays the Good Shepherd between a palm and a gladiator, who takes the wreath of victory from a *cippus* or low pillar; and a praying figure between a palm and a winged Victory. The lower row shews, twice over, the cross placed on a rock, whence issue the four rivers, at which a sheep and a stag—the Jewish and the Gentile Church—quench their thirst. This vessel is figured in De Rossi's *Bulletino*, 1867, p. 80, and in Martigny, p. 264. Compare COLYMBION, FOUNTAINS, NYMPHAEUM, PHIALA (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v. Eau Bénite). [C.]

**WEDDING.** [MARRIAGE.]

**WEEK** (in New Testament, *σάββατα* and *σάββατον*, in the phrase *μία*, or *πρώτη*, *σαββάτων* or *σαββάτου*, *δευτέρα σ. κ. τ. λ.*; *ἑβδομάς*, *hebdomas* and *hebdomada*; *septimana*, first so used in *Cod. Theodos.* xv. 5, 5; *laterculus septem dierum*, Tertull. *ad Nat.* i. 13). For the measurement and notation of time, the Christian communities, as they formed themselves in the various provinces of the Roman empire, had, in the existing local or national method of "dating," all that was needed for ordinary secular purposes. They had but to retain the received calendar names of day and month, and the current notation of the year expressed in terms of an "era," or by name of consuls, and the like. The requirements of Christian worship brought with them certain modifications of the

accustomed method and nomenclature. In every city of the Roman empire which had a synagogue, Jews, with proselytes, formed the nucleus round which the church grew; and from these the Gentile believers accepted the Jewish week. Already the seven-day week was widely known by Greeks and Romans, but, for the most part, as a measure of time used by astrologers (Chaldean and Egyptian). The *Sabbath*, as a Jewish institution, was but one of many superstitions imported into Rome from the East. Christian, Jew, and Gentile alike, whether or not they continued to attach any special sanctity to the SABBATH, appear, from the first, to have celebrated the first day of the week in memory of the Lord's resurrection. [LORD'S DAY.]

*Names of the Days of the Week.*—The names derived from Jewish usage, μία (or πρώτη), σαββάτων (or σαββάτου), δευτέρα, κ. τ. λ., occur in the New Testament; occasionally in subsequent times, *e.g.* Tertull. has "quarta et sexta sabbati" (*de Jejun.* 14, and St. Epiphan. *Haer.* lxx. 12). But the first day is almost constantly (ἡμέρα) κυριακή or κυρίου, *dies dominicus* or *dominica*; (*Dominicum* does not necessarily mean "the Lord's day" in *Acta Martyr. S. Saturnini*, Ruinart, 9, 10: "non potest intermitti dominicum." Comp. Tertull. *de Fuga in Persecutione*, c. 14: "quomodo dominica sollemnia celebravimus?") ἡ τοῦ κυρίου ἀναστάσιμος (*Const. Apost.* c. ii. 59); "dies dominicae resurrectionis" (Tertull. *de Orat.* 23). The numerical designation, ὀγδόη, eighth day, occurs only in mystical expositions, as St. Barn. *Ep.* 15; St. Iren. *de Ogdoad.* fragm.; St. Hilar. *Praef. in Explan. Psalm.* t. i. 7; St. Augustine, *Ep.* 119 *ad Januar.* 10–16.

By the close of the 2nd century, we find the Wednesday and Friday distinguished as fast-days (or *semijejunia*) under the name *dies* STATIONUM, στάσεις. The Greek names for these days are τετράς and παρασκευή; for the latter Epiphan. *Expos. fid.* § 22, has προσάββατον, as St. Mark xv. 42, παρασκευὴ ὅ ἐστι προσάββατον; a law of Constantine (Euseb., *Vit. Const.* iv. 18) terms the parasceve πρὸ σαββάτου; the Latin, *quarta, sexta sabbati* (Tertull. *u. s.*); more commonly *feria quarta* and *parasceve*. Comp. Petri Alex. fr. *de Paschate*, in Routh, *Rell. Sac.* iii. 343; *Constit. Apost.* vii. 23. The Greek names most in use for the days of the week are κυριακή, δευτέρα, τρίτη, τετράς, πέμπτη, παρασκευή, σάββατον; the Latin, *dies dominicus, feria secunda, f. tertia, f. quarta, f. quinta, parasceve, sabbatum*. This ecclesiastical use of the term *feria* is variously explained. [FERIA.] The present writer conjectures that *feria secunda, tertia*, &c., came into use as Christianized equivalents for the *secunda sabbati*, &c., objected to as Jewish. Comp. Rösch in Herzog, *R. E.* Zeitrechnung, t. xviii. 473).

The planetary names for each day of the week came to the Romans (probably before the Christian era) from Alexandria, as a purely astrological, not a religious institute. The true explanation of these names is undoubtedly this —the second of the two given by Dion Cassius, xxxvii. 18,[a] the *locus classicus* on this subject (see Ideler, *Hdb. der Chron.* u. s, and ii. 177; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 142, and J. C. Hare, *On the Names of the Days of the Week*, in the *Cambridge Philological Museum*, vol. i.), viz. that each of the twenty-four hours of each day, beginning at sunrise, was assigned to one of the seven "planets," taken in the then-received order, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Mercury, Venus, Moon, continued, without interruption, from day to day. Thus, the first hour at starting of the cycle being that of Saturn, that planet is "regent" of the whole day, the eighth, fifteenth, twenty-second hours being also his; the twenty-third has Jupiter; twenty-fourth, Mars; and the twenty-fifth, or first of the following day, comes to sun, who, therefore, as "regent," gives his name to the day. Thus the twenty-second hour being the sun's, the twenty-third and twenty-fourth fall to Mercury and Venus, and the first hour of the following day to Moon, whence *dies Lunae*; and so on to the seventh: first hour, Venus. In this astrological scheme, the first day of the week is Saturday. Dion Cass. (*u. s.*), who says that the practice of naming days after the seven planets, though in his time universally known, "had come in, so to say, but recently," must be understood to speak of its general diffusion. It was certainly known long before his time. "Pompey," he says, "throughout the siege of Jerusalem (B.C. 63) availed himself for his great operations, of the well-known ἀργία of the Jews on the seventh day, and so took the city by the final assault 'on the day of Saturn.'" And by the same name he subsequently calls the day of the taking of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius (B.C. 37), in both statements clearly identifying Saturn's day with the Jewish seventh day (Browne's *Ordo Saeclorum*, § 207 sq.). The name, "day of Saturn," may have been Dion's own substitute for a "sabbath" or "seventh day" in the contemporary records relating to Pompey and Sosius. But early in our era, Tibullus (i. 3, 17) clearly identifies Saturday with the supposed inauspicious Jewish sabbath—"Aut ego sum causatus aves aut omina dira, Saturni aut sacram me tenuisse diem" (comp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 45: "rebus minus apta gerendis Culta Palaestino septima festa Syro"). Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 4) says that some imagined the Jews' sabbatical rest to have been in honour of *Saturn*; Frontinus, in the reign of Nerva (*Strateg.* ii. 1, 17), that Vespasian reserved his chief assaults upon the Jews for the "day of Saturn," on which it was unlawful for them to do any work. Between this and the time of Dion Cassius, we have Christian testimonies to the application of the planetary names to the days of the Jewish week in Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and his contemporary Clement of Alexandria. Plutarch's *Qu. Sympos.* iv. qu. 7, is unfortunately lost: according to the heading, its subject was the order of the planetary days, doubtless arising out of the two preceding questions, which relate to the Jewish sabbath. That the planetary week was known, at least to artists, early in our era, is further proved by monuments. In the *Pittore di Ercolano*, iii. pl. 50, is a series of seven heads of planetary deities — Saturn, Apollo = Sol, Diana = Luna, Mars, Mercurius,

[a] Ideler (*Hdb. der Chron.* i. 179), on the warrant of this passage, held that the seven-day week, in connexion with the seven planets, was early known in Egypt. But no trace of such a week, civil, religious or astrological, has been found on Egyptian monuments; the Egyptian week from the earliest times was the *decada*. Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aegypter*, p. 131 ff.

Jupiter, Venus, *i.e.* in the order of the week-days; also an ancient bronze represents the same seven deities, likewise beginning with Saturn (Montfaucon, *Antiq. Expl.* Suppl. i. pl. 17, p. 37; J. C. Hare, *u. s.* p. 31).

Early Christian writers use the planetary names, for the most part, only in their apologies and other addresses to the heathen. Thus Justin Martyr, *u. s.* names the κρονικὴ and ἡ ἡλίου Saturday and Sunday; and Tertull. *Apologet.* c. 16, "Aeque si *diem solis* laetitiae indulgemus alia longe ratione quem de religione solis, secundo loco ab eis sumus qui *diem Saturni* otio et victui decernunt, exorbitantes et ipsi a Judaico more, quem ignorant;" the same matter is more fully expressed in *ad Nationes*, i. 13. In the Codex also *solis dies* often occurs, but with expressions of honour attached; thus, in a law of Constantine (*Cod. Just.* iii. 12, *de feriis*, l. 3, A.D. 321), "Omnes judices urbanaeque plebes et cunctarum artium officia venerabili die solis quiescant;" so *Cod. Theod.* ii. 8, *de feriis* l. 1 (same year), "diem solis veneratione sui celebrem;" and *ibid.* viii. 8, l. 3 (A.D. 386), "Solis die quem dominicum rite dixere majores." In addresses to Christians, when the planetary name, Sunday, is used, it is usually with a mystical or allegorical reference to the creation of light on the first day (alluded to in the passages of Barnabas and Ignatius, and clearly expressed in that of Justin Martyr, given above. Compare Leo the Great, *Ep. Decret.* 81, c. 1), or to Christ as the Sun of Righteousness. So St. Ambrose, *Serm.* 62: "Dominica nobis venerabilis est atque sollemnis, quod in ea Salvator *velut sol oriens* discussis inferorum tenebris luce resurrectionis emicuit: ac propterea ipsa dies ab hominibus saeculi *Dies Solis* vocatur, quod ortus eam *Sol Justitiae* Christus illuminat." Gregory of Tours (*Hist.* iii. 15), "Ecce adest *dies solis*: sic enim barbaris diem dominicum vocitare consuetudo est." Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vii. 12, § 75) finds a mystery also in the planetary names of the *stationes*: "The true Gnostic knows the *aenigmata* of the *tetras* and *parasceve*, our fasting days: to wit, that these being the days of Hermes and Aphrodité, he shall fast, his life long, for covetousness and carnal lust." The planetary names occur in some Christian calendars, and all through the *Fasti Consulares Anonymi*, from A. U. C. 246 to 1107, in which to the consuls of each year is appended, together with the moon's age, the week-day of 1st January: *e.g.* U. C. 1107 [= A.D. 354], "Constantio VII. et Constantio II. *Sat.* xxi.;" meaning that the 1st January of that year was Saturday (Norisii *Opp.* xi. 595 sqq.). And even in Christian epitaphs, as in the following (ap. Noris. *l. c.* 686), of A.D. 457, in which Paschasius is said to have been born, "Dies paschales prid. Non. April. die Jobis," *i.e.* "in the paschal days, on 4th April, Jupiter's day." By the generality of Christians, however, the use of these heathen names was avoided. Indeed Philastrius (or Philaster), contemporary and friend of St. Ambrose, cir. A.D. 380, in his work *De Haeresibus*, condemns the use of the planetary names as heretical. Isidore of Seville, A.D. 595 (*Etym.* v. 30), having explained, for the benefit of the unlearned, that "the first day of the week, the *una sabbati* of the Hebrews, is with us *dies Dominicus*, which day the Gentiles have dedicated to the Sun; the *2da sabbati* our *2da feria*, by them of the world is called *dies Lunae*," etc. goes on to say, that one does best to comply with the *ritus ecclesiasticus* by which the days are called *feriae*; and that if one of the heathen names should chance to escape one's lips, it should be considered that those whose names the pagans have given to the week-days were human beings who, as benefactors of mankind, received divine honours and were translated into the heavens, so that it is no sin if their names do, now and then, happen to be used by us. Comp. Bedae *de Temporum Ratione*, c. 6.

[H. B.]

When the Latin came to mingle with the Teutonic races, the Latins roughly translated the names of the Teutonic gods by names of deities with which they were familiar (Tacitus, *Germ.* 9; *Ann.* xiii. 57; *Hist.* iv. 64), and conversely the northern tribes found (as they thought) Teutonic equivalents for the names in the Roman Pantheon (Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 108 ff. 2nd ed.). Hence the days of the week received names which were thought equivalent to their classical planetary denominations. This fact renders it highly probable that the week was adopted by the northern tribes in pre-Christian times; for if it had been received from Christian missionaries, they would scarcely have adopted a nomenclature which tended to perpetuate the names of the very deities whose worship they sought to abolish. Both William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Reg.* p. 9, ed. Savile, 1601) and Matthew of Westminster (*Flores*, p. 82) make Hengist say to Vortigern, that the Saxons gave the name of Woden (as equivalent to Mercury) to the fourth day of the week, and of Freya (as equivalent to Venus) to the sixth. Further, the name of Tius or Zio (etymologically connected with Sanscrit *Diaus* and Greek Ζεύς) was given, as equivalent to Mars, to the third day; and of Thor or Donar, as equivalent to Jupiter, to the fifth. Saetere or Sater (found in Saxon *Saeteresdag*, Frisian *Saterdei*, etc.) seems to be no more than the Teutonic way of writing the Latin *Saturnus*. Sol and Luna were simply translated into Sun and Moon. Hence arose the Teutonic and Scandinavian names of the days of the week, which are still preserved complete in English, Danish, and Swedish. In modern German *Samstag* (= *Sabbatstag*) has displaced Saturday, and *Mittwoch* Wednesday. In the Romance languages, the first day of the week has a name derived from *Dies Dominica* (Ital. *Domenica*, Span. *Domingo*, Fr. *Dimanche*), and the seventh day one derived from *Sabbatum* (Ital. *Sabbato*, Span. *Sabado*, Fr. *Samedi* = *Sabbati Dies*). The Slavs, Lithuanians, and Finns do not appear to have adopted the planetary names; they simply number the days, making Monday the first day, and consequently Sunday the seventh. (See further in Grimm, *D. M.* p. 111 ff.). [C.]

*The Sunday Letters.*—From the earliest times after the introduction of the Julian calendar, we find the first eight letters of the alphabet A—H ranged in unbroken succession against the days of the months, from 1st Jan. to 31st Dec. (monumental calendars collected by Gruter, and by Foggini, are enumerated by Ideler, *Handbuch*, ii. 135). These letters marked the *nundines*: viz. on whatever day of January the first nundines fell, the letter of that day marked the nundinal days throughout the year (except in leap year,

when after 24th Feb. the letter fell back one place, *e.g.* from B to A). Familiar as this arrangement must have been to Christians living in or near Rome (or wherever the nundines were in use), it is strange that they did not earlier apply the like arrangement to their ecclesiastical calendars, for marking the Sundays of each year. Yet it is not until some time after the council of Nice that the Sunday letters are first met with, viz. in the calendar of the reign of Constantius, edited by Lambecius in the *Bibliothec. Vindobon.* t. iv., in which, side by side with the old eight nundinal, are ranged the seven dominical letters, "qua nulla antiquior dominicalium characterum memoria extat," says cardinal Noris (*de Cyclo paschali Ravennate*, Opp. t. ii. col. 786). See further, EASTER, p. 593. [H. B.]

**WHIPPING.** (1) For the use of the lash or of rods as a punishment, whether of monks or others, see CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, p. 469.

(2) Whipping was also used as a penitential discipline. Thus it is related of abbat Pardulph (†737), that in Lent he bared his whole body, and commanded his disciple to beat him with rods (Mabillon, *Acta SS. Bened.* iii. 537). In the *Penitential* of Cummean (*Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen*, p. 463) one of the methods of redeeming a year of penance is to receive three hundred strokes of the rod on the bare body. And there are many instances of the use of the lash for penitential purposes in later times.

(3) The discipline of the scourge applied by a man to his own back probably does not fall within our period. For though Gretser (*De Spontanea Disciplinarum seu Flagellorum Cruce*) claims to have produced proofs of the existence of this practice from writers as early as the fourth century, his proofs are either from spurious writings, or fail to prove the matter in hand. Some of them relate to the beating of the breast [TUNSIO PECTORIS] as an indication of penitence, which is a very different thing from whipping (Zöckler, *Geschichte der Askese*, p. 38 ff.) [C.]

**WHITBY, COUNCIL OF** (PHARENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 664, when the conference mentioned by Bede between Colman, Agilbert, Wilfrid, and others in the presence of king Oswy respecting Easter took place (Mansi, xi. 67-72; Wilkins by Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 100-106). [E. S. Ff.]

**WHITE GARMENTS.** The white robes, or albs, in which the baptized were clothed as soon as they issued from the baptismal waters, are frequently alluded to by ancient writers. See, for instance, the poem *De Resurrectione Domini* attributed to Lactantius; Paulinus of Nola, *Epist.* xii. *ad Sever.*; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. Mystag.* iv. 8; Ambrose, *de Mysteriis*, c. 7 [BAPTISM, p. 163]. The conferring of the white robe was accompanied, according to the Gregorian *Ordo Baptizandi Inf.*, by the words: "Accipe vestem candidam et immaculatam, quam perferas sine macula ante tribunal Domini Nostri Jesu Christi."

It was the almost universal custom of the church that the white baptismal robes were worn for eight days, so that when baptisms took place on Easter-Eve the albs were taken off on the first Sunday after Easter, the *Dominica in albis depositis.* This ceremony appears to have taken place in the sacristy or vestry attached to the baptistery, where they were washed in water blessed for the purpose. What became of them after this is not quite clear. In some cases they seem to have been preserved in the church or by the sponsor; for a certain deacon Muritta (Victor Vitensis *de Persec. Vandal.* v. 9), produced as a witness against his godchild Elpidophorus, who had fallen into Arianism, the sabana which he had received at baptism. In other cases the baptized person seems to have retained it, for we read that St. Anthony of Egypt, in the prospect of martyrdom, appeared before the judge in his baptismal alb (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v. Aube; Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. vv. λαμπροφορέω, λευχειμονέω; Ménard, note 327 on the *Gregorian Sacramentary*, p. 356). [C.]

**WHITSUNTIDE.** [PENTECOST.]

**WIDOWS.** It is clear that the care of the fatherless and the widow formed in early times an important department of ecclesiastical administration. Among subapostolic writings the Shepherd of Hermas is conspicuous for the prominence which it gives to the subject, repeatedly enjoining it as a Christian duty (*Mand.* 8, 10; *Sim.* 1, 8; 5, 3), and contrasting the "pernicious men who, abusing their ministry, plunder widows and orphans" with the good bishops who shelter and protect them (*Sim.* 9, 26, 2; 9, 27, 2). Ignatius makes it a reproach against certain heretics that they neglected widows and those who were in distress (*ad Smyrn.* c. 6), and urges Polycarp not to neglect widows, but to make them his especial care (*ad Polyc.* c. 4). Polycarp himself urges the presbyters of Philippi not to neglect the widow, the orphan, and the poor (*ad Philipp.* c. 4); and using a metaphor which was not unfrequently repeated, and which is of importance in relation to his conception of the Christian sacrifice, he speaks of widows as being "an altar of sacrifice" (θυσιαστήριον, *ibid.*). In the older dispensation the offerings which were presented to God were offered and partly consumed upon the great altar of the temple court, but under the new dispensation they are distributed among widows and others who were in need (so *Const. Apost.* 2, 26; 4, 3; Pseudo-Ignat. *ad Tars.* c. 9; Tertull. *ad Uxor.* 1, 7). Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 67) places widows and orphans first on the list of those to whom the offerings of Christian assemblies were distributed by their president. The Clementines (*Epist. Clement. ad Jacob.* c. 8; cf. *Const. Apost.* 4, 2) make it a primary duty of presbyters to stand towards orphans in the place of parents, and towards widows in the place of husbands. In the earlier books of the Apostolical Constitutions the references are frequent: so great was the care which was taken of widows and so liberal were the offerings which they received, that some of them shamelessly abused their privilege and made their widowhood a profitable trade (ἐργασία, 3, 7, 12 13: cf. Pseudo-Ignat. *ad Philadelph.* c. 4).

In order to entitle anyone to receive relief, widowhood seems to have been of itself a

sufficient qualification. The number of widows thus relieved was large. Cornelius of Rome, in the middle of the 3rd century, says that at Rome the widows and others who were in distress amounted to fifteen hundred (*Epist. Cornel.* ap. Euseb. *H. E.* 6, 43); and Chrysostom reckons the number of widows and virgins who were supported by the comparatively poor church of Antioch at three thousand (S. Chrysost. *Hom. in Matt.* 66 (67), c. 3, ap. Migne, P. G. vol. lvii. 630).

Of the widows who were thus the objects of care to the church officers, some were formally enrolled on the κατάλογος, or list of church members, as a distinct class or "ordo": (the Clementines, *Recogn.* 6, 15, *Hom.* 11, 35, attribute the formation of this "ordo" to St. Peter). But even at the time at which the Pastoral Epistles were written it is clear that restrictions were placed upon admission to that class. It is laid down in 1 Tim. v. 9, 10 that a widow is not to be entered on the church-roll (καταλεγέσθω) "under three-score years old, having been the wife of one man, well reported of for good works, if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work." These restrictions seem to have been consistently maintained in the early church. They are elaborately repeated in the Apostolical Constitutions, 3, 1, 5; Origen (*in Joann.* tom. 32, c. 7, vol. iv. p. 422, ed. Delarue) shews that stress was laid upon every part of them by arguing against too literal an interpretation of the clause "if she have washed the saints' feet," the omission of which, he says, must not be taken to exclude a widow who, in her time of prosperity, shewed hospitality to the brethren in other ways; Tertullian (*de veland. Virg.* c. 9) shews that the restrictions of age and monogamy were maintained in Africa; and Ambrose implies that they existed in his time in Italy (*Exhort. Virgin.* c. 4, 23, vol. ii. p. 284, where Juliana of Bologna speaks of herself as being "adhuc immaturam viduitatis stipendiis," *i.e.* not yet sixty years old; so *de Viduis*, c. 2, 9, vol. ii. p. 188). There was sometimes the further restriction that a widow must not have children or grandchildren capable of supporting her (Ambrosiast. *in Epist. I. ad Timoth.* c. 3, in the *Append. ad op. S. Ambros.* p. 295); but in later times the restriction as to age was sometimes waived (*Statt. Eccles. Antiq.* c. 101, "viduae adolescentes quae corpore debiles sunt sumptu ecclesiae cujus viduae sunt sustententur").

The possession of the qualifications which are mentioned in the Pastoral Epistles did not, *ipso facto*, entitle a widow to a place on the church-roll. She had to be definitely appointed (καθιστάνεσθαι, *Const. Apost.* 3, 1, Διατ. Κλήμ. 21; καταστάσσεσθαι, *Const. Apost.* 8, 25; both which words were in ordinary use for the ordination or appointment of clerks; see ORDINATION). It does not appear by whom the appointment was made. Chrysostom (*de Sacerdot.* 3, 16) counts the selection of fit persons among the burdens of the episcopal office; but there is no evidence that the right of appointment was confined to bishops.

The "order of widows" ("ordo viduarum," Clement. *Recognit.* 6, 15, τὸ τάγμα τῶν χηρῶν, Pseudo-Ignat. *ad Philipp.* c. 15; τὸ χηρικόν, Clement. *Homil.* 11, 35; *Const. Apost.* 3, 1; 8, 25) which was thus formed was evidently a small class in each community. One of the earliest collections of ecclesiastical regulations fixes the number at three (Διαταγαὶ Κλήμεντος, c. 21 (24), ed. Pitra, *Juris Eccles. Graec. Monumenta*, vol. i. p. 84; Lagarde, *Juris Eccles. Reliquiae*, p. 74; Hilgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum*, fasc. 4, p. 101), but it had ecclesiastical rank (ἐκκλησιαστικὴ τιμή, Origen *in Joann.* tom. 32, 7, vol iv. p. 422, ed. Delarue), and it is enumerated as co-ordinate with, and therefore distinct from, both clerks and laymen (*Const. Apost.* 2, 25; 3, 11, 15; 8, 10, 12, 29). Its members were supported out of the church offerings until about the time of the council of Nicaea, when Constantine sent a rescript to provincial governors, ordering that they should for the future receive an annual provision in common with the church virgins "et aliis qui divino ministerio erant consecrati" (Incert. Auct. *de Constant.* ap. Haenel, *Corpus Legum ab Imperat. Romanis ante Justinianum latarum*, p. 196). Julian abolished this provision and compelled those who had received it to refund it (Sozom. *H. E.* 5, 5), but his successor restored it; and Theodoret speaks of it as existing in his own day (Theodoret, *H. E.* 1, 11).

The duties of the widows who had thus a separate place upon the church roll were of two kinds. For some of them the model was the Anna of the Gospel "which departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day" (St. Luke ii. 37, referred to specially in *Const. Apost.* 3. 1: cf. S. Basil, *Epist.* 174 (283), p. 261): others were employed in the good works of nursing the sick, urging the younger women to live chastely, and, without teaching the mysteries of the kingdom of God, making converts of heathen women. The leading early rule is Διατ. Κλήμ. c. 18, referred to above, "Let three widows be appointed: of whom let two continue in prayer for all who are in trouble . . . . and let one attend to those who are being tried by illnesses, ministering to them, and vigilant, and reporting their necessities to the presbyters." This rule is repeated in the Jacobite canons of Gregory Barhebraeus, cap. 7, sect 7, ap. Mai *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* vol. x. pars ii. p. 50, and in the Coptic *Apostolical Constitutions*, ed. Tattam, p. 24. A more precise account of the duties of a widow, especially in regard to "those who are without," is given in *Const. Apost.* 3, 5: cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 3, p. 536, who traces back this part of the ministry of women to the times of the apostles. Origen (*in Isaiam*, Hom. 6, vol. iii. p. 117, ed. Delarue) speaks of their duty in relation to younger women; Tertullian (*de Veland. Virg.* c. 9) implies the existence of a similar duty, in giving as the reason for the restriction as to age and having borne children, "ut facile norint ceteras et consilio et solatio juvare." The leading Western canon in *Statt. Eccles. Antiq.* c. 103, "viduae quae stipendiis ecclesiae sustentantur tam assiduae in dei opere esse debent ut et meritis et orationibus suis ecclesiam adjuvent." (It is interesting to find an allusion to the work of widows in the satirical account of the Christians which is given by Lucian, *de Morte Pere-*

*grini*, c. 12, where widows and orphans are represented as waiting at the prison of Proteus).

How long this primitive institution continued is not clear; the obligation of the church to help its widows of course continued, and a long catena of passages might be made to shew how constantly the obligation was recognised and inculcated; but there are no certain traces of the recognition of the primitive class of poor widows after the later books of the Apostolical Constitutions in the East and the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* in the West. In the meantime another "ordo viduarum" was being formed, which was not limited to those who were more than sixty years of age or who were in need of support. This second order of widows, which long survived the first, and which (though distinguished from it so early as the time of Chrysostom, *Hom. de Viduis*, *Op.* tom. iii. p. 323, ed. Migne) has often been confounded with it, arose out of the strong feeling against second marriages which manifested itself in the course of the second century. It came to be considered meritorious for a woman who had lost her husband, not merely to abstain from a second marriage, but to take a vow of abstinence, and to indicate her vow by adopting a peculiar dress ("vestis fuscior," S. Hieron. *Epist.* 38 *ad Marcell.* vol. i. p. 174). This ascetic tendency was especially strong in the West, and the great Latin fathers of the end of the fourth century did their best to encourage it. St. Ambrose wrote a treatise *De Viduis* (*op.* vol. ii. p. 184), and elsewhere speaks of the "grace of widowhood" as a plant of specially Christian growth (*in Evang. sec. Luc.* lib. 3, 18, p. 1320; *Hexaem.* 5, 19, p. 105). St. Jerome's circle of noble ladies at Rome contained several who had taken upon themselves the vows of widowhood, and his letters contain many commendations of those who had done so (e.g. *Epist.* 38 *ad Marcell.* p. 174; *Epist.* 108 *ad Eustoch.* p. 690; *Epist.* 123 *ad Ageruck.* p. 900); to one who was wavering in her purpose, he ends a long letter by saying, "Reflect daily that you will one day die, and you will never think of a second marriage" (*Epist.* 54 *ad Furiam*, p. 282). St. Augustine also wrote a treatise *De Bono Viduitatis* (Migne, P. L. vol. xli.); in it he does not agree with the Novatians and Tertullian that second marriages are always to be condemned (c. 4), nor even with those who thought that the second marriage of a widow who had taken a vow of continence was adultery (c. 10), but he strongly urges that widows should take such a vow, and that having taken it they should persevere (c. 19).

The result of this inculcation of the virtue of widowhood was that a large number of widows took the vow. But some of those who did so appear to have been influenced only by a desire to gain greater freedom and to have a decent cloke for lasciviousness. The civil law, which had at first supported the ecclesiastical tendency, was compelled to check it. Majorian enacted, after reciting the abuse of the vow of widowhood, that childless widows under forty years of age must either marry again or forfeit half their property to the public chest (*Novell.* Majorian, tit. 6, 1, 1, ed. Haenel, p 306). The church, on the other hand, continued to proclaim the merit of perpetual widowhood. It made all persons who married a widow ineligible for admission to holy orders, or, if already in orders, ineligible for promotion [ORDERS, HOLY; *Qualifications for*, pp. 1485, 1492]; and if the widow of a clerk married again, she was liable to perpetual seclusion in a convent. A curious instance of the latter rule is afforded by Gregory the Great: the widow of a subdeacon who, after her husband's death, had married again, had been visited with this ordinary punishment of seclusion; but it was discovered that her husband, before his death, had resigned his office; whereupon Gregory orders the widow to be released (S. Greg. M. *Epist.* 4, 36, *ad Leonem*, p. 716). It is probable that among the Teutonic peoples the ecclesiastical tendency was fostered by the feeling against second marriages which is mentioned by Tacitus (*Germ.* c. 19), and which is expressed both in the Teutonic codes and in the Merovingian capitularies (cf. Walter, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, 2te Ausg. § 487).

It is clear that for several centuries widows who took the vow were free to live, as they had lived before, in their own houses. But by the eighth century a feeling had grown up, especially in Gaul and Spain, that the only safety from temptation lay in their living, as virgins under a vow usually lived, in monasteries. In A.D. 748 Pippin and the Gallican clergy put the formal question to pope Zachary "whether widows who lived in their own houses could save their souls," to which the pope gives no definite answer, but, following the decretal of Gelasius, leaves those who break their vows to the judgment of God (Zachar. Pap. *Epist. ad Pippin.* ap. Cenni *Codex Carolinus*, vol. i. p. 46, and Migne, P. L. vol. xcviii. 84). In the following century the Gallican church abolished the option which, though discouraged, had still continued to exist, and enacted that professed widows should no longer be allowed to live in private houses (6 Conc. Paris, A.D. 829, lib. i. c. 44). In this, as in some other respects, pope Nicholas I. disapproved of the Gallican enactment, and refused to allow widows to be forced into monasteries (Nicol. I. *Respons. ad Bulgar.* c. 87, ap. Mansi, vol. xv. p. 429). But ultimately the Gallican rule prevailed; the taking of the vows of widowhood implied entrance into a monastery; the order of widows was merged in that of nuns, and, as may be gathered from the omission of the rites of benediction of widows in the later Sacramentaries, at length disappeared altogether.

The taking of the vow of perpetual widowhood was accompanied by the adoption of a dress which at first probably differed from the ordinary dress only in its material and its colour (S. Hieron. *Epist.* 38 *ad Marcell.* vol. i. p. 174, S. August. *Epist.* cclxii. 9; ap. Migne, P. L. vol. xxxiii. 1081). The assumption of this dress was probably at first the private act of the widow herself, unattended by any ceremony; but it soon became usual to give greater emphasis to the vow of which it was the token by making it in the presence of a bishop. Even this was in the first instance a private and not a public ceremony; for the first council of Orange, A.D. 441, c. 27, speaks only of "viduitatis servandae professionem coram episcopo in secretario habitam imposita ab episcopo veste viduali indicandam."

But ultimately, in the West, the act was attended with a ceremonial for which provision

is made in most early ordinals. This was especially the case after the identification or confusion of the order of widows with the order of deaconesses. In early times, and probably always in the East, the two orders had unquestionably been distinct. (1) Their functions were distinct, widows being employed in prayer and in tending the sick, whereas deaconesses had the special duties of assisting at the baptism of women, and of guarding the church doors. (S. Epiphan. *Expos. Fid.* c. 21, p. 1104, Pseudo-Ignat. *ad Antioch.* c. 12, *Constit. Apost.* 3. 15). (2) The mode of appointment was different, deaconesses having imposition of hands, which widows had not (*Const. Apost.* 8. 18, 29). (3) The Apostolical Constitutions state it as a mark of a good widow, that she subordinates herself to the deaconesses as well as to the presbyters and deacons (*Const. Apost.* 3. 7.). (4) A deaconess might be a virgin (*Const. Apost.* 4. 17, Sozom. *H. E.* 8. 23). But it is clear from the enactments of the council of Epaon, A.D. 517, c. 21, and the second council of Tours, c. 21, fifty years later, that in the Frankish and Burgundian kingdoms the distinction had come to be disregarded. It may also be noted that the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, c. 12, give to widows the same functions in the baptism of women which in the East were assigned to deaconesses. It was a natural result that many parts of the rite of ordination were common to widows and deaconesses. The earliest ritual is that of the Missale Francorum (Muratori *Liturgia Rom. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 463), which consists of two parts, (1) the benediction of the widow's clothes, (2) the benediction of the widow herself. For the first part two prayers are given, which are found also in Egbert's *Pontifical* (ed. Surtees Society, p. 110); where two other prayers, "Deus qui vestimentum salutare," . . . "Deus bonorum virtutum dator," . . . are added, which are also found in the text of the Gregorian Sacramentary (as given by Muratori, vol. ii. p. 785), and in the Codex Maffeianus (*ibid.* vol. iii. p. 103), for the consecration of the vestments of either a widow or virgin. The second part consists of three prayers, (*a*) "Consolare Domine hanc famulam," . . . . which is found also in Egbert's Pontifical, p. 110, in Hittorp's *Ordo Romanus*, p. 149, in the Gelasian Sacramentary (Muratori, vol. ii. p. 380), and in the Codex Maffeianus (*ibid.* vol. iii. p. 109); (*b*) "Domine Deus virtutum coelestium," . . . . which is found also in Hittorp's *Ordo Romanus;* (*c*) Deus qui Annam filiam Fanuelis," . . . . which is partly found also in Egbert's Pontifical and in the Missale Gallicanum Vetus (Muratori, vol. iii. p. 507); and which in Hittorp's *Ordo Romanus*, p. 144, forms part of the office of the consecration of a deaconess. Egbert's Pontifical adds another prayer, which is omitted from the other ordinals at the consecration of a widow, but occurs in Hittorp's *Ordo Romanus*, ibid. in the consecration of a deaconess. The rites of imposing the veil and of placing under the bishop's ban all who disturb the peace of the widow or deaconess are identical in the two cases in Hittorp's *Ordo*, pp. 144, 149; in each case, it is the deaconess or widow herself who places the veil upon her head. This point is of some importance, as interpreting and illustrating the Western rule that no bishop should veil a widow; (Gelas. *Epist.* 9 *ad Episc. Lucan.* c. 15, *Decretum General.* ap. Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, p. 652; repeated in Conc. Rotom. c. 9, Karoli M. *Capit. Aquisgran.* A.D. 789, c. 59. The rule seems sometimes to have been interpreted as prohibiting the veiling of widows at all; its meaning appears to have been that only bishops could veil virgins, and that only presbyters could veil widows; so 6 *Conc. Paris.* A.D. 829, lib. i. c. 40).

A widow who after thus making a solemn profession of continence broke her vow, was liable to severe ecclesiastical censure. Gelasius, *Decretum Generale*, c. 21, *ut supra*, had been content to leave such an one to the judgment of God. But the African, Spanish, and Gallican councils imposed the penalty of a more or less lengthened excommunication; *Stat. Eccles. Antiq.* c. 104, 3 *Conc. Tolet.* c. 10, 3 *Aurel.* c. 18, 4 *Tolet.* c. 56, 5 *Paris.* c. 15, 6 *Tolet.* 6. The Eastern rule visited a *deaconess* who married with death and confiscation (*Nomocanon*, tit. 9, c. 29, ed. Pitra, *Jur. Eccl. Graec. Mon.* vol. ii. p. 564).

It is probable that at one time, in the East, the senior widows had as such a distinct rank and distinct functions. As women had their own deaconesses, so also they seem in some places to have had their own presbyteresses. The references to them are few in number. The most important is that of the apocryphal *Acta et Martyrium Matthaei*, c. 28 (according to the Paris MS. as edited by Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, p. 187), which speaks of the apostle as having ordained the wife of a certain king as πρεσβῦτις, and his son's wife as deaconess. The Council of Laodicea, c. 11, implies their existence in its prohibition of their appointment for the future; but this prohibition must be held to refer to their functions, or to their place in church (προκαθημένας), and not to their existence as a class, since they are distinctly recognized in the Apostolical Constitutions as being co-ordinate with widows and virgins (2, 57), though inferior to deaconesses (2, 28), and also since Epiphanius (*Expos. Fid.* c. 4, p. 1060), arguing against the Collyridians, states that the church gave the title πρεσβύτιδας to the elder widows. The earlier Western collections of canons understand the Laodicean canon as referring to 'mulieres quae apud Graecos *presbyterae* appellantur, apud nos autem *viduae seniores*, conversae, et matriculariae' (Fulgent. Ferrand. *Breviat. Canon.* 221, ap. Migne P. L. vol. lxvii. 960; so Isidor. Mercat. ap. Migne, P. L. vol. cxxx. 287): and a canonist of the 10th century, whose source of information seems to be lost, speaks of them as having the power 'praedicandi, jubendi, vel docendi' (Atto Vercellens. *Epist.* 8, ap. D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, vol. i. p. 438). It is probable that they were also to some extent recognized in the West: for although in many places, *e.g.* in St. Greg. M. *Epist.* 9, 7, p. 931, the term 'presbyterae' may be only used of the wife of a presbyter, on the other hand Mabillon's *Ordo Romanus*, ix. p. 91 and Hittorp's *Ordo Romanus*, p. 88, make a distinct provision for the benediction '*presbyterissarum* atque diaconissarum.' Unfortunately, however, these references, though clear and sufficient to establish their existence, stand altogether alone.

It may be added, partly in explanation of the

above quotation from Ferrandus, that in the East as well as in the West the term 'widow' was applied to a wife who lived in voluntary separation from her husband: the most pertinent instance is afforded by a sepulchral inscription in Le Bas and Waddington's *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines d'Asie Mineure*, No. 816, found at Cotiaeum in Phrygia, σωφροσύνῃ ζήσασα ἐν χηροσύνῃ κατέλειψε σύνευνον χαλεπῷ πένθει τειρόμενον. [E. H.]

**WIGS.** Boldetti (*Osservazioni*, p. 297) relates that in a tomb of the cemetery of St. Cyriaca, which was without inscription, but which he supposes to be the tomb of a martyr, he found a wig with the hair arranged in plaits and still lying on the head of the corpse.

The use and abuse of false hair among the pagan nations of antiquity is well known. Juvenal and Martial direct all the force of their satire against the women who try to revive their youth by this means, "enclosing their heads in a sort of case," like a sword in its scabbard; against the men who change their hair-dye with the seasons of the year, and the dotards who think they can outwit Fate by a blonde wig. Lampridius gives an absurd sketch of the wig of the emperor Commodus, sprinkled with glutinous perfumes, and then powdered with gold dust.

Christians were not always free from the influence of the prevailing fashion; and it was to be expected that converts from Paganism would not at once abandon the fashions of their former life. Long and flowing locks have always been objects of admiration, at all events on women, and St. Paul expressly sanctions their use (1 Cor. xi. 15). Hence, perhaps, the desire among Christians to supply their place by artificial means. This brought down the censure of the fathers of the church, and Tertullian signalizes himself by an attack on women who "gave their hair no peace." He speaks in another passage (*de Cultu Foemin.* 7) of "the monstrosities of twined and stitched hair," which were in vogue, and Jerome, in a letter to Marcella (xxiii.), pointedly alludes to the rage for wearing wigs among women "who with false hair make an edifice of their heads." In the frescoes and sculptures at the catacombs are to be seen representations of women in prayer, or seated at banquets, with abundant hair very artificially dressed. This marks their epoch, and is a great help in determining the date of these monuments. [E. C. H.]

**WILFRID,** bishop of York, commemorated on Apr. 24 (*Mart. Metr.* Bed.). [C. H.]

**WILLEBRORD,** bishop of Utrecht, commemorated in Frisia Nov. 7 (*Mart.* Usuard., Wand., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**WILLS** (*Testamenta*). The rules of ecclesiastical law relating to testamentary matters cannot be collected in any systematic arrangement, as they are for the most part in the form of exceptions to the general law. The civil law upon the subject has been, to a large extent, incorporated into the canon law of the period subsequent to the limit of this article; and it is a matter of some difficulty to disentangle from this great mass of legislation those enactments which properly belong to the ecclesiastical law of the first eight centuries.

In this article the regulations to be found in the different codes will be arranged under the following heads:—

I. *The Capacity to bequeath by Will.*
II. *The Capacity to take under a Will.*
III. *The Property which may be made the Subject of a Will.*
IV. *Miscellaneous Provisions.*
V. *Succession by Intestacy.*

The law relating to the testamentary disposition of Apostates will be found in the article on that subject. [APOSTASY, p. 104.] See also PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH (p. 1730 ff.), HOSPITALS (p. 788, col. 1), BISHOP (p. 238, col. 1), and IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE CLERGY (p. 826, col. 2).

### I. *The Capacity to bequeath by Will.*

*In France.*—By the second canon of the second council of Lyons (A.D. 567), bishops and other clergy might bequeath property to the church without the formalities required by the civil law. This law was repeated in the tenth canon of the fifth council of Paris (A.D. 615). The eighth canon of this council contained the provision, that the archbishop or archdeacon should not appropriate to themselves or their church any property left by a clerk to another church

*In the African Church.*—According to St. Augustine the right of giving or receiving by will was taken away from the Donatists. (Lib. 1, contr. Ep. Parmeniani, 12.)

*Under the Imperial Law.*—The duty of bequeathing property to the church was enforced in the amplest terms and facilitated by Constantine in A.D. 321 (*Cod. Theod.* 16, 2. 4). For the history of this constitution, see the note of Gothofred, and Thomassinus (3, 1, 16, and 18). This injunction was repeated in the Code of Justinian (1, 2, 1). As regards its extent, the better opinion amongst civilians would appear to be that it does not give the right of making a will, to those who had not otherwise that right. The solution of other questions arising upon this constitution will be found in the commentaries and summarized in the notes of Van Leeuwen (Antwerp, 1809).

Bequests thus made were secured to the possession of the church by a constitution of Leo (A.D. 470), inserted in the Code of Justinian (1, 2, 14).

Women were forbidden to bequeath property to ecclesiastical persons by a constitution of Valentinian A.D. 370 (*Cod. Theod.* 16, 2, 20).

This was extended so far as regards the property of deaconesses to bequests to the church and poor by Theodosius, A.D. 390 (*Cod. Theod.* 16, 2, 27). This last constitution was two months afterwards repealed as regards movables (*Cod. Theod.* 16, 2, 28). Both constitutions were abrogated by Marcian in A.D. 455 (*Nov.* Mart. 6). The observations of Baronius (*Ann.* ad ann. 455 sec. 25–28) on this *Novell.* may be compared with the notes of Gothofred on the three constitutions of Theodosius, in A.D. 381 (*Cod. Theod.* 16, 5, 7), a disability which was extended by the same emperor to Eunomians in A.D. 389 (*Cod. Theod.* 16, 5, 17). This right of giving and receiving by will was restored to and taken away from these

heretics several times during the subsequent forty years. The seventh book of the history of Sozomen illustrates these changes of imperial policy and feeling.

At length in A.D. 428 a comprehensive constitution was promulgated by Theodosius the younger (*Cod. Theod.* 16, 5, 65), which confirmed the loss of testamentary rights in the case of twenty-three classes of heretics mentioned therein by name. These penalties were confirmed by Justinian in his code (1, 5). In the 129th *Novell.*, A.D. 559, he grants privileges to the Samaritani, but these were taken away by Justin in the 144th *Novell.*

By a constitution of Valentinian in A.D. 426 (*Cod. Theod.* 16, 8, 28), two privileges were given to the converted children of Jews. In the first place they could not be disinherited or passed over by their Jewish parents, nor given less than they would receive under an intestacy. Secondly, even if they were disinherited for a crime against their parents, they were still to receive the *quarta Falcidia*. In the code of Justinian is inserted a constitution of Marcian (A.D. 455), enabling women dedicated to religion, in the technical sense, to bequeath their property to ecclesiastical purposes (*Cod.* 1, 2, 13). Justinian himself in A.D. 538 forbad to monks the right of making a will (*Nov.* 76, 1). In the 123rd *Novell.* (A.D. 546) he secured to presbyters and clerks of inferior orders the right of bequeathing their property (*Nov.* 123, 19).

*Under the Barbarian Codes.*—By the laws of Luitprand, king of the Lombards in A.D. 721, minors under eighteen years of age could bequeath a part of their property in favour of churches and hospitals (*Davoud Oughlou*, vol. ii. p. 61).

II. *The Capacity to take under a Will.*

*In France.*—By the 6th canon of the council of Agde (A.D. 506) followed by the 20th canon of the council of Rheims (A.D. 625) property bequeathed to a clerk was considered to be bequeathed to his church.

*In the African Church.*—It had, in St. Augustine's time, become a rule that the church should receive no estates given to the great detriment and prejudice of common rights, as if a father disinherited his children to make the church his heir (Augustine, *Serm.* 49, *De Diversis;* Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, c. 24; cited by Bingham, 5, 4, 13).

By the 13th canon of the third council of Carthage (A.D. 397) bishops and clergy were forbidden to bequeath their property to non-Catholic Christians, even when blood relations. By the 81st canon in the *Codex Ecclesiae Africanae* (A.D. 419), bishops who appointed heretical or pagan heirs were pronounced anathema, and removed from the roll of those whose names were recited as priests of God. The same penalty was inflicted if by his dying intestate the property of a bishop should devolve on heretics or pagans.

*Under the Imperial Law.*—Justinian permitted the disherision of heretical children by their parents in the 115th *Novell.* A.D. 542, and of heretical parents by their children (3, 14; 4, 8). In A.D. 546 he forbad the disherision of children by parents and of parents by children by reason of their embracing a monastic life (*Nov.* 123, 41). He also directed that if a person had entered a monastic life, and had died before dividing his property, his children only took a *pars legitima*, the rest of the property going to the monastery (*Nov.* 123, 38). Parents were not allowed altogether to disinherit children taking orders or entering a monastery, as appears from a Constitution of Justinian, A.D. 534 (*Cod.* 1, 3, 55).

III. *The Property which may be made the Subject of a Will.*

*In the East.*—The council of Antioch held in A.D. 341, in its twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth canons, provides for the separation of the private property of a bishop from the property of the church under his care, so that the latter might not be bequeathed by him with his private property. [On these canons, and the apostolic canons on the same subject, see ALIENATION, p. 51, col. 1.]

A case in which this law was disregarded will be found in the acts of the council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451). Four presbyters of the church of Edessa accused their metropolitan, Ibas, of conniving at the misconduct of his suffragan, Daniel, who had bequeathed ecclesiastical property away from the church.

*In France*, by the thirty-third canon of the council of Agde (A.D. 506), if a bishop, not having children or grandchildren, did not make the church his heir, his property was to be mulcted of a sum equivalent to that spent by him out of ecclesiastical revenues on other objects; but if he left descendants, they must indemnify the church out of the inheritance. The canons numbered forty-eight and fifty-one (but which are of doubtful authenticity) forbid bishops to leave to heirs or legatees any church property. This provision as to legacies is found in the seventeenth canon of the council of Epaon (A.D. 517), but it excepts cases where the testator has given an equivalent out of his private property.

*In Spain*, the first canon of the first council of Seville (A.D. 590) repeated the above-cited thirty-third canon of the council of Agde.

*Under the Barbarian Codes.*—The laws of Aistulphus (A.D. 749) gave exceptional validity to wills in favour of holy places. In the laws of the Visigoths provisions will be found for restraining the cupidity of the heirs of bishops and other clergy (*Davoud Oghlou*, vol. ii. p. 151, vol. i. p. 163).

Upon the whole matter Van Espen (*Jus Ecclesiasticum*, 2, 4, 1, 8) draws the conclusion that in the ancient canons it was forbidden to the clergy as well as to the bishops to bequeath any property which they had acquired from the church.

As to the operation of the Lex Falcidia upon bequests for church purposes, see PROPERTY (p. 1731), and Ferraris, *Bibliotheca* sub voce *Legatum*, secs. 137–138.

IV. *Miscellaneous Provisions.*

*In France.*—By the fourth canon of the first council of Vaison (A.D. 442) any person as an infidel who should keep back the gifts of the faithful departed, was to be cast out of the church. This canon was repeated in the twenty-second canon of the third council of Orleans (A.D. 538). The fourth council of Orleans (A.D. 541) simply provides in canon fourteen that property left by a lawful will to

the church or to a bishop cannot be demanded by the heirs of the deceased. The more stern provisions of the earlier councils were repeated by the fourth canon of the first council of Mâcon (A.D. 581).

*In the African Church* it was forbidden by the eighteenth canon of the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* that a bishop should accept a guardianship under a will.

*In Spain.*—By the seventh canon of the ninth council of Toledo (A.D. 655) the relations of a deceased bishop were forbidden to deal with his property without the consent of the metropolitan, and in the case of the clergy without the consent of the bishop.

*In England* the only distinct enactment not brought in by the adoption of foreign councils would seem to be the second answer in the dialogue of archbishop Egbert of York (A.D. 732–766; see Haddan and Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 403), where he directs the clergy not to become witnesses of nuncupatory wills except in company with other persons.

*Under the Imperial Law.*—That the clergy should presume to decide upon testamentary questions seemed to Justin a most improper act —"absurdum etenim clericis est, immo etiam opprobriosum, si peritos se voluit ostendere disceptationum esse forensium," and he forbad it (A.D. 524) under a heavy fine. (*Cod.* 1, 3, 41).

Justinian in A.D. 528 gave 100 years as the limit of actions upon legacies to ecclesiastical purposes (*Cod.* 1, 2, 24); but he afterwards reduced it to forty years, except in the case of the church of Rome (*Nov.* 131, 6).

Justinian in A.D. 530 promulgated a long constitution (*Cod.* 1, 3, 46), imposing upon the bishops, and in their default upon the metropolitans, the duty of looking after the proper application of bequests to pious uses.

Two years later he exempted bequests by the clergy of their "peculium quasi castrense" from any "querela inofficiosi" (*Cod.* 1, 3, 50); but this privilege was taken away A.D. 546 (*Nov.* 123, 19).

There are provisions in a constitution of Justinian of A.D. 530 for determining the construction of wills when the object of the testator's bounty is obscurely indicated—*e.g.* bequests to Our Lord are to be held to be given to the church of the town or neighbourhood of the deceased, bequests to archangels and martyrs to churches dedicated by their name in the town or neighbourhood, failing such to the church so named in the metropolis. If there are more churches than one of the same name the intention of the testator must if possible be ascertained; if this cannot be done, then the poorest church is to be chosen (*Cod.* 1, 2, 26). [For the further legislation on this subject in the 131st *Novell.* see PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH.]

### V. *Succession by Intestacy.*

In the earliest times the heirs of the clergy, whether bishops, presbyters, or others of inferior order succeeded in case of intestacy, as appears from a constitution of Valentinian, A.D. 334 (*Cod.* 1, 3, 20), in which no distinction appears. Care was, however, taken that the private property of bishops should be separated from the church property, which they administered in right of their sees, so that the former alone should pass to the private heirs. (See Conc. Antioch. A.D. 341, cap. 24; Conc. Chalc. A.D. 451, cap. 22.)

In the 6th century the canons of councils, which directed bishops to make the church their heir in default of issue, affected to the same extent the succession by intestacy (see Conc. Agath. A.D. 506, cap. 33). But this restriction did not apply to the property of the clergy below the order of bishops; and in consequence attempts were wont to be made to exclude the heirs of the clergy. The seventh canon of the fifth council of Paris (A.D. 615) was directed against this abuse.

The contrary practice, by which the heirs of an intestate bishop appropriated church property, had to be guarded against. This temptation seems to have been especially felt in Spain, and canons of several councils are concerned with its suppression. (Conc. Tarracon. A.D. 516, cap. 12; Conc. Ilerdense, A.D. 523, cap. ult.) By degrees the moveable property of intestate ecclesiastics was claimed by the church on the pretext that this property had been acquired from church property. This claim was styled the *jus spolii*.

The order of succession to the property of intestate clergy did not differ from that of laymen, except as regards the children of those clergy who were forbidden to marry. These children could not by a constitution of Justinian in A.D. 530 (*Cod.* 1, 3, 45), even succeed to their mother's property. If a clerk died intestate and left no heirs, his property went to the church which he had served. (*Cod.* 1, 3, 20, A.D. 334; *Nov.* 131, cap. 13, A.D. 545; *Capit. Carol.* lib. 5, cap. 173.)

Passing to the rules which govern the succession by clerks to the property of intestates, they succeeded in the same manner as laymen (*Cod.* 1, 3, 56, 1) and their professional earnings were not brought into computation (*Cod.* 1, 3, 34). The same law applied both to seculars and regulars (*Cod.* 1, 3, 56), but this was afterwards altered, and the community succeeded to the rights of regulars. (*Nov.* 5 and 123, cap. 38.)

See upon the succession in intestacy Boehmer, *Jus Ecclesiast. Protest.* lib. 3, tit. 27.

[Besides the articles and authorities cited in this article, and the commentators on the cited passages of the civil and canon law, the following authorities may be consulted. Van Espen, *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, vol. ii.; Reiffenstuel, *Jus Canonicum*, vol. iii.; Photii *Nomocanon*, tit. 10; Thomassinus, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae Disciplina*, 3, 1, 16–21, 3, 2, 38–43; Herzog, *Real-Encyklopädie*, "Testamente"; Ferraris, *Bibliotheca*, "Testamentum"; Walter, *Kirchenrecht*, 262; Bingham, *Christian Antiquities*, 5, 4, 5–9, 6, 2, 9.]

[I. B.]

**WOMEN.** Certain features in the domestic and social influence of women among Christian communities will be found treated of in the article on SOCIAL LIFE. It is proposed here to notice some of the special points of difference in the Christian, as compared with the pagan, conception of woman's character and duties.

The estimate of womanhood in the earliest Christian literature exhibits a remarkable contrast to that of paganism, as both attaching far more importance to female modesty and chastity, and, at the same time, greatly enhancing the dignity of the female character and enlarging the sphere of woman's activities. The

Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians speaks of the husbands whom he addresses, as exhorting their wives to the discharge of their duties with a blameless, grave, and pure conscientiousness, and in a spirit of conjugal affection, and also teaching them to superintend domestic matters with dignified decorum (σεμνῶς) [c. i. ed. Dressel, p. 48]. In the same manner, Polycarp (*ad Philipp.* c. 4) exhorts the Christian wives of Philippi to live in the faith, in love and purity, to duly honour their husbands, and to instruct their children in the fear of the Lord. Second marriages being systematically discouraged in the early church, the advice given by the same writer to the widows seems directed against the faults to which women, when lonely and unemployed, are specially prone — "calumny, speaking against their neighbours, bearing false witness, and avarice" (ed. Dressel, p. 381).

The advice of Tertullian (*ad Uxorem*, bk. ii. c. 8) that a woman should not refuse to marry one slightly below herself in station, provided he is likely to prove in other respects a good husband, points probably to the existence of a certain social ambition among those to whom his treatise is addressed, which he considered unworthy of the Christian character. As contrasted with the cruelty which too often disgraced the privacy of pagan households, we find Chrysostom observing that it is a shame for a man to beat his female slave, much more his wife (*in Epist.* i. *ad Corinth. Hom.* 26; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* lxi. 222).

The teaching of the most enlightened of the fathers was undoubtedly to the effect that there was no natural inferiority in the woman to the man. Theodoret (*Graec. Affect. Curat.* bk. v.) insists emphatically on their exact equality, and says that God made woman from man in order that the tendencies and action of both might be harmonious. Sometimes, indeed, he observes, woman has been found superior to man in encountering adversity (Migne, lxxxiii. 836). Chrysostom (*Hom.* lxi. 3) says that no one is more fit to instruct and exhort her husband than a pious woman. This conception differed, however, materially from that of Plato (*Repub.* v. p. 455), in that while the Greek philosopher sought to obliterate the ordinary distinctions between the sexes, the Christian father held that nature assigned to woman her special and distinct province of activity. Chrysostom, in a passage of singular beauty, gives us a comparison between the duties of the wife and those of the husband, the former being represented as in some respects the more dignified; for while the husband is described as engaged in the rougher work of life, in the market or the law-courts, the wife is represented as remaining at home and devoting much of her time to prayer, to reading the Scriptures, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ φιλοσοφίᾳ. When her husband returns, harassed with his labours, it is her function to cheer and to soothe him, περικόπτειν αὐτοῦ τὰ περιττὰ καὶ ἄγρια τῶν λογισμῶν, so that he again goes forth into the world purified from the evil influences to which he has there been exposed, and carrying with him the higher influences of his home-life (*in Joann. Hom.* lxi.; Migne, lix. 340).

The participation of young females in the exercises of the palaestra and in races, commended by pagan theorists (Grote's *Plato*, iii. 217), is condemned by Clemens of Alexandria (*Paed.* iii. 10) as altogether repugnant to the notions of female modesty (Migne, viii. 626). Chrysostom (*in Matt. Hom.* i.) contrasts the difference in relation to these points between Christian and pagan teaching, and even goes so far as to affirm that true virginity was a notion which paganism was unable to realise (Migne, lvii. 19).

At the same time we have satisfactory evidence that this exalted conception of the female character and female duties did not involve any renunciation of her humbler functions. Clemens says that it is right that women should employ themselves in spinning, weaving, and watching the bread-maker (τῇ πεττούσῃ), and that it is no disgrace for a wife to grind corn or to superintend the cookery with the view of pleasing her husband (Migne, viii. 626).

The excessive luxury of the 4th century would seem however to have been not less fatal to the maintenance of this high ideal than to other features of the Christian character. Amédée Thierry says that, by one of those contradictions which "déroutent la logique des idées," Christianity itself, essentially the religion of the poor, conspired to give to the manners of the Western empire a degree of effeminacy unknown in pagan times (*Saint Jérôme*, p. 2). Chrysostom declares that many of the ladies of Constantinople would not walk across even a single street to attend church, but required to be conveyed for the shortest distance (*in Matt. Hom.* vii.; Migne, lvii. 79). When there they were to be seen with their necks, heads, arms, and fingers loaded with golden chains and rings, their persons breathing precious odours, and their dresses of gold stuff and silk (Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, bk. iv. c. 1). Others, again, affected masculine apparel, and seemed to blush for their womanhood, cutting short their hair, and presenting faces like those of eunuchs — "impudenter erigunt facies eunuchinas" (Jerome, *Epist.* 18). According to the same authority, the greater facilities possessed by ecclesiastics for gaining admission to female society was an inducement with some to become priests—"ut mulieres licentius videant" (*ib.*). Elsewhere Jerome strongly dissuades the clergy from accustoming themselves to private interviews with those of the other sex,—"Solus cum sola, secreto, et absque arbitro vel teste, non sedeas" (*Epist.* 52; Migne, xxii. 260).

The exaggerated importance attached by Jerome to the unwedded life, as one of superior sanctity, seems to have led him to dwell somewhat harshly on the weaknesses and worldliness of many of the wealthy matrons of his day. He represents them as given to excessive personal adornment, and bestowing much of their time on preparations for feasts and other household matters. When, however, we find him enumerating such obvious duties as "dispensatio domus, necessitates mariti, liberorum educatio, correctio servulorum," as prejudicial to the higher interests of the soul, we perceive that his tone is that of one to whom the ascetic life alone appeared adequately Christian (*de Perp. Virg.* c. 20; Migne, xxiii. 228). On the other hand, it is evident that the state of Roman

society at this time rendered it exceptionally difficult for Christian women to carry the principles of their religion into daily practice. Of this Marcella's retirement to her mansion in the suburbs, as described by the same father, is an indication. He depicts the very different future which her mother Albina had designed for her—a splendid marriage and the possession of great wealth, while the daughter rarely issued from her seclusion save to visit the churches of the apostles and martyrs, especially those least frequented by the multitude (*Epist.* 96). The mistresses of large establishments, according to Jerome, were often exposed to exceptional temptations; and he states that young widows would sometimes consent to marry even pagan husbands in order to avoid being plundered by dishonest stewards and to escape the anxieties inseparable from the management of a large household, thus bringing home to their children by a former marriage "not a guardian, but an enemy; not a parent, but a tyrant" (*Epist.* 54; Migne, xxii. 291).

Among other indications of the confusion and demoralisation characteristic of the 5th century must be included that laxity of church discipline which permitted the performance of public religious rites to be sometimes entrusted to women. In the twenty-first canon of the collection ascribed to Gelasius this is spoken of as evidence of the "contempt" into which religion had fallen — "audivimus . . . . ut feminae sacris altaribus ministrare firmentur, et cuncta quae non nisi virorum famulatui deputata sunt, sexum cui non competunt exhibere" (Migne, lvi. 420).

It is generally assumed, though on somewhat scanty and doubtful evidence, that at the period of the conversion of the Teutonic nations the regard for female chastity and the respect paid to the sex were greater among pagan communities than among the Latin races. But however this may have been, it is certain that the views inherited and handed down by the Western church with regard to "the personal and propriety liberty of women" were greatly superior to those that find expression in any of the barbaric codes. Something of this feeling seems reflected in Jerome when (*Epist.* 130) he censures parents for their too common practice of leaving deformed or otherwise unmarriageable daughters inadequately provided for (Migne, xxii. 981). "The church," says Sir Henry Maine, "conferred a great benefit on several generations by keeping alive the traditions of the Roman legislation respecting settled property;" and he points out that Christianity was really carrying on the tradition of the Roman *dos*. The formula of the marriage-service, "With all my worldly goods I thee endow," is one, he says, "which sometimes puzzles the English lawyer from its want of correspondence with anything which he finds among the oldest rules of English law" (*Early Hist. of Institutions*, p. 337; see also De Broglie, *l'Église et l'Empire*, I. ii. 273, and *Éclaircissement* D). [J. B. M.]

**WONDERS** (*miracula, signa, prodigia, portenta*—*θαύματα, θαυμάσια, σημεῖα, δυνάμεις, τέρατα, παράδοξα*). The reported miracles which fall within the limits of our period constitute no compact homogeneous whole. They form themselves into distinct groups. One group, having for its object the conversion of the heathen, gathers round notable wonder-workers in pagan countries, such as Gregory of Neo-caesarea (Thaumaturgus) and Martin of Tours. Another group, or other groups, of miracles, whose object is the support of Athanasian orthodoxy, gather round the great monks of the East—Antony, Hilarion, Pachomius—Ambrose in the West, and saints of lesser note and of later times in Spain, or appear as interpositions of Providence in the form of marvellous deliverances under cruelties inflicted by Vandal tyrants in Africa or Lombard invaders in Italy. Other miracles vindicate the sanctity of images or condemn the conduct of the Iconoclast. Others again, whose object is to glorify the enterprise and attest the piety of founders of monasteries, cluster thickly round a Benedict or Columban, amidst a galaxy of lesser wonders that stretch across the centuries in the acts of the saints. This classification, as bringing out the ethical features of the miracles and their relation to important events in church history, may well be borne in mind and allowed, so to speak, to run *pari passu* with a more methodical arrangement, according to which we shall classify the miracles thus:—

I. *Wonders wrought by Living Saints.*
II. *By Relics.*
III. *By the Eucharist.*
IV. *By Pictures and Images.*
V. *By Celestial Visitants.*
VI. *Apart from human or angelic Agency, or the above-named Means.*

In adopting for the purpose of further classification the division of miracles into those of beneficence and power, we do not regard these two heads as denoting distinct kinds of miracles, but simply classes, in the first of which the beneficence of the object and in the second the power of the performer is the dominant idea. Miracles of beneficence are also those of power—*δυνάμεις*—although miracles classed as those of power are not miracles of beneficence. Again, miracles of either class, but especially those of power, will appear as signs—*σημεῖα*—or pledges of a superhuman mission on the part of the performer, *i.e.* when they are wrought by a living saint, or, as Tertullian calls them, "documenta virtutum," attaining as such to the highest, because the ethical, character of a miracle, although both classes of miracles may degenerate into mere wonders—*θαύματα, τέρατα*—calling forth simply wonderment and amazement (see Trench, *Notes on Mir.* Introd.).

I. *Wonders wrought by living Saints.*—Whether by direct means, such as invocation of the name of Christ, prayer, signing of the cross, imposition of hands; or indirect, such as sending to the sick saints' garments or other garments, bread, oil, or water which had been blessed by saints.

One of the first points that strike us in the earlier notices of miracles which have reached us from the fathers is the absence of all claims on the part of the writers to the performance of the miracles they attest, and of all mention by name of those who wrought them. Thus Clemens Romanus states that there was a plentiful outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon all,

and Ignatius, in his letter addressed to the church of Smyrna, says that church was mercifully blessed with every good gift; and they refer without doubt to miracles that were going on in the church, but they do not arrogate to themselves individually the power of overcoming the laws of nature, or specify any by name who possessed such a power, in which latter respect they stand in strong contrast with the chroniclers of the acta of later saints. As to the gifts here spoken of, they appeared in the form of the following powers: the casting out of devils, healing of diseases, raising the dead, speaking with tongues, the prevision of events, and seeing visions, the three first kinds being miracles of beneficence, the three last of power; the first finding their parallel in point of character and the sphere of human life they affect in the evangelical miracles; the last their source in the promises of our Lord and the predictions of Holy Writ.

1. Miracles of beneficence. (1) Exorcism and healing; (2) Raising the dead; (3) Deliverance, protection, succour.

(1) Justin Martyr says that Christians in the name of Jesus cast out demons from those whom pagan enchanters could not cure (*Apol.* ii. 6). Amongst the deeds of mercy which the true disciples of Christ performed in His name, Irenaeus specifies exorcisms and cures of the sick (*Contra Haer.* ii. 32). Cyprian writes, "O si audire eos velles quando a nobis adjurantur et torquentur" (*Ad Demetr.* xv.). Tertullian, "Place some possessed person before your tribunals; any Christian shall command that spirit to speak, who shall as surely confess himself to be a devil as elsewhere he will call himself a god falsely" (*Apol.* 23). And again, "Devils we not only despise, but both overcome and daily expose and expel from men, as is known to very many" (*Ad Scap.* 2; cf. also *Apol.* 37). [DEMONIACS; EXORCISM.]

When we pass from this general testimony of the early fathers respecting the existence of a miraculous agency at work in their days to the more detailed accounts of later miracles, we learn more as to the means by which the miracles were wrought. We gather that on the whole these means were much the same as those which the apostles themselves and the saints of their time made use of, who on their part were guided in some measure by the example of our Lord, viz. in respect of prayer and the imposition of hands (Mark vi. 41, vii. 34; John xi. 41; Mark vi. 5), and in some measure by the practices He enjoined, viz. the anointing the sick with oil, and the use of His name (Mark vi. 13, xvi. 17; Luke x. 17), although, as we may see from Acts v. 15, 16, xix. 12, they did not restrict their methods of working cures either to the divine precedents or precepts.

Taking first the miracles of exorcism and healing which were wrought by direct means, viz. invocation of the name of Christ, prayer, signing of the cross, and imposition of hands, we find that some of the earliest of which we possess any detailed account are those which Gregory, bishop of Neocaesarea in Pontus, wrought in the 3rd century, but the record of which belongs to the 4th century and is due to Gregory of Nyssa, who is said to have received his information from his grandmother Macrina. As being less notable than the miracles of other kinds which the saint wrought, we shall only refer to his exorcism of an evil spirit from a youth by imposition of hands (Newman, *on Miracles*, p. xxviii.), and to his miraculous healing of the plague-stricken in Neocaesarea (Fleury, liv. vii. c. 11). Of the miracles of this class which the earlier Eastern monks wrought, those of Antony and Hilarion may stand as examples. St. Athanasius, who wrote the life of the first-named monk and was his personal friend, says that "everywhere he had had an anxious desire for truth" in the accounts he had given. Of Antony's exorcisms we may name the instance of a boy whom he cured in a fishing-boat, and of whose state of possession indications were given by the presence of a foul stench in the boat (Newman, *on Mir.* xxxi.), and of a girl from whom he cast out an evil spirit at Alexandria, whither he had gone in his old age to support the party of Athanasius (Fleury, xi. 41); and of his cures that which he wrought in the desert upon a man afflicted either with epilepsy or madness, not by any means he employed on the spot, but by bidding him to go to Egypt, and assuring him that he would there be healed (Newman, *on Mir.* xxxi.). Respecting the miracles Hilarion wrought in Sicily, which island was together with Palestine the chief scene of his wonders, we have the testimony of a Jew, in Greece, who reported that "a prophet of the Christians had appeared in Sicily and was doing so many miracles and signs that men thought him one of the old saints." Jerome, who wrote his life, records the following miracles: restoration of sight to a woman who for ten years had been blind; a cure of paralysis; another of dropsy; exorcising the possessed—even a camel who in its fury had caused the death of many (Newman, *on Mir.* p. xxxii.; Jerome, t. ii.). Of his exorcisms we may specify one as remarkable for its being followed by the offer of a sum of money on the part of the man who had been dispossessed, and for the saint's reply that his acceptance of it would surely bring back the possession; and another as notable for the capacity which the energumen displayed, on the occasion of his cure, of speaking in Syriac and Greek, of which languages he, being a Frank by birth and uneducated, had no knowledge (Fleury, xii. 17).

Turning to the West, we find in the 4th century St. Ambrose curing a woman of palsy, laying his hands on her in prayer, while she touched his garment (Paulini *Vit. S. Ambros.* in Append. 2, § 10), casting out evil spirits, and on the other hand causing for his misdeeds a thief to be repossessed (*Vita*, 43; Fleury, xx. 20), and St. Martin of Tours delivering a slave of a devil, and healing a leper at Paris (Sulp. Sev. *Vita*, 16, 19); and in the following century Germanus of Auxerre, at Arles, curing a prefect's wife of a quartan ague; at Alesia, bestowing power of speech upon a girl who had lost it for twenty years; at Autun, healing a girl of a withered hand; in England, a boy of contracted limbs; at Milan and Ravenna, casting out evil spirits (*Acta SS.* ad d. 31 Jul.; *La Vie du grand St. Germain*, par Dom Viole, A.D. 1654).

As examples of exorcisms and cures wrought by indirect means—viz. the sending to the sick the garments of saints, or other garments which

saints had blessed, or bread, oil or water, which likewise had been blessed—we may mention the following instances. Of the exorcisms two are noteworthy as indicative of the obstacles which the energumen, in the one case by persistence in wrong-doing, in the other by craftiness and obstinacy, could oppose to the salutary exercise of thaumaturgic gifts. The monk Pachomius had been applied to by a man whose daughter had an evil spirit to work a cure. The saint bade the man bring him one of his daughter's tunics, warning him at the same time that the blessing he should bestow upon it would be of no avail as long as his daughter continued to live a sinful life. Accordingly the girl was not cured till she had confessed and forsaken her sin. In the other instance, the saint had directed that in order to obtain a cure the energumen should before each meal take a small piece of a loaf of bread which had been blessed. As, however, he refused to touch the bread, the device was adopted of concealing morsels of it inside dates, but with no better success. The demoniac carefully extracted them. At last, having been left some days without food, he took the bread and was cured (*Acta SS.* ad d. 14 Maii; Fleury, xv. 60). By means of consecrated oil Hilarion healed the bites of serpents (Newman, *on Mir.* p. xxxii.; Jerome, t. ii.), and St. Martin of Tours cured a paralytic girl, when at the point of death, by putting into her mouth a few drops of the like oil (Sulp. Sev. *Vita*, 17). Threads frayed from St. Martin's garments healed the diseased when wound round the neck or fingers, and a letter written by the saint cured a girl of fever, when laid upon her chest (*Vita*, 19, 20). Straw upon which Germanus of Auxerre had reposed for a single night cured a demoniac when bound down upon it; and a barley loaf which the bishop had blessed and sent to the empress Placidia possessed, and for a long while retained, wonder-working properties (*Acta SS.* ad d. 31 Jul.; *Vie du grand St. Germain*, par Dom Viole). Lastly, by threads of her garments St. Geneviève of Paris cast out devils, and by bits of her candle cured the sick (*Acta SS.* ad d. 3 Jan.).

A miraculous cure, occurring in the 4th century, deserves notice, as having been wrought by the performer of it upon her own person, and by the employment—as doubtless was often the case—of more than one of the recognised means of healing, as well as for its indications of the asceticism of the age. Macrina, sister of St. Basil of Caesarea and St. Gregory of Nyssa, had for years suffered from a tumour in her breast, for the cure of which she had, from motives of modesty and in opposition to the earnest entreaties of her mother, persistently refused to avail herself of medical aid. One morning, having passed the night in supplication, she gathered from the floor a little dust upon which her tears had fallen and applied it to her sore, begging at the same time her mother to make the sign of the cross over the diseased part. The result was an immediate cure;—a slight scar, however, remaining, which years afterwards, when St. Macrina lay in death, was pointed out to her brother Gregory in proof of the miracle then for the first time divulged (*Acta SS.* ad d. 19 Jul.).

In illustration of the ethical aspect in which miracles of beneficence might be viewed by those who were the subjects or witnesses of them, we may note the cure of long-standing paralysis which Euthymius, a monk who lived in Palestine in the 5th century, wrought upon Terebo, the son of a Saracenic chief, and which resulted in the conversion to Christianity not only of the patient himself, but his father and attendants (Fleury, xxiv. 27).

With regard to the comparative prevalence of miraculous gifts of healing, as exercised by living saints, in the different ages of our period, we can form an opinion only from the records which have reached us. Judging from these the power of working cures was in no wise diminished in the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries. Demoniacal possessions, madness, leprosy, paralysis, blindness, deafness, loss of speech, lameness—not to name other diseases and infirmities—were ills which, occurring no less frequently than in preceding ages, constantly called forth, and found relief through, the thaumaturgic powers with which monks and bishops were endowed, while accidents such as those to which monks themselves were exposed in the performance of their agricultural labours—the loss of a finger or thumb in reaping, or wounds on the forehead from the impact of a wedge in felling trees or cleaving logs—were naturally not excluded from the sphere of miraculous treatment (*Vita S. Columb.* in *Acta SS. Ben.* saec. ii.). As a specimen of the powers with which monks were gifted for the casting out of evil spirits and working cures we have only to follow St. Columban in his journey from the east to the west of France when driven by Theodoric from his dominions (*ibid.*). Nor was there any partiality in the distribution of these miraculous powers over the various regions of Christendom, although the accident of the place of birth or dwelling of those who undertook to record certain miracles might lead us to an opposite opinion. If, for example, during the 6th century, thaumaturgy, as exercised in the matter of exorcism and healing, shone brightly in Italy in the persons of monks and bishops—as to judge from the writings of pope Gregory (*Dial.* i. 4; ii. 26, 30; iii. 6, 21; i. 10, et passim) it did—it shone no less brightly in Palestine in the person of the abbat Theodosius (*Acta SS.* ad d. 11 Jan.) or in France in the instances of Melanius, bishop of Rennes (*Acta SS.* ad d. 6 Jan.) and St. Geneviève of Paris.

(2) To the raising from the dead Irenaeus—although in terms less definite and precise than those he and others of the early fathers employ when speaking of exorcisms and cures—bears his testimony: "with much fasting and prayer the spirit of the dead returned" (*Contra Haer.* ii. 31); and again: "before now, as we have said, even the dead have been raised up, and have remained with us many years" (*Contra Haer.* ii. 32). As individual instances of this wonder as they occur in the course of our period we may take the following. Julian, who suffered martyrdom at Antioch in the Diocletian persecution, raised a dead man to life (*Acta SS.* ad d. 9 Jan.), and St. James, bishop of Nisibis (Antiochia Mygdonica) A.D. 325, a man who was brought to him, as dead, with a view to obtaining money (presumably to defray the expenses of burial), and who really died while counterfeiting death (*Acta SS.* ad d. 15 Jul.). St. Martin of Tours restored to life a catechumen who had died in his monastery unbaptized, by throwing himself

upon the dead body and praying earnestly for its restoration (Newman, *on Miracles*, p. xxxii.; from Sulpicius Severus, who subsequently knew the subject of this miracle, and asserts that he lived for many years), and on another occasion a slave who had hanged himself (*ibid.* p. xxxiii.). Hilary of Poitiers raised a child to life who had died unbaptized (Fortunatus in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* ix. 190; *Acta SS.* ad d. 13 Jan.). Marcellus, abbat of a monastery of the Acoemetae, near Constantinople, A.D. 446, a monk (Fleury, xxvii. 30), and Gelasius, abbat of a monastery in Palestine, A.D. 452, a child (Fleury, xxviii. 38). Germanus of Auxerre, when at Ravenna, raised a man from the dead (*Acta SS.* ad d. 31 Jul.; *Vie du grand S'. Germain*, par Dom Viole); St. Benedict of Nursia, a boy (Greg. M. *Dial.* ii. 32); St. Bavo of Ghent, A.D. 653, a man (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. ii.); St. Walaricus, abbat of a monastery on the Somme, A.D. 622, one who had been unjustly hanged (*ibid.*); St. Wulfram, bishop of Sens, A.D. 720, five Frisian youths who had been hanged as a sacrifice to the gods (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. iii. pt. 1).

(3) Miracles of deliverance, protection, succour—called forth as they were by the dangers and vicissitudes to which men were constantly exposed, and the various needs to which they were subjected—afford a series of wonders which, ranging downwards from the deliverance of cities from siege or assault, or of districts from inundation, to the multiplication of corn in a granary, or of wine or beer in a cask, differ widely from one another in respect of their object and importance, and the sphere they affect, and at times degenerate into little else than a display of miraculous power for its own sake—therein betraying their lack of the requisites of a true miracle: "miraculum si piâ utilitate aut necessitate caveat, eo facto suspectum est" (Gerson, *de Distinct. Ver. Mir.*).

Of miracles of this class no instances are given us by the early fathers in their general notices of the deeds of mercy wrought by the true disciples of Christ, and we have to pass on to the more detailed accounts of later times. The raising of the siege of Nisibis well illustrates the protective power which living saints were enabled to exercise. Sapor II. of Persia was besieging the city. The inhabitants in their alarm appealed to their bishop, St. James. In answer to the supplications he offered, swarms of gnats attacked the besiegers, their horses and elephants, irritating both the latter to such a pitch of frenzy that they broke loose. To increase his discomfiture the Persian king mistook the bishop, when he appeared on the walls in his purple and with his diadem on his head, for the Roman emperor, and thereupon raised the siege (*Acta SS.* ad d. 15 Jul.). According to Theophanes (*Chronographia*, pp. 52, 53) the bishop's prayers had the further result of bringing famine and pestilence upon the besiegers when returned to their own land; with this miracle we may compare the deliverance of Paris from the Huns through the prayers of St. Geneviève (*Acta SS.* ad d. 3 Jan.). The miracle wrought by Gregory Thaumaturgus on the banks of the river Lycus furnishes an instance of the exercise of this power in another direction. The bishop having been appealed to by the inhabitants of a certain district to deliver them from the calamities to which they were from time to time exposed through the overflowing of the river Lycus, made a journey to the place, and, invoking the name of Christ, planted his staff at the particular spot where the stream was wont to burst through the mound which had been erected on its bank to prevent its encroachments. The staff became a tree; the water rose as usual, but henceforth never passed the tree (Gregory of Nyssa, t. ii. pp. 991, 992). This miracle had its ethical result in the conversion of the inhabitants who were heathens (Newman, *on Mir.* p. xxvii.; Fleury, vi. c. 14). Similar miracles were wrought by Hilarion at Epidamnus (Gretser, *de Cruce*, ii. 63), by Severinus, A.D. 475, in Noricum (*ibid. Acta SS.* ad d. 8 Jan.), by Fridian, A.D. 578, at Lucca (Greg. M. *Dial.* iii. 9), and by Attala, A.D. 627, a monk of Bobio, in Italy (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. ii.).

As a rule the miracles we read of as belonging to this class were confined to a narrow sphere of beneficence, having been wrought for the good of small communities, and frequently individuals. Thus we find St. Hilary cleansing the Insula Gallinaria (Isola d'Arbenga) of serpents (Fortunatus in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* ix. 190); St. Martin of Tours, when in his missionary zeal he had set fire to a heathen temple, successfully repelling the flames from an adjoining house (Newman, *on Mir.* p. xxxiv.); St. Maur walking on the water to save the life of his friend Placidius (Greg. M. *Dial.* ii. 7); Germanus of Auxerre restoring a stolen valise to its owner (*Acta SS.* ad d. 31 Jul.; *Vie du grand St. Germain*); St. Benedict of Nursia (Greg. M. *Dial.* ii. 6), and Leutfred, abbat of a monastery near Evreux, A.D. 738 (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. iii. pt. 1), causing iron to swim; Honoratus, abbat of Fondi, A.D. 550, by the sign of the cross, arresting on the hill-side a huge fragment of rock which threatened in its fall to overwhelm his monastery (Greg. M. *Dial.* i. 1; Gretser, *de Cruce*, iv. 57).

In special connexion with their needs, whether on their missionary journeys, or at home, we may note the miraculous power monks possessed of causing water to flow in dry places by the simple expedient of planting a staff in the ground or of striking it, or, as the case might be, the rock with a rod—examples of which we find in the lives of Richarius, abbat of Centulles, A.D. 645 (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. ii.), Furseius of Lagny, A.D. 650 (*ibid.*) and Wulfram of Sens (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. iii. pt. 1)—, as well as of multiplying wine or beer in the cask—of the exercise of which gift numerous instances occur in the *Acta SS. Benedict.*—and of quenching the flames when fire had chanced to break out in a monastery or convent, as may be seen in the Lives of Sulpicius of Bourges, A.D. 644 (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. ii.), and Leutfred of Evreux (*ibid.* saec. iii. pt. 1).

2. Miracles of power, wrought, (1) In confirmation of Christianity, (2) of orthodoxy, (3) In punishment of evildoers, (4) In illustration of gifts bestowed upon men in reward for pious enterprises.

The ethical character which attaches to such miracles as find a place in one or other of these categories proves them to be not only exhibitions of power (δυνάμεις), but also signs (σημεῖα).

The forms which miracles of power assumed in the early church were, as has been said, the

speaking with tongues, prevision of events, and the seeing of visions. With regard to the gift of tongues—one of no long continuance in the church—it may suffice to quote the words of Irenaeus: καθὼς καὶ πολλῶν ἀκούομεν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προφητικὰ ἐχόντων καὶ παντοδαπαῖς γλώσσαις λαλούντων: and with regard to that of prevision—a gift which on the contrary was long continued to the saints of the Church —we may give, as far as primitive times are concerned, the testimony of the same writer: οἱ δὲ πρόγνωσιν ἔχουσι τῶν μελλόντων (*Contra Haer*. ii. 32). The gift of seeing visions—one of no shorter duration, but of far wider significance than the last named—we reserve for consideration by itself. Of other miracles of power such as later saints wrought, whether as signs or as simple wonders (τέρατα), and of which examples will now be given, we find no mention in the writings of the early fathers concerning the church of their times.

(1) Amongst miracles wrought in confirmation of Christianity we may place those which Gregory Thaumaturgus performed upon the occasion of his being forced, through storm and the approaching fall of night, to take refuge, together with his companions in travel, in a heathen temple which happened to be famous for its oracles. Having invoked the name of Christ and signed the cross, the bishop, we read, spent the night in praising God. In the morning the priest of the temple found upon his arrival that the demons had forsaken their shrine. Gregory informed him that he could bring them back as well as expel them. Challenged to perform the former feat, he wrote upon a piece of paper the words "Gregory to Satan—enter," and handed them to the priest who placed them upon the altar. Forthwith the demons gave evidence of their return. To satisfy the priest still farther as to the truth of Christianity, Gregory accepted a challenge to move, by means of his word alone, a large stone which happened to lie near. He at once moved it, and thus convinced his opponent (Newman, *on Mir*. xxvi.). Hilarion wrought a remarkable miracle of this class at Gaza. A Christian named Italicus, who bred horses for the chariot-races, applied to Hilarion to help him against a rival who made use of magic to check the speed of Italicus's horses, and thus to secure the victory for his own steeds. The saint, although at first unwilling to lend his aid in so trivial a matter, acceded to the request and sent Italicus the vessel he was wont to use in drinking filled with water, wherewith horses, chariot, and charioteers were to be sprinkled. This done, the Christian's horses, flying like the wind, easily won the race. Whereupon the pagan party raised a loud shout: "Marnas (their god) is conquered by Jesus Christ" (Fleury, xii. 17; cf. Hieron. *Ep*. 7, *ad Laet*.). Of this class also is the miracle St. Martin of Tours wrought, in answer to a challenge from a pagan, in averting from himself by the sign of the cross a falling pine (Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart*. 10; Fleury, xvi. 31).

(2) As confirmatory of orthodoxy we may note two miracles which St. Arnulph, who was put to death at Rheims in the beginning of the 6th century, wrought when in Spain. Having received a command from the king of the Visigoths, who wished to test the saint's powers, to rid the land of a serpent whose breath was of so fiery a nature as apparently to dry up water, St. Arnulph was conducted to the serpent's lair, where he laid his stola upon the head of the monster, and bidding him follow led him to a pond and forbade him ever to leave it or thenceforth to injure any living creature. In the same pond lay the body of a man who had died a violent death. Upon the saint's approach the dead man prayed to be delivered from his miserable resting-place. St. Arnulph at once raised him and buried him in a fitting grave. These miracles made such an impression upon the king and his courtiers that they forsook their Arianism and accepted the Catholic faith (*Acta SS*. ad d. 18 Jul.).

(3) As an example of a miracle wrought in punishment of evildoers we may take the following. When St. Willibrord, A.D. 739, was on a missionary journey, he with his company sought rest one day in a field. The owner of the land proceeded to drive him away, refusing to listen to his remonstrances or to drink with him in token of amity. "Then," exclaimed the saint, "drink not." Consequently the man lost the power of drinking while suffering all the pangs of thirst, nor did he regain it till he had confessed his sin to the saint upon his return in the course of a year (*Acta SS. Ben*. saec. iii. pt. 1).

(4) In illustration of the gifts bestowed upon men for their enterprise and piety, we may refer to the miracles of power St. Benedict of Nursia wrought, the record of which is to be found in the second book of pope Gregory's *Dialogues*, *e.g*. the saint's defeat of an attempt made to poison him (ii. 3); his miraculous detection of an infraction of the monastic rules on the part of some of his monks (ii. 12), and of theft on the part of a messenger (ii. 18); his enabling two monks to carry a heavy fragment of rock (ii. 9); with which miracles we may compare others of the same class wrought by St. Columban (*Acta SS. Ben*. saec. ii.).

As instances of miracles of power falling in none of the above categories, and appearing rather in the light of simple wonders, we may note the following: St. Macarius the elder, A.D. 356, causes a human skull he found in the desert to speak (*Acta SS*. ad d. 11 Jan.; Fleury xiii. 38), and Severinus of Noricum, A.D. 475, a dead priest (*Acta SS*. ad d. 8 Jan.); St. Mary the Egyptian, A.D. 421, after signing the cross walks on the waters of the Jordan (A. Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, s. v.); Hermenlandus, abbat of a monastery near Nantes, A.D. 720, by the use of the same means lights his lamp (*Acta SS. Ben*. saec. iii. pt. i.), and St. Gudule of Brussels, A.D. 712, by prayer her candle (*Acta SS*. ad d. 8 Jan.), while likewise after prayer two monks of Bobio are able to carry the trunk of a large tree (*Acta SS. Ben*. saec. ii.).

Before quitting the subject of wonders wrought by living saints we shall do well to note first, the aspect in which the workers of miracles regarded their achievements, and the causes to which they attributed them. When no answer was accorded to his prayers respecting the cures he was called upon to perform, Pachomius used to comfort himself with the reflection that often God shews more favour in refusing than in granting our requests (Fleury, xv. 60). Germanus of Auxerre displayed

a like humility in attributing the cures he worked to the means he employed, and not least to the relics he bore about his person (*Vie du grand St. Germain*, par Dom Viole). Secondly, we may note the acknowledgment on the part of those who fully believed in and themselves recorded contemporary miracles, that those who wrought them were liable to be unduly elated by their own performances. Thus pope Gregory reminds Augustine, in respect of the miracles that saint had wrought in England, that the working of miracles was no requisite for obtaining a place amongst the elect (*Ep.* xi. 28).

II. *Wonders wrought by Relics.*

The relics of a saint perpetuated the benefits which the saint himself during his lifetime had conferred upon those who stood in need of healing or succour. [RELICS.] The translation, again, of a saint's body, for the purpose of obtaining for it a safer or more honourable resting-place, frequently gave rise to a display of its thaumaturgic virtues (*e.g.* Translatio S. Severini, *Acta SS.* ad d. 8 Jan.). We must note that, unlike those which were wrought by living saints, miracles due to relics form no continuous chain reaching from the earliest to the latest portion of our period, originating as they did in the latter half of the 4th century. The church, however, was prepared to believe in the working of miracles by relics through the operation of various causes: first, by the regard she had long paid to the remains of martyrs; secondly by the association of these remains—placed as they were beneath the altars of churches—with the mysteries: "Episcopus, qui super mortuorum hominum, Petri et Pauli, secundum nos, ossa veneranda . . . offert Domino sacrificia, et tumulos eorum, Christi altaria arbitratur" (Hieronym. ii. *adv. Vigil.* p. 153); thirdly, by the prevalence of a notion, of heathen origin, that the souls of the departed lingered about the graves in which the bodies rested (Lactant. ii. 2; Greg. M. *Dial.* ii. 38). Perhaps also in accounting for a readiness to believe in the virtue of that which was inanimate and possessed no powers of volition, we must not wholly eliminate even from the mind of the populace the effect of the teaching of philosophy that the Deity Himself wrought by inherent virtue rather than by will—φύσει οὐ βουλήσει; —while as an influence acting immediately and most effectually in bringing about this belief we must place the example of notable men such as Ambrose, Augustine, Basil and Chrysostom.

1. Miracles of beneficence. (1) Exorcism, healing; (2) Raising the dead; (3) Deliverance, protection, succour.

(1) Exorcisms and miraculous cures wrought. 1. By the bodies of saints. 2. By objects brought into contact with or proximity to the bodies of saints, living or dead. (*a*) The garments of saints or other objects possessed by saints. (*b*) Cloths laid upon the bodies of dead saints. (*c*) The candles which illuminated or the lamps which were suspended above the tomb of a saint. (*d*) The dust which gathered upon the tomb. (*e*) Water with which the tomb was washed. (*f*) The fabric and furniture of the church which held the relics.

1. By saints' bodies.

Many miracles were wrought by St. Stephen's relics.[a] And first upon their discovery at Caphargamala near Jerusalem, in consequence of a twofold revelation. The town of Calama had possessed relics of St. Stephen for about eight years, and that of Hippo for less than two years, when St. Augustine made the assertion that many books would have to be written in order to recount all the miracles of healing—to say nothing of others—which had been wrought by means of these relics during this space of time in the two districts of Calama and Hippo, and that of those which had taken place in the latter district alone nearly seventy accounts had already been written (*De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8, § 20).

For further examples of miraculous cures wrought by saints' bodies we may refer to the following instances: the cures which took place at Milan, after the discovery made by St. Ambrose of the bodies of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, of the blind Severus [RELICS, p. 1769], and of demoniacs and other sick people upon their touching the cloths which lay upon the relics, or by means of the shadow the relics cast when borne through the streets of the town (Ambros. *Ep.* xxii. 9); the healing of a leper at Alexandria by the body of Elisha, A.D. 456 (Theoph. 176); the cure of a blind man who on touching the covering of the bier of St. Theuderius found blood flow from his eyes and received sight (Ado Viennensis in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* cxxiii. 447); of a blind woman at the funeral of St. Aigulphus of Lerins, A.D. 675 (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. ii.); of five blind persons and two with shrunken limbs, at St. Martin's tomb at Tours (Greg. Turon. *de Mir. Mart.* i. 12, 25; ii. 44, 58; iv. 42); of a palsied man at the tomb of Germanus, bishop of Paris (*De Gloriâ Confessor.* 90); frequent cures of ague at the tomb of St. Geneviève (*ib.* 91); one of toothache at that of St. Medard near Soissons (*ib.* 95); and various miracles of healing wrought by St. John Baptist's head at Emesa (Theoph. 665).

2. By objects brought into contact with, or proximity to, the bodies of saints, living or dead.

Miracles wrought by such means were, according to Gregory the Great, likely to make a deeper impression upon the popular mind than those which were wrought by the actual bodies of saints (*Dial.* ii. 38); and for this reason: in the latter case they might be regarded as wrought, in answer to prayer, by the saint himself whose spirit was supposed to hover about its former tenement.

(*a*) Saints' garments or possessions.

The tunic of St. John the Evangelist, preserved in Rome, worked many miracles (*Vita Greg.* M. auctore Jo. Diacono, lib. iii. 59). The shoes of St. Gall, A.D. 646, healed a man, to whom they were given after the saint's death, of contraction of the limbs (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. ii.); those of St. Cuthbert, A.D. 687, one afflicted with paralysis (*ibid.*). The bed on which St. Gertrude, abbess of a convent at Nivelles in Brabant, A.D. 658, had been wont to sleep, wrought cures (*ibid.*), as did also the fringe or threads of a

[a] So many indeed were wrought in the course of the ages as to give rise to a proverb "Whoever pretends to have read all the miracles of St. Stephen, he lies" (Freculphus apud Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, tom. viii. p. 249, Gibbon, xxviii.).

chasuble which Nicetius, bishop of Lyons, had worn (Greg. Turon. *de Vita Patr.* viii. 5). The keys of St. Peter wrought many cures at Rome, "super aegros positae multis solent miraculis coruscare" (Greg. M. *Ep.* i. 26, 30, 31).

(*b*) Cloths laid upon the bodies of dead saints.

From the habit of regarding cloths (BRANDEA) which had been laid upon the bodies of dead saints in order to obtain virtue from them, as possessed of properties equally miraculous with those of the body itself, it is frequently difficult, in the absence of any specific term, to determine whether the terms generally used to designate relics refer to the actual remains of the saints, or to objects which had been brought into contact with or proximity to them, and amongst these to relics manufactured, so to speak, like the brandea. To give an instance of cloths thus transmuted into relics, cloths were laid upon the face of Meletius of Antioch, on the occasion of his funeral at Constantinople, A.D. 381, and distributed amongst the people as prophylactics (Fleury, xviii. 2). And in a less formal manner handkerchiefs (oraria) and garments in use were cast upon relics, *e.g.* upon those of SS. Gervasius and Protasius (Ambr. *Ep.* xxii. 9), in order to invest them with remedial properties. We read also that threads frayed from a handkerchief (facietergium) which had been used to cover the face of Nicetius, bishop of Lyons, on the day of his death, when laid upon an altar, cured an epileptic who prayed before it (Greg. Turon. *de Vit. Patr.* viii. 8).

(*c*) The candles which illuminated, or lamps which were suspended above the tomb of a saint. [OIL, HOLY.]

(*d*) The dust which gathered upon the tomb, the ordinary method of administering which was to give it mixed with water as a drink.

Dust from the tomb of St. Hilary of Poitiers was the means of cleansing two lepers, bestowing sight upon a blind person, and soundness of limb upon two persons afflicted with withered hands (Fortunatus in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* cxcv. 6, 7; *Acta SS.* ad d. 13 Jan.). Dust from the tomb of martyrs in Lyons, when gathered in a spirit of true faith, cured the infirm (Greg. Turon. *de Gl. Martyr.* i. 50), as also that from the tomb of Modoaldus, bishop of Treves, A.D. 640 circ. (*Acta SS.* ad d. 12 Maii). By dust from St. Martin's tomb at Tours, Avitus, bishop of Auvergne, and two youths got cured of fever, several persons of dysentery, and Gregory of Tours himself of a violent fit of faceache, of the pangs of which the bishop betrays a lively remembrance in the eulogy he passes upon this particular form of the Turonensian relics: "O theriacam inenarrabilem! O pigmentum ineffabile! O antidotum laudabile! O purgatorium, ut ita dicam, coeleste!" (*de Mir. S. Mart.* ii. 51; iii. 60).

(*e*) Water with which the tomb was washed.

During the prevalence at Tours of the epidemic already mentioned, several persons were cured of dysentery by the water with which St. Martin's tomb was washed in preparation for Easter (Greg. Turon. *de Mir. S. Mart.* ii. 51). Similar curative virtues attached to the water with which the corpse of a saint had been washed; instance the cure of a demoniac by this means (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. ii.; *Vita S. Cuthberti*).

(*f*) The fabric and furniture of the church which held the relics.

A boy suffering from the effects of a poisoned dart was cured upon kissing the threshold of St. Martin's basilica, in accordance with a well-known ecclesiastical custom, prevalent alike in the East and West, and alluded to by Chrysostom (tom. xxx. in ii. ad Cor.) and Prudentius (Hymnus de S. Laurentio). Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.* i. 5) tells a friend that he lost the sense of his debility when prostrate upon the threshold of the Vatican basilica in Rome. In the neighbourhood of Bordeaux, horses were cured of disease by being marked with the key of the door of a chapel which was dedicated to St. Martin, and which held his relics (Greg. Turon. *de Mir. S. Mart.* iii. 33).

(2) Raising the dead.

For examples of this wonder as wrought by means of relics, see RELICS, p. 1777. To these we may add the instance of a man who was raised to life at the tomb of St. Geneviève of Paris (Greg. Turon. *de Gl. Confess.* 91).

(3) Deliverance, protection, succour.

The belief in the efficacy of relics to secure, whether for the individual believer or the whole population of a city, deliverance from or protection against all ills, was equally prevalent, and of the same date as to its origin with the belief in their curative virtues.

As instances of this belief, we may note that the inhabitants of Rome regarded the relics of SS. Peter and Paul as safeguards to their city. [PATRON SAINTS.] In the same light the people of Nisibis regarded the relics of their bishop, St. James, attributing, indeed, to the removal of them by Julian the loss of their town to the Persians (Fleury, xv. 44).

As examples of actual deliverance from danger arising respectively from hostile assault, infectious disease, inundations, and storms, we may mention the following instances. When a band of rebellious monks belonging to the monastery of St. Sabas in Palestine were on their way to attack the monastery, they were seized with blindness, and unable to reach their destination. This deliverance of the abbat and his party was attributed to the presence of the relics of St. Sabas (Fleury, xxxiii. 3). In the time of Gregory of Tours, the populations of several districts of Gaul were visited with a plague of an infectious character, amongst these, the province of Prima Germania. The town of Rheims, however, escaped, by virtue of the pall or covering of St. Remigius's tomb, which was carried in procession, with the accompaniment of crosses and candles, round the town (Greg. Turon. *de Gl. Confess.* 79). Gregory himself, when the disease had reached Auvergne, sought and obtained protection against it at the tomb of St. Julian (*de Mir. Martyr.* ii. 45). On the occasion of an inundation, caused by the overflowing of the Adige, at Verona, in the 6th century, a large crowd assembled in the church, and before the tomb of St. Zeno, bishop of Verona (*Martyr. Rom.* 12 April.), to beseech his protection. The waters surged up round the edifice to the height of the windows, blocking up the door, but did not penetrate into the church or endanger the lives of the supplicants (Greg. M. *Dial.* iii. 19). By the erection of a shrine with the usual accompaniment of relics, the frequenters of a festival held yearly in the Cevennes, were delivered from storms which had become a matter of certain

occurrence on the occasion (Greg. Turon. *de Gl. Conf.* 2).

Besides affording deliverance from, and protection against ills, relics could confer positive benefits. Thus at Nursia in Umbria, the carrying of the robe of Eutychius, formerly abbat of a neighbouring monastery, round the fields, in seasons of drought, invariably produced rain (Greg. M. *Dial.* iii. 15).

This belief in the miraculous virtues of relics led to the practice of carrying relics, as the Jews of old their ark, into battle. Thus the Frankish princes required their army chaplains to carry them at the head of their forces (Carlomanni, capit. i. ann. 742, c. 2; Caroli M. capit. viii. ann. 803); Chilperic had them carried before him when he entered Paris (Greg. Turon. vi. 27); and an Eastern king, according to a story Gregory of Tours repeats, went so far as to insert the thumb of St. Sergius in his own right arm, and was able, as a reward for his faith, by raising his arm, to conquer his enemies (*Hist.* vii. 31). And apart from this public and official use of relics, many were wont to carry them about their person for their own individual protection against dangers in general, especially such as might arise in travelling. Gregory of Tours illustrated the practice and the benefit resulting from it in his own case. When he was on a journey from Burgundy to Auvergne, a thunderstorm came on. Plucking some relics he carried from his bosom he held them up in the direction of an ominous-looking cloud. The cloud parted in two, and no harm befell the travellers (*de Gl. Martyr.* i. 84). Upon another occasion he extinguished a fire by producing a cross, which contained relics of the Virgin, the Apostles, and St. Martin (*de Gl. Martyr.* i. 11). In Gregory the Great's epistles frequent mention is made of relics being sent by that prelate to various individuals, amongst these to Childebert, Rechared, and Constantina, the wife of the emperor Maurice, which were to be worn round the neck as safeguards against physical ills, and for the sake of the spiritual benefit they were calculated to bestow, *e.g.* (1) keys of St. Peter, together with which, as a rule, was included a minute portion of his chains (*Ep.* i. 26, 30, 31, iii. 48, vi. 6, ix. 52, 122, xii. 7); (2) chains of St. Paul, *i.e.* particles filed off from (*Ep.* iv. 30); (3) crosses, containing relics, *e.g.* (*a*) particles of St. Peter's chains (*Ep.* iii. 33), (*b*) wood of the cross, and hair of the Baptist (*Ep.* ix. 122); (4) the gridiron, *i.e.* pieces of, on which St. Lawrence was tortured to death (*Ep.* iii. 33). With this use of relics as safeguards we may compare the like practice of wearing a portion (lectio) of the gospels suspended round the neck for the sake of protection (Jo. Chrysost. tom. xix. ad Antioch.), and of placing one on the head to obtain a cure (Aug. in Johan. c. 7).

2. Miracles of Power wrought by Relics. (1) In attestation of the righteousness of the innocent, and the guilt of the wrong-doer. (2) In punishment of those who treated relics with contempt, and appearing in either case in the light of signs.

(1) Gregory of Tours relates the two following instances: A priest who had taken refuge in the church of St. Martin at Tours, and was there put into chains, was proved to be innocent by the fact that his chains fell off him, and could not be made to remain on him when replaced (*de Mir. S. Mart.* i. 23). On the other hand, a priest who had falsely asserted his innocence before the tomb of St. Maximin in Treves fell down dead (*de Gl. Conf.* 93). For a similar instance occurring in Bourges, see Greg. Turon. *de Gl. Martyr.* i. 34, and for another in Milan, Fleury, xxi. 54; and compare pope Gregory's words: "Ad exstincta namque eorum corpora . . . perjuri veniunt et daemonio vexantur" (*Dial.* iv. 6).

(2) The power of relics to punish those who treated them with contempt is thus illustrated. When the relics of St. Babylas, bishop of Antioch, had been removed at the emperor Julian's command from Daphne, where their presence was supposed to render dumb the oracles of Apollo, the temple of Apollo caught fire, and no traces of it were left, A.D. 354 (Ruf. i. 35, 36; Sozom. v. 18, 19; Theoph. pp. 76, 77). During the troubles with which the 6th century drew to its close in France, a basilica which stood near Agen, on the Garonne, and held the relics of the martyr Vincentius (of that town), was set on fire. Of those who had done the deed, some were seized with madness, some were scorched with lightning, some inflicted wounds on themselves, some drowned themselves in the river, and others were tormented with various diseases (Greg. Turon. vii. 35; *de Gl. Martyr.* i. 105). We read of similar judgments in the instance of a count, who threatened to fire St. Martin's basilica (*de Mir. S. Mart.* ii. 27); a councillor who had suggested the partial demolition of a church (*de Gl. Martyr.* i. 92); a man who neglected to deliver relics when warned in dreams to do so (i. 42); a queen who stole some (Eddius, 33–38; Robertson, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 67); a Lombard who was about to make an incision in a key of St. Peter's (Greg. M. *Ep.* vii. 26); a band of Lombards who attempted to drag some monks away from a tomb (*Dial.* i. 4).

Other miracles of this class may be regarded in the light of wonders, such, for instance, as indicate the possession on the part of relics of a power (1) to postpone, with reference to themselves, the process of decay. Thus Hilarion's body ten months after death was wholly free from corruption and gave forth a sweet fragrance (Jer. t. ii.; Newman, *on Mir.* p. xxxii.). When the body of Amandus, bishop of Maestricht, A.D. 679, was translated, forty years after its burial, it was found to have so little perished in the interim that blood flowed from the gums when some teeth were extracted, while the beard and nails had actually grown (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. ii.). See also in reference to St. Euphemia, Evagr. ii. 3; Fleury, xxviii. 1. (2) To increase in bulk, *e.g.*: Some dust taken from St. Martin's tomb at Tours so increased in quantity as to fill, and even force its way through the lid of, the box in which it had been placed (Greg. Turon. viii. 15). (3) To exercise a will and purpose. When the corpse of St. Theuderius was borne out to burial, it could be moved in no other direction than that of the saint's monastery (Ado Viennensis in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* cxxiii. 448). (4) To vindicate their sanctity. Gregory the Great alludes to a story current about his predecessor St. Leo, who, to convince some who were sceptical on the subject of such relics, tore a "brandeum" with a pair

of pincers. From the rent thus made blood flowed (*Ep.* iv. 30). All that is here said of other relics may be said of relics of the Holy Cross.

III. *Wonders wrought by the Eucharist.*

Partly from the solemnity of the rite, and partly from its intimate connexion as a mark of church membership with the doctrines of the Catholic faith, the miracles which were wrought by the Eucharist appear in the light of signs and of punitive miracles rather than, or at least as often as, in the light of works of mercy, whereas in the case of those wrought by saintly agency or the means we have hitherto noticed, miracles of beneficence preponderate over those of an opposite description. Especially, too, must we note that the miracles the Eucharist wrought, it wrought not only as a sacrament, but as that of the Catholic faith in contradistinction to the rite and in condemnation of the doctrines, of an heretical creed.

1. Miracles of beneficence. (1) Exorcism, healing; (2) Deliverance, protection, succour.

(1) A girl possessed of an evil spirit upon receiving the Eucharist from St. Austregisile of Bourges, A.D. 624, at once ceased to shout and rave (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. ii.); and a singer in a church choir upon receiving it from Sulpicius, bishop of the same see, A.D. 644, revived when exhausted and in a prostrate condition from a conflict with demons (*ibid.*). The slaves and cattle of a tribune at Hippo were freed from sufferings inflicted by demons upon their owner's partaking of the Eucharist (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8, § 6). (2) By means of the Eucharist a child was preserved from perishing by fire. At the time of the occurrence of the miracle—the reign of Justinian—it was customary to distribute amongst the young children of Christian parents such fragments of the Eucharistic bread as remained after communion. [EULOGIAE.] By accident a Jewish child, mingling with his Christian companions, received and ate one of these fragments. The father of the boy—a glass-blower by trade—was so enraged that he shut his son into his furnace in order not only to kill him but to destroy all traces of him. The child, however, was saved, and the miracle had its ethical result in the conversion of the mother, who was baptized together with her child (Migne, *Dict. des Proph. et des Mirac.* t. i. p. 641). The virtues of the Eucharist, as a means of succour, extended even to the dead. A young monk in St. Benedict's monastery, who had gone on a visit to his parents without obtaining the customary blessing from the saint before quitting the monastery, died on the day of his return. After burial his body was found to have been displaced and, when reburied, again displaced. St. Benedict then ordered it to be buried with the Host laid upon it, after which the corpse reposed in peace (Greg. M. *Dial.* ii. 24).

2. Miracles of power wrought (1) In condemnation of immorality; (2) of heresy.

(1) Gregory of Tours relates that as a deacon—a man of unholy life—was one day carrying the Eucharist into a church, the bread flew out of his hands and placed itself on the altar (*De Gloriâ Martyr.* i. 86). In the time of St. Liudger, bishop of Münster in Westphalia, A.D. 809, a woman, living in illicit connexion with a priest, sent a jar of honey to a church, where it was placed behind the altar. As soon as the bishop, who was officiating on the occasion, began the mass, the jar broke (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. iv. pt. 1). (2) Certain members of the Donatist sect, in token of their contempt for the Catholics, once ordered the Eucharistic bread to be given to their dogs. Upon eating it the dogs went mad and bit their masters (Optatus Milev. *de Schism. Donatist.* bk. vi.). A woman receiving some of the Eucharistic bread of the Macedonians, to her alarm found that it had turned into stone (Sozomen, viii. 5; Theoph. 120).

As a wonder or prodigy wrought by the Eucharist we may note that according to Greg. of Tours (*Hist.* vi. 21), the Host on one occasion shed blood when broken.

The consecrated bread set aside and reserved [RESERVATION] was credited with similar if not equal powers of working miracles with that partaken of in communion. As constituting a means of grace, it was sinful to treat it from whatever motives with indifference, as may be seen from the following incident. A bishop named Marsius upon receiving the Eucharist from the hands of Melanius, bishop of Rennes, A.D. 530, let his portion fall into the folds of his robe, deeming it a mark of superior sanctity not to break his fast. The bread turned into a snake, which wreathed itself tightly round the bishop's waist and could not be got rid of till Melanius had spent a night in supplication on the sufferer's behalf, when it reverted to its original condition, in which form Marsius thankfully ate it (*Acta SS.* ad d. 6 Jan.).

Miracles were also wrought by holy baptism. St. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8, § 4) mentions the miraculous effect of baptism upon a surgeon afflicted with gout. St. Augustine further relates that an actor was cured of paralysis by this rite (§ 5). Theophanes records a similar cure in the instance of a Jew (*Chronograph.* 127). Sight was bestowed upon Othilia, afterwards an abbess in Alsace, on her baptism (*Martyr. Rom.* 13 Dec.). As a miracle of power, Theophanes relates that when Deuterius, an Arian bishop, A.D. 502, was about to baptize a catechumen after the Arian formula, "in the name of the Father in the Son," the water in the piscina suddenly dried up (*Chronograph.* 234).

IV. *Wonders wrought by Pictures and Images.*

(*a*) Pictures and images of our Lord and the saints.

In the controversy which was raised in the first half of the 8th century respecting pictures, one argument put forward in favour of their use was the fact that they possessed miraculous virtues. Heaven, it was urged, had wrought many miracles by means of pictures. Cures had been effected, charms broken, visions had been accorded. To this purport pleads Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, in a letter addressed, A.D. 726, to Thomas, bishop of Claudiopolis (*Acta Concil. Nicaen.* ii. Actio iv. in Mansi, xiii.). Such miracles, however, were confined to representations of our blessed Lord and the saints.

1. Miracles of beneficence. (1) Healing; (2) Protection, succour.

(1) A picture of the Virgin Mary at Sozopolis

in Pisidia was wont to shed, at the point where the hand of the Virgin was represented, a sweet-smelling ointment. To this picture Germanus especially alludes as one whose miraculous virtues were attested by numerous witnesses (Mansi, xiii.; Fleury, xlii. 2). For the statue at Caesarea Philippi, see JESUS CHRIST, REPRESENTATION OF, p. 877. An image of our Lord on the cross which stood near the great gate of the imperial palace at Constantinople was supposed to possess miraculous virtues, and in fact was believed to have wrought a cure of hemorrhage similar to that mentioned in the Gospels. To the adoration paid to it on this score it owed indeed its destruction by the emperor Leo III. (Maimbourg, *Histoire de l'Hérésie des Iconoclastes;* Fleury, xlii. 3). John Damascene, after praying before an image of the Virgin, had his right hand, which had been cut off, miraculously restored (Robertson, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 84, 85).

(2) The victories which Heraclius won over the Persians were attributed to the fact of his carrying at the head of his legions images of our Lord and the Virgin Mary (Maimbourg. *u. s.*; cf. Fleury, xxxvii. 3); and the repulse of a Saracen army from the walls of Nicaea, A.D. 718, to the possession by that city of images of the saints (Theoph. 624, 625). For the destruction of the war machines of the Persians at the siege of Edessa, A.D. 621, by means of a portrait of Christ; see IMAGES.

2. Miracles of power.

A Jew stole a picture of our Lord from a church, and in token of his contempt for and hatred of the Person it represented, transfixed it with a dart. Forthwith blood began to flow from the picture, and in such quantity as to cover the Jew from head to foot. Whereupon he resolved to burn it, but the blood it had shed enabled its rightful owners to trace and bring condign punishment upon the thief (Sigeberti Gemblac. *Chronicon*, A.D. 560 in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* clx. 105).

(*b*) Images of the cross.

As the portrait of a saint became endowed with miraculous powers by reason of the holiness of the individual therein portrayed, so representations of the cross obtained as such some measure at least of the virtues which attached to the true cross itself. Miracles of beneficence, healing, protection, succour, are attributed to such ordinary crosses, exactly similar to those attributed to the true cross itself. See Gretser, *de Cruce*, and his *Hortus Crucis*.

### V. *Wonders wrought by Celestial Visitants.*

1. Miracles of beneficence. (1) Healing; (2) Deliverance, protection, succour.

(1) St. Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, A.D. 687, was cured of weakness in his knee by an angel who appeared to him on horseback (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. ii.); and a nun in a convent at Pauvilly, in Normandy, of an ulcer in her throat after the hand of some invisible personage had been placed in support of her head, and a vision had been subsequently accorded to her of one clothed in the white robes of a virgin (*Vita S. Austrebertae, Acta SS. Ben.* saec. iii. pt. 1). In short we may say that whatever wonders were attributed to living saints were also attributed to celestial visitants.

As wonders wrought by celestial visitants we may class (*a*) the presentation by them of gifts, *e.g.* of a magnificent vestment which the Virgin Mary presented to Ildefonsus, bishop of Toledo, to be worn on her festivals, in reward for his defence of the doctrine of her perpetual virginity (Baron. ad ann. 657. 53, 56; Robertson, ii. 58); (*b*) directions given by angels in visions or dreams respecting the building of churches or monasteries in all instances in which the miraculous was not confined to the apparition itself. Thus when the archangel Michael had thrice appeared, A.D. 709, to a bishop named Autbertus, bidding him found a church to his honour on the mount now known as St. Michael's mount, on the coast of Normandy, the bishop found a confirmation of the superhuman nature of the behest in the fulfilment of an appointed sign, and further instruction as to the exact dimensions of the church in its lines being left untouched by the dew which covered the top of the mount (Appar. S. Michaelis, *Acta SS. Ben.* saec. iii. pt. 1).

### VI. *Wonders wrought apart from Human or Angelic Agency or the above-named Means.*

Wonders of this kind, consisting as they do largely of instances of providential interference, whether merciful or punitive, rank in a different class from those wrought by saints or their relics, or by sacraments in contradiction to the laws of nature. Those, too, which are best attested are perhaps the least marvellous, although in different degrees—those which are most miraculous rest on manifestly insufficient testimony. Such phenomena as the fall of a shower, the death of an heresiarch, the interruption of a work by storm and volcanic disturbance, the apparition of a cross in the sky, may now be viewed, some as special providences, others as extraordinary coincidences; but at the time of their occurrence they were one and all unquestionably regarded as interpositions of Providence, intended to supply the needs or to confound the enemies of the faithful; and as such it is probable that they were deemed no less miraculous than many wonders wrought by living saints or by their relics after them; while many possessed the advantage of being widely known, whereas the knowledge of the others was often confined to the narrow sphere in which they had been wrought. With regard to such wonders as were rather of the nature of marvels or prodigies, it was different; of these some were in a measure signs, denoting as they did the piety of a saint when living, or the holiness of his memory when dead; many, however, were devoid of all ethical features, and provocative only of wonder, while few were well attested, resting as they often did on the authority of monkish traditions, or the testimony of solitary witnesses.

(*a*) Miraculous occurrences.

1. Miracles of beneficence. (1) Healing; (2) Deliverance, protection, succour.

(1) A body of Catholics living at Typasa in Mauritania, A.D. 484, for the crime of holding assemblies and refusing to communicate with an heretical bishop, had their right hands amputated and their tongues cut out by the roots by order of Hunneric, the Arian king of the Vandals. The miracle lay in the fact that on the third day they were able to speak as before. Three at

least of the narrators of this miracle, viz. Aeneas of Gaza, a rhetorician and philosopher (*in Theophrasto*), the emperor Justinian (*Cod. Justin.* i. tit. 30), and count Marcellinus, his former chancellor (*Chronic. Marcellin.*), were witnesses both of the mutilation inflicted, and the capacity to articulate in the case of some of these martyrs who were living in their time. Marcellinus adds that one of the confessors having been born dumb, spoke for the first time after the excision of his tongue. Procopius (*de Bell. Vandal.* i. 7) states that two—Gregory I. (*Dial.* iii. 32) that one—out of their number lost their supernatural power of speech through having lapsed into evil living. No contemporary authority gives the number of the confessors; in an old menology it was fixed at sixty (Victor Vitensis in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* lviii. 245; Gibbon, xxxvii.; Newman, *on Mir.* cc.–ccxiii.). Other examples of the preservation of speech after mutilation occur in the instances of Aigulphus of Lerins, A.D. 675, and his companions (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. ii.), and Leger bishop of Autun, A.D. 678 (*ibid.*); while of miraculous healing of another kind, we find an example in the instance of a band of five Catholic slaves in Africa who, after having been beaten, not once, but on several occasions, almost to death, had their wounds invariably cured by the morrow (Fleury, xxviii. 58).[b]

(2) As an example of protection and succour accorded to large bodies of men, we may take the miracle of the so-called thundering legion. When the emperor Marcus Aurelius was waging war against the Quadri, his troops on one occasion suffered greatly owing to the heat and from thirst. Amongst his soldiers were many Christians. Those who belonged to the Melitene legion fell on their knees in prayer; a shower of rain fell, refreshing and invigorating the Roman army, but terrifying and dispersing the enemy, to whom it had proved a storm of thunder and lightning. Such in the main is the account with which Eusebius (*Hist.* v. 5) prefaces the original statement of Claudius Apollinaris bishop of Hierapolis, in an apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 176, although no longer extant, and the few words in which Tertullian (*Apol.* 5, *ad Scap.* 4) alludes to the event. Dion Cassius (*Hist.* lxxi.), omitting all reference to the prayers of the Christians, speaks of the occurrence as "a wonderful and providential preservation," which he attributes to magic, as Julius Capitolinus (*in Marc. Aurel.*) to the emperor's prayers. The event itself is represented, with pagan features in the mode of rendering, on a bas-relief of the Antonine column in Rome. Manifestly, however, it is erroneous to derive the title "thundering legion" from this occurrence, as it already existed and was as old as the time of Augustus. Baronius's explanation (*Ann.* 176, 20) is that the Christian soldiers were in all parts of the army, and after this were incorporated into the existing thundering legion (Newman, *on Mir.* cxiii.–cxxii.; Migne, *Dict. des Mir.* t. i. p. 759).

As examples of protection afforded to individuals we may note the instance of Theotimus, bishop of Tomi, A.D. 400, who became invisible to his pursuers (Fleury, xxi. 5); St. Martin of Tours, the arm of whose assailant fell powerless (Sulp. Sev. *Vita*, 13); Armogastus, a young Catholic in Theodoric's service, whose limbs were freed from their bonds on his signing the cross and invoking Christ (Fleury, xxviii. 59). Of protection against the fatal effects of poison we find an example in the instance of Sabinus, bishop of Canusium, A.D. 593 (Greg. M. *Dial.* iii. 5), also of Samson, bishop of Dol, A.D. 565 circ. (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. i.); and of miraculous succour, under circumstances of difficulty or absolute want, in the instances of Clovis who, when marching against the Visigoths, was after prayer guided to the right place for crossing the Vienne by a stag which began to ford it (Greg. Turon. ii. 37), and of St. Columban and his companions, who were fed by ravens in a time of famine (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. ii.). Comp. also the instance of a prior in Life of Austregisile (*ibid.*).

2. Miracles of power. (1) Punitive; (2) Marvels.

(1) Of this class was the fiery eruption on the rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem. The emperor Julian had given orders for the rebuilding of the Temple, having entrusted the superintendence of the work to his lieutenant Alypius, and himself issued invitations to the Jews of all countries to assemble at Jerusalem and aid him in accomplishing his purpose. Of the marvellous manner in which the work was interrupted and the imperial designs thwarted, we learn the particulars, some from one writer, some from another. A whirlwind arose, scattering heaps of lime and sand in every direction; a storm of thunder and lightning fell, melting in its violence the implements of the workmen; an earthquake followed, casting up the foundation of the old Temple, filling in the new excavations and causing the fall of buildings, especially the public porticoes beneath which the terrified multitude had sought shelter. When the workmen resumed their labours balls of fire burst out beneath their feet, not once only, but as often as they attempted to continue the undertaking. The fiery mass traversed the streets, repelling from the doors of a church, even with loss of life or limb, those who had fled to it for safety. This miracle has the support of contemporary writers. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* v. 4), and Ammianus Marcellinus (*Hist.* xxiii. 1); and of later historians Rufinus (*Hist.* i. 37), Socrates (iii. 20), Sozomen (v. 22), Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 20). See Warburton's *Julian*; Gibbon, c. xxiii.; Newman, *on Mir.* clxxv.; Migne, *Dict. des Mir.* t. ii. p. 1115. With regard to the death of Arius, the event was regarded by the Catholic party in general as a direct interposition of Providence in their favour, and in answer to the prayers of the bishop of Constantinople and his clergy, and by Athanasius himself as a sufficient refutation of the Arian heresy (Athanas. *Ded. Epist. ad Monachos*, 3 Op. v. i. 344; Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, bk. III. iv.). Amongst miracles of this class those of an anti-Arian complexion are indeed conspicuous. We may instance the story of an Arian bishop who was struck blind when about to force his way into a Catholic church (Greg. M. *Dial.* iii. 29); of a man who, when counterfeiting blindness at the

[b] These cases of recovered speech after mutilation of the tongue have been investigated in a special treatise by the Hon. E. Twisleton, who has quoted several cases in modern times, authenticated by well-known surgeons, in which persons thus mutilated have been able to speak. [C.]

instigation of an Arian bishop who wished to display his pretended powers of healing, became actually blind (Greg. Turon. ii. 3); and pope Gregory's account of the prodigies which attended the re-consecration for purposes of orthodox worship of an Arian church at Rome (*Dial.* iii. 30). For further examples of Divine judgments—for as such they were regarded at the time (Socr. vi. 19; Sozom. viii. 27)—we may refer to the various accidents, unwonted illnesses and sudden deaths which took place at Constantinople, A.D. 404, after the persecution which was raised against St. Chrysostom (Fleury, xxi. 48). That Divine visitations were not confined to this side of the grave, see Greg. M. *Dial.* iv. 51, 53, 54.

(2) Amongst marvels which were not specially connected with saints were the circumstances which led to the development of the angelic song, the Greek TRISAGION in the reign of Theodosius II. A child at Constantinople was caught up into the air, and on his return in the course of an hour reported that he had heard the heavenly host singing, ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος (Mansi, t. vii. p. 1041); the fall, at Alexandria, of statues from their pedestals, proclaiming the death of the emperor Maurice and his sons (Theoph. 450); the filling of a piscina with water through some unknown agency (Greg. Turon. *de Gl. Martyr.* i. 24) and the mysterious strewing of the pavement before a saint's tomb with roses (*De Mir. Mart.* ii. 46).

(*b*) Miraculous appearances.

"They have visions," writes Irenaeus (*Contra Haer.* ii. 32), "when enumerating the gifts possessed by Christ's true disciples in his day." To quote the words of a historian who does not err on the side of credulity, "it is impossible to overlook the clear traces of visions and inspiration which may be found in the early fathers" (Gibbon, c. xv.). As the exercise of powers of healing and exorcism constituted the chief mode in which the early Christians exhibited in an active form the miraculous gifts which had been imparted to them for the good of others, so were visions no less the channel by means of which they became passive recipients of supernatural communications vouchsafed to them for their own edification and guidance. Thus the purport of visions was sometimes to allay the fears, to solve the doubts, to direct the steps of those who were in trouble or difficulty, sometimes to admonish the guilty, and sometimes to forewarn of approaching calamities. Nor were they restricted to those who are supposed to be the fitting recipients of communications of this sort—the hermit in his cave, or the monk in his cell—having been vouchsafed to men in general, to the young and old, to the lowly as well as to the great. During the first ages they constituted an important means towards the conversion of the pagan from his heathenism, the heretic from his schism. Tertullian writes: "Major paene vis hominum e visionibus Deum discunt" (*De Animâ*, 47), and Origen, "Many have come to Christianity through the medium of visions which occurred to them while awake or in dreams" (*Contra Cels.* i. 46).

1. Apparitions of Beings. (1) Angels; (2) Daemons; (3) Departed Spirits; (4) Living Saints.

(1) The appearances of the archangel Michael—"qui universalis ecclesiae a Deo patronus et protector est institutus"—were numerous both in the East and the West, *e.g.* near Byzantium, near Colosse, on Monte Gargano, A.D. 500 circ., in Normandy (see above), A.D. 709 (*Martyr. Rom.* 8 Maii). An angel appeared to St. Theuderius directing him where to erect his monastery (Ado Vienn. in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxxiii. 447); two angels to Furseius, A.D. 650, admonishing him as abbat of a monastery that monks should pay less attention to the mortification of the body, and more to the cultivation of a humble, contented, and charitable disposition (Fleury, xxxviii. 28).

(2) As examples, we may take first the appearances of the evil one to St. Anthony in the guise of a woman, then of a black child; as a monk with loaves in his hands, when the saint was fasting; as a spirit calling himself the power of God, and lastly avowing himself to be Satan; and secondly, the appearance of demons to the same saint in the form of wild beasts and serpents uttering horrible cries (Newman, on *Mir.* xxix.; Fleury, viii. 7).

(3) First of scriptural saints. St. Stephen appeared, A.D. 420, to Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II., informing her of the safe arrival of his relics (*i.e.* his right hand) from Jerusalem (Theoph. 133, 134); St. Barnabas, A.D. 484, to Anthimus, bishop of Constantia, in Cyprus, revealing to him the resting-place of his body, near Salamis, in that island (Fleury, xxx. 19). Secondly, of bishops and abbats. St. Ambrose on the night, being Easter Eve, on which he was laid out for burial appeared to the newly-baptized infants, varying the manner of his appearance, but to the parents of the children remaining invisible, even when pointed out. Again, on the day of his death he appeared to saints in the East, praying with them and laying his hands upon them, while in Florence he was frequently seen after his death, praying before the altar of a church he had built in that city (Paul. *Vita*, 48, 49, 50; Fleury, xx. 21). St. Benedict appeared after death to an abbat and prior of his order at Terracina instructing them as to the plan of a monastery they were about to build (Greg. M. *Dial.* ii. 22).

(4) As an example of the appearance of a living saint we read that a child who had fallen into a well was found sitting upon the surface of the water, and that his account was that St. Julian Sabas who at the time was being entertained by the mother of the child had appeared to him and borne him up (Fleury, xvi. 28). We find a similar story in the life of Theodosius of Palestine (*Acta SS.* ad d. 11 Jan.)

2. Visions of Purgatory, Hell, Heaven.

A vision the martyr Perpetua (*Martyr. Rom.* 7 Mar.) had of her brother, in whose behalf she had been moved to pray, first as suffering and in a place of darkness, and then as comforted and surrounded with light, has been supposed to refer to a state of purgatory (Robertson, i. 68; Milman, ii. 221). As indicative of the punishment of the wicked, an abbat in Auvergne had a vision of a stream of fire, and of men immersed in it bitterly bemoaning their sufferings. These had lost their footing when crossing a narrow bridge which spanned the stream, and were men who had been careless in the discharge of their spiritual duties. After this vision the

abbat became stricter in the regulation of his monastery (Greg. Turon. iv. 33). Compare, as of similar signification, an hermit's vision of Theodoric the Ostrogoth being cast into the crater of a volcano (Greg. M. *Dial.* iv. 30). Visions of heaven were accorded amongst others to St. Furseius (Fleury, xxxviii. 28) and to Salvius, bishop of the Albigenses, as a place paved with gold and silver and illuminated by a cloud shining beyond the light of sun or moon (Greg. Turon. vii. 1).

3. Apparitions of Crosses. (1) In the air; (2) On the garments of men; (3) On animals.

(1) Constantine, when marching against Maxentius, A.D. 311, and in doubt to what deity he should apply for succour against an enemy whose forces outnumbered his own, saw in company with his whole army a luminous cross in the sky above the mid-day sun with this inscription, "In this conquer." The same night our Lord appeared to Constantine in a vision, shewed him a cross, and bade him fashion a standard after the pattern of it as a means of victory in his contest against Maxentius. Such is the account Eusebius gives in his *Life of Constantine* (i. 28–32), but not till twenty-six years after the occurrence, and which he professes to have heard from the emperor himself, who affirmed his statement with an oath. Socrates, Philostorgius, Gelasius, and Nicephorus speak of the phenomenon as seen in the sky; Sozomen and Rufinus in a dream, although on the authority of Eusebius they also mention the apparition in the sky. In a panegyric delivered immediately after the victory the speaker, who is a pagan, refers to "the omen" (Bar. *Ann.* ann. 312, 14), and ten years after another orator, Nazarius, also a pagan, alludes to "the common talk of all the Gallic provinces that hosts were seen who bore on them the character of divine messengers" (ap. Bar. *Ann.* 312, 11). Gibbon alludes to a medal extant in the last century bearing the figure of the labarum with the inscription, "In this sign thou shalt conquer" (Newman, *on Mir.* cxxxiii.; Gibbon, xx.). On the feast of Pentecost, May 7, A.D. 351, a cross appeared in the sky at Jerusalem, stretching from Mount Calvary to Mount Olivet, and shining with a brilliancy equal to that of the sun's rays. The apparition lasted for several hours; the whole city beheld it, and all, residents and visitors, Christians and unbelievers, alike joined in the acknowledgment that "the faith of the Christians did not rest upon the persuasive discourses of human wisdom, but upon the sensible proofs of divine intervention" (Cyril, *Ep. ad Const. Imp.*). Of this phenomenon Cyril, then patriarch of Jerusalem, wrote an account to the emperor Constantius, who at the time was fighting against Maxentius in Pannonia, where also, according to Philostorgius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 26), it was seen by the contending armies to the confusion of the pagan and the encouragement of the Christian host (Theoph. 62, 63; Migne, *Dict. des Mir.* tom. i. 247). To other appearances of the cross in the sky we may thus briefly refer. Gretser mentions two towards the beginning of the 4th century—one as seen by Gregory, bishop of Armenia, and the other by Tiridates, king of that country, and by his fellow-converts on the occasion of their baptism. Cedrenus another, to which Gregory Nazianzen alludes (*Orat.* v. 7), at Jerusalem on the occasion of Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple, as surpassing in point of brilliancy that recorded by Cyril (*Hist. Compend.* i. p. 537). The same writer mentions two appearances of a cross, which he terms σημεῖα, at Constantinople, one in the second, the other in the third year of the reign of Constantine Copronymus (*ibid.* ii. p. 5), while another was vouchsafed to St. Euphemia shortly before her martyrdom, which took place at Chalcedon in the Diocletian persecution (*Martyr. Rom.* 16 Sept.), "a symbol," writes Asterius, bishop of Amasea, "of the punishment she was to undergo."

(2) As examples of crosses appearing on the garments of men, we read that when the emperor Julian was entering Illyricum the vines appeared laden with unripe grapes, although the vintage had taken place, and that dew falling from them upon the garments of the emperor and his companions left upon them the imprint of crosses; a phenomenon which by some was supposed to portend that the emperor should perish prematurely like unripe grapes (Sozomen, *H. E.* i. 5). The appearance of the luminous cross in the sky on the occasion of Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple, was accompanied by the appearance on the bodies and garments of men of crosses which were luminous at night (Ruf. i. 37), in some instances of a dark colour (Theodor. iii. 20) and would not wash out (Socr. iii. 20). Nor was the phenomenon confined to Jerusalem, being seen in Antioch and other cities likewise (Theoph. 81; Cedren. *Hist. Compend.* i. 537). See Newman *on Mir.* clxxvi.; Migne, *Dict. des Mir.* t. ii. 1117. Crosses "as of oil" (σταυρία ἐλαιώδη) appeared in Constantinople in the sixth year of the reign of Constantine Copronymus on the garments of men as they walked in the streets, and on the altar-cloths of churches. Those whose clothes were thus marked were attacked with mortal illness. The pestilence which prevailed was such as to turn the capital into a desert. The Catholic party attributed both it and the portents to the iconoclasm of the emperor (Cedrenus, *Hist. Compend.* ii. 8; Migne, *Dict. des Mir.* i. 248).

(3) Of crosses appearing on animals we find the following instances. When the emperor Julian was inspecting the entrails of an animal he was offering in sacrifice, he beheld in them the figure of a cross encircled by a crown (Sozom. v. 2); φρικὴν παρέσχε καὶ ἀγωνίαν, writes Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* iv. 54). St. Placidas, when hunting a stag, beheld amidst its horns a luminous cross and the figure of the Crucified, and heard a voice saying: "Quid me persequeris, Placida? Ecce propter te adsum: ego sum Christus quem ignorans veneraris" (Niceph. iii. 19). St. Meinulphus also saw a cross amidst a stag's horns (Gobenus *in Vitâ S. Meinulphi*).

The above classification of apparitions and visions, according to the form of the one and the subject of the other, has placed in less prominence the notion, but not precluded a passing notice of their object and purpose. The use of apparitions and visions has been exemplified under other sections of our subject—for their use in admonishing the guilty, see section II. under miracles of power wrought by relics. For their use in animating the courage of the faithful we may refer to the visions by which

Perpetua was sustained in prospect of her martyrdom (Rob. i. 68), and for their use as prognostics of approaching calamity we may instance those which were vouchsafed to the church in Africa, A.D. 480 circ., to prepare her for her persecution by the Vandals (*ib.* i. 500; *Vict. Vit.* ii. 6).

Lastly, in the eyes of the monkish and episcopal chroniclers of the dark ages celestial or atmospheric phenomena, such as comets, meteors, displays of the aurora borealis, wore the aspect of "wonders" (prodigia), especially when coincident with or preceding the deaths of saints, *e. g.* St. Liudger, A.D. 809 (*Acta SS. Ben.* saec. iv. pt. i.) or princes, *e. g.* Theodebald (Greg. Turon. iv. 9) Merovechus (v. 19), Gundobald (vii. 11), or the occurrence of plagues and pestilences (iv. 31). Certain concomitants of these phenomena, such as a shower of blood from the clouds besprinkling the garments of men and the interior walls of a house (vi. 14), and the conversion of the water of a pond into blood (viii. 25) do not it is true belong to the same natural order of things. [C. G. C.]

# X

**XANTIPPE**, Sept. 23, commemorated in Spain with her sister Polyxena, disciples of St. Paul (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

**XENODOCHIA.** Guesthouses for the reception of strangers and pilgrims. [HOSPITALS.] There were four such of ancient foundation in Rome, which, having fallen into decay, were restored by pope Stephen II., A.D. 752–757, and furnished with all things needful both within and without. He also founded a "xenodochium" where a hundred poor men were fed daily (Anastas. § 228), and built two without the walls near St. Peter's, which he attached to the ancient "diaconiae" of the Blessed Virgin and St. Silvester (*ibid.* § 229). Pelagius II., A.D. 557–590, converted his own house into a guesthouse for poor and aged men (*ibid.* § 112). Belisarius, c. 540, erected a "xenodochium" in the Via Lata (*ibid.* § 102). We find these Roman guesthouses distinguished by different names, probably those of the founders, *e.g.* "xenodochium Valerii" (§ 274); "xenodochium Firmi," containing an oratory of the Virgin (§ 385), and adorned with gifts by Leo III. (§ 402); and the "xenodochium quod appellatur Tucium," containing an oratory of SS. Cosmas and Damian (§ 408). [PILGRIMAGE, § vii. p. 1641.] [E. V.]

**XENOPHON**, monk, "holy father," cir. 520, commemorated on Jan. 26 with his sons Arcadius and Joannes (Basil. *Menol.*; Daniel, *Codex Liturg.* iv. 251). [C. H.]

**XEROPHAGIA** (ξηροφαγία, *aridus victus*, dry food). This word, as expressive of the act or habit of living on dry food or a meagre diet, is in common use by ecclesiastical writers, both Greek and Latin, to denote the Christian rule of fasting. Tertullian compares its adoption by Christians for spiritual ends, to its practice by the heathen athletes for earthly victories (*de Jejun.* cc. i. xvii.). Ξηροφαγεῖν is employed of the Lenten fast in the fiftieth canon of the council of Laodicea, A.D. 390; of the fast in Holy Week by Epiphanius (*Compend. Doct. Cath.* vol. ii. pp. 295, 296, 361, ed. Paris, 1622), when bread and salt was the only solid food allowed, and water was drunk only in the evening. For the varieties of practice which existed with regard to fasting in the early church, see Socrates, *Eccles. Hist.* v. 22; Balsamon, *Epist. de Jejun.* in Cotelerii *Eccles. Graec. Mon.* tom. ii. p. 498, edit. 1681. [F. E. W.]

**XYSTUS** (SIXTUS II.), pope, martyr, commemorated on Aug. 6 (*Mart. Met.* Bed.; *Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*). [C. H.]

# Y

**YEAR, THE ECCLESIASTICAL.** The object of this article is to supplement that on CALENDAR [p. 256], by giving a complete account, according to the principal calendars, of the arrangement and designations of the several Sundays of the ecclesiastical year, as also of the Festivals in the weeks corresponding with them.

This Calendar presents an abnormal number of Sundays (57), in order to shew the full arrangement of these for both an early and late Easter, according to the position of which festival some either of the earlier or of the later Sundays in the Calendar would need to be omitted; it must be remembered, however, that in different years the correlation of Sundays would vary, inasmuch as those, whose place depends upon that of Easter, may occur more than a month earlier than in our Calendar, while other Sundays, dependent upon fixed festivals can only be a few days earlier or later in the year. While care has been taken to exclude festivals of later origin than the 9th century, the alternative names (mostly Latin) of festivals and Sundays, the precise period of the origin of which is uncertain, have generally been included, on account of their common use in early and mediaeval documents; and the Latin introits are also given for the same reason. Besides other obvious abbreviations the following have been used:—D. Dominica dies, Hebd. hebdomada, Sab. Sabbatum, fest. festum, mart. martyr, com. companion. An alphabetical index to the names of the Sundays and festivals is subjoined.

The chief authorities used in the compilation of the Calendar are: the ancient Roman (*Rom.*) and Greek (*Gr.*) Calendars to be found in Allatius (*de Domin. et Hebd. Graecis*); the Ambrosian (*Amb.*) and Mozarabic (*Moz.*) Calendars; the Sacramentary bearing the name of Gregory the Great (*Greg.*); the Armenian (*Arm.*) and Georgian (*Georg.*) Calendars; the Gothic (*Goth.*) Calendars in Migne (*Patrology*); the Syrian (*Syr.*) and Nestorian (*Nest.*) in Etheridge (*Syrian Churches*) and Assemanus (*Bibl. Orient.* iii. 2, 380); for the British and Irish (*Br.*)

Gallican (*Gall.*) and German (*Germ.*) churches, Hampson (*Medii Aevi Kal.*). Reference has also been made to Neale (*Int. to Hist. East. Church*), Fortescue (*Arm. Church*), *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, and Ducange (*Glossarium*).

DOMINICAL AND WEEKLY CALENDAR,
*from Christmas to the following Christmas.*

I. F. I. eve (sc. of the Sabbath) after the NATIVITY, *Nest.*
S. I. post NATALE DOMINI, *Rom.*, *Ambr.*, *Gr.*, *Nest.*; VI. of II. Pentecost (the 50 days before the Arm. Nativity, Jan. 6), *Arm.* *Intr.*, Dum medium silentium.
W. Media septimana, quarta Sabbati (week).
F. II. after the NATIVITY; the Virgin Mary (all the Fridays of the year with the Nestorians are days of special observance and name, and dedicated to their chief Saints), *Nest.*

II. S. [Infra octavam Circumcisionis]; before the Lights (πρὸ τῶν φώτων), *Gr.*; VII. of II. Pentecost, I. before the NATIVITY, *Arm.*; post Strenas (Jan. 1); vacans vel vacat.
F. I. of the EPIPHANY; JOHN BAPT., *Nest.*

III. S. I. post EPIPHANIAM, *Rom.*, *Ambr.*, *Arm.*, *Nest.*; after the Lights, *Gr.*; I. post Theophaniam, *Greg.*
* Disputatio cum doctoribus. *Intr.*, In excelso throno.
M. Dies perdita (the Christmas feast being over); Plough and Rock M., Distaff's day.
F. II. of the EPIPHANY, aps. Peter and Paul, *Nest.*

IV. S. II. post EPIPHANIAM, *Rom.*, *Arm.*, *Nest.*; XII. of Luke, or of the *Ten Lepers, *Gr.*; post octavas Epiphaniae. Festum *Architriclini. *Intr.* Omnis terra, Omnes gentes.
F. III. of the EPIPHANY, IV. EVANGELISTS, *Nest.*

V. S. III. post EPIPHANIAM, *Rom.*, *Arm.*, *Nest.*; XIV. of Luke, *Gr.*; ante Candelas (Candlemas, Feb. 2). *Intr.*, Adorate Dominum.
F. IV. of the EPIPHANY, Stephen the first mart. (*Nest.*).

VI. S. IV. post EPIPHANIAM, *Rom.*, *Arm.*, *Nest.*; XV. of Luke, or of *Zacchaeus, *Gr.* Adorate secundum.
F. V. of the EPIPHANY; Diodorus, Theodore and Nestorius, doctors of the Greeks; *Nest.*

VII. S. V. post EPIPHANIAM, *Rom.*, *Arm.*, *Nest.*; XXII. of Matthew, *Gr.* Adorate tertium.
M., Tu., W., of the Prayer of the Ninevites; *Nest.*
W. Monk Anastasius, *Rom.*
Th. Thanksgiving, *Nest.*
F. VI. of the Epiphany; the Syrian doctors, Ephraem, Narses, Abraham, Julian, John, Michael, Job, Eshai, and Barsuma; *Nest.*

VIII. S. VI. post EPIPHANIAM, *Rom.*, *Arm.*, *Nest.*; XII. of Luke, or of the *Publican and Pharisee, Triodion or Prosphonesimus S., *Gr.* Adorate quartum.
Week. Prosphonesimus (προσφωνήσιμος), *Gr.*; observed as a fast (Artziburion) by *Arm.*
W. and F. are not observed as fasts in this week, *Gr.*
F. VII. of the EPIPHANY, patr. Maraba; *Nest.*
Sa. Alleleuaticae Exequiae.

IX. S. in SEPTUAGESIMA, *Rom.*, *Amb.*; VII. post EPIPHANIAM, *Rom.*, *Arm.*, *Nest.*; of the *Prodigal Son, *Gr.*; Lost S., Alleluia S., Carnisprivium, Privicarnium sacerdotum; festum Repositionis (sc. Alleluiae), qua Alleluia clanditur, Alleluia dimissum or clausum, Alleleuaticae Exequiae. *Intr.*, Circumdederunt me.
Week of Apocreos (ἀπόκρεως), *Gr.*
M. Blue M., *Germ.*
F. VIII. of the EPIPHANY, the XL. marts.; *Nest.*
Sa. of APOCREOS, *Gr.*

X. S. in SEXAGESIMA, *Amb.*, *Rom.*; VIII. post EPIPHANIAM, *Rom.*, *Arm.*, *Nest.*; of APOCREOS (or Carnisprivium, as the last day of eating meat), *Gr.*, (Khortzitha aghebisa) *Georg. Intr.*, Exsurge Domine.

* An asterisk is prefixed to appellations taken from portions of the services for the day; frequently the subject of Gospel or Lesson, as well as the Introit, thus furnishes a title to the Sunday.

Week of TYROPHAGUS (τυροφάγος), *Gr.*
F. IX. of the EPIPHANY, comm. of the Departed; *Nest.*
Sa. Fest. Ovorum; Sabbatum in XII. lectionibus.

XI. S. in QUINQUAGESIMA, *Amb.*, *Rom.*; IX. post EPIPHANIAM, *Rom.*; of TYROPHAGUS (as the last day of eating cheese), Apotyrosis, Tyrine, *Gr.*; CHEESE S. (Quellereth), *Georg.*; S. before the FAST, *Arm.*; of the entrance in the FAST, *Nest.*; ante carnes tollendas, *Mozar.*; SHROVE S.; Excarnalium, Carnisprivium novum; Clericorum vel Dominorum Bacchanalia (Fassnacht, *Germ.*); in capite jejunii, ante Diem Cineris; ante Brandones. *Intr.*, Esto mihi.
Week I. of the FAST (commencing this day), *Gr.*; Chaste (casta) W., Cleansing W.; inter duo carnisprivia.
M. Collop M.
M. and T. Antecinerales feriae; Shrovetide.
T. Quadragesima intrans; Caramentrannus, Carempremium, Carnicapium, Carnibrevium, Carnivora; Fastens even. Shrove Tuesday.
W. ASH Wednesday, *Br.*; Caput jejunii, *Mozar.*; Shere day (Schuertag), *Germ.*; Cinerum dies, Pulveris festum, Cineralia; Cilicii dies; Caput Quadragesimae vel Carenae; Carniprivium.
W. to Sa. Cleansing days, *Br.*; dies quatuor.
Th. Crastinum cinerum, I. post cinerum.
Sa. Sabbatum post cinerum.

XII. S. I. in Quadragesima, *Amb.*, *Mozar.*; in Quadrag. (ad Lateranis), *Rom.*; Caput Quadragesimae, *Gall.*; Quadrag. intrans, Dominica quadraginta; I. of the FAST, ORTHODOXY S. (from the restoration of image worship), *Gr.*; II. in the FAST, *Arm.*, *Nest.*; Quintana (v. from Passover); Privilegiata; Carnisprivium vetus; dies Burarum, Brandonum, vel Brandorum; dies focorum, de lignis (Funcken Tag, *Germ.*); Holy Day. *Intr.*, Invocavit me.
Week II. of the FAST, *Gr.*; Brandons, *Br.*; Chaste W.
M. I. day of the FAST, *Gotho-Hisp.*, *Rom.*, *Greg. Intr.*, Sicut oculi servorum.
W., F., and Sa. Tempora de Primavera, Ember days.
Th. Cananaeae.

XIII. S. II. in QUADRAGESIMA, *Samaritanae, *Amb.*; I. mensis primi, *Rom.*; II. of the FAST, *Gr.*; III. in the Fast, *Arm.*, *Nest.*; of the *Prodigal Son, *Arm.*; *Cananaeae, de *Transfiguratione; post Focos vel Ignes. *Intr.* Reminiscere.
Week III. of the FAST, *Gr.*

XIV. S. III. in QUADRAGESIMA, *Amb.*, *Rom.*; III. of the FAST, of the ADORATION of the CROSS (Σταυροπροσκυνήσεως), *Gr.*; IV. in the Fast, *Arm.* *Nest.*; of the *Unjust Steward, *Arm.*; de *Abrahame, *Amb.*; *Daemonis muti; Adorandae Crucis. *Intr.*, Oculi mei.
Week of the MID FAST (μέση τῶν νηστειῶν, μεσονήστιμος), *Gr.*; septimana media jejuniorum Paschalium.
W. Dies magni Scrutinii.

XV. S. IV. in QUADRAGESIMA, *Amb.*, *Rom.*; IV. of the FAST, *Gr.*; V. in the Fast, *Arm.*, *Nest.*; of the *Unjust Judge, *Arm.*; Dom. Mediante, *Mozar.*; Media Quadraginta, MID LENT; Bragad (Braggot) S., Simnel S., *Br.*; *Caeci Nati, *Amb.*; de *Panibus. D. *Jerusalem, Mothering S.; de Fontanis, Refectionis. *Intr.*, Laetare Hierusalem.
Week V. of the FAST, *Gr.*; Hebd. mediana Quadragesimae.
W. Dies caeci nati.
Th. *Magnificet.
Sa. *Sitientes venite ad aquam.

XVI. S. V. in QUADRAGESIMA, *Amb.*, *Rom.*, *Mozar.*; V. of the FAST, *Gr.*; VI. in the Fast, *Arm.*, *Nest.*; of the *Entry of Christ, *Arm.*; de *Lazaro, *Amb.*; *Isti sunt dies; Repositus (from the replacing of Images); Mediana, Mediana octava; D. quintanae (sc. ludi), ante Palmas, in Passione Domini, PASSION S., Black S., Care or Carling S. *Intr.*, Judica me Deus.
Week. Palm W., *Gr.*; Passionalia, PASSION W., Hebd. Passionis.
Sa. Sab. Akathisti, RESURRECTION of LAZARUS, *Gr.* *Arm.*; Sab. vacans, ante ramos palmarum, dationis

eleemosynae vel fermenti, in Traditione Symboli; Mandatum pauperum.

XVII. S. VI. in QUADRAGESIMA, *Rom.*; VII. of the FAST, *Arm.*; Olivarum, *Amb.*; PALM S. (τῶν βαΐων), *Gr.*, *Arm.*; Prostitution S. (*Bzobisa from Mary Magdalene), *Georg.*; de Traditione Symboli (Catechumens then learning the Creed), *Mozar.*; HOSANNA S., *Nest.*; in ramis Palmarum, *Greg.*; Ramalia, Oschophoria; dies Palmarum, gestationis Palmarum, Osannae; Indulgentiae, Pascha petitum vel competentium; Broncheriae, Calicis, Capitilavium: Pascha florum, Verbenalia: D. Lazari. *Intr.*, Domine ne longe.

Week. HOLY and GREAT W., of the Redeeming Passion (σωτηρίου πάθους), *Gr.*; last of the FAST, *Nest.*; Hebd. Poenosa vel Poenalis, Laboriosa, Magna, Major, Authentica, Crucis, Indulgentiae, Muta. Quindena (Quinquenna) Paschae (including also the week after Easter).

M. Fest. of the CREATION of the WORLD, *Arm.*

M., Tu., and W. Dies *Lamentationis.

Tu. HOLY and GREAT T., *Gr.*; last T. of the FAST, *Nest.*; Fest. of the DELUGE, or Ten Virgins, *Arm.*; feria III. magna vel major.

W. Fest. of the DESTRUCTION of SODOM, or the BETRAYAL, *Arm.*; Succinctio Campanarum.

W., Th., and F. Tenebrae; dies Muti.

Th. Fest. of the MYSTIC SUPPER, *Arm.*; natalis Calicis, Coena Domini, Mandati dies (Maundy Th.), dies Jovis in mandato; Th. of the Pascha, *Nest.*; Peccatrix poenitentialis, Absolutionis dies, Capitulavium, dies Viridium; Green, Shere or Schire, Chare, and GOOD or HOLY Th.

F. Day of SALVATION (τὰ σωτήρια), Day or PASCHA of the CROSS, *Gr.*; great or holy PREPARATION (Parasceve, παρασκευή), *Gr.*, *Lat.*; Passion and Mystery (eucharist) of the Pascha, *Nest.*; Coena pura; Good F., *Br.*; Care F. (Charfreytag); Biduana, Veneris dies Adoratus, Mortis Christi; fest. Compassionis vel VII. dolorum V. Mariae, *Toledo.*

Sa. HOLY and GREAT SABBATH, *Gr.*; Sab. Sanctum (Paschae), *Rom.*; Great Sab., Rest of Christ (Requies Domini corporis, *Lat.*), *Nest.*; fest. of the BURIAL, *Arm.*; Sab. Luminum; Benedictio (Praeconium) Cerei et Fontium; Nox sacrata vel sancta; Easter Eve.

XVIII. S. EASTER S., Pace or Pass day, Journey Festival, *Br.*; D. Sancta in Pascha, *Rom.*; Dies Sanctus Paschae, *Amb.*; D. Sancta, *Greg.*; Dies Dominicus (κατ' ἐξοχήν), *Tertul.*; RESURRECTIONIS, *Amb.*, *Gr.*, *Nest.*; PASCHA, *Arm.*, *Gr.*; Bright S. (λαμπρά), *Gr.*; S. of Sundays, *Nest.*; Annus Novus; dies Regalis; fest. Azymorum; Pascha bonum, carnosum, communicans; Prima Dominica, Primum Pascha.

Week of the RENEWAL (διακαινήσιμος), *Gr.*; of the Sabbath of Sabbaths, *Nest.*; in Albis, *Greg.*; infra Albas Paschae, Hebd. Albana; dies Boni et Neophytorum, Feriatae vel Feriati.

M. Paschalis dies; All Souls, *Arm.*

W. Pascha medium.

F. All Confessors, *Nest.*; ad S. Mariam ad Martyres, *Rom.*

Sa. Sab. in Albis, infra Albas; I. post Pascha; Lawson Eve, *Br.*

XIX. S. Octava Paschae, *Rom.*, *Mozar.*; Clausum Paschae, *Gothico-Gall.*; in Albis Depositis, *Amb.*; NEW S., *Arm.*, *Gr.*; Antipascha, S. of S. THOMAS (καινή, νέα κυριακή τοῦ ἀντιπάσχα, ψηλάφησις τοῦ Θωμᾶ, also δευτεροπρώτη), *Gr.*; S. after PASCHA, *Nest.*; Octava Infantium; Dom. post Albas vel in Albis; Dom. Inferius (Low S.), Mensis Paschae, Missae Domini, Alleluia. *Intr.*, Quasimodo geniti.

Week of Antipascha, or II. after PASCHA, *Gr.*

M. W. and F. Jejunium banni, bannitum, vel magnum.

XX. S. II. post PASCHA, *Amb.*, *Nest.*; I. post octavas Paschae, *Rom.*, *Greg.*; I. post clausum Paschae; III. after Pascha, of the Ointment bearers (τῶν μυροφόρων, who anointed our Lord's body), comm. of JOSEPH of ARIMATHAEA; GREEN S., *Arm.*: trium septimanarum Paschae; post Ostensionem reliquiarum; Mapparum albarum; Mirabilia Domine, Pastor Bonus. *Intr.*, Misericordia Domini, et Unam Domini.

Week III. after PASCHA, or of the Ointment Bearers, *Gr.*

XXI. S. III. post PASCHA, *Amb.*, *Nest.*; II. post octavam Paschae, *Rom.*; II. post clausum Paschae, Dominicum II. post Pascha; IV. S. after Pascha, of the *Paralytic, *Gr.*; Beautiful, or Red S., *Arm.*; *Deus qui errantibus. *Intr.*, Jubilate omnis terra.

Week IV. after Pascha, or of the Paralytic, *Gr.*

W. Feast of MID PENTECOST begins, lasting a week, *Gr.*

XXII. S. IV. post PASCHA, *Ambr.*, *Nest.*; III. post octavam Paschae, *Rom.*; III. post clausum Paschae; V. after Pascha, *Arm.*, *Gr.*; MID PENTECOST, *Gr.*; of the *Samaritan woman, *Gr.*, *Lat.* *Intr.*, Cantate Domino.

XXIII. S. V. post PASCHA, *Amb.*, *Nest.*; IV. post octavam Paschae, *Rom.*; IV. post clausum Paschae; VI. after Pascha, *Arm.*, *Gr.*;* of the *Blind Man, *Gr.*; Dom. ROGATIONUM, vel ante Litanias; fest. Evangelismi. *Intr.*, Vocem jucunditatis annunciate.

Week of the ASCENSION, *Gr.*; Hebd. Crucium; Procession, ROGATION, Grass W.

M., T., and W. Gang days, *Br.*; ROGATION days, LITANIA MINOR, Triduana; jejunium Ascensionis.

T. End of Pascha, *Gr.*

W. Vigilia de Ascensa Domini, *Rom.*

Th. ASCENSION of our LORD, *Rom.*, *Arm.*, *Nest.*, (ἀνάληψις) *Gr.*; Episozomene (ἐπισωζομένη), *Cappadocia.*

F. I. of the ASCENSION, *Nest.*

XXIV. S. post ASCENSIONEM (Ascensa Domini, *Rom.*), *Amb.*, *Arm.*, *Nest.*; VII. S. after PASCHA, of the CCCXVIII fathers of the council of Nice, *Gr.*; VII. in EASTER, II. PALM S., *Arm.* *Intr.*, Exaudi Domine.

Week. Hebd. Expectationis.

Th. David of Garedj, *Georg.*

F. II. of the Ascension, *Nest.*; All the faithful Departed, *Gr.*

Sa. Sabbatum ante DESCENSUM FONTIS, *Greg.*; jejunium Sab. PENTECOSTES; Sab. XII. lectionum; in Albis, prima VIII. dierum Neophytorum, Albas Pentecostes.

XXV. S. PENTECOSTES, *Amb.*, *Arm.*, *Nest.*, *Gr.*; D. sancta Pentecostes, *Rom.*; Quinquagesima, *Gall.*; Pentecoste collectorum; fest. SPIRITUS SANCTI; D. ALBA (White S.); Charismatis dies; Rosalia, Roseceum, Rosarum.

Week I. after PENTECOST, *Gr.*; Pentecostmas W.

M. Fast of the APOSTLES begins, lasting VII. weeks, *Nest.*

W., F., and Sa. Jejunium aestivale, Ember Days; Pentecostes Media.

Th., F., and Sa. ROGATION days, *Spain.*

F. Golden F., I. of Pentecost, *Nest.*

XXVI. S. I. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Gr.*; fest. S. TRINITATIS, *Amb.*; Dom. octava Pentecostes, *Rom.*; I. S. after the DESCENT, *Arm.*; I. S. of the Apostles *Nest.*; I. S. of *Matthew, of ALL SAINTS, Gr.; Conductus Pentecostes; Dom. Duplex, I. aestatis; *Deus omnium exauditor, *Domine in tua misericordia, *Spiritus Domini replevit. *Intr.*, Benedicta.

Week II. of Matthew, *Gr.*; Hebd. Trinitatis, Duplex.

T. Fast of aps. PETER and PAUL begins, *Gr.*

F. II. of PENTECOST, *Nest.*

XXVII. S. II. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Rom.*, *Gr.*, *Mozar.*; II. after the DESCENT, *Arm.*; II. of the APOSTLES, *Nest.*; II. of *Matthew, of the *Teaching of Christ, *Gr.*; D. trium septimanarum Pentecostes, in Quindena Pentecostes. *Intr.*, Factus est Dominus.

Week III. of Matthew, *Gr.*

XXVIII. S. III. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Rom.*, *Gr.*; III. after the DESCENT, *Arm.*; III. of the APOSTLES,

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* So Allatius; the Synaxaria and Triodion make this S. the fifth, and accordingly the previous Sundays after Pascha one less in their number.

*Nest.*; III. of *Matthew, *Gr. Intr.*, Respice in me.

Week IV. of Matthew, *Gr.*

XXIX. S. IV. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Rom.*, *Gr.*; IV. after the DESCENT, *Arm.*; IV. of the APOSTLES, *Nest.*; IV. of *Matthew, of the *Centurion, *Gr.*; *Intr.*, Dominus illuminatio mea.

XXX. S. V. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Rom.*, *Gr.*; V. after the DESCENT, *Arm.*; V. of the APOSTLES, *Nest.*; V. of *Matthew, of the *Two Demoniacs, *Gr.*; *Intr.*, Exaudi Domine.

Sa. Feast of PETER and PAUL and APOSTLES, *Arm.*

XXXI. S. VI. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Gr.*; VI. after the DESCENT, *Arm.*; VI. of the APOSTLES, comm. of Ezechiel Dakuk, *Nest.*; VI. of *Matthew, of the *Paralytic, *Gr.*; *Intr.*, Dominus fortitudo mea.

Week, last of the APOSTLES, *Nest.*; Fast of the TRANSFIGURATION, *Arm.*

F. The LXXII. DISCIPLES, *Nest.*

Sa. Comm. of OLD and NEW COVENANTS, *Arm.*

XXXII. S. VII. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Gr.*; VII. of *Matthew, of the *Two Blind Men, *Gr.*; I. of SUMMER, feast of ALL the APOSTLES, *Nest.*; TRANSFIGURATION S., *Arm.*; *Intr.*, Omnes gentes.

M. All Souls, *Arm.*

F. I. of the beginning of SUMMER, comm. of James of Nisibis, *Nest.*

XXXIII. S. VIII. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Gr.*; VIII. of *Matthew, of the *Five Loaves and Two Fishes, *Gr.*; II. of SUMMER, *Nest.*; II. after the TRANSFIGURATION, *Arm. Intr.*, Suscepimus Deus.[b]

XXXIV.[c] S. IX. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Gr.*; IX. of *Matthew, of *Walking in the Sea, *Gr.*; I. post octavam APOSTOLORUM, *Rom.*; III. of SUMMER, *Nest.*; III. after the TRANSFIGURATION, *Arm.*; Dom. RELIQUIARUM. *Intr.*, Ecce Deus adjuva me.

Week X. of Matthew, *Gr.*

XXXV. S. X. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Gr.*; X. of *Matthew, of the *Lunatic, *Gr.*; IV. of SUMMER, *Nest.*; IV. after the TRANSFIGURATION, *Arm. Intr.*, Dum clamarem.

M. Fast of the ASSUMPTION begins, lasting XIV. days, *Nest.*

XXXVI. S. XI. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Gr.*; XI. of *Matthew, of the *Parable of the King, *Gr.*; V. of SUMMER, *Nest.*; V. after the TRANSFIGURATION, *Arm. Intr.* Deus in loco sancto.

F. Samonas and sons marts., *Nest.*

XXXVII. S. XII. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Gr.*; XII. o *Matthew, of the *Rich Man questioning Jesus, *Gr.*; VI. of SUMMER, *Nest.*; VI. after the TRANSFIGURATION, *Arm. Intr.*, Deus in adjutorium.

Week. Fast of the ASSUMPTION, *Arm.*

F. comm. of Rabban Moses Beth Sajara, John Bar Chaldon, and patr. Simeon Barsaba and com.; *Nest.*

XXXVIII. S. XIII. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Gr.*; XIII. of *Matthew, of the *Parable of the Vineyard, *Gr.*; VII. of SUMMER, *Nest.*; ASSUMPTION S., *Arm. Intr.*, Respice Domine.

M. Fast of ELIJAH or of the CROSS begins, lasting VII. weeks, *Nest.*; All Souls, *Arm.*

XXXIX. S. XIV. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Gr.*; XIV. of *Matthew, of the *Wedding Guests, *Gr.*; I. of ELIJAH, *Nest.*; II. after the ASSUMPTION, *Arm. Intr.*, Protector noster aspice Deus.[d]

F. comm. of Catholicus, *Nest.*

XL. S. XV. post PENTECOSTEN, *Amb.*, *Gr.*; XV. of *Matthew, of the *Lawyer questioning Jesus, *Gr.*; II. of Elijah, *Nest.*; INVENTION of the Girdle of V. MARY, *Arm. Intr.*, Inclina Domine aurem tuam.

XLI. S. XVI. post PENTECOSTEN; III. of Elijah, *Nest.*; S. before the EXALTATION of Holy CROSS, *Gr.*; S. before Holy Cross, *Arm. Intr.*, Miserere mei Domine.

Week. Fast of Holy CROSS, *Arm.*

XLII. S. XVII. post PENTECOSTEN; IV. of ELIJAH, I. of the INVENTION of the CROSS, *Nest.*; S. after the EXALTATION of the Holy CROSS, *Gr.*; S. of Holy Cross, *Arm. Intr.*, Justus es Domine.

Week I. of Luke, *Gr.*

M. All Souls, *Arm.*

XLIII. S. XVIII. after PENTECOST, I. of *Luke, of the *Fishing, *Gr.*; V. of ELIJAH, II. of the INVENTION. *Nest.*; II. after Holy CROSS, *Arm. Intr.*, Da pacem.

M., W., and F. Fasts (as W. and F. are generally throughout the year); *Arm.*

XLIV. S. XIX. after PENTECOST, II. of *Luke, of *Love to Enemies, *Gr.*; VI. of ELIJAH, III. of the INVENTION, *Nest.*; III. after Holy CROSS, *Arm. Intr.*, Salus populi Ego sum.

M., W., and F. Jejunium banni.

XLV. S. XX. after PENTECOST, III. of *Luke, of the *Widow's Son, *Gr.*; VII. of ELIJAH, IV. of the INVENTION, *Nest.*; IV. after Holy CROSS, *Arm. Intr.* Omnia quae fecisti.[e]

F. IV. of the INVENTION, of the last week of ELIJAH, comm. and fast of proph. Elijah, *Nest.*

XLVI. S. XXI. after PENTECOST, IV. of *Luke, of the *Parable of the Sower, *Gr.*; I. S. of MOSES, *Nest.*; V. after Holy CROSS, *Arm. Intr.*, In voluntate tua.

T. of V. week after Holy CROSS, comm. of ANANIAS of Damascus, MATTHIAS, BARNABAS, PHILIP, STEPHEN, SILAS, and SILVANUS, and XII. APOSTLES; *Arm.*

W. of I. week of MOSES, comm. of Elias of Hirta; *Nest.*

XLVII. S. XXII. after PENTECOST, V. of *Luke, of the *Rich Man and Lazarus, *Gr.*; II. of MOSES, *Nest.*; VI. after Holy CROSS, *Arm. Intr.*, Si iniquitates.

XLVIII. S. XXIII. after PENTECOST, VI. of *Luke, of the *Demoniac Legion, *Gr.*; III. of MOSES, *Nest.*; VII. after Holy CROSS, *Arm. Intr.*, Dicit Dominus Ego cogito.

M. Omnium fidelium Defunctorum, *Amb.*

XLIX. S. XXIV. after PENTECOST, VII. of *Luke, of the *Ruler's Daughter, *Gr.*; IV.[f] of MOSES, *Nest.*; VIII. after Holy CROSS, *Arm.*

Week VIII. of Luke, *Gr.*

L. S. XXV. after PENTECOST, VIII. of *Luke, of the *Lawyer questioning Jesus, *Gr.*; IX. after Holy CROSS, *Arm.*

F. comm. of Eugenius and com.; *Nest.*

LI. S. XXVI. after PENTECOST, IX. of *Luke, of the *Rich Man, *Gr.*; X. after HOLY CROSS, *Arm.*

LII. S. XXVII. after PENTECOST, XIII. of *Luke, *Gr.*; I. in ADVENTU, *Amb.*, *Mozar.*; XI. after Holy CROSS, *Arm.*

Week. Fast of SECOND PENTECOST, *Arm.*

LIII. S. XXVIII. after Pentecost, XIV. of *Luke, *Gr.*; II. in ADVENTU, *Amb.*, *Mozar.*; V. ante Natalem Domini, *Greg.*; I. of the SECOND PENTECOST, VI. before the NATIVITY, *Arm.*

LIV. S. I. de ADVENTU, *Rom.*; I. of the ANNUNCIATION, (Subora) *Nest.*; III. in Adventu, *Amb.*, *Mozar.*, IV. ante Natalem Domini, *Greg.*; XXIX. after PENTECOST, XV. of *Luke, of *Zacchaeus, *Gr.*; II. of the SECOND PENTECOST, V. before the NATIVITY, *Arm.*; *Aspiciens a longe. *Intr.*, Ad te levavi.

Advent season. Nati ADVENTUS; Quadragesima S. Martini vel Parva.

M. Fast of the ANNUNCIATION begins, lasting IV. weeks, *Nest.*

LV. S. II. de ADVENTU; II. of the ANNUNCIATION, *Nest.*, II. ante NATALE DOMINI, *Rom.*, *Arm.*; III. ante Natalem, *Greg.*; IV. in Adventu, *Amb.*, *Mozar.*;

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[b] The Sundays which follow June 29 are sometimes numbered "post Natale Apostolorum" (*Rom.*). See PETER, p. 1623.

[c] No name is given to this and the following Sundays in the Mozarabic Calendar.

[d] The Sundays which follow Aug. 10 are sometimes numbered "post S. Laurentii" (*Rom.*)

[e] The Sundays which follow Sept. 26 are sometimes numbered "post S. Cypriani" (*Rom.*).

[f] The number of these Sundays may be less than four as required.

xxx. after PENTECOST, x. of *Luke, of the *Woman with a Spirit of Infirmity, *Gr.*; III. of the SECOND PENTECOST, *Arm.*; D. de Jerusalem. *Intr.*, Populus Sion.

LVI. S. III. de ADVENTU; III. of the ANNUNCIATION, *Nest.*; III. ante NATALE Domini, *Rom.*, *Arm.*; II. ante Natalem, *Greg.*; V. in Adventu, *Amb.*, *Mozar.*; XI. of *Luke, of the *Wedding Guests, of the holy Forefathers, *Gr.*; IV. of the SECOND PENTECOST, *Arm.*

W. Ad *Angelum.

W., F., and Sa. (of I. complete week before Christmas). Jejunium hiemale IV. temporum, Ember days.

Sa. Sabbatum de Gaudete; Sab. XII. lectionum.

LVII. S. IV. de ADVENTU; IV. of the ANNUNCIATION, *Nest.*; I. ante Natalem Domini (D. vacat *Cod. Cal.*), *Greg.*; II. before the NATIVITY (Jan. 6), V. of the SECOND PENTECOST, *Arm.*; VI. in Adventu, *Amb.*, *Mozar.*; S. before the BIRTH of CHRIST, *Gr.*; Dominica de O; *Canite tuba. *Intrs.*, Memento mei, Rorate Coeli.

Week. Hebd. de Excepto.

## INDEX OF NAMES OF SUNDAYS, ETC.

*The Roman numerals refer to the preceding list.*

[E. B. W.]

# Z

**ZABULUS**, another form of *Diabolus*, as a designation for Satan, often found in the writings of the Fathers. It is well known how readily the letter ζ passes into δ. (Cf. Ζεύς = Δεύς, ἀρίζηλος = ἀρίδηλος, ζυγόν for δυογόν, and conversely δια- into ζα-. Of this we have examples in ζάβατος = διάβατος, ζάδηλος = διάδηλος, and in Latin zacones = diaconi, zametrus = diametrus, zebus = diebus, zeta = diaeta (Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, p. 509). We find instances of the use of *Zabulus* in Cyprian, "nobis a *Zabulo* obsistitur" (*Orat.* ii.), "*Zabulum* qui zelum imitatur" (*Zel. et Liv.* lib. iv.), "invidia *Zabuli*" (c. 8), "in laqueum *Zabuli*"); in Ambrose, who denounces Arius as being worse than "pater suus *Zabulus*. Zabulus enim verum Dei filium fatebatur, Arius negat" (*de Fid.* lib. v. c. 8); in Augustine, who says of St. Lawrence, "adversus omnes *Zabuli* terrores . . . animus immobilis perstat" (*De diversis; Serm.* 123). Lactantius uses it frequently; cf. providens Deus ne fraudibus suis *Zabulus* . . . corrumperet (*Instit.* ii. 14. 1), "novem praeliis *Zabulum* debellasti" (*De Mort. Persec.* 16. 5), "a te *Zabulus* victus est" (*ibid.* 16. 10). It is also found in Hilary in Matt. xii. can. 12; Matt. xxiv. can. 26; Paulinus, pp. 28, 50, 55, 291, 498, and Commodian, *Instr.* i. 35; ii. 17, 18, 31). [E. V.]

**ZACCHAEUS (1)**, (ZACHARIAS), bishop of Jerusalem, commemorated on Aug. 23 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon. *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 555).

**(2)** Oct. 3, martyr, commemorated at Antioch (*Syr. Mart.*) [C. H.]

**ZACHARIAH**, prophet, commemorated on Feb. 8 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 253); Sept. 3 (*Cal. Armen.*); Sept. 6 (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., Wand., *Rom.*). A church was built and dedicated to him at Constantinople by a lady from Carthage in the 5th century (Basil. *Menol.* Jan. 10; Du Cange, *Cpolis. Christiana*, lib. iv. p. 105). [C. H.]

**ZACHARIAS (1)**, pope, commemorated in the later martyrologies; Mar. 14 (Notker.); Mar. 15 (*Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. ii. 406).

**(2)** June 2, presbyter, one of the martyrs of Lyons (*Mart.* Usuard.).

**(3)** June 10, commemorated at Nicomedia (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker., *Rom.*).

**(4)** Sept. 5, son of Barachias (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

**(5)** Sept. 5, father of John the Baptist (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Nov. 5 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.* Wand., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**ZEBENNUS**, Jan. 13, martyr, commemorated at Antioch (*Syr. Mart.*) [C. H.]

**ZELLA, COUNCIL OF.** [TELEPTE.]

**ZENAIS**, Oct. 11, of Tarsus, and her sister Philonilla, reputed relatives of St. Paul (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. v. 502). A church dedicated to her at Constantinople is mentioned in the *Menaea* under May 7. (Du Cange, *Cpolis. Christ.* lib. iv. p. 151.) [C. H.]

**ZENAS.** [ZENO (3).]

**ZENDO** (ܙܢܕܐ, ܙܢܕܐ, pl.). The name in the Syrian churches for the ἐπιμανίκια of the Greek church. [MANIPLE.] Among the Christians

of St. Thomas in Southern India the term *zando* is still used (Howard, *Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*, p. 133). See also Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, s. v. [R. S.]

**ZENO** (1), Jan. 19, Feb. 23, martyr, commemorated at Nicaea with Cosconius and Melanippus (*Mart. Syr.*).

(2) Apr. 18, 20 [VICTOR (6)].

(3) Jun. 23, martyr with Zenas under Maximian, commemorated at Philadelphia in Arabia (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 474).

(4) July 9, martyr, commemorated at Rome with ten thousand two hundred and three others (*Mart.*, Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 687).

(5) July 15, martyr, commemorated at Alexandria with Philippus, Narseus, and ten infants (*Mart.* Usuard., Notker., *Rom.*).

(6) Dec. 20, martyr, commemorated with Ammonius at Alexandria (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*).

(7) Dec. 28, martyr under Maximian with Indes, Gorgonius, and Petrus (Basil. *Menol.*). [C. H.]

**ZENOBIA.** [ZENOBIUS (3).]

**ZENOBIUS** (1), presbyter, martyr under Diocletian, commemorated at Tyre, Feb. 20, with Tyrannio (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Rom.*); he may be the presbyter Zenobius, martyr, "in the last persecution," commemorated at Sidon, Oct. 29 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Wand., *Rom.*).

(2) June 12, martyr, commemorated in Isauria (*Syr. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr with his sister Zenobia, commemorated on Oct. 30 (*Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 273; *Mart. Rom.*); Oct. 31 (Basil. *Menol.*). A monastery called after Zenobius existed at Constantinople in the 6th century (Mansi, viii. 989 A; Du Cange, *Cpolis. Christ.* lib. iv. p. 141). [C. H.]

**ZEPHANIAH**, prophet, commemorated on June 28 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C. H.]

**ZEUGMA, COUNCIL OF** (ZEUGMATENSE CONCILIUM), at 432, at the instance of Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus the historian, to whom the peace re-established between John of Antioch and St. Cyril of Alexandria was not acceptable; but no details of what was done there have been preserved (Mansi, v. 1161), though the authors of *L'Art de vérif. les Dates* affect to supply them (i. 146). [E. S. Ff.]

**ZOA**, July 5, wife of Nicostratus, martyr, commemorated at Rome (*Mart.* Usuard., Wand., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon., *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 221). [C. H.]

**ZODIAC, SIGNS OF.** A drawing is given by Boldetti (p. 500) of a bracelet discovered in a Christian burial-place engraved with the conventional symbols of the signs of the zodiac. This is reproduced by Martigny (art. *Zodiaque*), who speaks of the extreme rarity of examples of this nature. [E. V.]

**ZOE**, May 2, martyr with her sons and Hesperus in Italy under Hadrian (Basil. *Menol.* *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Mart. Rom.*). A magnificent church was dedicated to her at Constantinople by Justinian (Procop. *de Aedif.* lib. i. cap. 3). [C. H.]

**ZOELLUS** (1), (ZUELUS, ZOILUS), May 23, martyr, commemorated at Lystra (*Syr. Mart.*).

(2) May 24, martyr, commemorated with Servilius and others in Histria (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon., Notker., *Rom.*); Zebellus (*Hieron.*). Ado names him JOELLUS.

(3) Jun. 27, martyr, commemorated at Cordova (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Notker, Wand., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**ZOSIMA**, July 15, martyr with her sister Bonosa and Eutropius, commemorated at Portus Romanus (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, Notker., *Rom.*). [C. H.]

**ZOSIMUS** (1), Jan. 4, Cilician monk, martyr with Athanasius Comentaresius (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*); Jan. 3 (*Mart. Rom.*); Jan. 3 or 4 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 128).

(2) Jan. 21, bishop of Syracuse (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil. *Menol.*); Mar. 30 (*Menol. Graec.*; Boll. *Acta SS.*, Mart. iii. 837).

(3) June 1, martyr, commemorated with Octavius at Antioch (*Syr. Mart.*); with Tecla at Antioch (Notker.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 42).

(4) June 19, of Apollonias, martyr under Trajan (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iii. 812).

(5) Sept. 28, martyr under Diocletian, commemorated with Alphaeus, Alexander, Marcus (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; *Mart. Rom.*).

(6) Dec. 14, martyr, commemorated with Drusus and Theodorus at Antioch (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon., *Rom.*).

(7) Dec. 18, martyr, commemorated with Rufus at Philippi (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*); Dec. 17 (Wand.). [C. H.]

**ZOTICUS** (1), Feb. 10, martyr, commemorated at Rome with Irenaeus, Hyacinthus, Amantius (*Mart.* Bed., Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*, Notker.).

(2) Apr. 18, 20 [VICTOR (6)].

(3) Aug. 21, martyr (*Syr. Mart.*).

(4) Aug. 22, martyr, commemorated with Agathonicus (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Mart. Rom.*).

(5) Oct. 21, martyr, commemorated with Dasius and Gaius at Nicomedia (*Mart. Syr.*; Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*; *Mart. Rom.*).

(6) Dec. 23, one of ten Cretan martyrs under Decius (Basil. *Menol.*).

(7) Priest, founder of an orphanage at Constantinople in the 4th century; commemorated on Dec. 30 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 278); Dec. 31 (*Menol. Graec.*; *Mart. Rom.*). [C. H.]

THE END.